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2019

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Bridging the Familial and the Global:

An Ethnographic Study of Family Language Policy in Beijing, China

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Lu Liu

2020

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Bridging the Familial and the Global:

An Ethnographic Study of Family Language Policy in Beijing, China

by

Lu Liu

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Teresa L. McCarty, Chair

This ethnographic study investigates the daily language practices in five Chinese middle class focal families and illuminates the parents' beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning in the globalizing post-industrial era. Building on a growing body of research on family language policy (FLP), the study asks an overarching question: What does FLP look like in these middle class families? Specifically, the dissertation seeks to answer these questions: 1) what do the children's daily language practices look like? 2) How do the parents manage their children's daily language practices? 3) What ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold? In addition, the study explores why FLP matters in the larger contexts of the Chinese Open-up reform policy and processes of globalization. How

do intimate language-mediated interactions within the home reflect and refract these larger sociopolitical, sociolinguistic, and economic processes? How might this study of FLP bridge the familial, the national, and the global, connecting family language practices, beliefs, and management strategies to national language policies and processes of globalization?

Findings show that children's daily language practices incorporate four different types of Mandarin- and English-mediated activities which include daily routines, purposefully planned activities and naturally occurring activities. During the process of language management, parents and children negotiate in dynamic power relations whereby parents exert control and authority, and children display agency, resistance, and autonomy. Parents perceive languages as cultural practices, aesthetic entities, and utilitarian instruments. Findings also suggest that national political policies affect parents' perceptions of education, language, and language learning, as well as parents' language policymaking in the home. Larger sociocultural, political, and historical factors have great impact on parents' ideologies about the construction of multiple language identities in the globalization trend. This study therefore fills a void in the educational linguistics scholarship by connecting the intimate familial domain of language policy with larger informal and formal language policies that privilege English and Mandarin. These language choices within the home among family members greatly influence children's language acquisition and socialization, as well as their multiple language identity construction in the post-industrial era.

The dissertation of Lu Liu is approved.

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2020

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Acknowledgements

I have been extremely fortunate to work with a community of exceptional faculty, wonderful colleagues, and supportive staff at UCLA for the past six years. Each person I have met at UCLA has provided something unique to me as a scholar and as a person. Words are insufficient to express my deep gratitude for their support and friendship.

Foremost, Dr. Teresa McCarty, my advisor, mentor and model, provides me invaluable guidance on my scholarly work. She has always shown, *not told*, how to conduct rigorous academic work and how to be an ethical scholar. Her wisdom of life gives me tremendous strengths and courage to continue even under the most stressful circumstances. Her sincere care and love give me boundless power and abilities to grow in my own appreciation for academic pursuits. She is the beacon of hope for me navigating my way to successful completion of this academic journey at UCLA.

I am extremely appreciative of the members of my dissertation committee: Drs. Kathryn Anderson-Levitt, Ananda Marin, Elinor Ochs, and Marjorie Orellana. Their valuable advice, insightful suggestions, and support carefully guided me through my work on this dissertation.

It was a privilege to gain access to the most intimate family homes and to have an opportunity to conduct the ethnographic study with five families in Beijing, China. Without their participation and collaboration, I could not have gathered such rich data for this dissertation. I owe sincere gratitude to these families, especially the lovely children.

I am immensely grateful for the guidance and support of the SRM faculty: Drs. Marvin Alkin, Li Cai, Christina Christie, Mark Hansen, Minjeong Jeon, Jose-Felipe Martinez, Michael Seltzer, and Noreen Webb. Their teaching and research have greatly influenced my thinking as a

social sciences researcher. I am especially thankful for Dr. Mike Rose who provided thoughtful and meticulous feedback on my writing.

I was incredibly fortunate to engage with the leading scholars in anthropology during my study at UCLA: Dr. Marjorie (Candy) Goodwin and the late Dr. Charles (Chuck) Goodwin, who inspired and informed my work in linguistic anthropology and applied linguistics.

I am also very fortunate to have had a cohort in SRM who were supportive and empathetic, and whom I could always call on: Adrienne Dellinger, Alana Kinarsky, Jayashri Srinivasan, Joy Zimmerman, Julie Liao, Kristen Rohanna, and Seungwon Chung. There are also wonderful colleagues in Education who engaged in scholarly conversations with me and inspired me in many different ways: Nicole Mancevice, Meredith Langi, Sijia Huang, Jevan Luo, and Zhaopeng Ding. My great appreciation is owed to the staff at GSE&IS, especially Amy Gershon, for their dedication and commitment to daily administration and organization.

My incredible thanks go to my supporting folks in China: Dr. Yanjie Zhang and Dr. Xingxian Liu. Their thoughts and ideas informed my thinking on education policies and practices in China.

Last, but not least, my family. My parents, who do not speak English, have always shown their immense love and care for me. They encouraged me to study English when I was three, which opened up a brand new world to me. I would not be who I am without their support and enlightenment. My father-in-law, Dr. William Hurd, always shows his strong support of my work. My mother-in-law, Dr. Rhynette Hurd, is very special to me. She is my second mother, friend, mentor, and spiritual support. She is always there for me. My husband, Ryan Hurd, supports me in his special way: he shows me how to enjoy life even in the darkest time. He makes me a better and happier person.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“By 2025 the number of English-speaking Chinese is likely to exceed the number of native English speakers in the rest of the world.”

- Gordon Brown, the U.K. finance minister, 2005

“It’s interesting to note that the largest English-speaking nation today, or soon to be, is China.”

- Former Utah Gov. Jon Huntsman Jr., 2011

Problem Statement

In China’s Reform and Open-up policy initiated in 1978, the Chinese central government advocated economic reform as the priority for developing the nation, and opened China to the outside world (Pan, 2015). With China’s growing global economic and political integration, the importance of English proficiency has been increasingly recognized. Since the 1980s, a new upsurge in English learning has appeared in the context of the implementation of this social policy. However, China’s Reform and Open-up policy has achieved rapid economic growth only in the major industrial cities, and the gap between the urban and rural areas has enlarged due to discrepant social policies. This resulted in tremendous differences between urban and rural households in terms of income level, accessibility of public services and human development (Knight & Song, 1999; Riskin et al. 2001; Gustafsson et al. 2008). The sociocultural and economic changes promoted language policy initiatives directed at English language teaching at different levels of the Chinese educational institutions in urban cities (Hu, 2012). Thus,

“Chinese-English bilingual education” had emerged in a small number of *elite* elementary schools since the early 1990s, only in relatively developed urban cities, such as Beijing.

This critical ethnographic study aims to bridge the intimate language policies in the family domain and the national bilingual education policy in the context of post China’s Reform and Open-up policy and the era of globalization. By exploring the family language policies in five middle class families in Beijing, the study illuminates how the larger sociopolitical and cultural context shapes the parents’ beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning, and how these beliefs in turn affect their children’s daily language practices and the construction of multiple language identities in the globalization trend. I am particularly interested in this topic because of several years of being a language teacher and researcher, as well as a bilingual language learner since early childhood.

Under the strong influence of China’s bilingual education policy, I started learning English from a TV program called *Young Children’s English Learning at Home* when I was four years old. “English at Home for Children” was the textbook for this program designed for the preschool children studying English at home. Not only did I learn the English alphabet and basic vocabularies and daily dialogues from this program, but it also widened my linguistic and cultural field of vision at the age of four in the home milieu. English never became our home language, however, since it was only considered a necessary communication tool to master. Both my parents are monolingual speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Even though we did not have an explicit language policy for home language use, we speak Mandarin Chinese inside and outside of home as a default choice because it is both the official language of our country and our mother tongue. As I discuss later in the dissertation, this is a *de facto* family language policy.

Being exposed to different linguistic and cultural discourses at a young age provided me with a broad way of looking, seeing and understanding the world. It also demonstrated the importance of learning my mother language, as it was a pathway to comprehend another language. This English learning experience at home laid a solid foundation for my language development in early childhood, and for my choice of educational linguistics, particularly family language policy, as my later academic research focus.

Being trained in educational/applied linguistics, I have always had a passion for language teaching, learning and its related sociocultural issues. After eight years of studying in the U.S., I became more interested in the influence of language ideology on mother language development and language identity. My special interest in family language policy comes from several years of being a language teacher and researcher, as well as an encounter that occurred at an academic conference early in my graduate studies. In 2014, I attended an academic conference where I met a professor in education who was originally from China. After we discovered our shared research interests, we started talking about education and language issues. Identified as a first generation Chinese middle class immigrant family, he mentioned that both of his daughters were born in the U.S. and had started school about three years before. “Do they go to bilingual schools?” I asked. “No,” he answered, “They only speak English.” Seeing the disbelieving look on my face, he continued, “My wife and I don’t teach the children Chinese. I only allow them to speak English at home. And you know what, their English, especially writing, is better than those *white* kids.” As he talked more about his daughters, I noticed that his strong pride in his children came from the “superior” language they speak, which served as a “pass” en route to upper class and privilege, providing them with a new “identity” – as a U.S. citizen – and extricating them from the subordinated and “colored” mother tongue. The language ideologies undergirding this

professor's use of his mother language as a Chinese immigrant in the context of globalization, raised questions in my mind: What roles do Chinese middle class parents play in their family's education, especially with regard to language practices at home? How do these parents perceive their mother language? How do parental ideologies about language—and implicit language hierarchies affect their children's identity construction in a globalizing context? Seeking answers to these questions, I found that the theoretical and empirical framework of family language policy (FLP) provides a bridge between the intimate familial domain of parents' language choices, beliefs, and practices, and larger public discourses and policies about language. Given China's Open-up language education reforms, I was particularly intrigued with these interactions in the context of a post-industrial globalizing world. These experiences and questions ultimately gave rise to this dissertation study.

Research Questions

In this study I explore FLP among five middle class families in one of the most highly developed urban cities in the world, Beijing. My purpose for this research is twofold: 1) to investigate the daily language practices in the home milieu and thereby gain an understanding of the family language policies of five middle-class Chinese focal families; and 2) to illuminate these parents' beliefs about their mother language and English in the globalizing post-industrial era.

My overarching question for this study is: What does FLP look like in five middle class focal families in Beijing, China?

Specifically, I seek to answer these questions:

1. What do the children's daily language practices look like?
2. How do the parents manage their children's daily language practices?

3. What ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold?

In addition, I ask why FLP matters in the larger contexts of the Chinese Reform and Open-up policy and processes of globalization. How do intimate language-mediated interactions within the home reflect and refract these larger sociopolitical, sociolinguistic, and economic processes? How might this study of FLP bridge the familial, the national, and the global, connecting family language practices, beliefs, and management strategies to national language policies and processes of globalization?

Research Context

The setting for this study is one of the most developed urban cities in the world – Beijing – the capital and the political, economic and cultural center of modern China. I chose this setting because it is one of the first industrial cities in mainland China under the influence of the Reform and Open-up policy. As part of globalizing trends, Beijing has embraced rapid development in its economy, finance, high-technology, and science, meanwhile preserving significant cultural and historical traditions from ancient times. Beijing is one of the most important international cities in the world, where multicultural and multilingual communities intersect, and diverse ideologies and ideas interact and sometimes collide. In addition, the nation's English-Chinese bilingual education policy was first initiated in Beijing, where schools are provided with sufficient resources for bilingual teaching and learning.

I recruited five middle class families in Beijing through purposeful and snowball sampling. The criteria for selecting the families is as follows: They were defined as middle class in terms of their socio-economic status based on their annual household income; they were permanent residents of Beijing; their first language was Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, or other

dialects of Chinese); the children in each family were preschoolers; and the families volunteered to participate in my study.

As Lareau (2011) suggests for the U.S. context, “[S]ocial class does have a powerful impact in shaping the daily rhythms of family life” (p. 8). In this study, these middle-class families have full access to the resources of English-Chinese bilingual teaching and learning. By resources I refer to the English and English-Chinese bilingual learning tutorials (textbooks, videos, and multi-media learning instruments), English after-school programs, and parents’ instruction and supervision of the children’s language learning practices at home. As I show in the chapters that follow, through access to and use of these resources, social class also influences how parents make their language policies at home, as well as the ways in which parents socialize their children through language.

Theoretical Foundation

For this empirical study, I chose the interdisciplinary framework of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018) as the theoretical underpinning, which adapts Spolsky’s (2004) three-component language policy theory – language practice, language management, and language ideology. Family language policy, or FLP, is a subfield in educational and applied linguistics that explores parents’ choices about the home language (King & Fogle, 2006, 2017) and the impacts of those choices on children’s language acquisition and academic development. More broadly, this scholarship seeks to understand the links between family language choices and broader language policy discourses and trends, including the maintenance of heritage mother tongues. Research shows that these choices stem from a host of complex, interacting factors, including language ideologies (beliefs about language statuses and values) that shape children’s daily language learning practices in the home setting (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; King & Fogle, 2006,

2017; King et al., 2008). These practices then shape children's subsequent language development in school, and ultimately, the future trajectory of heritage mother tongues – whether they will be maintained or replaced by more powerful, dominant languages.

Language policy as a field of study has a tradition of focusing on public and institutional contexts and has typically been examined at the level of the state, school or workplace. However, until recently there has been little attention to the private contexts of family homes. Moreover, much of the FLP literature involves surveys and questionnaires; very rarely have researchers been able to examine intimate family linguistic routines. There has thus been little in-depth qualitative study of how FLPs are enacted in the intimacy of family and home. This study provides a needed ethnographic look into these processes on children's language acquisition.

As an emerging area of study, FLP brings together research on child language acquisition, bilingualism and multilingualism, and language policy (Johnson, 2013; King & Fogle, 2013; McCarty, 2011a; Spolsky, 2004). Defined as “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use” (King et al. 2008, p. 907), FLP examines how parents choose to use and teach a language to their children, and how their language ideologies shape the children's language practices in the home environment (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; King & Fogle, 2006, 2017; King et al., 2008). In recent years, FLP studies have been conducted in Singapore, Scotland, England, Netherlands, Norway, Israel, Australia and Canada, with special focus on how bilingual education at home benefits the children in providing more socioeconomic opportunities later in life (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Kopeliovich, 2010; Schwartz & Moin, 2011). Those studies supported bilingual or multilingual family language policy because bi/multilingualism is a crucial skillset to open up job opportunities, and therefore socioeconomic status enhancement. For overtly bilingual or multilingual language policy and practice within the home, the

socioeconomic benefits are explicit and distinct. However, underlying these policies, it is easy to ignore the tacit, “taken-for-granted” assumptions about language attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors which often “contribute to linguistic and social inequality” (McCarty, 2011a, p. 10).

Methodology

As indicated above, in this study I am guided by the ethnography of language policy (Hornberger et al., 2018; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; McCarty, 2011; McCarty & Liu, 2017), which recognizes that parents’ beliefs about language are often implicit and unconscious. I chose to undertake an ethnographic study of language policy because it flows from a social constructionist orientation to knowledge production and there has been very little in-depth, close-up research of this sort in language policy scholarship. The ethnography of language policy seeks to describe and interpret both implicit and explicit policy processes and their interaction, exploring the ways in which people accommodate, resist, and construct policy in their daily lives (McCarty & Liu, 2017). In this study I focus on how these “commonsense” naturalized language ideologies affect parents’ implementation of implicit and explicit family language policies in the globalizing post-industrial context.

In order to take a close look into the interactions between the parents and their children in their daily life and to better understand their beliefs and motivation, I apply a critical ethnographic lens to this study. Beyond describing the nuance and complexity of family language practices, I take a critical perspective on linguistic and social inequality in the context of globalization, and the exploration of power relations between the parents and the children in the process of implementing language policies. Critical ethnography best serves this purpose, because this approach, as Canagarajah (2006) states, “align(s)...with the post Enlightenment philosophical tradition in orienting to knowledge as non-foundational, socially constructed, and

implicated in power differences” (p. 156). It views policies as “ideological constructs that reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within the larger society” (McCarty, 2011b, p. 110). Exploring the intimate domain of language policy within the family home, my aim is “uncovering the indistinct voices, covert motivations...or unintended consequences of language policy emergent in context” (Hornberger, 2013, p. 106). I not only seek to answer the question of what FLP looks like in daily practice, but also to interrogate the ways in which those daily practices are shaped by and contribute to the power relations between the parents and the children in the process of implementing the language policies. In particular, I explore both the overt and covert motivations and language ideologies the parents have for their choice of home language(s), and how these policies affect their children’s multiple identity formation in the context of globalization.

Significance of the Study

By exploring ethnographically these families’ language education within the home, this study advances the knowledge of the "informal," family-based ways in which the parents’ beliefs about their mother language and language education crucially impact their language policy. I examined the Chinese parents’ language ideologies about their home language(s), English, and language learning in a globalizing context, and elucidated implications for language education policy and practice from both theoretical and methodological perspectives. Parents’ perceptions about their mother language affect which language their children use in daily interactions, and whether they embrace or resist the influence of the global language – English – in the family domain. This study therefore fills a void in the educational linguistics scholarship on bridging the most intimate familial domain of language policy and the larger impact of informal and formal language policies that privilege English and Mandarin. This language choice within the home

among family members greatly influences children's language acquisition and socialization, who were born and raised in an international city and a highly globalizing environment, as well as their multiple language identity construction the post-industrial era.

Organization of the Dissertation

Following this introductory chapter, in Chapter Two I review the literature on the theories, historical development, and current studies of language policy and family language policy (FLP), as well as the theory of language socialization as a key component of the interdisciplinary framework of FLP. In Chapter Three, I elucidate the ontological, epistemological, and methodological stance for this study, and discuss the research design, the data collection methods, and the analysis procedures. In Chapter Four, I present Family Portfolios for each participant family based on the data sources which include the parents' interviews, the participant observations, and the artifacts. The purpose is to contextualize the language policies within these families for further in-depth analysis. In Chapter Five, I present findings for each research question, with each section of the chapter answering one research question. In Chapter Six, I situate these families' language policies in the context of Chinese national language policy and the larger global context, exploring the ways in which FLPs both reflect and reinforce broader policy discourses and processes. I also explore the implications of this study for bridging the familial and the global in understanding how linguistic hierarchies are formed and become naturalized. In Chapter Seven, I summarize this research and discuss the gaps this study fills and its theoretical and methodological contributions to the fields of sociolinguistics, language policy, and language acquisition. I also elucidate the future directions for this study. The dissertation concludes with an Epilogue in which I discuss leaving the field and the post-fieldwork updates on these families' changes and the children's school choices.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND LITERATURE

In this chapter I situate this study within the relevant literature on applied/educational linguistics and sociolinguistics. Specifically, I apply Spolsky's (2004) three-tier language policy framework as the theoretical foundation, and examine the empirical data based on the interdisciplinary framework of family language policy (FLP) informed by theories of Language Policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2012) and Language Socialization (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2012; Lanza, 2007; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). I begin by introducing the macro-level theory of language policy, funneling into the micro-level of family language policy. Then I discuss the literature on Language Socialization and the national language policy in China so as to contextualize the theory and this research.

Language Policy

Language policy, originally stemming from sociolinguistics, is an interdisciplinary domain of inquiry, often referred to as language planning and policy (LPP) (Johnson, 2013). It is considered as both "a field of study and a site of social practice" (McCarty & Warhol, 2011, p. 177). As a highly interdisciplinary field of study, LPP bridges the knowledge in sociolinguistics, educational/applied linguistics, the sociology of language, and linguistic and educational anthropology (McCarty & Warhol, 2011). Language policy research not only refers to official and unofficial governmental and other institutional acts, but also incorporates "the historical and cultural events and processes that have influenced, and continue to influence, societal attitudes and practices with regard to language use, acquisition and status" (Ricento, 2000, p. 209). McCarty (2011a) defines language policy "as a complex sociocultural process" constituted by

“cultural phenomena socially, historically, and comparatively across time and space” (pp. 8, 10). Both implicitly and explicitly, language policy regulates language use, and these “everyday ideologically saturated language-regulating mechanisms construct social hierarchies” (McCarty et al. 2011, p. 339).

Language policy can also be characterized as “modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power” from an ethnographic perspective (McCarty, 2004, p. 72). Language policy is not an exercise in philosophical inquiry; rather, it addresses the social problems related to language, and proposes realistic remedies (Ricento, 2006). In order to advocate specific policies for language use, shift, revitalization or maintenance, scholars demonstrate the problems empirically and conceptually, bringing data from a wide range of disciplines in social sciences and humanities, to support particular policy recommendations (Ricento, 2006). As Ricento (2006) notes,

When we begin to think of language issues as *personal* rather than abstract and removed from daily concerns, we quickly see how we all have a stake in language policies, since they have a direct bearing on our place in society and what we might (or might not) be able to achieve. Schools, the workplace, the neighborhood, families - all are sites where language policies determine or influence what language(s) we will speak, whether our language is “good/acceptable” or “bad/unacceptable” for particular purposes. (p. 21)

The goals for critical language policy researchers, therefore, are to understand the mechanisms that influence individuals’ language choices and how power is exercised through covert and overt language policy processes. Within this critical perspective, researchers are positioned as participants undertaking high standards of research with representativeness, depth, and breadth, so as to support or disconfirm the theoretical assumptions (Ricento, 2006, p. 19).

Historical Development of Language Policy as a Field of Scholarly Inquiry

Language policy, as a branch of sociolinguistics, became an identifiable area of research toward the end of World War II (Ricento, 2000). Basically, there are three historical phases of language policy development and evolution, in terms of the macro-sociopolitical factors: 1) 1950s – 1960s, decolonization; 2) 1970s – 1980s, the failure of modernization; 3) mid 1980s – present, the new world order (Ricento, 2000). Table 2.1 summarizes the historical development of language policy:

Table 2.1

Historical and Theoretical Perspectives in LPP¹

Phases Factors	Early Work 1950s – 1960s	Second Phase 1970s – 1980s	Third Phase Mid 1980s – Present
Macro-sociopolitical	<i>Decolonization State Formation</i>	<i>Failure of Modernization</i>	<i>New World Order</i>
	Political integration Unification Transformation Modernization	Marginalization Negative effect	Globalization Population migration Linguistic imperialism Language loss
Epistemological	<i>Structuralism</i>	<i>Critical Perspectives</i>	<i>Postmodernism</i>
	Grammar Writing system Dictionaries Corpus planning Positivistic linguistics	Ideology Attitudes Beliefs Social actions/behavior Critical sociolinguistics	Ideology Multilingualism Linguistic diversity
Strategic	<i>Pragmatism</i>	<i>Access</i>	<i>Linguistic Human Rights</i>
	Efficiency Status planning	Historical inequality Socioeconomic asymmetries	Language maintenance Revitalization Agency Attitudes
Features	Non-political Technical Neutral Ahistorical	Political Ideological Non-neutral Historical	Political Anti-hegemonic

¹ This figure is drawn based on Ricento's (2000) work on the evolution of LPP.

There are other factors which have been instrumental in shaping the field as well, such as the epistemological factor, which refers to the paradigms of knowledge and research in the social sciences and humanities, and the strategic factor, which concerns the reasons for conducting particular kinds of language policy research (Ricento, 2000, p. 196-197).

After World War II, the needs of unification of newly independent nations emerged as a leading language “problem” to be resulted. Linguists started their research on developing grammars, writing systems, and dictionaries for indigenous languages (Ricento, 2000). The earlier work in this phase mainly focused on typologies and approaches to language planning, such as corpus planning, which includes graphization, standardization, and modernization – a more positivist approach to linguistics (Ricento, 2000). During this period of transformation and decolonization, an attention in status planning centered on the selection of a national language for purposes of modernization and nation-building (Ricento, 2000). As Fishman (1968a) illuminates, the new developing nations provide an “indispensable and truly intriguing array of field-work locations for a new breed of genuine sociolinguists” (p. 11). The expertise of structural linguists with interests in language typologies and sociolinguistics realized the potential for “advancing linguistic theory and exploring language-society connections in new ways” (Ricento, 2000, p. 197).

In this period, a widespread view was that “linguistic diversity presented obstacles for national development, while linguistic homogeneity was associated with modernization and Westernization” (Ricento, 2000, p. 198). The particularly influential work includes Haugen’s (1966) language planning model, Kloss’s (1966) typology of multilingualism, Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta’s (1968) language problems of developing nations, and Rubin and Jernudd’s (1971) sociolinguistic theory and practice for developing nations. This approach of

language policy and planning was described as non-political, ideologically neutral, technical, and pragmatic in its goals (Ricento, 2000). However, Fishman (1968b) comments on the goals of this period, that “although some attention may be given to the pedagogic demands of initial literacy...the lion’s share of literacy effort and resources is placed at the disposal of spreading the adopted Western tongue of current political and ...sociocultural integration” (p. 492).

The second phase, according to Ricento (2000) started roughly from early 1970s through the late 1980s. With a continuation of some themes in the first phase, it featured some new developments as well, such as the themes of hierarchization and stratification of populations (Phillipson, 1992; Said, 1993; Pennycook, 1994). Some scholars use “neo-colonial” to characterize the socioeconomic and political structures in this period because the newly independent states found more dependent upon their former colonial masters than they had been during the colonial era (Ricento, 2000; Tollefson, 1991). Expertise of language planners responded to this reality and asserted that some tasks of language planners, language policy makers and others are not philosophically neutral in status planning of language (Cobarrubias, 1983).

Along with this new development, the notion of language as “a discrete, finite entity defined by standard grammar” was characterized as a function of positivistic linguistics (Ricento, 2000, p. 201). The Western notion of language in language policy studies became ideological, which perpetuated a series of attitudes, reflecting nationalism and standardization of students’ linguistic behavior in an education system (Pennycook, 1994; Ricento, 2000). A critical analysis of approaches to language planning research and language policies emerged in the developing and the developed countries (Hymes, 1975; Tollefson, 1986, 1991).

Scholars switched their focus to the social, economic, and political effects of language contact, and the ways that “language use reflects and...influences social, economic or political inequality” (Wolfson & Manes, 1985, p. ix). These scholars (Luke, McHoul & Mey, 1990; Tollefson, 1986, 1991) argued that language policies served the dominant interests at the expense of minority and non-dominant interests, and that these interests, often implicitly ensconced in hegemonic ideologies, became commonsense ideas widely accepted in Western societies. In this period, it saw that language choices could not gear towards the “enlightened models of modernity”, and that linguistic behavior was never non-political, objective, or ideologically neutral; instead, it was “*social* behavior, motivated and influenced by attitudes and beliefs of speakers and speech communities, as well as by macro-economic and political forces” (Ricento, 2000, p. 203). The goals of critical scholars were to promote social and economic equality by revealing the hegemonic ideologies and associated policies so as to evoke positive social change (Ricento, 2006).

Ricento (2000) places the third phase from roughly the mid-1980s to the present day. Some crucial themes and features have been established. According to Ricento (2000), this period is still in a formative stage. The focus of language policy research and practice has shifted from solving language problems to understanding language policies as “part of dynamic social, cultural, and ideological systems” (King et al., 2008, p. 908). Due to the massive population migrations around the globe and the re-emergence of national and transnational ethnic identities – in line with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the repatriation of former colonies – new regional coalitions are forged, in which local languages must compete with supranational languages, such as English (Ricento, 2000). Geographical and political changes also bring out

the globalization of capitalism, for instance, the domination of the media by multinationals (Ricento, 2000). As Said (1993) illuminates:

We are beginning to learn that decolonization and the growth of supra-nationalism were not the termination of imperial relationships but merely the extending of a geo-political web which has been spinning since the Renaissance. The new media have the power to penetrate more deeply into a 'receiving' culture than any previous manifestation of Western technology. (pp. 291-292)

This penetration of Western European culture and technology in the developing countries has resulted in language endangerment and loss for the world's "smaller" languages (Hale et al., 1992; Krauss, 1992)—an area that has received increasing attention by language policy scholars. Some critics, however, viewed this language loss as "natural selection," affected by language contact, conquest, disease, and technological development (Ricento, 2000). The critical and postmodern theorists argue that the loss of linguistic diversity is the result of "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 1997, p. 239), in that "language becomes a vector and means by which an unequal division of power and resources between groups is propagated, thwarting social and economic progress for those who do not learn the language of modernity – English – in former British and American colonies (Ricento, 2000, p. 204). One consequence of the inequality of power and resources is the marginalization and loss of thousands of Indigenous languages (Ricento, 2000).

With the goal of challenging linguistic genocide, language policy scholars offer more contextualized and historical descriptions of events and practices (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas & May, 2017). This work reveals the language ideologies related to English, which are imposed on and appropriated by English users, and promote

linguistic human rights as universal principles. In this approach, individual agency and the role of ideology in language policy are the focus of analysis (Ricento, 2000). For instance, Tollefson (1989, 1991) explores the relationship between ideologies of power and the development of language policies in eight countries. Wiley (1998) investigates English-only and Standard English ideologies in the United States, and how these ideologies are hegemonic in twentieth century, especially the language policies in public education.

The new world order is featured by advocating linguistic diversity worldwide, promoting multilingualism and foreign language learning, as well as embracing linguistic human rights to speakers of all languages (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). Furthermore, language policy scholars raise particular concern of preserving, maintaining, and revitalizing threatened languages and cultures (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Hinton & Hale, 2001). For instance, a crucial area of language policy concerns what kinds of policies enable the maintenance and revitalization of endangered languages, such as Native American languages (Coronel-Molina & McCarty, 2016; McCarty, 2002; McCarty et al., 2008), and Quechua in Andean regions of South America (Hornberger, 1988; King, 2001).

This study is situated in the third phase, with a focus on bilingualism and foreign language learning in the context of massive migration and globalization within the international city of Beijing, China. In particular, it illuminates how the parents' language choices within the home influence the children, who were born and raised in Beijing, a highly globalizing environment, on their social, cognitive, and emotional development, as well as the cultural heritage maintenance within the home milieu in the post-industrial era.

Family Language Policy

As a newly developing field, FLP explores the explicit and overt as well as implicit and covert planning for language choice and literacy practices within the home among family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2018; King et al., 2008; King & Fogle, 2017; Spolsky, 2012). It brings together two distinct fields of study: language policy and child language acquisition, which focus on child-caretaker interactions and child language development (De Houwer, 1999). FLP sets a frame for parental language ideologies, reflecting broader societal attitudes and ideologies about languages and parenting (King et al., 2008).

Language policy, as a field of study, has a tradition of focusing on the public and institutional contexts and has been examined both theoretically and empirically in the state, the school and the workplace (Ricento, 2006; Robinson et al., 2006; Wiley & Wright, 2004). However, there has been little attention to the private and intimate context of the home and family (King et al., 2008). Child language acquisition, as a subfield of psychology, explores through what mechanisms children learn one or more languages under particular conditions in the early years of their life (Berko-Gleason, 2005). Most of these studies aim to find out the universal mechanisms by which “children acquire language at a similar pace and following similar trajectories under diverse learning circumstances” (King et al., 2008, p. 908). Child language acquisition research also mainly focuses on first language acquisition or monolingual development, with less emphasis on second language acquisition or bilingual development (Romaine, 1999). In addition, these studies have detailed analysis of the interactions between the caretaker and the child in the home or laboratory settings, with less attention to parental language ideologies, attitudes, learning goals, or intentions (Guasti, 2004; Owens, 2001).

The fields of language policy and child language acquisition both investigate language learning and use, broadly speaking, yet each field has rooted in distinctive disciplines (King et al., 2008). Language policy has its root in sociolinguistics (Fasold, 1990) and educational/applied linguistics (Spolsky, 2004), whereas child language acquisition is a subfield of psychology (Berko-Gleason, 2005). Both approaches have significant foci as well as “blind spots.” For instance, how school language policies can support minority language acquisition in the home, how much exposure to two languages are needed to ensure bilingualism, and how parental language ideologies affect micro-level of caretaker-child interactions, still remain unclear and unsolved (King et al., 2008).

FLP has the potential to bridge the gap by extracting from the important work of both disciplines (King et al., 2008). This comprehensive approach takes into account the parents’ beliefs and attitudes about language and language use, which largely impact on children’s language outcomes through daily interactions in both the short and long term (King et al., 2008). Therefore, FLP becomes crucial in children’s language acquisition as well as home language and heritage culture maintenance.

Historical Development of FLP

The field of FLP first started from the classic diary studies (King, 2016). These studies documented the authors’ own children’s language development with detailed descriptions of early child language learning process (Ronjat, 1913). For the first time, it suggested links between bilingualism and certain cognitive attributes, such as cognitive flexibility and metalinguistic awareness (King, 2016).

The second phase of FLP concentrated on psycholinguistic issues (Swain, 1972). The researchers addressed the questions such as the differences between bilingual and monolingual

language development trajectories, and the nature of linguistic transfer (De Houwer, 1990). There were also other approaches to the classic psycholinguistic question about whether language differentiation occurs before the age of three (King, 2016). For instance, in Lanza's study (1997), she took a sociolinguistic and discourse analytic approach, and illuminated that language mixing was highly contextualized before the age of three, and that parental strategies shaped young children's bilingual outcomes.

The third phase of FLP developed a formal definition of the field from a more sociolinguistic approach (King, 2016). FLP was depicted as an explicit and overt language planning for language use within the home among family members (King et al., 2008; Schiffman, 1996, 2006; Shohamy, 2006). FLP provided a frame for both parental language ideologies and child language development (De Houwer, 1999). For instance, In Kasuya's work (1998), she conducted a longitudinal study of four English-Japanese bilingual boys so as to understand how parental input patterns related to children's language use. Tuominen (1999) surveyed 18 bilingual or multilingual families in Australia about parental language practices and found out that parents' education level and socioeconomic status were related to minority language use at home, yet children often determined which language to use at home. This phase also was featured by interdisciplinary approaches, in keeping with developments in the field of language policy (Hult & Johnson, 2015). The studies incorporated parental interviews, qualitative observations, and audio and video recorded naturalistic data collection at home, in order to better understand parental language ideologies which informed the application, realization, and negotiation of families' language policies, as well as the impact of such policies on child language development (King, 2016).

Review of Current Studies of FLP

The current phase of FLP studies addresses the issues of globally dispersed, transnational, multilingual populations beyond the traditional, two-parent family, their family roles and family life, as well as heterogeneity and adaptability in research methods to meet these shifting needs in FLP field (King, 2016). Therefore, the major focus of recent studies has been on transnational bi/multilingual immigrant families' language choice, shift, and heritage language maintenance in target countries around the globe. For example, Altman et al. (2014) study the Russian-speaking immigrant parents and their Russian-Hebrew bilingual preschool children in Israel on their language choice and use in a home domain. Stavans (2012) describes the home literacy patterns shaped by internal and external forces in parent-child interaction among Ethiopian families in Israel. Ó hIfearnáin (2013) examines the complex and ambiguous attitudes of Gaeltacht Irish speakers towards the intergenerational transmission of Irish, which Fishman (1991) considers as the core element for language maintenance within a family domain. In addition, this phase also features an exploration of what bilingualism and multilingualism mean to different generations and individuals in a family, rather than investigating a direct causal link between ideologies, practices and outcomes (Li & Zhu, 2013). In their three-case study of multilingual families, Li and Zhu (2013) demonstrated that bilingualism and multilingualism need to be studied holistically as experiences instead of language outcomes.

Furthermore, the multifaceted experience of being a child language broker in transnational families becomes crucial language practices as a component of family language policies (King, 2016). Orellana (2017) argues that this type of language practice is normative in many communities, where bilingual children, or child language brokers, as mediators linguistically and culturally, carried out interpreting and translating activities in formal and

informal contexts and domains for their family, friends, and community members. In addition to that, there has been an increase in “recognition of the family as a dynamic system, including the importance of child agency, identity choices, and family (re)formation, all of which are enacted through language (King, 2016, p. 727). For instance, Revis (2016), based on Bourdieusian theory, investigates child agency in Ethiopian and Colombian refugee families in New Zealand. She illuminates that children’s actions may influence family language policies. Gallo & Hornberger (2017) highlight child agency in the Mexican immigrant families and note that children play an active role in shaping family language policies and migratory decisions.

Smith-Christmas (2014), on the other hand, investigates the impact of extended bilingual Gaelic-English family members on their family language policies in Scotland. She argues that FLP studies are situated in language socialization, and that children’s language acquisition should be investigated not only as a linguistic code, but how social roles and relationships play out and reify the language use (Schiefflin & Ochs, 1984, 1986). Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2017) also demonstrate that siblings are language socialization agents in bilingual families through an examination of the sibling’s contributions to the language practices and language environment of Iranian immigrant families living in Sweden.

In terms of the methodology of FLP, most studies conduct survey questionnaires with children and their parents about their language choice and use at home. For instance, Slavkov (2016) studies minority language transmission and maintenance in the Canadian province of Ontario by undertaking a survey with 170 school-age children. Oriyama (2016) conducts a longitudinal study on heritage language maintenance with Japanese children and their parents in Sydney, Australia through the surveys with parents, semi-structured interviews with mothers and children, as well as observation of children. A group comparison *t*-test and a correlation are run

for the analysis. There are few ethnographic studies (Gallo & Hornberger, 2017; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2017) on language policies in the intimate domains of family home which are conducted only recently.

Theoretical Framework

My research questions for this study are framed and grounded in Spolsky’s (2004) three-component language policy framework. The empirical data of this study are examined based on the interdisciplinary framework of family language policy (FLP) informed by theories of Language Policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2012) and Language Socialization (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2012; Lanza, 2007; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) (see Figure 2.1).

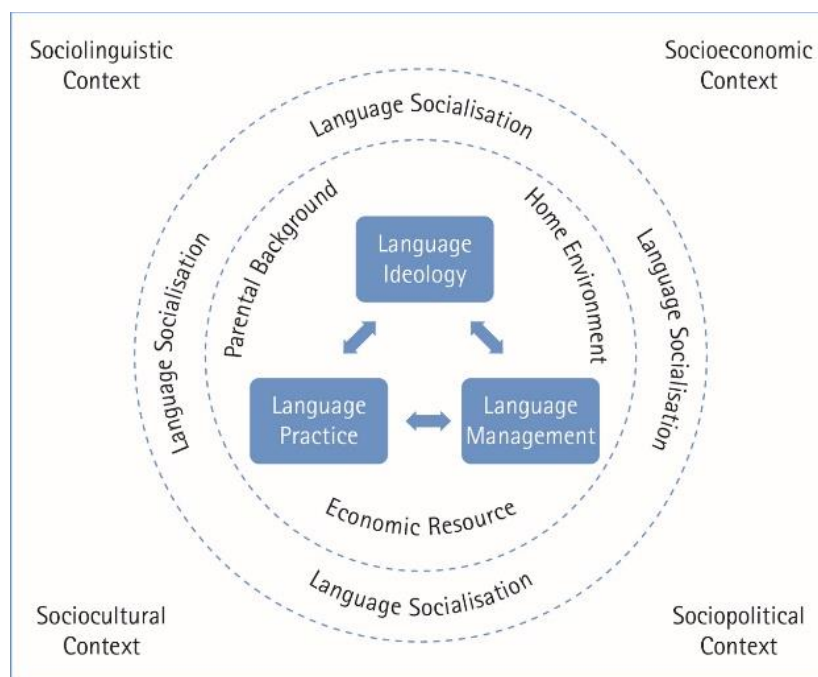


Figure 2.1 The Interdisciplinary Framework of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 422)

According to Spolsky (2004), the language policy of a speech community has three interrelated components: language practices, language beliefs and ideology, and language intervention, planning or management. Language practices refer to “the habitual pattern of

selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 5), in other words, what people *do* with language. It asks the question of “[w]hat...the ‘normal’ or ‘practiced’ language behavior of the community in different sociolinguistic domains [is]” (Spolsky, 2017b, p. 5). Language ideology is the “beliefs about language and language use” (p. 5), i.e. what people *think* about language. It concerns what the “members of the community think is appropriate or desirable language behavior” (Spolsky, 2017b, p. 5). The third component of language policy includes “any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management” (p. 5), in other words, what people *try* to do with language (King et al., 2008). It asks “how...interested parties attempt to influence the practices or beliefs of the community” (Spolsky, 2017b, p. 5).

Within the family domain, parents’ beliefs and ideologies about language are shaped by their educational background. These ideologies in turn affect what home language(s) parents choose to use at home and how they make this choice (Spolsky, 2009). Furthermore, the political, economic, cultural and sociolinguistic ecology inside and outside the home also greatly influence these language choices and how languages are transmitted across generations, maintained or lost (Fishman, 2004). For instance, the economic resources determine what kind of linguistic and family social capital (Hoffmann & Dufur, 2008) the parents can provide, and the type of home environment the parents create for their children. Language socialization processes also explain the parent-child’s language-mediated activities, which are considered as key component of language policies in the home. As Curdt-Christiansen (2013) argues,

(T)he study of FLP can make visible the relationships between private domains and public spheres and reveal the conflicts that family members must negotiate between the

realities of social pressure, political impositions, and public education demands on the one hand, and the desire for cultural loyalty and linguistic continuity on the other. (p. 1)

Different from other notions of language policy grounded in culture, beliefs and ideologies (Schiffman, 1996, 2006), Spolsky argues that such beliefs and ideologies *are* language policy; language practices are “as language policy *in and of themselves*” (Johnson, 2013, p. 6), and that “language *education* is a kind of language management” (Spolsky, 2017a, p. 40). Here, I use a metaphor to explain this concept of “policy as practice”, that is, a fish in a pond deconstructs the water. Each individual in a particular speech community lives in one or another form of language policy and practice. Since policy is a complicated, multi-layered, and multi-facet human construct, when we understand, critique or deconstruct one policy practice – as a fish splitting the water – we are always already swimming in one or another form of policies. Policies are everywhere, officially or unofficially, *de jure* and *de facto*, overt and covert, permeated in every vein of our daily life. We can never shake off the policy; however, we can turn a critical gaze on those policies which hold the power to construct inequities and injustice – and that may have a positive impact. In this study, I take a critical lens and focus on how power is exercised – both implicitly and explicitly – in the process of family language policy making, and how the invisible ideologies and commonsense beliefs about language contribute to reinforcing privilege and hegemony (Tollefson, 2006). This will be further discussed in Chapter Six.

Language Socialization

As an evolving interdisciplinary framework, FLP draws from early research on language socialization and examines how language, ideology, and the family interact (Fogle & King, 2017). FLP studies focus on how language socialization processes play out in the parent-child

language-mediated practices. In language socialization research, socialization refers to both “socialization through language and socialization to use language” (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). Particularly, language socialization explores how children become competent members of certain social groups by acquiring knowledge of social order and systems of belief through participating language-mediated interactions (Ochs, 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Early language socialization studies documented how children became competent social members in the process of acquiring language in different cultures and societies around the world (Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Later, the field expanded to study second language socialization, bi- and multilingual language socialization, and heritage language socialization (Fogle, 2012; Kulick, 1997; Lanza, 1997; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012; Zentella, 1997).

Children acquire language and culture through interactional routines (Ochs, 1986). In the routine activities in certain societies, parents or caregivers provide different ways to facilitate children’s participation in language practices, such as explicit instruction (Ochs, 1982). Some verbal activities have predictable discourse structures, for instance, greetings, and teasing; others may have variable discourse organization, such as negotiations, and giving advice (Ochs, 1986). These practices create a learning environment for children to acquire linguistic/non-linguistic skills and social norms. However, different societies may follow different language socializing procedures, therefore, these practices are contextually situated and cross-culturally variable (Ochs, 1982, 1988).

Family as a Domain

Family is a fundamental living system of social institutions (Leslie & Korman, 1989). Each family pursues certain goals through executive functions, which are activated by information of the world outside, the past with a range of recall and recombination, and its

current status (Li, 2002). These information sources, which create the family culture, “maintain or protect the family material milieu incorporating family space, time, and possessions... [and] the social milieu including family styles, family worldviews, and socialization” (Li, 2002, p. 16). Families in different cultures and societies bear different values and worldviews. Even in one society, family lifestyles may differ in terms of education, occupation, income, religion, and ethnicity (Li, 2002). The parents’ socio-economic status, ethnicity, and religion shape different family values (Leslie & Korman, 1989; Ogbu, 1978).

Family, as a basic social institution, is interrelated to other major societal institutions such as, government, and education (Broderick, 1993; Leslie & Korman, 1989; Ogbu, 1978). For instance, since Confucianism has formed the basis of Chinese ideology for over two thousand years, Chinese families attach great importance to kinship network, and the intergenerational relationship among family members (Li, 2002). In my pilot study, for example, the Chinese immigrant family takes observable efforts to maintain their heritage language in the home, partially because the language is a key bridge to connect the grandparents and the grandchild. In addition, Confucianism also emphasizes the importance of education. Most Chinese parents make much account of their children’s education and encourage them to go to college because it is closely related to a future professional career (Li, 2002; Wu, 1998).

In this study, I take family as the most intimate domain of language policy. Fishman (2004), the seminal figure in the sociology of language, promotes the intergenerational transmission of heritage language in the family. He argues that the family domain can be illustrated by three characteristics: participants, location and topic (Fishman, 1972).

The participants are not simply identified as individuals but by their social roles and relationships. In a family domain, the participants are characterized as father and mother, or

other roles, such as babysitter. These characters constitute a home place and create a norm in this location by bringing together their individual living experiences. In this way, the social reality (participants with diverse backgrounds) and the physical reality (a home environment) are connected in the family domain. The social meaning and interpretation of this physical place or location is most relevant to language choice (Spolsky, 2009).

Another characteristic of a family domain is the selection of topic, i.e. what is appropriate to talk about in a domain. There is also a norm in the home environment where certain topics are encouraged while others are unrecommended. Besides the choice of appropriate topics, the reason for speaking or writing should also be taken into account for understanding a domain (Spolsky, 2009).

Contextualization: Language Policy in China²

This study is situated in the larger context of language policy in China. In order to better understand the language policies among the families in Beijing, I introduce the historical development of language policy in China. The language policies in China include several complex issues – the unification and standardization of Chinese, the promotion of minorities’ diverse indigenous languages, foreign language education policy, and English-Chinese bilingual education policy (Hu, 2012; Lam, 2010; Mao & Min, 2004; Yu, 2008; Zhou, 2016). In this chapter, I only focus on the last two issues as they are closely related to my study.

Foreign Language Education in China

Due to the social and political events and the need of economic development, foreign language education in China endures several stages of transformations since the People’s Republic of China was founded in 1949 (Mao & Min, 2004). The first period marked the favor

² “China”, in this study, refers to Mainland China. The language policies mentioned in this study apply to all the provinces and regions in Mainland China, except Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan.

of Russian from 1949 to 1956 with the purpose of building a new nation under the guidance of the former Soviet Union. Russian-only schools and Russian departments emerged at national universities and colleges (Mao & Min, 2004). English and other foreign language programs were replaced by Russian. Furthermore, Russian also became a favored language at secondary schools (Mao & Min, 2004). People were trained to speak and use Russian and neglected other foreign languages until the break-away from the Soviet Union in 1956.

The second period, from 1957 to 1966, saw the revival of English and other foreign language education, such as French, German, and Spanish (Mao & Min, 2004). However, it was soon questioned whether foreign language proficiency could be helpful for modernization, and whether these languages would erode and corrupt peoples' mind by the Western ideological decadence (Mao & Min, 2004). This conflict continued and resulted in the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

The third period featured by the launch of the Cultural Revolution – a ten-year havoc – led to the collapse of foreign language education in China (Mao & Min, 2004). The schools of all levels across the country suspended their classroom instruction for the participation of revolutionary activities. To be “re-educated”, teachers and students were sent to the countryside for farming so that the “capitalist roaders” could be eliminated from education, arts and sciences (Mao & Min, 2004, p. 323).

The fourth period marked as a time of renewal from 1976 to 1984 after the Cultural Revolution ended (Mao & Min, 2004). Foreign language education revived and renovated by a great emphasis on elementary and secondary schools' foreign language curricular, language teacher training, and standardized textbooks. Academic research in foreign language education were conducted by borrowing the contemporary education theories and pedagogies from abroad.

In addition, foreign language specialists were trained for the nation's economic development and modernization (Mao & Min, 2004).

The fifth and current period took foreign language education to the new Millennium since 1984 (Mao & Min, 2004). Under the influence of economic reform and open-up policy, foreign language education continued to grow rapidly, and the practicality of a foreign language was immensely valued. For instance, the English majors in colleges became more popular in the job market (Mao & Min, 2004). Especially after China joined the WTO (World Trade Organization), English was not only taught as a foreign language, but also acquired as one of the languages of a bilingual person, who can think in two languages and switch between these two languages freely to meet the needs (Wang, 2002). As Zhang (2002) states, people are motivated to learn and use a target language when it is taught as a medium of communication, instead of an abstract subject. In the new Millennium, foreign language education emphasizes the instrumental value of a language, which echoes the era of tremendous economic development, technological revolution, and globalization.

English-Chinese Bilingual Education

Since the 1980s, English-Chinese bilingual education expanded enormously at all levels of school as China opened up more to the outside world (Yu, 2008). The new school syllabus, launched in 2001, requires teaching English from elementary school, Grade 3, with four periods of English class each week (Pan, 2015); whereas some more developed coastal cities start English courses from Grade 1 (Lam, 2010). In big cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, it is offered from Grade 1 (Cheng, 2011). The content-based instruction is also incorporated into the English-Chinese bilingual education curricular. As far as the tertiary level of education is concerned, the goal of English-Chinese bilingual education is to meet “the

challenge of economic globalization and technological revolution” (Ministry of Education, 2001). Language proficiency in both English and Chinese becomes crucial for all learners’ educational and occupational advancement (Lam, 2010; Pan, 2015). Therefore, English is no longer a pure foreign language subject taught and learned in school. It becomes “an important and effective measure to integrate Chinese educational institutions into the international community and bridge the gap between the educational level in China and that of developed nations in the world” (Yu, 2008, p. 179). Furthermore, people who intend to pursue career advancement have to take various English examinations for work (Pan, 2015).

Nevertheless, English-Chinese bilingual education, launched to meet the needs of economic globalization, lacks sufficient academic preparation and support (Yu, 2008). Both administrators and teachers do not have adequate understanding of the nature of bilingualism and the tasks of bilingual education (Shu, 2004). For instance, the government documents of elementary and secondary schools fail to address the theoretical underpinnings of bilingual education, the rationale of bilingual courses, and valid criteria for the assessment of bilingual teaching (Shu, 2004). Furthermore, some of the teaching materials for bilingual classrooms are directly from English-speaking countries, whose content does not match the domestic curriculum and requirements (Yu, 2008). The qualification of bilingual teachers is another concern regarding the quality of bilingual education (Yu, 2008). Chinese educators have realized the shortage of high-quality specialized bilingual teachers in China, which may restrict the implementation of bilingual education in a long term. Many parents also find that bilingual courses in school are not adequate to address the practical needs in the fast developing and globalizing era. They hire English tutors for their children to study English at home after school, and generate “bilingual family language policies” in order to achieve their goal of fostering their children to be bilingual.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I first reviewed the literature on the historical development of language policy and family language policy (FLP), as well as the current studies of FLP. Then I introduced the theoretical foundation for this study, Spolsky's (2004) three-pronged language policy framework. I then discussed the interdisciplinary framework of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018), built upon Spolsky's (2004) language policy theory and informed by language socialization theory (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Last, I examined the national language policy in China in order to contextualize the theory and this research. In next chapter, I will introduce the methodology and methods for this study, which include the ontological and epistemological stance, ethnography, the data collection methods and the analysis procedures.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

In qualitative studies, a research design is rooted in the researcher's ontological and epistemic stance – the researcher's view of what is knowable and what counts as knowledge – and the researcher's standpoint about how the research process – knowledge production – works (Olson, 2011). Since qualitative inquiry concerns “understanding the meaning of human action” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 248), our aim is how we make the human actions and behaviors meaningful to us. Ontological and epistemological stance, in which theories and methodologies are embedded, answer the questions about the nature of being and existence (Olson, 2011), and how we know what we know about this existence (Crotty, 1998). It is what “we accept as truth... and how has this been constructed” (Grbich, 2013, p. 3). For this study, I take a relativist ontological perspective and constructionist epistemological stance, which shape the type of research questions and the design of this study, and also determine the critical ethnographic lens through which I look at the research problem and the rationale for my data collection and analysis. Originated from the discipline of anthropology, as Blommaert and Jie (2010) illuminate, “the basic architecture of ethnography... already contains ontologies, methodologies and epistemologies” (p. 6).

The purpose of this chapter is to establish an ontological, epistemological, and methodological basis for this ethnographic study of family language policy (FLP), and rationalize the research design, data collection methods and data analysis strategies. First, I elucidate what ontology, epistemology, and methodology mean in qualitative research, which build up the foundation for my study. As I stand in a relativist ontological and constructionist epistemological stance, I then illustrate what ethnography is, and why I choose to conduct an

ethnographic research. After that, I discuss my research design, which includes research questions, research context, participants, and ethical considerations. Then I introduce my pilot study and discuss how it helps design my dissertation. Following the pilot study, I discuss my data collection methods and data analysis procedures in details. In the end, I illuminate my positionality in this study, and reflect on the data collection and analysis in terms of challenges and limitations.

Constructionism

As qualitative researchers, the epistemological stance determines the way we understand and interpret social phenomenon and human behavior. In other words, the researcher's philosophical beliefs are “self-consciously” connected to “the fieldwork practice” (Preissle & Grant, 2004, p.162). Epistemic stance justifies the choices of theoretical perspectives, methodologies and methods which we apply to the research study and use to find the answers to research questions (Crotty, 1998; Grbich, 2013; Schwandt, 2007).

In epistemology, there are three main positions concerned with qualitative and quantitative research: objectivism, constructionism – both considered as humanism – and subjectivism. The assumptions of reality are connected with how we build up our knowledge system about the world, and how we approach it as a researcher. The assumption of knowledge being created by the interaction between the self and the contexts leads to a constructionist stance in qualitative research (Crotty, 1998; Preissle & Grant, 2004).

Constructionism holds the view that “meaning is not discovered but constructed” (Crotty, 1998, p.42). According to Preissle and Grant (2004), “reality is seen as a construction via ongoing interaction between the self and the other (society, culture) in a physical and material world, and knowledge is based on meanings developed in social contexts” (p. 9). Meaning does

not exist in the object by itself or detach to the mind. Meanings are constructed by the interaction between human beings and the external world, including natural, social and cultural contexts (Crotty, 1998). The meanings of objects would not make sense without the participation of humans. People would argue that the natural phenomenon is there before humans exist, such as earthquakes or tornados. But there are no records of it until researchers perceive it, understand it, name it and categorize it into a certain class, making sense of it to all other humans. Without human beings' perception and conceptualization, the natural reality or 'that stuff' would be out there in a chaotic and complex state, meaningless and useless to us all.

Since human beings are active participants engaging with reality, it is quite possible that individuals "make sense of the same reality in quite different ways" (Crotty, 1998, p.47). Especially people from different cultural and social backgrounds would interpret the same phenomenon in diverse ways. Yet there is no right or wrong interpretation (Crotty, 1998).

Social constructionism, under the constructionist paradigm, assumes that "all meaningful reality is socially constructed" (Crotty, 1998, p. 54) It is our culture which guides us how we approach to the external world, "and in some cases *whether* to see them" or not (Crotty, 1998, p. 55). As Kenneth Burke (1935) suggests, "a way of seeing is always a way of not seeing" (p. 70). It is our traditions, rituals, and values that determine whether we choose to see it or ignore it – the natural or social phenomenon – and whether we construct meanings for them and generalize it to all situations. Something highly valued in one culture might be diminished or totally neglected in another culture. Only until it is fully exposed or taken away, we can see and realize the existence of it, trying to make sense of it or bring it back which has been taken for granted. Social constructionism has always been an attention to the ethnographers of language policy, for instance, documenting patterns of language use and social relations, and exploring dimensions of

discourses which maintain or challenge the status quo in societal power relations (Arkoudis & Creese, 2006; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Hornberger, 1998, 2000; Jaffe, 1999; McCarty, 2005). In the next section, I explain what ethnography is, and why I choose to conduct an ethnography of language policy for this study.

Methodology

Qualitative research is a form of inquiry for understanding and interpreting human action in its social context(s). Methodology, the rationale for how this type of research should proceed, deals with “the analysis of the assumptions, principles, and procedures in a particular approach to inquiry” (Schwandt, 2007, p.193). It is the guide for formulating a research design, and also determines the choices and uses of methods (Crotty, 1998). Methodology is crucial to research because it reveals the types of research problems we are exploring, and in what ways they can be best investigated in terms of designs and procedures (Schwandt, 2007). It is a “social scientific discourse (a way of acting, thinking, and speaking)” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 193), which serves as a guide for specific research activities (acting), interpreting and representing the research data (thinking and speaking). This is in conformity with what Wolcott (2008) defines *ethnography*, as a “way of seeing” and a “way of looking” (pp. 43-44).

Ethnography

Ethnography, one of the major methodologies in qualitative study rooted in the discipline of anthropology, is used to describe and interpret the shared patterns of a group or system within a specific social and cultural context (Creswell, 2007; Tedlock, 2003). As Hornberger et al. (2018) states that ethnography is “not just a methodological toolkit that encompasses participant observation, interviews, and document collection...With origins in the field of anthropology, ethnography is crucially guided by an ontological and epistemological stance that views human

life as created through people making sense of their own lives” (p. 157). As an important means to transform the cultural information or data into a written or visual form, ethnography “combines research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives” (Tedlock, 2003, p.165). As McCarty (2015b) notes, it is a holistic approach to the study of cultural and social systems, through the lens of human culture as a “way of seeing” and based on long-term, first-hand fieldwork as a “way of looking” (Wolcott, 2008, pp. 43-44). In addition, for many ethnographers (e.g., Hymes, 1980; McCarty, 2015a), ethnography also includes a moral stance toward research – an axiological or values position which is “humanizing, democratizing, and anti-hegemonic,” described by McCarty (2015a) as “a way of being” a researcher.

I choose to undertake an ethnographic study of FLP because it flows from a social constructionist orientation to knowledge production and there has been very little in-depth, close-up research of this sort in FLP scholarship. Exploring the intimate domain of language policy within the family home, I employ the ethnography of language policy as the rationale for methods aimed at “uncovering the indistinct voices, covert motivations...or unintended consequences of language policy emergent in context” (Hornberger, 2013, p. 106). I also apply a critical lens to this ethnographic study because it views policies as “ideological constructs that reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within the larger society” (McCarty, 2011b, p. 110). In this study, I not only seek to answer the question of what FLP looks like in daily practice, but also to interrogate the ways in which those daily practices are shaped by and contribute to the power relations between the parents and the children in the process of implementing the language policies. Grounded in social constructionism, the ethnographic

research of language policy focuses on language ideology and identity formation, and “the connection between larger institutional structures and processes and the ‘textual’ details of everyday encounters (the so-called macro-micro connection)” (Duranti, 2003, p. 332).

Furthermore, it views policy as “a situated sociocultural process” – the ideologies, attitudes, and mechanisms that influence people’s language choices and are contextualized in “cultural phenomena socially, historically, and comparatively across time and space” (McCarty, 2011a, p. 10).

In this study, I explore FLP in the highly developed urban setting of Beijing, under the impact of the Reform and Open-up policy in Chinese modern history, as well as the influence of the globalization in the post-industrial era. Working with five Chinese families in Beijing, I focus on the “implicit policy processes, the ways in which people accommodate, resist, and construct policy in their daily lives” (McCarty & Liu, 2017, p. 54). In particular, I explore both the overt and covert motivations and language ideologies the parents have for their choice of home language(s) in the context of globalization, how the family language policies, implicitly or explicitly, are constructed and implemented by the parents through their interactions with their children on a daily basis, and how these policies affect their children’s identity formation.

Research Questions

My overarching question for this study is: What does FLP look like in five middle class focal families in Beijing, China? Specifically, I seek to answer these questions:

1. What do the children’s daily language practices look like?
2. How do the parents manage their children’s daily language practices?
3. What ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold?

In addition to these questions, I ask why FLP matters in the larger contexts of the Chinese Reform and Open-up policy and processes of globalization. How do intimate language-mediated interactions within the home reflect and refract these larger sociopolitical, sociolinguistic, and economic processes? How might this study of FLP bridge the familial, the national, and the global, connecting family language practices, beliefs, and management strategies to national language policies and processes of globalization?

Research Context

The setting for this study is the most developed urban city in China – Beijing – the capital and the political, economic and cultural center of modern China. I choose this setting because it is one of the first industrial cities in mainland China, embracing rapid development in its economy, finance, high-technology, and science in the globalizing era, and meanwhile preserving large cultural and historical relics and values from the ancient times. It is one of the most important international cities in the world, where multicultural and multilingual communities intersect, and diverse ideologies and ideas interact and sometimes collide.

Furthermore, the nation's English-Chinese bilingual education policy was first initiated in Beijing, where schools are provided with sufficient resources for bilingual teaching and learning. Middle-class families like those in this study have full access to these resources. Since this study aims to look at day-to-day language practices in the context of parent-child interactions, the research sites were family home environments where I conducted participant observation followed by phenomenological in-depth interviews and artifact collection. By describing each family home and “walking through” the families' weekly activities, I develop portraits of FLP spaces and then examine them within the larger socio-cultural, economic, political, and linguistic context in which they are situated (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014). In order to further contextualize

the language policies within these families, in Chapter Four I describe in detail these research sites and the CA residential community, and provide family portfolios for each participant family.

Participants

As a native of China, I used purposeful and snowball sampling to recruit five middle class families in Beijing. First, I looked for participants on *WeChat*, a major and widely used social networking application in China. Then, I asked one family with whom I am acquainted to assist in a snowball sample of other families. The criteria for the families I selected include the following: First, these families were considered middle class families. Here, middle class families are defined by the average household income range (US \$9,000 – US \$34,000), parents' education level and their status as working professionals. In this context, the middle class families had full access to the Chinese-English bilingual language programs, including having bilingual study materials, native English tutors, and bilingual after school classes. Second, participants were permanent residents of Beijing. They were either local Beijing people, or had obtained permanent residency (“*Hu Kou*”) through their jobs. Third, their first language was Chinese (Mandarin or other dialects of Chinese). Fourth, the children in each family were preschoolers. In my study, all the children recruited were four years old at the time of my data collection. In addition, all the participant families lived in the same neighborhood – CA residential community. All the children go to the same public preschool located in CA residential community. Last, the families were willing to voluntarily participate in my study and signed the consent form (in English and Chinese) before I conducted the field work (Appendix A). The recruited families were paid for participating my research.

Recruited participant families. Yoyo’s family was recruited through purposeful sampling. Yoyo’s mother (YM) has been friends with me for over 10 years. I met her when I started an English teaching job in Beijing. YM was an English instructor at a college at the time when we met. Our long-term friendship built upon sharing thoughts and beliefs about language, literature, and art. Once I asked her if she was interested and available to participate my fieldwork, she immediately expressed her support and offered me a room to stay in their house. I lived with Yoyo’s family the entire time during my fieldwork. Therefore, I had full access to all the activities and daily routines within this family.

YM also helped me snowball sampled other four families. The children in these four families were classmates of Yoyo. They went to the same preschool in the CA residential community. They were all at the age of four at the time of my data collection. A brief summary of these five families is recorded in the Participant Information Log (see Table 3.1). Additional details on each participating family are provided in Chapter Four, Family Portfolios.

Table 3.1

Participant Information Log

Families	Participants	Age	Years in Beijing	Education Level	Occupation	Language(s) Dialects/Accent
Family 1 Yoyo	Yoyo’s Mother	44	17	Ph.D. in Art History	Associate Professor	Mandarin; Northeastern Accent English; French; Italian
	Yoyo’s Father	46	22	M.S. in Engineering	Engineer	Mandarin; Sichuan Dialect; English
	Yoyo	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin; English
Family 2 Tracy & Lily	Twins’ Mother	37	15	B.A. in Chinese	House wife	Mandarin Hubei Dialect English

	Twins' Father	48	23	M.S. in Computer Science	COO of I.T. Company	Mandarin Northeastern Accent English
	Tracy & Lily	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin English
Family 3 Cindy	Cindy's Mother	37	18	B.A. in Finance	Accountant	Mandarin Yunnan Dialect English
	Cindy's Father	42	16	M.A. in Chinese	Editor	Mandarin Shandong Dialect English
	Cindy	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin
Family 4 Lucy	Lucy's Mother	43	24	B.A. in Finance	Accountant	Mandarin Shandong Dialect English
	Lucy's Father	50	27	Ph.D. in Chemistry of Materials & Postdoc	VP of Technology	Mandarin Shandong Dialect English French
	Lucy	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin English
Family 5 Emma	Emma's Mother	41	41	B.A. in Finance	Finance Manager	Mandarin Beijing Accent English
	Emma's Father	41	41	M.A. in Electrical Automation	Marketing Event Planner	Mandarin Beijing Accent English
	Emma	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin; English

Ethical Considerations

As an ethnographer, it is always “a privilege to gather the stories of people ... and to come to understand their experience through their stories” (Seidman, 2013, p. 5). I respect all my participant families who volunteered to spend their time participating in my field research. In accordance with UCLA Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocols, parents could choose to remain in or withdraw from my project at any time during the process of my data collection. I

used pseudonyms for all my participants to maintain their anonymity and confidentiality, and requested written consent to participate in this study from each family member before data collection began. This consent form – both in English and Chinese – was approved by UCLA’s IRB before I entered the field (Appendix A).

Pilot Study³

Before designing this ethnographic study in Beijing, China, I conducted a pilot study to test the procedures planned for my dissertation. The pilot study provided many valuable insights into the research methods and procedures for this study. In 2015, I was given rare access to the most intimate FLP domains and conducted field work with a Chinese family for 10 months in West Los Angeles. This included three extended participant observations recorded by field notes and audiotape: a video watching activity, dinnertime, and the baby’s bathing and bedtime storytelling; four phenomenological in-depth interviews with the mother, father, and babysitter, and a dyadic interview with the parents. All the participants were fluent in both English and Mandarin Chinese. In this case, the family spoke Mandarin Chinese. The interviews were conducted mainly in English with some Chinese. Following Seidman’s (2013) three-part interview protocol, the interviews consisted of the participants’ focused life history, the details of their experience, and their reflection on meaning. Following Saldaña’s (2016) and Bazeley’s (2013) coding and categorizing strategies for analyzing data, the analysis showed that there were no discrepancies between what the parents shared in the interviews and what I found through observation.

³ This section is adapted from my pilot study: Liu, L. (2018). “It’s just natural”: A critical case study of family language policy in a 1.5 generation Chinese immigrant family on the west coast of the United States. In M. Siiner, F. Hult & T. Kupisch (Eds.), *Language policy and language acquisition planning* (pp. 13-31). Language Policy, Vol 15. New York, NY: Springer.

I learned from this pilot study that this family had an explicit rule of speaking only Mandarin Chinese at home. In this family context, language learning activities were predictable and observable which parents managed to facilitate their children's language acquisition. The parents were using six different types of management activities to help their child with his language learning and practice on a daily basis within their home. They were indexing, correcting, modeling, imitating, ordering, and narrating.

Second, the parents were using conscious and clear instructions and observable efforts for controlling the family language use. In this family, the parents exhibited the authority to modify the child's language practices. There were challenges between the parents and the child on what words were appropriate to use. The management could be successful through constant negotiation in the dynamic power relation between the parents and the child.

Third, the parents' perception of the heritage language greatly impacted their family language policy for the child. It was a natural desire to maintain Mandarin Chinese at home because it was a way of keeping their cultural heritage and identity. The parents believed that there were several benefits of being bilingual in both English and Mandarin Chinese. They were instrumental value, familial value, communal value and cognitive value.

The reason for conducting this pilot study was to test the ethnographic methods for data collection and analysis. In addition, I intended to test whether the interdisciplinary FLP framework was an appropriate theoretical underpinning for my dissertation. After I conducted this hands-on pilot study, I gained firsthand experience of doing ethnographic research with families, the most intimate domains of language policy.

Data Collection

Harry Wolcott (2008), an educational anthropologist, describes the basic fieldwork

procedures of ethnography by an alliterative trilogy – experiencing, enquiring, and examining. Experiencing comes directly from all senses, such as seeing and hearing, through observation; enquiring refers to interviewing, or actively asking about what is going on; examining points “attention to what has been produced by others” such as archival documents and recordings (pp. 46-47).

In order to conduct a rigorous and systematic ethnographic study, I followed this three-element trilogy procedure to collect data and created a fourth alliterative element – *echoing* – for triangulation of the three elements, which refers to journaling and memoing. A robust dataset of field notes requires a high degree of reflexivity – “the ability to critically reflect upon our assumptions and subject position, and the impact of those assumptions and our very presence on what we are observing and how we are interpreting it” (McCarty, 2015b, p. 86). Besides incorporating observer commentary into the field notes (Merriam, 2009), I argue that journaling and memoing should also be crucial components of the data sets, because they complement field notes, interviews and artifacts by reflecting on the researcher’s own “ideological biases as well as the sociohistorical structures shaping the research setting” (Hornberger, 2013, p. 104). This process of reflexively recording and reporting the researcher’s “feelings, reactions, hunches, initial interpretations, speculations, and working hypotheses” (Merriam, 2009, p. 131), is what I call *echoing*, to supplement Wolcott’s alliterative trilogy of ethnographic fieldwork procedures.

In this study, I chose participant and nonparticipant observation, in-depth phenomenological interviews, and artifact collection along with journaling and memoing as my data collecting methods, because they best serve my research purposes of conducting a critical ethnographic study of language policy. By applying these methods, my aims are to investigate the daily language practices in the home milieu, gaining an understanding of the family language

policies of five Chinese middle class focal families, and to illuminate these Chinese middle class parents' beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning in the globalizing post-industrial era. Table 3.2 summarizes the data corpus for my research.

Table 3.2

Summary of Data Corpus

	HOURS	QUANTITIES
OBSERVATION (Participant + nonparticipant Observation)	48.48	105
INTERVIEW (Unstructured + Dyadic + Causal Talk)	11.92	19
ARTIFACTS (Photos)	-	220
JOURNALS (Daily Journaling)	-	24
MEMOS (Reflective + Analytic Memos)	-	10

My field work started on July 1st, 2017 and finished on July 23rd, 2017. I lived with one of my participant families. I spent 23 days with five focal families and captured their daily routines on school days and non-school days. A detailed research inventory was created for each family to keep track of the data collection process and data management (Appendix B).

Observation

I conducted 105 in-depth participant and nonparticipant observations in the private home environments with both parents and children. An active acquisition of information of one purposeful planned routine activity or naturally happened episode counted as one piece of observation, such as Yoyo's family dinner on a Saturday evening, the twins' English reading on the morning of a weekend, Emma's bedtime talk before storytelling on the night of a weekday. Each observation had different length, from 7 minutes to 2.5 hours. Each family had a different weekly and daily schedule, so I coordinated with five families and set up weekly plans with each

of them. I observed children's daily activities on weekdays and weekends, which included parents' sending their children to school, picking them up from school, children's indoor and outdoor free play, children's bath time, bedtime talk and storytelling, English and Chinese reading, and family mealtimes. The recorded observations of five focal families were 48.48 hours in total.

Since I had different levels of access to each home, I collected varied amounts of data from each family. I entered the "field" – the most intimate and private family home spaces – from a place of invitation, and where family members suggested I could go. For instance, I "pre-accessed" the field by visiting each participant family in their household before data collection, so that I could get familiar with the parents and the children, as well as obtaining a "feeling" of each home. However, prior to fieldwork I was acquainted only with Yoyo's family, and did not know the other four families recruited through snowball sampling. Only Lucy's parents invited me to their house for the first time we met, with Yoyo's mother and Yoyo accompanying with me. The other three families scheduled to meet me at the community park, the English afterschool program, and the Children's Playing Center before inviting me to their home.

Furthermore, each family was open to me for different activities, spaces, and time. For example, the twins' family only allowed me to observe the children's English and Chinese reading, and one free play upon my request. Lucy's family opened only two evening free plays to me because of the parents' busy work schedule. Cindy's family was only available for a certain time during the day since Cindy's mother was expecting her second child. Yoyo's and Emma's families were fully open to me; therefore, I was able to collect a fuller range of data from these families, including families' interactions during children's bathing and bedtime storytelling.

By observing the interactions between the parents and their children, I obtained firsthand

information on what their family language policies look like in daily practice; their negotiations of language use and language choices; how the children reacted to their parents' explicit language policy; and the implicit messages conveyed by the parents on how they made language choices at home. Observations were recorded by detailed written field notes with pen and paper as well as an audio-recorder following the ethnographic observation protocol (McCarty, 2015b) (Appendix C). The written field notes were in both Chinese and English for research purposes. Expanded field reports were written mainly in English. Verbatim conversations in the observations were reported in Chinese (with English translation) with the aid of audio recordings. Detailed information about observations were recorded in the research inventory (Appendix B).

In-depth Phenomenological Interviews

I adapted Seidman's (2013) three-part interview sequence and conducted 19 three-part phenomenological interviews, which include 11 respective interviews with the mother and the father in each family (Cindy's mother was interviewed twice due to her pregnancy), 3 dyadic interviews with the two parents together, and 6 casual talks with the mothers. The three-part interview sequence includes participants' focused life history, the details of their experience and their reflection on meaning, following the interview protocol (Seidman, 2013) (Appendix D). Each interview lasted from 20 minutes to 1.5 hours.

During the interviews, I did not follow the protocol too strictly, but let it go with the participants' flow of telling stories of their experiences about the family language policy. I only intervened by asking occasional probing questions and follow-up questions concerned with my research questions. Interviews were conducted in Mandarin because it is the official language of China, and the only form of Chinese in which I could communicate with all participants. I paid a

Chinese Transcription Company Xun Fei (<https://www.iflyrec.com/>) to transcribe the interviews in Chinese. I translated into English only the data excerpts that were used in the analysis and findings. In reporting findings from interviews and informal recorded talk, I included the original Mandarin followed by English translations. I conducted member checking; for instance, I checked back with participants for accuracy and clarification. When certain terms or language the participants used could not be translated directly from Chinese to English, for instance, I inquired YM (a former English professor) into alternative ways of interpretation in English. Detailed information about interviews were recorded in the research inventory (Appendix B).

Artifact Collection

I collected artifacts from the parents to better understand the children's home language practices, and also to complement the observations and the interviews because of the limited access to the intimate domain of the participants' home, such as the children's bathing time and bedtime storytelling. The artifacts include children's picture books; English and Chinese language learning materials such as pictures, digital/online programs, videos, and parents' audio- or video- recordings; preschool portfolios (children's work conducted in class, such as paintings, and paper clipping and folding) and parents' reports (homework assignments done under parents' supervision); musical scores; and photography of the home environment, children's toys, and children's free play. Detailed information was recorded in the research inventory (Appendix B) and analyzed in the Document Analysis Protocol (Bogdan & Biklen, 2016) (Appendix E).

Journals and Memos

While in the field, I kept a daily research journal (24 pieces of diary; 10,811 words). By journaling, I recorded everyday data collection procedures and activities, the context of the neighborhood and the home, ethical conflicts and confusions, how and if I got access to certain

activities, the challenges encountered, unplanned activities, as well as my reflections on the fieldwork as an insider and outsider.

I also wrote memos for my field notes, which included reflective memos on the methods and procedures, and analytic memos on contextualizing, categorizing and themeing the data (Groenewald, 2008; Saldaña, 2016). After I left the field, I wrote memos for emerging themes, generating assertions, diagraming relationships of codes and categories, and crafting synopsis of analysis units. These journals and memos were important for triangulating the observation field notes, interview transcripts, and artifacts.

Table 3.3 (See next page below) summarizes the data corpus for each family, in terms of the types of data sets, the time length, and the quantities for each type of data sets.

In the next section, I discuss the procedures of my data analysis, including the manual coding and categorizing, as well as coding with the aid of software, crafting family portfolios, and themeing and generating assertions.

Table 3.3

Summary of Each Family's Data Corpus

Family 1 Yoyo	Types	Hours	Quantities
Observation	Audio/Field notes	22.27h	62
Interview	Audio	3.21h	7
Artifacts	Audio	1.84h	12
Artifacts	Photos	-	99
Family 2 Twins			
Observation	Audio/Field notes	4.85h	6
Interview	Audio	2.72h	4
Artifacts	Photos	-	11
Family 3 Emma			
Observation	Audio/Field notes	8.69h	12
Interview	Audio	2.94h	3
Artifacts	Photos	-	78
Family 4 Lucy			

Observation	Audio/Field notes	3.60h	2
Interview	Audio	1.51h	2
Artifacts	Audio	0.48h	2
Artifacts	Photos	-	11
Family 5 Cindy			
Observation	Audio/Field notes	6.75h	9
Interview	Audio	1.54h	3
Artifacts	Photos	-	20
Total	Observation	48.48	105
	Interview	11.92	19
	Artifacts	-	220

Data Analysis

I conducted a thematic analysis within each family case, followed by cross-case analysis (Bazeley, 2013; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 2006). This process was recursive, applying inductive (or bottom-up) and deductive (or top-down) approaches to the coding, categorizing, and themeing procedure (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013). The inductive (bottom-up) approach refers to the process of coding starting from the raw data. The codes generated from the inductive approach were made from the information presented in the data themselves. The deductive (top-down) approach refers to the process of coding, categorizing, and themeing starting from the theoretical framework as a guide, in this case, Spolsky's three-component language policy (2004). The entire analysis process was recorded in reflective and analytic memos. In general, there were five major steps for my data analysis: step 1, preparing for the analysis; step 2, coding and content logging; step 3, categorizing and themeing; step 4, crafting narrative profiles and family portfolios; step 5, case study. The following table summarizes these steps (see Table 3.4). Though I presented the data analysis process in these steps, the analysis was circular, instead of linear (Saldaña, 2016). I went several rounds of coding and categorizing before finally generating themes and assertions.

Table 3.4

Summary of Data Analysis

STEPS	PROCEDURES
Step 1 Preparation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Check field reports 2. Transcribe interviews 3. Check artifacts 4. Data corpus management <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Research inventory 2) Summary tables and synopsis
Step 2 Coding and Content Logging	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Manual coding <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Initial coding 2) First cycle coding 3) Create codebook 4) Second cycle coding 5) Categorizing 2. Coding in Software: MAXQDA <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) First cycle coding 2) Second cycle coding 3) Computer-generated code system and codebook 3. Content logging <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Identify key activities 2) Specify particular segments to transcribe and translate 3) Triangulate with field notes; capture verbatim speech 4) Coding manually
Step 3 Categorizing and Themeing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Juxtaposing data pieces within each family and across five families 2. Look for patterns and generate themes and assertions across families 3. Contextualize assertions (write memos and vignettes)
Step 4 Crafting Narrative Profiles and Family Portfolios	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Craft narrative profiles for each participant 2. Construct family portfolios for each family
Step 5 Case Study	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Within-case analysis <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Triangulate data pieces within each family 2) Look for coherence and conflicts 3) Contextual variables 2. Cross-case analysis <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Compare and contrast across five families 2) Look for patterns and discrepancies 3) Build abstractions across cases

Step 1: Preparation

Before the analysis, I first read through all my field reports and checked for spelling errors, grammar, and translation. I revised the field reports based on my raw jotted notes and basic grammar. For the interviews, I paid a Chinese Transcription Company, Xun Fei (<https://www.iflyrec.com/>), to transcribe the interviews in their original language – Mandarin. For the artifacts, I re-named each document based on its content and categories (originally named by sequential numbers). After that, I conducted data corpus management, creating a detailed research inventory (Appendix B) for each family based on my handwritten field inventory. Then I created summary tables and synopses for each observation, interview, and artifact in terms of the activity types, interview participants, and document categories.

Step 2: Coding and Content Logging

I applied both manual and software coding in my analysis. First, I read and re-read the interview transcripts and field reports to familiarize myself with the data. I then highlighted segments of data and took notes in the memos for initial identification and labeling, as the first round of open coding (Bazeley, 2013; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Saldaña, 2016). I was open and inclusive to multiple meanings and significance in the data.

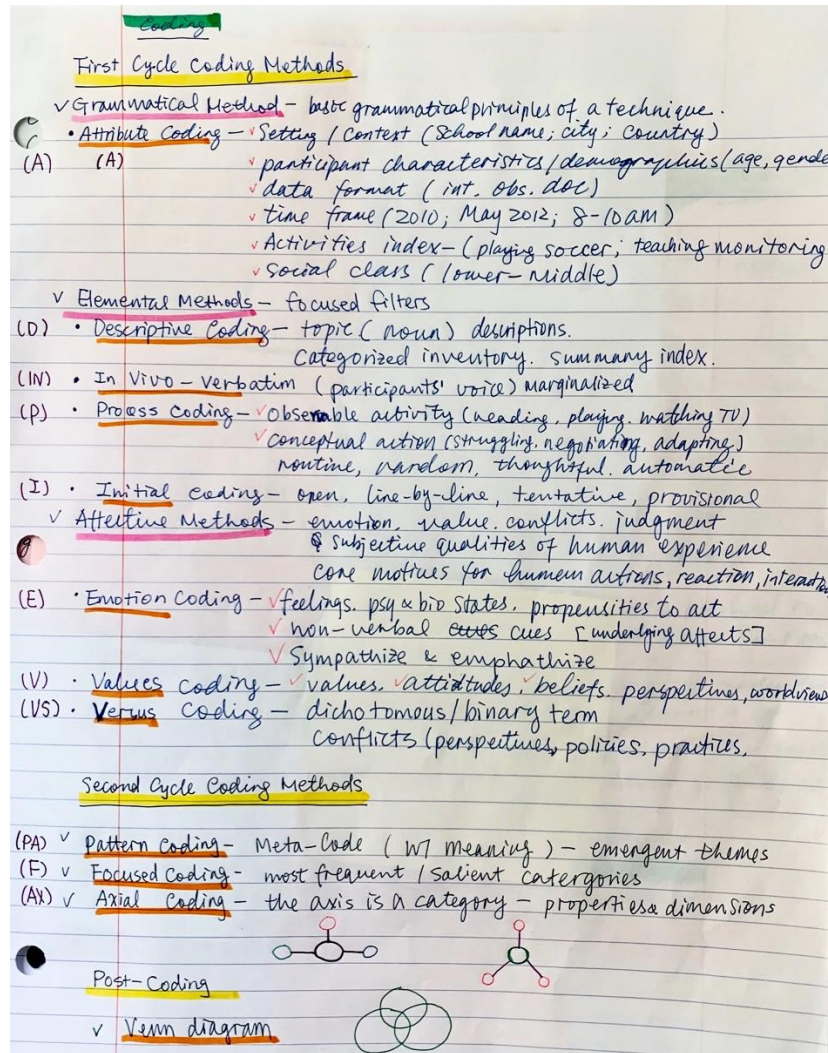


Figure 3.1 Example of First and Second Cycle Coding Strategies Applied in the Coding Process

After open and initial coding, I selected first cycle coding strategies (Saldaña, 2016) and listed the strategy names, features, content, and examples. I employed first cycle coding strategies such as attribute coding, descriptive coding, process coding, values coding, versus coding, and emotion coding (Saldaña, 2016).

Applying these strategies, I conducted the first round of coding. I used the traditional “pen and paper” analysis for color coding and analysis (see Figure 3.1). I highlighted the data with different colored pens to represent different coding strategies, and named each code on the right column. After I coded Yoyo’s and the Twins’ family data corpuses, I created a codebook

manually. It included the code name, content description, a brief data sample, frequency, source ID (data number, page number, and line number), and analytic notes/association with other codes/insights. Table 3.5 is a sample from the manual codebook.

Table 3.5

Manual Codebook Sample

Code Name	Content Description	Brief Data Sample	Frq	Source ID (data #, page #, line #)	Analytic Notes/association with other codes/ insights
Weekend dinner routine	Children have 3 meals in preschool on weekdays. They only have dinner at home on weekend.	Dinner on Saturday and Sunday; Y tries to learn how to use chopsticks	11	02_OB_dinner_Y_070117, p1, line 1-2; 35_OB_dinner_Y_071517; 42_OB_dinner_Y_071617	Dinner routine; cultural practice
Weekend breakfast routine	Children have 3 meals in preschool on weekdays. They only have breakfast at home on weekend.	Breakfast on Saturday and Sunday	1	05_OB_breakfast_Y_070217, p1, line 13	Breakfast routine
Public preschool tuition and fees	Public preschool fees include 3 meals	Parents talk about preschool tuition and fees during breakfast	2	05_OB_breakfast_Y_070217, p1, line 14-15; 10_OB_breakfast_Y_070717, p1, line 15	Public school system vs. private school system
Bedtime talk	YM conducts bedtime talks every night with Y before telling stories. At	YM asks Y about his day at preschool; interesting experiences to share and	24	04_OB_bedtime_Y_070217; 31_TP_IN_YMF_170711_0070, p. 5	Bedtime routine; Language practices

	first Y refused to talk. YM encouraged Y to talk a few words. Then Y could use simple sentences to talk with YM. Now Y asked YM questions about her day.	anything he learns on that day.			
Bedtime storytelling	Parents tell stories to children at night before they go to bed.	YM reads stories in Chinese.	23	04_OB_bedtime_Y_070217	Bedtime routine; Language practices

Then, based on the first cycle codes, I combined related codes together and construct meaningful clusters for the focused or second cycle coding (Bazeley, 2013; Saldaña, 2016). In the codebook, the last column of analytic notes helped me group the first cycle codes and generate higher level of codes. According to the second cycle codes, I constructed several categories that are directly related to the research questions, such as daily routine practices, language as a communication tool, and language identity.

After the manual coding and categorizing, I had a better sense of the data corpus, and switched to MAXQDA for coding the other three families’ data corpus. The purpose of transferring to software coding was to save time. Again, I went through the first and second round of coding using the same coding strategies as used for manual coding. After two rounds of coding, I used the software to generate a codebook (see Figure 3.2 top). It contains the code name, the beginning and ending line number, and the data segments highlighted. The software

also helped me generate a code system (see Figure 3.2 bottom), which presents the first cycle and the second cycle codes, with memos and frequencies.

Code	Begin	End	Segment
Discipline\obey the rules	11	11	老大就是它比较遵守约定, 按规矩
Discipline\obey the rules	11	11	你抢我的东西, 我也不会服输
Discipline\obey the rules	11	11	前面的小朋友还没有爬过去, 后边小朋友怎么能够挤过来呢, 而且还踩到我的手
Discipline\obey the rules	13	13	他人讲规矩
Discipline\obey the rules	13	13	是天生的, 他爸就是就是这样子
Natural development/ability\children before 3 are animals	15	15	反正三岁以前小孩就跟小动物
TM's supervision of book reading\reading by levels	19	19	分级阅读
TM's supervision of book reading\reading by levels	19	19	分级阅读
Natural development/ability\age advantage	19	19	年龄特点
Natural development/ability\natural input and output	19	19	自然的这种输入、输出
Natural development/ability\age advantage\oral cavity practice	19	19	口腔练习
Natural development/ability\age advantage	19	19	每天你要每天坚持读的话, 效果非常明显非常明显
In Vivo	21	21	妈妈我今天读的, 你还满意吗? 然后有人说吗? 我今天帮你个大忙。是什么呀? 就是我把书都念完了, 全都是那小叶子说。然后那个我说你其实都挺好, 因为你给我买那个什么长颈鹿了, 讲条件挺逗的
Compare with others\what other children do	23	23	关键就是要每天我那个我那朋友就是他们同班小朋友, 以前那幼儿园同班小朋友妈妈就是每天那个表固定的。唉, 我儿子现在开始刷钱吧的什么《西游记》了, 啊它也不后来也不怎么说, 就我们聊的, 它就告诉你它这个时间表很紧凑的, 每天晚上半小时英语, 而且还有听的还有说的, 这就是它介绍它自己还弄了这个海尼曼群, 大家就在里边发孩子读的这些
Natural development/ability\age advantage	23	23	我觉得要更早一点, 三岁半, 它就是小孩, 就是这样, 它会说话了, 不管中文英文, 我觉得这样西班牙文有人教的话它也会, 他就会自然而然的跟大人不一样, 而且他那辨音能力特别强
languages\Dialect\Hubei dialect	27	27	湖北方言
languages\Dialect\Hubei dialect	27	27	跟普通话差别还是很大

Code System	Memo	#
Code System		217
Globalization		1
	Global village	2
Discipline	TM trains her children to be disciplined	0
	parents set themselves an example to children	2
	Form a good habit as a child	10
	obey the rules	8
parenting		0
	anxiety	1
	Parents' motivation/expectation	6
	parent self-reflection	1
	TM learning parenting from books	TM reads a lot of theories of the Western Education
	write notes	write notes while reading books
		3
	parents' challenges	5
	parent-children relationship	1
	parenting style	book reading
		2
	intervention	2
	respect children's hobbies and interests	1
language practices		1
	English Reading	2
	impromptu storytelling	4
learning materials		0
	ENG materials	1
	CHN materials	5
daily routine		11
	watch cartoons	6
	weekend	7
	after school programs	3
	bedtime routine	4
language management		0
	authority	1
	resistance	5
	unplanning/happen naturally	language practices/management
	explicit effort	management (authority)
		4
		7

Figure 3.2 Computer-generated Codebook and Code System

I conducted content logging for the audio recordings of observations. Based on my coded observation data segments, I identified key activities, such as children's free play, mealtime, and bedtime. I then conducted content logging for these identified key activities, adapting from Ruhleder and Jordan's (1997) video-based analysis (see Table 3.6). After I content-logged the audio data of key activities, I specified particular segments directly related to my research questions to transcribe and translate. I then triangulated with the field notes to capture verbatim speech. Finally, I coded the transcribed and translated data segments manually and entered them into the codebook.

Table 3.6

Content Log Sample

Field Report	11_OB_VideoWatch_Y_070717		Audio Record	12_OB_videoWatch_Y_170707_0039	
Counter	Participants	Activity	Reflective Notes	Transcripts (Chinese)	Field Notes
0:01	Y	Looks for a English DVD to watch			This is an English learning material Y received from the previous bilingual preschool
0:03	YM	Suggests 'z' and 's' videos			
0:05	Y	Rejects and picks a DVD			
0:20	YM	Looks at the DVD and says it is "I am hungry"			
0:31	Y	"I watched it when I was little."	Y watched it at the bilingual preschool when he was 3 years old.	这是我小时候听的。	
	YM	"Yes, you watched it when you were little."		对，小时候听的。	
0:45	Y	Invites P and YM to join him and watch the video together	P becomes a participant observer		
	Y	Does not follow or repeat			Watches the video and is was attracted by the animation and the songs
4:20	Y	Is attracted by the cartoon "This figure is so cute!"		这个小人儿好可爱啊！	
	YM	Says "so cute" in CHN ⁴		好可爱啊！	
4:24	YM	Repeats the words and			YM repeats the word and asks Y

⁴ CHN is short for Chinese; ENG is short for English.

		translates them into CHN Explains what happens in the story			to read it out loud. Y just laughs. He doesn't follow.
4:38	Y	Asks why in CHN		为什么啊?	
	YM	Explains the reasons in CHN			

Step 3: Categorizing and Themeing


First, I juxtaposed all data pieces within one family, and then across the five families. My aim was to look for patterns in terms of the categories across these families. Then, I synthesized and integrated the patterned categories into themes, always seeking to capture participants' meaning-making (Bazeley, 2013; Emerson et al., 2011). A synoptic chart was created to illustrate the relationship between different categories and themes. Table 3.7 summarizes the categorizing and themeing based on the three major components of language policy, language practices, language management, and language ideologies (Spolsky, 2004).

Table 3.7

Categorizing and Themeing

LANGUAGE PRACTICES		
	<i>Activities that are routines or occurring naturally (Implicit Policy)</i>	<i>Activities that are planned (Explicit Policy)</i>
Mandarin-mediated Activities	Sending children to school Pick up from school Free play (Indoor/outdoor play) Mealtime (Breakfast/lunch/dinner) Bathing	Chinese characters learning Chinese poetry reciting Bedtime routines (storytelling/talk) After-school programs
English-mediated Activities	Free play (inquire about the meaning of an English word; sing English songs) Video watching	Bedtime English songs listening English reading English after-school programs

LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT⁵

		Planning/Intervention (<i>Generic</i>)	Explicit & Observable Efforts (<i>Specific</i>)
Power Relations	Parents	Authority	Urge/Correction/Supervision/Shaming Set up daily/weekly learning goals After school programs English reading at home
		Negotiation	Compromise/Compliance When/how much to read English
	Children	Agency	Resistance/Autonomy Interest/motivation Learning occurs naturally during activities

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

	VALUES/BELIEFS	IDENTITIES	RATIONALE
Language As Cultural Practice	Spiritual belief Sense of belonging	Constructing ethnic minority identity	Affective enculturation
Language As Aesthetic Entity	Beauty of rhythm Form of art	Constructing professional identity	Universal aesthetic feeling
Language As Instrument	Utilitarian and pragmatic values	Constructing national/global citizenship	Official language vs. dialects Communication tool Compulsory subject Source of knowledge Life style
Ideologies About Language Learning	Natural development Forming good learning habits	Constructing national/global citizenship	Natural law of learning Sense of regulation Benefits of bilingualism

Based on these categories and themes, I generated assertions with the purpose of answering my research questions. I also wrote analytic memos and sandwiched vignettes

⁵ The blue arrow represents parents' power and authority. The orange arrow represents children's agency and resistance in the negotiation.

(Erickson, 1986) to contextualize the assertions so as to develop thematic narratives into “a coherent ‘story’ about life and events in the setting studied” (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 202).

Step 4: Crafting Narrative Profiles and Family Portfolios

In order to conduct a rigorous cross-case analysis, I created *family portfolios* (see the protocol in Appendix F), inspired by Lightfoot’s (1983, 2000) methodology of portraiture. Each family’s portfolio presents narrative profiles for each participant (Seidman, 2013), the family’s physical environment, children’s daily routines, and parents’ ideologies about language and language learning. Family portfolios are crucial for contextualization and interpretation of the FLP data, as well as cross-case analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 2006). Based on themes and family portfolios, I further constructed interpretations and assertions to answer my research questions. I present the family portfolios in Chapter Four.

Step 5: Case Study

There are two stages of the case study: the within-case analysis for each family, and cross-case analysis for all five families. For the within-case analysis, I first triangulated all data for each family, looking for coherence and conflicts across different data sets. Considering each family as a single case, I tried to understand and interpret the case by “the contextual variables that might have a bearing” on it (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 234). After that, I conducted a cross-case analysis by comparing and contrasting individual cases and looking for patterns and discrepancies. The purpose was to build abstractions across cases inductively and deductively. I present these findings in Chapter Five and discuss related issues in Chapter Six.

Positionality

Being attentive to and making clear the researcher’s positionality is essential to conducting ethnographic research because it shapes what and how a researcher sees and hears

things, and also affects how a researcher explains and interprets the participants' point of view and makes meaning of their communication through the lens of his/her/their own knowledge and cultural practices. As Frank (2000) has noted, a researcher's standpoint "requires self-consciousness about how the fate and choices in your life have positioned you in the world and with whom you have been positioned" (p. 356).

To specify my positionality in the ethnography of language policy, I concur with Ricento (2006) that research on language policy does "not begin in a theoretical or methodological vacuum; researchers begin with assumptions about 'how the world works' and, in the optimal situation, engage reflexively with the topics they choose to investigate" and that "'scientific' detached objectivity in such research is not possible" (pp. 11-12). Since the researcher is the principal tool for ethnographic research, he/she/they should understand him/herself /themselves first so as to understand another's culture (Hornberger, 1988). This is often discussed as emic and etic perspectives, to refer to insider and outsider knowledge respectively (McCarty, 2015a).

As a native speaker of Mandarin Chinese studying and living in the U.S. for eight years, I am aware of positioning myself as a bilingual person negotiating bicultural contexts. I was born in Mainland China under the Communist philosophy. I grew up in a traditional Confucian and Buddhist culture, being exposed to Western ideologies and philosophies as I started learning English under the impact of China's Reform and Open-up policy. I was influenced by both cultures, recognizing the common humanity and embracing the crucial differences between the East and the West through a critical lens. My first language is Chinese with a northeastern accent. I learned Mandarin in school. I speak Chinese with a northeastern accent to my family and friends, and practice Buddhism in daily life. I speak Mandarin and English to my professors and colleagues. I discuss academic issues in English, particularly "the intellectual discourses

where the traditions of the discipline as knowledge is practiced, developed, and passed on” (Li, 2002, p. 199).

In this study, I do not identify myself simply as an insider or outsider because “relationships in ethnographic fieldwork, like all human relationships, crisscross multiple intersecting fields of identification and affiliation” (McCarty, 2015b, p. 82). As a Chinese citizen, I consider myself as an insider of Chinese culture, understanding the cultural traditions and taboos. Meanwhile, I was an outsider to the participant families, entering the field as a researcher with research questions on language issues and pursuing the answers in the current popular culture in Beijing under the impact of globalization. As Guofang Li (2002) articulates in her study, “the researcher and the researched are linked interactively through fieldwork; the literally created findings are the ethnographic accounts that document the multiple realities” (p. 36). I am self-conscious about my positionality, valuing the participants’ experiences, privileging their voices, and the ways they make meanings of their life; meanwhile I also acknowledge my own bias due to my multiple identities, education background and work experiences.

Reflexivity

Ethnography has always been challenged and questioned as “failing to provide ‘objective’ and ‘value-free’ description and interpretation” (McCarty & Liu, 2017, p. 62). No matter how meticulous and rich the field notes are, they are partial and perspectival (McCarty, 2015a). Therefore, it is important to reflect on my ontological and epistemological stances in this study. Embedded in the relativist and constructivist paradigm, this ethnography of language policy bases on the beliefs that knowledge is socially constructed in a particular time and space; it is not discovered or found, but always and already being exercised in power relations. Furthermore, as a researcher, it is crucial to constantly and critically reflect upon my assumptions

and positionality, *echoing* my thought process and speculations through journaling and memoing.

Challenges

In terms of the fieldwork challenges, first, I chose family homes as my research sites which is considered as the most private space. Except for one family that I was already familiar with, I was not acquainted with the other four families before I entered the field. It is hard to access to the participants' home and start collecting data as a completely stranger. As Smith (2000) articulates, the fieldwork should start from a position of trust and researchers should be trustworthy and held accountable. It would be ideal to spend more time in the field and engage the participant families in more interactive activities. During the fieldwork, I found that relationality was essential because "research must be a process of fostering relationships between researchers, communities, and the topic of inquiry" (Brayboy et al., 2012, p. 437). For instance, on July 8, 2017, a Saturday, I started my field work with the twins' family. It was my first time physically entering their home and meeting the twins. However, without a formal introduction and greeting, I was placed on a stool facing the children and the parents immediately after I walked into their house. The twins' mother urged her children to read English textbooks in front of me. I felt a little pressured and was not ready for what was "presented" to me. Later that day, I wrote in my journal:

I realized that creating a sense of relationality with the participants is extremely important as an ethnographer before and during the process of field work. I was pressured by the time limit. Previously I thought that some parents' inviting me to their children's after-school programs before the field work was unnecessary. But now, I

truly feel it crucial to build the relationality before the field work starts, otherwise, I – as a researcher – would feel awkward and uncomfortable, and what’s worse, distant, to the family and the children.

Even though the fieldwork schedule was tight and access was limited, after that day with the twins I tried my best to socialize with the participant families as much as possible. I purposefully planned several “warm-up” visits to the recruited families so as to get familiar with their home environment, the parents, and especially the children. It was important to build a strong relationship with the participants, not only to gain their trust, but also for my own level of comfort, since fostering a relationship is bidirectional and reciprocal.

Second, my presence as a researcher potentially affected family members’ natural communication. The objective for the observations was to observe the intimate interactions between parents and their children. The parents may have behaved differently in front of a researcher. Their ways of interaction with the children may not occur daily. The children may have overreacted to a stranger in their home. My presence as a researcher also influenced the types of activities they conducted on a regular daily basis. In order to overcome these potential challenges, I tried to become a regular visitor and friend to the families, and make myself comfortable being a participant and non-participant observer of their home activities. Meanwhile, I believe this led the family members to interact more naturally and comfortably in my presence.

Third, power relations with research participants are multifaceted, fluid, and dynamic. Traditionally, ethnography presented an asymmetrical power relation between the researcher and the researched. During my fieldwork process, I tried to develop a relationship of equality and

mutual respect with the participants. Nevertheless, in traditional Confucian culture, gender and age play important roles in a social relation. As a relatively young female researcher, I felt the unequal power relation with the fathers in each family. The participant fathers were born in 1960s to 1970s. They talked to me as if I, as a young woman, was too simple and naïve to understand them. Especially in the interviews, they assumed that I was too young to understand their complicated reality, or that “women usually do not know about this.” For instance, in the interview with CF, he said to me, “It’s all about right or wrong. It’s not about the differences between the East and the West. Don’t you know this?” In the interview with LF, he said that “I know exactly what you want to know; but I am going to disappoint you.” In these situations, I did not present my opinions but acknowledged their voices, meanwhile showing my professionalism and knowledge, if necessary. On the other hand, all the participant mothers were respectful and treated me as a researcher with professional knowledge. They asked me about how to help their children better learn English while I was conducting the fieldwork. I always answered their questions and provided suggestions based on my knowledge and experiences.

Limitations

Concerning the limitations of this study, first, I chose to work with five focal families for the purposes of manageability and do-ability (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). However, I may be questioned by the insufficient and inadequate data collected. Second, I am the sole researcher for this study, my positionality determines how I analyzed the data, and how I interpreted and represented it based on my own knowledge and professional experiences. Therefore, the validity and reliability are challenged.

Reflecting on my field work, I find that as an ethnographer, I live with the realities of participants’ life. Especially for my study, my access to the participants’ most intimate space was

limited and restricted. I needed to be quite flexible and open to any changes and exigencies because access was a privilege for my study. In addition, the more I spent time with these families, living with their busy schedules and routines, the more I came to understand the norms, values, and orderliness within complicated lives, and most importantly, the larger context of their daily activities.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I first situated my methods in the relativist ontology and social constructionist epistemology. I then discussed my pilot study and the rationale for this dissertation's data collection methods, and how I conducted the ethnographic fieldwork in Beijing, China. I presented the data collection process and the data analysis procedures through diagrams, tables, and examples. After that, I elucidated my positionality and reflexivity, discussing the challenges and limitations of my fieldwork. In the next chapter, I craft narrative profiles for each participant, and construct family portfolios for each family to better contextualize the data analysis and interpretations.

CHAPTER FOUR

FAMILY PORTFOLIOS

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce each participant family and contextualize the language policies within these families for further in-depth analysis. First, I introduce my research site, the CA residential community, where all the five participant families live. Then, I construct a family portfolio for each participant family, which comprises the family's households, participants' portraits, parents' narrative profiles (Seidman, 2013) and children's daily routines and linguistic ecology (Hornberger & Hult, 2008). The discussion of the families' households includes information about their houses, and photos of the rooms, collected from participant observations and artifacts. Participants' portraits depict each participant's appearance, age, gender, and ethnicity, gathered from field observations. Narrative profiles consist of each parent's personal background, occupations, education degrees, and past educational experiences. This information was collected through the focused life history portion of the three-part phenomenological interviews (Seidman, 2013). Children's daily routines include their school schedules, after-school programs, a typical school day and a weekend. Children's linguistic ecology summarizes what language(s) the children are exposed to on a daily basis inside and outside of the home, and in what particular situations children choose to use certain languages. In the study of language policy, linguistic ecology refers to the interaction of languages, in particular, the illumination of the "relationships between societal multilingualism and individual language choices" (Hornberger & Hult, 2008, p. 280). This information was gathered through participant observation, interviews and artifacts.

As Seidman (2013) states, profiles are "a way of knowing" (p. 125). Knowing the focused life history provides background on the participants through their past experiences. The

existing circumstances of the families help contextualize how their language policies are constructed and implemented. Therefore, I expand on Seidman's model of narrative profile, not only by crafting profiles of participants' past experiences based on their interviews, but also capturing their living conditions and routine activities through observations and artifacts. By constructing family portfolios, my purpose is to contextualize the language policies within each family, as this helps to better understand how the parents make choices about their home language(s), as well as to set up a foundation for the analysis of the children's daily language practices, and parents' language management strategies and ideologies. Further, the family portfolios help bridge an understanding of the parents' personal background and home environment with the larger sociopolitical, economic, linguistic and cultural contexts in which they live.

The Research Site

The CA residential community, my research site, is located in the southwest part of Beijing City on the West 4th Ring Road South in Fengtai District. It is considered a middle class residential community with each family owning an average 1075-square-foot condominium and a car. The average household income of these families is US\$9,000 - US\$34,000.

In this community, there are two types of condo buildings (see Figure 4.1). One is eight-story slab-type condo building, with two families on one story in one unit. There are ten units in each condo building. The other type is a 20-story tower building, with ten families on each floor. The distance between the buildings varies from 65 feet to 130 feet. All year long, there are Peking willow trees, cypresses, and golden rain trees growing between the buildings and by the sidewalks. During the summer, there are crape myrtles, hibiscuses, and day lilies growing in the gardens in front of each building.



Figure 4.1 A view of the condo buildings in the CA residential community.

CA residential community is a highly condensed and populated neighborhood. All the cars are parked on the streets or on the former grassland (see Figure 4.2). The residents walk between the parked cars. These parking spaces used to be grassland when this community was first built. As the number of residents' cars increased, the former grassland area has been paved over for parking.



Figure 4.2 The former grassland was paved over for parking.

The cars and the residents also share the 12-foot wide sidewalks in front of the condo buildings, where some cars are parked (see Figure 4.3). During the rush hour in the morning, the cars are driving out constantly from the parking spots, while parents are holding their children's hands and walking them to school on the sidewalks. In the evening, when children are off school, they are running around the neighborhood, playing and chasing each other. The cars are driving back to their parking spots through the same sidewalks. They compete with each other for using the same space at the same time. Sometimes, a car brakes hard to stop for a child rushing out from inside of the building and running in front of the car. Parents and grandparents try to look after their children for cars. Nevertheless, when children are running too fast and being out of their parents' or grandparents' sight, danger might occur if the cars can't stop instantly for the children.

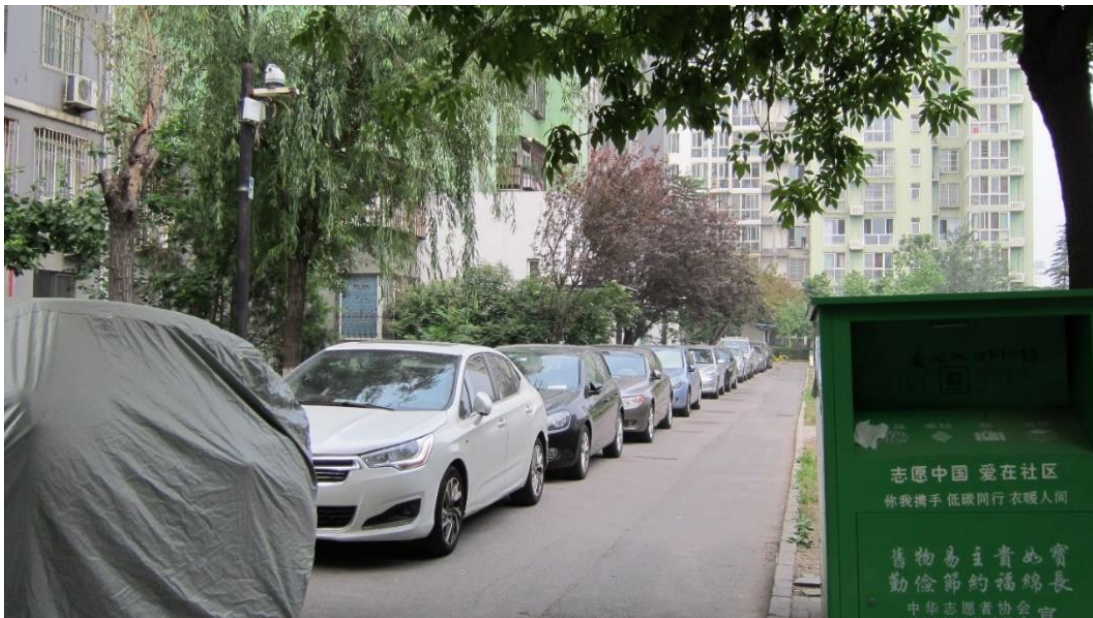


Figure 4.3 The cars and the residents share the 12-foot wide sidewalks in front of the condo buildings where some cars are parked.

In sum, the CA residential community is a highly populated and congested neighborhood. Walking around in the community on a gloomy 95-degree afternoon, with a mixed scent of

hibiscus and gas, I felt the atmosphere of competition for space – the roads, the playgrounds, the sidewalks, and the fitness apparatus in the playgrounds. More crucially, there is competition for resources – parents get together in front of the CA community preschool, waiting for their children to get off school, meanwhile discussing the varieties of children’s after school programs, extracurricular activities, and the top elementary schools in Beijing.

Next, I construct family portfolios for each participant family, by introducing each family’s living spaces, parents’ portraits, narrative profiles, as well as the children’s daily routine activities.

Yoyo’s Family

As discussed in Chapter Three, through purposive sampling, Yoyo’s family was identified as the focal family in my study. This is the only family with whom I have a long-term personal relationship. Because of our close friendship over ten years, I was invited to live with Yoyo’s family during the entire period of fieldwork. Through Yoyo’s mother, I snowball sampled four other families living in the same neighborhood and their children all go to the same preschool as Yoyo does. Table 4.1 summarizes Yoyo’s family members’ information:

Table 4.1

Yoyo’s Family

Family Members	Age	Years in Beijing	Education Level	Occupation	Language(s) Dialects/Accent
Yoyo’s Mother	44	17	Ph.D. in Art History	Associate Professor	Mandarin; Northeastern Accent English; French; Italian
Yoyo’s Father	46	22	M.S. in Engineering	Engineer	Mandarin; Sichuan Dialect; English
Yoyo	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin; English

Yoyo's family lives in an eight-story slab-type condo building in the south part of the CA residential community. Their condo is approximately 950 square feet with two bedrooms and one bathroom. One room is the master bedroom. The other room is an office with three bookshelves and an office desk. Most of the books are in Chinese, a major of which are translated works from other languages, such as Italian, and French, and English. One third of the books are in English.

In their condo, Yoyo shares the master bedroom with his parents, with his own 3-foot long wood-fenced children's bed alongside his parents' king-size bed. Yoyo names his bed "VLCC," very large crude carrier. The room is packed with the parents' clothes in a four-door wardrobe, and Yoyo's toys and clothes in a six-drawer dresser.



Figure 4.4 Yoyo's desk is set by the television.

Yoyo also shares the living room with his parents (see Figure 4.4). His desk is placed by the television, and his toys and books are stocked in his old baby crib, the multi-layered storage rack, as well as on the couch (see Figure 4.5). In front of the couch, it is the only empty space in

the house, around 55 square feet, for Yoyo's free play. There used be a coffee table with a tea set. It was removed after Yoyo was born in order to create more space for Yoyo to play in the house.



Figure 4.5 Yoyo's books and toys are stored in the living room.

When Yoyo is playing at home, the couch and the empty space in front of it are his major “playing zone.” During this play time, the father usually sits at the dinner table in the dining area and the mother sits on the edge of the couch watching Yoyo. After Yoyo goes to bed, the father returns to the living room, lounging on the couch and watching television. The mother goes to the office room for reading and writing.

In Yoyo's collections of books, most of them are in Chinese. They include classic moral stories and idiom stories from ancient China. There are also Chinese classic poems from Tang and Song Dynasties (see Figure 4.6 and 4.7).



Figure 4.7 Yoyo's English picture books and its translated Chinese version.

Narrative Profiles

Yoyo's mother (YM) is approximately 5'7" and 140 lbs. She has a medium build, with long straight dark hair and crescent eyes. She usually wears a pony tail. YM was born in 1973 in Changchun, the capital city of Jilin Province in northeast part of China. Her mother language is Mandarin, which she speaks with a slight Northeastern accent. She also speaks fluent English, and limited French and Italian. YM received her bachelor's degree in English Literature, and a master's degree in American History. In the year 2000, she moved to Beijing and started teaching English and History of Dance at Beijing Dance Academy, which represents the highest level of the art of dance in China. While working as a full-time English instructor, YM also

pursued a Ph.D. degree in World Art History at Peking University. Her research focused on Renaissance and Dante studies. In the year 2015, YM was granted tenure and became an associate professor at this college.

Reflecting on her educational experience, YM believes that a strong interest in learning matters the most throughout the whole process. When she started school, it was right after China's Reform and Open-up Policy was initiated. English became a compulsory subject in middle school for the first time in China's history.⁶ YM started learning English at the age of 13. Under the influence of an exam-oriented education ideology, English was taught through patterned drill. All the schools around the country used the same unified English textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education of China. English teachers asked students to recite the vocabularies of a lesson first, and then the sentence structures in the lesson. Many students had high scores in English tests by memorizing the textbooks. However, they did not know how to use English in real life.

In contrast to other students who considered English a required subject for school, YM found English quite interesting. As she describes in the interview⁷:

那个时候的中国人学英语就是包括我们那种还是属于应试教育，就大家还没想过说要把它当成一个什么国际语言，然后将来要怎么怎么样要出国呀没有那个想法，那时候还很早就八十年代吗。大家只是说把

At that time [right after China's Reform and Open-up Policy was initiated], Chinese people learned English based on an exam-oriented education ideology. People didn't consider it as a global language for going abroad at that time. It was pretty early, like

⁶ This refers to the history of the People's Republic of China founded in 1949.

⁷ All the interviews were conducted in Mandarin, shown in the left column; I translated them into English, shown in the right column.

它当作一门功课去学的，但只是说我在学这门功课的时候就觉得这个语言学习对我来说很有很有意思。因为每天老师在课堂上会有提问，然后呢我在课堂上可以表现得很好，我就觉得在英语课上我很自信，然后就想要把这个课学好，让自己就更自信一点。可能在别的课上大概就是不是自己擅长或者自己不太喜欢的课，可能就没有那么的有信心。但是对英语课那时候就觉得跟着这个录音机，那时候还没现在这么发达，就是跟着录音机跟着磁带，一遍一遍地这么跟读，然后就觉得很有成就感，就觉得自己会说另外一种语言，就觉得很有意思，然后每天呢就是遇到一些什么单词，家里边有什么东西都能都能想到对应的英文是什么单词，就对这个东西很很想知道，有一种就是语言上的一种求知欲吧。

1980s. People only learned it as a required subject in school. However, I just found it interesting when I studied this subject, a subject on language. Every day the English teacher asked questions in class. I could answer them very well. So I felt quite confident in the English class. And I wanted to do better. I wanted to be more confident of myself. It was maybe because I was not very good at other subjects or interested in them, I wasn't quite confident in other classes. But for English class, I had a strong sense of accomplishment. I read after the tape recorder – we didn't have developed devices like nowadays – only a tape recorder and a cassette. I read [the English textbook] again and again. I found it interesting. I felt achieved because I could speak another language. When I saw something at home, I wanted to know its English word for that item. I think it's just a pure thirst for knowledge of language.

YM believes that the “pure thirst” for knowledge and the passion for languages affects the way she learned English. In addition, she also discovered other ways of enjoying English learning instead of suffering from the drill for testing. First, YM found a BBC English teaching television series, “Follow Me,” and an American television course, “Family Album, U.S.A.” Being inspired by the ways that these television programs taught English, YM started to realize that to better study English, or any language, she needed a context, not just reciting single and isolated vocabularies; more importantly, she needed learning resources. Later, she found her grandmother’s bookshelves filled with novels, from *The Red and the Black*, to *Les Misérables*, to *the Count of Monte Cristo* (Chinese translated version). Being impressed by the twists and turns of these stories, YM started looking for literary works written in the original language, such as *Pride and Prejudice* and *The Old Man and the Sea*. During this process, she greatly improved her English, and became more motivated to learn languages. YM points out that the “pure thirst” for knowledge and the passion for languages greatly impact the way she understands the nature of language learning. More crucially, it shapes the way she teaches English as a professor, as well as the way she nurtures her son, Yoyo, to study English and Chinese at home.

Yoyo’s father (YF) was born in a small village in Sichuan Province, in the southwest part of China in 1971. He is approximately 5’6” and 160 lbs. He has a pot belly and sparse dark straight hair. His first language is Sichuan dialect, which he used until he graduated from college and moved to Beijing in 1995. Meanwhile, in school, he also learned Mandarin because all the schools across Mainland China use Mandarin as the medium of instruction. After YF moved to Beijing, he started speaking Mandarin in daily life. YF has a bachelor’s degree in Ferrous Metallurgy and a master’s degree in Communication Engineering. He first worked in a steel corporation for three years and then transferred to the communication engineering field.

YF grew up in a small village during the Reform era in 1970s. At that time, English first became a compulsory subject in middle school. He started learning English at the age of 13. In his memories, English was about studying the grammar rules, reciting vocabularies, and taking tests. At the time of the study he spoke limited English. In terms of children's language education, YF believes that children should follow the natural law of learning. Talking about other children of the same age who go to multiple after school classes, YF comments:

我觉得有点早吧学这东西，小孩要让它自己玩，玩高兴就行，没必要整一堆各种班。我们那时候幼儿园都没上过呢，然后初中才开始学英语，然后家里父母也不懂，不会指点，整天能按时送你去那就行了，而且那时候自己去，也没人送嘛，没人管对全靠自己。那个长大以后，学英语可能是自然的，只是没必要那么小就学。毕竟那个英语是一门世界性的语言嘛？你要出去玩或者是工作啊，都会涉及到的嘛。当然还有个考试一样，这是很正常的，必须得学吧这东西。长到一定时候那该干什么干什么，然后让他自己习惯自觉去学就行了，没必要太早就抢跑。他们愿意学就学，我不会想他会落后，学东西，

I think it's too early to learn [from multiple after school programs]. Children should free play. They should enjoy themselves. It's unnecessary to [send them to] different after school classes. When I was little, I didn't even go to preschool. I started learning English since middle school. My parents didn't know anything. They couldn't supervise me on my study. It was just fine that they could take me to school on time every day. Actually, nobody sent me to school at that time. Nobody looked after me. I took care of myself. When growing up, it is natural to learn English. It's unnecessary to study it when the child is too little. Because English is a global language, [you will use it when you] travel abroad or work overseas. Also there are

你学不完。有些东西没到期的时候你学太早，如果他到时候没有兴趣的话，可能还会适得其反。如果他愿意去学，我们会尽量提供条件，保证他去学，这个没问题。

required tests of English. It's normal. You have to study it. [Children] grow up and should do what suitable for their age. They should be accustomed to studying consciously. It is unnecessary to start too early. If they like to learn something, they will learn it. I don't think they'll fall behind [if they don't start early]. Learning is endless. If they start [too early] when they're not supposed to and are not interested in it, [the result will] be just the opposite of what the parents wish. But if he likes to learn it, we will try our best to provide resources and guarantee that he can learn it. [I have] no problem with that.

In this excerpt, YF argues that jumping ahead and studying something “too early” is far beyond children’s cognitive ability and might negatively affect their confidence and interest in learning. YF thinks that children’s learning occurs during free playing. As long as the parents provide enough learning resources, children should have the right to choose what to read or watch. Parents should not interfere much. YF feels confident about this way of nurturing his son because he overheard Yoyo speak English words, such as “banana,” “dog,” and “pig” while he was watching an English cartoon on TV.

Yoyo's Daily Routines

Yoyo's typical school day starts at 7:30 am. He usually gets up around 7:30 am, and no later than 7:40 am. Normally YM and YF drag his arms and legs out of the bed and help him get dressed. Then YM helps Yoyo wash his face, brush his teeth, and use the bathroom. Every morning, YM and YF send Yoyo to school together. They usually leave home at 7:40 am. It takes approximately four minutes to walk from their house to the preschool, which is located within the CA residential neighborhood. School starts at 8:00 am and goes until 5:00 pm, and serves three meals a day. At 4:50 pm, parents start gathering around the main entrance gate of the preschool, and wait for the teachers to lead the children out of the classroom building. YF often picks up Yoyo around 5:00 pm. Since the preschool serves dinner at 4:00 pm, Yoyo doesn't have dinner at home during week days. After school is out, Yoyo usually plays outdoors in the neighborhood with his peers of the same class from 5:00 – 7:00 pm except Friday. YF watches Yoyo the entire time for his outdoor play.



Figure 4.8 Yoyo's Lego class is on Friday 5:00-6:30 pm.

On Friday, Yoyo goes to an after-school Lego class from 5:00 – 6:30 pm (see Figure 4.8). In a typical Lego class, there are around ten children sitting in a line by the wall on a large play mat. The Lego teacher shows a theme of the week, such as a tow truck or a submarine. The children build up their own trucks following the teacher's instructions. The teacher instructs in Mandarin.

After Yoyo gets back home in the evening, he usually plays with his toys and tells stories to himself in Mandarin. Sometimes, he invites YM and YF to join him and role play. Yoyo likes to play going fishing, traveling, home delivery, and bus driving.

In addition to free play, Yoyo also likes watching cartoons, which are mainly Chinese translated version of British and American animated television series, for instance, *The*

Octonauts (a British animated series), and *Super Wings* (a South Korean, Chinese, American, Japanese co-produced animated series). Occasionally, Yoyo asks for watching English learning cartoons.

Yoyo's bedtime routine starts with bathing at around 9:30 pm. YF usually bathes Yoyo and YM helps him get dressed. Then he drinks a bottle of milk while watching an episode of a cartoon series. After that, YM asks him to pick up three toys to sleep with him for the night. Most of the time, Yoyo picks the cartoon character toy, a school bus toy, and a giraffe doll. When he jumps into his bed with his toys, YM starts their bedtime talk about Yoyo's day. The topics often include what games Yoyo plays at school, whom he plays with, any new friends he makes, what he eats for his three meals at school, and if the teachers praise Yoyo for anything he does well. Yoyo usually shares his feelings about his day, and how he likes preschool life. For instance, on a Sunday, Yoyo's family and Emma's family went to an indoor children's recreation center. That night, after Yoyo lied down in his bed, YM starting the bedtime talk routine:

YM: 今天，今天都干啥来着？想想今天干
嘛来着？

Y: 今天去幼儿园。。。

YM: 瞎说。今天去幼儿园了吗？瞎说。想
想今天干嘛来了？

Y: 今天去。。。今天去游乐场了。

YM: 然后碰见谁啦？跟谁一起玩哒？

Y: 艾玛。

YM: 对啦。你跟爱玛玩的游乐园对不对？

YM: Today, what did we do today? Think
about what we did.

Y: Today [I] went to preschool...

YM: Nonsense. [You] went to preschool
today? Nonsense. Think about what [you] did
today.

Y: Today [I] went... Today [I] went to the
[indoor] amusement park.

YM: Then whom [did we] bump into? Whom
[did you] play with?

Y: 玩了火车。

YM: 对呀。

Y: 还玩了那个晃的那个游戏。

YM: 真的呀? 对呀, 后来玩晃的游戏。你觉得所有的这些那个游乐设施里面哪个是最好玩的? 悠悠?

Y: 嗯, 那个晃哒。

YM: 你就觉得后来的那个晃的好玩啊?

Y: 嗯!

YM: 唉呀妈呀, 我都觉得晕死了悠悠那个。那小火车呢? 好玩吗?

Y: 好玩! 但我觉得那个那个很好玩, 但我觉得更喜欢的是那个晃的, 因为那个火车开得很慢。

YM: 哦! [笑]

Y: 我喜欢快的!

YM: 哦。那小火车开太慢了是吗? 你喜欢快的? 哦!

Y: 嗯!

Y: Emma.

YM: Right. You played with Emma at the amusement park, right?

Y: [We] played the train.

YM: Right!

Y: [We] also played the wagging game.

YM: Really? Right. Later [you] played the wagging game. Among all these recreation facilities, which one is the most fun facility, Yoyo?

Y: Hmm, that wagging one.

YM: You just think that wagging one is the most fun game?

Y: Yes.

YM: Oh my goodness, I felt the wagging one dizzy to death, Yoyo. How about the mini-train? Is it fun?

Y: It's fun! But I think that [mini-train] is very fun. But I think I like the wagging one more, because the train drove too slowly.

YM: Oh! [Laughed]

Y: I like [driving] fast!

YM: 所以觉得那个晃的比较有意思, 那个晃的快, 是吗?

Y: 嗯。

YM: 真棒! 但是我觉得后来你和爸爸玩的两回碰碰车。那个碰碰车也不错啊!

Y: 然后呢, 然后那个、那个、那个晃的那个, 它就“哧”它就晃来晃去。

YM: 哈哈。但是碰碰车你们的车上还有枪呢! 车上还有枪呢! 我记得, 就是黄色的那种枪。有没有? 那碰碰车我记得你和爱玛你们俩玩了两回吧? 吃饭前玩一回, 下午后来又玩一回。之前玩的啥来着? 好玩吗? 这些都好玩是吧?

Y: 嗯。

YM: 好棒哦!

Y: 但是更好玩的是那个晃的。

YM: 哦, 你还是觉得那个晃的。好吧, 我觉得那个晃的最晕了, 妈妈要坐上头肯定得吐啊。

Y: 我觉得那个上边好玩。

YM: Ah. That mini-train drove too slow, right? You like driving fast? Oh!

Y: Yes!

YM: So [you] think that wagging one is more interesting because it wagged fast, right?

Y: Yes.

YM: Fabulous! But I think later you and dad played the bumper cars twice. That was also good!

Y: Then, and then, that, that, that wagging one, it was like “Chi!” [A tearing sound] It wagged back and forth.

YM: Haha. But you have guns on your bumper car, I remember. That yellow gun. Right? I remember you and Emma played the bumper cars twice, once before lunch, and once in the afternoon. What did you play before that? Was it fun? All of these are fun?

Y: Yes.

YM: Fabulous!

Y: But the wagging one is more fun.

YM: 你就觉得那上面的好玩?

Y: 嗯。

YM: Oh, you still think that wagging one [is more fun]. Okay. I think that wagging game is the dizziest one. If Mom sat on it, Mom would vomit on it.

Y: I think [the wagging one is] fun.

YM: You just think the wagging one is fun?

Y: Yes.

After they finish talking, YM starts reading stories for Yoyo. The storybooks are originally from Britain and translated into Chinese. While YM is reading, Yoyo asks questions about the details of the characters, or comments on what they do. After storytelling, YM turns off the light, and turns on the children's bedtime English songs, which is produced by the BBC⁸. Yoyo sings a few words with it, and hums before he falls asleep. They usually complete the bedtime routine at 10:30 pm.

On weekends, Yoyo often goes to amusement parks or children's recreation centers with his parents. Usually, Yoyo makes a choice of which park to go on a weekend, and how to get there, by bus or by car. Though the parents prefer to drive to the parks, Yoyo enjoys taking buses. On a regular weekend, Yoyo spends half day in the parks with his parents. Sometimes, they invite other children and their parents to play together. By noon, they go back home and have lunch. Yoyo usually takes a nap after lunch. Occasionally, YM reads stories for him in Chinese before his nap. In the afternoon, Yoyo often plays with his toys or watches cartoons. Sometimes, YM takes Yoyo to watch a children's movie in the theater.

⁸ YM speaks American English. But in China, people believe that British English is the "Standard" English, so parents use materials mainly published by BBC.

Summary of Yoyo’s Linguistic Ecology

In Yoyo’s family, YM and YF interact with Yoyo in Mandarin on a daily basis. For the routine activities, such as bedtime talk and storytelling, the language is Mandarin. For the designed activities, such as English cartoon watching and bedtime English song listening, the language is English. In Yoyo’s preschool, the medium of instruction is Mandarin. According to the Beijing Education Policy, public preschools and kindergartens must use Mandarin as the medium of instruction. There should not be any classes that are taught in English before elementary school. For Yoyo’s after school Lego class, the medium of instruction is Mandarin as well.

The Twins’ Family

The twins’ family is the only family with two children, Tracy and Lily. All the other families have only one child. Table 4.2 summarizes the twins’ family members’ information:

Table 4.2

Twins’ Family

Family Members	Age	Years in Beijing	Education Level	Occupation	Language(s) Dialects/Accent
Twins’ Mother	37	15	B.A. in Chinese	House wife	Mandarin Hubei Dialect English
Twins’ Father	48	23	M.S. in Computer Science	COO of I.T. Company	Mandarin Northeastern Accent English
Tracy & Lily	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin English

The family lives in a 20-story tower building in the south part of the CA community, with ten families on each floor. Their condo is approximately 1100 square feet with three bedrooms and two bathrooms. One is the parents’ master bedroom. One is the twin girls’ bedroom. The

other room is the twins' study room. I didn't have permission to tour the entire house. I was only able to access the twin girls' study room, where most of my observations were conducted. The study room is approximately 85 square feet with two bookshelves on the left side by the door (see Figure 4.9). The books include Chinese classic children's books and novels, Chinese translated Western fairy tales, and English stories and textbooks in its original language.



Figure 4.9 The twins' bookshelves in the study room store books in both Chinese and English.

On the other side of the room, there is a studying table with two stacks of books on it, and a shelf for storing miscellaneous items, such as books, colored pens, glues, scissors, jumping ropes, etc. (see Figure 4.10). Besides the approximately 260 square feet living room, the study

room is also the girls' playing zone. They do role plays and color painting in the study room. However, this room is mainly for the girls' daily and weekly reading routines. They spend two hours reading English and Chinese in this room every day.



Figure 4.10 The study room has a studying table and a shelf for miscellaneous items.

Narrative Profiles

The twins' mother (TM) has a thin build, a long thin face, with narrow shoulders. She's approximately 5'4" and 100 lbs. She has long straight dark hair, which was always tied in a ponytail when I was with her. Sometimes she wears a pair of black-framed glasses, but sometimes she wears contact lenses. When she smiles, her four protruding canine teeth are completely exposed. She has a high-pitched voice.

TM was born in 1980, in a small town in Hubei Province, in the mid-south part of China. That town in China is famous for holding the record of the highest students' scores on the entrance exam to college every year. TM was working very hard from elementary school through college because of the severe competition in school. She received a bachelor's degree in Chinese in 2002, and moved to Beijing during the same year. TM first worked as a Chinese teacher in a

private middle school for four years. Then she changed career to overseas study consulting in an English Training Company. After she got married, she quit the job and became a full-time mother and housewife.

TM speaks the Hubei dialect and Mandarin. She started learning English at the age of 13, when she began middle school. English was a compulsory subject from middle school through college. Because of the exam-oriented education ideology, TM studied English only for tests. Reflecting on her experience of learning English, TM describes it as “a pure suffering.” During the eight years of English learning, what motivated TM was the College English Test Level 4 (CET-4) in college. Passing CET-4 was a requirement for completing her bachelor’s degree in college. After she started working in Beijing, TM realized that English is not just for testing, but also for oral and written communication with others. She tried hard to practice her oral English and aimed to speak Standard American English without a Hubei accent.

The twins’ father (TF) is approximately 5’8” and 140 lbs. He has wide shoulders with a crew cut and almond-shaped eyes. He also has a sonorous and high-pitched voice. TF was born in 1969 in Dandong City, in Liaoning Province in the northeast part of China. Both of his parents were middle school teachers before they retired. TF grew up spending most of his time hanging out in the Dandong City Library, reading science fiction. Later, TF received both his bachelor’s and master’s degrees in Computer Science. In 1994, after he finished graduate school, he moved to Beijing and became a college professor. He also conducted academic research for the National 863 Project in Computer Science funded by the Ministry of Science and Technology of the People’s Republic of China. Later, he left academia and worked in industry. At the time of the study he was a Chief Operating Officer of a software company.

TF speaks the Northeast dialect and Mandarin. He started learning English at the age of 13 when he began middle school. TF's memory of learning English is full of rote learning and reciting. In order to get a high grade on English tests, TF was forced to recite whole textbooks. However, that only helped him get all the multiple-choice responses correct on the exams. He still couldn't speak English fluently, or read English materials without constantly looking up words in the dictionary. Being a computer scientist, TF has to use English for work. After having a half month's professional training in the U.S., he realized that a native language environment is the most important factor for learning a language. As TF illustrates in his interview:

我觉得语言它属于受到环境啊，受到你这个使用的频繁的程度啊很大的影响。硬去学可不可以呢？可以，但是我觉得那实在是浪费时间。你没有这个使用环境，然后你就硬去学一个语言，你就是硬背嘛，那种是很难。我觉得就是啊你要学好英语，那最好的就是你给他扔到那个英语环境下，没多长时间就会了。我们在外企工作的时候入职几个月要到美国去培训。我在美国培训的时候，他不是培训语言，而是培训整个产品线的知识，在美国要培训半个月。第一堂课什么没听懂，那老师全拿英语一通讲，我当时什么也没听懂，但是

I think language learning is affected by the environment and the frequency of using. Is it okay to learn it as a drill? Yes. But I think that's indeed a waste of time. Without an environment of using a language, you only learn it by rote. It is hard. I think if you want to study English well, the best way is to drop you in an English-speaking environment. You acquire it fast. When I was working in a foreign company, we had a professional training in the U.S. They trained us for the pipeline and products, not language, for half a month. For the first class, I did not understand anything. The trainer taught in English and I didn't get anything. However, I found out that

我发现七天，基本上当我到第八天的时候，突然我大约听懂一部分了，你会突然有一个感觉就是你当时那个单词量，不停地冲击你，你原来不是还背过单词吗？你会突然有一天就是还能听懂一些了，就是培训了十四天，就后来后面那七天大家能听懂一半左右，我说你如果想学这种语言，那你到一个英语国家待那个两三个月半年，你肯定就会了。

after seven days, all of a sudden, on the eighth day, I could understand something. You just had a feeling that your vocabulary constantly came back because you learned them in school. Suddenly you realized that you understood it. For the 14 days of training, I could grasp 50% of what they said in the last seven days. So I think, if you want to study English, just go and stay in an English speaking country for two or three months, or half a year, you must acquire it naturally.

Therefore, TF thinks that it is a waste of time learning English in school or at home. Being exposed to an English environment, TF proposes, one can acquire the language naturally without rote learning of the words or textbooks.

The Twins' Daily Routines

The twins' typical school day starts at 7:30 am. They usually get up and get dressed by themselves. The twins' maternal grandparents live in another condo building next to theirs. They are originally from Hubei Province. After TM got married and settled down in Beijing, they also moved to Beijing and lived in the same residential community. Every morning, the grandparents and TM send the twins to school at 7:50 am. The preschool serves three meals during the day. At 4:50 pm, the grandparents and TM come to pick the twins up. Sometimes, when their after school programs start early in the afternoon, TM comes to pick up the twins earlier than the scheduled time. For instance, on Monday and Thursday, the twins have swimming class from

3:00 – 4:00 pm. The twins are picked up early on those days. On Tuesday and Friday, they have English class from 6:00 – 8:00 pm. On Wednesday and Sunday, they have dancing class from 6:30 – 7:30 pm. On Saturday, they have Lego class from 4:30 – 6:00 pm. Every day after the twins get back home from after school classes, they read Chinese for one hour and English for two hours. For the Chinese reading activity, it usually includes reading picture books for classic Chinese stories and reciting Chinese poems. The twin girls usually have three meals in school. They don't much time for free play each day compared to the children from other participant families.

Different from other children, the twins have a strict schedule for reading English every day for two hours in total. This routine activity has been conducted for over a year. Besides going to the English after school program for four hours each week, TM sets up a fixed time for the girls to read English books, recommended by other parents. Every day the twins start reading 10 new English books (with no Chinese translation) in the morning of every weekend, and review them in the evening during the week. From the morning of a following weekend, they start reading another set of 10 new books (see Figure 4.11). There are 16 pages in each book, with one sentence in each page and a picture illustration of that sentence. Every day the twins follow an application on TM's iPad, an audio record of the books, and read out loud each sentence, with the supervision of TM. TM taps on the iPad for reading one sentence, and taps again to pause it, asking the twins to repeat what the audio says.

她爸就是这样子。我记得有一次我见一个妈妈是个清洁工，他儿子是清华，那妈妈你看不出来他儿子就都已经大学毕业，就是很普通，穿着很朴素。我一听人家孩子也上清华，就在马上问怎么教育的。她说，孩子小时候一定要有好的习惯。就每天该干嘛干嘛。所以我还是比较倾向小朋友比较规律的生活，每天哪个点固定的该干嘛干嘛，这样就对她们养成习惯，然后她们加强某一方面的这个特点都有帮助。我就和她们说你必须得养成一个好习惯，这个东西你今天读了，你就进步了，不进则退，你不读了，她自己也发现了，噢我坚持读，我现在进步很大，我都敢大声的读了。我在课堂上表现也很好，她自己能享受到那种成就感。

think it's [something she was] born with. Her dad is like that. I remember one time I came across a house cleaner. Her son went to Tsinghua University (No.1 University in China).⁹ You can't see from her [appearance] that her son graduated [from that university]. She looks so ordinary and dresses so plainly. Once I heard that her son went to Tsinghua University, I went to ask her immediately, how she educated her son. She said, children must have good habits; they have to do [what they are supposed to do] every day. So I am inclined to form a regulated life for my children and schedule a fixed timetable every day so as to help them form a habit. Then it will help them reinforce that practice. I just told them "You must form a good habit. If you read this [book] today, you progress. If not, you regress." They found it too. "If I continue reading, I progress a lot. I dare reading louder. I perform well in class." They

⁹ Ranking is based on the report in 2018.

[the girls] themselves enjoy that sense of accomplishment.

Summary of the Twins’ Linguistic Ecology

In the twins’ family, TM and TF interact with their children in Mandarin on a daily basis. For the routine activities, such as free play and Chinese storytelling, the language is Mandarin. The maternal grandparents who live in the same community speak Mandarin and Hubei dialect to them. The twins understand Hubei dialect but do not speak it. For the designed activity such as English reading, the language is English. The twins go to the same preschool as Yoyo does. The medium of instruction of the preschool is Mandarin. In the twins’ after school programs, all the classes are taught in Mandarin, except the English class.

Cindy’s Family

Cindy’s family had a single child at the time when I conducted data collection. Cindy’s mother (CM) was expecting their second child the following month after my fieldwork. Table 4.3 summarizes Cindy’s family members’ information:

Table 4.3

Cindy’s Family

Family Members	Age	Years in Beijing	Education Level	Occupation	Language(s) Dialects/Accent
Cindy’s Mother	37	18	B.A. in Finance	Accountant	Mandarin Yunnan Dialect English
Cindy’s Father	42	16	M.A. in Chinese	Editor	Mandarin Shandong Dialect English
Cindy	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin

The family lives in the west part of the CA community, a 20-story tower building. On each floor there are 10 families. The condo where Cindy's family lives is approximately 950 square feet, with two bedrooms and two bathrooms. One is Cindy's parents' master bedroom with a bathroom. The other room is for Cindy's grandparents – Cindy's paternal grandparents, who live in Shandong Province, come to visit and stay in that room for half the year; then her maternal grandparents, who live in Yunnan Province, come for the other half of a year. When I conducted the fieldwork, Cindy's maternal grandmother had just arrived in Beijing two days before I started data collection, and would take care of Cindy's mother because she was expecting her second child the following month.



Figure 4.12 Cindy's books are stored on the shelves of the television stand in the living room.

Cindy shares the master bedroom with her parents. She does not have her own bed. She sleeps in her parents' king-size bed. She does not have her playing space in the living room either. The family's living room is approximately 210 square feet, with a 4-shelf and 6-drawer

bookcase of Cindy's father's against the wall on the right side of room by the entrance (see Figure 4.12). Cindy's books are stored on the shelves of the television stand. Her white board, toys, iPad, and the bike, are stored in the balcony extended from the living room (see Figure 4.13). Sometimes, wet clothes are hanging above the white board in the balcony for drying.



Figure 4.13 Cindy's playing zone is set in the balcony extended from the living room.

Narrative Profiles

Cindy's mother (CM) was born in 1980, in a small village in Yunnan Province in the southwest part of China. She is 5'2" and at the time of the study, was pregnant with her second child. She has almond-shaped eyes with double eyelids, with thick lips and long straight hair. In 1999, she came to Beijing to attend college, and then settled there after she graduated. CM has a bachelor's degree in Finance and has been working as an accountant for 15 years.

CM is from the Dai ethnic minority group in Yunnan Province, where 25 ethnic minority groups reside. As noted in Chapter Three, she is the only ethnic minority participant in my study.

All the other participants are from the Han majority ethnic group. In China, there are 55 ethnic minority groups. Each group has their own ethnic language, which is different Chinese dialects or accents. CM speaks the Yunnan dialect and Mandarin – Yunnan dialect is one of the dialects of Mandarin. CM’s grandparents speak the Dai ethnic language – which sounds similarly to Vietnamese according to CM. CM’s father can understand some of the Dai ethnic language, but does not speak it any more. CM does not speak the Dai ethnic language at all. Because they co-reside with the Han ethnic majority group, they have gradually lost their own ethnic language and cultural customs. They all speak Yunnan dialect now.

CM started learning English at the age of 13 after she went to middle school. As noted previously, English is a compulsory subject from middle school through college until one passes CET-4. CM was fine with English testing, which was basically comprised of reading comprehension of passages and multiple-choice of word tests. CM did not have a chance to practice her oral English while going to school. When she started looking for jobs, she had to pass an English oral test during a job interview. However, after studying English for 10 years at school, she said couldn’t open her mouth and talk in English. Reflecting on her learning experience, CM believes that English was taught and learned as a required subject in school because of the exam-oriented education ideology. All they learned is what they call “a mute English,” just for testing, not for using in reality:

因为学校就是以那个就是写为主，读都很少，更别说这种就是生活化的，这种对话基本上就没有，现在口语就非常的差，说的时候就说不出口。一直以来考试是过

In school, English class focused on written tests. There was rarely any practice for reading out loud, let alone talking, like conversations in daily life. There were no dialogues. So my oral English is very bad. I

了，但是不会说。在我看来是我们同龄的，这些在学校里边这些都是这样。除了他们专业之外，其他所有专业的这个英语都是哑巴英语，写、理解可能还不错，但是听和说特别是这个说是最弱的一个环节。学这个英语好像就是纯粹的为了应付这个考试。我第一份工作面试的时候，我去这家美国公司，是第一次开口说英语，我觉得怎么样都张不开嘴。

can't open my mouth. I can pass an English written test, but I can talk in English. In my eyes, people of the same age in my generation are in the same situation. Except the English majors, all the other students learn a mute English. They may be good at reading and writing. But their listening and speaking are weak. Learning English is purely for tests. For a job interview, I went to an American company. That was my very first time talking in English. I just could not open my mouth.

Therefore, CM hesitates sending Cindy to an after-school English class. She is concerned that English will be taught as a “required mission” and that Cindy feels pressured and loses the interest of learning it. Different from others, CM is the only one parent who hesitates to send her child to an English program at an early age.

Cindy's father (CF) was born in 1975 in Dezhou city, Shandong Province, in the north part of China. He is 5'5" and 140 lbs. He has a mid-size build with tiny eyes and an oval shaped face. CF first came to Beijing to attend college in 1994. When he graduated, he went back to Dezhou City and worked for three years. In 2001, he was admitted to a master's program in Beijing. He moved back to Beijing to attend graduate school, and settled down there after he graduated. CF has a bachelor's degree and a master's degree in Chinese. At the time of the study he was the director and chief editor of the *Art of China Newspaper Literary Supplement*.

CF speaks the Shandong dialect and Mandarin. Like his wife and other parents in the study, he started learning English at the age of 13 when he attended middle school. As a compulsory subject in school, CF believes that English learning is exam-oriented:

我从初中开始英语一直成绩不太好，一直到了高三，一直就成绩就不太好，我想就是必须得好好学一下，否则就是拖后的。因为我那时候成绩每次都是就是说 100 分的话，都是 60 分左右，我就担心高考有的时候偶尔还会出现不及格的情况，因为那时候反正也是应式教育，英语只要一下功夫还是提高的比较快的，差不多一下子自己苦学的一个学期基本上就英语在班上，最起码这个笔头上的能力基本上在班上前几名。

I was not good at English when I began learning it in middle school. Even until I was 12th grade in high school, my English test score was not good. So I thought, I had to study hard, otherwise English would pull me down in the College Entrance Exam. My grade was like 60 out of 100. I was worried that I was going to fail in English Test of the College Entrance Exam. Since it was exam-oriented, it was relatively easy to raise your score in a short time, if you conduct a large amount of rote exam practices repeatedly. And I did. After a semester of hardworking, I became one of the top students in the written exam.

He said he was not good at English at first; however, he conducted a large amount of rote exam practices repeatedly, and raised his grades from 60 out of 100 (Pass or D) to become one of the top students (A+) in his class.

Cindy's Daily Routines

Cindy's typical weekday starts at 7:00 am. Cindy's grandmother usually sends her to school at 7:30 am. Cindy has breakfast in school at 8:00 am. At 4:20 pm, the school serves dinner. At 5:00 pm, Cindy's grandmother picks her up. If the weather is nice, Cindy plays with her friends outdoors for 30 minutes. Her grandmother watches her the entire time. Then she goes home and watches animated cartoons on her iPad, while her grandmother cooks. At 7:00 pm, CM and CF get back home from work. The family has dinner together at 7:30 pm. Since Cindy usually doesn't eat much for dinner at 4:20 pm at school, she has dinner at home again with her parents and grandparents. After dinner, Cindy usually draws and paints, or plays blocks. Sometimes, Cindy goes to the grocery store with her mother and grandmother. At 9:00 pm, Cindy starts brushing her teeth and washing her face. At 9:40 pm, CM reads Cindy stories. Around 10:00 pm, Cindy goes to bed.

On a regular weekend, Cindy gets up a bit later than the weekdays. On weekends, she usually gets up around 8:00 am, and has breakfast at 8:30 am. The family normally picks one day of the weekend to go to the park or children's recreation center in the morning; they spend the other day staying at home, resting. Cindy goes to a painting after school program on Saturday afternoon for an hour. Cindy has gone to different free-trial English after school programs, but cannot find an appropriate program she likes. CM thinks that there shouldn't be any push for her daughter to start learning English too early when she cannot enjoy the learning experience. CM feels anxious because of the severe competition among the children of the same age. When she decided to send Cindy to an English club starting in September of the year of this study, the enrollment was full in April. If CM didn't send Cindy to all the different after school programs, such as ballet, swimming, soccer, hockey, math, and English, Cindy would have fallen behind at

the starting line of a race—a common metaphor in China, used here to refer to the beginning of competition for children. In addition, Cindy might feel self-abased and biased against by her peers because she didn't have the “talents” other children have. On the other hand, Cindy's mother admits that it will be a financial burden to take all these different classes at the same time (approximately US \$28,900 per year) when her second child is coming. The hockey and ballet classes, in particular, are too expensive for the family to afford.

Summary of Cindy's Linguistic Ecology

In Cindy's family, CM and CF interact with Cindy in Mandarin on a daily basis. For the routine activities, such as mealtime, free play, and bedtime storytelling, the language is Mandarin. Sometimes, CM speaks Yunnan dialect to her. Cindy's maternal grandparents speak Mandarin and Yunnan dialect to her. Cindy is able to understand the Yunnan dialect but can only respond in Mandarin. Cindy's paternal grandparents speak Mandarin and Shandong dialect to her. Similarly, Cindy can understand the dialect but can only interact with them in Mandarin. Cindy goes to the same school as the twins and Yoyo do. The medium of instruction of the preschool is Mandarin. Cindy's after school painting class is taught in Mandarin as well.

Lucy's Family

Lucy's family lives on the top level of a six-story slab-type condo building without elevators. There is no air conditioner in the corridor or the staircase. When climbing up the stairs to the sixth floor in 95-degree weather, it feels sweltering and stuffy. There are two families living on each floor. I did not have permission to tour the entire house; thus I am not sure how many rooms they have and how they organize the rooms based on the functions. I was only able to access the living room, where all my observations were conducted. Table 4.4 summarizes Lucy's family members' information:

Table 4.4

Lucy's Family

Family Members	Age	Years in Beijing	Education Level	Occupation	Language(s) Dialects/Accent
Lucy's Mother	43	24	B.A. in Finance	Accountant	Mandarin Shandong Dialect English
Lucy's Father	50	27	Ph.D. in Chemistry of Materials & Postdoc	VP of Technology	Mandarin Shandong Dialect English French
Lucy	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin English

The living room is approximately 220 square feet. Lucy shares the living room with her parents (see Figure 4.14). Her playing zone is set on the left side of the couch, with a rectangular play mat, two bookshelves, a white plastic three-drawer dresser, and a three-layered toy storage rack. There is also a children's cadet blue triangle tent set by the mat. The majority of Lucy's books are in Chinese. There are some English textbooks and storybooks randomly placed on the mat.



Figure 4.14 Lucy shares the space with her parents in the living room.

The play mat has orange and yellow rhombi. In each rhombus, there is an animal picture with the name of that animal in both English and Chinese. When Lucy plays, the whole living room becomes her playing zone, extending to the living room balcony.

Narrative Profiles

Lucy's mother (LM) is approximately 5'5" and 125 lbs. She has horizontal wrinkles on her forehead and a mole on the left side of her pointed nose. She has thin lips and a high-pitched voice. LM was born in 1974, in a small town in Shandong Province, in the north part of China. In 1993, she came to Beijing to attend college. She settled in Beijing after she graduated with a bachelor's degree in Finance. LM has been working as an accountant for 25 years.

LM speaks Shandong dialect and Mandarin. When she was little, she went to the Northeast army unit with her parents. There, she picked up some Northeastern dialect. LM started learning English at the age of 13, when she went to middle school. Like other parents in

the study, because of the exam-oriented education ideology, she studied English by rote learning and recitation for testing. She usually used *Pinyin*, the phonetic system of written Mandarin Chinese that uses the Latin alphabet, to help memorize the English word pronunciation.

Lucy's father (LF) is 6'2" and 185 lbs. He has short and sparse straight dark hair on the top of his head with graying temples. He talks fast with loud and sonorous voice. He always wears a pair of metallic framed glasses. LF was born in 1967, in Yantai city, Shandong Province, the same place where LM was born. In 1990, LF came to Beijing after he graduated with a bachelor's degree in Materials Engineering, and worked at the National Ministry of Railways for two years and a half as an engineer. Then he went to work for a private company of water purification for three years. After that, LF started his own company of water purification. Two years later, it was closed down because of impact of the emergence of Internet. Then he went to work for an American Trade Company as a Technician Expert.

In 2000, greatly inspired by the new Internet era, LF decided to go to Britain to further his study. After working as an exchange visiting scholar in a lab in Britain for six months, LF enrolled in a master's program in Engineering at Imperial College London. In 2001, LF finished his master's program of study and started a Ph.D. program in Chemistry of Materials in France. After he received the doctoral degree in 2005, LF went to Belgium for a postdoctoral position for two years. In 2007, LF came back to China and worked at a university as an academic director for three years. He went back to the Materials Industry and worked at a company for four years. In 2014, LF switched to the credit rating field, and has been working as a Vice President of Technology since that time.

LF speaks Shandong dialect and Mandarin. He started learning English at the age of 13 when he began middle school, like all the other parents. LF also speaks limited French as he

learned it when he was conducting the Ph.D. program of study in France. Reflecting on his past language learning experience, LF comments:

我觉得中国的语言教育方式是错误的，是先学单词信息的，学单词再学课文的翻译，然后再做练习题，讲语法，这种思路完全是错的，我们学母语不是这样学的。我到英国去的话，到英国待那几年，我觉得英语的话确实不是像中国的现在这样教的，它不会让去背单词，单独学单词，它就是在课文中读的，给你一篇文章让你去分析这篇文章分析上面哪个单词不懂的话老师给你解释。他不会把所有的单词列出来，按照什么单词列个表。我觉得学语言应该有环境，没有环境的话应该自己创造环境，环境很重要。因为本身的话你是环境的产物的话，我觉得学语言，就是背东西，有输入，先背课文，从课文中、从句子里记单词，这是比较好的方法，所以我给好多人推荐过这种方法，他们还觉得慢慢的是有效的。

I think the Chinese way of teaching English is wrong, which is reciting new vocabularies first, then translating the whole passage of a lesson, doing exam practices, and teaching grammar rules. This way of teaching is completely wrong. This is not how we learn our mother language. I went to Britain and stayed there for many years. I think their way of teaching English is different from us. They don't ask the students to recite new vocabularies, or learn new words separately [from the context]. They teach them in the passage. They ask you do a text analysis. Within a text, the teacher explains the vocabulary if you don't understand it. The teacher doesn't give you a word list to recite. I think learning a language needs an environment. [If you do] not have an environment, you create your own environment. An environment is important because you are a product of an environment.

I think to learn a language, one should recite the text first, [which is] the input process; then learn the new vocabularies from the sentences and the texts. This is a better way. I recommend many people to do this. They think it effective gradually.

Since LF doesn't believe that learning English should start from reciting vocabularies, he doesn't push Lucy to memorize English words by rote learning. Instead, he tries to create a lively environment for Lucy to explore by herself based on her own interests. For instance, LF leaves English fairytale books on Lucy's play mat or the coffee table. He wants her to pick up the books that she's interested in, and ask him to read the stories that look appealing to her. LF aims to create an active and interactive learning environment for Lucy, and nurtures her to find her intrinsic motivation by herself. When it does not work, he tactfully employs the discourse in the children's realm of imaginative world and accomplishes the communication (Goodwin & Cekaite, 2018).

Lucy's Daily Routines

Lucy's typical weekday starts at 7:00 am. After she gets up, her mother helps wash her face and brush her teeth. Then LM takes her to school. Occasionally, when LF is not busy, he sends Lucy to school. The preschool serves three meals a day. At 4:50 pm, LM picks Lucy up and lets her play with her friends in the neighborhood for about an hour. When she comes back home, Lucy has snacks and fruit, and free plays in her playing zone in the living room. Sometimes she invites her mother to role play with her, such as selling and buying goods. Other times, Lucy picks up random Chinese picture books on her bookshelves and asks LM to read for

her. Lucy also watches animated cartoons every now and then. She likes to watch *Go, Diego, GO!* (American animated series) in English, and *Dora the Explorer* (American animated series) and *The Octonauts* (a British animated series), in Chinese translated version. At 9:00 pm, Lucy starts her bedtime routine. LM showers her and reads her stories in Chinese. After that, LF helps Lucy review English lessons for the week. At 10:00 pm, Lucy goes to bed.

Every Wednesday, Lucy goes to a private English school, *Best Learning*, which is claimed as an American K-12 Learning Center, for a full day from 8:30 am to 4:30 pm (see Figure 4.15). All the teachers of that school are from English speaking countries. The program serves three meals a day, similar to public preschool. It costs US \$3,000 for ten months, which is 40 days of class. Lucy has been studying at *Best Learning* for over five months. LM thinks that Lucy has improved her English much after she attends this English school, especially the first two months.



Figure 4.15 Best Learning English School is an American K-12 Learning Center.

However, LM often says that Lucy doesn't like this English program because she doesn't like the meals they serve, which are not as good as the meals served at the public preschool. "She only thinks about food, you know!" LM says to me. Every Wednesday, after the full day's English class, Lucy also goes to a dancing class from 5:30 pm to 7:00 pm. It is a secondary level ballet class. Lucy has been learning ballet for over a year.

On Saturday, Lucy goes to a singing class at 10:00 am to 12:00 pm. They sing variety of songs in class. When I was conducting the field work, Lucy was rehearsing an Italian children's song at home. When Lucy gets off the singing class, she has lunch at home and naps for an hour. After that, she plays by herself in her playing zone for a bit. Then she goes to a painting class in the afternoon. On Sunday, if both LF and LM are not busy with work, they take Lucy to go to a park. Sometimes, they invite other children to go an indoor Children's Center. Every now and then, they visit LM's sister and their family on Sunday.

Summary of Lucy's Linguistic Ecology

In Lucy's family, LM and LF interact with her in Mandarin on a daily basis. For the routine activities such as mealtime, free play, and bedtime storytelling, the language is Mandarin. The parents sometimes try to speak English to Lucy as well—for example (perhaps add an activity/domain when they might speak English). Her other family members such as her aunts and cousins talk to her in Mandarin. In Lucy's preschool, the medium of instruction is Mandarin. Lucy goes to an English school on Wednesday in which the medium of instruction is English. In her singing class, they sing songs in different languages, such as Italian and English. In Lucy's other after school classes, the medium of instruction is Mandarin.

Emma's Family

Emma's family lives in a newly built slab-type condo building on the east side of the CA community. They used to live downstairs from Yoyo's family in the same building. Later they moved to a newly developed building section within the CA residential area, and Emma's paternal grandparents moved into Emma's family's old condo. Table 4.5 summarizes Emma's family members' information:

Table 4.5

Emma's Family

Family Members	Age	Years in Beijing	Education Level	Occupation	Language(s) Dialects/Accent
Emma's Mother	41	41	B.A. in Finance	Finance Manager	Mandarin Beijing Accent English
Emma's Father	41	41	M.A. in Electrical Automation	Marketing Event Planner	Mandarin Beijing Accent English
Emma	4	4	Preschool	-	Mandarin English

Every morning, Emma's parents send Emma to her grandparents' house, and the grandmother sends her to school. In the afternoon, her grandparents pick her up, and take care of her until her parents get off work. Emma's parents have dinner at the grandparents' place and go back to their own house in the evening.

The family's condo is approximately 1200 square feet, with three bedrooms and two bathrooms. One is the parents' master bedroom with a bathroom, one is Emma's room with a double-layer children's bed, and the other room is an office with a six-door and five-layer bookcase.



Figure 4.16 Emma's playing and study area in the living room.

Emma shares the living room with her parents (see Figure 4.16). On the left side of the couch by the balcony, there is a playing zone for Emma. A Happy Town play mat is placed by the glass door of the balcony. On the mat, there are English words for each building in the mat, such as “Movie Theater,” “Post Office,” and “Drugstore.” There are two four-layer storage racks by the left side of the mat, leaning against the glass door of the balcony which is for storing Emma’s toys and miscellaneous items, such as crayons and cutting papers. On the right side of the mat, there is a children’s desk and chair aligned with the coffee table. There are crayons, scissors, colored paper for papercut, glues, and toys randomly placed on the desk. On the couch, there are Mickey Mouse doll, Paul Frank Monkey doll, Hello Kitty doll, and Dumbo elephant doll. These dolls are animated characters from American cartoons, especially Disney, and Japanese cartoon.



Figure 4.17 The parents' master bedroom with a children's bed set aligned with the king-size bed.

Though Emma has her own bedroom, there is also a children's bed in the master bedroom aligned with the king-size bed (see Figure 4.17). Piles of picture books are randomly placed in the children's bed. They are mainly Western fairy tales translated into Chinese. Every night, Emma and her mother lie on the king-size bed, leaning against each other, when Emma's mother reads books for her. In the office, there are also some Emma's books that are stored on the bottom shelf of her parents' bookcase (see Figure 4.18).



Figure 4.18 Emma's books are stored on the bottom shelf of her parents' bookcase in the office.

Narrative Profiles

Emma's mother (EM) is 5'5" and 120 lbs. She has a medium build, long and dark curly hair, with almond eyes. She has dark and oily skin. EM was born in 1976 in Beijing. She and her husband, Emma's father (EF), are the only local residents of Beijing among all my participants. EM's parents are engineers at the Beijing Institute for High Energy Physics (BJIHEP). EM grew up in the neighborhood of BJIHEP and learned to obey the rules from childhood through college. She received her bachelor's degree in accounting in 1999, and started working at one of the Big Four Accounting Firms in Beijing until the time of the study.

EM's first language is Mandarin, with a Beijing accent. She started learning English at the age of 13 in middle school, like all the other parents. Reflecting on her learning experiences, EM believes that English is a tool and can be learned well in a short time by making a concentrated effort. She comments in her interview:

我们那个时候基本上就初一才开始学英语，我当时也是属于那种实用型选手，就为了找工作，然后临时突击了一下。因为我们那时候学英语大部分都是哑巴英语，然后反正过了四级就完了，然后当时也是最后大三、大四的时候为了找工作，然后突击学习，就当时突击练了一下，所以也还算敢说，有点用。到后来我做了这一行，我要不停的去看一些资料什么的，实际上英语我觉得就是一个熟能生巧的一些东西，因为就是刚开始我学英语，我自己觉得英语不是特别好，我觉得肯定还是功夫没下到，它是一个不断重复、反复的大量的积累这么一个过程。

We all started learning English in Grade 7 in our generation. I was like a pragmatist at that time. In order to find a job, I made a concentrated effort and studied [English] for a short time. In our generation, most of us learned a mute English. Once we passed the CET-4 [College English Test-Level 4], we were done. Then later, in our junior and senior year, in order to look for jobs, I studied English very hard, and practiced it so much. So I was able to open my mouth. [The practice] was helpful. Later, I started working in this [accounting] industry, I have to read English materials. Actually, I believe that practice makes perfect. English is like that. At the beginning, my English was not so good. I think it was because I didn't work hard. It should be a process of constant repetition, and large amount of accumulation.

Therefore, EM thinks that learning English is a process of constant practice and repetition. For Emma's English learning, EM believes that it will be beneficial to create an English learning environment to practice her ears at an early age, such as sending her to an English after school program, or practice speaking English at home.

Emma's father (EF) is 5'10" and 130 lbs. He has a thin build and short straight hair. He also has small and slanted eyes. EF was born in 1976 in Beijing. He and EM are the only two participants who are originally from Beijing. He was also EM's middle school classmate. They grew up in the same district. EF has a bachelor's degree in Electrical Automation and works as a marketing event planner in a trade exhibition organization.

EF's first language is Mandarin with a slight Beijing accent. He started learning English at the age of 13 in middle school, as all the other parents. At that time, English was taught as a required subject in school. However, EF has no interest or talent in languages, including Chinese. He likes natural sciences subjects, such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

Emma's Daily Routines

Emma's typical weekday starts at 7:30 am. In the morning, Emma struggles to get up. She always feels as if she has not had enough sleep. EM has to pull her out from the bed and drag her to the bathroom. Then EM helps her wash her face and brush her teeth. At 7:40 am, EM and EF take her to the paternal grandparents' house. Emma's grandmother then sends her to school. At 4:50 pm, Emma's grandmother picks her up. Emma usually plays outdoor with her peers from her class and friends living in the same neighborhood until 7:00 pm. Emma's grandmother watches her the entire time. At 7:00 pm, they go back to Emma's grandparents' home. Around the same time, EM and EF get off work and come back to the grandparents' place for dinner. Emma's grandfather usually cooks dinner for the whole family.

While Emma's parents are having dinner, Emma sometimes plays puzzles or practices English by using a C-pen reader pen (see Figure 4.19). The C-Pen Reader pen scanner is a portable, pocket-sized device that reads text out aloud with an English human-like digital voice for people who are learning English. Emma gets this pen from her after school English program.

When she wants to practice English, she opens a textbook, and points a word or a sentence in the book with the C-pen reader, the device reads out loud that word or the sentence with an English digital voice. Emma also has storybooks in both English and Chinese (see Figure 4.20).



Figure 4.19 The C-pen reader pen and textbooks.

Sometimes, Emma dances with an English Alphabet song that she learned from the after school English program and EM plays the dancing video on her phone. Emma sings the letter song and moves her body and imitates the dancers in the video. The lyrics go, “Letter A dance! A, A, A. A for Aunt!”

After Emma’s parents finish dinner, they go back to their own house at round 8:00 pm. Emma often likes to watch animated cartoons for about an hour after they get back to their own house. She usually watches *Peppa Pig*, a British animated series. Sometimes, Emma does the homework from her after school English program, which is called “Mission.” It is an application (App) on smartphones or iPads with English daily practice programs—for instance, reading English letters, words or sentences out loud, and recording them in the App. All the parents

whose children are in the same after school English class can listen to their children's or other children's reading record through the App. Based on the accuracy of their pronunciation, the App automatically grades each child's reading, and ranks them according to the scores.



Figure 4.20 Emma's books are in both Chinese and English.

At around 9:00 pm, Emma starts her bedtime routine. EM first bathes her in the bathtub. EF then lifts her up and dries her body with EM. EF carries her to the bed and dries her hair. Then he helps her dress up, meanwhile asking her to tell stories that she has heard from her mother. Emma retells the stories to her father, the ones that her mother told her the night before. This activity is in Mandarin. When EM enters the bedroom, EF walks back to the bathroom to clean up the bathtub. EM lies down with Emma in the king-size bed. They lean against each other, with Emma's head resting on EM's shoulder. EM first asks Emma what stories she has told the night before, and then asks what stories Emma would like to hear for the night. EM often

tells two to five stories each night, by reading the Western fairy tale picture books translated in Chinese. At around 10:00 pm, Emma usually falls asleep while EM is reading.

On a typical weekend, Emma goes to an after school English program on Saturday morning from 9:00 am – 10:30 am. The English program is called *First Leap*, and is advertised as the “future leaders’ institute.” Emma started learning English in this program when she was 2.5 years old. After the English class, she usually goes to swim with her parents. On Sunday, the family usually go to Emma’s maternal grandparents’ house. There, Emma plays with her cousin, EM’s brother’s son. The play language is Mandarin.

Summary of Emma’s Linguistic Ecology

In Emma’s home, EM and EF interact with her in Mandarin on a daily basis. For the routine activities, such as mealtime and bedtime storytelling, the language is Mandarin. The parents sometimes try to speak English to Emma as well when they feel certain about their use of English words. Emma’s other family members, such as her maternal and paternal grandparents, aunts, and cousins all speak Mandarin with her. In preschool, the medium of instruction is Mandarin. Emma’s after school English class is taught in English. Emma watches animated cartoons in both English and Mandarin. She also does homework for her after school class in English.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I introduce the research site and each family by constructing family portfolios. The portfolios depict the participants’ living conditions, parents’ past experiences with a focus on their educational and language learning histories, and children’s daily routines. The purpose is to contextualize the language policies within each family, for further analysis of the children’s daily language practices, and parents’ language ideologies and management

strategies. In addition, the family portfolios bridge the parental background and the home environment with the larger sociopolitical, economic, linguistic and cultural contexts in which they live. In the next chapter, I delve more deeply into the children's language practices and parents' language ideologies and management strategies across the five participant families. The goal is to answer the research questions of what the children's daily language practices look like, how parents manage their children's daily language practices, and the language ideologies that parents hold.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

In this chapter, I present findings of the language policies of five Beijing middle-class families by using thematic analysis, within-case and cross-case analysis (Bazeley, 2013; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 2006). The aim is to answer the following research questions: 1) what do the children's daily language practices look like, 2) how do the parents manage their children's daily language practices, and 3) what ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold. Since my research questions are framed and grounded in Spolsky's (2004) three-tier language policy framework, this chapter is organized according to the three key components: language practices, language management, and language ideologies. The selected data samples in this chapter are examined based on the interdisciplinary framework of family language policy (FLP) informed by theories of Language Policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004, 2009, 2012) and Language Socialization (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2012; Lanza, 2007; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

The first section discusses the different types of children's language practices within these families, which include Mandarin-mediated routine activities, planned Mandarin-mediated activities, planned English-mediated activities, and English-mediated activities that are naturally occurring. The second section elucidates the strategies of language intervention, planning or management. In particular, it illuminates parents' authority and control, children's autonomy and agency, as well as the parent-child's dynamic power relations in the negotiation of language policies in the home domain. The third section discusses parents' language beliefs and ideologies. In particular, it examines how the parents perceive their mother language, English,

and language learning; in addition, how they construct national and cultural identities as well as global citizenship.

Although the three components of language policy are discussed in separate sections, they are always and already interrelated and intertwined with each other. For instance, language practices are facilitated by language management strategies, and directed and influenced by articulated, tacit, and embodied language ideologies. Language management strategies are implemented through particular language practices and are negotiated based on overt or covert language ideologies. Multiple language ideologies are reflected in affirming or contradicting language practices, and are constructed and reconstructed during language managing processes. Therefore, the three inseparable components constitute language policy as a holistic, dynamic, and “complex sociocultural process” (McCarty, 2011a, p. 8).

In each of the following sections, I use different data samples from my observation field notes, interview transcripts, and artifacts to give warrant to my assertions for each research question. Due to different levels of access to each home and the various amounts of data collected from each family, the data samples are selected based on the differentials and typicality of daily activities across different families. Therefore, they are not equally representative of each family.

Language Practices

In language policy, language practices are defined as “the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 5). It is what people actually do with language—in other words, the *de facto* language use in language policy (Curdt-Christainsen, 2018). From a sociocultural view of language, Erickson (2004) points out that language practices are considered as the local production of oral discourse “derive[d] in their

origins from locations in prior time and across distances in geographic and social space” (p. 14). He suggests that the production of talk in social interactions can occur in a particular moment, at a specific situation, and for a certain reason. However, the discursive practices are also deeply influenced by the nonlocal and prior processes “beyond the temporal and spatial horizon of the immediate occasion of interaction” (Erickson, 2004, p. 197). In other words, the talk/discourse not only is produced based on local logic and reason, but also conveys sociocultural and historical knowledge gained through prior learning experience (Erickson, 2004). For instance, in a parent-child negotiation, logical consequence and reasoning are used in parents’ management and interventions. Additionally, shaming, “guilt-tripping,” and teasing might also be used in certain cultural and social contexts (Fung, 1999; Schieffelin, 1986). Therefore, the discursive practices are important for maintaining heritage knowledge and cultural identity, as well as passing sociocultural customs and traditions to the next generations.

Children acquire knowledge of social principles and cultural beliefs through language-mediated interactions (Ochs, 1986). These interactions are crucial units of analysis in language socialization because they are “culturally rooted ways in which veteran and novice participants coordinate modes of communication, actions, bodies, objects and the built environment to enhance their knowledge and skills” (Ochs, 2002, p. 107). FLP thus combines the theory of language policy and language socialization in the sense that the *de facto* language use is a powerful and major medium for children’s language socialization and heritage language and culture maintenance.

In my study, across the five participant families, language practices are composed of four types of activities: the Mandarin-mediated routine activities, the planned Mandarin-mediated, the

planned English-mediated activities, and the English-mediated activities that occur naturally.

Table 5.1 summarizes these four types of activities with examples:

Table 5.1

Language-mediated Activities

	Activities that are routines or occur naturally (Implicit Policy)	Activities that are planned (Explicit Policy)
Mandarin-mediated Activities	Sending child to school Pick up from school Free play (Indoor/outdoor play) Mealtime (Breakfast/lunch/dinner) Bathing	Learning Chinese characters Chinese poetry reciting Bedtime routines (storytelling/talk) After-school programs
English-mediated Activities	Free play (inquire about the meaning of an English word; sing English songs) Video watching	Bedtime listening to English songs English reading English after-school programs

The Mandarin-mediated routine activities refer to the activities that happen on a daily basis as routines, such as sending children to school, picking them up from school, and mealtime. In these activities, Mandarin is naturally chosen and used by parents and children as their mother language, without parents’ explicit or observable efforts. It is an implicit policy that is not explicitly acknowledged or displayed.

The Mandarin-mediated activities that are planned or organized refer to the activities parents schedule for their children as a way of practicing and improving children’s linguistic competence in their first/mother language and narrative/linguistic skills, such as learning Chinese characters, reciting Chinese poetry, and bedtime talk. In these activities, Mandarin is used as a medium of interaction by purposeful choice. These types of activities are considered reflections of explicit language policies that are overtly implemented.

The English-mediated activities that are planned or organized refer to the activities that parents schedule for their children as a way of practicing and improving English proficiency,

such as English reading and English after-school programs. In these activities, English is used as a medium of interaction and instruction by purposeful choice. Therefore, they are considered to reflect an explicit policy that is overtly implemented.

The English-mediated activities that occur naturally refer to the activities in which children use English naturally for communication without parents' explicit and observable efforts. For instance, children sing English songs as the English audio plays, and children speak English words or inquire about the meanings of these words while watching English cartoons. This is considered as an implicit and *de facto* language policy that is not explicitly acknowledged or displayed.

Mandarin-mediated Routine Activities

The major Mandarin-mediated routine activities across the five participant families include parents sending their children to school every morning, picking them up in the afternoon, children's free play with parents, children's bathing, and mealtime. In these activities, parents and children use Mandarin for greetings, negotiation, explanations, displaying agreement, giving advice (Ochs, 1986), as well as engagement, showing care and support. Mandarin is "naturally" chosen because it is the first/mother language and official language in Beijing.

Sending children to school. Parents (or sometimes grandparents in some families) send their children (or grandchildren) to school at 7:20 – 7:40 am in the morning on weekdays. The preschool is located within the CA community. Parents usually walk their children to school from home. Children often find it difficult to transit from the two-day weekend mode to a school-day mode, especially early on Monday morning. They are dragged out of bed and sent to school immediately after they are up, within approximately 10 minutes. They don't have breakfast at home since the preschool serves three meals a day. When the children leave home,

they usually look grumpy because of sleep inertia, and rarely talk to their parents in the morning. Therefore, very few conversations were recorded while parents or grandparents and children were walking to school. Even when the parents try to initiate a conversation, the children normally do not respond, or call a halt. For instance, on July 10, 2017, Monday morning, Yoyo, held in YF's arms, reluctantly left the house with his parents at 7:35 am. He looked grouchy and sleepy, resting his head on YF's right shoulder. After they walked out of the condo building, YF released his arms and asked Yoyo to walk by himself. Standing up on the ground grudgingly, Yoyo sighed, held YM's and YF's hands with each of his hands, and started walking to school. He did not talk on the way, with his eyes half open. When seeing other children in the same neighborhood going to school with their parents, Yoyo started the conversation:

Yoyo: 不要去幼儿园。

Yoyo: Don't go to preschool.

YM: 哦，不想去幼儿园呀？幼儿园小朋友都想你了。而且还能玩滑梯。今天天晴了。

YM: Oh, you don't want to go to preschool? Your classmates in school all miss you. And you can play the slides. It is a sunny day.

YF: 幼儿园还有好吃的。

YF: There is good food in preschool.

YM: 对呀！家里边你都不好好吃饭！在幼儿园吃饭好，老师还能表扬你。对不对？表扬我们的小悠悠！

YM: Yes! You don't eat well at home. [When you eat well in school, the teacher can praise you. Right? Praise our little Yoyo!

Yoyo: 别说表扬我了！

Yoyo: Don't say praise me!

YM: 吃饭好，穿衣服好！

YM: [Yoyo] eat[s] well! [Yoyo] get[s] dressed well!

Yoyo: 别说了！

Yoyo: Stop saying it!

YM: (Laughed)

YM: [笑]

In this excerpt, Yoyo initiated the conversation and told YM that he did not want to go to school. YM did not display her disagreement with Yoyo directly; instead, she repeated Yoyo's words in a question form and then listed the reasons why Yoyo should go to school – his classmates missed him, he could play on the slides, and it was a sunny day. Meanwhile, YF followed up with YM, and provided another reason why Yoyo should go to school – there was good food in school. This reminded YM that Yoyo did not eat well at home on weekend and might indicate that Yoyo only eats well in school. YM immediately proceeded with YF's thread of discourse, and encouraged Yoyo to go to school by using praising, which was rarely used in Chinese culture. She first used a hypothetical scenario that both Yoyo and she knew would happen or had happened before, that is, when a child eats well in school, the teacher praises him/her. Then, YM reinforced it proudly by using an imperative structure, “praise our little Yoyo.” Praising in Chinese culture was seldom used in the old times. Nowadays, teachers and parents try to imitate the Western style of parenting, and use more praising than shaming. But Yoyo felt uncomfortable talking about being praised in public and asked YM not to mention it. However, YM did not stop. She continued praising Yoyo for his eating and dressing as if she were the teacher. Finally, Yoyo said “stop saying it” directly to YM, showing his discomfort at being praised at the moment, and his unwillingness to go to school on Monday morning. YM laughed and stopped the conversation. In this occasion, the parents and the child all used Mandarin naturally as a medium of interaction without explicit explanation or effort from any interlocutor, since it is the mother language and the official language. The child used Mandarin to express his feelings and thoughts about school. The parents tried to explain the meaning of schooling, and help the child acquire “tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems

of beliefs” (Ochs, 1986, p. 2) of schooling through this Mandarin-mediated interactional routine on the way to school.

Picking up children from school. Parents (or sometimes grandparents in some families) pick up their children (or grandchildren) from school at 4:50 – 5:00 pm in the afternoon on weekdays. At 4:50 pm, parents or grandparents gather together at the main entrance gate of the preschool, and wait for the teachers to lead the children out of the classroom building. After the parents or grandparents pick up their children, they usually allow the children to play with their classmates outdoors for one to two hours, either in the Community Park or on the pedestrian walks in the neighborhood. During this time, the parents or grandparents watch the children, and provide care and guidance.

For instance, in Emma’s family, Emma’s grandmother (EG) usually picks up Emma at around 4:50 pm because Emma’s parents don’t get off work until 7:00 pm. EG is the major caregiver of Emma during this time. On July 4, 2017, Tuesday afternoon, a thunderstorm that swept across the city the night before blew some heat and humidity away. The air was clearer. It had been hazy for four days. The weather forecast said it was 86 degrees Fahrenheit. EG left home and walked to the preschool to pick up Emma at 4:45 pm as usual. She brought Emma’s red scooter in her right hand and held a bag of Emma’s toys on her left shoulder. When EG got to the school entrance gate, she greeted other parents and grandparents who were already there waiting for their children and grandchildren to get off school. At 4:50 pm, Emma walked out of the school building in a line with other children, led by two young female teachers. When Emma stepped out of the gate, a chubby boy called her and ran to exchange toys with her. He wanted to take Emma’s Mickey Mouse water bottle, but his grandmother stopped him. Then he searched EG’s toy bag and picked a yellow cellphone toy. EG handed it to him. EG then took out a bottle

of mosquito spray, and sprayed on both Emma's and the boy's legs. After the thunderstorm, there were more mosquitos from the grass and the bushes. Another boy came to join them. The three children sat on the bench and played the yellow cellphone toy together. They all communicated with each other in Mandarin, as recorded in this field note excerpt:

Emma was trying to tell the boys how to play the cellphone toy.

She said, “按一下照相机就照了!” [Press the camera button and you can take pictures!] The chubby boy pressed the camera button.

EG asked him: “拍得漂亮吗?” [Did you take a beautiful photo?]

The boy didn't answer. Emma then said to the boy: “不是那样的，那样拍是歪的。” [It's not like that. If you did it that way,

you would take crooked pictures.] The boy didn't listen. Emma

stood up and started dancing by herself in the playground. EG

followed Emma, fanning her. After a little while, Emma came back

to the bench, lied down, and watched the boy playing the cellphone

toy. Emma said to him: “咱们俩来拍照吧!” [Let's take a picture

together!] The boy didn't respond, but holding the cellphone and

listening to it. (Later I knew that by pressing different buttons on

the phone toy, the children can listen to different songs and nursery

rhyme.) Emma asked him: “你喜欢玩这个吗?” [Do you like

playing with this phone?] The boy didn't answer. He was pressing

the buttons and listening to it. Emma said: “一，二，三...” [One,

two, three...] She counted numbers. The boy still didn't respond.

He squatted on the ground while listening to the phone toy's

music. The boy's grandmother said, “别蹲在地上！” [Don't squat on the ground!] The boy didn't respond. Emma said to him: “有虫子。” [There are bugs on the ground.] EG: “说了也白说。” [It's useless to say it. (I.e. He won't listen.)]

In this episode, Emma was picked up by her grandmother and played with her classmates after school in the neighborhood. There was no explicit adjacency pairs of dialogues in this occasion between any of the interlocutors. EG tried to talk to the boy. He didn't respond. Emma wanted to communicate with the boy and tried to initiate conversations many times. The boy didn't respond either. Even when the boy's grandmother tried to tell him not to squat on the ground, he didn't listen or respond. However, these utterances have different functionality and serve discrepant purposes. The chubby boy's grandmother played a key role as a caregiver in this situation. She only talked to the boy when he sat on the ground. In Chinese culture, parents or grandparents do not allow their children to sit on the ground because it is considered unhealthy to sit on the plain cold ground in Chinese medicine (as it is suggested drinking only *hot* water or tea rather than cold or icy water and tea). Therefore, the boy's grandmother spoke to the boy with a pragmatic purpose. Emma's grandmother and Emma, on the other hand, talked to the boy with a communicative purpose. Emma's grandmother tried to engage in the children's playing the cellphone toy by asking the boy if he took a beautiful photo. Emma tried to participate in playing the cellphone toy by showing the boy how to use the cellphone toy correctly (since it was Emma's toy). No matter what the purposes of their discourses were, none of these interlocutors received responses from the boy. The conversations seemed unidirectional; nonetheless, all the interlocutors naturally chose Mandarin as the medium of interaction across families.

Free play. Children usually play freely indoors or outdoors by themselves or with their parents and/or friends after mealtime during the week or on weekends. Some children like to free play by themselves, reproducing the scenes that they watch in the cartoons. Others like to invite their parents or friends for role play, imitating adults and participating in real-world social events or activities, such as bus driving, fishing, traveling, home delivering and selling things. For instance, Yoyo likes to invite his parents to join his free play. He likes to play certain roles, such as a bus driver, a traveler, or a customer receiving packages. His parents participate in his game and usually play a passenger, a fisherperson, or a mailperson. For instance, on July 19, 2017, Wednesday evening, at 8:55 pm, Yoyo refused to take a bath. He wanted to play “home delivery” with YM. At first, he wanted to use the balcony attached to the master bedroom as his “home,” but it was too hot there – approximately 90 degrees. YF suggested using the master bedroom as Yoyo’s “home” as it was cooler with the air conditioner on. Yoyo agreed. I sat on Yoyo’s bed, facing the king-size bed and the bedroom door. Yoyo was lying on the king-size bed, pretending to be “at home.” At 8:58 pm, YM knocked on the bedroom door. She pretended to be a mailperson delivering goods:

“谁呀？” [Who is that?] Yoyo asked. “悠悠在吗？” [Is Yoyo home?] YM responded. “在！” [Yes!] Yoyo answered, and jumped off the bed and ran to open the bedroom door. YM said, “这是你的快递。你的卡片，还有一个小风扇。好啦！签一下字吧！” [This is your package. It contains a card and a little fan. Ok! Sign on it!] YM pretended to deliver Yoyo’s postcard and his fan from his toy storage rack in the living room to the master bedroom. Yoyo took the goods and said “谢谢” [Thank you.] YM

said “不客气” [You’re welcome.] After she handed the goods to Yoyo, YM took out a sheet of paper as a “receipt” for Yoyo to sign on. Yoyo pretended to sign his name by scribing in the air with his right index finger. YM took the “receipt” back and said, “好，拜拜！” [Ok. Bye-bye!] Yoyo said “拜拜！” [Bye-bye!] to YM and closed the bedroom door. He put the fan on the bed and open the card, pretending to read. But he held the card upside down. ... They played it until 9:06 pm when Yoyo wanted to urinate. That night, YM delivered different toys to Yoyo seven times. Every time when YM knocked on the door, Yoyo was excited and ran to the door, shouting “来包裹了！ 来包裹了！” [The package is coming! The package is coming!]

In this excerpt, Yoyo and YM were playing the home delivery role play. YM played the mailperson delivering packages. Yoyo played the person who received packages. Both of them agreed, after negotiating, that the master bedroom was taken as Yoyo’s “home” where the package was to be delivered to. YM selected Yoyo’s toys stored in the living room and “delivered” them to the master bedroom. It indicates that both of them have prior knowledge of package delivery procedure. For instance, YM, the mailperson, first knocked on the door and asked if Yoyo, the recipient, was “home.” Then she handed the goods to Yoyo and asked him to “sign on the receipt.” Yoyo didn’t ask what a receipt meant or why he had to sign on it. Instead, he scribed his right index finger in the air, pretending to “sign” on it, and then returned the sheet back to YM. After that, Yoyo said “thank you” to YM for delivering the package, and YM said “you’re welcome.” In the end, both of them said “bye-bye” to each other when YM left the

“home” and Yoyo closed the door. The whole procedure went smoothly. There was no confusion, argument, or negotiation about any steps of the delivery. In this activity, YM successfully played the mailperson’s role, and reproduced the scene of a social activity of home delivery through the discursive and embodied practice. This shows that Yoyo has played home delivery with his mother before and was acquainted with the rules of the game. It also indicates that Yoyo may have observed an actual home delivery event in the past, and imitates what has happened in real life. When I conducted the field work, living with Yoyo’s family, there was one time a mailperson knocked on the door during lunch time on a weekend. He came to deliver Yoyo’s toys that YM had ordered online. Yoyo observed the whole process of how the mailperson showed up by the door and physically delivered the package to YM, as well as how YM signed on the sheet and returned it to the mailperson.

Free play is an important way of socializing children into principles of social orders and systems. Parents’ discursive interactions with children play a key part in this process in that they are role modeling what the social order looks like and how to navigate through the system. Furthermore, parents’ active participation responds to children positively, when the children’s actions are acknowledged and supported through language-mediated activities (Ochs, 2002). In this free play, the parent and the child used Mandarin as the medium of interaction throughout the whole process without either interlocutors’ explicit efforts or negotiation. Through this *de facto* language policy in which Mandarin is used, the child not only practiced his Mandarin, but also acquired tacit sociocultural knowledge of a particular social activity.

Mealttime. On weekdays children often have three meals at school. On weekends they usually have meals with their parents or grandparents. In my study, only Cindy has dinner with her parents and grandparents at 7:30 pm on weekdays after her parents get home after work.

According to Cindy's mother, Cindy does not eat well at school because she eats slowly, and sometimes needs help from her teachers. On weekends, children have different schedules for after-school programs. They may eat at restaurants with their parents, or bring snacks with them when attending discrepant activities, for instance, watching a child play or camping. Since I lived with Yoyo's family, I was able to have meals with them every day and recorded the verbatim conversations during their mealtime. The family talked about various issues. When I was having meals with them, the topics were usually on public schools and private schools, children's after school programs, and the schools overseas. Sometimes, Yoyo's parents discussed the food and nutrition that the preschool provided for their child, or taught Yoyo how to use chopsticks correctly.

On the morning of a weekend, Yoyo and his parents usually talk about the plans for the day, such as which park to go, or what activities he wants to participate and with whom. On July 23, 2017, Sunday morning, Yoyo and his parents were discussing which park to go when they were having breakfast:

YM: 要不去雕塑吧, 要不?

YM: How about the Sculpture Park?

Yoyo: 不要! 雕塑公园真是太吵闹了!

Yoyo: No! The Sculpture Park is too loud!

YM: 太吵闹了? 雕塑啊?

YM: Too loud? The Sculpture Park?

Yoyo: 嗯。

Yoyo: Hum.

YM: 雕塑公园不吵啊, 都没什么人了。

YM: The Sculpture Park is not loud. There aren't many people.

Yoyo: 是因为... 是因为... 是因为...是因为...

Yoyo: It is because...It's because...It is

那个工地上有一堆拿...拿...拿着工具的就

because...It's because...The construction site

“当! 当! 当!”

has...has...has...has a bunch of people and

YF: 咱不从那 (工地) 过呗!

Yoyo: 哼!

YM: 咱们可以这样: 咱们在那个公园门口下, 就不在那个终点站下了, 好吗? 咱们就不路过那个工地了。

Yoyo: 我很喜欢这个终点站下。

YM: 不在终点站下了。你像上回咱们终点站下, 完了走了好远然后到那边儿去玩的。那个游乐设施, 就是那个...那个...那个什么转马都在那头嘛! 然后咱们从那下了车, 直接进门, 就就到了。可快了。就不经过那个工地了, 咱们都不用看那个工地。那个工地太吵了。对吧?

YF: 而且还有两个月就修好啦。

YM: 而且还有两个月就修好了, 我们就可以去玩新的游乐设施了。还有滑梯。

YF: 雕塑公园可棒了, 到十一可好了。每回到周六又想去了。

Yoyo: 但是我很想坐终点站。

YM: 不坐终点站。

hold a bunch of tools and "Clang! Clang! Clang!"

YF: We don't have to pass that (construction site).

Yoyo: Hum!

YM: We can do this: we get off the bus at the gate of the park. Not at the final stop. Ok? So we won't pass the construction site.

Yoyo: But I like the final stop very much.

YM: No, not at the final stop. Last time, when we got off at the final stop, we walked so far to get to the park. All the...the...the junior rides are at the park. If we get off at the park, we enter the park and get to the rides directly. Very fast. We don't pass that construction site. We don't even see it. The construction site is too loud. Right?

YF: Also the construction will be done in two months.

YM: The construction will be done in two months. We can play new junior rides. The slides.

YF: 坐终点站你就要路过工地。

YM: 坐终点站就要路过工地要走过好远，妈妈不喜欢走那边。然后又脏、又有土、工地又吵，你不是说有人“当当当”嘛？

YF: 今天没有土了，今天挺潮湿的。

YM: 它有“当当当”嘛。

Yoyo: 但是我很想去。每...每次都去雕塑公园玩了很多游乐设施。我应玩一些...玩...玩一些另外的游乐设施嘛。

YM: 玩另外的一些游乐设施？

YF: 都差不多那些游乐设施！

Yoyo: 哎呀，不行！

YF: The Sculpture Park will be fabulous on the Oct 1st (the National Day). We can go there every Saturday.

Yoyo: But I really want to get to the final stop.

YM: No final stop.

YF: If you get to the final stop, you have to pass that construction site.

YM: If you get to the final stop, you have to pass that construction site. We have to walk too far. Mom doesn't like walking over there. It is too dirty and dusty. It is also too loud.

You just said someone "clang, clang, clang".

YF: It may not be dusty today. It rained...

YM: It is "clang, clang, clang".

Yoyo: But I really want to go. Every time...every time, I play a lot of junior rides at the Sculpture Park. I can also play...play...play other rides.

YM: Play other junior rides?

YF: They are all the same!

Yoyo: Alas, no!

In this excerpt, Yoyo and his parents were discussing which park to go to on Sunday. YM started the conversation by suggesting going to the Sculpture Park. With prior knowledge and experience of going there, Yoyo rejected the suggestion and provided a reason, which is, the Sculpture Park was too loud. YM did not understand what Yoyo was referring to. She repeated his utterance and said the Sculpture Park was not loud because there were not many people in that park. Yoyo tried to explain what he meant by being “too loud,” and repeated four times “it is because” as he was organizing his discourse for reasoning. Then he found the correct words and expressed to YM that there was a construction site at the park with many people who made lots of noise. Though Yoyo could not utter clearly what the people was doing at the site, he used onomatopoeia words, “clang, clang, clang” to imitate the construction work they were doing. YF immediately understood what Yoyo meant, since they had the same prior experience with the park, and offered a solution of not passing that construction site. YM followed up with YF and unpacked the solution by providing the details of how to avoid the loud construction site. She said they could get off the bus at the gate of the Sculpture Park so that they would not pass that construction site. She also indicated the prior experience of getting off the bus at the final stop, which led to the result that they had to walk across the construction site with loud noises. It sounded well-planned and resolved Yoyo’s concern about the loud noise of the construction site. Nonetheless, YM’s mentioning the final stop caught Yoyo’s attention. He immediately expressed the reason why they could not implement that recommended solution. Yoyo liked taking public transportation very much, and always liked to sit on the bus until the final stop. At this very point, the focus of this discussion switched from whether to go to the Sculpture Park to whether to get off the bus at the final stop.

YM may or may not have realized the focus switch. She continued persuading Yoyo not to get off at the final stop, by recalling their shared memories of their experience getting off at the final stop last time when they went to the park. Not only did they walk across the loud noisy construction site, they also walked very far until they arrived at the junior ride section of the park. YM then reiterated the solution for the two problems, which is, getting off the bus at the gate of the park so as to avoid walking too far and passing by the noisy construction site. Following that, YF provided a piece of new information to this conversation, which is, the construction site would be accomplished in two months. YM repeated this new information and emphasized that there would be new junior rides and slides. YF added that it was going to be fabulous on the National Day. Yoyo seemed not to be attracted to these new junior rides and slides. He insisted that he wanted to get off the bus at the final stop. YM used a direct rejection to him by saying “no final stop.” Meanwhile, YF reinforced the consequence of getting off the bus at the final stop, which went back to Yoyo’s initial concern, passing the construction site and hearing loud noises. YM repeated the consequence, and added that she did not want to walk too far on the dirty and dusty, loud and noisy road. Interestingly, YF did not follow up with YM this time. Rather, he said because it rained yesterday, it was not quite dirty and dusty. But YM wanted to pull the whole conversation back to its original focus, and stick with Yoyo’s point of avoiding the loud and noisy construction site. She quoted Yoyo’s own words, “It is clang, clang, clang.” At this point, Yoyo’s focus switched again. He started mumbling about playing junior rides at the Sculpture Park every time he went there, and lost his argument. YM was patient and tried to find his point by repeating his own words, “playing other junior rides,” in a question form. However, YF seemed losing his patience and raised his voice when he said the junior rides and slides “are all the same.” Yoyo yelled back and said “alas, no!” YM did not want to continue

this conversation and asked Yoyo to eat some fruit for breakfast to distract him. The discussion ended here.

Although this mealtime verbal interaction did not resolve any issues, concerning the original purpose of this conversation, the parents and the child constructed the language practices by using logical reasoning, negotiating, displaying agreement or disagreement, and showing care and acknowledgement. The child switched the focus of discussion three times and lost his ground of argument in the conversation. Yet his parents, YF at first, and YM the whole time, still showed patience and support for his argumentation. Both the parents and the child used Mandarin in this interaction naturally without any explicit effort. The child cultivated his linguistic competence in his mother language as well as socializing through showing empathy and care, negotiating and logical reasoning.

Bathing. Bathing is one of the key components of children's bedtime routine, which includes bathing, watching videos, bedtime talk, and bedtime storytelling. Bathing is the most intimate and private activities in family daily routines. In my study, I was given access to Emma's bathing once, and Yoyo's bathing three times. In Yoyo's family, it is YF's responsibility to bath Yoyo each night. YF rarely talks while bathing his son. His main focus is to get the task accomplished as soon as he can. However, there was once YF talking to Yoyo in the child's realm of knowledge and vocabulary.

On July 9, 2017, Sunday night, at 8:52 pm, YF started Yoyo's bathing routine. YF first walked into the bath room to get prepared. Then he asked Yoyo to come in and get ready for a bath. Yoyo walked in, and took off his shirt and shorts by himself. Meanwhile YF was filling hot water in the bathtub. When it was 1/3 full, Yoyo jumped into the tub. He held a toy car in his right hand and "drove" it in the bathtub as if it were a submarine sailing in the deep sea. YF

poured some shampoo on Yoyo's hair and washed it. He then used a wet towel to wipe Yoyo's hair. Later I learned that Yoyo doesn't like the shower nozzle to pour on his hair. YF then wiped Yoyo's face with the same towel. Yoyo continued playing driving the submarine in the deep sea and talked to himself as if he were executing a tough mission. He reproduced the scene in the cartoon he watched. YF did not talk to Yoyo at all. At 9:02 pm, Yoyo started jumping in the tub, splashing YF's shirt:

Yoyo: 一条长蛇掉水里了! [笑]

Yoyo: A long snake fell into the water! [Laugh]

YF: [沉默]

YF: [Silence]

Yoyo: 一条长蛇掉水里了! [跳]

Yoyo: A long snake fell into the water! [Jump]

YF: 哎呀! 别玩了!

YF: Ouch! Don't play around!

Yoyo: [跳]

Yoyo: [Jump]

YF: 站好了! 别摔倒了!

YF: Stand up straight! Don't fall!

Yoyo: [跳]

Yoyo: [Jump]

YF: 哎呀! 我的衣服! 都弄湿了嘛! 啊!

YF: Aw! My clothes! They got wet! Aw!

Yoyo: [跳]

Yoyo: [Jump]

YF: 一会儿你那个潜水艇弄坏了!

YF: You will break your submarine!

Yoyo: 什么?

Yoyo: What?

YF: 你那个潜水艇弄坏了!

YF: You will break your submarine!

Yoyo: [跳]

Yoyo: [Jump]

Yoyo: 它不怕...它不让...它不怕大波浪的!

Yoyo: It does not...It will not...It does not fear big waves!

This excerpt shows that after ten minutes of bathing, Yoyo started jumping in the bathtub when calling out, “A long snake fell into the water.” YF did not respond as usual. Yoyo told stories to himself in his realm of knowledge and experience, as if he were executing a tough mission while sailing his submarine in the deep sea. Suddenly, Yoyo jumped again and again, harder and louder, and repeated himself, “A long snake fell into the water.” It seems that he was trying to get YF’s attention and expecting some reactions from YF. As he jumped the second time, it splashed lots of water and wetted YF’s shirt. YF’s first reaction was yelling “ouch” and told Yoyo not to play around. It was the first time he used his power as a parent to stop Yoyo’s action. Yoyo did not listen and jumped again. YF then said, “Stand up straight! Don’t fall.” He showed his care and concern and expressed that he did not want Yoyo to fall when jumping in the slippery bathtub. This was the second time YF used his power to stop Yoyo’s action. Again, Yoyo did not listen. He continued jumping with more water splashing YF’s shirt. This time, YF yelled, “Aw! My clothes! They got wet! Aw!” He was trying to show the consequence of Yoyo’s action so as to make him stop. It was the third time YF used his power directly on Yoyo. Yet, Yoyo did not stop either. After that, YF changed his strategy. He started talking as if he stepped into Yoyo’s imaginative world and employed Yoyo’s vocabulary. He said, “You will break your submarine,” showing the consequence of Yoyo’s jumping in the bathtub in the realm of children’s world. When hearing this, Yoyo suddenly stopped. He might not believe what he just heard, so he asked, “What?” YF repeated, “You will break your submarine.” Yoyo got extremely excited and jumped even higher and harder. He started mumbling, “it does not...,” “it will not...,” then he found the right words and claimed that his submarine “does not fear big waves” in response to YF’s utterance.

In this conversation, both the parent and the child used Mandarin naturally in their daily family routine activity. The parent first used logical reasoning in making an order as an authority. When it did not work, he tactfully employed the discourse in the children's realm of imaginative world and accomplished the communication. He first acknowledged the child's prior knowledge of sailing the submarine, which was acquired from his cartoon watching. Then he showed the consequence based on the imaginative world of logic. The child responded to the parent in a logical manner as well. Based on his prior learning of submarines, he believed that the consequence that his father predicted would not occur. During this process, the child got socialized through the *de facto* use of Mandarin, the discursive interaction with the adult language user, his parent. Even though it was delivered in the realm of children's imaginative world, this interaction had a solid foundation of the principles of reality based on the animated cartoons the child had watched before.

Planned Mandarin-mediated Activities

The major planned Mandarin-mediated activities across the five participant families include children's Chinese learning, bedtime talk and storytelling, and after-school programs. Parents plan these activities for the purpose of helping their children practice Chinese in different ways, for instance, learning Chinese characters, studying classic literature, such as Chinese poetry and idiom stories from the ancient times, or improvising talks at bedtime. Parents also expect their children to acquire other skills through the Chinese medium of instruction, for example, they send their children to go to different after-school programs, such as ballet, swimming, Lego, and painting classes. In these activities, Mandarin is intentionally chosen because it is the first/mother language and official language in Beijing, China. Therefore, using Mandarin for these planned activities is one of the *de jure* language policies in these families.

Chinese learning. Parents help their children learn written Chinese from teaching the pictographic characters. They choose to use a set of character cards with a pictograph on one side of the card, and its Chinese character and English word on the flip side.



Figure 5.1 Yoyo's Chinese characters learning materials.

In Figure 5.1, there are two examples of the character cards, 伞 (umbrella) and 比 (compare). The first picture at the top left is a pictograph of the character 伞 (umbrella). It looks like an open bamboo umbrella in ancient China. The second picture at the top right is the actual Chinese character, 伞, with its English word, *umbrella* underneath. The third picture at the bottom left is a pictograph of the character 比 (compare). It looks like two persons standing next to each other, which indicates the concept of “comparison”. The fourth picture at the bottom right is the actual Chinese character, 比, with its English word, *compare* underneath. The set of character cards are key resources for children to learn Chinese. The character cards parents use

are categorized into entry level characters and advanced level characters. Parents use this learning material to help teach their children to read and write the characters, usually on the night of weekdays after dinner, or during the day on weekends. In Yoyo's family, YF often teaches Yoyo characters after dinner time. He usually shows one card to Yoyo at a time, pronounces the character, and explains what it means, connecting the pictograph to the form and the meaning of the character. Yoyo reads after YF, repeating the pronunciation of each character. For instance:

YF: 这个呢? 这叫“囚”。

YF: What is this? This is “囚” (prisoner).

Y: 囚。

Y: 囚 (prisoner).

YF: 囚犯的“囚”。你看, 这里面是不是一个“人”呐? 然后一个框把他围起来了, 所以就是“囚”, 关起来, 叫“囚”, “囚犯”。

YF: “囚”means prisoner. Look, inside is a “person”, right? Then there is a fence enclosing him. So it is “囚” (prisoner).

Y: 囚。

Locking someone up means putting him in prison. [Then he is] a prisoner.

YF: 如果一个人犯了罪, 把他关起来, 变成囚犯了, 就是这个意思。

Y: 囚 (prisoner).

YF: If someone commits a crime, he will be locked up. He becomes a prisoner. This is what [this character] means.

In this excerpt, YF first asked Yoyo what the character was, and he answered it himself, the character “prisoner.” Yoyo repeated what YF said. Then YF explained the pictograph of the character “prisoner,” connecting it to the meaning of “prisoner.” If a person is enclosed by a fence, just as what the pictograph shows, it means that the person is a prisoner. Yoyo then pronounced the word again. YF furthered the meaning of the character and provided an abstract interpretation of “prisoner.” He explained that if a person committed a crime, he would be locked

up and became a prisoner. Then YF put the character card aside, and continued teaching another character.

Another planned activity for children to learn Chinese is reciting classic poems from Tang and Song dynasties (618 – 1276). Parents provide children with poetry books with pictures and explanations of the poems, and ask the children to recite them (see Figure 5.2). Since all Chinese classic poems are rhymed, parents think that reciting the poems is a good way of enhancing children’s sense of the mother language and learning their heritage culture and history through these poems from ancient China.



Figure 5.2 Yoyo’s Chinese poetry learning material.

Bedtime routines. The bedtime routine is one of the key activities for children in the family domain. It includes bathing, watching videos, bedtime talk, and bedtime storytelling. Among these activities, bedtime talk and bedtime storytelling are parents’ planned activities for children to better acquire Mandarin and socialize through Mandarin.

Bedtime talk. Parents design the bedtime talk activity in the children's bedtime routines in order for children to acquire Mandarin and use it for describing things that have happened in the past or will happen in future, as well as expressing ideas about their feelings and thoughts. Through my observations, I found that there are two types of bedtime talk, a routine talk, and an improvisational talk. A routine talk refers to the talk that is scheduled every day after the children take a bath and lie in bed. The topics of a routine talk often include what the child does for the day, what particular activities he or she does, whom he or she plays with, how he or she feels about the day, whether the teacher praises him or her about anything they do well in preschool, what his or her thoughts about school or extracurricular activities. An improvisational talk refers to a talk that happens naturally during the children's bedtime routine activities. The topics varies depending on the specific contexts.

For Yoyo's family, the routine talk has been conducted for over two years since Yoyo was two years old. The original purpose is to help Yoyo speak Mandarin and socialize through Mandarin-mediated interactions. Each night, after Yoyo takes a bath, he lies down in his own bed and talks to YM about his day. YM usually lies in her king-size bed and initiates the conversation. On July 2, 2017, Sunday, Emma's family invited Yoyo's family to go to a Children's Indoor Amusement Park in a shopping mall. Later that night, at 9:21 pm, as Yoyo was lying down in his own bed after bathing, YM walked in and lied in her King-size bed besides Yoyo's bed. She started a conversation about Yoyo's day:

YM: 今天，今天都干啥来着？想想今天干
嘛来着？

Yoyo: 今天去幼儿园。。。。

YM: Today, what did we do today? Think
about what we did today.

Yoyo: Today [I] went to preschool...

YM: 瞎说。今天去幼儿园了吗? 瞎说。想想今天干嘛来了?

Yoyo: 今天去。。。今天去游乐场了。

YM: 然后碰见谁啦? 跟谁一起玩哒?

Yoyo: 爱玛。

YM: 对啦。你跟爱玛玩的游乐园对不对?

Yoyo: 玩了火车。

YM: 对呀。

Yoyo: 还玩了那个晃的那个游戏。

YM: 真的呀? 对呀, 后来玩晃的游戏。你觉得所有的这些那个游乐设施里面哪个是最好玩的? 悠悠?

Yoyo: 嗯, 那个晃哒。

YM: 你就觉得后来的那个晃的好玩啊?

Yoyo: 嗯!

YM: 唉呀妈呀, 我都觉得晕死了悠悠那个。那小火车呢? 好玩吗?

Yoyo: 好玩! 但我觉得那个那个很好玩, 但我觉得更喜欢的是那个晃的, 因为那个火车开得很慢。

YM: Nonsense. [You] went to preschool today? Nonsense. Think about what [you] did today.

Yoyo: Today [I] went... Today [I] went to the [indoor] amusement park.

YM: Then whom [did we] bump into? Whom [did you] play with?

Yoyo: Emma.

YM: Right. You played with Emma at the amusement park, right?

Yoyo: [We] played the train.

YM: Right!

Yoyo: [We] also played the wagging game.

YM: Really? Right. Later [you] played the wagging game. Among all these recreation facilities, which one is the most fun facility, Yoyo?

Yoyo: Hmm, that wagging one.

YM: You just think that wagging one is the most fun game?

Yoyo: Hm.

YM: 哦! [笑]

Yoyo: 我喜欢快的!

YM: 哦。那小火车开太慢了是吗? 你喜欢快的? 哦!

Yoyo: 嗯!

YM: 所以觉得那个晃的比较有意思, 那个晃的快, 是吗?

Yoyo: 嗯。

YM: 真棒! 但是我觉得后来你和爸爸玩的两回碰碰车。那个碰碰车也不错啊!

Yoyo: 然后呢, 然后那个、那个、那个晃的那个, 它就“哧”它就晃来晃去。

YM: 哈哈。但是碰碰车你们的车上还有枪呢! 车上还有枪呢! 我记得, 就是黄色的那种枪。有没有? 那碰碰车我记得你和爱玛你们俩玩了两回吧? 吃饭前玩一回, 下午后来又玩一回。之前玩的啥来着? 好玩吗? 这些都好玩是吧?

Yoyo: 嗯。

YM: 好棒哦!

YM: Oh my goodness, I felt the wagging one dizzy to death, Yoyo. How about the mini-train? Is it fun?

Yoyo: It's fun! But I think that [mini-train] is very fun. But I think I like the wagging one more, because the train drove too slowly.

YM: Oh! (Laughed)

Yoyo: I like [driving] fast!

YM: Ah. That mini-train drove too slow, right? You like driving fast? Oh!

Yoyo: Hum!

YM: So [you] think that wagging one is more interesting because it waggled fast, right?

Yoyo: Hm.

YM: Fabulous! But I think later you and dad played the bumper cars twice. That was also good!

Yoyo: Then, and then, that, that, that wagging one, it was like “Chi!” It waggled back and forth.

YM: Haha. But you have guns on your bumper car, I remember. That yellow gun.

Yoyo: 但是更好玩的是那个晃的。

YM: 哦，你还是觉得那个晃的。好吧，我觉得那个晃的最晕了，妈妈要坐上头肯定得吐啊。

Yoyo: 我觉得那个上边好玩。

YM: 你就觉得那上面的好玩？

Yoyo: 嗯。

Right? I remember you and Emma played the bumper cars twice, once before lunch, and once in the afternoon. What did you play before that? Was it fun? All of these are fun?

Yoyo: Hm.

YM: Fabulous!

Yoyo: But the wagglng one is more fun.

YM: Oh, you still think that wagglng one [is more fun]. Okay. I think that wagglng game is the dizziest one. If Mom sat on it, Mom would vomit on it.

Yoyo: I think [the wagglng one is] fun.

YM: You just think the wagglng one is fun?

Yoyo: Hm.

In this excerpt, YM started the routine talk by asking Yoyo a general question that she asked daily, what Yoyo did for the day. As an activity that Yoyo does every night, mostly on weekdays, he answered automatically that he went to school. YM responded with a direct rejection, jokingly, and elicited Yoyo further by asking more questions, “what we did, whom we bumped into, and whom we played with.” Yoyo remembered that they went to the indoor amusement park with Emma’s family, and answered YM’s questions accordingly. Then YM asked specific questions, such as, what games Yoyo played, and which recreation facility was most fun to him. Not only did Yoyo described what he played, he also expressed his feelings and the reasons why he enjoyed the “wagglng game” the most. YM exchanged her opinions on the

wagging game and mentioned other recreation facilities she thought that Yoyo may also have enjoyed. Yoyo displayed his disagreement, and further explained why he enjoyed the wagging game the most.

This episode of bedtime talk shows how the mother organizes the bedtime activity around the topics of the child's daily life. It also demonstrates how she initiated the talk, asked general and specific questions, and how she engaged her child in the talk by exchanging opinions and feelings in an effective and vivid way. This planned routine activity achieved the mother's original purpose of helping the child practice Mandarin and socialize through their interactions. Both the mother and the child spoke Mandarin in this activity naturally.

In addition to the planned bedtime talk routine, there is also another type of bedtime talk, the unplanned improvisational talks that occur naturally during children's bedtime routine activities. For instance, on July 4, 2017, Tuesday night, an improvisational talk occurred after Emma took a bath and waited for her mother's storytelling. At 8:29 pm, EM finished bathing Emma in the bathroom within the master bedroom. EF walked in, and held Emma up from the bathtub. He put her on a stool by the tub, and wrapped her up with a towel. Then he carried her out of the bathroom and placed her on the king-size bed. EF dried her hair with the same towel, and tried to dress her. Emma refused to get dressed. She was jumping up and down on the bed. Finally, EF grasped her arms and helped her wear her pajamas. Then EF walked to the balcony attached to the bedroom and put up the wet towel on the clothes airing bar. He grabbed a dry towel from the bar and came back in. He held the towel and said to Emma, “擦个皮鞋!” [Let's shine the shoes!] Emma laughed and let EF dry her hair. After that, he intended to walk back to the bathroom and clean up the bathtub. When he saw Emma look through her story books placed in her bed, he started this conversation with Emma:

EF: 你自己下来去客厅吧。我给你去收拾浴缸。

Emma: 去客厅干什么?

EF: 你去客厅干什么? 一会儿妈妈要给你讲故事是吗?

Emma: 对。

EF: 这是什么? 这是什么?

Emma: Poly.

EF: 这本书是什么?

Emma: 《天生的捣蛋鬼》。

EF: 你怎么知道的? 你认字吗? 哈哈!

《天生的惹祸精》。

Emma: 就是... .. Ziyue.

EF: 哦, Ziyue. 这是谁呀? 哪个是那个叫什么“Yun”? 是她吗?

Emma: Yunbao.

EF: 她叫 Yunbao, 是吗?

Emma: 这有介绍你看看。

EF: 你坐这儿看吧! 我去把浴缸...

Emma: Yunbao 的介绍, 爸爸!

EF: 介绍?

EF: Get off the bed yourself and go to the living room. I'll go clean up the bath tub.

Emma: What do I do in the living room?

EF: What do you do in the living room?

Mommy will read stories, right?

Emma: Yes.

EF: What is this? What is this?

Emma: Poly.

EF: What is this book?

Emma: "A Born Troublemaker".

EF: How do you know? Do you read? Haha!

"A Born Nuisance".

Emma: Is...Ziyue.

EF: Oh, Ziyue. Who is this? Who is that

"Yun"? Is that her?

Emma: Yunbao.

EF: Her name is Yunbao, isn't it?

Emma: Here is the introduction. Take a look.

EF: You sit here and read. I'll go get the bath tub (cleaned).

Emma: Yunbao's introduction, Papa!

EF: Introduction?

Emma: This is the introduction.

Emma: 这个是介绍。

EF: 这本书讲什么你告诉我?

Emma: 就讲.....这个介绍里面的人物。

EF: 啊, Ziyue, Huirong, Yunbao, Biqu,

Pingguojia...

Emma: Guirong.

EF: Hui? Sui? Hui?

Emma: Suirong.

EF: Suirong. 宇宙公主? 是独角兽是吗?

Emma: 对, 独角兽是一个公主, 她已经是
一个大人了。

EF: 喔! 她一千岁了! 天啊! 这个月亮公
主是谁呀?

Emma: 是她妹妹。是那个小孩的。

EF: 哦, 差这么多。

Emma: 她是升起月亮的, 她是升起那个太
阳的。

EF: 哦! 真棒啊!

Emma: 然后呢, 她们两个打起架来了。

EF: 为什么呢?

EF: Tell me what this book is about.

Emma: It is about...this is the introduction of
all the characters.

EF: Ah, Ziyue, Huirong, Yunbao, Biqu,
Pingguojia...

Emma: Guirong.

EF: Hui? Sui? Hui?

Emma: Suirong.

EF: Suirong. Princess of the Universe? A
unicorn, right?

Emma: Yes, the unicorn is a princess. She is
an adult already.

EF: Wow! She is a thousand years old! My
goodness! Who is this Princess of the Moon?

Emma: That's her sister. That child's (sister).

EF: Oh, big difference (in age)!

Emma: She raises the Moon, and she raises
the Sun.

EF: Oh, fabulous!

Emma: And then, the two fight.

EF: Why?

Emma: Because...um...she said the night is
eternal. She got angry. Then she used this to

Emma: 因为呢，那个。。。她说永远是黑夜。她生气了。然后她用这个给她包围到月亮里边，然后呢，她，她，她就回来了。

EF: 所以她就。。。。

Emma: 第一季她就要回来了，然后呢那个，那个，她就变成一个大的了，跟她一样大了。

EF: 哦！

Emma: 不是，跟她岁数不一样大，但是那个一样高了。

EF: 啊！然后呢。。。所以她们就打架了，是吗？

Emma: 对。因为妹妹说永远是黑夜，姐姐生气了。

EF: 这样啊。

wrap her in the Moon. Then, she, she, she got back.

EF: So then she ...

Emma: In this first Season, she will be back. Then, um, um, she becomes big, as big as she is.

EF: Oh!

Emma: No, not as old as she is, but as tall as she is.

EF: Ah! And then...so they fight, don't they?

Emma: Yes. Because the younger sister said the night is eternal. The elder sister was angry.

EF: Ah I see.

In this excerpt, bedtime talk occurred naturally between Emma and her father, EF, after Emma took a bath and waited for her mother to read stories for her as a daily routine. When EF finished drying Emma, he intended to go to the bathroom and clean up the bathtub. Yet when he saw Emma look through her story books, he asked her what the book she had picked. Emma said *Poly* in English, the character's name on the cover of the book. It seemed that EF was trying to

ask the name of book, so he continued asking what the book was. Emma got the question and said, “A Born Troublemaker.” EF laughed but did not correct her directly. Instead, he teased Emma by asking, “How do you know? Do you read?” Then he read loud the correct name of the book, “A Born Nuisance.” However, Emma did not realize that she remembered the name of book wrong and EF was trying to tell her the right name. She thought that EF was asking which character was the born nuisance in the book. She responded, “(the born nuisance) is Ziyue.” EF did not further clarify the name of book, instead, he followed Emma and asked who else the main characters in the book were. This arouse Emma’s great interest. She wanted to show EF the introduction of all the characters. Having his responsibility in mind, EF told Emma to read the introduction herself when he tended to go clean up the bathtub. With a strong expectation to share the book with her father, Emma raised her voice and waved the book at EF, “Yunbao’s introduction, Papa!” At this moment, EF decided to put off the bathtub cleaning. He walked back and said to Emma, “Tell me what this book is about.” Emma then told EF about the names of all the characters, and the story about the Princess of Universe, a unicorn, and her sister, the Princess of the Moon. With EF’s encouragement and enlightening questions, Emma retold the story by herself.

This episode of bedtime talk shows how the father facilitated his child’s narrative practice by a naturally occurring conversation with mediating artifacts of storybooks. The father’s questions helped the child recall the stories that her mother had read for her before, and retell it in her imaginative discourses with the aid of storybooks. When the child misremembered the name of the book, the father did not correct her straightway. He used teasing, a key strategy to language socialization (Miller, 1986). Though his child did not quite comprehend it, the effective father-daughter communication shows the playful nature of teases. In this interaction,

both the father and the child used Mandarin as the primary communicative language, though the child said one English word, *Poly*, the name of the character in the book.

Reading stories. Another bedtime routine is parents' reading stories for their children as they are lying down in bed after bathing. The story books include traditional Chinese fables, Chinese idiom stories, and Western fairy tales or fictions translated into English (see Figure 5.3). Across the five participant families, all the parents read stories in Mandarin.



Figure 5.3 Emma's story books for bedtime.

Some children look at the pictures in the books when their parents are reading. Most of them close their eyes while listening and gradually falling asleep. There are rarely any conversations between the parents and the children during the storytelling activities. Occasionally, some children ask questions about the characters or a particular event.

After-school programs. All the children across the five families go to different after-school programs, such as Ballet, Lego, swimming, painting, and singing classes.¹⁰ Each child has a different weekly schedule of after-school classes. For instance, the twins go to swimming classes on Monday and Thursday, dancing classes on Wednesday and Sunday, and the Lego class on Saturday. Lucy goes to a singing class and a painting class on Saturday, and a ballet class on Wednesday. Yoyo only goes a Lego class every Wednesday, and Cindy goes to a painting class on Saturday. Emma goes to swimming and painting classes on Saturday. In all the above classes, Mandarin is the medium of instruction intentionally chosen because it is the first/mother language and official language in Beijing, China.

Planned English-mediated Activities

The major planned English-mediated activities across the five participant families include children's English reading at home, attending the English after-school programs and doing homework assigned by the programs, watching English videos, and listening to English songs. Parents plan these activities as daily routines with the goal of helping their children learn English in the Chinese-dominant language environment. In these activities, parents play a role of facilitator and instructor, guiding their children's reading and listening, and accomplishing homework assignment on time. Mandarin is the major medium of instruction because it is the mother language for both the parents and the children. For some activities, English is also the medium of instruction as a purposeful choice. Practicing and learning English at home is one of the *de jure* language policies explicitly planned and overtly implemented, in despite of the differences among the five participant families, in terms of what kind of activities they do, how the parents manage them, and how much time they spend on them each day.

¹⁰ They also go to the English after-school program, which is discussed in a separate section.

English reading. In the twins' family, the twins have a strict schedule for reading English every day for two hours in total. This routine activity has been conducted for over a year. Besides going to the English after school program for four hours each week, TM sets up a fixed time for the girls to read English books, recommended by other parents (see Figure 5.4).

It was July 8, 2017, Saturday morning at 8:42 am that the twins' started doing the daily English reading activity. The reading room was approximately 85 ft² with two bookshelves on the left side by the door. The twins' mother and Lily were sitting next to each other across the shelves. I was sitting on a children's pink stool by the larger bookshelf facing them. It was 98 degrees outside. The sunlight spilled into the room through the window, and shone down on the books piling on the floor. The air conditioner was off. The window was closed and there was no breeze. I was sweaty, feeling a bit dizzy. I couldn't breathe. I kept drinking water and felt exhausted. I wonder how the children read English books for two hours every day in this room. Every day the twins read 10 new English books (with no Chinese translation) in the morning of every weekend, and review them in the evening during the week. From the morning of a following weekend, they start reading another set of 10 new books. There are 16 pages in each book, with one sentence in each page and a picture illustration of that sentence. Every day the twins follow an Application (APP) on TM's iPad, a digital audio record of the books read by an American voice. They read out loud each sentence after the audio record. TM supervises and facilitates the reading activity in Mandarin. Usually she taps on the iPad once as it reads one sentence on that page, and taps it again to pause it. Then she asks the twins to repeat what the audio says. Sometimes when the twins cannot follow the audio or pronounce particular words inaccurately, TM corrects them and instructs them to repeat.



Figure 5.4 TM is supervising the twins reading English respectively on a Saturday morning.

In Emma's family, EM supervises Emma to do "Mission" weekly, a homework assigned by her after-school English program. "Mission" is an Application (APP) on iPad, connecting to

the internet. Each week, the after-school English program assigns a homework with different types of exercises on the “Mission” APP, where their voices can be recorded and uploaded online through the internet. All the children who attend this program have their name listed on the APP. Both parents and children can access to this APP and are able to listen to other children’s audio reading records. The “Mission” APP also scores children’s reading automatically by its accuracy, articulation, and intonation.

On the night of July 4, 2017, at 8:50 pm, EM took out her iPad and sat down with Emma on the couch. They were ready for a “Mission” assignment. Emma picked one exercise with 24 questions. The first set of 8 questions were “What is it?” which asked Emma to pick a right word from two words according to the picture provided. The second set of 8 questions were “Listen and Say” which asked Emma to listen to the word and repeat what it said. The APP scored Emma’s pronunciation automatically. The third set of 8 questions were to choose the right letter for the given word. It altogether took 16 minutes for Emma to complete the session of 24 questions. Then she started the second mission, “Reading sentences.” Emma were asked to read a sentence and imitate the intonation. The APP scored Emma’s articulation and intonation automatically by giving a score and certain number of stars. It took Emma 9 minutes to accomplish the second mission. EM facilitated and guided this activity, and encouraged Emma when she did not receive a high score.

English after-school program. Children go to different English after-school programs on weekdays after they get off school at 5 pm or on weekends during the day. Yoyo does not go to any English after-school programs because YM is an English Professor at a college and she teaches Yoyo English herself at home. Cindy does not go to English program either. CM expresses her concern that learning two languages too early could possibly confuse her child.

When I was conducting the field work, Cindy went to different English programs and took the free-trial classes. She had not decided which programs to attend.

Emma goes to the “First Leap” English program, advertised as the “Future Leaders’ Institute,” as shown in Figure 5.5. Emma goes to this program every Saturday, from 9 – 10:30 am. She has been studying in this program since she was 2.5 years old.



Figure 5.5 First Leap English After-School Program attended by Emma.

Lucy goes to “Best Learning” English after-school program, advertised as the “American K12 Learning Center,” with a huge logo which says, “Best Learning Best Future” (see Figure 5.6). Lucy goes to this English program each Wednesday from 8:30 am – 4:30 pm. LM has to ask the day off for Lucy at her public preschool. The program serves three meals in a day, and all the lead teachers are from English speaking countries. Lucy has been studying in this program for five months. LM feels that Lucy’s English proficiency has greatly improved after she goes to this program.



Figure 5.6 Best Learning English After-School Program attended by Lucy.

The twins go to “Sesame Street English” Program (see Figure 5.7). Their slogan is “Helping kids grow smarter, stronger, and kinder.” The twins go to this English program on Tuesday and Friday, from 6 – 8 pm each week, after their regular school day from 8 am – 5 pm. They have been studying in this program for over a year.



Figure 5.7 Sesame Street English Program attended by the twins.

In all these English after-school programs, parents or any other adults do not have access to the classroom. There is a camera installed in the ceiling in each of the classroom. Parents often sit at the waiting zone in the hall and watch their children live on a big screen placed in the hall. However, there is no sound of the video. They cannot hear what the teachers say to the children, but only see their body movement during an activity. In each classroom, there is a Chinese teacher assistant and a foreign lead teacher. The medium of instruction is half English and half Mandarin.

English song listening. In Yoyo's family, listening to English songs at night is part of the bedtime routine. Yoyo's bedtime routine starts from bathing. He then watches one episode of a cartoon series while drinking milk. After that, YM starts their bedtime talk about Yoyo's day. Then YM reads stories for him. After the storytelling, YM turns off the light, and turns on a Children's English Bedtime Song CD, produced by BBC. The songs include English letters, basic words, and simple sentence structures for greeting. Sometimes Yoyo imitates the letters,

sings a few words with it, and hums before falling asleep. Occasionally, Yoyo inquires YM about the meanings of particular words. Each night, YM plays different songs for Yoyo.

Reflecting on this activity, YM states that her purpose is not to force Yoyo to learn English words or sentences through songs, or intervene too much during this process. She intends to create a natural learning environment of English for Yoyo, especially enhancing his interest in learning English through listening and singing songs. Even though Yoyo cannot pronounce the words accurately, YM does not correct him intentionally. For instance, YM says in the dyadic interview with YF:

他看那个《佩奇》的动画片里边有英文歌。然后那个佩奇就总是在那唱什么什么什么，然后 *all day long*，他又学会 *all day long*，但是他发音不准，他说 *all zay long*，我说 *all day long*，他说“你才错了呢！”然后他就坚持他那个，我也不跟他纠正了，他自个就唱去了。还有我一开始没听懂，完了，反正那是人家那歌唱是 *merrily, merrily, merrily*，然后他说“苗零零、苗零零、苗零零”，然后我说什么“苗零零”，完了后来我才看见那个英文的歌，是 *merrily*。但是他学就学走样了，但是他自个唱着高兴，完了他也不觉得说我一定

There are English songs in “Peppa Pig”, the animated cartoon that he [Yoyo] watches. Peppa Pig always sings like *blah blah blah*, then she sings *all day long*. So he learned *all day long*. But he can’t pronounce it correctly. He said “*all zay long*.” I said, “*all day long*.” He said “you are wrong!” Then he insisted on his [pronunciation] and I didn’t correct him anymore. He just sings his way. Also once I couldn’t understand [what he sang] at first. Anyhow, they sing *merrily, merrily, merrily*. But he sang, *miao ling ling, miao ling ling, miao ling ling*. I was like, what is this “*miao ling ling*”? Later I saw the lyrics. It was *merrily*. But he imitated in a wrong way. Yet,

要跟你一样，就是他自个唱就在那哼哼。我从来也没纠正他，他觉得好玩就听，觉得好玩，就说呗。就按他那个发音去说。其实这个东西我相信还是自然而然的过程，等到他真上了学了，他有一天学到了“all day long”这个词组，他肯定会想起《小猪佩奇》的那个动画片的，他肯定有印象，我相信这个。因为语言的输入，它经过好多年，你就一下子就突然回想起来了。我觉得我小时候有这类似的经历，所以他肯定也会有，而且他原来说中文的时候就是这样。

he was happy singing it his way. He didn't think that he had to sing exactly [the way] you did. He just sang his way and hummed. I never correct him. If he finds it interesting, he listens to it. If he finds it funny, he sings it. Just sing it the way he pronounces it. As a matter of fact, I believe in the natural learning process. When he actually goes to elementary school, one day he will learn the phrase *all day long*. He will definitely remember the animated cartoon "Peppa Pig". He must have an impression of it, I believe. The language input process takes years. One day all of a sudden, you'll recall your childhood experience. I had that kind of experience before. So he will definitely have it too. Also it did happen when he started speaking Chinese.

In this excerpt, YM states that the purpose of planning this activity is not to intervene much in Yoyo's learning to sing by teaching him the meanings of English lyrics or correcting his pronunciation. The goal of English song listening as part of a bedtime routine is to create a natural English learning environment for the child, enhance his interest in learning English, and reinforce his impression of English learning experience.

English-mediated Activities That Are Naturally Occurring

The major English-mediated activities that occur naturally across the five participant families include English video watching and free play. In these activities children use English naturally without parents' observable efforts and inquire into the meanings of English words or sentences when they participate in activities that involve English. Different from the planned English-mediated activities, these naturally occurring activities are not routine-based. However, parents provide children with abundant English learning resources as well as the opportunities for learning English at home. They have explicit goals of creating a favorable language environment for their children and expect learning to happen naturally. Therefore, these practices of using English are both *implicit* and *explicit* family language policies.

Parents provide their children with multiple English learning materials—for instance, traditional Western fairy tale books in English, popular contemporary stories in both English and Chinese, children's English textbooks, children's English learning animated cartoon videos, and English learning audio records, such as C-pen reader pen, a portable, pocket-sized device that reads text out aloud with an English human-like digital voice. In the interview, LF explains how he understands learning, and how wants his child to use these learning materials:

我不想刻意的去告诉她说爸爸是博士，懂英文，一定要教的，我不要让她有这种心理暗示。没有刻意去要求她，不给孩子这种压力，让她去跟别的孩子一起在应该的环境里去学就可以了。我没有说刻意的要求她说英语。她有自己的对自己的方式，

I don't want to tell her [Lucy] intentionally that her father is a Ph.D., and knows English, [so that I] have to teach her [English]. [I don't deliberately] require her. [I don't want to] give her this stress. It's fine to let her learn in a desirable environment with other children. I don't intentionally require her to speak

她愿意做的事去做，不愿做的时候不去强迫她。我觉得特别是女孩子，没有必要揠苗助长，不给她设定几岁应该干什么这样的目标，我觉得没必要，语言这个事情也是一样。今天要看什么东西的时候，那个地方有书，有各种玩具，视频。希望她通过玩这个过程去学习。你看我们这个到处摆的都是乱七八糟的书吗？如果做得好的话，孩子拿到一本书看。她看到什么有问题，我们就给她讲，延展一下。

English. She has her own way of being herself. She has things that she enjoys doing. [I do] not force her to do something she doesn't like. Especially for girls, it's unnecessary to pull up seedlings to help them grow. [I do] not set up any goals for what she is supposed to do at a certain age. I think it unnecessary. The same is true for language [learning]. If she wants to read something today, there are books, toys and videos [we prepare]. We hope that she can learn in the process of playing. You see? We place random books everywhere. If it happened as expected, the kid would pick up a book and read. If she reads something and has questions, we will answer them and unpack it.

In this excerpt, LF indicates that he intends to create a natural learning environment for his child with books randomly placed everywhere in the home. LF expects his child to acquire knowledge based on her own interest. He does not set up particular learning goals for his child based on her age. LF and LM, in this process, play a role of facilitator for the child to learn with support and guidance.

Similarly, YM also thinks learning should happen naturally without strict planning. Providing sufficient English learning resources at home, YM expresses how she understands learning in an interview:

我的观点是说学习是人的天性，就是人天生他就有学习能力。所以你不能刻意的一定要像现在有些家长说一定要放在教室里面跟老师学那叫学习。我觉得对于儿童发展来说，他无时无刻都在学习，他自己在摆弄他自己的玩具，其实也是在学，自己在那哼哼歌也是在学。我没有特定的那个计划每天要读多少，他想起来了就去点一下。后来又买了一这个 BBC 的这个“自然拼读”，有字母的组合，然后发音是什么，这样的话也是让他就是有个印象，就只是有印象而已，但是不要求他有一个输出，所以这就是我在家庭环境里面学英语我能做的就现在目前来讲就这么多，没有强求，也没有固定的学习计划。

My point of view on learning is that learning is human nature. In other words, humans are born with learning capability. So you can't say, as many parents believe nowadays, sitting in the classroom and listening to the teachers is learning. I think in terms of children's development, he is learning at any moment. He is learning when he's playing with his toys. He is learning when he's humming songs. [Therefore] I don't have a fixed daily schedule for how much he should read [English]. If he remembers, he plays it [the C-pen reader pen]. [I] also bought [him] "Natural Spelling" by BBC. It has phonemes and pronunciation. In this way, he'll have an impression of it. Just an impression. But [I] don't require him to output. This is what I do [for him] to learn English in the home environment. So far this is all I can do. There

is no enforcement, no regular studying schedules.

In this excerpt, YM illustrates her views on learning. Since learning is part of human nature, as she illuminates, YM thinks learning happens at any moment in children's daily life, even when they are playing or singing. By providing resources that she selects, YM believes that her child will learn English even without regular reading schedules. For instance, YM prepared a book of English letters for handwriting practice. She placed it with Yoyo's other storybooks. One day, Yoyo picked up the handwriting book and wanted to try (see Figure 5.8). With YM's guidance, Yoyo started practicing writing letters.



Figure 5.8 Yoyo is practicing writing English Letters.

Both YM and LF consider learning as a natural process, or part of human nature. However, they ignore the fact that their possession of doctoral degrees and abundant learning

resources are cultural capital transmitted to their children through family socialization (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Parents such as YM and LF, obtain and accumulate cultural resources for their children, which can be activated in cultural capital that provide the opportunities for the children's future educational success and social advantage (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

In the following sub-sections, I discuss specific daily language-mediated activities that involve English learning naturally occurred.

Video watching. Children watch animated cartoon videos at home as a major entertainment. There are similarities among the five participant families in what cartoons the children are watching, since the parents share with each other what their children watch and whether they think it a good resource for their children. For instance, YM believes that the animated cartoons, Children's TV programs and films are good resources for his child to learn natural sciences knowledge and languages. One day, Yoyo said he wanted to watch the animated cartoon, *The Octonauts* (a British animated series). YM suggested watching a new film since he had watched it multiple times repeatedly. Yoyo agreed. YM picked up the film, *Harry Potter*. It was played in its original language, English, with Chinese subtitles. As they were watching, YM introduced each character and translated some key moments for Yoyo in Mandarin. Yoyo was so attracted to the stories and actions, though he could not fully understand all the plots and details. He got so excited and repeated, "Sure!" "Okay!" "Let's go!" in English. Then he asked YM what they meant in Chinese. YM translated them and explained to Yoyo how to use them. In this English film watching activity, Yoyo naturally repeated the English words and sentences, and inquired the meanings of them on his own initiative. He showed great interest and desire of learning these words in the context, with YM's instruction and guidance.

Free play. Children usually play with their toys at home under their parents and/or grandparents' monitoring. Sometimes parents join their children and cast a part in their role play. Children usually take the initiative, and improvise actions and dialogues. At times, children create scene plays based on the stories they read, the animated cartoons they watch, or the events they have participated in. Some parents fully engage in the play and cooperate with their children. In these activities, the major language they use is Mandarin, but occasionally, parents intentionally speak a few English words, and the children inquire the meanings of certain English words.

For instance, YM usually plays with Yoyo after dinner at night. On July 22, 2017, Saturday evening, at 7:32 pm, YM and Yoyo started role playing after they finished dinner. Yoyo played a school bus driver and YM played the mother of a child, "Little Carrot", a character in *The Magic School Bus* (an American-Canadian animated series) that Yoyo often watches. Before they started:

Yoyo picked up a toy "stop" sign and put it on the edge of the couch. He intended to set up a destination, "把它放在这。这个... 这个...这个..." [Place it here. This...this...this....] "这个是 'Stop'!" [This is 'Stop'!] YM said to Yoyo. Yoyo did not respond. He pointed to the sign and said, "这个就是幼儿园了。" [This is the preschool.] YM nodded and said, "行，那个就假装是幼儿园了。" [Okay. Just pretend that is the preschool.] Yoyo said, "然后呢..." [And then...] "你把小朋友送到幼儿园吧！" [You send the children to school!] YM said to Yoyo. Yoyo was quite excited, and spoke loudly, "谁想上校车啊？就来这儿吧！" [Who wants

to get on the school bus? Come over here!] YM repeated, “谁想上啊?” [Who wants to get on the bus?] Yoyo pointed to the “Stop” sign and said, “那你就过来吧! 这个是校车的站牌。” [You come over here! This is the bus stop for the school bus.] “好啦! 我来上啦! 小萝卜来啦!” [Okay! I’m coming to get on the bus! The Little Carrot is coming!] YM picked up the Little Carrot toy and moved to the Stop sign. Yoyo said immediately, “你是萝卜妈妈, 然后呢, 萝卜宝宝上车了!” [You are the mother of the Little Carrot. And then, Little Carrot got on the bus!] “行, 萝卜宝宝上车了。好, 注意安全。拜拜! 好, 和妈妈拜拜啊。萝卜妈妈上班去了。” [Okay, Little Carrot got on the bus. Alright, take care! Bye-bye! Okay, say goodbye to mommy! Then, Little Carrot’s mother goes to work.] YM pretended to leave the stop sign and went to work. Then, Yoyo said, “校车已经开起来了, 校车已经启动了发动机了!” [The school bus is starting. The school bus has already started the engine!] YM said, “好, 开吧!” [Okay, drive on!] “这个校车可以飞起来!” [This school bus can fly!] Yoyo yelled, and held the school bus toy in the air as if it were gliding. All of a sudden, Yoyo looked at the toy and asked, “这写着什么?” [What does it write?] “这就是 School Bus!” [This is a “School Bus”!] YM answered immediately and

seemed happy about Yoyo's question. “耶！” [Yay!] Yoyo yelled. “校车。” [School bus.] YM translated it into Chinese. “School Bus.” Yoyo imitated. “对。” [Right.] YM nodded. “这个跟...” [This is similar...] Yoyo seemed reminded of something. “跟你的点读笔里面是一样的，是吧？” [Similar to your C-pen reader pen, isn't?] YM immediately followed. “是。但是我最喜欢的是我的点读笔上的校车。” [Yes. But my favorite one is the School Bus on my C-pen reader pen.] Yoyo replied.

In this episode, Yoyo was playing with his toys, a school bus and a stop sign, with YM (see Figure 5.9). He initiated the role play based on an animated cartoon, *The Magic School Bus* (an American-Canadian animated series) that he watched before. Since Yoyo really enjoyed the series, YM also bought him the school bus, the stop sign, and Little Carrot toys from the series.



Figure 5.9 Yoyo's Toys - a School Bus and a Stop Sign.

When Yoyo was setting up the scene, using the Stop sign as the destination, YM said to Yoyo, “This is ‘Stop’ sign” in English. She seized the proper opportunity to expose Yoyo the

second language. However, Yoyo did not respond to it. YM did not follow up or force him to repeat the word. They continued their role play. Later, all of a sudden, Yoyo pointed to the words printed on the bus and asked what they write. As what was exactly expected, YM answered satisfactorily “this is a ‘School Bus’.” Yoyo repeated it in English and made a connection to what he heard before, that is, his C-pen reader pen has read that word previously when he was playing around with it. Even though Yoyo does not study English systematically, he has already been exposed to English through various types of resources of English learning materials provided by his parents. Therefore, he inquires what interests to him in a fully contextualized situation. This is what YM expects in Yoyo’s learning process as she explains in the interview. Learning happens at any moment in children’s daily life, even when they are playing with toys or singing songs. By the same token, language learning and socialization, occurs in everyday practices, in fully contextualized situations with parents’ positive engagement, acknowledgement and support (Ochs, 2002).

Summary of Findings on Language Practices

This section answered the first research question, that is, what do the children’s daily language practices look like in the five middle class families. As one of the core components of language policy, there are basically four types of children’s language practices within these families. The first one is Mandarin-mediated routine activities, such as sending children to school, mealtime, free play, and bathing. In these activities, Mandarin is naturally used because it is the official language in China. The second type of language practice is planned Mandarin-mediated activities, which include Chinese characters and poems learning, bedtime talk and storytelling, and after-school programs. Mandarin is intentionally chosen in these activities because it is the official language in China and parents tend to help improve their children’s

Chinese proficiency through these activities. The third type of practice is planned English-mediated activities, such as bedtime English songs listening, English reading, and English after-school programs. English is purposefully chosen, because parents intend to enhance their children's English competence. The last type of practice is English-mediated activities that are naturally occurring, for instance, children inquire about the meaning of an English word in free plays, children sing English songs at bedtime, and children imitate English words while watching English videos. In these activities, English is naturally chosen by the children without observable efforts.

Language Management

Language management is one of the three key components of language policy (Spolsky, 2004). It is defined as the explicit or observable efforts to impose or modify language practices and/or beliefs (Spolsky, 2004; 2009). Spolsky (2009) elucidates that “[l]anguage policy is all about choices” and “[s]ome of these choices are the result of *management*, reflecting conscious and explicit efforts by language managers to control the choices” (p. 1). In the family domain, parents often take for granted their authority to manage their children's language practices (Spolsky, 2009).

In my study, I argue that the parents are the language managers who make *both* implicit and explicit policies of home language use and practice. Meanwhile, they take conscious efforts and employ particular strategies to implement these policies, such as direct instruction, correction, clarification, explanations, and supervision. During this process, children are not simply passive participants in language use and learning. They display different levels of agency, and “make informed choices, exert influence, resist (e.g. remain silent, quit courses) or comply” (Duff, 2012, p. 413). These actions of negotiation are considered as “acts of identity and the site

of power dynamics” (Duff, 2012, p. 413). In recent studies of FLP, children’s agency have been greatly highlighted (Fogle, 2012; Gafaranga, 2010; 2011; King & Fogle, 2013). These studies demonstrate that FLP is not a one-directional, top-down process of parents or caregivers imposing practices and uses to children. Instead, it is “a dialogic and ever-evolving co-construction, which is in turn shaped by the dynamic relationship of the family to the wider community” (Smith-Christmas, 2017, p. 22). As Fogle (2012) summarizes, this approach to agency “acknowledge[s] the co-constructed nature of agency, emphasize[s] the importance of the learner’s intentions, will and autonomy” (p. 21).

Furthermore, parents’ management of home language practices and use involves children’s language socialization (Spolsky, 2009). In the process of negotiation with parents, children acquire the knowledge and practices through the language-mediated interactions that are necessary for them to function as competent members of their communities (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Ochs, 1986). Specifically, parents use different discourse structures to manage and facilitate children’s language practices, such as urging, shaming, and guilt-tripping (Fung, 1999; Lo & Fung, 2012; Ochs, 1986; Schieffelin, 1986).

Exerting Authority versus Displaying Agency

Across the five participant families, parents and children are in dynamic power relations, negotiating the FLP by explicit and observable efforts. Table 5.2 summarizes the parent and children’s negotiations in language management:

Table 5.2

Parent-child’s Negotiations in Language Management¹¹

Planning/Intervention (<i>Generic</i>)	Explicit and Observable Efforts (<i>Specific</i>)
---	--

¹¹ The blue arrow represents parents’ power and authority. The orange arrow represents children’s agency and resistance in the negotiation.

Power Relations	Parents	Authority	Urge/Correction/Supervision/Shaming Set up daily/weekly learning goals After school programs English reading at home
	↓	↑	Negotiation When/how much to read English
	Children	Agency	Resistance/Autonomy Interest/motivation

In the management of language practices, parents often exert power and play the role of authority figure. They employ intervention strategies such as urging, correcting, instructing, and supervising in different daily activities. Children usually follow the parents' instructions, but sometimes they do not simply comply and instead negotiate or compromise. They display different levels of agency and exert resistance and autonomy as active participants in the negotiation. In these processes FLP is negotiated in bi-directional and dynamic power relations.

For instance, in the twins' family, reading English textbooks for two hours is a daily language practice. The twins generally follow TM's instructions and read English books as TM schedules. Occasionally, they show resistance and display agency in the negotiation. On July 10, 2017, Monday evening at 8:30 pm, TM urged Lily to finish her English reading routine for the day. Lily looked reluctant to read, and asked if Tracy could read first. TM rejected her request and told her to go first because she was the elder sister. Lily pouted and sat down on the pink stool in the reading room. TM grabbed another chair and sat beside her, watching her read one book after another. After 15 minutes when she finished reading the pile of new books assigned for the week, she had a following conversation with TM¹²:

¹² The blue arrow represents parents' power and authority. The orange arrow represents children's agency and resistance in the negotiation.

TM: Okay. 这一摞新书完了，念旧书。旧书很快的。这一摞是旧书。

Audio: Out to play.

Lily: Out to play.

Audio: I want to go out to play.

Lily: Blah...blah...

TM: 别别别，你的脚丫子...

Lily: 妈妈，能念一半那个书吗？妈妈妈妈... 一半...

TM: 那行吧，就念一半，然后有一半呢，你就很生疏了。

TM: Okay. This pile of new books is finished. Now review the old pile. It will be very fast. This is the old pile.

Audio: Out to play.

Lily: Out to play.

Audio: I want to go out to play.

Lily: Blah...blah...

TM: No, no, no. Your feet.

Lily: Mom, can I read just half of them? Mommy...mommy... mommy...just half...

TM: Alright, well, you can read half. You will be unfamiliar with the other half.

← **FACILITATION**

← **READING ROUTINE**

← **RESISTANCE**

← **SUPERVISION**

← **NEGOTIATION**

← **CONSEQUENCE**

Lily: 不要。

Lily: No [I don't want that].

TM: 然后下一次读呢你就有点结巴，你就落后了。

TM: Then next time when you read it, you will stutter.
You will fall behind.

REINFORCED

CONSEQUENCE

SHAMING

Lily: 不要。

Lily: No [I don't want that].

TM: 那你自己决定吧！

TM: You make a choice!

CONTROL

Lily: 念好多。

Lily: Read them all.

COMPROMISE

This episode shows first how TM as a language manager facilitated the English reading routines. After Lily finished reading the first pile of new books, TM urged her to continue reading and reviewing another pile of old books. Only reading one sentence after the audio recording, Lily looked impatient and lost her concentration. She started mumbling “blah, blah” and kicking the leg of her stool. She refused to continue reading the book. TM immediately responded to her resistance. She said “No, no, no. Your feet” to stop Lily from kicking the leg of the stool. Lily then initiated the negotiation with TM, by asking if she could only read half of the books that she was assigned to read for the day. TM did not reject her request at once. Instead, she showed the consequence to Lily of reading just half of the books. She said, “You will be unfamiliar with the other half.” This direct consequence made Lily immediately respond, “No, I

don't want that." Even though Lily expressed clearly that she did not want the consequence happen, TM did not stop there. She continued, "Then next time when you read it, you will stutter. You will fall behind." TM reinforced the consequence of reading just half of the books by using shaming, through which children acquire social and moral norms of a community in the process of language socialization (Lo & Fung, 2012; Ochs, 1986). Lily repeated, "No, I don't want that consequence." This indicates that TM often uses shaming in the management of her children's English reading practices in that Lily responds firmly and quickly without hesitation. At this moment, Lily compromised. TM successfully exerted her power as parent and showed full control of this negotiation. Nevertheless, TM furthered the conversation by telling Lily to "make a choice". She indicated that she passed the autonomy to Lily. Knowing that in fact she had no choice, Lily said "read them all," and complied completely in this sequence of negotiation.

This type of negotiation between TM and the twins did not occur only once. From my observation, it happened multiple times during the English reading activities. Table 5.3 summarizes how TM exerts her power and authority as parent through direct instruction, urges and shaming, and how the twins comply, resist and display different levels of agency during negotiation in English reading practices.

Table 5.3

TM and the Twins' Negotiations

TM	LILY	TRACY
"别拖延" Don't procrastinate.	[Does not respond. Continues reading.]	[Does not respond. Continues reading.]
"你的声音是从石缝里出来的吗？听不见！听不见！" Does your voice come from a narrow stone crevice? Can't hear you! Can't hear you!		
"跟上，认真一点！读得太慢了！" Hurry up. Be serious! You read too slowly!		
"如果你老想着不想念，这个时间过去了，结果你还没有念，心理会感觉更有压力了。” If you don't want to read English - time passes and you still haven't done it - you'll feel more stressful.	“妈妈那好吧！” Well, okay, Mom.	N/A
“现在你们想读书吗？念英语吗？” Do you want to do some reading now? Reading English?	N/A	“不想” Nope.
"不念英语就退步！" You will regress if you don't read English!	"那我就退步吧” Let me just regress.	N/A

The first column shows that TM generally facilitates the twins' reading practices through direct supervision and urges. In these scenarios, the twins often do not respond directly to these urges but continue reading. Therefore, TM exerts her power as authority, and controls the practices the way she expects. In the second column, when Lily starts to show impatience during reading activity, TM notices it and demonstrates consequences before Lily negotiates. She uses

the stressful feeling of not reading English and employs guilt-tripping in this situation. Lily compromises without any hesitation. The third column shows how Lily and Tracy display their strong agency, and resist the English reading practice directly. When the twins are playing their toys, TM asks them if they want to do some English reading. Tracy answers immediately, “Nope.” Not satisfying with this answer, TM reinforces the consequence of not doing the reading, “You will regress if you don't read English!” Lily responds directly, “Let me just regress.” It shows Lily’s high level of resistance and agency in this episode of negotiation. By responding to TM directly, Lily indicates that she accepts the consequence and rejects the routine practice she is schedule to conduct.

In Yoyo’s family, his parents often exert power and play the role of authority figure. They employ intervention strategies such as correcting, praising, and supervising in different daily activities. Yoyo usually follows the parents’ instructions, but sometimes he does not simply comply, but rather negotiates. He displays agency and exerts resistance and autonomy as an active participant in the negotiation. In these processes, FLP is negotiated in bi-directional and dynamic power relations. For instance, one day after lunch on a weekend, Yoyo told YM that he wanted to watch an English cartoon. YM asked him to pick up a DVD that he liked and an episode he was interested in. Yoyo selected one DVD and inserted in the media player. Then he chose the “Pool” episode:

YM: 看哪一个? *The Bridge?*

YM: Which one to watch? *The Bridge?*

Yoyo: 这个!

Yoyo: This one!

YM: 看这个? *The Pool.*

YM: Watch this one? *The Pool.*

Yoyo: 嗯。

Yoyo: Hum.

YM: *The Pool.*

YM: *The Pool.*

Yoyo: 我不要去汽车的。

Yoyo: I don't want to watch the Car.

YM e: 不要去汽车的？

YM: Don't want to watch the Car?

Yoyo: 嗯。

Yoyo: Hum.

YM: 行。

YM: Ok.

YM: *The Pool!*

YM: *The Pool!*

Yoyo: *Pool!*

Yoyo: *Pool!*

YM: 对！

YM: Yes!

Yoyo: [笑]

Yoyo: [Laughed]

YM: The bird!

YM: *The bird!*

Yoyo: Ah birr!

Yoyo: *Ah birr!*

YM: The dog! 小狗

YM: *The dog!* Little puppy.

In this English learning activity, Yoyo has the autonomy to choose when and what to watch of English animated cartoon videos at home. He chooses the program his parents provides with him based on his interest. YM supervises his watching with encouragement, repetition, and interpretation. When Yoyo does not pronounce the word in the right way, YM does not correct him directly or blame him for it. When Yoyo pronounces the word correctly, YM immediately acknowledges it and Yoyo responses with a laugh happily. In this episode, it shows that the parent exerts the power of managing English-mediated activities, and the child displays his agency in the process of negotiation.

Summary of Findings on Language Management

This section answered the second research question, that is, how do the parents manage their children's daily language practices. The findings show that the parents take observable efforts and employ different managing strategies, such as direct instruction, correction,

clarification, explanations, and supervision, to implement language policies. While the parents exert their authority, children are not passive participants in these language practices. They display different levels of agency and autonomy in negotiating language policies with their parents. Therefore, the FLP process is shaped by the parents and children's dynamic power relations.

Language Ideologies

Language ideology is defined as the “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). It is considered as the “mediating link between language use and social organization” (King, 2000, p. 169). In other words, language ideology is not only about language, but also connects language to identity, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology (Woolard, 1998). Through this linkage, the ideologies demonstrate individuals' observed language behavior as well as fundamental social institutions, such as religious ritual, child socialization, the nation-state, and schooling (Woolard, 1998). From a social view of language, language ideology is also defined as “self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group” (Heath, 1989, p. 53).

In my study, as one of the key components of family language policy, language ideologies refer to parents' beliefs about language, language use, language learning, and the role of children in society (Fogle, 2012; Spolsky, 2004). Within FLP framework, parents' language ideologies are considered as the underlying force in children's language practices within the home (Fogle, 2012). Therefore, it is essential to explore the relationship between parents' expressed language beliefs and their observed language behavior (King, 2000).

Types of Language Ideologies

Across the five participant families, language ideologies are categorized into four aspects based on how parents perceive their mother language and English: language as cultural practice, language as aesthetic entity, language as instrument, and ideologies on language learning. Due to the parents' different cultural and ethnic identities, and professional identities, I explain their unique ways of understanding Mandarin, their dialects or accents, and English respectively, through their personal and professional experiences. Table 5.4 summarizes these four aspects of language ideologies in terms of values and beliefs, identities, and rationale:

Table 5.4

Aspects of Language Ideologies

	VALUES/BELIEFS	IDENTITIES	RATIONALE
LANGUAGE AS CULTURAL PRACTICE	Spiritual belief Sense of belonging	Constructing ethnic minority identity	Affective enculturation
LANGUAGE AS AESTHETIC ENTITY	Beauty of rhythm Form of art	Constructing professional identity	Universal aesthetic feeling
LANGUAGE AS INSTRUMENT	Utilitarian and pragmatic values	Constructing national/global citizenship	Official language vs. dialects Communication tool Compulsory subject Source of knowledge Life style
IDEOLOGIES ABOUT LANGUAGE LEARNING	Natural development Forming good learning habits	Constructing national/global citizenship	Natural law of learning Sense of regulation Benefits of bilingualism

In the following subsections, I discuss the four aspects of language ideologies, which include language as cultural practice, aesthetic entity, instrument, and ideologies about language

learning, in terms of the values and beliefs about language, constructing identities, and the rationale for each aspect.

Language as Cultural Practice

The home language practices are attached to the academic competence, the symbolic meanings of language, culture, and ethnic identity (Schechter & Bayley, 2002). In this study, the parents perceive Mandarin as “natural” to speak in school and use widely at work and in everyday life, because it is the official language in China and, in all cases but one, their first-learned language. The parents’ dialects, on the contrary, are less useful in the context of a globalizing city. In addition, the parents’ perceptions about language suggest that a dialect, as a non-standard variety of Mandarin, does not sound as “educated” as Mandarin. For example, when talking about TF’s first language, especially after introducing that both of his parents are teachers in their local schools, he said, “东北我们那边方言比较轻，一般的普通话还是挺好的”(In my area of the Northeast, our accent is very light. Generally, our Mandarin is pretty good.) TF’s account appears to be neutral, and seemingly states a fact that his Northeastern accent is hardly noticed and his Mandarin is standard. Yet underneath this “objective” statement, TF implies that speaking standard Mandarin is socially admired and respected, and that a Northeastern accent is not as “elegant” or “educated”.

Dialects are considered varieties of Mandarin which are not desired, especially in formal settings. Therefore, the parents think it unnecessary to teach the child their local dialects or accents, since the child was born and is growing up and being educated in Beijing. The child’s *Beijinger* identity has been constructed in this cultural and social context. Mandarin, therefore, should be the first language. For instance, being born and growing up in Sichuan Province, YF spoke the Sichuan dialect in all circumstances, in school and at home, until he graduated from

college in Chongqing municipality (where the local language is Sichuan dialect) and started working in Beijing. Now he speaks Mandarin in his daily life except talking in Sichuan dialect to his mother and siblings. He never intends to teach Yoyo the Sichuan dialect, even though Yoyo's grandmother, who can only speak Sichuan dialect, usually pays a visit and stays with them. He explains it in the interview:

不教孩子说四川话因为在北京嘛！那么多
年，20多年了，也就回老家，才把那个口
音转过去。说那个干嘛呢？就一定能给你
教两句，然后回老家好说啊？我觉得没必
要。反正偶尔回趟家，这个不会说就不会
说呗，他毕竟在北京出生了，把那个普通
话说好就行了。

[I] don't teach the kid to speak Sichuan
dialect because [We are] in Beijing! So many
years – over 20 years. [I] only speak the
dialect when I go back to my hometown.
What's the point of speaking it? Force him to
learn a couple of sentences [in Sichuan
dialect] and speak it when we go back to my
hometown? I think it's unnecessary. Anyhow
we occasionally go back to my hometown. It
doesn't matter if he can speak it or not. After
all, he was born in Beijing. It will be fine if he
can just speak Mandarin well.

In this excerpt, YF elucidates his view on why he does not teach Yoyo the Sichuan dialect. He constructs his child's identity as a *Beijinger* based on the fact that Yoyo was born in Beijing, which connects to the first language that Yoyo should learn and speak – Mandarin, the official language in the national capital city. However, YF fails to build up the connection of his *Sichuaner* identity and his heritage language, the Sichuan dialect. Therefore, he constrains his child's access to the heritage language and identity of his local cultural community, which might

be more important when the child grows older (Fogle, 2012). This excerpt also implies that YF expects his child to speak Mandarin, the standard and “superior” language, which serves as a “pass” en route to enhancement of social classes, and provides Yoyo with a new identity, *Beijinger*, completely extricating the child from YF’s subordinated *Sichuaner* identity and local dialect.

However, on the other hand, as the only ethnic minority among all the parents, CM is the only participant who discusses the importance of connecting to her local ethnic community through language. As Nicholas (2009) argues, language is one way of experiencing and learning one’s culture, and ties to its people through maintenance of their ritualized performances, cultural traditions, institutions, and social activities. In other words, “[t]hese practices provide the context for *language as cultural practice*” (Nicholas, 2009, p. 321-322).

CM is from *Dai* ethnic minority in Yunnan Province, where 25 different ethnic minority groups reside. It is also a province with the largest number of ethnic groups in China. In her interview, she expresses how important Chinese is to her as her mother language:

（母语是汉语）就像一种精神信仰一样的吧。母语是汉语，对我来说就有一种归属感一样的，我能把汉语说得特别好，然后就感觉自己在这个环境当中是合格的，要是连这个汉语没说好，或者汉语的都很多东西还没掌握的话，就觉得在这个成员里面好像是不合格的。（有一种归属感）因为从小到大，自己的亲人、自己的亲戚、

[Chinese as my mother language is] like my spiritual belief. Chinese as my mother language is like a sense of belonging. If I can speak Chinese very well, I feel that I am qualified in this context. If I can’t speak Chinese well, or master other things related to Chinese, I feel that I am not a qualified member [of this community]. [Having a sense of belonging] is because I grew up in this

朋友，全部都在这个环境里，就在这个语言环境里边，跟他们沟通交流产生共鸣，如果出了这个环境，那么就一切都得从零开始，一切都免谈了，甚至于自己所经历的一切，可能你都没办法跟就是没有这个语言环境的人去交流去分享，那么你的这段经历可能就是空白了似的，你没法告诉别人你在这个环境里边的喜怒哀乐这些事情。

language environment, where all my family, my relatives, and my friends live. [I] communicate and exchange ideas with them, whom I can relate to. If I leave this [language] environment, everything has to start from scratch, and nothing can be talked about – even my own experiences. I can't communicate or share with anyone who does not live in this language environment. I would feel empty, because I can't share my feelings and emotions with others [who don't live in the same language environment].

In this excerpt, CM conveys a strong sense of cultural identity through the process of affective enculturation in the *Dai* ethnic and cultural community (Nicholas, 2009). Unlike other parents, including CF, who considers language as a simple tool in daily life, CM regards it as a spiritual belief, which provides a sense of belonging. She feels connected to her family, relatives and friends by exchanging ideas and sharing feelings and emotions. Without the same language, she feels “empty” and cannot communicate with others about her own experiences. Furthermore, CM discusses her understanding of constructing identities. She believes that if she can speak Chinese well, she is “qualified” in the local community. If she can't speak Chinese well, she is not a qualified member of that community. As Shohamy (2006) illuminates, “languages are the main markers of national identity” and “the beliefs that knowledge of certain languages are indications of belonging to certain groups...” (p. 130). Therefore, CM's language ideology

demonstrates that mastery of one's local language is considered as the qualification of being a member of a community and the affiliation with that community.

Because of her strong ties to her ethnic culture and community, CM encourages her child, Cindy, to learn the Yunnan dialect and spend time in her hometown during the summer and winter breaks. In this way, Cindy can understand CM's heritage cultural traditions and customs. In her interview, CM expresses concern about the lack of simplicity of life in globalizing cities, like Beijing. Thus, she wants to bring her child back to her ethnic community in the countryside:

我有想法，比如说是暑假、寒假带她回去多了解一些老家的信息啊，包括当地人的生活状况呀，文化呀、风俗啊这些。她可能不会说全部都懂，但是她能去见识到不同的这些现象。在不影响她学习的情况下，我都想把她一到假期，就把她送回云南去，然后也让她感受一下当地的比较朴实的这种气息，因为我觉得这种在北京市现在是很少再见到了。在我们老家还是特别...是像我们那个，我是在那个农村长大的，现在我们家那就还是还是保持的比较好，我说让她尽量的回去，就待在那地方待一段，她就会深有感受。

I have an idea. For instance, I will take her (Cindy) back to my hometown during the summer and winter breaks, so that she can understand more about the living conditions, culture, and customs in my ethnic community. She may not understand them entirely, but she can be exposed to these different things. If it's not affecting her study, I will take her back to Yunnan during breaks. Then she will feel the local community's earthy flavor of life, which I think rarely exists in Beijing nowadays. In my hometown, it is still very...like us...I grew up in the countryside. Our family still maintains the traditions very well, even now. I want her to try to go back and stay there for a while. Then she will feel it deeply.

Echoing her strong sense of cultural identity, CM emphasizes the importance of experiencing “the earthy flavor of life” that a modern city has lost. She wants her child to be exposed to her heritage ethnic culture and traditions. Even though CM does not expect Cindy to understand their way of living comprehensively, but she hopes that Cindy can “feel” the culture deeply, through the process of affective enculturation (Nicholas, 2009). CM’s statement indicates that parents have the responsibility to teach their children about their heritage language and culture. This way of exposing and preserving traditional values is therefore an important part of cultural practice and language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2017; Schechter & Bayley, 2004).

Language as Aesthetic Entity

As the only college professor among all the participant parents in my study, YM, perceives language as a “pure” aesthetic entity, which bears beauty in rhythm. Because of her professional identity, YM has unique beliefs and experiences about language, discrepant from other parents’ among the participant families. As discussed in Chapter Four, YM speaks fluent English and limited French and Italian. She has a bachelor’s degree in English Literature, a master’s degree in American History, and a Ph.D. degree in World Art History from Peking University (the No.2 university in China¹³). She is an Associate Professor at Beijing Dance Academy, and teaches English and Cultural History of Dance. Her research focuses on Renaissance, Dante studies, and the history of Western Dance Art. From an art perspective, YM describes language as an aesthetic entity, and shares her initial appreciation of language in college:

¹³ Ranking is based on the report in 2018.

对这种认知，我还是从这个文学作品里面体验到的，因为从小的时候，比如说我们喜欢看我们的中文的古典的这些名著啊什么的，比如说一些古诗词或者一些什么古典小说，包括《红楼梦》啊、《西游记》啊，就小的时候看，那就会觉得这个语言本身它是有美感的，也就是抛开文学背后的这种政治的含义啊，或者说什么中心思想段落大意这些，抛开这些，如果纯粹从语言和文字的角度看，语言本身是有美感的，它是有韵律的，比如说古典的唐诗宋词，这些东西你读起来就特别有感觉，作为中国人，中文是母语的时候，能体会到这种美感，然后等到我接触了英文之后呢，也会同样感觉到就是除了它的实用性以外，就是可以沟通啊、交流以外，英语本身它也是有它自己的这种语言上的美感的，我们在上大学的时候就是我们有开那个英国文学的课，然后我们那个老师讲英国文学的老师就特别好，就我说的张教授

My perceptions on languages started from literary works. When I was little, I liked to read Chinese classic literary works, including novels and poetry, such as *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and *Journey to the West*. At that time, I just felt that language itself is aesthetic, in other words, literature does not contain political meanings. It is not about major themes or ideas. It is pure, from the language and literature perspective. Language itself is aesthetic. It is rhythmic. For instance, you have a special feeling when you read the classic Tang and Song poetry. As a Chinese person, Chinese being your mother language, you can feel the aesthetics of this language. Later, when I started learning English, I had the same feeling, which is, besides its pragmatic function for communication, English itself is aesthetic. When I was in college, we had English Literature course. Our English Literature professor, Professor Zhang, whom I admired so much, read out loud Shakespeare's Sonnet 18, *Shall I*

啊，当然很崇拜他，他给我们读了一首莎士比亚的十四行诗，*Shall I compare thee to a summer's day*，然后就当时就一下子就被它折服了，就那个感觉就是好像这首诗这个意义不是重要的，而是它其中蕴含的那种美感就是语言文字本身的那种韵律，节奏这个东西是很美的，所以我觉得这种就是语言的本质性的东西，它不要带有任何的这种对它任何的一种阐释就是啊赋予它一些什么那个政治上含义啊或者说其他的社会含义，而只是单纯从语言文字本身的美感去出发的话，我会感觉到人类的这种不论是自己的母语还是还是外文,只要是你学了读懂了,你就能欣赏到它这种美感。

compare thee to a summer's day. I was so impressed by it then. That feeling was like...the significance of this poem is not important, but the aesthetics of language itself – the rhythm, the prosody – is beautiful. So I think this is the essence of language. It doesn't need any interpretation, or endow any political implication, or any other social meanings. From the perspective of aesthetics of language, I feel that no matter which human language you speak, your mother language or a foreign language, you will appreciate its beauty if you learn it.

This excerpt shows that according to her learning experiences, YM gradually develops the “feeling” of the beauty of language when she starts reading classic literary works and listens to other's recitation of poetry. She believes that language should not only be considered as an instrument for communication, but also be valued as an aesthetic entity by its rhythm and prosody. Furthermore, YM thinks that language does not need to be endowed with any political implications or social meanings. From an aesthetics perspective, YM considers the essence of language as the beauty of rhythm, not the meanings or interpretations of a piece of literary work.

In her interview, YM elaborates her perspectives by providing more examples and explicit explanation:

我相信其他的语言也有这种，只要是它的民族的，有代表性的。我举一个例子，就是我们在佛罗伦萨的时候，我们那专门研究但丁的那个老头，我们在那个 Vela Ittadi 的时候，就在他那个研究所，那个老头用意大利文给我们读了一段但丁的诗，但丁的《神曲》的一段，其实我们一个字也没听清楚，就根本没听懂，尽管我是研究过但丁的，我也没听懂，因为毕竟意大利语太浅了学的，但是你能感受到它本身的那种韵律，再加上他的嗓音那么深沉，然后读起来特别好听，其实就像音乐一样，就好听，这就是它本身的一种韵律和节奏感，带给你的一种美感，所以这种美感是是相通的。

I believe other languages are the same, if they belong to a particular ethnic group, or representing that group. I'll give you an example. When we were in Florence, an old scholar, who is an expert of the study of Dante, read a piece of Dante's poem, an excerpt from *The Divine Comedy*, at his research institute in Vela Ittadi. We actually didn't hear the words quite clearly. I didn't understand very much because my Italian is limited. But you can feel its rhythm. His voice was also very deep. It sounded so nice, just like music. It's so pleasing. This is the rhythm and the prosody which bring you the sense of beauty. And this type of aesthetic feeling is universal.

In this excerpt, YM expresses the universality of aesthetic feelings about all languages. No matter which language one speaks, the sensory impression of a language can directly connect to one's senses through its rhythm. As YM depicts, the recitation of a piece from *The Divine Comedy* is as pleasing and nice as music, even though she does not understand every Italian

word in that poem. In this sense, YM takes language as a form of art, which carries forward the beauty.

In addition to the aesthetic essence of language, YM also shares her views on children's language learning:

语言文字对于一个孩子来说，它背后赋予的那些政治和社会含义都是后面你受到教育的，但是语言和文字的本身就有美感。这个东西就跟唱歌、跟音乐一样。古诗词这些东西，它本身的声韵、韵律，它的节奏感，它本身就是一种美感的東西，这种美感的東西可以直接诉诸你的感官，你可以不通过那种逻辑的、理性的分析，而直接用感官、用耳朵去感受，就觉得它很美。其实这种東西是符合孩子的这个成长规律的。

Language to a child, has to be taught the political and social meanings in their later education. But language itself has aesthetic perception, like singing and music. Classic poetry itself, has prosody and rhythm. Poetry itself is an aesthetic entity, which appeals to your senses. You do not have to analyze it through logic and reasoning. You feel it by your senses, your ears. You just feel it quite beautiful. And this is actually in line with the law of children's growth.

Corresponding to her language ideology, YM believes that any social and political connotations of language are acquired through formal teaching. Yet the aesthetic perception of language should be felt through senses which is in line with the law of children's natural growth.

Language as Instrument

Parents in my study perceive language as a tool which has enormous utilitarian value for their children. No matter Mandarin or English, the parents believe that mastering the two languages at an early age will benefit their children for school and work in future. For instance,

being bilingual can provide more job opportunities, and therefore socioeconomic enhancement. In terms of their mother language, the parents consider it natural to speak Mandarin at home as the primary language because it is the official language in China, which is widely used at school and work. It is also the language which is mostly spoken in the world. Their dialects, on the contrary, are less useful in the context of a globalizing city. In terms of English, the parents think that English has tremendous instrumental value for their children in that it is a resource for acquiring knowledge, a communicative tool to make friends from all over the world, and opens up a brand new Western life style. However, when recalling their experiences of studying English in school, most parents consider it as only a compulsory subject for a college degree, and that the learning experience is a pure suffering.

English as a compulsory subject. Since the 1980s, under the influence of the Reform and Open-up Policy, English-Chinese bilingual education expanded enormously at all levels of school as China opened up more to the outside world (Yu, 2008). As stated in *English Curriculum Standards at Compulsory Education Stage* (age 6 – 15), “The informatization of social life and economic globalization have increased the importance of English. As one of the most important carriers of information, English has become the most widely used language in various sectors of human life” (Pan, 2015, p. 82). The new school syllabus, launched in 2001, requires teaching English from elementary schools, Grade 3; whereas some more developed coastal cities start English courses from Grade 1 (Lam, 2010). In big cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, it is offered from Grade 1 (Cheng, 2011). English has become a compulsory subject from elementary school through college and graduate schools. High school students have to take the English Test for the College Entrance Exam (Similar to ACT and SAT).

College students have to pass the CET-4 (College English Test-Level 4) so as to receive the bachelor's degree, no matter which major they are in.

Although parents understand the importance of English, they consider English learning as a pain and a drill. Under the national English-Chinese bilingual education policy, all the parents had to study English as a required subject for both the English Test for the College Entrance Exam, and the CET-4 (College English Test-Level 4). All the parents viewed English as an instrument for tests only. Therefore, learning English became a process of rote memorization – drill and practice, based on the exam-oriented education ideology. As Pan (2015) argues, “[t]hough the status of English high, its study was purely examination oriented, because it was a required test subject in the national college entrance examination” (p. 73). When recalling their learning experiences in school, all the parents in the five participant families share similar perspectives on English and English learning in their respective interviews as Table 5.5 presents:

Table 5.5

English as a Compulsory Subject

PARENTS	ENGLISH AS COMPULSORY	
YM	“那个时候的中国人学英语就是包括我们那种还是属于应试教育，就大家还没想过说要把它当成一个什么国际语言，然后将来要怎么怎么样要出国呀没有那个想法，那时候还很早就八十年代吗。大家只是说把它当作一门功课去学的。”	At that time [right after China's Reform and Open-up Policy was initiated], Chinese people learned English based on an exam-oriented education ideology. People didn't consider it as a global language for going abroad at that time. It was pretty early, like 1980s. People only learned it as a required subject in school.
YF	“我觉得英语，它不是要考试吗，如果要非高考，估计很多人不会学这东西，至少应该少很大一部分的人学。”	I think there is an English test of the College Entrance Exam. If not, most people won't learn this thing, or at least a lot of people won't.
EM	“因为我们那时候学英语大部分都是哑巴英语，然后反正过了四级就完了。”	In our generation, most of us learned a mute English. Once we passed the CET-4 [College English Test-Level 4], we were done.
EF	“英语就是就是一门课，也不是特别喜欢。”	English is just a required subject. I didn't really like it.
CM	“平时做那个卷子的时候是能做的，但是一旦说的时候就说不出口，我们这个英语都是哑巴英语，写、理解可能还不	I could pass the English tests usually. But I could not talk in English. Our English is all mute English. We can write and read. But we can't speak or listen, especially speaking, which is the weakest.

	错，但是听和说，特别是这个说是最弱的一个环节。”	
CF	“我就担心高考有的时候偶尔还会出现不及格的情况，因为那时候反正也是应试教育，英语只要一下功夫还是提高的比较高的，差不多一下子自己苦学的一个学期基本上就英语在班上，最起码这个笔头上的能力基本上在班上前几名。”	I was worried that I was going to fail in English Test of the College Entrance Exam. Since it was exam-oriented, it was relatively easy to raise your score in a short time, if you conduct a large amount of rote exam practices repeatedly. And I did. After a semester of hardworking, I became one of the top students in the written exam.
LM	“学英语就是死记硬背，也不是特别重视，反正只要是能及格能过就行了。”	Learning English is just rote memorization. I didn't pay much attention to it. As long as I didn't fail the exam, I was fine.
LF	“我先学单词的，再学课文的翻译，然后再做练习题，再讲语法就完了。”	I learned English words first. Then I learned translating the texts. I did some exercises after that. Finally I was taught grammar. That was it.
TM	“我觉得学英语痛苦就是为考试啊，那个四级呀，就刷题呀，上中学的时候英语的那个更多的是一种应试的嘛！”	I think learning English is a pure suffering because of the tests, that CET-4 [College English Test-Level 4]. We did so many rote exam practices repeatedly. In middle school, English is just for the tests!
TF	“我印象里就是老是硬背，这个英语课文啊，考试的时候就是凭着背诵那个记忆填空这段话。至于是什么意思啊不知道。”	My impression [of learning English] was rote memorization – just reciting the English texts. Before taking the exam, I memorized full passages of the text, and then I could do the multiple choices. But for the real meaning of those sentences, I did not know.

As TM described, English learning was “a pure suffering” because of the tests. Most parents considered this way of learning English as the norm, and found different ways to cope with the tests. For instance, they recited the full English texts or conducted a large amount of rote exam practices repeatedly so as to get high scores in the exams. However, CM and EM pointed out that they only learned “mute English”. They could only do written tests. In real life, they could not understand what other people say in English, or communicate with others in English, which exposes the issue of the exam-oriented education ideology widely extended in the early 1980s to 1990s. Nowadays, as China continues to develop and enters the world stage, these parents realize the tremendous utilitarian value of English for everyday practice, not just for tests.

English as a source of knowledge. All the parents believe that English has enormous instrumental value for their children, especially in the postindustrial era in the globalizing city of Beijing. For instance, LF states:

因为现在是互联网时代，我的理解就是英语是获取知识的一种有效方式。我记得前几年的调查就是好像 87% 左右都是英文网站。中文有这么多人说，但是中国网站的数量并不是很多。

Since now is the Internet Era, my understanding is that English is one of the effective ways of acquiring knowledge. I remember a couple of years ago, there was a survey which says relatively 87% of the web pages are in English. There are so many people who speak Chinese. But there aren't many websites in Chinese.

LF believes that English is the primary language used on the internet, which is the main tool for acquiring knowledge nowadays. There are not many websites in Chinese, even though there are more Chinese speakers in the world than any other language speakers in the world.

English as a lifestyle. Some parents think that English, as a foreign language, provides a new life style. As people learn the language, they also acquire its history, and new concepts of its culture. For instance, EM points out that there are some new Chinese words that are borrowed from English:

语言本身应该是给我们带来更多不同的生活方式吧！你从艺术啊、或者从音乐、或者语言的表达来讲，都是一种沟通的一种方式，那么语言可能会更直接，它会让你

Language itself should provide us with more lifestyles. Art, or music, or language, are all communication tools. Yet, language is more direct. It changes your life style. You read different books, which may influence you in a

的生活方式不一样。包括你看的书不一样，可能对你的影响也会不一样，所以我觉得就是语言实际上也是决定了你的生活方式吧。反正我自己现在有这种感觉，就是因为可能现在的小朋友接触的世界、接触的面会更宽，他们的视野会更宽，包括一些生活方式、一些生活习惯，然后包括这个可能最早的一种方式，中文会有一些英文的译音过来，比如说类似于什么巧克力啊、沙发呀之类的，就这些，那么慢慢地你会发现，现在的小孩可能见识的会多一些了，那么他们的生活方式也好，他们的习惯或者他们的饮食什么的，其实也都慢慢的被西化、被同化了。

different way. So I think, in fact, language decides your life style. Anyhow I myself have this feeling, maybe because nowadays young children have wider access to the world, which broadens their horizon, including the life styles, and living habits. Then maybe the earliest influence is that in Chinese we borrow a lot of English words, such as chocolate, and sofa, etc. Then you gradually realize that young children now have widened their scope of knowledge. Their habits, or their food style, become gradually westernized and assimilated.

In this excerpt, EM discusses how English as a foreign language broadens the children's scope of knowledge and changes their lifestyle. By learning this language, EM believes that children acquire its cultural habits, such as food style. For example, after the products of chocolates were introduced to China, the transliterated word “巧克力” (pronounced as / qiǎo kè lì/¹⁴ or / ' tʃɔ kʰə ' li:/) emerged and widely used in Chinese language. Therefore, EM thinks that children's lifestyles are gradually “Westernized and assimilated” through language. In addition

¹⁴ Chinese Pinyin, the official romanization system for Standard Chinese. It literally means “the spelled sounds” of written Chinese with the Latin alphabet.

to EM's interview, from my observation of Emma's daily activity I also found that Emma's lifestyle has been influenced by the American cultural input through English as a medium. For instance, on July 2, 2017, Sunday morning at 10:20 am, Emma got off her English class at First Leap (Future's Leader) English After-school Program. EF was waiting in his car outside of the school gate, as noted in this field note excerpt:

We got into the car. EF was going to drive us to the Children's Playing Center to meet with Yoyo's family. I realized that Emma was wearing a Princess Elsa's dress (from Disney movie *Frozen*, 2013) and a Barbie doll hair pin (produced by the American toy company Mattel, Inc. launched in 1959). She also used a Mickey Mouse cup (a Disney character created in 1928). While driving in the car, EF encouraged Emma to speak English with me. But she was too shy to do so. After a few seconds of silence, Emma started singing a song from a Disney movie in English (I did not catch the name of the song). Suddenly, she stopped, and tapped on her forehead and sighed. She said she forgot she was supposed to meet Yoyo on the 3rd floor at the Children's center, instead of the 2nd floor. Both of her parents laughed. EF explained to me that tapping on the forehead was Chief Bogo's typical action when he forgets about things. EM added that Emma learned it from *Zootopia*, one of the most popular Disney animated movies in 2016 which received the Academy Award and the Golden Globe.

Emma's apparel, accessories, daily necessities, and some characteristic manner, are the byproducts of the American film and popular culture. From both EM's interview and the observation of Emma's typical day, it shows that EM fully embraces the influence of mass culture introduced by English language and cultural byproducts. She regards westernization or assimilation as a world trend in the globalizing era. This reveals how the permeation of mass culture impacts one's life style, mannerism and cultural values, through the consumption of language-mediated material and non-material products. This "assimilated lifestyle" suggests how symbolic domination is achieved without consciousness or constraint (Bourdieu, 1991). It can be considered as a type of cultural hegemony, which is "the legitimation of the cultural authority of the dominant group, an authority that plays a significant role in social reproduction" (Woolard, 1985, p. 739).

English as a communication tool. Many parents believe that the more China opens up to the world, the more the world opens up to China. Therefore, English, as a world language, will be a useful communication tool for their children to travel around the world, study and work overseas, as well as making friends from different countries. For instance, TF thinks that the next generation of Chinese citizens will become "Global citizens" who live in a "Global village" where the global language is English. He explains his perspective in the interview:

因为人的这个发展啊，越发展越大，他生活半径就会越来越广是吧？你像我从丹东，我爸爸是从农村跑到城市来了，那我呢，是从那个小的一个城市跑到北京来了，那我下一代可能就从北京就跑到世界

As the development of humans grows bigger and bigger, their life radius becomes wider and wider. You see, I am from Dandong city. My dad is from the countryside who came to the (Dandong) city. Then, I, from that small (Dandong) city, came to Beijing. My next

去了。我就想，她们到 18 岁搞不好今天去美国，明天去英国，后天搞不好去阿拉伯，这个我都控制不了的，因为你很难想象 20 年以后这个社会变成什么，所以那时候肯定她们的生活半径会变得非常大，而不尽仅仅限于中国，中国都已经限制不了她们。英语作为一种世界通行语言，任何一个国家都要去学习，那学习好了、能够交流了，能够对自己的工作、学习、生活有帮助了，这就行。这就是一个重要的一些生存技能。

generation will probably go to the world from Beijing. I would imagine, maybe when they are 18 years old, they go to the US *today*, Britain *tomorrow*, and Arabia *the day after tomorrow*. I cannot control this because it's hard to imagine what this society would look like in 20 years. So at that time, their life radius will be very large. They will not be limited in China. China cannot constrain them. English, as a global language, will be taught in any country around the world. So it will be fine if their English is helpful for their daily communication, work, schooling, and life. It is an important survival skill.

In this excerpt, TF discusses how he perceives the prospects of his children based on the past experiences of him and his father. From the fact that his father migrated from the countryside to a small city and he migrated from the small city to Beijing, TF believes that his children will be more mobile in future, not only within China, but all around the world. English as a global language hence becomes a survival skill for daily communication, school, and work. This view on English reflects his belief of his children being the “Global citizens” – a highly unified and assimilated identity, which implies the power and resources for mobility they possess, and the opportunities they have for future social class enhancement.

Ideologies about Language Learning

Language ideology not only characterizes the beliefs and attitudes toward language or use of a particular language, it also influences discourses on language learning (Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004). As one of the core components of family language policy, parents' language ideologies are considered as the underlying force in children's language practices within the home (Fogle, 2012). Parental ideologies about language learning and the linguistic environment, greatly affect children's language acquisition in the home (De Houwer, 1999; Fogle, 2012). Several studies suggest that the achievement-oriented linguistic development of young children sometimes fails and that learning a second language becomes an additional extracurricular activity in fully scheduled families (Fogle, 2012; Pizer et al., 2007).

In my study, some parents believe that language learning happens in particular linguistic contexts where children's linguistic and cognitive development occurs naturally. Other parents think that learning should be formulated as a routine which helps children promote a sense of regulation and form a good learning habit at an early age.

Natural development. Some parents state that language learning is part of children's natural development. As Mandarin is the first and official language in Beijing, many parents do not find it difficult for their children to acquire it in the dominant language environment. For instance, in an interview, YM expresses her views on learning Mandarin at home:

中文的学习我觉得对孩子来说应该是一个自然的过程，我没觉得对他来说存在什么困难，他就是用母语表达自己，它是很自然的一个过程。而且他的模仿能力很

I think Chinese learning for my child should be a natural process. I don't think there are any difficulties. He is just using his mother language to express himself, which is a natural process. Also he is very good at

强，周边是的母语环境，他可以记得很快，然后还能很快就用上，他会使用这个新学的词，他知道这个用在哪个语境里面。我觉得这个很有意思，就举一个例子，那时候他还很小，可能刚三岁不到，他经常会说“臭屁、臭屁”，我们就说不礼貌，悠悠这样说不礼貌。然后有一次他爸跟他吼，让他喝奶他不听话，然后他就叉着腰就跟他爸爸说，“爸爸，你不礼貌！”

imitating. Within this mother language environment, he can remember things fast and then use them soon (after he remembers it). He will use the newly acquired words and knows which context to use them. I find this very interesting. Just give you an example. When he was very little, perhaps just turning three, he often said “smelly fart! Smelly fart!” So we said, “(this is) discourteous. Yoyo is discourteous.” Then one time, his father yelled at him because he refused to drink milk. Then he put his hands on his waist and said, “Dad, you are discourteous!”

YM considers learning Mandarin at home is a natural process. Mandarin is the major language used in the family. Both YM and YF communicate with Yoyo in Mandarin on a daily basis. Within this linguistic context, YM believes that Yoyo naturally acquires new words by imitation and uses them accordingly. She provides an example of Yoyo’s proper usage of the phrase “being discourteous.” Yoyo likes to say “smelly fart” before he turns three years old. YM thinks it a bad word and should avoid using it. She tells Yoyo that using “smelly fart” is discourteous. Yoyo learns that using bad words is discourteous. One day, when his father yells at him because he refuses to drink milk, Yoyo regards it as a rude behavior and says to his father, with his hands on his waist, “Dad, you are discourteous!” In this situation, language socialization also occurs. Not only does Yoyo acquire the meaning of the phrase “being discourteous”, but he

also learns that using impolite words is not a desirable social behavior and therefore is “discourteous.”

Furthermore, some parents believe that learning English should also be a natural process. Since English is considered as a foreign language without a natural linguistic context in China, parents often try to create a learning environment for their children at home. As discussed in the section of Language Practices, the sub-section of the English-mediated activities naturally occurring, both Yoyo and Lucy’s parents provide English learning resources, such as books, video and audio records, animated films, songs, and toys, which are randomly placed or orderly stored around the house. Oftentimes, they offer direct instruction and guidance when the children need help. The availability of resources and mentoring therefore greatly influences the ways in which the parents facilitate their children’s language practices in the home.

Some parents, such as TF, think that letting children learn English in a native language environment is more efficient than trying to learn it at home in China, no matter how much effort parents take. In the interview, TF states his points of view:

我觉得你没有这个使用环境，然后你就硬去学一个语言，那时候你就是硬背嘛！那种是很难。实在是浪费时间。我觉得你要学好英语，那最好的就是你给他扔到那个英语环境下，没多长时间就会了。你可能在国外一年的时间比你在国内可能花五年的时间，效果还好呢。你到那个环境，确实是需要这个语言的时候，那你就在那个

I think if you don’t have an environment to use (English), you just study it by rote learning. Then that’s a drill! I think if you want to learn English well, the best (way) is to throw you in an English environment and (you) acquire it very fast. The result will be better if you stay in a foreign country for one year than learning it in China for five years! When you are in that environment, you

环境下待半年，一年的，就会了啊。你不信你把你放到一个岛的那个土著，你说你是土著语言不会，把你扔进去，你在那待一年，你肯定会了。

indeed need that language, you acquire it in half a year or a year in that context. If you don't believe it, put yourself in an Indigenous tribe on an island – just throw yourself there – you definitely acquire their Indigenous language in a year.

TF has experienced the College Entrance Exam of English and the CET-4 (College English Test-Level 4). As all the other parents in this study, he describes English learning in school as a drill. He thinks that rote learning in China does not help improve English. The best way is to be surrounded by native English speakers who create the linguistic environment naturally and provide opportunities to use that language as well. To prove his viewpoints, TF uses a metaphorical example of “throwing” oneself into an Indigenous tribal community on an island. He believes that one can acquire that Indigenous language in a year as a need. Though TF describes an ideal situation, if conditions permit, he points out that children's language learning highly depends on the linguistic environment where active language use for socio-communicative purposes is necessary for children's language development (De Houwer, 1999).

Forming good learning habits. While some parents suggest that language learning occurs naturally in a linguistic context, others believe that studying language as a routine can help promote children's sense of regulations and form a good learning habit at an early age. For instance, TM sets up strict daily and weekly reading schedules for her children. She explains the benefits of it in her interview:

当她们问为什么我每天要读这个英语书的时候，我就说这是你必须得养成一个好习

When they ask me why they have to read English books every day, I tell them that you

惯，这个东西你今天读了，你就进步了，不进则退，她自己也发现了，噢，我坚持读，我现在进步很大，我都敢大声的读了。我在课堂上表现也很好，她自己能享受到那种成就感。而且你有这个习惯，慢慢的你以后有纪律性了，你长大想做什么都能做成功。你要知道这事，你回来得先做作业再去你感兴趣的课外书，你得先完成你必须做的事情。我说你得自己有这个概念，不能老是让妈妈去提醒。

have to form a good learning habit. If you read it today, you progress; if not, you regress. She herself realizes it too. "Oh, if I keep reading, I progress a lot. I dare read louder. I perform very well in class." She herself enjoys that sense of success. Also when you form this habit, gradually, you have a sense of regulation. So you will succeed whatever you do when you grow up. You need to know this: after you get off school, you do your homework before reading other books you're interested in. You have to accomplish what you are supposed to do first. I tell them you yourself have to have this sense (of regulation). You can't let your mother to remind you all the time.

TM states that a strict routine for English reading can help her children progress. If they don't read every day, they regress. TM believes that it has proved to be true for the twins since they dare read English louder. They enjoy the sense of success when they perform well in class.



Figure 5.10 TM sets up daily and weekly reading schedules for the twins.

Figure 5.10 shows that TM sets up daily and weekly reading schedules for the twins. On each stack of cards, TM writes the date and the day on a paper strip and wraps the cards (picture on the left). She also divides the books – 10 books for each day – and wraps them with paper strips (picture on the right – on the bottom shelf). TM believes that reading everyday can help the children form a good learning habit at an early age, not only for language learning, but also for other subjects. Most importantly, she believes this promotes their sense of regulation which leads to future success in other fields.

Benefits of bilingualism. Many parents discuss the potential benefits of being bilingual in Mandarin and English in the modern society, especially in the globalization era. They believe that being bilingual can help promote their children’s future opportunities, in terms of studying abroad and job search. Therefore, it leads to the children’s social class maintenance and enhancement, and eventually, improves their life quality. Among all the parents in my study, only CM mentioned that being able to speak their dialect can help Cindy connect with CM’s

ethnic and cultural community in Yunnan and better communicate with the older generations who still reside in CM's hometown.

Summary of Findings on Language Ideology

This section answered the third research question: What ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold? As a key component of language policy, in this study language ideologies are categorized into four components based on how parents perceive their mother language and English. First, language is considered as cultural practice, a way of presenting one's identity, social and economic status, as well as experiencing and learning one's culture through ritualized performances, cultural traditions, and social activities, which also connect to constructing one's ethnic minority identity.

Second, language is considered as an aesthetic entity. The sensory impression of a language can directly connect to one's senses through its rhythm. As a form of art, language is as pleasing and nice as music, which carries forward the beauty.

Third, language is considered as an instrument bearing utilitarian value for the children. Mastering two languages can provide the children with more job opportunities and future socioeconomic enhancement. Being bilingual also connects to constructing national and global citizenship in the context of globalization.

Last, in terms of ideologies on language learning, on the one hand, the parents believe in the natural development of children's language competence; on the other hand, the parents think that language learning should be guided as planned routines which help the children promote a sense of self-regulation.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented findings on the implicit and explicit language policies of five middle-class families in Beijing. I conducted in-depth thematic analysis of the children's daily language practices and parents' management and ideologies about language and language learning. The purpose is to answer the following research questions: 1) what do the children's daily language practices look like, 2) how do the parents manage their children's daily language practices, and 3) What ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold.

First, the findings suggest that children's daily language practices include Mandarin- and English-mediated activities that are planned as well as naturally and routinely occurring. Children acquire knowledge of the two languages as well as of sociocultural and moral norms through language socialization supervised by their parents. Second, the process of parents' management of children's language practices is bi-directional. Parents and children often negotiate dynamic power relations whereby parents exert control and authority, and children display agency, resistance, and autonomy. Third, parents perceive languages as cultural practice, aesthetic entity, as well as instrument. In addition, the parents believe that language learning is a natural development for children. Learning language can also help children form good learning habits and enhance their sense of self-regulation which will eventually benefit their future success in school. Parents claim that being bilingual will promote their children's future opportunities for studying abroad and in job searches.

In the next chapter I further examine how the micro-level of FLPs reflects and reinforces the macro-level of national bilingual language policy in the larger sociopolitical and cultural context of globalization. I also explore the implications for the fields of language policy, child

language acquisition, and education. The aim is to bridge the familial and the global, investigating how the larger sociopolitical and cultural context shapes the parents' perceptions of education, language, and language learning, and how it influences parents' language policymaking and implementation, as well as their ideologies about language identity construction in the globalization era.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In Chapter Five, I presented findings from this study that answered my overarching research question – what do FLPs look like in five middle-class families in Beijing, China? Specifically, the findings address: 1) what the children’s daily language practices are, 2) how the parents manage their children’s daily language practices, and 3) what ideologies and beliefs parents hold about their mother language, English, and language learning. In this chapter, I seek to further the discussion and explore how the FLPs reflect and reinforce the national bilingual language policy in the larger sociopolitical, economic, and cultural context of globalization, and the implications for the fields of language policy, child language acquisition, and education. My aim is to bridge the familial and the global by exploring how the larger sociopolitical and cultural context shapes these parents’ perceptions of education, language, and language learning, and how this larger context in turn is influenced by parents’ language policymaking and implementation in the home. I also examine the parents’ ideologies about language identity construction in an era of intense globalization.

In the first section, I discuss why FLP matters in the context of globalization by addressing three issues. First, what are the parents’¹⁵ perceptions of Chinese and Western education systems and policies, respectively, based on their personal experiences, particularly their education experiences under the national Open-Up policy and attendant bilingual education reforms? How do those perceptions frame their FLPs? Second, how do the parents’ ideologies about bilingualism and English shape their FLPs in the context of the cultural and political center of Beijing, China? Third, how do parents’ FLPs influence the construction of their children’s

¹⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, the references to “parents” in this chapter are to the parents in my study.

multiple language identities in the context of this globalizing city culture? In the Implications section, I suggest that parents' language policymaking and implementation in the home profoundly impacts their children's cognitive, social, and linguistic development through the language socialization process. In addition, FLP influences children's formal education trajectories in the larger context of China's bilingual education reforms and globalizing trends. Finally, I suggest that this study promotes heritage language maintenance, and strengthens awareness of cultural, ethnic, and language identity construction in the post-industrial era.

The Larger Context for Why FLPs Matter: Bridging the Familial and the Global

In this section, I revisit the interdisciplinary theoretical framework of FLP, and illuminate how the FLPs refract and reinforce the national bilingual language policy in the larger context of globalization. Specifically, I examine these processes through a closer look at my data on parents' perceptions of Chinese and Western education systems and policies, their ideologies about bilingualism and English, as well as language identity construction.

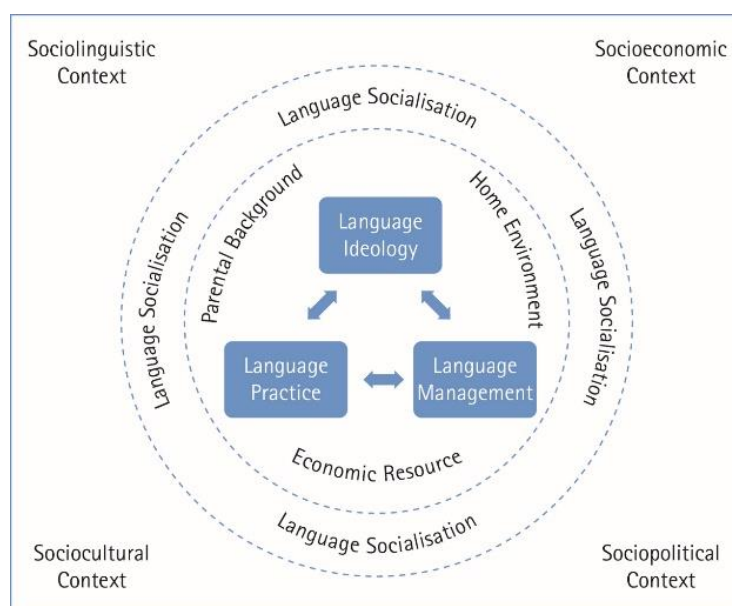


Figure 6.1 The interdisciplinary framework of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 422)

In Chapter Five, I presented findings of the core parts of the interdisciplinary FLP framework in the center (as shown Figure 6.1) – language practices, language management, and language ideology – the three-pronged language policy components advanced by Spolsky (2004). These findings were examined at the micro-level of the family domain based on parental background, home environment, and economic resources (shown in the inner circle in Figure 6.1) introduced in Chapter Four, Family Portfolios. In Chapter Five I also illuminated how language socialization processes (e.g. bedtime talk about the day, mealtime talk about planning the day) implicitly and explicitly play out in parent-child interactions in the Chinese-English language learning environment in five middle class families (as shown in the outer circle in Figure 6.1). In this chapter, I focus on why FLPs matter in the macro-level sociopolitical, socioeconomic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts (as shown in the outer square in Figure 6.1), and elucidate how these macro-level factors influence and interact with FLPs constructed and implemented at the micro-level of individual families.

National Language Policies and Personal Learning Experiences

Individuals' language learning experiences are often intertwined with changing national language policies. According to Lam (2002), two surveys and four case studies were conducted on the relationship between the changing national language policies and the actual experience of 214 non-foreign-language specialists and 193 foreign-language specialists in major cities throughout China. The results show that “the actual experience of non-foreign-language specialists concurred with the increasing policy emphasis on learning English” (p. 250) and that “the experience of learners has kept pace with policy trends” (p. 251). In other words, the learning experiences of both the non-foreign-language specialists and the foreign-language

specialists are “consistent with the policy modifications” (p. 255). In addition, the survey results showed that “the post-1978 years have been particularly conducive to learning English” (p. 250).

My study also demonstrates that the parents’ education experiences, especially their English learning experiences, were strongly influenced by the implementation of the Reform and Open-up Policy initiated in 1978. Though the parents were born between 1967 and 1980, they shared similar English learning experiences in school. Parents of this generation all started learning English at the age of 13. At that time (1980-1993), the Reform and Open-up Policy had just been launched and English was announced to be a required foreign language in secondary education (Lam, 2002). These parents experienced the rote and mechanic learning of “mute” English under the exam-oriented education policy. Since the curriculum focused only on reading and writing, these parents did not practice listening and speaking. Therefore, they referred to it as “mute” English. In Chapter Five, I discussed parental ideologies about English as a compulsory subject through their personal experiences of learning English in school. They described English learning as a painful experience. Therefore, they explicitly stated that they did not want that to happen to their children. For instance, TM shared her experience in the interview:

我觉得学英语痛苦就是为考试啊，那个四级呀，就刷题呀，上中学的时候英语的那个更多的是一种应试的嘛！

I think learning English is a pure suffering because of the tests – the CET-4 [College English Test-Level 4]. We did so many rote exam practices repeatedly. In middle school, English is just for the tests!

Similarly, LM also expressed in her interview:

学英语就是死记硬背，也不是特别重视，反正只要是能及格能过就行了。

Learning English is just rote memorization. I didn't pay much attention to it. As long as I didn't fail the exam, I was fine.

Parents' personal experiences with national language policies affects how they shape their FLPs and reinforces the language practices in the home. This personal experience also has an impact on the decisions they make about how to socialize their children through language. FLPs thus are closely interwoven with the larger national language policies, which in turn reflect global forces privileging English. As stated above, the parents who experienced the exam-oriented education policy did not want that to happen to their children. For instance, LF shared his experience of rote English learning and expressed his views on this:

我觉得中国的语言教育方式是错误的，是先学单词信息的，学单词再学课文的翻译，然后再做练习题，讲语法，这种思路完全是错的，我们学母语不是这样学的。

I think the Chinese way of teaching English is wrong, which is reciting new vocabularies first, then translating the whole passage of a lesson, doing exam practices, and teaching grammar rules. This way of teaching is completely wrong. This is not how we learn our mother language.

LF didn't think the school teaching of English in China was correct from his own experience. Therefore, he didn't impose a similar pedagogy on his child Lucy to memorize English words by rote learning. My observation data showed that LF attempted to create a "natural" environment for Lucy to explore based on her own interests. For instance, LF left English fairytale books on Lucy's play mat or the coffee table. He expected Lucy to pick up the books that she was interested in and ask him to read the stories that looked appealing to her.

National language policies had a tremendous impact on the parents' educational experiences and in particular their language learning. At the same time, under the influence of globalization, these parents formed distinctive perceptions of the Chinese and Western education systems and policies, which profoundly affected their own FLPs and how they socialized their children through language.

Parents' Perceptions of the Chinese and Western Education Systems and Policies

Due to China's exam-oriented education ideology and system, parents studied English for written tests, which were reflected in their school records and ultimately affected their college degree granting. They learned to read and write in English primarily (or even solely) to meet the requirements of pen-and-paper exams. However, they rarely had the opportunity to practice their English speaking and listening. Thus, as previously noted, the parents learned a "mute" English in school. As CM stated in her interview:

平时做那个卷子的时候是能做的，但是一旦说的时候就说不出口，我们这个英语都是哑巴英语，写、理解可能还不错，但是听和说，特别是这个说是最弱的一个环节。

I could pass the English tests usually. But I could not open my mouth when talking in English. Our English is all mute English. We can write and read. But we can't speak or listen, especially speaking, which is the weakest.

Because of these experiences, they expressed deep distrust and anxiety over the Chinese education system and policy, which might negatively affect their children's English learning. On the other hand, the parents shared their positive attitudes towards the Western education ideology, and their beliefs about the international school system that emerged in Beijing under the influence of a tide of globalizing forces.

Attitudes towards the Chinese education system and policy. Parents' past English learning experiences of the exam-oriented education ideology and practice led to their distrust of the Chinese bilingual education policy, and even the whole education system. On July 4, 2018, while I was in the midst of fieldwork for this study, the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (MOE) released an announcement about special governance on the issue of preschool's "primary schoolization" (MOE, 2018). According to the announcement, elementary school should be zero basis primary education, which assumes that students enter elementary school without prior academic knowledge learned in preschool or kindergarten. This means children should not acquire any academic knowledge, such as math and English, prior to attending elementary school. Preschools should be game-based play schools centered on children's discovery, creativity, and social skills, instead of teaching any particular subjects and having intensive decontextualized training of calculation and rote memorization (MOE, 2018). Beijing Municipal Education Commission (BMEC) responded to PRC's MOE announcement on September 3, 2018, and reemphasized the importance of zero basis primary education (BMEC, 2018). Public preschools follow these regulations and do not provide formal classroom teaching of any subjects.

However, due to the deep distrust of the BMEC and the Chinese education system, parents in this study sent their children to private after-school programs to study academic knowledge, such as math and English. Their reasoning, as expressed in interviews, was that learning should occur as early as possible so that their children would not fall behind at the starting line of a race – a common metaphor in China to refer to the beginning of competition for children. Therefore, in some families, practicing English as a daily routine became part of their FLPs to compensate for the parents' distrust of the education system. For instance, because of

EM's distrust of the government policy, Emma was sent to the English after-school program at the age of 2.5, even though the Education Commission suggests that English learning should start at the age of 6. For her English after-school program, Emma had to do the homework every day and her performance was scored and ranked with other children. EM thus felt that her child was in constant competition against other children at the age of 4.

Similarly, in the twins' family, practicing English was a daily routine. The twins had been studying at an English after-school program for a year and a half. Since they started the program, their practice of English at home became an everyday routine supervised by TM. Sometimes TM video recorded the twins' reading English books and uploaded to a smartphone Application operated by their English after-school program. The Application automatically scored and ranked their performance based on the accuracy of their pronunciation and the length of their practice time. When other children were scored higher and better ranked, TM felt stressful and asked her children to practice more so as to catch up with other children in the same after-school English class.

The parents' pressure over their children's competition resulted in anxiety. As a Chinese parenting style, parents tend to compare their own children with other children, identified as one of the prototypical events of shame (Fung & Chen, 2001). In my study, for instance, when Lily, one of the twins, felt bored reading the English textbooks and asked TM if she could read just half of them, TM responded immediately:

就念一半，然后有一半呢，你就很生疏了。然后下一次读呢你就有点结巴，你就落后了。

If you read half, you will be unfamiliar with the other half. Then next time when you read it, you will stutter. You will fall behind.

Being anxious about falling behind the other children, TM urged Lily to read all the books by using shaming. As a result, the children always strived to be the first in fear of losing the “battle for life” at the starting line. This increased parents’ anxiety especially about their children’s future school choice and job opportunities.

There are several reasons for this type of anxiety among parents in my study. First, since China’s Reform and Open-up Policy was initiated in 1978, the national education policies have changed constantly and drastically (Lam, 2002). During China’s economic and political system reform from the 1980s through the 1990s, a high demand for reform in education, especially in the curriculum of basic education, gradually accumulated (Feng, 2006). The most recent curriculum reform of basic education started in 1999, and the key documents were issued by the State Council (State Council, 2001) and the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China (MOE) (MOE, 2000, 2001, 2011, 2012). Lam’s (2002) study shows the tremendous changes in China’s language policies and traces six phases of the foreign-language education. It also outlines the various policy changes in the role of English in education in China. The middle-class parents in this study felt little control of their life because of the changing policies. As YM stated in her interview:

家长对于官方的这些东西，就是教委的这些政策不信任，就产生焦虑感和不安全感，就是对未来的一种不确定。就像中产阶层，经过自己的努力，好不容易打拼到现在，有了房子了，有辆车了，在北京的生活，而且工作比较体面呀，我不希望我

Parents do not trust these official things from the government – these policies from MOE. So they have a sense of anxiety and insecurity – an uncertainty about the future. Like the middle class families, [we] work very hard. It is not easy [for us] to strive for a better [life]. Now [we] have a house, a car, a life in

得来的这些东西在未来的某个时候，万一这个社会或者这个国家有什么变化，有什么政策变化，一下子失去，然后呢就想赶紧得趁早、趁孩子小，赶紧让他们装备上这些东西，武装上自己，然后呢，将来可以应对这些变化。是这样一种不安全感吧。因为中国从改革开放到现在 30 年了，就是一一直在改，这个 *reform* 是从来没就没停过，这么改、那么改，今一下，明一下，就各种改，所以人们的这种心理，是处在一种流动中，一种不平静，比如说这房价就一年一年的往上走高，然后大家都觉得根本就把控不了自己的生活。

Beijing, and a decent job. [We] don't want to lose all these things at a moment in future when this society or this country changes, and the policy changes. So [we] want the children, as early as possible, to fully prepare to cope with the change that might happen to them. It is a kind of insecurity. Since China's Reform and Open-up, it's been 30 years. [The policies] have been changing the whole time. This *reform* has never stopped – [the policies] change to this, change to that, change today, and change tomorrow – all kinds of change. So people are in flux, and feel a sense of unease. For example, the house price is going up every single year. So people all feel that they cannot control their own life.

YM's account shows that one of the core reasons for parents' anxiety is the ever-changing policies that affect not only their children's education and language learning, but also their everyday life as middle class families. As Lareau (2011) suggests for the U.S. context, "[S]ocial class does have a powerful impact in shaping the daily rhythm of family life" (p. 8). Valued resources, such as wealth, quality education, and homes, are not equally distributed throughout the society, and middle class parents want to transfer these resources to their children (Lareau, 2011). However, in China, because of the ever-changing policies over the past 30 years,

parents did not feel secure that the resources they possessed could be handed down to their children. In order to cope with the changing policies as well as maintain their social status and quality of life, parents expected their children to employ the resources that they could provide now to get fully prepared—that is, to learn necessary knowledge and skills as early as possible.

Furthermore, the parents expressed their concerns about the incoherence of curriculum and instruction, and the unstable requirements for the entrance exams to middle school through college. They found it difficult to keep up with the changing policies, which might not benefit for their children’s education trajectory. Because of the Confucian value of literacy and the strong belief of bilingualism, parents thought language learning should be “the more the better.” Therefore, they provided their children with sufficient learning resources and implement bilingual FLPs to deal with their anxiety over the inconsistency in national education policy.

Second, the ever-changing policy also affects the district-based school housing. Similar to the US, in China “[h]ousing and education are jointly chosen and institutionally linked through a reliance on place-based assignment rules for local elementary schools, and in most districts, local middle and high schools” (Schwartz & Stiefel, 2014, p. 301). Therefore, the choice of a neighborhood is also a choice of school districts. Because of the severe competition for better school resources, many parents spent the equivalent of over a million US dollars to purchase small condominiums that were associated with elite school districts. In order to balance educational resources, Beijing Municipal Education Commission (BMEC) announces new classifications of geographic units for school districts (including elementary schools, middle and high schools) every few years. This gave rise to parents’ anxiety about buying expensive new houses attached to elite school districts. As YM shared in an interview, house prices went up every year. It became a burden for some parents who tried to send their children to good schools.

Complicating matters, the assignment of elite school districts changed every few years. This means the expensive homes that parents purchased may be linked to the elite school district for only one or two years. When the new assignment was announced, those homes may not be associated with the elite schools anymore. Thus the children could not go to those elite schools after their parents purchased the expensive houses. In the post-fieldwork Epilogue to this study, I will return to this discussion on district-based school housing with examples.

Third, local Beijingers, such as EM and EF, expressed their anxiety over migrants from other areas in China, who they believed took up their resources and vied with their children for quality education and job opportunities in Beijing. For instance, EM thought that migrant children from other cities or towns in China scrambled for better education resources with her child, who thus had to face more severe competition than she did before. As EM expressed in her interview:

其实现在我是觉得北京当地的会越来越少了，而更多的这种压力都是来自于这些家长，你问问他们小的时候有没有压力，我自己觉得是小时候上学就是这种奋斗的这种道路还是会挺辛苦，然后必须要努力的去学习这些才可以得到很好的工作和待遇，所以我是觉得其实大部分的这个想法应该都来自于就是非北京的这些。然后他们到了这儿来，自然还是这种惯性思维方式，他们其实能考到北京不容易的，这种

In fact, nowadays real local Beijingers are fewer and fewer, I think. And the pressure comes from those parents [who are non-local Beijingers] – just ask them if they felt pressured when they were little (i.e. in school)? I myself think that when they were in school, they worked very hard and that the road of their striving was very tough. They had to study very hard so as to gain a better job and benefits. So I think actually most of this pressure is from those non-local

惯性的思维方式，就是他们必须要求自己孩子必须很优秀，然后必须很努力的去上学。

Beijingers. Then when they came here, naturally they have this psychological inertia – actually it was quite hard for them to get into a college in Beijing – [they have] this traditional way of thinking that their children must to be outstanding and work hard in school.

EM believed that the severe competition and pressure that her child was facing now were from those children whose parents are non-local Beijingers. As EM described, the non-local Beijingers worked hard to obtain their social status and resources, and expected their children to maintain this status and keep the resources by working harder. Therefore, her child was forced to get involved in this competition for education resources, and ultimately, job opportunities and benefits.

Due to the distrustful attitudes towards the Chinese education system and policy, as well as the anxiety over the various forms of competition their children face, the parents in this study turned their attention to the Western education ideology and the international school system that emerged quite recently in Beijing under the impact of globalizing trends. These education alternatives served to relieve parents' feelings of pressure and anxiety over their children's education opportunities.

Beliefs about the Western education system and ideology. Since 1978, China opened up to the world and brought in new ideologies from the West, mainly Europe and the U.S. Parents became more and more interested in the Western education ideology and system, which were borrowed and employed in their educating children so as to cope with the incoherence of

Chinese national education policy. For instance, TM liked to read books on early childhood education from Europe and the U.S. She reads Chinese translated version of Montessori Method of education, British publications on how to read and write in English, and books written by American scholars, such as *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, and *Super Parenting*. TM admired these scholars from the West and believed that the ideologies of how to raise smart children in these books were inspirational, guiding her to be a good parent. Furthermore, parents provided their children with abundant English learning materials, such as English textbooks and multimedia learning tools and supplies. Their goal was to introduce their children to the Western values and ideologies, and to display a world of scientific knowledge and modern technology.

These learning materials embody the dominant Western values and beliefs, reinforcing cultural hegemony and legitimizing “the cultural authority of the dominant group, an authority that plays a significant role in social reproduction” (Woolard, 1985, p. 739). Many parents in my study insisted that these English learning materials imported from Western countries, mainly from Britain and the U.S., delivered non-political and non-ideological values and scientific knowledge, which teach their children how to be a moral and smart kid. They believed that rejecting these learning materials from the West is a form of parochial nationalism because they embrace and admire a “world assimilation” widely occurring as a globalizing trend. However, I argue that no knowledge is neutral, and that knowledge is always already “non-foundational, socially constructed, and implicated in power differences” which reflects “the post Enlightenment philosophical tradition” (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 156). The fact that the parents regarded these English learning materials as neutral is because they took Western values and ideologies as the cultural authority which produces and reproduces universal values that everybody should obtain and obey.

The emergence of an international school system in Beijing under the influence of globalization helps parents regain expectation and hope for their children's education. The international school system was originally founded for the children whose parents are foreigners or non-Chinese citizens, working in Beijing under a work visa. The international schools follow the Western education system, in which the curriculum and instruction are child-centered, play-based, and aimed at developing students' creativity and collaborative abilities. The schools also use English and Chinese as the media of instruction aiming to cultivate children's bilingualism. Furthermore, children who attend schools within the international school system do not take the Chinese national college entrance exam, but instead take the U.S. college entrance exam (ACT or SAT). The schools help students apply for colleges in Europe or the U.S. after they finish K-12 schooling in the international system. Gradually, international schools have become widely known as bilingual schools by Chinese parents in Beijing. Those who believe in the Western education system and ideology send their children to the international schools, with the goal of receiving a Western education and nourishing bilingual children, even though the parents are uncertain about where the international schools will lead their children in the future.

For example, EM held a strong belief about the international school system. She expressed a desire to send Emma to the international elementary school after she finished preschool. EM had already conducted several campus visits, and observed the child-centered, play-based bilingual activities in their classrooms. EM believed that the international school system adopts the Western education ideology, trains bilingual children, and emphasizes the development of innovation and social skills, rather than rote learning and intense cramming for tests that she experienced when she was in school. As EM said in the interview:

我们小的时候老师更多的是填鸭式的，就是那种机械的、重复的一些训练。但是这个国际学校可能更多教你的是方法、方法论，教你怎么去思考，然而国内的人可能更多的是填鸭式的，就是你拿到卷子这道题做过，他很快就做出来了，但是举一反三的能力没有。

When we were little, teachers were ‘duck-stuffing’, which is a mechanic and repetitive training. But in the international schools, they teach the methods and the methodology – they teach you how to think. Whereas in China, the teaching is more like ‘duck-stuffing’ – it means you can solve a particular problem on a test that you’ve done in other tests before. But you don’t have the ability to draw inferences about other cases from one instance.

This is also one of the reasons why EM implemented a bilingual FLP for Emma because she wanted Emma to be fully prepared for the bilingual international schools. However, at the time of the fieldwork, EM had not made a final decision yet, because once enrolled in the international school system children are excluded from participating in the Chinese college entrance exam process. Emma would thus have to apply for colleges and universities abroad, mainly in Europe, the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

On the other hand, besides the passion about the international school system in Beijing, parents also seek to immigrate to Western countries such as the U.S., Canada, or Australia, in order to seek better education resources for their children. For instance, at the time of my fieldwork, Lucy’s family was preparing the paperwork for immigration to the U.S. LF claimed that the Chinese education system and policy did not follow children’s natural law of development, and that the exam-oriented education resulted in cutthroat competition and upward

comparison. Therefore, he did not want Lucy to take part in the Chinese college entrance exam, which bears too much pressure and stress for both the child and the parents. This explains why LF implemented a bilingual FLP within their home and his intention to create a “natural” language learning environment for Lucy.

Although many parents believed in the Western education system and ideology, and aimed to cultivate bilingual children, they still expressed the willingness to maintain Chinese heritage language and culture, and to support their children in constructing multiple identities that would serve them well in a globalizing era. I discuss this further in the section on parents’ perceptions of language identity construction later in this chapter.

Parents’ Ideologies about Bilingualism and English

In Chapter Five I discussed how parents view language learning, especially the benefits of bilingualism. These findings show that most parents in my study believe that being bilingual in Mandarin and English can enhance their children’s future education and job opportunities in a globalizing era, which leads to the children’s social class maintenance and promotion, and eventually, improvements in their quality of life. This resonates with the traditional Confucian value in China where “literacy is the pathway to upward social mobility and to an individual’s well-being in society” (Li, 2002, p. 130). Nowadays, as China opens up and connects more to the world, English has been widely acknowledged as a “global language.” Both Chinese and English are considered important assets in the globalizing era. Learning English becomes “symbolic capital needed to attain brighter career prospects and a better lifestyle” (Pan, 2015, p. 156). The parental ideologies about bilingualism, therefore, shape the formation of bilingual FLPs in these families, such as the daily planned English and Chinese practices, and attending the English after-school programs. Recent FLP studies on bilingual education at home conducted in

Singapore, Scotland, England, Netherlands, Norway, Israel, Australia and Canada also demonstrate explicit benefits for children in providing more socioeconomic opportunities later in life (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Kopeliovich, 2010; Schwartz & Moin, 2011). These studies support bilingual or multilingual FLPs because bi/multilingualism is a crucial skillset to open up job opportunities in contemporary economic markets.

Parents in my study explicitly stated that as an instrument for communication, English is essentially “linguistic capital” (Bourdieu, 1991) which can be translated into other forms of capital such as career opportunities and social mobility. As Pan (2015) demonstrates in her study, *English as a Global Language in China*:

Instrumentalists ... regard English language competence as a gatekeeper to the modernisation of a state and the acquisition of social and economic prestige for individuals. ... [P]eople regard English as a window on the world and a tool that empowers them after their previous oppression by Western imperialism and hegemony. (p. 43)

This explains why parents invested so much in their children’s English language learning. For instance, they sent the children to the English after-school programs and provided abundant resources such as English textbooks, multimedia learning materials and supplies. Some parents, such as YM, TM, and LF, who had a high level of competence in English, also provided explicit instructions and guidance in their children’s daily language practices. These types of parental involvement and supervision are substantial factors of family social capital (Hoffmann & Dufur, 2008). The linguistic and family social capital can greatly benefit the children’s daily English practices and improve their language proficiency. However, such capital is not accessible to every individual or family (Pan, 2015). English language competence, therefore, becomes a

“gatekeeper” to exclude those people who cannot afford it, marginalizing them from quality education, career promotion, and high social positions (Pennycook, 1994; Tollefson, 2000).

As a matter of fact, English, as well as the standardized Chinese, Mandarin, are both privileged under the influence of national bilingual language policy. A linguistic hierarchy is produced and reproduced through both public and private language practices intertwined with articulated and embodied language ideologies. The articulated and explicitly stated language ideologies direct and influence how the language practices are implemented on a daily basis. For instance, in the interview with YF, he clearly expressed that he did not teach his child to speak his dialect:

说那个干嘛呢? 我觉得没必要。他毕竟在北京出生了, 把那个普通话说好就行了。

What’s the point of speaking it? I think it’s unnecessary. After all, he was born in Beijing. It will be fine if he can speak Mandarin well.

This articulated language ideology is reflected in their FLPs that YF’s Sichuan dialect was never spoken or practiced in their home. On the other hand, the tacit and embodied language ideologies, socially and historically formed in the larger policy discourses, reproduce the linguistic hierarchy that also privileges dominant languages, such as Mandarin and English, yet marginalizing dialects and minority languages. For example, in the interview with TF, he casually said without being asked:

东北我们那边方言比较轻, 一般的普通话还是挺好的。

In my area of the Northeast, our accent is very light. Generally, our Mandarin is pretty good.

TF’s account shows an embodied language ideology that his Northeastern accent was hardly noticed and his Mandarin was standard. This common-sense notion about Mandarin and dialects implies that speaking standard Mandarin is socially admired and respected, and that a

Northeastern accent is not as elegant or educated. In both articulated and embodied language ideologies, the sense of superiority of speaking standard Mandarin echoes the Chinese traditional value of literacy that paves the way for social mobility. As Tollefson (2013) argues, the increasing transnational migration and global flow of people involve “important social changes” (p. 22) during which “intense competition for places in schools and for the new jobs that require literacy and varying levels of fluency in English and other colonial and regional languages often leads to violence and the repression of minorities” (p. 23). Therefore, this interdisciplinary research on how language practices in the families are enacted and negotiated is crucially important in helping us understand broader global trends and the national education and language policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018).

Parents’ Perceptions of Language Identity Construction

As discussed in Chapter Five, language identity is a complex, multi-layered social construction with strong links to culture negotiated in particular sociocultural contexts (Nicholas, 2009; Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018). As a social construction, language identity is related to parents’ language ideologies, emotional attachment to language(s), personal trajectory of language learning, as well as the education system, national language policy, and larger public discourses (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018). In my study, most of the parents are Han ethnic majority, and speak Mandarin and/or a dialect of Chinese. In the larger political discourses of language identity in China, these parents considered being of the dominant majority and speaking the official language as “natural.” The parents rarely reflected on what language identity is or what it means to their children. However, as the only ethnic minority among ten participant parents, CM expressed a profound awareness of her cultural, ethnic, and linguistic identity. Meanwhile, she was also concerned about losing in globalizing cities like

Beijing “the earthy flavor and simplicity of life” that she inherited from her Dai ethnic culture through her dialect. Therefore, maintaining CM’s local dialect in her family became a special component of their FLP, in contrast to all the other four families in which Chinese local dialects were ignored or devalued in the FLPs, such as YF’s comment on his Sichuan dialect.

At the same time, in the context of globalization and national bilingual language policy discourses, most parents in this study claimed that it is crucial to maintain their Chinese heritage culture as a nation, through speaking Mandarin, writing Chinese characters, and reciting Chinese classic poetry which are comprised of their FLPs. They believed that in the global migration trend, their children should understand where they are originally from, and increase their sense of being a Chinese citizen through learning the five-thousand-year history and respecting the ancestors, especially when their children interact with people from all over the world. For instance, TF stated in his interview that in the future, his children would become “地球人” (global citizens), living in a “地球村” (global village), where the “世界通行语言” (global language) is English. Nevertheless, he also emphasized that:

这个身份认同是你到任何一个国家，你说你是来自哪里，出生在哪。这个是一个最基本的观念吧！就是我的根在哪，就是你的最初是文化是什么文化。我的最初文化毕竟还是中国文化嘛，它不是一个国外的文化，我要遵守基本的一些文化修养。所以我爱人有时候给孩子说背唐诗，中国文字上的这种魅力，还是要学会的。

This language identity is no matter which country you go to in future, you know where you are from and where you were born. This is a basic concept that you know where your root is, and what your heritage culture is. My heritage culture is Chinese culture, not a foreign culture. I have to obey the basic rules of this culture. So sometimes my wife asks my children to recite Chinese Classic Tang

poems. The beauty of Chinese language has to be learned.

TF's account explains why TF and TM incorporate Chinese Classic poetry reciting into their FLPs. It also resonates with YM's perception of language as aesthetic entity. In addition, it conveys the hope to maintain their heritage cultural traditions and attainment. As Kibbee (2003) and many other ecologists and ecolinguists claim:

[T]he loss of a language is the permanent, irrevocable loss of a certain vision of the world, comparable to the loss of an animal or a plant. Losing a language, however few the number of speakers, takes away part of our human heritage. (p. 47)

Language is closely linked to one's identities, heritage culture, and ideologies, even the way of perceiving the reality. In this study, I argue that language identity is a complex, multi-layered social construction, which seems contradictory and conflicting on the surface but in fact compatible and coherent at the core. It seems like an inconsistency in the parents' desire to maintain what is essentially a "national" language and culture identity as Mandarin-speaking Chinese, versus the dismissal and denigration of local dialects (e.g., YF and TF), with the exception of CM who is a Dai minority. These parents perceived their "identity" as Chinese citizens, who speak the official national language, Mandarin, as far as the larger global and international context. Yet at the same time, most parents in this study (except CM) believed that their children should only practice Mandarin because it is the standardized Chinese, which is superior and privileged; meanwhile it is unnecessary to maintain their local dialects because they are informal and nonstandard languages, which are marginalized and dismissed.

Implications

The study of family language policy brings together insights from the fields of language policy, child language acquisition, and education. This ethnographic study has significant implications for research, theory, and practice in each of these fields.

First, by examining the domain of intimate everyday family interactions from a micro-lens, the study expands language policy theory on the construction and implementation of explicit and implicit language policymaking in the home. Most FLP research has been survey research. This is one of the few in-depth, multi-case ethnographic studies of how these sociolinguistic processes “work” in everyday social practice. The study has implications for language policy studies on exploring the implicit, *de facto* policies through daily micro-level interactions as part of the complicated sociocultural processes. Within the home domain, policies are implemented and negotiated in the naturally and routinely occurring daily activities, such as mealtime, free play, and bedtime storytelling. Children in these activities, acquire knowledge of two languages, in this context, Mandarin and English, as well as the cultural norms and values through language socialization supervised by their parents. The implicit, *de facto* policies are captured through the ethnographic observations of the intimate family everyday interactions, which display how the complicated sociolinguistic processes play out in the routine social practices.

Second, parental language planning and policymaking profoundly influence children’s cognitive, social, and linguistic development. Findings of this study show that FLPs influence how effectively children acquire languages, and their ability to socialize through language. In addition, child agency plays a crucial role in negotiating FLPs, and thus has tremendous impact on their early development during this process. While much prior FLP research focuses on

parental ideologies and management strategies which affect how the language practices are formed and organized, my study suggests that children play an active role in negotiating FLPs and socializing through daily language practices. This in turn greatly impacts their development of cognitive, social, and linguistic competence. For instance, parent-child's role play, such as bus riding and mail delivery, provides an opportunity to practice children's verbal communication skills through particular discourse structures (e.g. greetings, jokes, clarification sequences, giving advice, explanations) (Ochs, 1986). In Yoyo's mail delivery role play, for example, as a mail receiver he said to YM, the mailperson, “谢谢” [Thank you] and “拜拜” [Bye-bye] when she handed him the package. YM responded “不客气” [You're welcome] and “好, 拜拜!” [Ok. Bye-bye!] In this process, children also acquire knowledge of social order, norms, and rules through the parents' explicit instructions and the negotiations in the parent-child's co-directed play. They learn how to display agreement or disagreement, express emotions, and show support during this process. In the mail delivery role play, every time when YM knocked on the door, Yoyo was excited and ran to the door, shouting “来包裹了! 来包裹了!” [The package is coming! The package is coming!] This shows his excitement for the participation and passion for the interaction. Furthermore, Yoyo pretended to sign a “receipt” by scribing in the air with his right index finger. This indicates that Yoyo was acquiring the principles of social order—in this situation, how to receive a package delivered to him through participation in language-mediated interactions.

Third, the study illuminates the ways in which FLP influences children's formal education trajectories in the larger context of China's education system and bilingual policy. For instance, based on their past educational experiences, LF and EM expressed distrust and anxiety over China's exam-oriented education system. They did not believe that the exam-oriented

education system is in line with the “natural law” of child development. In order to gain better education, LF decided to create a natural language learning environment at home for his child, meanwhile preparing his child to attend private schools in Beijing and ultimately to study abroad. EM had high expectations for the international school system that emerged in Beijing under the influence of globalizing forces. Different from the Chinese public school system, the international school system provides Westernized curricula and education goals, which might lead to completely different formal education trajectories for the children. The international schools use English and Chinese as the media of instruction, aiming to cultivate children’s bilingualism. Therefore, they are known as bilingual schools by the Chinese parents in Beijing. Those who believe in the Western education system and ideology, such as EM, intend to send their children to the international schools with the goal of receiving Western education and nourishing bilingual children. Meanwhile, parents like EM implement bilingual FLPs at home. They facilitate and supervise their children’s bilingual practices so as to have them fully prepared for the international school system.

These practices and home language policies reflect macro-level policy discourses that privilege English as a global language. Parental language ideologies expressed through everyday home language practices shape the conditions under which linguistic hierarchies are (re)produced through linguistic and family social capital (Hoffmann & Dufur, 2008). The study therefore has implications for heritage language maintenance, and strengthening awareness of cultural, ethnic, and language identity construction within the home milieu in the post-industrial era.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I returned to the interdisciplinary theoretical framework of FLP, and furthered the discussion on how the FLPs in the five families refract and reinforce the national bilingual language policy in the larger sociopolitical, socioeconomic, sociocultural, and sociolinguistic context of globalization. I also elucidated the implications for the fields of language policy, child language acquisition, and education.

In order to bridge the familial and the global, I examined how the larger sociopolitical and cultural context shapes the parents' perceptions of education, language, and language learning, and how it influences parents' language policymaking and implementation, as well as their ideologies about language identity construction in the globalization era. In particular, I elucidated the parents' perceptions of Chinese and Western education systems and policies respectively based on their own educational and personal experiences, and how those perceptions frame their FLPs. In terms of the attitudes towards Chinese education system and policy, parents displayed deep distrust of exam-oriented rote learning and teaching pedagogy, and poignant anxiety over seemingly incoherent curriculum and instruction, and inconsistent requirements for entrance exams. In the parents' reasoning, this stood in contrast to the Western education system and policy. Parents thus expressed strong admiration for and embracement of Western educational ideologies of child-centeredness, creativity, and collaboration.

I then illuminated how the parents' ideologies about bilingualism and English shape their FLPs in the context of the cultural and political center of China, Beijing. Most parents in this study believe being bilingual in Mandarin and English can increase their children's future education and job opportunities in the globalizing era, supporting the children with upward social mobility and improving their quality of life.

Last, I explored how parents help construct their children's multiple language identities in the context of globalizing city culture. On the one hand, most parents ignore language identity in terms of their local dialects and the ethnic identity. They take for granted the official language and narratives of dominant ethnic majority identity. Only the ethnic minority participant expressed awareness of maintaining local heritage dialects as well as ethnic cultural values and traditions. On the other hand, in the context of globalization and the discourses of national bilingual language policy, parents believe it crucial to maintain their national Chinese heritage culture and language. This was visibly observed and articulated in the construction and implementation of the parents' FLPs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I summarize the dissertation and discuss the significance and the gap it fills. Then, I elucidate the theoretical contributions of my study to the field of language policy and the methodological contributions to the FLP research. Last, I discuss the limitations of this study and the directions for future FLP research.

Summary of the Study

A personal story never exists independent from its larger sociocultural, political, and historical contexts. A personal story cannot be solely *personal*. In this dissertation, I started by telling my personal story – it is not merely about me, though as an insider and outsider, I am closely tied to every aspect of this issue.

After the Reform and Open-up policy was initiated in 1978, English became popular in China due to the central government's implementation of economic reform which opened China to the outside world (Pan, 2015). This economic change promoted language policy initiatives that advocated English language teaching at different levels of the Chinese educational institutions in urban cities (Hu, 2012). Thus, Chinese-English bilingual education has emerged in a small number of *elite* elementary schools since the early 1990s, only in relatively developed urban cities, such as Beijing. Under the influence of this bilingual language education policy, I started learning English at home at the age of four. English never became our home language in that Chinese with a Northeastern accent is my first language used at home and other informal settings. Later, I learned Mandarin in school. As the only official language in China, Mandarin is the language that I used at school and other formal settings. English at that time was only considered as a compulsory subject for school and a necessary communication tool to master.

This English learning experience at home, however, set a strong foundation for my language development in early childhood, and for the choice of educational linguistics, particularly family language policy, as my later academic research focus. I am particularly interested in how the Chinese parents help with their children's language education at home; how they perceive their mother language; and how the parental language ideologies affect their children's language practices and identity construction, especially in the globalizing context. Seeking for answers to these questions, I found that the family language policy (FLP) framework can bridge the family domain of language practices and the globalizing trend, which has tremendous impact on both the national language education policies and the parental language ideologies.

For this dissertation, I conducted a critical ethnographic study of family language policy with five middle class families in Beijing, China. In this study, I asked an overarching question: what does FLP look like in these middle class focal families? Specifically, I sought to answer these questions: 1) what do the children's daily language practices look like, 2) how do the parents manage their children's daily language practices, and 3) what ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold. Furthermore, I ask why FLP matters in the larger contexts of the Chinese Reform and Open-up policy and processes of globalization. How do intimate language-mediated interactions within the home reflect and refract these larger sociopolitical, sociolinguistic, and economic processes? How might this study of FLP bridge the familial, the national, and the global, connecting family language practices, beliefs, and management strategies to national language policies and processes of globalization? My goals were to investigate the daily language practices in the home milieu, gaining an understanding of the family language policies of five Chinese middle class focal families, and to

illuminate these parents' beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning in the globalizing post-industrial era.

Before I presented the findings of these questions, I constructed family portfolios (in Chapter Four) for each participant family by describing each family's home environment, depicting each participant's portrait, crafting narrative profiles (Seidman, 2013) for each parent, as well as introducing each child's daily routines and the family's linguistic ecology (Hornberger & Hult, 2008). The purpose was to contextualize the language policies within these families for the in-depth analysis of the parent-child interactions. After that, I presented findings of the language policies of five Beijing middle-class families by using thematic analysis, within-case and cross-case analysis (Bazeley, 2013; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 2006) (in Chapter Five). And then in Chapter Six, I furthered the discussion on the "so what" questions, placing these findings in the larger national policy context and the relationship of FLPs and the National Language Policy to broader globalizing trends.

Summary of Findings

The first research question asked is: what do the children's daily language practices look like in the five middle class families? There are basically four types of children's language practices within these families. The first one is Mandarin-mediated routine activities, such as sending children to school, and bedtime talk. In these activities, Mandarin is naturally selected because it is the official language in China. The second type of practice is planned Mandarin-mediated activities, which include Chinese characters and poems learning. Mandarin is intentionally chosen in these activities because it is the official language in China and parents tend to cultivate their children's Chinese proficiency through these activities. The third type of practice is planned English-mediated activities, such as English reading and English after-school

programs. English is purposefully chosen, because parents intend to enhance their children's English competence. The last type of practice is English-mediated activities that are naturally occurring, for instance, children inquire about the meaning of an English word in free plays, children sing English songs at bedtime, and children imitate English words while watching English videos. In these activities, English is naturally chosen by the children without observable efforts due to the weekly or daily exposure of planned English activities.

The second research question asked, how do the parents manage their children's daily language practices? The findings show that the parents take observable efforts and employ different managing strategies, such as direct instruction, correction, clarification, explanations, and supervision, to implement language policies. While the parents exert their authority, children are not passive participants in these language practices. They display different levels of agency and autonomy in negotiating language policies with their parents. Therefore, the FLP process is shaped by the parents and children's dynamic power relations.

The third research question asked, what ideologies and beliefs about their mother language, English, and language learning do parents hold? In this study, language ideologies are categorized into four aspects: First, language is considered as cultural practice, a way of experiencing and learning one's culture through ritualized performances, cultural traditions, and social activities, which also connect to constructing one's ethnic minority identity. Second, language is considered as aesthetic entity. The sensory impression of a language can directly connect to one's senses through its rhythm. As a form of art, language is as pleasing and nice as music, which carries forward the beauty. Third, language is considered as instrument, which bears utilitarian value for the children. Mastering two languages can provide the children with more job opportunities and future socioeconomic enhancement. Being bilingual also connects to

constructing national and global citizenship in the context of globalization. Last, in terms of ideologies on language learning, on one hand, the parents believe in the natural development of children's language competence; on the other hand, the parents think that language learning should be formed as planned routines which help the children promote a sense of regulation.

In order to extend these issues and deepen the themes, I discussed (in Chapter Six): why these FLPs matter? Why should we care about the intimate language-mediated interactions within the home? How important is it to bridge the familial and the global? Findings show that the sociopolitical and cultural factors impact the parents' understandings of education, language, and language education. These factors also influenced the parents' language policymaking and implementation, as well as their ideologies about language identity construction in the globalization era. In particular, the Chinese parents do not trust the Chinese education system and policy, but admire and advocate the Western educational ideologies and policies. Furthermore, the study of FLP shed light on the parental ideologies about bilingualism and English as a global language. The parents' bilingual FLPs are tied to the children's future education, career opportunities, as well as social mobility, which reveals the systematic social reproduction of inequality (Tollefson, 2017). Last, in terms of language identity construction, the findings show that most parents ignore language identity in terms of their local dialects and the ethnic identity. They take the grand narratives of dominant ethnic majority identity and the official language for granted. Nevertheless, in the context of globalization and the discourses of national bilingual language policy, these parents believe it crucial to maintain their Chinese heritage culture and language as a nation, and incorporate it into their making and implementation of FLPs.

Significance

By exploring ethnographically these families' language education within the home, this study advances the knowledge of the "informal," family-based ways in which the parents' beliefs about their mother language and language education crucially impact their language policy. I examined the Chinese parents' language ideologies about their home language(s), English, and language learning in a globalizing context, and elucidated implications for language education policy and practice from both theoretical and methodological perspectives. Parents' perceptions about their mother language affect which language their children use in daily interactions, and whether they embrace or resist the influence of the global language – English – in the family domain. This study therefore fills a void in the educational linguistics scholarship on bridging the most intimate familial domain of language policy and the larger impact of informal and formal language policies that privilege English and Mandarin. This language choice within the home among family members greatly influences children's language acquisition and socialization, who were born and raised in an international city and a highly globalizing environment, as well as their multiple language identity construction the post-industrial era.

Contributions

In this section, I first elucidate the theoretical contributions to the field of language policy, which include the expansion of language policy theory, the supplement of a critical component to FLP research, and the linkage of familial level policies, national policies, and globalization. Then, I illuminate the methodological contributions, which comprise adding the valuable ethnographic empirical data to the study of FLP, and expanding Wolcott's (2008) alliterative trilogy of ethnographic fieldwork procedure.

Theoretical Contributions

There are three major theoretical contributions of my study. First, by examining the intimate everyday family interactions from a micro-lens, the study expands language policy theory on the implementation of the explicit and implicit language policy in the family daily routines, in other words, *how policy works as a sociocultural process*. In particular, this study documents and analyzes how the implicit and explicit language policies are enacted and negotiated in the micro-level interactions between parents and children on a daily basis through nuancing Spolsky's (2004) language policy framework. Three components of this framework – language practice, language management, and language ideology – are demonstrated to be intertwined and interdependent, though analyzed separately in three different sections in this dissertation. I argue that language practices are facilitated by language management strategies, and influenced by articulated and/or embodied language ideologies; language management strategies are implemented through language practices and are negotiated based on overt or covert language ideologies; multiple language ideologies are reflected in affirming or contradicting language practices, and are (re)constructed during language managing processes. Therefore, the three inseparable components constitute language policy as a holistic, dynamic, and “complex sociocultural process” (McCarty, 2011a, p. 8).

Second, this study takes a critical lens and explores “how power is represented and reflected in and through languages” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 5). The critical aspect of language policy is often discussed in the federal, state, or local level of policy (Canagarajah, 2006; Tollefson, 2006). It is significant for FLP research to take a more “anthropolitical perspective” (Zentella, 1997) because such work offers “renewed understandings of the role of language in the systematic social reproduction of inequality” (Tollefson, 2017, p. 25). In my

study, I not only document language practices, parental ideologies, and management, but also examine “the ways in which one or more group’s ways of speaking or raising children are constructed as inferior to the benefit of the continued domination of a powerful class” and challenge “the policies that encourage and enforce subjugation” (Zentella, 2015, p. 77). In this study, through the analysis of parental ideologies about language, language learning, and education, I argue that language competence is a form of linguistic capital, which is closely linked to one’s career opportunities and social mobility. Furthermore, linguistic hierarchy is produced and reproduced in the larger language policy discourses that privilege dominant languages, such as Mandarin and English, yet marginalizing dialects and minority languages. Therefore, we should be critical of the potential benefits of learning English or other dominant languages articulated by the ideologically and politically oriented policy discourses (Ricento, 2015). Such approach is crucially important to the field of FLP as it is “urgent in light of recent efforts to ‘train’ or ‘police’ parental language and behavior” (King & Fogle, 2017, p. 324).

Third, this study bridges the familial level of language policy, the national societal level of political policy, and the sociocultural factors related to globalization. As King & Fogle (2017) note, one of the challenges for the field of FLP is to examine “how this federal, state, and local language policy...are implemented and negotiated on the ground” (p. 324). The FLP research is far beyond a private family phenomenon. It is linked to “the broader sociopolitical concern that emphasizes sociocultural values and power relationships among speakers of different language varieties” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 436). These sociocultural values, ideologies about language, and power relations are constructed and negotiated under the influence of national political policy (i.e. the Reform and Open-up policy and the bilingual language education policy in China) as well as the impact of globalization. The initiation and implementation of these

policies raise parents' concern about their children's education, particularly, language and literacy development. Due to their personal education experiences in the 1980s to 1990s, parents in this study express their anxiety and distrust of the national bilingual language policy, and seek for an alternative pathway to educate their children from Western education policies and ideologies imported from Europe and North America in the trend of globalization. Therefore, this study bridges the familial and the global, and investigates how the larger sociopolitical and cultural context shapes the parents' perceptions of education, language, and language learning, and how it influences parents' language policymaking and implementation at the micro-level, as well as their ideologies about language identity construction in the globalization time.

Methodological Contributions

There are two major methodological contributions of my study. First, I conducted an ethnographic study of FLP and was given rare access to the intimate family interactions, including children's bathing, and bedtime talk and storytelling. Previous FLP studies (over)rely on parental reports of language practices and ideologies through survey questionnaires and interviews, therefore, fail to collect empirical data on language interaction and language outcomes (King & Fogle, 2017). Curdt-Christiansen (2018) therefore suggests, that “[h]ome language observations...across different types of families will yield important insights into the social, cultural, and political complexities of family members' everyday experiences...and social change” (p. 437). In my study, I was able to conduct participant observation in five families on the parent-child daily interactions and various activities within the home domain. Since I lived with one of the families, I was able to participate their family activities on a daily basis and record every aspect of their daily life in meticulous detail. As Curdt-Christiansen (2013) argues, “[T]he ethnographically informed data reveal the ways in which so-called ‘micro’ and ‘macro’

are interdependent, emphasizing value-laden language choices and power-inflected language practices” (p. 5). Here, ‘micro’ refers to the micro family language practices and ‘macro’ refers to the macro political policy decisions at the national level. Therefore, the valuable ethnographic data that I collected on language-mediated interactions between parents and children of their daily routines contribute significantly to the field of FLP and language policy.

Second, I take journals and memos as part of the empirical data corpus. Expanding Wolcott’s (2008) “3e” alliterative trilogy of ethnographic fieldwork – experiencing, enquiring, and examining – I add to it by incorporating *echoing* to the procedure. According to Wolcott (2008), experiencing refers to observation; enquiring means interviewing; and examining refers to artifact collection. *Echoing* in ethnographic fieldwork refers to journaling and memoing. In ethnography, a robust dataset of field notes requires a high degree of reflexivity. Besides recording the observer comments in the field notes (Merriam, 2009), I argue that journaling and memoing should also be crucial components of the data sets, because they complement field notes, interviews and artifacts by reflecting on the researcher’s own “ideological biases as well as the sociohistorical structures shaping the research setting” (Hornberger, 2013, p. 104). This process is *echoing* – reflexively recording and reporting the researcher’s “feelings, reactions, hunches, initial interpretations, speculations, and working hypotheses” (Merriam, 2009, p. 131).

Limitations

There are several limitations of this study. First, while I was privileged to gain access to the most intimate domains of research and lived the routines with five families, I nevertheless had restricted access to certain aspects of their family life. For instance, in the twins’ family and Lucy’s family, access was limited. I was only able to enter and stay in the living room and the children’s study room. I was not invited for a house tour and did not have a fuller sense of these

families' micro-culture and daily life. In the twins' family, activity access was limited as well. I was only able to observe the twins' English reading activity (and later one free play upon my request). In Cindy's family, time access was restricted. Since Cindy's mother was pregnant at the time of my fieldwork, I was only able to visit their family at a certain time during the day.

Second, the overall length of my fieldwork was one month, which was a brief episode of these children's life. I started my fieldwork by the end of June, with the expectation to stay in the field as long as possible (one month minimum as planned). However, at the last week of July, Yoyo's mother notified me that the family planned to go on a summer trip the following week. Lucy's family and the twins' family also implied to me that they were leaving Beijing for vacation soon. The limited time spent with these families may result in collecting fragmented and episodic datum slices of children's language practices at home, which may not reflect a full picture of children's language socialization and development.

Directions for Future Research

Concerning the limitations of my study and the significance of the FLP research, one important future direction would be longitudinal research over a period of several years. Such an approach, as King & Fogle (2017) suggest, examines "not only the developing child and evolving nature of family dynamics but outcomes with respect to language learning and use among children" (p. 324). This long-term, in-depth ethnographic work enhances the understanding of socially and culturally contextualized, politically and historically situated family language policy. It also allows for exploration of driving factors of language shift, maintenance, and revitalization (King & Fogle, 2017).

In terms of methodology, future research on family language policies would benefit from employing mixed methods. Quantitative studies of FLP have been conducted to examine parental

language ideologies, language practices, and children's language use and development through large-scale survey (De Houwer, 2007; Kang, 2015; O' hIfearna'ín, 2013; Schwartz, 2008). These studies rely on parents' self-reports, and do not consider children's perspectives or the sociolinguistic ecology of the families. Incorporating both quantitative and ethnographic methods in FLP studies deepens the understanding of the sociocultural factors as well as the political and historical context of language policies implemented and negotiated within the family domain.

EPILOGUE

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in July, 2017. Through the fieldwork, the five families and I shared the time and the space, in which we negotiated and co-constructed meanings contextually situated in the sociocultural and political center of China – Beijing. It was a privilege to access to the participants' most intimate space and live with the realities of their life, though just a short episode. I learned the norms, values and orderliness within the fast-paced and complex lives, and the larger sociocultural context of their daily activities.

Leaving the Field

On my last day in the field, I scheduled to meet four families and gave each of them a handwritten Thank You card. However, I was only able to visit Lucy's family from 10:48 am to 11:35 am that day. Lucy had a skating class in the afternoon, so I didn't stay long. Lucy's father was working at home that day, on Sunday again. I had a chance to chat with Lucy's mother. The topic was about their child's education. She agreed that children should have more free time playing, and parents should have spent more time with them. Yet the reality was, Lucy's mother sighed, the parents were usually too busy working, leaving the children very little time playing and communicating with them. Therefore, most of the children were sent to different after-school programs, with little or even no time for free play by themselves.

The twins' mother first agreed to see me in the afternoon. However, the children went to the dancing class and then ran some errands with their mother after that. I left the Thank You card to Yoyo's mother. Later, Yoyo's mother gave the card to the twins' grandmother on the following Monday after I left Beijing. Emma had a skating class on Sunday too. I didn't have a chance to say goodbye to her family either. But I gave the card to them the week before, on the last day when I was collecting data in their home. Cindy's mother was expecting very soon. I did

not intend to disturb her on weekend. I gave them the card the day before. Cindy took the card and said she hoped to see me again. Yoyo's family took me to the Beijing railway station and saw me off. Yoyo cried and wanted me to stay with him a bit longer to play "catching monsters."

It felt hard to leave the field, emotionally, since all the six children I worked with built up friendship with me through my daily visit. I could hardly see myself as a total outsider in this situation. They never saw me as a researcher, a temporary visitor, or "a young lady who can speak English," as the twins' mother described me; instead, a friend – different from their busy parents – a companion, who came to visit them, played with them, and talked with them. Actually, these children always initiated conversations with me. I could tell from their eyes how much they were eager to communicate. I felt their loneliness, and the hope to engage with others in this fast-developing and highly competitive city.

This explains to some degrees why the parents send their children to different after-school and weekend programs. The parents think that those after-school programs can teach their children academic knowledge as well as offsetting their missing time in the children's life due to their busy working schedules. Many parents asked me how to improve their children's English proficiency, which they thought was the purpose of my fieldwork; yet few asked me how to help their children develop in their early childhood, mentally, socially, and emotionally. This is not my research purpose, however, I feel that I care about these children, not only their language acquisition, but also their full development as human beings.

Looking back the entire journey of my fieldwork, I learned so much during this process, and gained valuable experiences handling emergencies. Staying with a participant family and "living" their life, help me better understand their daily routines, values and ideologies. I also came to understand the larger social context they were living in. I felt their anxiety, stress and

concerns. I treasured this opportunity to access the most intimate familial domain language policy and study the Chinese parents' language ideologies about their home language and English in a highly globalizing context through private conversations.

Post Fieldwork

After the fieldwork, all my participant families expressed their hope to keep in touch with me. This was helpful for the member checking and further follow-up conversations. In addition, this might be a first step for a longitudinal study on FLP with these families.

Upon my completion of writing this dissertation, a new school year is about to begin. There are many changes among the five participant families: Yoyo's family and Cindy's family moved out of the CA residential community. Both families sold their old houses and bought expensive houses ¹⁶(US\$1.2 million for 750-square-foot condominium) affiliated with Beijing's elite elementary school, middle school, and high school districts.

The twins were sent to New Zealand for kindergarten and elementary school since the beginning of 2018. As the twins' father argues, letting children learn English in a native language environment is more efficient than trying to learn it at home in China, for instance, "put yourself in an Indigenous tribe on an island – just throw yourself there – you definitely acquire their Indigenous language in a year."

Emma was ready to be sent to the international school in Beijing. Emma's mother believes that the international school system adopts the Western education ideology, and cultivates bilingual children. She also plans for Emma to go abroad for high school and college later.

¹⁶ The average household income of these families is US \$9,000 – US \$34,000.

Lucy was busy preparing for an entrance exam for an elite private elementary school in Beijing. The acceptance rate is 2%. Meanwhile, the family were in the process of filing the paperwork for immigration to the U.S.

I was not quite surprised by the huge changes in each child's life after I left the field. As a matter of fact, these parents are trying to accomplish what they truly believe about their children's education. Their ideologies about language, language learning, and education, are integrally reflected by what they make efforts for their children's future – their education, career, social mobility, and wellbeing. Life continues, and opens up all the possibilities and opportunities for these children that their parents granted for them.

The beauty of this ethnographic fieldwork is that it is historically and contextually situated, momentary, and irreproducible. The time and the space these families shared with me, therefore, are precious and privileged.

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM

同意文书

University of California, Los Angeles
加州大学洛杉矶分校

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH 同意参加研究文书

*Bridging the Familial and the Global:
An Ethnographic Study of Family Language Policy in Beijing, China*

《连接家庭与世界的纽带：
中国北京家庭语言政策的民族志研究》

Lu Liu, M.S & M.A., from the Education Department at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) is conducting a research study.

项目研究员：刘璐（文学与理学双硕士），美国加州大学洛杉矶分校教育系在读博士。

Thank you for your participation. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because first, your families are considered as middle class families. Second, you are permanent residents of Beijing. Third, your first language is Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, or other dialects of Chinese). Fourth, your children are preschoolers. Last, your families must be willing to participate in my study for participant and nonparticipant observation for a week, and three interviews with you and your spouse. Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

感谢您的参与。您的家庭选择参与这项研究因为，首先，您的家庭属于中产阶级家庭。其次，您的家庭定居在北京。第三，您的母语为汉语（包括普通话，粤语，或其它方言）。再次，您的孩子目前属于学龄前儿童。最后，您的家庭同意参与我的调查研究，包括为期一周的观察与访谈。您的参与属于自愿行为。

Why is this study being done? 研究目的是什么？

My aims are

- 1) To investigate the daily language practices in the home milieu and thereby gain an understanding of the family language policies of five Chinese middle class focal families;
- 2) To illuminate these Chinese middle class parents' beliefs on their mother language and English in the globalizing post-industrial era.

- 1) 调查中国北京五个中产阶级家庭的日常家庭语言实践活动，了解每个家庭的语言政策；

- 2) 分析和阐述在全球化后工业时代背景下，中国中产阶级家庭的父母对母语和英语的看法。

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

如果参与该研究，需要做什么？

If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

如果您自愿参与该研究：

- All your family will participate in this activity, including your spouse, and all of your children. This activity will take place in your home.
- First, your home activities with your children will be observed for a week. The activities include, but not limited to, lunch break interactions, afternoon free plays or the cartoon time, etc. Each activity observation will last one hour.
- Second, you and your spouse will be interviewed separately first for an hour to an hour and a half. Then you two will take another interview together.
- You will be asked about your life history, your experiences of learning and teaching languages, and your reflections on these experiences.
- 您的所有家庭成员将参与该活动，包括您的配偶及子女。这项调查活动将在您的家中进行。
- 首先，您与孩子的互动活动将被观察和记录。这些互动活动包括但并不局限于午餐后的休息时间，午后自由游戏，看动画片，等等。每项活动将被观察大约一个小时。
- 第二，您及您的配偶将分别接受采访，然后您及您的配偶将被一起采访。每一个访谈大约持续一个到一个半小时。

How long will I be in the research study?

整个调查研究活动将持续多久？

Participation will take a total of about 5-7 days.

整个活动将持续 5-7 天。

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?

参与这项活动将会有哪些潜在的危险和不适？

- *There are no anticipated risks or discomforts.*
这项活动没有任何潜在的危险和不适。

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?

参与这项活动将获得哪些利益？

You will not directly benefit from the study. The results of the research may address the importance of the Chinese parents' language ideologies on their home language(s) and English in the globalizing world and the larger implications for language education policy and practice.

This language choice within the home among family members will greatly influence the children, who were born and raised in an international city, Beijing, a highly globalizing environment, on their social, cognitive, and emotional development, their identity construction, as well as the cultural heritage maintenance within the home milieu in the post-industrial era.

您不会从中直接获得利益。该项目调查结果将成为研究全球化背景下中国家长的家庭语言意识形态的重要信息，并对语言教育政策及实践，儿童早期社会、认知和情感发展与教育产生深远的影响。

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?

家庭信息会被保密吗？

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Individually identifying information, such as your name, will not be published in connection with this study. All results and all tape recordings from this study will be disguised by a fake name and this name will be used on all of the research records. All recordings will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Audio /video recordings will be destroyed by the following year.

该调查研究所获任何个人信息都会被严格保密，只有在法律允许或您特许的情况下被公布。所有个人信息，包括您的姓名，都会受到保护。所有获得信息都将以假名保存，并存储在有锁的文件柜中。所有视频和音频记录都将在第二年全部销毁。

What are my rights if I take part in this study?

参与调查研究的权力

- You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study, and you may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time.
- Whatever decision you make, there will be no penalty to you, and no loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled.
- You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.
- 您可以自由选择参与该项研究，您也可以在任何时间选择退出。
- 无论您怎样选择，都不会有任何处罚，也不会有损您的利益。
- 您有拒绝回答任何问题的权力。

Who can I contact if I have questions about this study?

项目联系人的信息

- **The research team:**

If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, you can talk to the one of the researchers. Please contact:

如果您对该项研究有任何问题和异议，请您联系研究员：

Lu Liu at 901-651-2876, priscillaliu.bj@gmail.com, or WeChat _Priscilla_
刘璐：美国电话 901-651-2876；邮箱 priscillaliu.bj@gmail.com；微信 _Priscilla_

● **UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP):**

美国加州大学洛杉矶分校人类研究保护计划办公室

If you have questions about your rights while taking part in this study, or you have concerns or suggestions and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers about the study, please call the OHRPP at (310) 825-7122 or write to:

如果您对该研究的人权问题有异议，请致电给美国加州大学洛杉矶分校人类研究保护计划办公室 (310) 825-7122，或者写信至：

UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program
11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 211, Box 951694
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694

美国加州大学洛杉矶分校人类研究保护计划办公室
美国加州洛杉矶，Kinross 大街 11000 号，211 室，邮箱 951694，邮编 90095-1694

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

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SIGNATURE OF STUDY PARTICIPANT 参与者签名

Name of Participant (正楷)

Signature of Participant (签名)

Date (日期)

SIGNATURE OF PERSON OBTAINING CONSENT 请求同意书的申请人

Name of Person Obtaining Consent (正楷)

Contact Number (联系电话)

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent (签名)

Date (日期)

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH INVENTORY FOR EACH FAMILY

RESEARCH INVENTORY FOR YOYO FAMILY									
Observation	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Field note	Length
Morning Reading	7.1	7:50-8:07 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; Y	20	01OBY	17' 23"
Dinner	7.1	6:19-6:51 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	24	02OBY	32'
Breakfast	7.2	8:30-8:45 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	26	05OBY	14' 59"
Dinner	7.2	7:25-7:34 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	28	03OBY	9'
Bedtime	7.2	9:21-9:39 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	29	04OBY	18' 45"
Send to School	7.3	7:35-7:41 am	Community	Audio	C	YF; YM; Y	30	06OBY	6' 14"
Breakfast	7.4	8:20-8:28 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	31	07OBY	7' 52"
Evening Reading	7.4	6:45-7:01 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	33	08OBY	15' 3"
Lunch	7.6	11:09-11:16 am	Home	Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	N/A	09OBY	7'
Breakfast	7.7	7:54-8:25 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	38	10OBY	29' 3"

Video Watching	7.7	10:28-11:26 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	39	11OBY	59' 3"
Lunch	7.7	12:22-12:55 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	40	12OBY	19' 14"
Dinner	7.7	6:52-7:13 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	42	13OBY	20' 39"
Lunch	7.8	1:03-1:25 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	46	14OBY	21' 43"
Dinner	7.8	7:12-7:34 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	47	15OBY	21' 29"
Free Play (Phone Call+Fish)	7.8	7:45-8:06 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	48+49	16OBY	18' 16"
Video Watching	7.8	8:55-9:30 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	50	17OBY	36' 43"
Bedtime	7.8	10:26-10:38 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	51	18OBY	11' 40"
After Park	7.9	11:30-11:41 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	56	19OBY	9' 59"
Lunch	7.9	12:20-12:35 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	57	20OBY	14' 21"
Dinner	7.9	5:44-6:17 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	58	21OBY	32' 17"

Bathing	7.9	8:52-9:09 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; Y	59	22OBY	16' 12 "
Bedtime	7.9	9:55-10:04 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	60	23OBY	8' 10"
Send to School	7.10	7:35-7:42 am	Community	Audio	C	YF; YM; Y	61	24OBY	6' 20"
Bedtime	7.10	9:35-9:48 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	64	25OBY	12' 50 "
Free Play (Bus+Hospital)	7.11	6:47-7:13 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	72+73	26OBY	25' 40 "
Video Watching	7.11	7:20-7:48 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	74	27OBY	26' 48 "
Bedtime	7.11	9:20-9:49 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	75	28OBY	29' 5"
Free Play (w Emma)	7.12	8:10-8:35 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y; EF; EM; E	78	29OBY	25'
Bedtime	7.12	9:38-10:06 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	79	30OBY	27' 17 "
Bedtime	7.13	9:35-9:54 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	80	31OBY	18' 16 "
Send to School	7.14	7:28-7:39 am	Community	Audio	C	YF; YM; Y	81	32OBY	10' 15 "
Bedtime	7.14	9:35-9:58 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	83	33OBY	23' 37 "
Breakfast	7.15	8:00-8:13 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	84	34OBY	12' 3"

Dinner	7.15	7:12-7:43 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	91	35OBY	29' 57 "
Bathing	7.15	8:30-8:46 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; Y	92	36OBY	16' 30 "
Bedtime	7.15	10:22-11:09 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	93	37OBY	46' 54 "
Breakfast	7.16	8:58-9:11 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	94	38OBY	12' 21 "
Lunch	7.16	1:03-1:24 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	95	39OBY	20' 46 "
Naptime Story	7.16	1:48-2:13 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	96	40OBY	24' 38 "
Afternoon Reading	7.16	5:50-6:19 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	97	41OBY	29' 8"
Dinner	7.16	6:32-6:56 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	98	42OBY	23' 44 "
Bedtime	7.16	9:40-10:13 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	99	43OBY	32' 19 "
Dinner	7.18	6:12-6:38 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	104	44OBY	25' 47 "
English Studying	7.18	7:07-7:19 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	105	45OBY	12' 28 "

Bedtime	7.18	9:24-9:53 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	108	46OBY	28' 43"
Send to School	7.19	7:29-7:40 am	Community	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	109	47OBY	10' 9"
Free Play (Home delivery)	7.19	8:55-9:06 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	114	48OBY	10' 18"
Bedtime (Potty; Brush teeth; talk)	7.19	9:18-9:53 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	115	49OBY	34' 58"
Bedtime	7.20	9:37-9:59 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	118	50OBY	21' 42"
Free Play (toy cars)	7.21	6:23-7:24 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	119	51OBY	60' 54"
Bedtime	7.21	9:50-10:36 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	121	52OBY	46' 19"
Breakfast	7.22	8:37-8:52 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	122	53OBY	15' 9"
Talk in Car 01	7.22	9:34-9:53 am	Car	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	123	54OBY	18' 47"
Talk in Car 02	7.22	12:14-12:26 pm	Car	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	124	55OBY	11' 53"

Dinner	7.22	7:09-7:24 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	125	56OBY	15' 29 "
Free Play (Sing + Bus)	7.22	7:32-7:59 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM; Y	126	57OBY	26' 31 "
Bathing	7.22	8:02-8:16 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; Y	127	58OBY	13' 48 "
Bedtime	7.22	9:28-10:01 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM; Y	128	59OBY	43' 1"
Breakfast	7.23	8:52-9:11 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	129	60OBY	19' 16 "
Lunch	7.23	12:57-1:17 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YF; YM; Y	130	61OBY	20' 16 "

Interview	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Causal Talk	7.1	5:00-5:20 pm	Home	Audio; Notes; Pictures	C; E	YM	23	English education; Ed Sys in CN	20'
Causal Talk	7.1	5:50-6:00 pm	Home	Notes;	C	YM	N/A	01_IN_causalTalk_YM_070117	10'
Causal Talk	7.6	8:34-8:47 am	Home	Notes	C	YM	N/A	Healthcare; Ed in BJ	13'
Mother	7.7	3:35-4:43 pm	Coffee Shop	Audio; Notes	C; E	YM	41	Unstructured	68'

Causal Talk	7.11	12:48-1:16 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	YM	67	CN learning; Aesthetics Globalization	27' 37"
Father	7.11	3:25-3:48 pm	Home	Audio	C	YF	68	Unstructured	22' 45"
Dyadic	7.11	3:52-4:26 pm	Home	Audio	C	YM+YF	70	Dyadic	31' 21"
Artifacts	Date	Types	Description	Data Forms	Quantities	Languages	Audio Record	Notes	Length
English Studying Materials	7.1	Books	English textbooks; audios	Photos	12	E	N/A	English education	N/A
Home Environment	7.1	Living conditions	Physical context	Photos	9	N/A	N/A	Context	N/A
Bedtime	7.4	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	6'6"
Bedtime	7.5	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	7'40"
Bedtime	7.6	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	37	Storytelling	15' 49"
English Studying Materials	7.7	DVDs	English studying audios	Photos	2	E	N/A	English education	N/A
Bilingual Studying	7.9	Books	Bilingual textbooks	Photos	8	C; E	N/A	Bilingual education	N/A

Materials									
Chinese Studying	7.11	Books	Chinese textbooks	Photos	21	C	N/A	Chinese education	N/A
Free Play	7.12	Activities	Indoor Activities	Photos	6	C	N/A	Playing	N/A
English Learning	7.19	Activities	Indoor Activities	Audio	N/A	C; E	N/A	Studying	3'47"
Free Play	7.22	Activities	Outdoor Activities	Photos	21	N/A	N/A	Playing	N/A
Free Play	7.22	Activities	Indoor Activities	Photos	8	N/A	N/A	Playing	N/A
Bedtime	7.23	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	11'42"
Bedtime	7.25	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	16'6"
Bedtime	7.26	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	16'29"
Bedtime	8.3	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	10'2"
Free Play	8.6	Activities	Indoor Activities	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Playing	29"
Storytelling	8.6	Activities	Indoor Activities	Photos	1	N/A	N/A	Storytelling	N/A
Traveling	8.6	Activities	Outdoor Activities	Photos	9	N/A	N/A	Playing	N/A
Bedtime	9.1	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	9'31"

Bedtime	9.5	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	10'14"
English Learning	9.9	Activities	Indoor Activities	Audio	N/A	C; E	N/A	Studying	2'13"
Total		Minutes	(Hours)						
	Quantities								
Observation	62	1308'1681"	(22.27h)						
Interview	7	191'103"	(3.21h)						
Artifacts	12	105'308"	(1.84h)						
Artifacts	99	-	-						

RESEARCH INVENTORY FOR TRACY & LILY FAMILY

Observation	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Field note	Length
English Reading	7.8	7:44-9:43 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	TM; T; L	45	01OBT	104'22"
Morning Learning	7.9	9:07-9:48 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	TF; T; L	52	02OBT	42'5"
Morning Storytelling	7.9	9:50-10:45 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C	TM; T; L	53	03OBT	55'35"
English Reading	7.9	10:46-10:58 am	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	TM; T; L	54	04OBT	14'13"
Free Play; English Reading	7.10	7:57-9:05 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	TM; T; L	63	05OBT	63'14"
English Reading	7.11	5:05-5:17 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	TM; T; L	71	06OBT	11'33"

Interview	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Mother	7.10	9:17-11:26 am	Home	Audio	C	TM	62	Unstructured	76'38"
Father	7.11	7:50-8:10 am	Home	Audio	C	TF	65	Unstructured	20'9"
Dyadic	7.11	8:10-8:42 am	Home	Audio	C	TM+TF	66	Dyadic	30'25"
Casual Talk	7.11	8:42-9:07 am	Community	Notes	C	TM	N/A	Causal	25'
Artifacts	Date	Types	Description	Data Forms	Quantities	Languages	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Home Environment	7.8	Living conditions	Physical context	Photos	4	N/A	N/A	Context	N/A
English Studying Materials	7.8	Books	English textbooks; audios	Photos	5	E	N/A	English education	N/A
Bilingual Studying Materials	7.10	Books	Bilingual textbooks	Photos	1	C; E	N/A	Bilingual education	N/A
Total				(Hours)					
	Quantities	Minutes							
Observation	6	289'122"	(4.85h)						
Interview	4	151'72"	(2.72h)						
Artifacts	11	11	11						

RESEARCH INVENTORY FOR EMMA FAMILY

Observation	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Field note	Length
Pickup	7.2	10:20-10:40 am	Car	Audio	C; E	EM; EF; E	27	01OBE	19'50"
Sunday Activity	7.2	10:48-11:27 am	Mall	Notes	C	EM; EF; E; YM; YF; Y	N/A	02OBE	39'
Pickup+Free Play	7.3	4:50-5:52 pm	Community	Notes	C	EG; E	N/A	03OBE	62'
Pickup+Free Play	7.4	4:45-5:55 pm	Community	Notes	C	EG; E	N/A	04OBE	65'

Evening Activity	7.4	7:30-8:00 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	EM; EF; E	34	05OBE	125'
Bathing	7.4	8:07-8:29 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	EM; EF; E	34	05OBE	N/A
Video Watching	7.4	8:29-8:50 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	EM; E	34	05OBE	N/A
English Mission	7.4	8:50-9:15 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	EM; E	34	05OBE	N/A
Bedtime	7.4	9:17-9:35 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	EM; E	34	05OBE	N/A
Free Play	7.15	9:30 am-12:22 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	EM; EF; E; YM; YF; Y	85	06OBE	170' 7"
Lunch	7.15	12:22-12:43 pm	Home	Audio	C	EM; EF; E; YM; YF; Y	86	07OBE	20' 9"
After Lunch Play	7.15	12:45-1:05 pm	Home	Audio	C	E; Y	87	08OBE	20'
Interview	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Mother	7.12	4:55-6:15 pm	Home	Audio	C	EM	76		73'3 9"
Father	7.12	7:14-8:05 pm	Home	Audio	C	EF	77		50'2 8"
Dyadic 01	7.15	1:05-1:37 pm	Home	Audio	C	EM+EF	89		31'5 4"
Dyadic 02	7.15	1:40-2:01 pm	Home	Audio	C	EM+EF	90		20' 8"
Artifacts	Date	Types	Description	Data Forms	Quantities	Languages	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Home Environment	7.4	Living Conditions	Physical Context	Photos	13	N/A	N/A	Context	N/A
Free Play	7.15	Activities	Indoor Activities	Photos	49	C	N/A	Playing	N/A
Learning Materials	7.15	Books	Guidebooks	Photos	16	C	N/A	Education	N/A

Total	Quantities	Minutes	(Hours)
Observation	12	520'76"	(8.69h)
Interview	3	174'139"	(2.94h)
Artifacts	78	-	-

RESEARCH INVENTORY FOR LUCY FAMILY

Observation	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Field note	Length
Evening Play	7.6	7:34-9:15 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	LM; LF; L	36	01OBL	101'
Evening Play	7.14	7:23-9:25 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C; E	LM; LF; L	82	02OBL	114'47"
Interview	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Mother	7.7	7:52-8:35 pm	Home	Audio	C	LM	43	Miss Dyadic	41'15"
Father	7.7	8:36-9:35 pm	Home	Audio	C	LF	44	Miss Dyadic	49'35"
Artifacts	Date	Types	Description	Data Forms	Quantities	Languages	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Bedtime	7.5	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	12'
Home Environment	7.6	Living conditions	Physical context	Photos	7	N/A	N/A	Context	N/A
Preschool Portfolio	7.7	Archive	School Performance	Photos	2	C	N/A	Education	N/A

Parents' Report	7.7	Archive	School Performance	Photos	1	C; E	N/A	Education	N/A
Music Score	7.14	Activities	Singing	Photos	1	C	N/A	Studying	N/A
Bedtime	7.18	Storytelling	Storytelling	Audio	N/A	C	N/A	Storytelling	16'33"
Total	Quantities	Minutes	(Hours)						
Observation	2	215'47"	(3.60h)						
Interview	2	90'50"	(1.51h)						
Artifacts	2	28'33"	(0.48h)						
Artifacts	12	-	-						

RESEARCH INVENTORY FOR CINDY FAMILY

	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Field note	Length
Observation									
After School Activity	7.17	5:10-7:24 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	CG; CM; CF; C	100	01OBC	138'39"
Dinner	7.17	7:24-8:00 pm	Home	Audio	C	CG; CM; CF; C	101	02OBC	36'28"
Free Play	7.17	8:00-8:33 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	CG; CM; CF; C	102	03OBC	32'57"
Bedtime	7.17	8:35-8:41 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	CM; C	103	04OBC	6'18"
Art School Play	7.18	7:40-8:30 pm	School	Audio; Notes	C	CG; CM; C	106	05OBC	11'15"
Telling Stories	7.19	8:09-8:34 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	CG; CM; CF; C	113	06OBC	25'1"
Evening Activity	7.20	8:02-8:58 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	CG; CM; C	116	07OBC	56'24"

Storytelling	7.20	8:59-9:25 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	CM; C	117	08OBC	25'36"
Dinner	7.21	7:37-8:50 pm	Home	Audio; Notes	C	CG; CM; C	120	09OBC	72'7"
Interview	Date	Time	Site	Data Forms	Languages	Participants	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Mother 01	7.18	8:30-8:50 pm	Coffee Shop	Audio	C	CM	107	Pt1	21'5"
Mother 02	7.19	6:50-7:30 pm	Home	Audio	C	CM	111	Pt2	40'13"
Father	7.19	7:37-8:08 pm	Home	Audio	C	CF	112	Miss Dyadic	31'16"
Artifacts	Date	Types	Description	Data Forms	Quantities	Languages	Audio Record	Notes	Length
Home Environment	7.17	Living Conditions	Physical Context	Photos	11	N/A	N/A	Context	N/A
English Studying Materials	7.19	Book	English Picture Book	Photos	3	E	N/A	English Education	N/A
Free Play	7.19	Activities	Indoor Activities	Photos	5	C	N/A	Playing	N/A
Total	Quantities	Minutes	(Hours)						
Observation	9	401'225"	(6.75h)						
Interview	3	92'34"	(1.54h)						
Artifacts	20	-	-						
Summary	Quantities	Hours							
Observation	105	48.48h							
Interview	19	11.92h							
Artifacts	220	-							

APPENDIX C

ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Family Language Policy in Beijing China

Observer: _____ Location/Site: _____

Date: _____ Participants: _____

Activity: _____

Language(s): _____

Other Contextual Information:

Visual Map:

Running Record:

Time Observation Observer Comments

SOURCE: McCarty, T.L. (2015b), Ethnography in language planning and policy research. In F. Hult & D.C. Johnson (Eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Participant Category	Part I. Focused Life History Placing Participants' Experience in Context	Part II. Details of Experience Concrete Details of Participants' Experience with Language Learning	Part III. Reflections on Meaning
Parents	<p><i>Please share what you feel comfortable sharing your language and culture background.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Let's start with your growing up years. When and where were you born and where did you grow up? • When did you move to Beijing? How many years have you been in Beijing? • What language(s) were you raised in? • What were your parents' language, culture, education, and professional backgrounds? • What language(s) do you speak on a daily basis? • What were your schooling experiences? • At what age did you start learning English, if you speak English? • Where did you learn English? At school/home? • What are your memories about learning English in school? • What language(s) do you use at home with your child and your spouse? 	<p><i>Please describe in as much details as possible.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe a typical week day when your child goes to school. • Describe a typical weekend with your child. • Tell me about how you learn English, if you speak English. • What, specifically, did you do to create a context for learning English yourself? • Tell me about how you facilitate your child's language learning at home. • How did you create a language learning environment for your child? • What kinds of language learning strategies have you used on teaching the language(s) to your child? • Which strategies worked best? What did you need to change, and how did you about doing this? • Tell me about your child's language learning outcome. • How is your child's Chinese and (or if they do speak) English language ability? (speaking, listening, reading, writing) • What surprises or unanticipated outcomes did you encounter along the way? • Tell me about the challenges for your child's language learning. • How did your child react to your language choice at home? What did you do to their reactions? • What have been the most difficult challenges? • What have been the greatest joys and rewards? • What has kept you motivated along the way? 	<p><i>Given what you have said about your language experiences at home, what have they meant for you?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does it mean to be a speaker of Chinese? How do you perceive your mother language and English? • What are some of the special qualities about your mother language? • What benefits do you think your child would obtain from speaking Chinese and/or English at home? • Have you talked about an "identity" issue with your child? How do you want your child to identify themselves? • How do you think the language(s) you teach to your child would shape their life in future? • Imagine 20 years from now, what kind of person do you want your child to become? • What cultural heritage do you want to pass on to your child? How? • How do you define/perceive "globalization" for yourself? • What does "globalization" mean to yourself, and for your child, in the ways you think of your child's future?

APPENDIX E

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS PROTOCOL

Document Title _____ *Date* _____ *Language* _____

<i>Written Observation</i>	<i>Reflective Commentary</i>
<i>Themes</i>	<i>Quotes</i>
<i>Analytic Memo</i>	

APPENDIX F

FAMILY PORTFOLIO PROTOCOL

- Context
 - Beijing city
 - physical/social/cultural/political environment
 - Linguistic Landscape
 - Community (Neighborhood & School)
- Family
 - Property
 - Housing
 - Layout (Visual Maps & Artifacts)
 - Basic info (area; price)
 - Car(s)
 - Basic info (number; brand; price)
 - Family Members
 - Portraits
 - Narrative Profiles
- Daily Routines
 - School Schedule (8:00 am – 5:00 pm)
 - Afterschool Program
 - English
 - Swim
 - Dance
 - Drawing
 - Lego
 - A Typical Day (workday vs. weekend)
 - Send to school (7:30 am)
 - Three meals a day at school
 - Pick up from school (5: 00 pm)
 - Free play outdoor/indoor
 - Afterschool program
 - Evening activity
 - Bedtime routine (defecation; bath; talk; storytelling)
- Parents' Ideologies
 - China's Education System and Policy
 - Language
 - Mother language
 - English
 - Learning

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