

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Daring to (re)imagine: A case study investigating the limits and possibilities of bilingual education

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9rr5x9w1>

Author

Lo-Philip, Stephanie Wing Yan

Publication Date

2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Daring to (re)imagine: A case study investigating the limits and possibilities of bilingual education

By

Stephanie Wing Yan Lo-Philip

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

Professor Laura Sterponi

Professor Paula Varsano

Fall 2011

Abstract

Daring to (re)imagine: A case study investigating the limits and possibilities of bilingual education

by

Stephanie Lo-Philip

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

This longitudinal study focuses on the idea that institutions are able to exercise some agency by re-imagining what language is, for what purposes people learn a language, and for whom a particular language is appropriate. It also assumes that there are conditions (in the material and ideological sense) that allow or hinder agents from creating alternative imaginings. This research investigated the limits and possibilities of re-imagination as a creative act of agency. In addition, it explored how re-imagination affected educational goals and everyday classroom practices. The study attempted to explore both issues through an ethnography of a bilingual Mandarin Chinese and English school. It examined how the school as an institution has re-imagined education in general, bilingual education and Chinese through official discourses and everyday classroom practices. Participants in this study included a focal class of 7th grade students, teachers, staff and parents. The findings illustrated how politics, economics and discourses were the sources upon which participants make sense of the world and drew upon for (re)imagining their educational visions and programs. The findings from this study can inform language educational policy and practical pedagogical, curriculum and program development for Chinese language educators and bilingual educators.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents and husband who have never failed in
reminding me about the things that matter most in life.

--
“If I have the gift of prophecy and can fathom all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I
have a faith that can move mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing.”

--
1 Corinthians 13:2

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgements.....	i

Chapter One

Background and rationale.....	1
Organization of dissertation.....	4

Chapter Two

Theoretical framework.....	4
Imagination and re-imagination.....	4
Discourse.....	5
Symbolic capital.....	6
Global flows.....	8
Agency and structure: Limitations and possibilities	9

Chapter Three

Field entry.....	11
Research site and participants.....	12
Methodology.....	14
Ethnography.....	14
Discourse analysis.....	15
Data collection.....	16
Some thoughts on reflexivity.....	17

Chapter Four

Transnational Discourses.....	19
Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse.....	19
China-as-a-rising-power discourse.....	23
Global education, language and culture discourses.....	27

Chapter Five

Existence and survival as re-imagination.....	30
Empowering and expanding discourse: The AXC Institute.....	35

Chapter Six

Making tangible connections and global projections.....	39
Nurturing cosmopolitan citizens.....	39
Re-imagining alternative histories.....	45

China's global importance.....	47
Hierarchical comparisons.....	53
Chapter Seven	
Designing a new discourse.....	57
Challenges to AXC's ideals.....	67
Chapter Eight	
Conclusion.....	71
Implications for language education and educators.....	71
Institutions and language policy.....	71
Language education.....	72
Chinese language education.....	73
References.....	74
Appendix A: Transcription conventions.....	81
Appendix B: Original Chinese texts from chapter six.....	81
Appendix C: Original Chinese texts from chapter seven.....	84

Acknowledgements

When people hear that I study a field called “educational linguistics”, they often look at me with a blank face. Some ask if that means I will be a primary or secondary school teacher. Others just directly ask, “What is that?” In fact, even my own family members still do not exactly understand what it is that I study. Growing up in a family where everyone (including my extended family members on both sides) ended up pursuing a field in the hard sciences, I was the odd person out. I was the only one who went into the social sciences. In my generation, I was the only one who later became multilingual and accumulated years of experience abroad. Despite the “strangeness” of my interests, my mother and father never questioned my interests. They never told me to give up and pursue something that is more “prestigious” or “will bring in a steady income.” They approved of my decisions to go overseas time and time after again. Without my family’s constant support, their confidence and prayers, it would have been very difficult to complete, or even begin this degree. I am also thankful for my mother-in-law, Katherine Philip, who has spared her time to listen to me, discuss issues that I was grappling with and read over my material. Of course, I would not have been able to get through this program without the man who has been by my side all these years. He has waited patiently for me. He has never failed to pray for me and cheer me on to finish this degree. Les, you are my inspiration and I would not be who I am without you in my life.

This research would not have been possible without the amazing school community of which I was fortunate enough to be a part. The teachers, parents, staff and students were incredibly giving of their time and energy. They took the time to share their opinions and thoughts with me. The staff was instrumental in helping me identify key personnel, setting up interviews and locating important school documents. I am so grateful for all of their encouraging remarks. They have truly inspired me to continue my pursuit of knowledge in this field. My greatest hopes are that this research has respectfully portrayed the school and its members and that the research will ultimately aid the school in further developing their programs.

I sincerely thank all of my committee members for their guidance. My advisor, Patricia, has been a model for me. She has taught me not only how to conduct rigorous research, but also how to be a good mentor and teacher. Laura Sterponi has always been a

source of encouragement and support. Her comments have greatly pushed forward my grasp and understanding of theory. Paula Varsano has strongly challenged my ways of thinking and has helped my fine tune my analysis with her sharp questions and comments.

There are also many other faculty members at UC Berkeley that have been very influential to my intellectual growth. Susan Holloway gave me my first job and has always given helpful advice whenever I needed it. Claire Kramsch has greatly enriched and expanded my knowledge and critical thinking. I greatly appreciated Erin Murphy-Graham's willingness to listen to me when I was unsure of how to proceed with my research. I also want to thank Lionel Wee at the National University of Singapore. With just a few questions, he would help me get back on track and find a more focused direction to take the research. My classmates at Berkeley have been an important source of support as well. Kate Frankel and Jen Collett have been incredible. They were always there to listen to my struggles and frustrations. Their friendship has seen me through difficult times. I am also very grateful for Sera Hernandez, Patience Felding, Kimberly Vinall and Jennifer Johnson. They have given me great advice not only for how to do research and understand theory but also how to navigate the doctoral program and stay true to one's aspirations.

I would like to thank the administrative staff. I would not have been able to get through all the protocols and procedures without Ilka Williams. Thank you to Karen Sullivan who always took care of all my financial concerns.

Finally, to my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, you are the one who has guided me and walked with me all these years. You give me purpose and meaning in all that I do, in all that I am. May the work of my hands always glorify you and testify to your greatness. Amen.

Chapter One

Background and rationale

In the beginning of February 2010, I walked into the Chinese¹-English bilingual school that I had been volunteering at since the fall of 2007. But today was not just any other day. The entire building space had literally been transformed from wall to wall. A large Chinese brush painting of a tiger, the Chinese Year calendar's zodiac animal, hung in the middle of the hallway. Each door featured auspicious diamond-shaped signs in bright red paper. The bulletin boards were covered with various paintings of tigers. Delicate paper red lanterns with long golden silk threads hung from the ceiling. The columns were completely covered with New Year greetings, carefully painted onto slender slips of crimson paper. Ms. Zhang, one of the Chinese teachers there, saw me and enthusiastically led me to the gymnasium where the day's festivities were to take place. I was greeted with a loud *Xinnian kuaile!* (Happy New Year) by two lines of students dressed in red shirts and blue jeans. As I took the bright orange program printed in Chinese and English from them, my eyes caught sight of the completely packed auditorium. There were people of all different ethnicities and it seemed as though everyone was wearing something traditionally Chinese – a Mandarin shirt, Chinese pants, Chinese hair accessories and jewelry. I heard about half a dozen languages being spoken – Cantonese, Taishan, Hakka, Mandarin, English and French. On the back wall were two typical, auspicious Chinese sayings with each character painted from right to left in black ink on red diamond-shaped paper. The right scroll had *Gonghexinxi* (Happy New Year) written on it. On the left was written *Jixiangruyi* (Good luck and fortune to you).

I took a seat somewhere to the far left where I could video record, unsure of what was to come. After a few minutes, the Chinese Program Director, dressed in black pants and a bright red long sleeved shirt with gold embroidery walked to the front of the stage. In the middle of the gymnasium, eight students dressed in black pants, black T-shirts and bright red vests embroidered with gold thread stood in a crescent formation. Some students were Chinese, others were mixed, a few were Indian and the remaining were African American. In front of each student was a traditional drum. They stood in a forward stance with straightened arms, slender wooden drumsticks in each hand. With microphone in hand, the Director greeted the audience, “*Huangying dajia lai qingzhu zhongguo xinnian*, Welcome all to celebrate Chinese New Year. Dru::::m, Go!” Three loud, rapid cracks sliced through the air and suddenly the entire gymnasium was filled with the sound of beating drums. During the one and a half hour program, I was treated to Chinese classical music performances, Chinese ethnic minority dances, a traditional bamboo pole game and dance, Chinese New Year auspicious sayings and a Lion Dance.

While I was sitting there, I felt inspired. It was one of those special moments that made me grateful that I am a part of this rich and long cultural heritage. Never in my entire educational experience had I ever witnessed such a celebration and honoring of my culture. That so many non-Chinese people were there partaking and enjoying these traditions was an even more incredible sight. That celebration and my experience at the school over the years greatly challenged my assumptions of Chinese language learning and made me rethink why people want to learn it, who the Chinese language is for, what kinds of identities learners can claim, what advantages it offers and for whom Chinese

¹ Unless otherwise specified, Chinese language refers to Mandarin Chinese.

language proficiency benefits. For me and as I will argue in this study, I had been tracing a radical re-imagination of what Chinese as a language and culture can mean.

Although I began this study with the intention of exploring second language acquisition and socialization, I became inspired by how the school ran against the historical grain of how Chinese² has been positioned. Their gamble on an experiment that began with just four students and one dedicated teacher has blossomed into a highly respected educational institution with over 400 students. The way they have developed over the years led me to ask how alternative imaginings are born, maintained, changed and constrained. Schools (usually referring to public institutions) have been extensively positioned and discussed as sites of reproduction because they teach the standard language(s) (c.f., Bourdieu, 1982). On the other side of this equation are the community language schools (also known as heritage or minority language schools) that typically operate as after-school or weekend programs. Like other studies that examine second language learners' agency (c.f., Norton, 2001; Peirce, 1995), heritage language learners are often described in literature as actors and the learning of a minority language as an act of resistance (c.f., Rassool, 2004; Tse, 2001). Yet there are very few language educational studies that examine the role of the institution and its agency in creating alternative realities even though institutions themselves are agents (Giddens, 1991), "flexible and malleable bodies...not faceless hegemonic forces" (Bucholtz, 2001). Researchers have also not considered the conditions that hamper an institutions' ability to bring about change (see Freeman, 1998 for one of the few studies that do investigate institutional agency). Hence, my purpose is to further the fields of second language learning and bilingual education by addressing this gap. Specifically, I ask two general questions:

- 1) What are the limits and possibilities of re-imagination in language educational settings?
- 2) How does re-imagination (and the political-economic conditions and discourses that gave rise to it) affect educational goals and everyday classroom practices?

Thus, I ultimately concentrated on the idea that institutions are able to exercise some agency by re-imagining what language and culture are, for what purpose people learn them, and for whom a particular language and culture is appropriate. Secondly, I examine how these imaginings guide and shape program development and daily classroom practices. Nevertheless, institutions, like individuals, are not free to do as they please. They are situated within discourses and political-economic conditions that direct their maneuvering (Collins, 2001; Heller, 1999b, 2001). I argue that political-economic conditions and discourses are essential sources upon which participants and institutions make sense of the world and imagine their educational visions. I explore how they limit agents from creating and actualizing ideal alternative visions. Finally, I highlight the multiple temporal and spatial nature of meaning-making and interaction. I showcase how discourses and political-economic conditions do not arise from a single point of time or locale (Blommaert, 2003, 2005; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). I purposefully labeled

² Unless otherwise specified, I use the general term "Chinese" to refer to the language, culture, heritage and people.

discourses as transnational in recognition of the multiple contexts that give rise to a particular ideology.

Raising such questions forces us to go beyond the individual and consider institutions as agents in their own right and the possibilities that institutions can create. At the same time, it makes us take a serious look at the ideological and political-economic contexts in which schools and participants are situated and how contexts can aid or prevent change. Finally, by grounding everyday practices and texts within their multiple material and semiotic contexts, we gain a deeper, more comprehensive understanding of education and change. This allows us to understand why and how people can imagine in certain ways. In turn, we are able to consider the consequences of such imaginings.

With regards to the specific context of Chinese, this study understands the re-imagining of Chinese culture, language, and community as not confined to national borders, but as situated within macro processes of diaspora, economic and cultural globalization, and international relations. Its claim as a world language is partially contingent on whether it can successfully associate itself with the transnational community and break ethnolinguistic ties (Lu, 2008). Its status will also depend on its economic, cultural, and political value in China and other Chinese-speaking areas and China's position on the world stage. This repositioning of Chinese not only has serious consequences for broad social issues such as policy, but also has practical implications for language and culture education goals, programs, curriculum development and pedagogy (Liu & Lo Bianco, 2007; Wang, 2007). For instance, which language variety should be taught – *Putonghua* as advocated by Beijing, *Guoyu* as promoted by Taipei, or *Huayu* as supported by Singapore? Who and what guide these choices? Who benefits from which language variety? Who should learn Chinese and for what reasons? Who is qualified to teach? The answers to these questions have direct consequences for pedagogy, curricular and program development, teacher training and hiring.

To explore these questions, I conducted an ethnography of a bilingual Mandarin Chinese and English school. I followed a class of 7th grade students until their graduation from 8th grade and their English and Chinese language teachers. School documents, classroom discourse and practices, curricula and text materials were documented and analyzed to locate existing discourses and alternative imaginings. Participant interviews with students, parents, teachers and staff were conducted to provide additional insight.

My study focuses on issues of language, education and agency. My purpose for selecting these areas is for several reasons. Firstly, my findings illuminate and describe the complex political-economic conditions that influence education at the micro level (e.g., pedagogy, curriculum and program development, teacher discourse and practices, and classroom text selection), the mesa level (e.g., institutional educational visions) and the macro level (e.g., language and education policy, global labor force demands). Secondly, my hope is that the results from this study will provide insights for practical pedagogical, curricular and program development for Chinese language educators and bilingual educators in general. Thirdly, my ideas about Chinese were shaken by this school. I believe that the findings will challenge many assumptions about it as a language, culture and ethnicity and how it can be imagined. Last, but not least, my wish is that this study will offer realistic encouragement to those who seek change.

Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized in the following seven chapters. Chapter Two presents a literature review of the key concepts of imagination, symbolic capital and discourse that inform this study's theoretical framework. Chapter Three describes the process of gaining access to the site, ethnographic methods used to conduct fieldwork at the school and site and participant selection. Chapter Four outlines the major discourses that emerged from the research: Chinese (American)-as-second-class, China-as-a-rising-power discourse and global education, language and culture discourses. It traces their historical, political-economic and ideological conditions.

Chapter Five analyzes the foundation, development and existence of the school as an act and process of (re)imagination. It then continues the discussion by examining the school's non-profit organization as another means of empowering discourse and (re)imagining language and language education. Political-economic conditions are considered as major factors that shaped the school and the non-profit institution's trajectories. Chapter Six zooms into the classroom and provides an analysis of everyday classroom practices. It considers the disjunctions between ideal goals and actual practices and the factors that give rise to such differences. Chapter Seven delves into the discourses that inform the school's (re)imagining of bilingual and language education and Chinese heritage. It also looks at the discrepancies between actual and ideal educational goals and discusses the material and ideological reasons behind them. Finally, Chapter Eight provides concluding thoughts about re-imagination and the material and semiotic conditions that support or hinder it. It considers the relevance and potential contributions of the study to specific concerns in language policy, language education and Chinese language education.

Chapter Two **Theoretical background**

Imagination and re-imagination

This study begins with the notion of imagination as an act and a process. In Wenger's (1998) work on communities of practice, he presented three modes of belonging: engagement, imagination and alignment. For the purposes of this paper, I concentrate on the second mode and build on his interpretation. Wenger defined imagination as "a process of expanding one-self by transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves" (p. 176). Imagination is understood as a way of creating reality where its "character is anchored in social interactions and communal experiences" (p. 178). Thus, although imagination involves surpassing the immediate context, it is anchored to the tangible. Likewise, in Anderson's (1983) work on the nation as an imagined community, he argued that "mass observation rites" such as seeing people you know and do not know reading a newspaper every morning were powerful ways of "continually reassur[ing] an individual that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life" (p. 35-36). These observable, repetitive acts are part of the process that points the individual to certain inclinations that enables him to behave and respond in socially appropriate and expected ways.

In Wenger's conceptualization, imagination is primarily understood in terms of identity and identification and situated within communities of practice. Kanno and Norton (2003) expand his framework to include communities not immediately accessible. This provides additional explanatory power in the context of second language learning as students are not always given regular opportunities to interact with the target language community. They argue that imagination allows learners to project their future selves as members of imagined communities. It "expand[s] the range of possible selves" (p. 246) and can reframe learning experiences. Hence, the way in which an individual imagines her relationship with the target language community can have a profound effect on the way she invests in the language and her engagement with classroom practices. Similarly, how educational institutions imagine their students and the role that language will play in their future lives will also impact learning goals and educational practices (Kanno, 2003).

Although Anderson talked about imagination in the context of nationhood and Wenger defined the concept with respect to how people identify with communities of practice, their conceptualization of imagination as image-creation and self-projection not bound by space nor time but rooted in everyday interaction is a useful starting point in understanding agency as the construction of alternative discourses (I explain this concept further in the next section). Likewise, Kanno and Norton's argument that imagination can sometimes involve communities not immediately accessible is important for explaining why individuals would want to invest in non-mainstream education and create or adhere to different discourses. In this study, I will use the term imagination to refer to the means by which the individual connects and projects her experiences with larger discourses, and the concept of re-imagination as an active process for agents to challenge the existing social world, re-define the self and to transform and create new social realities. From this perspective, I understand the process of re-imagination as more than just image-creation, projection and belonging. It is, as Pennycook (2007) would say, "transgressive" because it dares to "imagine otherwise." Re-imagination is about contestation and alteration of the discourses that define who (and what) belongs or not to a community, discourses that value or devalue communities and discourses that set boundaries around languages. It is a creative act of agency, a transformational process that functions through pushing boundaries and challenging borders of existing discourses, empowering marginal discourses and creating new discourses.

Discourse

The concept of discourse is a broad term that has multiple interpretations. In this study, I use it in a broadly Foucaultian sense. I understand discourse as inherently ideological, historically developed and shaped by and within political economic conditions and institutions. Discourse is more than just language and encompasses all semiotic systems (Blommaert, 2005). In this aspect, I take the same view as Blommaert (2005) that discourse is "what transforms our environment into a socially and culturally meaningful one" (p. 4). Discourse delimits what is sayable, understandable, and acceptable. Thus language and all the other semiotic signs that may accompany it must be seen in relation to their social, cultural, political and historical contexts. This requires both synchronic and diachronic approaches because discourse is a *social history* (Bucholtz, 2001) and is rooted and produced within political economic conditions

(Heller, 2001). An investigation into discourse does not ask what statements can be made, but “how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?” (Foucault, 2005, p. 30). Thus, while discourse is viewed here as a semiotic formation, how it is generated, maintained, changed and/or phased out cannot be understood apart from its dialectic with material relations (Lemke, 1993).

Another important consideration is that the ways in which a statement is interpreted is subject to not one discourse but many discourses that may not only be diverse, but also conflicting (Bakhtin, 1981; Lemke, 1993). For language, and arguably all semiotic signs, exists in a system of heteroglossia.

Thus at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These “languages” of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying “languages.” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 291)

Hence, each utterance is subject to a multiplicity of voices, of meanings that stem from a set of discourses.

This alerts us to another point. Every discourse is as much a discourse from history as it is a discourse *on* history (Blommaert, 2005). That is, individuals and institutions “speak from within a position in the world system” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 157) and from a certain time. Depending on the position from which a person speaks, she can associate the same object with different time periods, spaces and discourses. For example, when someone says “*Putonghua*,” they reference Mainland China and a discourse that began in 1949 when the Communist Party established the Chinese language variety of Mandarin as the official language. When “*Guoyu*” is used, it points to Taiwan and the Nationalist Party who fled there. The label “*Huawen*” is associated with overseas Chinese varieties like Singapore. Each label of Chinese indexes different communities and discourses.

Symbolic capital

As much as a discourse defines what is acceptable, it concomitantly delineates what is unacceptable. A discussion on discourse, then, must incorporate issues of legitimacy and value. Moreover, even among legitimate forms of talk and behavior, they are not always equivalent in value. This is where Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital can help address those questions of legitimacy and value. Capital can be understood as a “capacity to exercise control over one’s own future and that of others” (Calhoun, LiPuma, & Postone, 1993, p. 4) through “economic or symbolic (i.e., social or cultural) means” (Kramsch, 2008, p. 40). Bourdieu (1982) describes four types of capital: cultural, social, economic, and an overarching symbolic capital. Cultural capital can be further subdivided into embodied, objectified and institutional capital. Language, knowledge and skills are considered types of embodied cultural capital. Books, artwork and other cultural goods make up objectified capital. Finally, academic degrees, professional qualifications

and other credentials comprise institutional capital. Social capital refers to the social networks one has access to. However, the determining factor in whether an individual can convert her/his capital into symbolic value depends on /herhis capital being recognized as legitimate.

Each kind of capital may be converted into or used for the accumulation of other capital. For example, someone with economic capital can “buy” admittance to prestigious educational institutions and acquire credentials or degrees (cultural capital). Having the “right” set of qualifications can then help one gain access to particular social networks or institutional facilities (Luke, 1997). Hence, individuals will try to “invest in the acquisition of legitimate competences” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 83). Norton (1995) says that the issue of investment in language education is affected by the perceived return. People are motivated by the rate and type of conversion that linguistic capital yields.

Linguistic repertoires, along with other symbolic and corporeal resources are combined to constitute an individual’s capital within a particular social field (Luke, 2009). A social field “is a relational, multidimensional space of activity where agents...take up and occupy positions according to how much capital they have” (Kramsch, 2008, p. 39). According to Bourdieu (1982), education is one of the main social fields for the accumulation of cultural capital as they are sites where individuals amass knowledge and skills and gain qualifications. Schools are where students learn the “value of products” and what is legitimate and acceptable and what is not. Schools are thus able to determine the rules of capital conversion into symbolic value through pedagogy, curricula and evaluation (Luke, 2009). From this perspective, scholars like Bourdieu, consider educational institutions as sites of social reproduction, where larger macro-social discourses are preserved and transmitted to subsequent generations. However, if we take a look at the flipside, we see that schools do not only reproduce existing rules. They can also change the laws that govern capital conversion. Luke points out several dimensions along which schools can shift or alter mainstream discourses: 1) learner habitus (accurately and fairly recognize and evaluate students’ cultural capital) 2) language of the field (e.g., adding or switching the language of instruction), 3) knowledge of the field (e.g., revising the curriculum and textbook selection), 4) discrimination in social fields (making an inquiry into discrimination a part of learning objectives) and 5) teacher habitus (e.g., altering teacher’s understanding and awareness of ideology and discrimination in teacher training and education programs).

The successfulness of re-imagination, then, must involve raising the symbolic capital of a language and type of education and altering the rules of capital conversion. Daring to imagine otherwise cannot solely depend on the mere creation or offering of an alternative discourse; it must legitimize the proposed discourse. And again, as argued above, a questioning of *how* a language variety becomes viewed as legitimate and valuable (or not) is necessary because the relations between the division of linguistic labor and the social division of labor are not arbitrary (Irvine, 1989). If we are to understand how institutions can alter a language’s symbolic capital in a particular context, we must first investigate the ideological and material conditions that led to the rise of various perceptions of a language’s capital.

Global flows

In today's age it is limiting to disregard the impact of globalization. By globalization, I mean the "social, economic, cultural, and demographic processes that take place within nations but also transcend them, such that attention limited to local processes, identities, and units of analysis yields incomplete understanding of the local" (Kearney, 1995, p. 548). I mainly draw on the work of Appadurai and Ong to argue why globalization must be incorporated in language education research and in what ways it affects (re)imagination in the context of education. I echo Ong's (1999b) argument that "attention to everyday practices and the relations of power can illuminate how the operations of globalization are translated into cultural logics that inform behavior, identities, and relationships" (p. 22) because the everyday is always shaped and guided by multiple discourses from anywhere in the world. In the particular realm of bilingual education, multiple geographies can influence the ideologies and daily practices of school life.

In Appadurai's (1990) discussion of the new global cultural economy, he argues that it "must be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" (p. 296). He offers a useful way of understanding global cultural flows in what he calls landscapes: 1) ethnoscapes, 2) mediascapes, 3) technoscapes, 4) finanscapes, and 5) ideoscapes. These five components are drawn upon to create "imagined worlds, the multiple worlds which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (p. 297). He claims that because individuals live in worlds, they are able to challenge and subvert officially sanctioned imagined worlds. Appadurai explains that the selected five landscapes are not arbitrary. They are historical, political and affected by actors of all levels (e.g., individuals and states). Ethnoscape refers to the flow of people that affect the politics of and between nations. Technoscape points to the "global configuration of technology." Finanscapes indicates the flow of capital. Mediascapes refer to both the capabilities of producing and disseminating information and to the images of the world that are created, *ibid*. These images offer narratives, perspectives and worlds to viewers around the globe. Finally, ideoscapes captures not only the flow of images, but also the movement of ideologies and counter-ideologies.

For Appadurai (1996) these landscapes open possibilities and alternative ways for imagined selves and imagined worlds. Like Wenger and Anderson, he too sees the "work of the imagination" as fundamentally rooted in everyday social practice. But he also argues that the imagination, as a social collective, can "become the fuel for action" (p. 7). Moreover, he notes, "the United States is no longer the puppeteer of a world of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes" (p. 31). Hence, the creation of imaginary landscapes may stem from multiple origins. However, Ong (1999b) points out that social practice must be understood within its national, transnational and political economic structures. Imagination does not occur as independently from nations and states as Appadurai seems to suggest and hence his theory does not adequately account for the political economy. Ong argues that while transnationality has allowed for a less rigid, more complicated relationship between capital and governments, nations, states and the political economy are still very much bound by global systems of production. She further claims that the political economy is intimately intertwined with society and culture. For her, an investigation of the political-economic context and capitalism is essential to understanding how participants determine their actions and aims. This attention to the flows of capital, people, goods and ideas

helps us to illuminate the “translation” of discourses, symbolic capital and convertibility when it travels from one context to another. From this perspective, I consider discourses as transnationally constructed, shaped by material and ideological conditions existing within and outside of a given country. My use of the term transnational instead of global is to argue that the production of discourses examined in this study is “anchored in and transcends one or more nation-states” (Kearney, 1995, p. 548) versus just taking place in a general, decentered global space.

Another useful concept that Ong offers is flexible citizenship - the “cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions” (p. 6). Flexibility is a “strategy to accumulate capital and power” where individuals are not only concerned with monetary profit but also diversifying their range of symbolic power. In this study, flexibility is not only understood as a desirable trait – the ability to adapt, be mobile, and convert capital to symbolic value -- but is also framed as part of a transnational discourse that guides the type of capital school community members deem essential and valuable.

Ong’s anthropological study of Hong Kong immigrants in the United States and other studies in second language learning and bilingual education studies show that perceived symbolic capital and imagination are shaped by multiple geographies. Globalization has brought in competing markets and discourses that immigrants and nations draw on in assessing a language’s value (Dagenais, 2003; Kanno, 2003; Mitchell, 2001; Pomerantz, 2002; Rassool, 2004; Tan & Rubdy, 2008; Wee, 2003). For instance, Dagenais’s study of multilingual immigrant parents in Canada showed that they viewed French-English bilingual education as necessary for participating in Canada’s communities. However, they also strongly supported maintenance of their heritage languages because this was considered necessary for maintaining affiliation with their ethnic communities around the world. Finally, multilingualism was perceived as crucial for participation in the larger global economy. Dagenais illustrates how globalization complicates the ways in which language is understood as forms of symbolic capital and ultimately how parents choose to invest in their children’s language education. It shows that the flow of people is accompanied by the flow of ideas and at times, monetary capital. In turn, advances in communication technology and travel and availability of media from around the world more readily allow people to imagine themselves as members in multiple worlds because those communities become more accessible. These imaginings then shape educational goals and the parameters for what is considered “sound pedagogy,” “appropriate textbooks,” “target student populations” and “valuable languages.” A serious investigation of (re)imagination, then, must account for globalization and examine the multiple geographies, global flows and cultural logics that surround educational visions, goals and practices.

Agency and structure: Limitations and possibilities

So far, I have mostly discussed the mechanics of and the possibilities that re-imagination in a global age can offer us. I explained that symbolic capital is a useful theoretical concept for examining issues of legitimacy and value. Finally, I argued that global flows have made available a wider variety of discourses and markets to individuals and institutions. These flows have also complicated the educational choices that

individuals make and the daily operations of educational institutions. Nevertheless, alternative visions should not and cannot be viewed as pure expressions of freedom and creativity. Agency works within constraints and must be understood in light of those limits. This is not to say that there is no room for change. But as Blommaert (2005) argues, when we recognize the tension between agency and structure it forces us to offer a more refined, situated analysis.

Some scholars, like Pennycook (2007) and Norton (1997, 2001), have focused on the agency and subversive activities of the individual. They emphasize the liberalizing, creative and “transgressive” possibilities that a globalized world affords people. For example, technology has to some degree given more power into the hands of the citizen who can use it to challenge national imaginings and agendas (Kellner, 2000). Nevertheless, as Ong (1999) reminds us, we cannot ignore the “disciplining structures” (Foucault, 1995) that shape subjects. People are not completely free from the discourses that shape their beliefs and practices even though they may be engaged in activities that run counter to mainstream national ideologies. There are tensions that arise between discourses and they are not always neatly resolved.

Likewise, symbolic capital operates within constraints. First, Bourdieu argued that the symbolic value of a language comes from its ability to grant access to resources and that this ability comes from institutional and state support. However, the process is not as totalizing as he presented it to be (Gal, 1989). Consensus on dominant language varieties is not as common as he presumes (Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Canagarajah, 1993; Woolard, 1985). Not all institutions or individuals adhere to dominant discourses nor are their choices completely dictated by them (Freeman, 1998; Mitchell, 2001; Norton, 2001). Legitimacy does not necessarily stem from a single state and linguistic markets are far from unitary (Dagenais, 2003; Rassool, 2004; Woolard, 1985). Thus, the symbolic capital of a language may draw from multiple markets – markets that mutually influence and constitute each other and/or be in conflict with each other. In turn, the possibilities and limitations for resistance and alternative imaginings may stem from multiple political-economies and discourses. Second, Bourdieu viewed different types of capital as mutually convertible; however Ong (1999b) makes an important cautionary note that this is not the case when for example an immigrant’s cultural capital clashes with a racial identity that is perceived to be of low social status in the host society. Luke (1997, 2009) makes a similar argument that ideology, race and culture must be taken into consideration if one is to achieve a nuanced understanding of capital conversion.

Moreover, his strategies for change outlined above must be understood within political-economic conditions and larger macro discourses that influence and limit the kinds of changes that can be made. For example, in Malaysia, the decision to gradually phase the language of instruction from English to Malay between 1970 to 1982 did not only signal a deviation from discourses that involved colonialism and oppression. The use of Malay brought in a set of other already existing discourses such as nationalism, Malay ethnic pride and so forth. What is important to note is that the switch in medium of instruction did not happen at a random point of time. It coincided with political-economic conditions that made it possible. At the time, Malaysia (and many other former British South East Asian colonies at the time) was no longer under British rule; it was a newly founded country, trying to define its national identity. The country was majority Malay (53.3%). The ruling political party at the time, UMNO, also strongly endorsed Malay as

the medium of instruction. My point in using this oversimplified example is that change does not occur in a vacuum. The possibilities and limitations of change are intimately tied to the material and ideological conditions in which they are embedded. Furthermore, each attempt to transform discourse will bring new limitations as it does alternative possibilities.

Drawing from Michel Foucault and Raymond Williams, Blommaert explains how creativity and determination interact. He first discusses Foucault's concept of archive, a theoretical concept that he defines as a "general system of the formation and transformation of statements." It is a macro-socially, historically developed system that defines and governs "what can be said, expressed, heard, and understood in particular societies, particular milieux, particular historical periods" (p. 102). The historical continuities that Foucault described give rise to new archives and therefore new rules and boundaries for what is deemed meaningful. However, "new" does not mean it is completely distinct from already existing archives. It may harken back to older archives that had previously faded away. Blommaert thus concludes that we must see them as "layered." In sum, the concept of archive is a powerful reminder of the "limits within which discourse operates, of the constraints on choice and creativity in discourse" (p. 103).

How does creativity, then, operate within these larger macro-social constraints? Citing Williams, Blommaert states that creativity happens in the "borderline zone of existing hegemonies." Acts of agency are about pushing those boundaries, adding "supplements" to the existing archive and creating "understandable contrasts" with hegemonic standards. While he argues that the center of such processes is the individual agent, this study aims to show that institutions can also function in a similar role of being an agent of change. I understand agency and re-imagination as situated and constrained to some degree by macro-social discourses and political-economic conditions. In the dissertation, I looked for areas of contradiction, moments of tension and unresolved or unsaid conflicts. In my efforts to trace the attempts to defy mainstream ideologies and efforts to re-imagine historically negative discourses into positive experiences and bright futures, I also took into account the limitations that hindered the institution from actualizing its ideal goals.

Chapter Three **Research site, participants and methods**

Field entry:

In the summer of 2007 I began to look for opportunities to volunteer at a bilingual school. After initial queries in the area, I found out about a Chinese-English program. I promptly contacted the administration there about volunteering. The Chinese program director soon responded and we set up a time to meet.

On the first day I arrived at the school, I remember seeing many student work-covered walls. There were Chinese brush paintings of pandas and Mickey Mouse. There were little red paper lanterns hanging from the ceiling. Handwritten and typed essays in Chinese were displayed on the bulletin boards. It seemed as if every inch was used to showcase something. The director greeted me in Chinese and then proceeded to take me

on a personal tour of the kindergarten, 1st, 3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th grade classrooms. I intently listened to the children singing songs in Chinese, watched them learn characters and heard a variety of stories narrated by the teachers. At the conclusion of the tour, the director gave me the opportunity to volunteer in the 3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th grade classrooms and thus began a three-year long relationship with the school.

The first semester I was there I worked alongside the teachers, running errands for them, helping them mark papers, administering oral tests, teaching a few lessons and assisting the students with their Chinese assignments. I volunteered at the school for one year, one to three times per week for an average of 10 hours per week, mainly in the 7th and 8th grade Chinese classrooms from the fall of 2007 to spring of 2008. I became known as *Lu Laoshi* (my last name in Mandarin pronunciation, teacher) inside the classrooms and as Stephanie in informal settings. A few of the older teachers would call me *xiao meimei* (literally meaning little sister, an affectionate term for young women).

Although I had not originally intended to do research at the site, I was inspired by what I saw and heard and was encouraged by the teachers who often told me they wished they had more time and energy to research and understand their students' language learning experience. Subsequently, I set up a meeting with the principal in December 2007 and received his permission to go forward with a formal proposal. While I was writing my CPHS application, I conducted a mini pilot study in spring 2008 for the EDU250C: Introduction to Qualitative Methods course. At the end of the semester, I received CPHS approval in June 2008 and, after obtaining student, teacher, and staff consent, I began formal data collection in the fall of 2008. Throughout my three years at the school, I have received many encouraging comments and support from the teachers, staff, parents and school board. Many teachers and parents were excited that someone was finally pursuing Chinese language immersion education as a serious subject. They gave positive feedback on the reports I prepared for them and made me feel welcome and part of the community. The students were all very polite and accommodating. They were responsible, on time, shared interesting stories and viewpoints with me and gave me insight into their learning experiences. During this study, my roles were not limited to an observer and a researcher. I was also an active-participant (Giola, Thomas, Clark, & Chittipeddi, 1994) because I took an active role as a teacher's assistant in the classroom. Moreover, I had a validated participatory identity as a classroom volunteer as evidenced by the formal paperwork and procedures (e.g., getting fingerprints, signing consent forms) that all school volunteers must go through and the formal title the students and teachers used to address me (*Lu Laoshi*).

Research site and participants

Participants in this study included one class of middle school students, their teachers, parents, and school administrators. Pseudonyms were used for all participants. The site is a Chinese-English one-way partial immersion school in a major Californian city. Classes are taught 50% in Chinese and 50% in English from first to fifth grade, and 35% in Chinese, 65% in English from sixth to eighth grade. The school also offers a two-year pre-kindergarten option. In this study, I have chosen the pseudonym Amy Xiaoli Chang (AXC) to refer to the school and will use this name for the rest of this dissertation. This name was chosen to reflect the diversity that I noticed in the school. Amy is a

common English name in the United States; Xiaoli is a Chinese name written in the Mainland Romanization system; Chang is a common Chinese last name written in Cantonese pronunciation. Thus each name was chosen to express the multiple cultures and languages, geographies, identities, and discourses that are present in the school.

AXC is a private school. It also founded and supports the AXC Institute. The Institute is a non-profit organization that seeks to advance Chinese language and culture education in the U.S. A more detailed analysis of both institutions is provided in Chapter Five. The school currently has a student population of roughly 450 students; middle school class sizes average around 16 to 18 students. Enrollment has been expanding rapidly and since the commencement of this study, the school has had to rent a new building to house the pre-kindergarten program due to lack of space in the current location. Naturally, they have had to hire more teaching staff to accommodate the larger student population in both the lower and middle schools. The majority of the student population comes from upper middle class families where at least one of the parents is ethnically Chinese (e.g., Cantonese, Shanghainese, overseas Chinese, American born Chinese and etc.): 43% Asian-American, 35% Multiracial, 20% Caucasian, 1% Hispanic, 1% African-American.

AXC offers an enrichment model of bilingual education (Baker, 2006; Hornberger, 1991) where language is viewed as a resource (Ruiz, 1984). The students in the class I observed are consistent with the demographic statistics listed above. All of the 7th graders had seen and worked with me a few times the previous year, but did not have weekly interaction with me until I began my study. There were seven boys and seven girls in the original 7th-grade class that I first observed. Six girls and four boys participated in the study from fall 2008 to spring 2009, and five girls and three boys continued to participate for the fall 2009-spring 2010 academic year. Two participants transferred to different schools for the fall 2009-spring 2010 academic year. Five of the six students who are ethnic Chinese have parents who were born and raised in either the U.S., Hong Kong, Malaysia, or Indonesia. Some of these students could trace their lineage to Shanghai, Guangdong province (e.g., Taishan, Maosheng), Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Taiwan. One of the ethnic Chinese students was adopted from southern China by European-American parents when she was 11 months old. Two students are non-Asian; one student has Jewish parents, the other one has European American parents. Finally, one student is of mixed European American and Chinese American heritage and another student is of mixed Chinese Japanese (ethnically Chinese but born and raised in Japan) and Japanese American heritage. All but two of the students' parents cannot speak Mandarin fluently. However, most of the students' parents can speak or understand another language besides English. These include Cantonese, Shanghainese, Hakka, Indonesian, Malay, Japanese, French, Spanish, Hebrew, Greek, Italian and Latin.

I focused classroom observations on the students' 7th and 8th grade Chinese Humanities. In addition, I observed their 7th and 8th grade English Language Arts teachers on a weekly basis to gain a more holistic understanding of the bilingual program. The 7th grade Chinese Humanities teacher (who I will refer to using her last name, followed by the polite form "*Laoshi*" to highlight her identity as Chinese and her role as the teacher in the classroom), Wang *Laoshi*, was born in Yunnan province, China, and raised in Taiwan. She obtained her undergraduate degree in Taiwan and completed her graduate work in the United States. She has had over 10 years of teaching experience in both

Taiwan and the United States. She is a fluent Chinese and English speaker and has taught middle-school level Chinese literature in Taiwan, Chinese as a heritage language, and Chinese humanities at AXC. The 7th grade English Language Arts teacher, whom I will refer to as Ms. Sands, was born and raised on the East Coast of the U.S. and has a Masters degree in Education. She has taught and volunteered abroad in various East and South East Asian countries and has been teaching at AXC's middle school for the past 5 years. The 8th grade Chinese Humanities teacher, whom I will refer to as Zhuang *Laoshi*, was born and raised in Taiwan. She completed her undergraduate and graduate work in Taiwan and taught there as a primary and secondary Chinese teacher. She was also a Chinese language tutor in Indonesia. She has been teaching Chinese language and literature for over 30 years, 10 of which have been spent in the United States at AXC. She is a fluent Chinese and English speaker. In addition she can speak Hokkien, one of Taiwan's local Chinese languages and very basic Indonesian. The 8th grade English Language Arts teacher, who I will refer to as Mr. Riley, was born and raised on the West Coast of the U.S. He has had nearly 20 years of experience teaching English Literature. He is a newly hired teacher at AXC and began his position in the fall of 2009. He has lived abroad in Norway and can speak basic Norwegian and knows some ASL. Both English Language Arts teachers are mainly monolingual even though they have studied other languages.

Finally, the last set of participants included in this study consisted of parents, faculty and staff members. They boasted an impressive range of educational and professional qualifications. All were highly educated and have or have had successful careers in whatever field they entered. They are all college graduates. Fourteen have Masters degrees and eight have doctorates. Participants' occupations are all white-collar jobs that include, but not limited to, the following: medical doctors, teachers, lawyers, investment bankers, senior business executives, company owners and real estate agents. The majority of parents, especially the ones with students currently enrolled at AXC, are financially well off. Every adult participant had spent some time overseas either for leisure or business and/or had spent part of their lives abroad. Almost all the adult participants are bilingual or multilingual. All of the Chinese teachers are multilingual with most fluent in English, Mandarin, and another Chinese local language. All the parents are multilingual or passive bilinguals. All staff members were bilingual or multilingual. The languages spoken by parents and staff encompassed Mandarin, Cantonese, Shanghainese, Hakka, Hokkien, French, Spanish, and a local Filipino dialect.

Methodology

Ethnography

Ethnography is a way of understanding and describing human life. Willis and Trondman (2000) describe it as,

a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents, and of richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, representing at least party in its own terms, the irreducibility of human experience. (p. 5)

Ethnography involves direct participation, observation and inquiry in the day-to-day affairs of the group in question and the collection of any data that may be relevant to the research agenda (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). As ethnographers, we seek to understand participants' interpretation and understanding of their experiences (emic analysis) as well as provide a translation of those perspectives into a general social science theory (etic analysis) (Freeman, 1998; Willis & Trondman, 2000). Hence, we need to both "uncover the conceptual structures that inform our subjects' acts" (Geertz, 1973, p. 27) and to "construct a system of analysis" that expresses the role of larger macro-social processes (e.g., culture, ideology, discourse, power etc) in human life. In this study, I drew on ethnographic methods that included participant-observation, audio/video recordings, interviews and document collection over a period of three years.

While ethnography enables the researcher to gain access to everyday experiences and local interpretations, discourse analysis provides a way to locate the connections between micro practices and perspectives and macro conditions and discourses (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Freeman, 1998).

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis, like discourse, is often interpreted and used in a variety of ways by social scientists. As earlier stated in Chapter Three, discourse in this study is ideological and encompasses language and other semiotic systems that give human activity meaning. Discourse analysis is the method(s) through which the researcher is able to uncover underlying discourses in spoken and written texts. In this study, I took an intertextual approach. Originating from Bakhtin's (1981) work, intertextuality is the notion that "every text, the discourse of every occasion, makes its social meanings against the background of other texts, and the discourses of other occasions" (Lemke, 1992, p. 257). From this perspective, "actual texts can be understood as instantiations of underlying discourses, and each text provides traces of those underlying discourses" (Freeman, 1998, p. 18). Intertextual analysis thus aims to reveal the social and historical resources upon which texts rely (Fairclough, 1992).

But the goal of this study was not to simply identify and locate discourses or power relations in texts. I wanted to understand the extent of (re)imagination and what enables or hinders its actualization in educational goals and everyday practices. To achieve this, it was critical to provide an analysis of discourse itself. Without a historical account of the conditions that gave rise to it, we can only gain a partial description of why particular texts are stated and the meanings behind them. We are unable to fully answer Foucault's question of *how* it is that a statement comes to be given. Blommaert (2005) argues that diachronic analysis is all the more urgent in today's globalized world.

[If we are] to investigate discourse that bears the marks of globalization processes, we need to contextualize such discourses in such a way that the deep and systemic differences in the world system are accepted as meaningful conditions for the emergence, production, and exchange of such discourses. (p. 25)

To address this concern, I conducted extensive background research to the major discourses that emerged from the analysis. I attempted to account for my labeling of “possibility” and “limitation” by citing the material and ideological conditions that were available or unavailable at the time. Subsequently, the dissertation was organized so that Chapter Four first provides archival research of discourses to ground the discourse analysis on school texts and practices in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Data collection

Classroom observations of Chinese and English classes began in September 2008 and ended at the end of May 2010. In addition, I regularly collected student work, classroom text materials, school documents and pictures till May 2011. Total number of Chinese classroom visits was 50. Total number of visits to the English classrooms was 45. In addition, I made six visits to school events. Most of the classroom observations lasted for an hour and a half. All observations were video-recorded and ethnographic field notes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glesne, 2006) were taken during each observation. Number of hours that were video or audio recorded in the Chinese room was approximately 60 hours. I made transcripts in Chinese and translated selected excerpts. Chinese phrases are presented in the Mainland Chinese Romanization system (*hanyupinyin*). English translations immediately follow. Although student names appear in English in the transcript excerpts, the teacher only calls them by their Chinese name. Names were kept in English to maintain consistency across all types of data.

Two to four interviews were conducted with each student yielding a total of 33 interviews with each interview averaging 40 minutes. All students were interviewed in English as this was their dominant language. A one to one and a half hour interview was conducted with the four language teachers. A combination of Chinese and English were utilized by me and Chinese teachers in the interview as they are fluent bilinguals and preferred to use both languages. Thirty-five faculty and staff members and parents participated in a one-time interview with each interview lasting approximately 30 minutes. Semi-structured interview guides (Patton, 1990; Spradley, 1979) composed of open-ended questions were utilized. Interview protocols were developed based on a combination of classroom observations and literature on second language learning. Subsequent protocols were developed and informed by simultaneous analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 2008). They were semi-structured in the sense that participants were encouraged to follow topics that were not listed on the guide. All participants were given a copy of their transcript and were told to provide the researcher with any clarifications or misunderstandings. Interview data was collected from September 2008 to November 2010.

Finally, I relied on several techniques from grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 2008) such as simultaneous data collection and analysis, theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method. Data logging, coding and matrices were made based on suggestions from Miles and Huberman (1994) and Strauss and Corbin (2008).

Some thoughts on reflexivity

It is important to recognize the researcher's bias and the politics of representation because the researcher is also subject to material and ideological conditions. Ethnography is "a power-charged verbal encounter" (Gal, 1989). What and who is represented, how it is presented and interpreted is subject to power relations as well. The particular presentation and selection of discourses is biased as academics, like participants, always speak *from* and *on* a particular point in history (Blommaert, 2005). Although my concern was to identify multiple voices in texts (Fairclough, 1992), I sifted through them and highlighted the ones that seemed to matter most.

Translation too is not objective for it involves entextualization and recontextualization of speech (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) and can render silent some voices or alter the discourses of others (Gal, 1989). Moerman (1996) describes a researcher's transcripts as "claims to translate" because we "must all recognize that it is never as a certified unchanging truth that an analyst presents an utterance in one language as the equivalent of an utterance in another language" (p. 150). For this reason, all Chinese transcript excerpts are in three forms: a romanized form and translated form are presented together in the main body of the study and a character form is included as an appendix. As I am not a first language speaker of Chinese, I am wary of Moerman's caution to those of us who work with foreign languages to not overestimate our competence when translating and transcribing recordings. Admittedly, although my language proficiency was more than sufficient for participating in classroom activities, reading materials and interacting with teachers and students, I was not confident of my ability to transcribe and capture all the nuances of interaction. However, because my purpose was not to understand conversational sequences, I believe that the translations and transcriptions that were made and analyzed are suitable for the goals of this study.

Like translation, transcription too is an interpretive exercise (Ochs, 2006) and is a "socioculturally embedded linguistic and metalinguistic practice" (Bucholtz, 2007, p.785). How we select and present data in transcription is a reflection of our own research biases and agenda. For Chinese, the matter is further complicated because of two available writing systems and a variety of phonetic and Romanization systems. I chose to employ traditional characters because the two Chinese teachers I worked closely with usually wrote in traditional. However, when teachers were targeting, presenting or writing simplified characters, I wrote in simplified characters. I also decided to use the *hanyupinyin* Romanization system because this was the system that all teachers and students use. I displayed speech from left to right instead of top to bottom, right to left. This was done for ease of reading and is also a reflection of teacher and student writing practices (they usually write from left to right) and classroom texts (with a few exceptions, texts are almost always presented from left to right).

Finally, in recognition of Bucholtz's (2007) call to understand the motivations and effects of transcription, I will explain the rationale for my presentation of transcripts. I chose to present transcriptions that only feature words and not the way in which they were spoken because my purpose was to reveal discourses in speech content and not social structures in sequences of conversation or language development. False starts and word repetitions are included, but no prosodic features are included. This is not to suggest that the manner in which speech is uttered does not reflect larger ideologies. However, the aim of this study was to find correlations between texts and contexts, analyzing discourse content, not discourse structure. Linguistic choice and syntactic features were

my primary concern whereas prosodic features and nonlinguistic behavior were not considered as important. This decision reflects my own agenda and limits as well as prejudices the analysis as I am unable to more fully account for interaction details. The representation of my subjects is also compromised as I have eliminated many pauses, overlapping speech, speed of talk, gestures, facial expressions and so forth.

Lastly, I describe in some detail my own linguistic repertoire and multiple identities in acknowledgement of 1) the researcher's role and influence on all aspects of conducting research, 2) the impact my background and experiences may have on participants' behavior and language use (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) and my interpretive lens of the data, and 3) the role I and my research play in discourse production (Heller, 2001). I am Chinese American and I grew up in a Cantonese and English bilingual home. My family is middle class and my father is a professional. I did not go to a heritage language school or learn Mandarin until I went to university because there were no such language programs where I grew up. I remember my relatives making remarks on my poor proficiency in Cantonese and I also recall my English teachers telling my mother that my English was impaired because my parents spoke to me in Cantonese at home. These commentaries left a deep impression on how I view my language abilities (or lack of) and the ethnolinguistic assumptions that were implied. The constant challenges to my national, ethnic and linguistic identities have produced in me a tendency to resist oversimplifications and one-to-one correlations. Rather, I tend to subscribe to a kind of hybridity that defies such constraints.

In college, I began a series of overseas stays that has continued up to the present. I went to China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Central America and Singapore. In each country, I made every effort to learn the local language and eventually achieved high proficiencies in Mandarin and Cantonese. I can read and write both traditional and simplified characters and have learned both the Taiwanese and Beijing Mandarin language varieties. While I do not claim to be a local of those three areas, I am quite familiar with the historical, social, cultural and political context in both countries. I consider myself part of a transnational community in the sense that I feel comfortable switching between languages, cultures and geographies. The point of relaying this part of my personal history is that I recognize that my own language learning experiences have influenced my views of language and minorities. They have shaped how I think about education, what is essential, what ought to be challenged and what should be preserved. I do not claim to be an objective observer and I acknowledge that I have my own beliefs and political commitments. These certainly have influenced the questions that interest me, the data I find relevant and the way I present, analyze and interpret findings. However, in this study, I have strived to not take a particular side and instead focus on "laying bare the discourses, the conditions of their production and therefore the reasons why they exist" (Heller, 2001, p. 139) and the impact they have on language education.

As I mentioned in my introduction, many teachers and parents expressed a sincere desire for more research in Chinese language education. That my research addresses this area is contributing to discourses that serve interests -- my own, the school and others' interests in the field, bilingual education in general and many other related topics. But as Heller argues, this is our role as researchers. The issue is not the subjectivity of the researcher or the political commitments that she may have (this is unavoidable), but that

she “may fail to consider how [her] politics shapes the research process itself” (Bucholtz, 2001, p. 178).

Chapter Four

Transnational discourses

As argued in Chapter One, discourses and their political-economic conditions provide important ideological and material contexts to understand the everyday practices within schools as well as how and why institutions (re)imagine in particular ways. In this chapter, I highlight three major discourses that emerged from the analysis: 1) Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse, 2) China-as-a-rising-power discourse, and 3) Global education, language and culture discourses. Although each discourse is presented in its own section, I emphasize that they cannot be understood as purely local or even national discourses. As the following sections will illuminate, discourses emerge from many spaces; thus the more apt label of transnational discourses was selected. Likewise, the historical events and political-economic conditions do not contribute to the production of only one discourse. Rather, each discourse interacts with the other just as events, policies and institutions can contribute to the production of more than one discourse. These interrelationships will be further explored in the subsequent analytical chapters.

Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse

Wong (1988) argues that any investigation of the Chinese American language situation must account for the sociohistorical context. This section recognizes the importance of her claim by presenting an overview of the Chinese in America to illustrate the discourse of framing Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans as second-class. I outline historical events on both sides of the Pacific Ocean, Chinese immigration, laws that affected the Chinese in America, and comment on the Chinese American experience. In addition, I draw attention to the Chinese language and language education situation and the policies that affected minority languages. The principle aim of this section is to trace the multiple factors that gave rise to the discourse of second-class citizenship in the United States and the ways in which it has impacted the Chinese and the imagining of China in America. This discourse is considered essential as it provides the backdrop against which alternative imaginings are formulated at the research site.

After news of California as a land of plenty traveled back to China in 1850, the Chinese began to immigrate to the United States in significant numbers (about 370,000) (Kwong & Miščević, 2005). As a race, the Chinese were largely unknown and their social standing in America has always fluctuated. Kwong and Miščević argue that the volatile relationship that Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans have had with mainstream America is in part due to the White supremacist vision that America was founded upon (also c.f., Chan & Hsu, 2008; Crawford, 1992; Schmidt, 2002). In addition, China’s international standing and US-China relations have also significantly affected the imagining of the Chinese and their subsequent social standing in the United States. These factors help explain why at times the Chinese were enthusiastically welcomed with open arms and at other times they were despised and rejected from mainstream society.

By the mid-1850s, China was in a weakened and destitute state; its government was torn by corruption. Its society and economy had been devastated by the Opium trade in which America had played a major role (Kwong & Miščević, 2005). The Wangxia Treaty of 1842 granted America with most-favored-nation status. The “Coolie Trade” (long-term indentured labor) resulted in large numbers of people being sold into labor. Although the majority of Chinese came into America as immigrants, the general public still regarded them as Coolies. At first, they were welcomed for their cheap labor and hard work ethic. Chinese labor contributed significantly to the development and expansion of the West. However, by the 1870s, Californians began to blame the Chinese for increasing economic and social problems in the state (Isser, 1976; P. S. Li, 1976; Ngai, 2008). The state of California imposed discriminatory tax laws such as the Foreign Miners’ License Tax that effectively pushed out the Chinese from mining. Laws were passed to prohibit the Chinese the right to testify in court and deny them from obtaining citizenship. Even children born in the U.S. were prevented from gaining citizenship (Isser, 1976). Li (1876) says that the discriminatory legislation essentially “guaranteed that the Chinese would remain second-class citizens and would continue to function marginally in the labor force” (p. 38).

In 1882, the U.S. passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned Chinese immigration. In 1902, the act was renewed and then extended indefinitely in 1904 (Wong, 1988). The 1924 National Origins Law denied entry to all foreigners who were ineligible for citizenship, tightened restrictions in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and barred entry of Chinese wives of US citizens. These discriminatory immigration policies continued without much change until World War II. Even then, race was not eliminated from immigration law until 1965. Language, too, was viewed and treated with similar antagonism in the early decades of the 20th century (Baker, 2006). The Nationality Act of 1906 made learning English a prerequisite for immigrants to become naturalized Americans (Pavlenko, 2002). Moreover, by the early 1920s, over 30 states had issued policies that made English as the only language of instruction in all public and private elementary schools.

The effects of these practices and policies had serious, damaging effects on subsequent generations of Chinese Americans (Isser, 1976). Many grew up feeling rejected from both communities. Because these Chinese Americans were much more Americanized than their parents, they were considered too different to be Chinese by their overseas counterparts. On the other hand, their physical features hampered their acceptance by White Americans as well. The consequence for many of them was to be stranded in limbo, never quite belonging to either community (Kwong & Miščević, 2005).

Schools also significantly contributed to the discrimination (Isser, 1976; Pang, 2006). Chinese children were first denied public education until 1885 (Ngai, 2008). Even then, segregated schools like the Oriental Public School were established for the Chinese. Consequently, Chinese students were denied access to neighborhood schools well into the 1920s (Lum, 1978). These institutions were poorly staffed with huge teacher to student ratios (sometimes 70 to 80 students per class) (Isser, 1976; Lum, 1978). Teacher qualifications were low. Funding was always less than for other public schools (Lum, 1978). Textbooks presented a very prejudiced framing of China and other Asian countries (Isser, 1976). More specifically, China was barely mentioned in these texts. Chinese

people as well as other Asians were described as illiterate, inassimilable, non-American and essentially inferior to Anglo-Americans. Many readers condescendingly described the way of life in China as “odd”, “peculiar” and “barbaric.” Publishing companies often omitted “sensitive” topics such as immigration law. Isser’s report found that 35% of texts did not include immigration at all. Moreover, although most textbooks today talk about Ellis Island, they rarely include Angel Island (Pang, 2006). Isser (1976) concluded that in these classroom text materials, “China remained at best on the periphery of American interest, and the Chinese were unimportant in the development of western civilization...” (p. 8). This position was maintained more or less until the 1940s.

Even in modern times, many mainstream textbooks still fail to include Asian American history (Pang, 2006). Names of Asians who stood up for their rights or contributed to the building of America are rarely mentioned. Their participation in civil rights, scientific and technological discoveries, influence in literature and the arts are usually excluded from classroom texts. The result is a picture of voiceless, nameless and faceless people. The implicit message behind the omission of Asian American involvement in the U.S. is that they are unimportant and separate from the fabric of American society. Asian American students are still marginalized at school. They must confront ideologies that do not value their heritage and the result is often rejection of the home language and culture (Tse, 2000). This then leads to many other severe problems such as the inability to effectively communicate with their parents (Wong Fillmore, 1991) and identity crises (Cummins, 1997).

Still, the Chinese did try to pass down their linguistic and cultural heritage to later generations. Moreover, the governments of China and Taiwan have invested heavily into language maintenance (Lai, 2004). Nevertheless, most of the post 1911-established schools did not have sufficient funds or resources to function as full-time education systems. The majority of schools outside of San Francisco ran into understaffing problems, eventually terminating or sporadically operating. Many of the teaching methods were not stimulating or personally meaningful to Chinese American students. Constant staff overturn severely affected the schools’ efficiency. Being forced by their parents to attend, the inability to translate Chinese culture and language in America, and the weakened international status of China undoubtedly contributed to Chinese American youth’s rejection and distaste for Chinese heritage schools. In addition, there were antagonistic efforts by non-Chinese groups who tried to eradicate Chinese schools.

World War II brought about some positive changes for the Chinese in the U.S. The U.S. government eventually repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943. The bill also allowed the Chinese to become naturalized citizens and therefore opened up the range of employment opportunities that they were previously blocked from. Although the number allowed in was certainly not large (105 people per year), the repeal was still significant because it demonstrated that Chinese immigration policy could be swayed by events outside national borders. The War Brides Act of 1945 finally allowed large numbers of women to enter the country (Zhao, 2010). The result was a spike in population (it jumped 58% in the 1950s) and shifted the community from mostly immigrant-based to mainly Chinese Americans born and raised in the U.S.

After the war, the political, social, and economic status of the Chinese in America changed. Opportunities previously closed off were now becoming accessible. As the Chinese became wealthier, a mass exodus out of Chinatown ensued. The geographic

dispersal of the Chinese community caused student attendance in local schools to shrink because the students lived too far from Chinatown to commute everyday. Events in China also greatly affected the identity and relationship overseas Chinese in America had with their ancestral homeland. They led to a widening gap between China and the Chinese Americans. The relevance of Chinese decreased and the importance of English increased – a trend that has and is still occurring with other minority groups in America (Crawford, 1992). Second and subsequent generations did not deem passing down their heritage language and culture down to their children as important (Lai, 2004).

At the same time, the 1980s saw a revival in English-only movements sweeping across the nation. Politicians, especially conservative Republicans, framed linguistic diversity as a threat to national unity (Crawford, 1992) and thus perpetuated the English monolingualism as American national identity ideology (Pavlenko, 2002). The early 1980s Reagan administration was also clearly anti-bilingual education for speakers of languages other than English (Baker, 2006; Crawford, 1992). The 1994 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act (an act that allocated funds for transitional programs for speakers of other languages) were attacked by politicians and the media and resulted in funding cuts (Baker, 2006). In California, Proposition 227 was targeted at children who needed to learn English. It was passed in 1998 as a direct attempt at making bilingual education in the state illegal (Baker, 2006). As a result, the number of students enrolled in bilingual education programs dropped severely. Although the 2001 No Child Left Behind legislation reauthorized the Bilingual Education Act for another six years, it provides no clear support of first language maintenance. On the contrary, by mandating high-stakes assessment in English and making schools accountable for low English proficiency (LEP) students, there is a strong implicit advocacy of English-only education (Evans & Hornberger, 2005; Wiley & Wright, 2004). Such lack of support and framing of minority languages as problems have no doubt contributed to the overall tendency towards language shift and loss. Within two to three generations or even as rapid as within a lifetime, minority languages are totally replaced by English (Portes & Hao, 1998; Tse, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

These legislative acts reveal what the discourses on being “American” and “immigrant” and minority languages on the national level have been. Since the early 1900s, the discourses on immigrants seem to be one of assimilation and minority languages have been viewed as problems. The chief methods for accomplishing this task of assimilation are to 1) devalue native languages by restricting their use and denying them institutional support, 2) equate English language proficiency with being American and 3) denying access to education, high status professions and social mobility by using English language proficiency as a gate keeping measure (Crawford, 1992).

Nevertheless, although this section has described the development and perpetuation of the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse in the U.S. context, it is challenged by alternative discourses that have become much more prominent and influential in the U.S. The two discourses outlined below can be drawn upon to resist the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse as well as to re-imagine the language, culture and people.

China-as-a-rising-power discourse

In this overview, I will describe the various soft power strategies that China has utilized in expanding its sphere of influence in the world. Soft power, as defined by Joseph Nye (1990), is “the ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own” (p. 168). Some of the resources that contribute to this power include culture, ideology, institutions, investment and aid (Kurlantzick, 2006). Both governments and nongovernment actors wield and contribute to soft power. Of the nongovernment actors, these include businesspeople, transnational corporations, entertainers, and language teachers. While I recognize that there are many factors that have contributed to the China-as-a-rising-power discourse, I mainly concentrate on China’s economic growth and promotion of Chinese language and culture education and exchange. However, I do not limit the scope of this discourse to China. Rather, I also highlight important immigration trends and language education developments and policies in the U.S. that served to support and spread this discourse in the U.S. In contrast to the Chinese (Americans)-as-second-class discourse, which forms the historical background of the study, the China-as-a-rising discourse is one of the guides for the re-imagining of the present and future.

After Chairman Mao passed away in 1976, the government, under Deng Xiaoping’s guidance began to transform its economy, opening up trade and investment with other countries (Morrison, 2009, December 11). What is important to note here in light of the below discussion on the economic performance of China, is that the Chinese have authored their own model of economic success and governance (Ong, 1999b). This effort of self-definition that distinguishes itself from Western economic and political systems is an important aspect of the China-as-a-rising-power discourse. Not only does the discourse involve the elevation of China’s international status, but it also challenges Western notions of what a recipe for success entails. Henderson (2008) echoes this by arguing that the different strategies that the Chinese have employed on their climb up may challenge conventional Western ways of development.

Since the commencement of the post 1979 economic reforms, China has made a number of improvements in its development. By 2008, it had increased its literacy levels to 93.7% (The World Bank, 2010). Poverty had been reduced to only 2.8% of the population by 2004. China’s infrastructure has also made notable advances in both urban and local areas. Finally, the number of Internet users had jumped to 298 million people by 2008 (compare that number to the U.S. which has roughly 230 million internet users). China has become one of the world’s fastest-growing economies and a major economic and trade power (Morrison, 2009, December 11). For the past 30 years, China’s GDP has grown at an average annual rate of approximately 10%. Its GDP as of 2008 was at \$4.3 trillion (The World Bank, 2010). In 2011, China officially became the second largest economy in the world. Foreign direct investment in China totaled \$92 billion in 2008 (Morrison, 2009, December 11). Currently, China is the world’s largest holder of foreign exchange reserves (\$2.3 trillion). In 2009, China’s exports totaled \$1.2 trillion and its imports amounted to over a trillion dollars (International Monetary Fund, 2009). Finally, China is the largest US debt holder at \$1.16 trillion as of December, 2010 (CBS News, February 20, 2011). These statistics indicate the economic and political power that China holds in the world. Henderson (2008) even goes as far as to suggest that we may be witnessing the ushering in of a new Global-Asian Era with China at the center.

Although China has traditionally relied on attracting foreign investment for economic development, in 2000, it began to encourage greater amounts of overseas direct investment (Morrison, 2009, December 11). In 2008, its direct investment abroad totaled \$169 billion (International Monetary Fund, 2009). In 2003, China's aid to a number of Southeast Asian countries was double to four times as much as US levels (Kurlantzick, 2006). Trade with ASEAN was approximately \$130 billion in 2005. In 2009, the government announced that it would lower tariffs for African products, provide \$10 billion in loans, and help improve development of social services, environmental care, small and medium-sized businesses, science and technology and cultural exchanges (Martin, March 27, 2009). This has made China a leader in transport infrastructure, telecommunications, mining, logging and energy extraction (Henderson, 2008). The list of countries China is investing in is extensive and continues to grow. Although it is not a large global investor yet, it is certainly showing commitment to expanding its investment share in the world.

China's economic growth obviously indicates its importance in the global economy. Recent trends within the past decade signal the expanding influence of China in the world markets in terms of economic power and control on development, world market prices, and trade. Kurlantzick (2006) claims that Beijing strategically uses economic tools and diplomacy to broaden its influence, maintain peaceful relationships with its neighboring countries and ultimately to serve its own interests. The new trade agreements that are being negotiated, the emphasis on overseas direct investment, and investment in local social and economic infrastructure in developing nations all indicate how China is changing its relationship with other countries and the world. It will no longer solely depend on foreign direct investment. Instead, capital investment will become increasingly bi-directional. Moreover, China itself has become a huge market for other countries to tap into. Obviously, companies that want to do business in China will have to know Chinese. This brings us to a major soft power strategy -- China's investment in language and culture spread in foreign countries.

Gil (2008) and Kurlantzick (2006) argue that the Mainland's advocacy of Chinese language learning is an integral part of its public diplomacy to cement its position in world affairs. The Ministry of Education itself reveals that China explicitly labels Chinese as a foreign language education as a strategic tool.

Teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL) is an integral part of China's reform and opening up drive. To promote TCFL is of strategic significance to popularize the Chinese language and culture throughout the world, to enhance the friendship and mutual understanding as well as the economic and cultural cooperation and exchanges between China and other countries around the world, and to elevate China's influence in the international community (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2011).

In fact, China often talks about these policies as "cultural soft power" and "culture industry." TCFL is advocated by the following, but not limited to, four main avenues: 1) The National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, 2) Confucius Institutes, 3) volunteer and state sponsored teachers, and 4) the Chinese Bridge Chinese Proficiency Competition (Gil, 2008).

The National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, also known as Hanban, is the principal organization for promoting and developing TCFL. In 2004, it created the Confucius Institutes, non-profit institutions that support and promote Chinese language and culture in foreign countries (Confucius Institute, 2011). These institutes are set up as a partnership between a Chinese university and a host country university. The headquarters in Beijing provide start-up funding, books, audio-visual, multimedia and course material and access to online courses. They also send Chinese instructors or volunteers to the host institution. As of 2010, there were 322 Confucius Institutes and 369 Confucius Classrooms set up in 96 countries. In the U.S. alone, there are already over 70 Confucius Institutes spread across 44 states (Hanban, 2011). China has spent about US\$26 million on the Institutes so far and intends to expand the number of institutes to 500 by 2010 (Xinhua News, March 13, 2009) and 1000 by 2020 (Gil, 2008).

In 2004, China began its Program of International Overseas Volunteer Chinese Language Teachers. Volunteers are mainly college or graduate students who are sent to teach Chinese in elementary or secondary schools in other countries. As of 2006, more than 2000 volunteers have gone to teach in 34 countries. Finally, the Chinese Bridge Competition invites students from around the world to compete for scholarships to study in China. Beijing is actively trying to attract more foreign students to China (Kurlantzick, 2006). It is significant to note that who controls and defines language proficiency standards, assessments, teacher training, qualifications and classroom materials holds great power over legitimizing particular language varieties as well as gaining economic benefits that may be gained from the educational market (e.g., selling of textbooks, tuition from students studying abroad, and etc.) (Del Valle & Villa, 2006).

Demand for Chinese language learning is definitely on the rise. In 2007, the numbers of non-Chinese people learning Mandarin increased to 30 million (BBC News, January 9, 2007). In 2009, the number jumped to 40 million learners (Xinhua News, March 13, 2009). In the U.S., 1,200 elementary and secondary schools began offering Chinese language courses. Thailand now has more than 1000 elementary and secondary schools with Chinese language courses. In Italy, the Lombardy region alone has some 1,500 students studying Chinese after the Education Ministry announced Chinese as one of the foreign languages to be offered in high schools (Xinhua News, October 21, 2010). Three Egyptian universities have set up Chinese language departments (Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Arab Republic of Egypt, 2011). Dor (2004) argues that increasing numbers of speakers is a powerful way of raising a language's utility, prevalence and centrality because that language gradually becomes viewed as a "hypercollective good." The statistics not only indicate that there is increasing demand for Chinese, but also suggest that the face of the Chinese language learner is slowly changing. This is perhaps most dramatically embodied in top government officials like former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and US Treasurer Tim Geithner.

The Chinese diaspora has also contributed to the spread of the China-as-a-rising power discourse as well. Changes in immigration trends over the years has served to radically change the composition of the Chinese community in the U.S. (Zhao, 2010). The fall of the Nationalist government resulted in the emigration of thousands of wealthy, educated, government officials and intellectuals from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan to the United States (Kwong & Miščević, 2005). After the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident in China, the 1992 Chinese Student Protection Act expanded the number of Mainland

Chinese students granted with temporary resident status to over seventy thousand (Kwong & Miščević, 2005). Immigration in general from Asia remained strong from the 1990s to the present. The Chinese community doubled in size every decade from 1970 to 2000 (Zhao, 2010). These groups of elite Chinese immigrants from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong formed a new kind of Chinese American; they were individuals who had not experienced the same degree of racial discrimination as the earlier immigrants. They spoke different Chinese local languages; they were college graduates, held white-collar jobs, earned more than the average US family, and lived in affluent suburbs. These “Uptown Chinese” possessed considerable economic, social and cultural capital.

Of course, huge amounts of monetary capital would also accompany many of these immigrants. From Taiwan alone, an estimated \$2 to \$3 billion is annually transferred to the U.S. (Kwong & Miščević, 2005). According to a 2004 Epoch Times report, \$24 billion is transferred abroad each year from China (The Epoch Times, October 5, 2004). Moreover, the Chinese in the U.S. began to form their own companies, acting as intermediaries between the Asia Pacific region and the U.S. Many of these corporations became exceedingly wealthy as they rose to lead the industry in technological and scientific achievement. For example, by 1998, Chinese high-tech companies that started in Silicon Valley were posting sales of over \$13 billion and employed 41,684 people (Saxenian, 2002). Saxenian (2005) argues that this group of wealthy and educated immigrants is not only culturally savvy, but also geographically mobile and has helped to change the nature of the U.S. and East Asia’s economic relationship.

The immigration trends have also brought important changes in the Chinese language situation in the U.S. They have helped to raise the status of Chinese and position Mandarin as the main Chinese language. Beginning in the 1940s, the population of Mandarin-speakers greatly increased as a result of political and economic turmoil in Mainland China and Taiwan (Lai, 2004). This influx was a catalyst for switching Cantonese to Mandarin as the dominant language of instruction. Mandarin-speaking parents played a crucial role in establishing a significant number of Mandarin schools in the late 1960s and early 70s (Lai, 2004; Wang, 2007). These schools taught traditional characters as most of the families were from Taiwan or Hong Kong. In addition, the wave of Southeast Asian Chinese migration in the mid-1970s also expedited the switch from Cantonese to Mandarin. During this time, the schools mainly used textbooks published by the Taiwan Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission as China had closed its doors. At the same time, the Carnegie Foundation and Geraldine Dodge Foundation began to introduce Chinese as a foreign language to universities and mainstream schools (Wang, 2007). These multi-million founded organizations managed to establish almost 300 high school programs, several university language centers for Chinese, and professional language associations for Chinese language educators.

After the opening of China, simplified characters and *Hanyu pinyin* eventually became widespread with the rise and acceptance of China and with the increased immigration from the Mainland (Lai, 2004; Wang, 2007). Universities and Chinese as a foreign language classes began to teach the Mainland Chinese writing system (Lai, 2004). In particular, after the government allowed 50,000 students and scholars from the Tiananmen Incident, there was a need and impetus for establishing Chinese heritage schools that taught simplified characters and the *Hanyu pinyin* system. Since the

NCACLS was mainly run by people who supported traditional characters and *zhuyin fuhao*, the educators who supported simplified characters and *Hanyu pinyin* established their own association, the Chinese School Association in the United States.

In conclusion, the rise of China as an economic, political and cultural powerhouse is a discourse that seems to be widespread and carries weight in foreign and second language education. It provides important explanatory power for how participants, educators and language education are shaped and influenced by discourses.

Global education, language and culture discourses

Like the previous two discourses, I trace policies, ideologies and current events within and outside of the U.S. to show that multilingualism and multiculturalism are positioned as integral for global education, language and culture discourses. I present this in the plural because I agree with Parker's (2009) argument that globalization and global education are influenced by multiple discourses and subject to different interpretations. As language education is the focus of this dissertation, I pay particular attention to discourses that involve language and culture.

The idea of a global education and the importance of being globally competitive have been around since there have been nations and schools and there have been several waves of international education and foreign language education movements. For instance, federal support of foreign language education has been around since the Fulbright-Hays program in 1946 in recognition of the need to promote intercultural understanding. Other programs established since then include the NSEP David L. Boren Scholarship, the NSEP Language Flagship Fellowship, the Freeman Awards for Study in Asia, and the Foreign Language and Area Studies Program. These have all been providing financial assistance to American students for pursuing language studies for the past few decades. After the Russian launch of Sputnik, foreign language education for national defense was revived (Baker, 2006). The Education for Economic Security Act of 1982 granted federal funding for developing better foreign language instruction (Freeman, 1998). There was also state-level support as well with New York adding a foreign language requirement. While recognizing this long history, this section will only concentrate on the current movement in international education.

Parker (2009) insightfully points out that globalization and global education "are not simply concepts, descriptions, or clusters of events but discourses." In line with this observation, the aim of this overview is to focus on current interpretations of globalization: how states and institutions have made sense of globalization and how it has affected and produced discourses on language education, education and educational policy in the U.S. Roger Dale (1999) argues that globalization affects national educational policy through a set of diverse mechanisms. However, although the impact varies from state to state, globalization has had an overall effect of making states base their educational policy-making decisions on becoming competitive. The principal component of this "competition state" is the prioritizing of economic activity.

The loss of state control on economic activity and development indicates that other agents can shape and even dictate educational goals and imaginings. In Brown and Lauder's (2009) study, they claim that the rise of transnational corporations have helped to shift the demands of the global labor market by specifying the type of skills (e.g.,

multilingualism, understanding of multiple cultures, flexibility and teamwork) they want in new hires. In turn, this has created a global educational path that begins with international schools that produce the type of students that are admitted into top tier universities and then targeted and recruited by elite transnational corporations. While the vast majority of international schools teaches in English (95%) and does not have two or three languages of instruction, bilingualism or multilingualism is commonly attained. Brown and Lauder say that the link between education and professional workers is clearly demonstrated in the area of language acquisition: “Being bilingual or multilingual... is a form of cultural capital and a significant element of identity” (p. 135). Corporations and educational institutions, then, have co-created a discourse that frames multilingualism as essential for the global worker, a discourse I call the global labor force discourse. As MacDonald (2006) observes, international schools must be understood in its economic context. It is not surprising, then, that there is some correlation between the demand for international school education and international trade.

In Parker’s (2009) study of the International Education movement in US schools, he argues that there are two main discourses pushing it forward. The set of initiatives for international education in the U.S. is driven by national security in terms of economic and military security. There is a sense of urgency that is being embraced in today’s politics where leaders are warning the public that the U.S. is in threat of being left behind if it does not address the knowledge and skills gap in the education system. The U.S. is framed as having a language deficit (MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007). The National Research Council argues that foreign language and cultural knowledge deficiency compromises the security of the United states and global economic competitiveness (O’Connell & Norwood, 2007) This discourse on economic security is undoubtedly influenced by the global labor force discourse and vice versa. However, I make a distinction between the two in that the economic security discourse is guided by national interests and dictated by the state. In contrast, the global labor force is shaped by transnational corporations, private companies and aligns with individual or corporate interests. What the two discourses share in common is that they both commodify language, as in the conceptualization of language as “a measurable skill, as opposed to a talent, or an inalienable characteristic of group members” (Heller, 2003, p. 474).

Whereas economic security positions language as a tool and skill for competing, military security claims that communication is a main obstacle and thus frames language as means of defending one’s country (Parker, 2009). This was clearly expressed in Rep. Holt of New Jersey’s introduction of the National Security Language Act:

We can no longer keep our nation safe if we do not commit ourselves to learning the languages and cultures of critical areas around the world. The security of our troops overseas and the American people here at home demand that we act quickly to eliminate the severe shortage of critical need language professionals in this country... We need to do more to make sure that America has the language professionals necessary to defend our national security... Changing our (armed forces) recruiting methods will not solve the problem...To meet new security needs, we need to create a new domestic pool of foreign language experts and we can only do that by investing...in foreign languages of critical need, such as Arabic, Persian, Korean, Pashto, and Chinese. (Holt, December 9, 2003)

Later, in 2006, President Bush announced the National Security Language Initiative. It framed foreign language skills as “essential for engaging foreign governments and peoples...and for promoting understanding, conveying respect for other cultures, and encouraging reform. These skills are also fundamental to the economic competitiveness and security interests of the nation” (Spellings & Oldham, August 2008, p. 1). This initiative includes the following critical languages: Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russian languages and Indic, Persian and Turkic language families. Under this interagency plan, support for school districts has reached over 47,000 through grants for critical language programs. Finally, the STARTALK summer language programs, which began in 2007, have given 1,322 students and teachers opportunities to further develop their language skills. With respect to Chinese, the number of programs supported by the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) has dominated all other languages by at least double to ten times.

Although the dominant educational goal is empowering nation, there are alternative imaginaries that challenge it (Parker, 2009). Parker outlines three such discourses: global perspective, cosmopolitanism, and international student body. I will concentrate on the first two, as they are most relevant to the study. While he labels them as marginal voices, he points out that they offer “sharp points of contrast” to the more dominant discourse of national-security. The first is what he calls global perspective. This framing highlights the interconnectedness of the world, the need to understand and respect those relationships, and the importance of realizing and appreciating that there are multiple ways of viewing reality and functioning in the world -- a universal respect that views “individuals as being ‘concrete others’ and fully competent moral beings” (Odora Hoppers, 2009, p. 607).

Like Parker, Nussbaum (1994) states that while this is not a mainstream imagining, it is necessary for the future of a peaceful global existence. However, she gives prominence to the cosmopolitan discourse. This places one’s citizenship at the global level and one’s “primary allegiance to the community of human beings in the entire world” (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 1). Hence, the idea of “world or global citizen” indexes belonging to a borderless community. Moreover, it is a call to take responsibility for all human beings, not just fellow national citizens. Nussbaum argues that global citizenship allows us to learn more about ourselves when we see the unique characteristics of our local community and the interrelationships and commonalities shared among different peoples. In addition, we are better positioned to solve problems that are on a global scale (e.g., pollution) when we recognize that the nations’ futures are intertwined and that global problems need global collaboration (Goodman, 2009; Nussbaum, 1994). A cosmopolitan education equips us with relevant knowledge and the respect for other ways of doing things. Finally, we more readily exercise our moral obligations to the entire world. Parker observes that whereas global perspective elevates culture beyond national borders, cosmopolitanism does so for political affiliation.

A common thread among all of these discourses on global education is that foreign languages are an integral part of these various goals: national, economic and military security, global perspective and cosmopolitanism. Some or all of these have been embraced and advocated by numerous organizations and individuals within the U.S. Arne Duncan (2010), US Secretary of Education, claims that today’s global labor force must

have multilingual and multicultural abilities. Solving global challenges requires international collaboration that demands “US students to develop better critical thinking cross-cultural understanding, and language skills” (p. 67). Allan Goodman (2009), president of the Institute of International Education says that “foreign language is central to higher education and preparing citizens for global citizenship” (p. 610). The Modern Language Association’s 2007 report states that “deep cultural knowledge and linguistic competence are equally necessary if one wishes to understand people and their communities” (p. 2). The Center for Applied Linguistics (2003) argues that multilingualism “is a valuable asset” and “enhance(s) our economic competitiveness abroad, improve global communication, help to maintain our political and security interests, and promote tolerance and intercultural awareness” (p. 1). Likewise, The Asia Society, claims that multilingualism is necessary for 1) an internationally competent workforce, 2) solving global problems, 3) greater intercultural understanding and 4) exercise effective citizenship (Sachar, 2004).

In sum, the discourses of global education, language and culture incorporate multiple ideologies and political-economic conditions that are connected to different imaginings, identities and goals. Depending on how institutions and individuals interpret them, these discourses could be in tension. One discourse may emerge as more dominant in one context than in another. Perhaps the most controversial is global education for global citizenship. Parker (2009) says that it is “a collective challenge to the educational status quo and, as such, an arena for knowledge construction and contestation” (p. 3). Either way, all of these discourses that are under the umbrella label of global education and language and culture can ultimately offer imaginings that digress from traditional envisionings of community, identity, language, culture and education.

Chapter Five **Existence and survival as re-imagining**

As stated in Chapter One, this dissertation explores how institutions and individuals exercise agency and the political-economic conditions and discourses that aid or hinder re-imagination. This chapter serves to not only provide an in-depth historical context of AXC and its non-profit subsidiary, the AXC Institute, but also to illustrate how the very founding and evolution of the school is an act of re-definition, accomplished within and by particular political-economic conditions and discourses. AXC is a unique institution in that it was one of the first schools to offer Chinese-English bilingual education with enrichment as its goal (Hornberger, 1991) in the United States. Its pioneering status makes it a fascinating case study because from its creation to the present, the school has been instrumental in re-imagining Chinese and bilingual education within both its situated context and beyond. AXC was founded in the early 1980s when not only Chinese immersion classes were unavailable but even basic Chinese language education was rarely offered at the pre-collegiate level. As discussed in Chapter Four, most language courses were taught for ethnic Chinese American children at after school programs or heritage language schools. Teacher training was virtually nonexistent and thus teacher qualifications were low. Historian Him Mark Lai (2004) described the standards in curricula, teacher training, classroom materials and assessment in the U.S. as poor or nonexistent. Chinese was mostly viewed as a minority, immigrant language

(Wong, 1988). Chinese speakers were often discriminated against and treated as second-class citizens (Kwong & Miščević, 2005) and China was regarded as a poor, undeveloped and backward country. Moreover, enrichment bilingual education was rare and there was a complete lack of Chinese-English bilingual schools. In 1982, there were only 27 partial or total immersion schools (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2006) and in 1981 only 10 dual immersion schools (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2010). The lack of material resources and racist discourses certainly were part of the challenges and obstacles that the school faced during its early years.

At the same time, the 1970s and 80s were also when many significant changes were taking place that aided the establishment of a Chinese-English bilingual school. First, large numbers of rich and highly educated Chinese immigrants began arriving to the U.S. These immigrants had much more economic capital than their predecessors. Moreover, they had not experienced the same type of discrimination and had great pride in their language and culture. Second, by the 1980s, there was already a significant Chinese American population (up to 4th or 5th generation). These individuals were living in a post-civil war, post-1965 period after immigration laws eliminated quotas based on race (Kwong & Miščević, 2005). Some of them had even participated in fighting for rights and equal treatment. As described in Chapter Three, all of these participants (American and overseas-born) are highly educated, multilingual and mostly minorities. Moreover, the site is located in an urban location on the West Coast. Each of these social, demographic and geographic variables has been shown to be an important predictor in support for second language acquisition in the U.S. (Robinson, Rivers, & Brecht, 2006). Third, a discourse supporting foreign language education as vital to national security was re-emerging. And finally, China had opened its doors, welcomed Nixon in 1972 and formalized its relations with the U.S. Shortly after, Deng Xiaopeng took power in 1976 and began his radical reforms of China's economic policy. These changes in ethnoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes are important considerations in understanding why the establishment of a Chinese-English bilingual school was thought to be possible then and not earlier. Nevertheless, while acknowledging the political-economic conditions and discourses that allowed the school's foundation in the 1980s, it is important to keep in mind that the school's purposeful effort in presenting Chinese as a valuable language of global significance when such a discourse did not exist to a large extent is an act of re-imagination that truly pushed and blended the boundaries of discourses (e.g., Chinese (American)-as-second-class, global perspective and national security) present at that time.

Within this complex climate of racism and assimilation, changes in demographics and political-economic conditions, and the competing discourses of Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse, global education and national security, the road to AXC's rise to the forefront of Chinese language education was anything but smooth sailing. In the initial years, the school faced numerous challenges and hardships. Many of the parents who were also staff³ and founding members made comments such as "people were saying why would you want your kid to learn Mandarin?" and AXC was "an institution doubted by an unconvinced public." In their 25th anniversary newsletter, it was reported that on the first day of school in 1981 "some skeptics are calling the idea radical. Others say the school simply won't survive, that there will never be enough families to support it and

³ For the rest of the dissertation, I will refer to parents who were also staff members as parent/staff.

keep it open.” Many of the participants who were at AXC in the beginning years shared their feelings about the uncertainty of the school’s future and the struggle to survive. Increasing and maintaining enrollment was difficult. When the school opened, only four out of the eight enrolled students actually showed up to class. In the early days, there was not much mainstream support and since funding was limited, most parents probably found out about the school through word of mouth and/or accidental discovery. Former parents Allan and Ellen discovered the school when they saw its float on TV during the Chinese New Year parade.

Finding qualified teachers was a constant challenge. The lack of available materials meant that the faculty had to create their own curricula, classroom texts and lessons. Most of the materials came from Taiwan because the Ministry of Education in Taiwan was supplying them to support Chinese language education. Similarly, nearly all the teachers came from Taiwan during this period because China had strict immigration laws for its citizens leaving the country. Furthermore, although many of the teachers came with teaching experience and qualification, most of them were not trained to teach in an American context let alone in a bilingual educational setting. Recruiting bilingual staff members was extremely difficult. After the first head of school and founder left the school in the late 90s, AXC was hard-pressed to find a replacement who was both bilingual and had enough administrative skills to develop the school. Recall that at this time, only a small number of people were studying Chinese and presumably there were even less individuals who eventually became fluent. Consequently, AXC ended up hiring someone who had good management skills but did not speak Chinese. Finding space, converting it so that it met state building requirements within a meager budget meant that everyone, staff and parents, were heavily involved. Many of them helped paint walls, clean classrooms and fundraise. Finally, the school has had to contend with the fluctuating status of Chinese in the United States. For example, non-Chinese student enrollment dropped considerably after the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident.

Despite these challenges and the negative perceptions of China, Chinese and Chinese people, the founders of AXC were clearly influenced by the alternative global perspective discourse as they all shared a multilingual, multicultural and global imagining for their students:

...a group of multi-ethnic...parents, educators and civic leaders shared a compelling vision -- to create a school with a bilingual, multicultural curriculum in English and Chinese that would prepare children for life in an increasingly interconnected world.

The image of the world as interrelated emerges strongly in this document on the founding of the school. Moreover, in line with the global perspective discourse, they were re-imagining the U.S. and Americans as interconnected with the rest of the world. Students were not envisioned as individuals who would only function within the U.S., but as people who would need bilingual and multicultural skills to navigate a global society.

Such a vision for Chinese, language, culture and education was shaped by domestic and international affairs. According to one of the founders, the school embraced such forward thinking as a response to the grievous chain of embarrassing international blunders that ranged from political affairs (e.g., lack of bilingual staff in government foreign service during the Persian Gulf War) to major marketing mishaps such as Pepsi

Cola's poor advertising in China (they translated their slogan as "Pepsi will bring back your dead ancestors"). The board was influenced by national security and global labor force discourses in its commitment to give their students the linguistic and cultural tools to avoid such grievous economic mistakes. Encouraged by President Jimmy Carter's 1979 declaration that made foreign language study a national priority, these individuals believed that it was the right time to address the void in bilingual and Chinese language education. Clearly, the global perspective and national security discourses ran counter to the ideology of English monolingualism by repositioning second language education as a legitimate and worthy investment, vital to the interests of the nation and the world. Moreover, what was different about AXC's re-imagining was the language that the school was endorsing – Chinese. Historically, most foreign languages that had enjoyed support in the U.S. were mostly Western European languages. In contrast, indigenous and minority languages have largely been viewed as anti-American and problems to be eliminated.

Of course, for the ethnic Chinese, they wanted to challenge the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse and re-position Chinese from a language that lacked legitimacy to one that was valuable (more on this in Chapter Seven). At the same time, they also desired to provide Chinese education for non-Chinese. This is the official discourse that the school endorses and expresses in its official documents. One of the founders, a Chinese American, wrote, "But there was a niche that needed to be filled. Sure, there were after-school programs, and weekend, heritage Chinese schools, but no school for other groups -- non-Chinese." Similar to the educators at the Oyster School in Washington, D.C., AXC felt that it was important to frame the second language as legitimate for both majority and minority speakers (Freeman, 1998). This was an attempt to break ethnolinguistic assumptions about Chinese and to give it a "diverse face" – an imagining that did not exist at the time. Note that the only state investing in Chinese language education in the United States in the early 1980s was Taiwan and its main targets were Taiwanese children (Lai, 2004). It is significant that in official school materials, they include images of students of all ethnicities. This provides a tangible, visual picture of AXC's imagining of a body of diverse Chinese language learners.

Another key component to the re-imagining of Chinese was to radically change the context in which it had been traditionally taught. This is an interesting play on one of the strategies Luke (2009) outlined: changing the language of the field and the field itself. Instead of a language being taught out of mainstream school, it was included as a medium of instruction in a full-day school. From being taught as an extracurricular, heritage or foreign language, it became a second language used for teaching content-based subjects (e.g., history, social studies, literature, math, computer, art, etc). Finally, Chinese was placed in a private, international school⁴ setting. As the school's status and reputation have grown as a well-established educational institution, so too has the position of Chinese as a language that can attract elite, wealthy and well-educated parents. Of course, this surge in interest must also be traced to larger discourses and political-economic conditions: the rise of China and its concomitant discourse of China-as-a-rising-power, the global financial crisis of 2009, the U.S.'s waning political-economic power and its

⁴ Note that most international schools usually offer Western European languages. In 2006, only 3.9% of total and partial immersion schools used Mandarin as a language of instruction. The overwhelming majority was Spanish (42.6%) and French (29.0%) (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2006).

accompanying discourse of national security. All of these have combined to influence the attractiveness and symbolic capital of Chinese. It is strongly arguable that without these favorable conditions, Chinese language education would not be as desirable as it is today. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that the employment of Chinese as a medium of instruction for content-based subjects in a full-day, private international school for students of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds is border-pushing. It is a significant contrast to the traditional framing of Chinese as a heritage, extracurricular language for ethnic Chinese. It also departs from the growing popularity of Chinese as a foreign language.

Unsurprisingly, AXC is very much aware of its impressive accomplishments. The school capitalizes on its status as one of the first Chinese-English bilingual schools and likes to publicize how its success has proven the critics wrong. Positioning is still an important focus of the school. In a recent school report, the President of the Board of Trustees stated “it is important that we position ourselves as the first and most experienced institution of its kind.” Not much later, a founding member noted that although AXC was a pioneering school, it “must continue to work hard to remain at the head of the curve...we [AXC] must work to always be the BEST Mandarin immersion school.” Another founding member remarked that Chinese-English bilingual education “needs constant review and bold steps to maintain its relevance to modern society.” Over the years, as the fields of Chinese language education, bilingual education and second language acquisition developed and flourished, AXC has consulted with these leading experts in its efforts to revise and improve its program structure and curriculum. It also has a public relations staff member to help keep parents and staff informed of the ongoing activities at school as well as to spread AXC’s presence in the media. It is clear that AXC is conscious of mediascapes and technoscapes and how it is vital to the work of re-imagination within and outside of its community.

A few years ago, AXC began expanding its presence in the corporate and academic world. They have a team aimed at securing more corporate funding and an Academic Committee whose purpose is to build the school’s reputation in the academic world. AXC has also garnered a number of prestigious accolades and received national recognition for its work. The school has always had its students participate and win awards at various Chinese language contests such as the Annual Chinese Language Teachers Association of California Speech Contest and the Annual Chinese Language Bridge Cup Contest. Their Chinese teachers and alumni have been Fulbright recipients to China. Faculty members have also received the Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth Teaching Awards and Hearst Awards. In addition, the students regularly win prizes in other subjects such as the Annual Science Fair, MATHCOUNTS and various athletic competitions. Their students generally score high on high stakes exams and place in advanced levels for Chinese after they graduate. Most alumni go on to prestigious high schools and universities. The U.S. Department of Education declared AXC as an important model for Chinese language education. In addition, the school received a Goldman Sachs Award.

In sum, the school has established itself as an academically successful institution through concrete achievements and social symbols of success (e.g., high exam scores, awards, admittance into top tier schools). It has amassed economic, cultural and social capital. Moreover, like the successful French immersion schools in Canada, they have

shown that bilingual education is not detrimental to a child's development. However, I also argue that the school has gone further in that they have played a part in re-imagining a historically disenfranchised and undesirable minority language in the U.S. into a highly sought-after one. They have also actively taken advantage of technology and the media to market and promote their place in education. Enrollment is now intensely competitive with parents on long waiting lists for the pre-K program. AXC and the parents and students who have been part of its community believe that the school has made great gains in reversing the status of Chinese as a "second-class language," transforming it into one that is regarded with respect, appreciation and value by its members. Such a re-imagination was made possible by favorable political-economic conditions and the strong emergence of the national security, global perspective and China-as-a-rising-power discourses. Without these conditions, it is unlikely that the school would enjoy the level and scope of success that it has. Nevertheless, their agency in re-imagining Chinese should not be downplayed or overlooked. Conditions can greatly aid the actualization of imaginings; but without individuals and institutions to visualize and put into practice those imaginings, such potential possibilities remain silent and latent.

Empowering and expanding discourse: The AXC Institute

According to Gee⁵ (1996), discourses are supported and spread through institutions. Hence, creating an institution to advocate a particular discourse is a strategic way of empowering and expanding its presence and influence. This section explores the foundation and development of the AXC Institute and considers its role in sustaining and promoting AXC's discourses beyond its local communities.

AXC has not only been active in repositioning Chinese and bilingual education for its own members and the immediate community it is located in, but also has been a national leader in advancing Chinese language education since the late 1980s. As aforementioned, unlike commonly taught Western European languages, there were virtually no Chinese language education teacher training programs and few textbook materials that were created for an American context. To address this gap, AXC founded the AXC Institute in 1989. At this time, there were few resources for Chinese language educators, individuals and institutions interested in establishing a Chinese language program. The Institute labels itself as an organization with a "history of innovation." This description indicates its uniqueness and ability to create a market where none had existed before and to survive despite the odds against its development and maintenance.

During its early years, it [The AXC Institute] faced a lack of available curricula, unfamiliarity with Chinese in the marketplace, and the absence of a formal pedagogy related to Chinese language immersion. One world-renowned expert visited the school and stated that Chinese/English immersion education was impossible. AXC and The AXC Institute have proven it is possible indeed.

Like the establishment of the school, I also argue that the creation of such a center is a powerful act of imagination. It illustrates the various avenues through which educational institutions can create and empower discourse. The AXC Institute attempts to

⁵ In his theory, Gee labels my notion of "discourse" as Discourses with a capital d.

promote its imagining of Chinese and Chinese language and culture education by targeting four of Luke's (2009) variables for change in education: 1) language of the field (e.g., promoting Chinese as either a foreign or second language), 2) teacher habitus (teacher training, including pedagogy and cultural awareness), 3) learner habitus (e.g., diversifying target student population), and 4) knowledge of the field (e.g., making available a wider range of textbooks, topics and resources). Like the school, the Institute seeks to elevate the symbolic capital of Chinese language education. But its target audience is much broader as the Institute aims to accomplish this goal on a national level. It does so through two types of language planning: status planning and language acquisition planning (for a more in-depth review, see Wiley, 1996). Status planning normally refers to efforts to affect language use in various contexts. It usually involves issues of power, value and official recognition of a language variety. Language acquisition planning refers to decisions that concern teaching the language and increasing numbers of speakers. While language planning is normally conducted by national governments (or by individuals - what Weinstein (1979) calls "language strategists"), the Institute shows that a grassroots organization can creatively appropriate state-level methods to advance a language variety.

The founding and development of the AXC Institute were enabled and limited by existing political-economic conditions and discourses. When it was first founded, the Institute was limited by funding, staffing and material resource shortages. Most of the information they provided stemmed from the school's faculty and experience. Political and economic conditions were not favorable enough to support neither rapid nor serious development of the center. However, the AXC Institute began taking off at the turn of the century in leaps and bounds. By then, the school had more than tripled in size and was operating on a significantly larger budget. It had established a middle school and by 2007, had enough money to hire full-time staff for the Institute. At the time of writing this dissertation, the Institute had just hired another full-time staff member. As discussed in Chapter Four, at the turn of the century, Mainland China began pouring money into supporting Chinese language education and sending its people abroad to teach Chinese. Higher education institutions began developing and offering degrees in Chinese language education. The range of textbooks, audio/video materials and so forth became much broader. Materials from Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, the U.S. and so forth became more readily available. At this time, the U.S. State Department began offering funding for Chinese language programs like STARTALK. Both the China-as-a-rising-power and national security discourses began to gain prominence. Finally, the growth of the Internet in the U.S. and Asia has greatly aided the Institute in establishing and maintaining a network of educators, administrators, centers and organizations across the nation and beyond. All of these shifts in conditions, discourses and global flows account in part for the growth and expansion of the Institute from a small volunteer organization to a full-time staffed center. In addition, they explain how the Institute is able to deploy and support language status and language acquisition planning initiatives.

The AXC Institute concentrates on promoting Chinese language and culture education across the country as indicated in its mission statement below. Currently, the Institute is supported by various well-established foundations⁶ that are both government and non-government organizations.

⁶ The names of founding sources are kept anonymous in order to maintain confidentiality.

Advancing Chinese Language and Culture

The AXC Institute, a non-profit organization...was founded in 1989 to advocate Chinese language and culture education nationwide. We provide educators with comprehensive approaches to teaching, acquiring, and enhancing Chinese language and cultural literacy.

The organization accomplishes this vision through 1) increasing Mandarin proficiency programs, 2) preparing Chinese teachers for US classrooms, and 3) providing resources and connecting educators. The Institute's main focus is to establish and develop pre-K through grade 12 Mandarin programs across the country. Since its establishment, they have been involved with curriculum development, teacher training and exchange and cultural programs. They are "committed to sharing knowledge and experience with educators in the United States and throughout the world." The director of the Institute further specified an additional three planks the organization utilizes in achieving their goals: 1) organize and host a national conference for Chinese language education (one of the first in the U.S.), 2) develop state and national language standards to help establish and promote Chinese as a world language, and 3) plan and oversee student programming (domestic and exchange programs). She also shared that the Institute's future directions will include supporting Chinese language acquisition and educational research.

Unlike the school where choices must be made as far as writing system, phonetic system, textbooks, language proficiency goals, student population, program structure and so forth, the Institute has no such restrictions. Both staff members I interviewed expressed a broad stance toward Chinese language education. They do not advocate for anything in particular. Rather, their job is to generate interest in Chinese language programs and to point out what administrators must consider when setting up or developing a program. Ultimately, their vision is "the development and execution of programming that will create, through the promotion of fluency in Mandarin, a more able and culturally aware work force." The director explained,

I want our children to be able to work in the country [of the target language], in the language with the same capability that native learners of the language have so that in our case they could go to Asia or China or anywhere else. And to actually be able to work or to be able to go and study instead of doing university in America, well their options are they could go to university in China or in Taiwan or anywhere else that they want to.

The discourse of global labor force is evident in her language about flexibility in terms of mobility, amassing and converting capital. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Ong (1999b) reminds us that in contemporary society, individuals and governments are driven to accumulate capital and power so that they can "respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (p. 6). The AXC Institute positions – markets -- Chinese as a form of easily convertible symbolic capital. It opens up work and study opportunities. Moreover, it gives people a type of flexible adaptability by broadening the geographic area within which they may economically and culturally survive.

At the Institute, the staff believes that it is important for all Americans to have knowledge of Chinese culture and opportunities to learn the language. Hence, the AXC Institute also re-imagines Chinese as appropriate and valuable for all ethnicities and all ages, echoing the same vision as the founders of the school. Another way the Institute promotes this vision is through its involvement in the creation of Californian state standards for Chinese as a world language. Eventually, the Institute intends to help establish national language standards. The formulation and ratification of the new language standards is an attempt to break ethnolinguistic ties and re-imagine Chinese as an inter-ethnic language. Indeed, the very label “Chinese as a world language” frames Chinese as relevant and part of the entire world.

In order to increase Chinese language programs in the U.S., the Institute regularly offers administrator workshops and seminars for people interested in starting Chinese programs. In addition, they conduct several Chinese program tours for interested educators to visit and observe AXC’s Chinese program. Aside from supporting the growth of language programs, the Institute also actively encourages more individuals to enroll in Chinese language classes. To support students’ language learning, the Institute and the school organize and run several auxiliary programs. First, they offer three student summer programs for children interested in learning Chinese: 1) an immersion camp for 3 to 5 year olds, 2) an immersion camp for 6 to 13 year olds, and 3) the STARTALK summer program for elementary students who are currently enrolled in Chinese immersion programs. No prior knowledge of Chinese is necessary. All three programs include both cultural activities and language skill classes. Students partake in activities like singing, Chinese calligraphy, Chinese brush painting, Chinese cooking, Chinese gymnastics, arts and crafts, drama, and martial arts. They also go on field trips visiting various local sites in order to “engage with their general community and Chinese culture.” Second, AXC offers an after school AP Chinese class for high school students. Finally, they have been running student and teacher international exchanges for AXC students. The lower school students travel to Taiwan and live with their host families. Then, their Taiwanese counterparts come to the U.S. to stay with them. The middle school students have a similar exchange trip to China. The Institute also coordinates summer exchanges for students and teacher exchange programs.

It regularly receives Chinese teachers from abroad to give them an orientation before they begin teaching in American schools. These teacher-training programs help Chinese teachers pass state requirements and provide them with pedagogy and materials. Practical training is done in AXC classrooms. This allows teachers to become familiarized with the American educational context. The Institute was also one of the first organizations to host a national conference for Chinese language educators. Teachers are able to attend workshops, seminars and presentations on the latest technology, innovative pedagogies and newly published classroom materials. Obviously a crucial element in spreading Chinese language and culture education is to train and increase the number of Chinese language teachers. Teachers are target language producers, educators who potentially can raise the number of second language speakers. Training helps to raise teaching qualifications, standards and professionalism. This is a sharp digression from the days when no teaching skills or knowledge in education was necessary (Lai, 2004).

My final point concerns the ways in which today’s technoscapes have greatly aided the Institute. Technology makes the Institute’s information more accessible. It

allows the Institute to consolidate existing resources and reach out to individuals and organizations involved or interested in Chinese language education. It recently created an online resource center called the Zhongwen Center⁷ website. The website provides a forum for Chinese teachers to post questions and share best practices. It also features a career center where schools can post job openings and teachers can upload their resumes. Moreover, the website offers a searchable list of Chinese programs located in the United States. The Institute also sends out two newsletters per month: a general Institute newsletter with interviews and articles written by guest speakers and a newsletter for the Zhongwen Center highlighting the latest resources and teaching practices for that month. Most e-documents are available in both Chinese and English. Consolidating available resources and networking are tangible strategies of empowerment in several ways. First, networking helps to spread the Institute's imagining of Chinese language and culture education. The directory of Chinese language programs allows the online user to imagine the extent of and location of Chinese language programs in the United States. Finally, the career center is a tool for converting Chinese language skills into economic capital.

The establishment of the AXC Institute and the work that it does are powerful acts of agency. Borrowing Weinstein's (1979) term, it and the school are "language strategists," relying on various tactics and cleverly maneuvering among language policies and discourses to secure material resources in furthering their language imaginings. Spurred on by supportive political-economic conditions and discourses, both institutions are able to re-imagine on local and global scales. They accomplish the work of (re)imagination by increasing numbers of speakers, developing and advancing Chinese language education resources, establishing state and eventually national language standards, providing teacher-training programs, facilitating the movement of educational professionals (by making job searches easier), raising the quality of Chinese language education, and ultimately the symbolic capital of the language for the nation.

Chapter Six **Making tangible connections and global projections**

Whether the students are learning about mathematics, health, literature, history or everyday language such as going to the doctor's and writing a thank-you card, each activity and interaction contributes to a particular imagining (e.g., of Chinese, Chinese speakers, other countries, the world, etc). The classroom, then, must be understood as both a place for Chinese language and literacy development and a daily space where the work of (re)imagination takes place. The classroom is where alternative discourses can be constructed and existing discourses contested. Chapters Five showcased changes involving the language of the field, learner habitus (as in diversifying and drawing from student backgrounds) and teacher habitus (as in teacher training and knowledge). In this chapter, each of the three subsections provides examples of altering the knowledge of the field through the inclusion of commonly omitted or misrepresented topics and highlighting discrimination in social fields (Luke, 2009). My main questions for this chapter were: 1) how do classroom discourse, text and practice produce, challenge and transform existing discourses? and 2) what are some of the classroom practices and discourses that contradict school ideals?

⁷ This is a pseudonym of the website.

Nurturing cosmopolitan citizens: making a difference here and there

This section investigates the role of service learning in achieving this goal. By service learning, I mean learning with a goal of “viewing ‘self’ and ‘other’ as ultimately intertwined,” where “a breaking of the self-other dichotomy through the act of service learning is essential for participants’ reflection on ‘self’ as well as for participants’ recognition of their prior, and perhaps limited, understandings” (Hallman & Burdick, 2011, p. 344). In addition, “service learning must be pursued alongside a process of inquiry.” I present two examples to illustrate this. The first example showcases how students applied their bilingual skills to help out a community in China. In the second example, I briefly discuss a unit on the subject of poverty, taught in the 7th grade English class.

In response to the Sichuan, China earthquake of 2008, the 7th grade students worked with their Chinese teachers to write letters to affected Chinese students in Sichuan. They also fundraised for supplies for the Sichuan school. Wang *Laoshi* begins the letter writing activity by reminding the students of how AXC has been involved with the earthquake.

Classroom excerpt: AXC’s involvement in Sichuan

Wang *Laoshi*: *Na ge shihou women (2.5) bangmang. Women shouji hen duo dianxin, yinliaoj, ranhou women paimai women de haiyou hen duo ren juan qian (jiaren) juan qian, xuesheng juan qian you xie xuesheng ba tamen shengri de liwu na chu lai, juan chu lai. Women yi gong shou le ba qian kuai qian.*

S: *ba qian kuai.*

Wang *Laoshi*: *ba qian kuai. Ranhou xiaozhang shujia de shihou dao Sichuan de zhege xiaoxue ((writing name of school on board)) jiaozuo [name of school]. Gen tamen xiaozhang, xuesheng jianmian le. Women hui mai women-women hui bang tamen mai tamen xuyao yong shangke xuyao yong de dongxi. Pirushuo ((holding up a pen)) qianbi, xiangpi, zhi, benzi, shuben...women yao xie xin gei tamen.*

Wang *Laoshi*: At that time, we helped. We collected a lot of snacks, drinks, and then we auctioned our also a lot of people donated money (family members) donated money, students donated money. There were some students who took their birthday presents and donated them. All together, we collected 8000 dollars.

S: Eight thousand dollars

Wang *Laoshi*: Eight thousand dollars. And then during summer vacation, our principal went to an elementary school in Sichuan ((writing name of school on board)), called [name of school]. He met their principal and students. We will buy them—we will help them buy things that they need in class. For example ((holding up a pen)) pencils, erasers, paper, notebooks, books...we want to write letters to them.

In her first statement, Wang *Laoshi* used several action words such as “help” (*bangzhu*), “collect” (*shouji*), “auction” (*paimai*), and “donate.” The subject “we” referred to the entire AXC community. Specific actors like parents and students also appear. She listed

several items that school members had gathered such as snacks, drinks, and money. She also mentioned acts of self-sacrifice (e.g., students donated their birthday presents). The entire statement framed AXC community members as actively participating in a collective effort to fundraise for the people in Sichuan. The students' echoing of "eight thousand dollars" and Wang *Laoshi*'s confirmation indicated acknowledgement of participation from the students and affirmation from their teacher. Next, she informed the students that their principal had made a personal visit to an elementary school in Sichuan. The school would be raising funds to purchase and donate basic school materials like pencils and paper over the next few months. Finally, she told them that all AXC students would be writing a letter to the students in Sichuan. In later conversations with students, I found out that the Chinese students were also supposed to write letters in response.

Wang *Laoshi*'s announcement not only oriented the students to the day's scheduled activity of letter writing, but also aligned the school as an institution and individual members with the cosmopolitan discourse of taking an interest in overseas affairs and lending a helping hand. This seemed to be in line with the school's goals of contributing to society through service and a commitment to improving the human condition: "Commit to preserving the global environment and improving the human condition." Listing specific donated objects, activities and members helped anchor this discourse in practice. Although neither charitable acts nor written letters involved immediate, real-time interaction, these were still ways through which students could establish meaningful connections with the community in Sichuan. Such opportunities also socialized students into the notion that reaching out to those in need is important and expected. Furthermore, the bilingual nature of these letters was one way in which AXC capitalized on multiple linguistic resources to send messages of hope, care and encouragement. Hence, activities like letter writing to Sichuan earthquake victims encouraged students to see language as a means of helping others. Their participation in acts directed outside of national borders allowed students to see themselves as part of a broader community. The needs of others outside of the U.S. became relevant and important, encouraging students to see Mainland Chinese people as fellow human beings instead of citizens of specific countries.

Students simultaneously developed language skills and learned Chinese letter writing conventions. They were given explicit instructions on salutations, closings, and specific content to include as the below excerpt illustrates.

Classroom excerpt: How to write the letter

TA: *Suoyi women xianzai ne, gang kaishi women shuo qinai de [name of school] ((writing it out on the board))...nimen hao. Xie wan yihou women di yi bufen ni dangran yao shuo ni ziji shi shei. Ni shuo a (1) wo shi AXC qi nianji de xuesheng, wo jiao*

Tyler: *ni jiao*

S: *Tyler*

TA: *dui. Wo jiaozuo Tyler...di yi bufen jiu shi ni jieshao ni ziji. Ranhou di er bufen ne women yao xie shuo ni dangshi dizhen fasheng de shihou, nimen shi zenme zhidao de...ranhou ne, zuihou yi bufen women xiwang shuo ni keyi xie shuo wo xiwang ta- wo xiwang nimen keyi meitian guo de kaikaixinxin huozhe shuo, xiwang nimen shentijiankang.*

TA: So now we, when we start, we say “dear [name of school] ((writing it on wipe board))...how are you?” After writing that, we the first part you obviously have to say who you are. You say, ah I’m a 7th grader at AXC, I’m called
Tyler: You’re called-

S: Tyler

TA: Right. I’m called Tyler...the first part is for introducing yourself. Then, the second part, we need to write about when the earthquake happened, how you found out about it...and then, the last part we hope to say, you can write I hope he- I hope you can spend each day happily or say I wish you good health.

This excerpt demonstrates how students are acquiring vocabulary and letter formatting conventions during a letter writing activity designed to give encouragement and sympathy. The TA outlined the format, appropriate salutations, greetings and closings. She labeled three components they are to include: 1) greeting and self-introduction, 2) how the students found out about the earthquake, their feelings and reactions, and questions they have for the Chinese students, and 3) closings/blessings. Her detailed instructions provided students with a very clear set of instructions on letter format and writing conventions. Students also learned and used new vocabulary such as “earthquake” (*dizhen*), “scared” (*haipa*) and “hurt” (*shangxin*) along with set phrases such as “[may you have] good health” (*shentijiankang*). The students had to write a first draft and then re-wrote it on higher quality paper. Wang *Laoshi* told the students that they needed to write their letters on nice paper because other people will read them. Thus students became aware that in Chinese-speaking communities, presentation matters. Below is a sample student letter draft.

Qinai de [name of school] quanti shisheng,

Nimen hao! Wo shi Haley. Wo shier sui. Wo zhu zai jiazhou de [name of city]. Dizhen fasheng de shihou AXC de tongxue laoshi jiazhang dou hen nanguo. Wo xiwang women neng gou bangzhu ni.

Ni xianzai hai hao ma? Ni xianzai shangke zenmeyang? Dizhen fasheng de shihou, ni zai na li?

Bu yao danxin, yihou hui geng hao.

Wo xiwang nimen shenti jiankang, gongke jinbu. Zhu ni meitian kuaile!

Guanxin nimen de Haley

Dear students and teachers of [name of school],

Greetings! I’m Haley. I’m twelve years old. I live in [name of city], California. When the earthquake happened, AXC’s students, teachers and parents were deeply hurt. I hope we can help you out.

Are you ok now? How are your classes now? Where were you when the earthquake occurred?

Don't worry, things will get better from now on.

I wish you good health and progress with your schoolwork. May each day be full of happiness!

Concerned for you, Haley

Haley's letter is a particularly illustrative example of a written expression of care, concern and encouragement. At the same time, she has included all required components in her letter, displaying an understanding of formal writing conventions such as formal salutations, closings and formulaic expressions. In sum, this activity allowed students to develop L2 literacy skills, draw on their bilingual abilities to make a difference, and see how their Chinese abilities could be used to benefit others. A cosmopolitan discourse of helping fellow human beings seemed to be a strong guide to the rationale for this particular classroom writing activity. However, it must be noted that in the Chinese classrooms, I never witnessed any discussion or reflection on their service learning. As Hallman and Burdick (2011) note, meaningful inquiry and critical reflection is essential to developing a sense of "self" and "other." Students' lower Chinese oral proficiency could have been a reason for the lack of talk. Not all teachers may have been aware that discussion can be a part of service learning. This is a potential area that the Chinese program could look into and improve upon.

My observations in the 7th grade English class also reflected the idea of giving back to the community. Moreover, opportunities for inquiry and reflection are regularly given throughout the whole process of service learning. Hence, the message of service is consistent across the English and Chinese programs. For instance, 7th graders have an entire unit that focuses on learning about homelessness and poverty. They read oral histories of homeless Americans. Guest speakers from various organizations (NGOs and government departments) are invited to share their expertise and experience. Students also partake in various activities that help contextualize the topic. For example, they are split into teams, given a budget, taken to a supermarket and told to "shop" for a family of four. When they return to their classroom, they discuss the challenges of providing a balanced and nutritional diet for low-income families. The following excerpt from my field notes illustrates how the students learn about poverty through activities and talk.

April 24, 2009 Field notes: Unit: Homelessness and poverty: Activity: Trip to [name of grocery store].

After the students entered the classroom, Ms. Sands told them to leave their things because they will be back at 3:30 p.m. We walked over to the English language Social Studies class. That teacher then gave instructions for the afternoon's activities and how to behave. A third staff member, the director of diversity programs, told them to notice what foods are grouped together and what foods are at the checkout counter. The Social Studies teacher reminded them that they must select foods that are healthy and within budget. We walked over to the grocery store. After we arrived, the teachers handed each group of students a sheet. The

front page was a meal planner for the students to fill in. On the back was a tally sheet for the students to calculate the cost of each item and the total cost of each meal. After the students finished reading the instructions, they began shopping. I followed Kim, Tammy and J group. They checked how much Cheerios were and wrote it into their sheet. Tammy said they could buy different types of Cheerios and switch it up. They checked Special K's price and recorded the price. They talked about how long one box will last, filled in the sheet and calculated their current total... Towards the end of the exercise, we walked around to the vegetable area. J made a remark about watermelon and Tammy said, "We need fruit" because the point was "to get a balanced meal." Kim said, "This will feed us for 2 days" The kids weighed some bananas...At the end of the exercise, the students continued debating the prices...We walked back to the classroom. The Social Studies teacher went over how people's economic situation affect their food budget...She asked for some findings. Tyler noticed that the larger the quantity of food you buy, the lower the price is per pound. Kim's team said they were unable to afford fresh food and consequently only bought canned and frozen food. P shared about what she saw at the checkout counter and how it was full of unhealthy candy bars and snacks. Angela compared the differences between fresh and frozen food in terms of cost and nutritional value. A few students remarked on how difficult it was to provide a balanced meal on such a meager budget. The teachers informed the students that they will continue discussing their findings on Monday.

Students continued their discussion on the following school day. They then worked in teams and conducted research on various topics that concerned poverty and homelessness. They later gave presentations on their findings. Finally, the students volunteered at a local food bank to have direct interaction with the homeless.

Service learning is built into all the grade levels' curricula. School documents and teachers stated that 6th graders learn about conservation and participate in various environmental projects in both the Chinese and English classrooms. The 8th graders visit a Chinese senior citizen home twice a year to provide entertainment and spend time talking to the elderly. Students also told me that the school always has various charity events in response to world crises and that there are plenty of opportunities to contribute back to communities within and outside of the U.S. Moreover, teachers described each of these issues: poverty, environmental conservation, and the elderly as global problems. They wanted students to understand that these are issues that people all over the world face.

This emphasis on service learning is stated clearly in AXC's curriculum brochure. Service learning is listed as a learning goal. Activities like visiting the Senior Center are for the express purpose of "learn[ing] about community service and responsibility for one's community." Moreover, AXC's other curriculum goals include encouraging students to see the interrelationships across subjects like history, geography and literature. Phrases like "human story" and guiding questions such as "how can we expand the ways we understand ourselves, other people and the world?" suggest an approach to understanding the world as a collective whole and identifying oneself as a citizen of humanity. These classroom activities, school-wide programs, and the creation of a new

staff position devoted to the development and support of student service learning projects are evidence of AXC's commitment to nurturing socially responsible citizens who care about the world. Moreover, they give us insight into how AXC enacts the discourses of cosmopolitanism and global citizenship through practice.

Re-imagining alternative histories

In the previous chapters, I examined how AXC strives to re-imagine Chinese language and culture. I argued that the school seeks to transform Chinese into a world language and of global significance, thereby re-imagining Chinese's status and role as a second-class language in the U.S. In this section, I will concentrate on the latter goal. I will mainly draw from an 8th grade history unit on Chinese American immigration and, to a lesser extent, the 7th grade English Language Arts curriculum to illustrate how AXC re-imagines U.S. and Chinese American history for their students. This immigration unit is taught as an integrated topic across subjects. Students learn about bird migration in science, read stories about immigrants in English Language Arts and study immigration trends in the U.S. in English-Language Social Studies. In Chinese Social Studies, the class focuses on Chinese immigration to the U.S. They learn about Angel Island and go on a field trip to the island where students visit the sites they read about in class. The students first read about the reasons why the Chinese left their country. Then they learn about the three major periods of Chinese immigration. Within this section, they are informed of the racism the Chinese experienced such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and how the Chinese did not receive the right to become citizens until 1965. Texts like the example below present an imagining that is seldom taught in mainstream classrooms.

Classroom text excerpt: White Racism

Huaren de qinfen, shou ren huanying, dan ye yinqi bairen de bu man. Bairen laogong renwei huagong cong bairen shou zhong qiang zou gongzuo jihui...cong 1904 nian dao 1943 nian, shi huayi yimin anqi. Huayi zai shehui, jingji, zhengzhi deng fangmian shou dao qishi.

Chinese people's diligence was welcomed; however, it also aroused dissatisfaction among white people. White laborers believed that Chinese laborers were taking away job opportunities...the period from 1904 to 1943 was a dark period for Chinese immigrants. Chinese immigrants experienced discrimination in all aspects: social, economic, political and so forth.

Note how the language from the excerpt above only highlights the Chinese immigrants' positive characteristics: "diligence" (*qinfen*) and "were welcomed" (*shou ren huanying*). The contrastive conjunction "but" (*danshi*) suggests that the following reaction (white dissatisfaction (*bairen de bu man*)) was unexpected and implies that this attitude was unfair and unjustified. This perspective is sustained in the use of an opinion verb "believed" (*renwei*) to frame the rationale (white workers thought Chinese workers were stealing job opportunities). The implied meaning here is most likely that white people "mistakenly" or "wrongly believed." Such language creates the image of an innocent victim and jealous bully. The text functions as a mini-narrative where the protagonist is

the hard-working Chinese immigrant who suffered discrimination from the resentful white antagonist. Chinese immigrants are consequently given a positive image while white Americans are painted as unjust and cruel.

Such texts accomplished the work of re-imagination of history in several ways. First, they allow students to see racism as part of U.S. history and encourage them to reflect upon their own personal and familial experiences as victims of discrimination. Second, they radically depart from the typical framing of the Chinese as marginalized, nameless and voiceless Asian immigrants that is taught in mainstream classrooms. In mainstream classroom texts, racism is oftentimes glossed over or not even mentioned (Pang, 2006). Indeed, the very inclusion of the subjects of immigration, exclusion acts and Chinese contributions (details below) to the U.S.’s development greatly diverges from past (and many current (Pang, 2006)) textbooks that completely omitted or barely mentioned these topics (Isser, 1976). Third, they also construct an oppressor and oppressive forces that are present today. They create an “us” versus “them” scenario and racialize whites.

The students then read about the trials and tribulations the Chinese immigrants faced upon entering Angel Island – yet another topic frequently excluded from textbooks (Pang, 2006). They read the poems that the Chinese carved into the stone walls, expressing their loneliness and desperation. Students later visited the cells where immigrants stayed and saw the poems the Chinese engraved during their field trip to Angel Island. Zhuang *Laoshi* also gave a PowerPoint presentation filled with pictures from Angel Island to help the students visualize the plight of the Chinese immigrants. She showed them photos such as the cramped living quarters they lived in and carvings of Chinese poems on boulders. The students were asked to go online and look up information on Angel Island. These websites were from the U.S. embassy in China, Taiwan and Mainland China. Later, they read a newspaper article on the California state government apologizing to the Chinese American community for past discrimination (*huan huaren gongdao wei paishua daoqian faan tianshida chenlie*). The various types of media drawn upon in teaching the unit, combined with a field trip to see the relevant historical sites, most likely helped students to see the Chinese immigrants as individuals with personal stories and to imagine what their lives were like.

In this unit, the students also read about the contributions of the Chinese (as a group and as individuals) to the U.S.’s culture and development (e.g., the Transcontinental Railroad, Silicon Valley’s technological achievements, the entertainment industry (Director Ang Lee)). The listing of the specific names and contributions of Chinese immigrants also contributes to the re-imagining of American history in similar ways as mentioned above.

The English language program at AXC echoes this commitment to re-imagining history. However, it strives to go beyond Chinese American history and include all ethnicities in its endeavor. In the 7th grade English Language Arts class, Ms. Sands organizes the entire year around themes that concern race, exclusion, identity, belonging and resistance. Some of the questions they explore include the following:

- What shapes identity?
- Who is American and why?
- How does perspective influence the way we understand and recount events?

- How does exclusion affect a person?
- What does it mean to be a warrior?
- How can individuals impact their communities?

They read novels and watch films about the Japanese internment camps (e.g., Farewell to Manzanar, Rabbit in the moon), short stories about the experiences of mixed people (e.g., Human Mathematics), and explore issues of prejudice and resistance (e.g., Warriors don't cry, Eyes on the Prize). Students are regularly encouraged to reflect on their personal experiences through writing activities (e.g., "I am" poem, writing assignment on reflections on race and identity in the U.S.).

It is clear that the prevalence of topics on identity, discussion and critical reflection on the history and presence of discrimination, race and American identity guides curricular design. The school's curriculum brochure states that the goals for middle school Chinese include: "appreciate diversity, understand the differences and similarities found in languages and culture, and make meaningful connections with literature and history." In their English language classes, students study such themes as "identity, perspective, power...race, justice, social construction of gender, diversity, and human rights" and ask questions such as "What does it mean to be an American?" Students are supposed to "examine United States history through the experiences of different groups." Both of AXC's language programs, classroom materials and activities work to re-imagine American history and the role and experience of minorities. They challenge the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse and other racist discourses that disenfranchise minorities. It shows us how language education can be used as a medium for exposing discrimination (Luke, 2009) and creating alternative imaginings.

China's global importance

The last work of re-imagination I examine is the framing of China and its relationship with the world. Curricular goals reflect the strong influence of the China-as-a-rising discourse in statements such as "students investigate Chinese history and culture...to develop an understanding of the relationship between China and the world..." However, how is this framing of China as a "globally significant" country reflected in classroom materials and discourse? I argue that this is accomplished through routine opportunities given to students to make connections between 1) Chinese language and culture with their immediate lives and personal histories and 2) China's relationship with other countries. In this section, I selected a classroom text and transcript excerpts from a 7th grade Chinese unit on Confucius and transcript excerpts from an 8th grade Chinese lecture on Chinese medicine.

The excerpt below from a classroom text on Confucius positions the ancient sage in such a way that his figure and ideology span time and space.

Text excerpt: Confucius across time and space

Kongzi weida de renge he gaochao de xueshuo, ji qian nian lai, shou dao renmen de zunzhong, bei zuncheng wei "zhishengxianshi." Kongzi de sixiang budan yingxiang zhongguo, ye yingxiang le yuenan, riben, hanguo deng yazhou ge guo.

Confucius' great character and superior doctrine have received the respect of people for thousands of years; he is accorded the respectful title of the “greatest sage and first teacher.” Confucius’s ideas influenced not only China, but also Vietnam, Japan, Korea and every other Asian countries. (text comes from a variety of sources such as the Chinese online encyclopedia, *baidu*)

The text presents a glorified image of Confucius as an honored sage whose knowledge and character have garnered the respect of people for thousands of years in Asia. The use of the duration particle *lai* indicates a sense of past to present continuation of the value-laden action verb “respect,” positively framing Confucius’ personal character and philosophy. The use of the pluralized form of “people” is defined as a group by one common characteristic: their respect for Confucius. This generalization of “people,” in conjunction with the duration particle, allows room for anyone from anywhere at anytime to belong to that group. Hence, there is an affordance of identifying and being identified with a “group of people who respect Confucius” in and outside the classroom. Finally, the text explicitly links this ancient Chinese philosopher and philosophy not only to modern Chinese culture, but also to other countries on the Asian continent. The citing of the various Asia Pacific region countries (Japan, Korea, and Vietnam) expands the significance of Confucius beyond China and other Chinese speaking areas. However, it does not include non-Asian regions. This suggests that his ideas may only have relevance in Asian countries. Still, the influence and significance of Confucius is positioned transnationally among Asian countries, and he thereby serves as a common cultural symbol and ideology shared between Chinese-speaking and non-Chinese speaking Asian communities. The text lexically and syntactically positions Confucius within a larger social discourse on his teachings and allows identification among Asians with a certain value-stance toward Confucius as a representation of a collective identity (Baquezano-López, 1997; Ochs & Capps, 1996). In this sense, it broadens Chinese culture’s significance in temporal, spatial and ethnic terms.

But are Confucian ethics relevant for non-Asians? Are they applicable outside of Asian countries? Classroom lessons on Confucius suggest that they are. The transcript excerpt below illustrates how the teacher connects one of the Confucian ethics included in the text, “*ren*” (humaneness), to a school value.

Classroom excerpt: Confucian ethics in school values.

Wang Laoshi: *zhege ren zi, chuangzao zhege ren zi ((points at board))...ta yao ni (.5) you (.) renai de xin...xianzai nimen zai xuexiao you inclusive (de zi) (.5) jiu shi yao ba tongxue tongtong (.) baokuo zai litou ((holds out both arms in a wrapping gesture))...*

This “*ren*” character, the person who created the character “*ren*”...he wants you to have a benevolent heart...now in school, you guys have this word “inclusive” that means you have to include all your classmates.

Wang Laoshi began by referring to Confucius as the creator of the “*ren*” character (this piece of information is in the classroom text). She then explained that “he” (*ta*), an anaphoric reference to Confucius, wants the student (as indicated by the pronoun “you” (*ni*)) to have “*renai*” (benevolent love). Although the ancient sage passed away a long time ago, by making him the agent of a particular set of morals, it frames his desire as

applicable in the here and now -- a timeless, boundary-less wish. Wang *Laoshi* then brought up a school-wide campaign called “inclusion.” Including others, then, was presented as one way of exercising “*ren*” and “*renai*” (more on this below). A parallel was thus drawn between Confucian ethics and school values. In the following excerpt, Wang *Laoshi* explained how the students demonstrated inclusion, “*tongqingxin*” (empathy) and “*aixin*” (lovingness) – all related concepts to “*ren*.”

Classroom excerpt: Welcoming Haley mini-narrative

Wang *Laoshi*:... *Nimen cong xiao dao da zai yiqi xiangchu. Haley shi wu nianji cai lai de.* (.) *Ni men dou hen you nai- aixin jieshou ta, rang ta juede (2) ta shi nimen ban de tong- you mei you? ((to Haley)) tamen you mei you dui ni you aixin?* You guys have been together since you were very young. Haley did not come until 5th grade. You guys were very pat- lovingly accepted her, made her feel that she was part of your class- didn’t you guys? Did they treat you with love?

Haley: *You.*

Yes.

Wang *Laoshi*: *Wo ye ganjue dao. Suoyi ta shi wu nianji cai jinlai de, nimen dayue you tongqingxin, you aixin rang ta- huanying ta.*

I also felt that. So she did not come until 5th grade, Most of you guys were empathetic, had a loving heart, made her- welcomed her

The protagonists in this narrative were the students. She first reminded them that although most of them have been together since a young age, Haley did not join their class till much later (5th grade). The “until” (*cai*) highlights Haley’s late arrival. Wang *Laoshi* then stated that the students “had much love” (*hen you aixin*), accepted Haley, and made her feel like a member of the class. This was phrased as a tag question where an answer was not expected. She then immediately directed another tag question to Haley with the expected answer of “yes.” Want *Laoshi* reconfirmed her statement (I also felt that (*wo ye ganjue dao*)) and concluded that all the students had enough empathy (*tongqingxin*) and love (*aixin*) to welcome Haley into the class. This mini-narrative, then, served to rearticulate the earlier introduced general school policy of “inclusion” within an interpretative framework of Confucian moral concepts (*ren*, *renai*, *tongqingxin*, *aixin*).

Moreover, it positioned Confucian ethics as a set of values that aligns with school values, and is relevant and applicable to all the students. Confucius was talked about in a manner that allowed students to find significance in his teachings regardless of ethnicity. He was not talked about as a figure that is only relevant in “China” or to “Chinese people.” There was nothing in the teacher’s narrative or text that highlighted or emphasized his teachings as “Chinese.” Instead, Confucius and his ethics were presented as applicable to anyone, anytime, and anywhere. The classroom text and the teacher’s narratives worked to re-imagine an ancient part of Chinese culture as a set of values and beliefs that is relevant for many peoples around the world. Confucian ethics were reframed within a real event that the students had taken a part in. This created a tangible, practical application of such values to the students’ immediate lives.

This framing Chinese’s relevance and impact beyond China and Chinese-speaking areas was also evident in the 8th grade classroom. In the transcript below, a current parent and guest teacher (whom I will refer to as Dr. Loh), who is also a Chinese

medicine doctor makes frequent connections between his field and the world. Dr. Loh prepared a PowerPoint presentation and pointed at the slides and pictures as he gave his talk. In his overview of the history of Chinese medicine, he highlighted how its development has been influenced and shaped by other countries.

Classroom excerpt: The global development of Chinese medicine

Dr. Loh: *Qishi zhongyao a, bing bushi suoyou cong zhongguo lai de dongxi. (1.5) Ye you cong waiguo lai de. (1.5) Na shijie shang gege minzu zhijian zongshi you huxiang xuexi de. Wo xue ni de hao dongxi, ni ye xue wo de hao dongxi.*

Actually not all elements of Chinese medicine ah came from China. There are some that came from abroad. Now, in the world, all peoples have always learned from each other. I learn the good things you have to offer, and you learn the good things I have to offer.

Dr. Loh began this excerpt with a general statement, “not all elements of Chinese medicine came from China. There are some that came from abroad.” The use of a contrastive phrase, “actually not” (*bing bushi*), implied that he thought there was a general assumption by people or specifically the students in the class that all Chinese medicine is from China. His intention was to dispel this misconception by showing how the field’s development is not exclusive to one geographic location (China) and consequently, he demonstrated several points of interconnection between China and the world. Dr. Loh grounded his argument by first framing the idea of exchange as a universal process: “in the world, all peoples have always learned from each other.” The switch of subjects became more general from “Chinese medicine” to “all peoples” (*ge ge minzu*). And the field of exchange was also broadened (e.g., knowledge, technology, etc) as implied in the statement that people mutually learn “good things” from each other. The temporal adjective “always” (*zongshi*) wove this action into the entire history of mankind. Finally, exchange was framed as a mutually beneficial activity for all parties involved: “I learn the good things you have to offer, and you learn the good things I have to offer.”

Dr. Loh then continued by citing an example of exchange: Zheng He (1371-1435), a famous admiral during the Ming dynasty, made a total of seven expeditions between 1405 and 1430 (Gunde, 2004). He was able to reach as far as the Cape of Good Hope. The students had recently completed an entire unit on him.

Classroom excerpt: The voyages of Zheng He and Chinese medicine

Dr. Loh:*Zheng He lai xia xi yang a jiu cong Nanjing chufa. (1) Zhe yanwo zai nali de, zhe ge zhongyao? Yanwo jiu zai Nanyang cun dao zhe ge difang, Feilvbin a. (.5) Zhe ge Nanhai a, South China Sea na ge shi hen hao, minggui de buyao. Zheli dai hui lai. Hai you ne?...dangran shi yizhong shuzhi (.5) resin, from a tree. () zai na na xie alabo guojia Saudi Arabia jintian de sheme? Iraq, Iran zhe xie difang, yilan a zhe xie difang (.5) dai lai de. Dangran ne, Zheng He dai lai le changjinglu, feizhou a, sheme haiyou xiniujiao na xie dongxi hah...jieguo ta ye ba haoduo haoduo de yaocai a sheme dai hui lai, jieguo ba zhongguo de yao () fengfu le.*

... The voyage of Zheng He to the West ah started from Nanjing. Where is this swallow's nest from, this Chinese medicine? The swallow's nest is from a group of islands in the South China Sea, this place, the Philippines ((points at map))... This is very a very good, famous and expensive medicinal supplement. It was brought back from here. And what else is there? Of course there's a type of resin, from a tree. () It's from those Arab countries Saudi Arabia today's? Iraq, Iran, those places, it's brought back from those places. Of course, Zheng He brought back giraffes [from] Africa ah and rhinoceroses and those sort of things. Hah...In the end, he brought back a tremendous number of medicinal resources ah and as a result China's medicinal range became richer.

Although the students had already learned about Zheng He, they had not read about his contributions to Chinese medicine. Dr. Loh thus provided a new context for the students to understand the significance of Zheng He's voyages. Dr. Loh listed various geographic locations in his narrative. He began the journey in China (Nanjing) and then linked it to Southeast Asia (South China Sea, the Philippines). Next, he continued on to the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran), then to Africa and ended in China again as indicated by the directional verb and particle "brought back" (*dai lai*). Each geographic name spatially rooted the history of Chinese medicine. Dr. Loh also mentioned specific indigenous flora and fauna (swallow's nest, tree resin, giraffes and rhinoceroses). The selection of native materials and organisms reinforced the presence of multiple geographies in the development of Chinese medicine. The logical connector "as a result" (*jieguo*) tied the places and procured cargo with the outcome of enriching China's medicinal range. Dr. Loh's narrative thereby allowed the students to imagine Chinese medicine not as an isolated field that evolved within Chinese borders, but rather as a discipline that has been interconnected with other places and their local plants and animals.

In this lecture excerpt, Dr. Loh presented a new "face" of Chinese medicine while arguing that the field has gone beyond China's borders.

Classroom excerpt: The new face of Chinese medicine

Jintian de zhongyi jiaoyu ye bu zhi zai zhongguo le...zheyang peiyang le da pi de zhe ge yang zhongyi le. (.) Suoyi zhongyi bu yao ni ni kan jiu shi women zhe xie hei toufa (.) bian bizi de a. Haiyou huang toufa de ye you le. Gao bizi ye you le.
Today's Chinese medicine education is no longer just in China anymore...In this way [Chinese medicine schools offering graduate degrees] have trained a large number of Caucasian Chinese medicine doctors. So, don't just look at Chinese medicine as a bunch of black hair, flat nosed people ah. There are now blond haired [practitioners] as well. Now, there are also prominent nosed [practitioners].

In this excerpt, Dr. Loh began by locating Chinese medicine education in the present with a time word "today" (*jintian*) and a possessive particle (*de*). The use of "no longer" (*bu zai*) and the past particle "*le*" highlighted the breakaway from solely being a China-located discipline. Hence a comparison was drawn between points of time (past vs. present) and space (China vs. world).

He then talked about several educational institutions outside of Asia before describing Chinese medicine education in the U.S. (not in the excerpt above). Next, he proceeded to tell the students that these universities have graduated a large number of Caucasian (as referenced by “Western” (*yang*)) Chinese medicine doctors. The adjective “large” (*da*) in front of “number of Western Chinese medicine doctors” implied that the number of non-Chinese medical students is significant. He followed this with a command, as indicated by “don’t do” (*bu yao*). He told them to not assume that Chinese medicine is only practiced by black hair, flat nosed people like himself as referenced by the “we” (*women*). He then associated blond hair and prominent noses with a new group of Chinese medicine doctors. The adverb “also” (*ye*) employed in conjunction with the past particle “*le*” suggested that this is an addition to the demographics of Chinese medicine practitioners that has already taken place – it has become a norm. Hence, in contrast to the homogenous “past faces” of Chinese medicine, the “modern faces” of the profession were re-imagined as more diverse (or at least, there are more Caucasians in the field now). Chinese medicine’s relevance was thus positioned as a respected and desirable field that is confined neither within national nor ethnic borders. At the same time, Dr. Loh racialized all Westerners and Chinese people as having distinct physical features (blond hair, prominent noses versus black hair, flat noses). There also seemed to be a tension between the past and present, fueling an attempt to breakaway from how Chinese medicine was viewed as an exclusive, isolated field. This was expressed in his multiple contrasts between Chinese medicine in the past with its present development.

In the final excerpt, Dr. Loh concluded his previous section on Chinese medicine education by saying that Chinese medicine is a part of world cultural heritage.

Classroom excerpt: World cultural heritage

... Yeah suoyi xianzai zhongyi ne...jiu shuo women yijing zou chu shijie le,
chengwei shijie de (2) wenhuyichan le.

... Yeah, so Chinese medicine today... [we] can say that we have gone out into the world and have become a world cultural heritage.

The “so” or “therefore” (*suoyi*) functioned to indicate the conclusion, the main point of everything he had been mentioning before (the history and current development of Chinese medicine). The long history of exchange that has contributed to Chinese medicine’s development and the diverse student population it currently attracts are evidence that Chinese medicine has “gone out into the world” (*zou chu shijie le*). In fact, he claimed that it has transitioned, as indicated by “have become” (*chengwei*), into a world cultural heritage. This statement echoed its recent inclusion in UNESCO’s (2010) list of intangible cultural heritages. Moreover, it clearly expresses Chinese medicine’s global relevance and status.

In sum, the excerpts of Dr. Loh’s lecture showed how aspects of Chinese culture can be reframed as crossing geographic and ethnic boundaries, linking different peoples and things all over the world. In such cases, what used to be thought of as belonging exclusively to the Chinese heritage is reassigned to world culture – through a blending of the global perspective discourse and the China-as-a-rising-power discourses.

Hierarchical comparisons – challenges to cultivating equal respect

As described in the previous chapters, there are always difficulties and areas of tension in creating and sustaining a discourse. The classroom is no exception. In this section, I will present one of the challenges that frequently arose. The first few examples I discuss come from the 7th grade class on writing letters to Sichuan (analyzed earlier in this chapter) and the others from an 8th grade lesson on the environment.

During the session, Wang *Laoshi* and her TA both explicitly reminded the students several times that the letter had to be written in simplified characters. For this activity, the two teachers only wrote simplified characters (they normally write traditional) on the wipe board. Both teachers only provided the simplified version when students asked how to write a character. The choice of writing system is significant because it indexes certain Chinese-speaking communities and excludes others. In this case, the use of simplified characters references a Mainland Chinese community. This was made explicit when Wang *Laoshi* explained to one of the students that they have to use simplified “because they [the Sichuan students] are in China” (*yinwei tamen zai zhongguo*).

Classroom excerpt: Limited numbers of simplified characters

Wang *Laoshi*: *Bushi mei ge zi dou you jiantizi. Zhi you liangqianliangbaier shou you jiantizi.*

Not every character has a simplified version. Only 2200 characters have simplified versions.

Note how Wang *Laoshi* chose the general word for “character” (*zi*) instead of the specific term “traditional character” (*fantizi*) to refer to traditional characters. In contrast, she used the specific term for simplified characters (*jiantizi*). The selection of a general term as a lexical substitute (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) for traditional characters implied that they are the “original” from which simplified characters are “derived.” Moreover, she explicitly stated that there is not a simplified version for all characters. The number 2200 that she cited stands in stark contrast to the some 47,000 entries found in modern-day dictionaries. The use of “only” (*zhi*) served to emphasize the triviality of simplified characters in relation to the sea of traditional characters. Some may argue that she was simply stating the facts since simplified characters were developed from traditional characters and are fewer in number. However, the following excerpt seemed to strongly counter this interpretation of neutrality.

Later in the class, Wang *Laoshi* added some commentary when she wrote the simplified version for the word intimate (*qin*).

Classroom excerpt: The pluses of traditional characters

Wang *Laoshi*: *Hao, qinren de qin you jiantizi, danshi zhe ge jiantizi ne bu meili.*

S: ()

Wang *Laoshi*: *yinwei zhe ge jianti- yinwei fantizi shi zheyang (1) zhe shi shengyin ((points to the left side)) zhe shi kanjian ((points to the right side)). Ni kanjian yi ge ren ni dui tamen hen qin. Zhe ge jiantizi shi ni kan bu dao ren ne. Ren meiyole, ni zenme qin?*

Wang Laoshi: Ok, the word “intimate,” which appears in the compound “intimate-person” (i.e., relative) has a simplified version, but this simplified character isn’t beautiful.

S: ()

Wang Laoshi: Because this simplified- because traditional characters are like this, this is the sound [phonetic element] ((points to the left side)), and this [element] means “to see” ((points to the right side)). When you see a person, you will treat them intimately. This simplified character [which has dropped the radical that indicates vision] is one [in which] you can’t see the person. If the person has disappeared [because you can’t see him/her], then how can you be intimate?

Again, by saying that the (traditional) character “*qin*” has a simplified version, she reinforced the idea that simplified is a derivative and traditional is the original. And as aforementioned, this arguably could be understood as a neutral fact. However, in the second phrase of her statement, she introduced a value statement. First, the contrastive conjunction “but” (*danshi*) introduced a counter-assumption about characters. In Chinese culture, writing is as much appreciated for its aesthetic beauty as it is for its practical uses (Harris, 2002). The “but” signaled that simplified characters break this assumed quality; they do not carry any aesthetic beauty. In her subsequent elaboration, she first pointed out the advantage of the traditional character for its inclusion of both phonetic and semantic elements, physically indicating the radical for pronunciation (*shengyin*) and the radical for meaning (*kanjian*). *Wang Laoshi* then used a statement to describe the logic behind the traditional character (When you see a person, you will treat them intimately) and a rhetorical question to critique the illogic of the simplified version (If the person has disappeared, how can you be intimate?). Both sentence structures suggested that *Wang Laoshi* assumed the listener agreed with her argument. Hence, she positively framed the ability of traditional characters to convey meaning more transparently.

Wang Laoshi’s comments call up decades of heated debates over traditional and simplified characters (Chen, 2010). The above example closely mirrors arguments that traditional characters not only transmit more meaning, but also cultural traits (Deng, 2009). Many proponents claim that traditional characters reflect “an accumulated legacy of cultural information” (Deng, 2009, p. 71) whereas simplified characters have “greatly weakened the cultural implication of Chinese characters.” They argue that traditional characters allow people to better understand China’s millennia of history, culture and civilization. Nevertheless, simplified characters also have advantages. Supporters explain that they are easier to remember, analyze and write because they have less strokes (Dai, 2010). Simplified characters have also helped facilitate the learning of characters for university foreign language students. This voice is markedly absent from *Wang Laoshi*’s explanation and remained silent in all my other classroom observations.

While *Wang Laoshi* made no explicit remarks about social differences, she did highlight and judge linguistic differences. Moreover, the prioritization of traditional characters was also reflected in the order in which the writing systems were employed in written materials and teacher writing practices. Traditional characters were always presented first, followed by simplified characters. *Wang Laoshi* and *Zhuang Laoshi* first wrote traditional characters and then put simplified characters in brackets. In fact, they usually wrote on the board, typed and corrected with traditional characters. The order and

extent of traditional characters in classroom materials and writing practices signaled its relative importance. Still, it would be a stretch to claim that the linguistic differences that were created through these acts were instances of what Gal and Irvine (1995) call iconization, a semiotic process where “linguistic practices that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them – as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group’s inherent nature or essence” (p. 973). Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that judgments made on language could easily become critiques of social qualities. In addition, the above and following examples provided evidence of another type of semiotic differentiating process that Gal and Irvine call recursiveness – “the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (p. 974). When such distinctions are made at different levels, they are “seen to recur across categories of varying generality” (Wee, 2002, p. 202).

The next example involves a different type of linguistic feature - pronunciation (or accent), another marker of language varieties and their speech communities. This excerpt also comes from the 8th grade class and involves a short commentary on the difference between the Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese pronunciation of the word “garbage.” Zhuang *Laoshi* explained to the students that garbage is pronounced as “la1ji1” in China (*zhongguo*) and “le4se4” in Taiwan (*Taiwan*). Her explanation was thus far factual and objective. However, in the below excerpt, she explained that the Mainland pronunciation came about through an error.

Classroom excerpt: La1ji1 came from a mispronunciation

Zhuang *Laoshi*: *Zhe shi (2.5) qishi (1) wo bu shi zai shuo sheme, wo de liaojie shi (1) biaozhun nianfa yinggai shi le4se4. Name houlai weisheme you ren hui nian la1ji1 ne? yinwei (.) yinwei you bian du bian. Tamen zhe ge zi bu renshi de shihou jiu xiang zheyang o zhe ge le jiu dai yi ge shoubian da le. Ranhou zhe ge shi (.5) bu hui de zi jiu niancheng tamen ting (dao) de yi ge ji2 le biancheng la1ji1 le.*

This is, actually I’m not suggesting anything, my understanding is that the standard pronunciation is le4se4. So, later why are there people who say la1ji1? Because because [you] pronounce the character by the parts of it⁸. They, when they don’t know a word they’re like this, oh! [I’ll] use a radical to read this “le.” So, the word that they didn’t know became read as a ji2 that they heard and it became la1ji1.

Zhuang *Laoshi* prefaced her statement by saying that she was not insinuating anything. This suggests that she thought that her explanation might have been taken the wrong way. It is possible that she feared her students would interpret the Mainland pronunciation as inferior, uneducated and born out of ignorance. There was nothing that strongly indicated the students thought negatively of Mainland pronunciation. However the point is that it demonstrated her awareness of possible misunderstanding. She began

⁸ The majority of Chinese characters are composed of parts called radicals where one radical may indicate the pronunciation, and the other, the meaning (Shu, Chen, Anderson, Wu, & Xuan, 2003). While using radicals to figure out meaning is usually reliable, relying on radicals for pronunciation is less predictable because many radicals have multiple pronunciations. You cannot ever figure out the precise meaning of a character based on the lexical indicator: you can only make a good educated guess about the semantic category it belongs to (e.g., characters with grass radicals probably have something to do with plants).

her explanation by describing the Taiwanese pronunciation of “le4se4” as standard. Again, this is prefaced by a “my understanding,” which qualified her interpretation as possibly erroneous. Then she stated that people began saying “la1ji1” because of a mistake. Other people who also did not know the character repeated the wrong pronunciation until it became regular usage. Her prefaces certainly softened the value judgment of the different pronunciations to some degree. However, the implications were still there. The Taiwanese pronunciation is standard. The Mainland pronunciation is not. Moreover, the Mainland pronunciation stemmed from a mistake, a lack of knowledge of the “correct” pronunciation. The same logic could extend to the speakers especially since the subject was “people” (*ren*). Taiwanese people speak the word properly because they were knowledgeable. Mainlanders do not because they were ignorant.

The idea of standard language was continued in Zhuang *Laoshi*'s comments on AXC's usage of traditional characters.

Classroom excerpt: AXC has and still uses traditional characters

Zhuang *Laoshi*: *Keshi women xuexiao you yi ge (1) bu chengren de guiding jiu shi wo zai women de xuexiao () kan guo de () women zhengshi de (.) zhengshi de biaoyu huo sheme de shihou, huozhe fa gei jiazhang de wenjian de shihou, women yong de shi fantizi. (1)*

S*: Oh o

Zhuang *Laoshi*: But our school has an unrecognized rule, that is I in our school () have seen () when we () our official official placards or whatever, or when we send parents documents, what we use are traditional characters.

S*: Oh o

Zhuang *Laoshi* first told the students that they have to learn both pronunciations and writing systems. However, the contrastive conjunction “but” (*keshi*) seems to imply that even though the students are supposed to learn both, the two writing systems are not equally used. Only traditional characters are used within the domain of official school communications. It is an unspoken (or “unacknowledged”) (*bu chengren de guiding*) rule because the overt favoring of one writing system over another would run counter to the discourse of cosmopolitanism that values all languages and cultures. It could also make supporters of simplified characters feel marginalized. The students' response of “oh o” as an expression of misconduct seemed to show that students were aware that such a prioritization would contradict the goal of equal treatment. Despite this, Zhuang *Laoshi* still pointed out traditional characters as the preferred writing system in official usage. Moreover, the phrase ‘what we use is traditional characters’ (*women yong de shi fantizi*) is more emphatic than merely saying, “we use traditional characters” (*women yong fantizi*); in this case, the emphasis suggested a certain pride in the decision to use traditional characters. It seems as if it is a subtle challenge to the growing presence of simplified characters and an attempt at maintaining the “more prestigious” position of traditional characters. Hence, we see the same idea of linguistic differentiation recurring in comments on pronunciation and writing systems.

Such short comments on characters may seem minute; however, they clearly represent very different framings of writing systems. They create a hierarchization of writing systems that could potentially be mapped onto the language varieties and speech

communities that they index. They engender a ladder of prestige that goes against the school's commitment to value all languages and their varieties. That all three middle school teachers are Taiwanese certainly may affect this goal. Blommaert (2005) argued in his analysis of an academic workshop on the Warsaw Uprising documents that the missing voices of the Soviets indicated that only one side of the story -- one discourse -- was being presented. In the same vein, while I am certainly not suggesting that we can simplistically lump the teachers together, the *absence* of a Mainland or overseas Chinese voice may hamper efforts to build a diversified understanding of Chinese.

The historical conflict between China and Taiwan and the different discourses their language varieties represent may be reasons for their particular presentations. The main point is that comparisons drawn between the two systems and language varieties are rarely factual explanations. Instead, more often than not, they constitute value judgments on those varieties. In the case of Chinese language education, choices concerning which writing system ought to be used, how they should be employed, and which language varieties ought to be employed must be made. Since language varieties and writing systems index different communities and discourses, there is tension and struggle when selections must be made because the choices have implications that stretch beyond language. Indeed, in interviews with parents and teachers, many mentioned past and current struggles and tension over which writing system, phonetic system and textbooks ought to be used. As Bakhtin (1981) argues, "there are no "neutral" words and forms – words and forms that can belong to "no one"; language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents" (p. 293). The main point is that what may seem like an innocent commentary on something that seems trivial (characters, pronunciation, etc) is connected to larger discourses and power. Such instances also showcase moments of tension and limitations to achieving an ideal cosmopolitan outlook on all languages and their varieties.

In this chapter, I have illustrated how classroom texts, practices and speech work in tandem to produce, challenge or transform existing discourses. They function to create alternative histories and nurture school-sanctioned identities. At the same time, there were areas of conflict. Value judgments were made on language varieties and writing systems through teacher discourse, practices and classroom texts. These served to hierarchize their respective value despite the school's ideal of equal respect for all languages and their varieties. Although AXC is re-imagining Chinese language and culture, it still faces various obstacles to realizing its ideals.

Chapter Seven **Designing a new discourse**

In this chapter, I examined mission statements to investigate 1) which discourses the school has created and officially endorses and 2) which discourses have influenced AXC's imaginings. Mission statements are important documents that reveal institutional ideals (Freeman, 1998). I then analyzed participant interviews to obtain individual member perspectives and interpretations of AXC's educational mission. Analysis revealed that there were three major discourses (outlined in Chapter Four): 1) Chinese-(American)-as-second-class, 2) China-as-a-rising-power, and 3) global education, language and culture discourses. This is not to say that there are no other discourses that

have impacted AXC. Rather, I have purposefully focused on these discourses because they seemed to most frequently emerge from the data. This section is also guided by the following questions: 1) How does the school conceptualize education? 2) How does the school envision bilingual education as a means of reaching its educational goals? and 3) What is the imagining and role of Chinese in achieving its mission? I begin with presenting the school's tripartite educational mission statement:

A Focused Mission: Educate the Whole Student Building Knowledge, Character and Perspective

AXC educates students for academic excellence, moral character and international perspective through immersion in American and Chinese culture and language.

The AXC program prepares students to:

- Graduate with bilingual, biliterate and bicultural skills
- Demonstrate intellectual curiosity that inspires a lifelong love of learning
- Exhibit diligence and resiliency
- Contribute to society, family and peers with a sincere desire to lead and be of service
- Commit to preserving the global environment and improving the human condition

AXC also claims that students will develop: 1) "...enhanced learning capacity and intellectual flexibility from studying in two languages, 2) moral character, emotional and social maturity, 3) an international perspective that transcends national boundaries, and 4) a foundation for active participation and leadership in the modern world (*ibid*)."

Question one asks how AXC views education. What is education for? More specifically, what does education for a global world mean? The mission statement seems to reflect several discourses of global education, language and culture with significant influence from Confucian values. The focus is on producing global citizens that have many of the characteristics associated with cosmopolitanism (preserving global environment, improving human condition, etc) and global perspective (international perspective, bilingual, biliterate, bicultural skills). Intellectual curiosity, lifelong learning, diligence, moral character and contributing to society, family and peers are possibly influenced by Confucian values (J. Li, 2003). In fact, the Chinese program explicitly incorporates the teaching of Confucian ethics in every grade level (e.g., various sections of the Analects are taught in the middle school while stories about Confucius are told in the elementary school). Moreover both Chinese program directors equated character education as part of Chinese culture. At AXC, the discourses of global perspective and cosmopolitanism are not in conflict with Confucian-influenced ethics. Rather, they both contribute to the school's interpretation and implementation of moral education. Both educators and parents expressed a strong belief and commitment in moral education. The interim principal explained, "You just don't educate them you teach them values...that's all about the mission of the school."

What values ought to be taught? The discourses of cosmopolitanism and global perspective show a strong influence in determining which values ought to be officially included. As suggested above, Confucian ethics may have played a role. But in this study,

I concentrated the analysis on global education, language and culture discourses. One of the values that came up in nearly every interview was intercultural understanding - understanding and recognizing that different peoples and cultures have morals different from the students' immediate communities. This was often cast as the cornerstone of AXC's moral education: "I think that's where international perspective comes in. I think...people have to learn what moral character means to other cultures too" (Mr. Riley, 8th grade English teacher). In line with the global perspective discourse, the former principal defined international perspective as:

the ability to step back, to see things as others see them. Um it doesn't mean you have to agree and it doesn't mean that you have to do things a certain way. But it means that you have an appreciation and an understanding for the fact that people look at things differently. (Mr. Phillips, Principal)

At AXC, encouraging students to realize that there are different ways of seeing and doing is important.

But an international perspective entails more than just appreciating different perspectives. It also means taking action to help people and assuming global citizenship. Hence, at AXC, international perspective blends the discourses of global perspective and cosmopolitanism. Participants explained that being a world citizen means being a person who will make the world a better place – someone who not only appreciates differences, but also will use their knowledge and skills to help others.

It [global citizenship] means to be aware but also means to at on some level to care and feel personally invested and to feel personally responsible to help out somehow. I mean like the earthquake in Haiti. Um I feel like if you're a strong global citizen, you would know about it but you would also care like you would try to find out a way how you can mobilize the people around you to help you out whether it is just donating or like educating others or anything like that. (Elaine, former student/current staff member)

Education's role in nurturing such global citizens is to provide the cultural competence and understanding that is necessary for making a real difference in contexts that are different from the one you grew up in (more on this below). Participants believe that without relevant knowledge and skills, efforts may be more harmful than helpful:

Suoyi bu guang shi ni hui shuoshuohua qu gen tamen goutong erqie shi ni yao zhidao tamen de wenhua shi nayangzi. Ranhou ni qu lijie tamen, ranhou ni cai zhidao yao ruhe qu bangzhu tamen.

So, it's not only about you being able to talk and communicate with them; rather it's also about you knowing that their culture is that way. It is then that you can understand them and when you will know how to help them. (Wu Laoshi, 1st grade Chinese teacher)

In fact, to further their commitment to social service education, the school recently created a new position called the Director of Diversity. This person will be responsible

for creating and supporting social service education in the classroom. She will also develop and run community service projects. Becoming a world citizen from AXC's perspective, then, is not just the idea of flexible citizenship (Mitchell, 2001; Ong, 1999b), which highlights the individual's ability to adapt in multiple contexts but showing no particular allegiance to any one nation. To be a world citizen from AXC's perspective draws on cosmopolitan and global perspective discourses. Global citizens understand the world's diversity and are committed to improving conditions for all human beings. This highlights person to society relationships and not just individual development.

Question two asks how the school envisions bilingual education accomplishing their educational goals: academic success, moral character and international perspective. Nearly all the interviewees, adults and students, mentioned the cognitive benefits of second language acquisition. They shared extensively with me about how SLA is associated with brain and skill development. They explained how Chinese specifically can yield a broader range of skills than Romance languages like French or Spanish. In fact, most of the participants believe that the more different a second language is from the first, the more benefits you can potentially gain. The Chinese Program Elementary School Director, Fang Laoshi, provided a summary of typically cited benefits: 1) learning math in Chinese allows you to understand the concepts from another perspective since the language structures numbers differently, 2) writing Chinese allows you to use different muscles and motions, 3) speaking Chinese helps you to exercise various parts of your mouth and tongue because the pronunciation varies considerably from English, and 4) learning Chinese will permit students to develop cognitively in unique ways because the linguistic structure is linked to different parts of the brain.

Although participants did not directly state the phrase "academic excellence," cognitive and skill development can affect academic performance. Interview responses and learning outcomes listed in official documents (e.g., "enhanced learning capacity" and "intellectual flexibility from studying in two languages") strongly suggest AXC believes academic achievement is enhanced through the process of becoming bilingual.

Furthermore, many participants, like former parent-school board member Rachel, stated that second language acquisition is not only good for the brain, but also will lead to sophisticated intercultural understanding:

Well I think learning a second language is great for the brain. You understand language better and you know how things are just arbitrarily determined...so this way you wouldn't laugh at another language because it sounded funny. Because you've learned another language intimately you know this is how languages work. Whereas if you've never had the chance to uh study a second language uh people say, "Oh gee that sounds funny" or they laugh at somebody who speaks a funny language you know? So you just understand how languages work. They get a perspective on language, grammar, all of those rules of just you know, that's just the way it is, it's just set up this way, you know? It's that meta-understanding of um languages and then also this spills over into understanding of cultures.

SLA and bilingual education are framed as instrumental for developing an international perspective. Participants think that the learning of another language and culture naturally

leads to developing respect for other peoples, cultures, and languages. The first step in this process is to make comparisons with cultures that diverge from your own:

Because every culture's a paradigm, it has all kind of assumptions and everything in it. So it becomes so second nature you never question your own paradigm. But if you can go outside of it, and uh look at another paradigm, another culture then it's easier for you to say well this is an assumption in our culture, not something that's you know the way it has to be but really just the way people want it to be. And then you go from there so it's much easier I think to understand one culture if you know two cultures. (Chen-lun, former parent/board member)

Through making comparisons, you are then able to reexamine your own culture and change your first discourse. This is what Gee (1996) called critical thinking, the ability to compare and contrast. Ellen, a former parent and board member, metaphorically described this process as “pricking cultural bubbles.”

Well I think...part of being bilingual, bicultural is that you've expanded your world to more than just one culture where you don't even know that other cultures have different worldviews. And um once you sort of burst that bubble, you're pricking that cultural bubble that people have when you're in one culture, they [students] probably I would suspect, suspend judgments of other people based on...how you were uh taught and how you grew up...You are probably more willing to risk um finding out about other cultures. Uh you're much more open.

The outcome of comparing and contrasting is the recognition that there are multiple worldviews. This understanding then prompts individuals to hold back their prejudices and to begin taking an interest in the world. Jian *Laoshi*, the 6th grade Chinese teacher, said that students come to realize people act differently because they will eventually understand that “[other people’s] environment...culture and value system is different from [yours]” (*ta de huanjing...wenhua, ta de jiaziguan haiyou ta shi* where you come from different). Zhuang *Laoshi*, the 8th grade Chinese teacher, added that not only should students develop this type of perspective, but they should also “care about every living thing in this world” (*yao guanhui renhe yi ge zhege shijie shang, diqiu shang renhe yige shengwu*) and help others. Caring, though, is not limited to a feeling or emotional connection. It involves taking action: “You can use your languages...to help other people or solve some challenging problems” (Hao *Laoshi*, 4th grade Chinese teacher). Hence, part of becoming bilingual and bicultural entails learning to be socially and globally responsible, having a cosmopolitan commitment to all of humankind. Bilingual people have a tolerant and open perspective and will use their bilingual and bicultural skills to help others. This discourse blends global perspective and cosmopolitanism discourses (emphasizing understanding, empathy and action) and positions bilingual and multicultural education as the key to nurturing global citizens.

Student responses strongly suggest that they understand their bilingual and multicultural education at AXC encourages them to be tolerant, open-minded and accepting of different worldviews.

...I think really, it's [education] preparing us well, I think ummm, learning not only Chinese but learning about the culture really helps because that helps kids umm think with like it-they won't maybe be as prejudiced against people of uhh different heritage or different race because we'll already have gone over this stuff and we've been taught to be open and we've been taught, you know, to be diverse I guess and like, so I think it... really eliminates a lot of prejudice. (Haley)

In fact, many of the students explained that being bilingual means having the ability and desire to understand and respect other peoples, cultures and languages. Bilingualism also provides students with a broader perspective of how the world operates.

Being bilingual is it's a big deal because you can interpret different cultures and umm I guess you- it encourages you to be a more open minded in things... and, just understanding the culture gives you a bigger mind and a wider range of possibilities for you to think about. (Tammy)

In sum, bilingual education and Chinese language and culture education are cast as the conduits through which students become global citizens. Of course, having an international perspective is not the only defining attribute of global citizenship. Almost all participants said that to be a global citizen, one must be able to speak a second language. As one of the founders explained, "Many of us have known all along the importance of Mandarin and bilingual education. You can be the greatest speaker in English but you are not a citizen of the world." This, too, is consistent with global education, language and culture discourses that claim multilingualism and multiculturalism are essential for today's global citizen.

Question three asks how the school imagines Chinese and its role in education. Before directly addressing the question, I take another look at school propaganda to discuss how it is a response and a challenge to discourses and political economic conditions. These are examples of "understandable contrasts," alternative imaginings that noticeably differ from mainstream discourses. It was clear that these documents not only function to present a certain view of education, but they were also designed to establish the school's credibility as an institution that cultivates academic success and interesting and fulfilling careers. The future is repeatedly emphasized in school documents. Words like "preparing," "equipping," "global future" and employment of the future tense direct the reader's attention to what is to come. The importance placed on "future" suggests that education is framed as an investment, something that will continue to yield returns such as opportunities to "study and work in China," "enjoy exciting careers in the U.S. that draw on their bilingual education," gain a "foundation for participation and leadership in the world," "enter into leading high schools and universities," and be "equip[ped] with lifelong language, intellectual and citizenship skills that enable them [students] to meet the challenges and opportunities of a global future." In each annual report and many of the bi-weekly newsletters, alumni reports are featured. These updates, usually written by the alumni themselves, are often about their experience at AXC. They inform the reader that these alumni have continued to develop and use their bilingual and bicultural skills. They usually feature pictures of them abroad in various countries. These updates seem to

concurrently function as testimonials, proof that an education at AXC will lead to exciting and meaningful futures that are not contained within U.S. borders.

Some may argue that the wording is merely part of the school's marketing of itself. However, we must take into consideration the historical context of Chinese as a second-class language and culture, how bilingualism is viewed as anti-American within the English monolingualism as American ideology (Pavlenko, 2002; Ricento, 2005) and how bilingual education is generally considered as a means of "solving" language problems (Ruiz, 1984). Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Three, AXC has had to fight a long, arduous uphill battle to prove that bilingual and Chinese language education can yield benefits and advantages. Hence, the persuasive language employed cannot be written off as purely a business strategy. By citing various types of evidence, the school offers an alternative discourse that challenges these discourses of discrimination that deem English development as the ultimate educational goal and Chinese as not appropriate or desirable for second language education. Such an approach builds the case for its own discourse that bilingual and Chinese language education are valuable, desirable and necessary.

It is no coincidence that the school includes information about bilingualism, Chinese language education and immersion education. In the brochure about the advantages of bilingualism, they include questions and answers such as the following:

Q: What are the advantages of a bilingual education?

A: Studies show that early learning experiences influence brain development. Therefore students who learn a second language are ahead analytically and conceptually...

Q: Why is it important to learn Mandarin?

A: ...Mandarin is the official Chinese dialect of China and Taiwan. It is the most commonly taught Chinese dialect in Asian countries and in colleges and universities around the world. Mandarin Chinese is also the dominant language for commerce and culture in East Asia. Economic ties between China and the U.S. are rapidly increasing...

The school also provides various academic, educational, linguistic, cognitive, economic, political and sociocultural benefits of immersion education such as the following.

Academic/educational benefits: Decades of research on English-speaking immersion students of various academic abilities shows that these learners are capable of achieving high levels of functional proficiency in the immersion language while at the same time achieving academically at or above their non-immersion peers on standardized tests administered in English.

If such information were widely known and readily accepted, the school would not need to make, as they write on one of their brochures, "[a] case for AXC" (*italics added*). Such promotional material is written for parents of any ethnic background who are curious about bilingualism, immersion education or Chinese language education. They may not know much about bilingualism or Chinese language education and have concerns about

their child's development and academic success. They may need to be convinced of the importance of second and Chinese language education.

Notice that school documents highlight national and global contexts and China to substantiate its claims. It draws on the national security, global labor and China-as-a-rising-power discourses to emphasize the importance of the kind of education it offers. Bilingual education in general has risen in popularity because "today's children...will be entering an increasingly connected world and workforce." Hence, "in an increasingly global economy...speaking more than one language is not only an asset, but more and more a necessity." The future world is imagined as a tight-knit community where bilingualism is a form of convertible economic, cultural and social capital.

These texts also frame Chinese language and culture education as a means of preparing students to maneuver in a global society. The rise of China, the need for multilingual and multicultural skills in a global world, and the tightening relationship between the U.S. and the world are all included as reasons to enroll children into AXC. Moreover these discourses are drawn upon to re-imagine Chinese as a world language, a language of "global importance." The rationale for Chinese's global status is based on the perception that China is a country of rising international significance. School documents argue that the sharp increase in the demand for Chinese language programs is due to "China, a rising economic and political power on the world stage." Of course, China is also significant for the U.S. as relations between the two countries continue to grow more intimate.

...the relationship between the United States and China will be one of the principal factors in the success of a global community. As a result, those fluent in Mandarin and English will be high in demand as they make enormous contributions to the economic, political and cultural well being of both the United States and China.

The above statement positively combines the China-as-a-rising-power and national security discourses. It affirms the importance of Chinese to the U.S. and the world while framing Chinese-English bilingualism as equally beneficial to both nations. First, Chinese-English bilinguals are more competitive in the global labor market. Second, their skills will help assure China and US's future development. In this framing, AXC does not define Chinese as a world language in the sense that it is spoken all over the world. Rather, it is positioned as a world language because of its symbolic capital. Such a framing is possible because the geopolitical importance of the Chinese language "determine[s] its relative market worth as a 'resource'" (Ricento, 2005, p. 363). It commodifies the Chinese language and Chinese-English bilinguals as "strategic assets." The educational role of Chinese language education, then, encompasses equipping students with the "ability to compete" and "to fully participate in the global economy in the future" (Shu-lian, director of the AXC Institute).

In the above analysis, I argued that school documents and participants view bilingualism and bilingual education as important for achieving its educational goals. Here, I claim that this perspective extends to Chinese language education in particular. Chinese, along with the English language program, is used to shape students' minds to be open to languages, cultures and perspectives that are different from their own.

Most teachers here agree that the goal of Chinese cultural lessons is not to turn students into Chinese culture experts. Rather, the purpose of AXC's bicultural curriculum is to prepare students to navigate and appreciate different cultures and value systems that they will encounter throughout their lives.

Thus, it is expected that the study of Chinese will lead to the pursuit and appreciation of other languages, cultures and perspectives. School newsletters and official reports always feature sections about current students and alumni learning new languages and cultures in other countries. One student mentioned, "It [AXC] made me interested in learning new languages." Most remarked that their education at AXC helped them "to understand the importance of learning about new and different cultures," encouraged their "openness to learn more about the world," "to appreciate other languages and cultures to a high degree" and to be "more willing to accept different traditions and customs."

Consequently, they are "able to adapt to new environments." Learning Chinese gave them a different perspective such as how "'challenging' can have multiple definitions." Teachers like Zhuang *Laoshi*, explained that students can use their Chinese language and literacy skills for the benefit of Chinese-speaking communities around the world.

Students said that they can act as translators and write in both languages to reach out to larger audiences. Hence, the role of Chinese language education includes shaping students' imagining of the world by giving them an in-depth appreciation of an alternative perspective. Students are assumed to extrapolate their experience of going through the Chinese language program on to languages and cultures around the world. They are expected to utilize their linguistic skills to lend a helping hand. While this re-imagining of Chinese draws on macro discourses (China-as-a-rising-power, global perspective and cosmopolitan discourses), it provides a slightly new way of conceptualizing Chinese that does not belong exclusively to any particular discourse.

For participants with some Chinese ethnic background, this alternative imagining of Chinese is also a means of countering the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse. As nearly half of AXC's student population is of Asian decent, the majority of those being Chinese, this is certainly an important issue. Many of the Chinese American parents who were either born in the U.S. or came over at a very young age experienced racism and the pressure to assimilate from their parents and mainstream society. These individuals did not want their children to struggle with their Chinese and American identities.

So being American born, I know that it's very difficult for ethnic Chinese to really get a handle on their heritage and their identity because ... when most Americans or non-Asians look at us, my perception is that they see a Chinese first and it's only once we speak, then they think well maybe she's American too...And so then this issue of self-identity can be a big issue. Whether you deal with it or don't deal with it, it's there in the foreground, or in the midground or the background. So I didn't want my children to have issues about their heritage or their identity either as Chinese or as Americans. So that's one of the reasons why I wanted the children to go there [AXC]. (Catherine, former parent/board member)

These parents wanted Chinese, as an ethnic identity, to be on par with an American identity -- a direct challenge to the discourse of Chinese (American)-as-second-class. In addition, they wanted their children to have a positive Chinese language learning experience. Many shared how they strongly disliked heritage language programs. They also believed that students never develop language skills in these schools. One Chinese American mother said that it wasn't "real school." Although many of these participants had unsavory Chinese language education memories, they were not dissuaded from wanting their children to learn a second language. Instead, it fueled these parents' desire to re-imagine the Chinese language learning experience into a meaningful and satisfying one. Ellen, a former parent/board member explained that by going to a school where "history, Chinese culture, language...mathematics...science, everything was taught in Chinese, you don't get the sense that this is a second-class language or culture or something." These participants believe that making Chinese an everyday language of instruction for content-based subjects legitimizes its value.

Unlike the Chinese back in the 1960s and 70s, for these parents, cultural exposure was not enough (Lai, 2004). They wanted their children to develop strong language and literacy skills. This was one of the reasons for sending them to an immersion program instead of a heritage language (HL) program. They believe that more time is necessary for language development. AXC's instructional time is 30-50% in Chinese everyday whereas HL programs are typically once a week on the weekends or a few times after school. As the interim principal observed, for many of these 1.5 and subsequent Chinese American generations, having their children go to AXC is "a kind of rebirth for both parents and the kids," an opportunity to re-imagine Chinese as valuable, not inferior.

Parents born outside of the U.S. also felt strongly about their children learning their language and maintaining their heritage. Although they did not experience the same discrimination as earlier immigrants, they were aware of mainstream discourses on Chinese. Chi-Ling, a former parent, current board member from Taiwan, said that it was important for her son to "understand that it was ok that he didn't really have to be White...Caucasian or Western to be accepted...that was one of the reason that we wanted [him] to learn Chinese, we wanted him to know it's ok, it's good to be Chinese." Students like Kim expressed an awareness that had she not gone to AXC, she would have been "more Americanized, I wouldn't speak Chinese, I wouldn't be able to do a lot of the things I do like read chi- watch Chinese TV shows or any of that." Every single student expressed pride in his or her Chinese proficiency and knowledge of Chinese culture. This serves to show that AXC's education has certainly achieved some success in re-imagining Chinese as valuable and meaningful for its students. Moreover, this pride is not limited to students of Chinese ethnicity, but to all students as non-Chinese students also claimed pride in their knowledge of Chinese. AXC is pushing the boundaries of ethnolinguistic assumptions associated with Chinese.

Since AXC imagines Chinese for anyone, it is important to note that such rhetoric on heritage and Chinese discrimination does not appear in official school documents. This may be because the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse mainly concerns ethnic Chinese parents. Officially endorsing a position that addresses this discourse would undermine the school's imagining of "Chinese for American children." It would not appeal to a general "American" audience as it would for Chinese Americans. Indeed,

“American” highlights national identity – an identity that neither excludes nor targets particular ethnicities. Likewise, while including discrimination and racism as general topics in curricular goals poses no threat, specifying anti-Asian themes could potentially be interpreted as exclusive. Hence, the school omits references to the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse in order to avoid potential conflict with its imagining of Chinese as a world language.

The goal of this section was to explore school discourses on education and Chinese and the larger macro-social discourses and political economic conditions that guided their design. I have shown that AXC’s discourses are saturated with transnational discourses. But at the same time, the analysis also revealed instances of unique border-pushing and boundary-blending work such as its framing of global citizenship and Chinese as a world language. It also demonstrates how the school’s alternative discourses challenge existing mainstream ones. But while all institutions have their ideals, there are always obstacles and challenges to actualizing those aims. At times they are able to find a resolution (as illustrated in their handling of the Chinese (American)-as-second-class discourse). However, at other times, they are not as successful. This brings us to the next section, which will discuss areas of tension and limiting factors.

Challenges to AXC’s ideals

AXC talks about the “world” throughout its documents and the importance of valuing all cultures and languages. Nevertheless, while many participants talked extensively about the world as an all-encompassing term, upon further examination, I discovered that “world” does not always refer to its literal meaning. First, although the school boasts of its diverse student population as “reflective of [local and global] diversity,” the vast majority is of Asian descent (41% Asian-American, 36% Multiracial of which the majority are Asian mixes). Moreover, although AXC encourages respect for all cultures, countries are not always viewed equally in terms of power, influence, importance and symbolic capital. The most extreme, albeit not representative of all participants, illustration of this was when one former parent now board member commented that AXC’s “global” outlook is really a “China” perspective. This alerts us to the importance of considering the social fields that affect the level of symbolic capital and convertibility of languages. That is, the yield that one can gain from linguistic capital varies depending on the social field the individual is in. The relatively higher value placed on Chinese provides evidence that there can be tension between discourses. In this case, the China-as-a-rising-power discourse is a challenge to the global perspective and cosmopolitan discourses that position all languages, cultures and peoples on an equal level.

The China-as-a-rising-power discourse also creates a hierarchy of Chinese language varieties and local languages. Indeed, the ways in which participants used “Chinese” demonstrated the influence of this discourse. For instance, Mandarin Chinese was used interchangeably with the more general term “Chinese.” It was framed as the umbrella language that all ethnic Chinese speak and was referred to as a “language” rather than a “dialect.” While there are still hundreds of regional Chinese local languages, these do not enjoy the prestige of being labeled as the “official language” (Fishman, 1971). Mainly because Mandarin Chinese is the official and national language of

Mainland China and Taiwan, it is viewed as the “universal” language among all ethnic Chinese. In this framing, Mandarin can be and is viewed as a heritage language even for non-Mandarin speaking families. It can be a part of the Chinese ethnic identity and it is suitable for teaching Chinese culture. But on the flipside, its positioning lowers the status and symbolic capital of local languages like Cantonese. Local Chinese language speakers like Carl said that, “I know that Mandarin is more useful than Cantonese throughout China, therefore, I was not as interested in insisting my children learn Cantonese.”

Another mother, described Cantonese as “not that crucial” but Mandarin as “imperative.” She explained that use of Cantonese is limited to ordering food at Chinese restaurants. In contrast, Mandarin is the business language of Asia and will provide educational and career opportunities for her children. This is an example of local language varieties being subordinated to a “superior” language variety (Gal, 1989). While the re-imagining as “world language” expands the possibilities of one language variety, it simultaneously can add restrictions and disempower others.

The way Chinese was labeled gives us further insight into its comparably higher capital and symbolic value. Some parents like Carl and Valerie described it as “THE language [original in caps].” Other parents, like Elizabeth, Anna and Chi-ling, said Chinese language education is “hot” and is the “future”. Students said it was “the leading language of the world,” the next “big thing.” Still others, like many of the students, claimed that learning and knowing Chinese is “cool” and called AXC “the new hip school.” Nearly everyone described Chinese as an “important language” or a “major language”, and China as an “important country,” “one of the next biggest countr[ies]” and that “the dominant economy is going to be China and everything is going to be in China.” Students quipped that “China’s gonna take over the world” and that “a lot of work places will be owned by Chinese.” These labels position Chinese as modern, mainstream, and desirable. At the same time, they also indicate the level of power that Chinese commands and the perceived influence it has and will have in the world. In contrast, while other languages were talked about as good to learn in that learning any second language is good, many participants do not believe that they have as many benefits as Chinese. For example, parent/board members like Lauren described French as less useful. She said, “I mean where is French gonna get you? Except to impress people at parties you know...it’s not a language of the world.” This suggests that the China-as-a-rising-power discourse interacts with the national security discourse by influencing which languages are valuable and important to teach and learn for economic and military security. Perhaps this is most clearly illustrated in the designation of only a select few languages as “critical languages” in U.S. foreign language policy.

The China-as-a-rising-power discourse also hierarchizes communities. While Chinese is spoken in many different countries, it is the China imagined community that was talked about most frequently and framed as the one where Chinese capital could be converted into the highest symbolic value. This is partly because participants believe that China is where Chinese language and cultural capital offers the highest yield in terms of economic and social capital. Other participants said that knowing the language can give access to educational opportunities -- cultural capital conversion. One parent cited how research is so up and coming in fields like engineering that he would consider sending his children to China for a university degree. Although a few staff members mentioned a few opportunities for using Chinese language skills in the U.S., the vast majority of

interviewees all claimed that Chinese would be most useful in Chinese-speaking communities outside of the U.S. When understanding linguistic capital, then, it is important to take into account the markets that determine their convertibility and yield of return.

Perhaps at the heart of this perception is how people envision a good future where future not only references time, but also space. Since most thought that the future means China, this further supports the strong influence of the China-as-a-rising-power discourse.

...they [parents] all felt the same as we did that having a second language would be very valuable and what second language would you like to have going into the future? French? I don't think so. Chinese? Yeah, great idea. Cause what culture is growing here? Where's the business going to be in the next 20, or 30 years? All the things that make good sense to speak Chinese made good sense to them.

(Carter, former parent and board chair)

AXC participants believe that Chinese will yield the most benefits and will best equip and prepare students for the future. As one mother put it, Chinese is a “bigger bang for your buck,” a better investment.

Students also talked extensively about China's growth as well as the uncertainty of the U.S. economy. Will claimed “The [U.S.] economy's going down and so the U.S. is falling down. It's not at its height anymore. But now China is one of the fastest growing countries in the world and then one day it's gonna be at its height.” He continued on to say, “China will be at its height and being bilingual, you can be a part of that height. You can rise up too.” Several students said that their decision to continue to use Chinese in the future would depend on U.S.-China relations. All of them mentioned that they may go to China to work and that the ability to speak Chinese would allow them to ride China's economic wave. Moreover, many of them expressed intentions to go back to China either for traveling or study. The dominant theme in participant responses was that China's economic and political power would continue to increase. A secondary theme is that U.S.-China relations will become more intimate. Participant responses support the tendency to

...invest in a language that will give them the maximum benefits – not just in terms of what the language facilitates (career advancement, new commercial relationships, navigating bureaucracy) but also in terms of the sheer number of people, institutions, and businesses they will be able to communicate with. (Dor, 2004, p. 106)

Clearly, participants factor in political economic conditions when making choices about language use.

Participants also demonstrated awareness that power is not evenly distributed. That is, the conversion rate of linguistic capital into other types of capital and symbolic value is not equal among all students. Adult participants explained that the ethnic backgrounds of the students influence the convertibility and yield of capital. More specifically, they believe that non-Chinese students will be able to more easily convert their linguistic capital and gain the highest yields. This is perhaps in part due to the

expectations that China community members have towards foreigners. Whereas most people expect ethnic Chinese to be able to speak “their own language,” this assumption is not transferred onto non-ethnic Chinese individuals. Because there is no expectation that non-ethnic Chinese individuals speak Chinese, those who do have Chinese language and literacy proficiency are able to capitalize on the “profit of distinctiveness” (Bourdieu, 1977). Chi-ling, a Taiwanese immigrant, commented:

They’re (Caucasian children) gonna get all my kids’ jobs because you know they understand the culture and everything. So when my son goes out in the field, he’s Chinese, they expect it to learn Chinese, to know Chinese, right? When you get this blond blue eyes like (name) you know, you’re just shocked.

Another former parent-board member said that African American students who can speak Chinese are very “unique.” In contrast, some of the students described Chinese Americans who can speak Chinese as “a dime in a dozen.” This analysis reveals that the profit of distinctiveness, anticipation of profits and convertibility of symbolic capital are influenced not just by discourses on global education, language and culture, but also by discourses on language and race within and outside of the U.S. It further suggests that at present Chinese cannot be easily separated from race to the degree that English has been able to (Lu, 2008). Although AXC is trying to break those assumptions, there are still many macro-social ideological and material limits to achieving this imagining.

In conclusion, while AXC claims to value all languages and cultures equally, there are clearly some limitations. In reality, though participants may respect all languages and cultures, they certainly do not assess the symbolic value of them equally. They rank the languages according to perceived value and make educational decisions based on those beliefs. The consequences of which, consciously or not, lead to the devaluing of less “useful” languages. Ironically, some of those less desirable languages are the same ones that have been discriminated against for decades – a view that runs counter to the school’s endorsement for universal respect. It is noteworthy that at AXC, English is not positioned as the sole language of power; Chinese is also framed as a language of value. However, this results in Chinese being elevated above other language varieties. While this does not suggest that Chinese ranks the highest (for it definitely does not), it does show a new language order. In the same vein, although participants believe that bilingualism is valuable and beneficial to the individual and society, particular combinations of languages yield more and better returns. Target language communities are also appraised based on their respective conversion rates. Finally, participants do not believe that all individuals can convert their language capital equally. As Luke (2009) and Ong (1999a) have argued, race usually factors into a person’s ability to convert his/her capital into symbolic value. These are just a few of the challenges that came up during analysis. The main point being that despite the amazing achievements of the school to re-imagine language and education, there are also many other obstacles that hinder it from achieving its ideals.

Chapter Eight **Conclusion**

In this study, I sought to understand the possibilities and limitations of re-imagination in language educational settings. My second general research question posed in Chapter One extended this investigation into how re-imagination affects educational goals and everyday classroom practices. My aim was to examine factors that allow or hinder the school's actualization of its mission. I employed a diachronic and synchronic approach, delving into the political-economic conditions and discourses that gave rise to the work of re-imagination and the everyday practices that it shapes.

In Chapter Two, I outlined a theoretical framework for understanding the complexity and multiplicity of the work of re-imagination in a global age and accounting for both creativity and restriction. Imagination was conceptualized as the means through which people connect and project their experiences with larger discourses. Re-imagination was defined as an active process where agents may redefine social realities through border pushing and boundary blending. I argued that while globalization has opened up alternative possibilities, these imaginings cannot be understood as pure acts of agency. Rather, new discourses bring new histories and their rise or fall is tied to the political-economic conditions of the time. Hence, although agency can be exercised, it is never completely free from the conditions within which it is deployed. While there has been abundant language educational research that focuses on either agency or limitation, this is one of the few studies that attempted to examine both at the institutional level.

I argued for a diachronic and synchronic approach to studying re-imagination. To address the diachronic dimension, Chapter Four gave a detailed historical account of three major discourses: Chinese (American)-as-second-class, China-as-a-rising-power, and global education, language and culture discourses. The chapter surveyed the complex landscapes of people, capital and ideas that enabled the rise, development and spread of discourses. The synchronic dimension focused on the influence of these discourses on AXC in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Chapter Five focused on the history of AXC, from its founding to its present state. It showed how particular political-economic conditions and discourses enabled its establishment as well as how other conditions and discourses hindered and limited its developmental path. Chapter Six then investigated classroom discourse, practices and texts. It sought to understand how and whether or not AXC was achieving its goals and re-imaginings in the classroom. Lastly, Chapter Seven traced the institution's educational goals and re-imaginings. It provided examples of how AXC's own discourse drew upon larger discourses as well as unique (re)imaginings. Through intertextual analysis, each chapter sought to identify the major discourses and political-economic conditions that have aided and hampered the institution's (re)imaginings.

Implications for language education and educators

Institutions and language policy. The alternative imaginings presented in this case study strongly contest the historical framing of minority languages as problems and minority speakers as inferior in the U.S. It sheds light on the double-face of language policy as well. On the one hand, foreign language education has generally enjoyed mainstream support and prestige. On the other, minority language education has been marginalized and phased out of mainstream classrooms. The same language, when framed one way is lauded; when positioned in another, it is castigated. This case study echoes Hornberger's (1998) argument that language issues are never conflict-free and

there is no singular approach to dealing with multilingual settings. Even when a local community decides to embark on a particular orientation (e.g., language enrichment), there are a myriad of tough decisions where conflict is unavoidable. Still, while educational institutions are not completely free from policy decisions, this study does show that they can have some degree of liberty in strategically choosing which policies to draw from. Moreover, in this global era, institutions have a broader range of policies to sift through and can be influenced by the political-economic conditions of multiple geographies. For example, the AXC Institute receives funding from a U.S. government-sponsored initiative⁹ to run summer Chinese language and culture programs for children. At the same time, it accepts support from a Mainland Chinese organization, which provides significant monetary contributions to programs like the national conference on Chinese language education that the Institute organizes. The Institute also receives support and promotion (in the form of awards or media coverage) from non-government organizations and foundations set up by transnational corporations. The point is that though policy at times functions to inhibit language education (e.g., mandating high-stakes exams in English, not providing sufficient funding, etc), institutions possess some creativity and control in selecting policies that aid their own (re)imaginings.

Language education. I have also shown how re-imagination can take place under supportive material and semiotic relations. Such re-imaginings are better understood as border-pushing and boundary-blending processes as they are creative acts performed within constraints. I attempted to demonstrate that the ways in which language and language education are imagined can greatly affect curriculum design, pedagogy, program structure and text material creation and selection. I showed how language instruction can be creatively used to encourage students to see linguistic skills for helping others. It can also be employed for presenting alternative histories, ones that challenge disenfranchising discourses. Finally, it can be used to frame the language and its features in particular ways, raising the status of some and lowering the value of others.

Thus, the goals of language education must consider more than simply proficiency goals. Factors such as program structure, the student body composition, teacher qualifications and backgrounds can be drawn upon to serve certain purposes and yield particular imaginings – intended or not. Careful evaluation of the language's symbolic value (or lack of) in various geographies, student and parental motivation for learning the language, and ultimately for what purposes the second language and bilingualism will have in students' future lives will greatly help in designing language education programs that meet parental expectations, student needs and teacher training. For example, AXC uses Hong Kong textbooks for elementary students because it wants to continue teaching traditional characters even though it has completely transitioned to the *hanyu pinyin* phonetic system and begun phasing in the teaching of simplified characters. This is not just a matter of pedagogy. Rather, these decisions took into account political-economic and ideological considerations. The retention of traditional characters was partly done in order to avoid (or at least lighten) political confrontation between Taiwanese parents and supporters of the Mainland's writing system. Traditional characters are also valued for their aesthetic and perceived cultural and historical value. Taiwan, Hong Kong and many Chinatowns around the world still utilize traditional characters. Parents and educators believe that knowing both systems will give students

⁹ The names of funding sources are kept anonymous in order to protect the institution.

more flexibility and access to all Chinese-speaking communities. At the same time, China is undisputedly the most important market for most parents and students. Knowledge of *pinyin* and simplified characters is necessary to fully participate in that economy. Many parents and students expressed plans to spend some time in China for study, work or leisure. Their futures seemed to be more closely tied with China in comparison to other Chinese-speaking communities. Hence, the selection of a Hong Kong textbook series was made in consideration of all these wants, needs and expectations of how the language will relate in students' lives. As educators, it behooves us to take into consideration not only *how* parents and students imagine language and language education, but also *why* they imagine them in particular ways. It is only then that we can hope to develop appropriate language education programs.

Chinese language education. I argued that the work of (re)imagination has consequences for Chinese language education. As illustrated in the above example, how institutions and their members (re)imagine Chinese and the relationships it may have in students' past, present and future lives affect educational decisions on things such as textbooks, which in turn affect students' learning experiences and language development. Moreover, this study has highlighted how political-economic conditions and discourses shape the way in which institutions and individuals (re)imagine Chinese language and education.

Like other languages such as French (c.f. Heller, 1999b) and Spanish (c.f. Del Valle & Villa, 2006), Chinese is trying to re-imagine itself as a global language. At the state level, language policies and promotional efforts are mainly driven by utilitarian and economic arguments. At times, cultural value is also strategically deployed. While such measures certainly open up opportunities for linguistic minorities like the students or workers in Heller's (1999a, 1999b, 2005) studies, they also often lead to inter and intralinguistic hierarchization of language varieties as well as questions of authenticity and identity. This study has also suggested that Chinese is no exception. The spread of Chinese language education owes its success in large part to favorable political-economic conditions. The rise of China and the waning power of the U.S. and other European countries have surely contributed to its appeal. Likewise, the advancement of 材料

薄切り牛肉 120g (4 oz thinly sliced beef)

じゃがいも 250g (8 oz potatoes)

玉ねぎ 1/2個 (1/2 onion)

にんじん 1/4個 (1/4 carrot)

しらたき 1/2パック (1/2 pack shirataki)

さやえんどう 15g (1/2 oz peas)

酒 大さじ1 (1 Tbsp sake)

みりん 大さじ1/2 (1/2 Tbsp mirin)

さとう 大さじ 1-1/2 (1-1/2 Tbsp sugar)

しょうゆ 大さじ 1-1/2 (1-1/2 Tbsp soy sauce)

サラダ油 大さじ 1-1/2 (1-1/2 Tbsp vegetable oil) Chinese by states (e.g., Beijing variety) or several varieties by the school (e.g., Beijing and Taipei varieties) has led to several unequal relationships. Chinese is selected in favor over other languages such as French, Russian or German. Local Chinese language varieties are scrapped as Mandarin Chinese is perceived with higher economic, cultural and social capital. Even within the

language variety of Mandarin Chinese, further hierarchies are made based on complex social, political, economic and cultural interrelationships.

Nevertheless, at the same time, this study has shown that discourses can be modified, challenged and transformed at the micro level. Chinese language education can be a means to develop an interest in the world. It can be used to instill the value of social service, intercultural understanding and respect. It can be a language for anyone to learn and can be used to form a global citizen identity. It can be a vehicle for re-imagining histories. Even though Mainland Chinese is strongly advocated, the school still supports traditional characters, maintains a diverse faculty, and classroom teachers contest the cultural value of simplified characters. The results of this study echo the need for more research at the local level because educational institutions do not imagine in the exact same way as nation-states. Even within the constraints of political-economic conditions and macro discourses, they are capable of remarkable acts of creativity and imaginings.

References

- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global economy. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7(2), 295-310.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed.). Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination* (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Baquedano-López, P. (1997). Creating social identities through *Doctrina* narratives. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 8(1), 27-45.
- Bauman, R., & Briggs, C. L. (1990). Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19, 59-88.
- BBC News. (January 9, 2007). Mandarin learning soars outside China. Retrieved April 7, 2011, from BBC News: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6244763.stm>
- Begay, S., Dick, G. S., Estell, D. W., Estell, J., McCarty, T. L., & Sells, A. (1995). Change from the inside out: A story of transformation in a navajo community school. *The Bilingual Research Journal*, 19(1), 121-139.
- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2008). Contesting 'language' as 'heritage': Negotiation of identities in late modernity. *Applied Linguistics*, 29(4), 533-554.
- Blommaert, J. (2003). Commentary: A sociolinguistics of globalization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 607-623.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods* (5th ed.). Boston: Pearson Education.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16, 645-668.
- Bourdieu, P. (1982). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Brown, P., & Lauder, H. (2009). Globalization, international education, and the formation of a transnational class? *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 108(2), 130-147.
- Bucholtz, M. (2001). Reflexivity and critique in discourse analysis. *Critique of Anthropology*, 21(2), 165-183.
- Bucholtz, M. (2007). Variation in transcription. *Discourse Studies*, 9, 784-808.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2008). Finding identity: Theory and data. *Multilingua*, 27, 151-163.
- Calhoun, C., LiPuma, E., & Postone, M. (1993). Introduction: Bourdieu and social theory. In C. Calhoun, E. LiPuma & M. Postone (Eds.), *Bourdieu: Critical perspectives* (pp. 1-13). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Canagarajah, S. A. (1993). Critical ethnography of a Sri Lankan classroom: Ambiguities in student opposition to reproduction through ESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 27(4), 601-626.
- CBS News. (February 20, 2011). China now owns \$1.16 trillion of U.S. debt. *CBS News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503983_162-20037535-503983.html
- Center for Applied Linguistics. (2003). Working together to build a multilingual society. In C. f. A. Linguistics (Ed.). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Center for Applied Linguistics. (2006). Directory of foreign language immersion programs in U.S. schools. <http://www.cal.org/resources/immersion/>
- Center for Applied Linguistics. (2010). Directory of Two-Way bilingual immersion programs in the U.S.: <http://www.cal.org/twi/directory>
- Chan, S., & Hsu, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Chinese Americans and the politics of race and culture*. Philadelphia: Temple.
- Chen, L. (2010). *Fan ti zi jian hua zhi shang. Shang ye wen hua*, 107-108.
- Collins, J. (2001). Selling the market: Educational standards, discourse and social inequality. *Critique of Anthropology*, 21(2), 143-163.
- Confucius Institute. (2011). Confucius Institute website. Retrieved April 7, 2011, from http://college.chinese.cn/en/node_1979.htm
- Crawford, J. (1992). *Hold your tongue: Bilingualism and the politics of "English Only"*. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Cummins, J. (1997). Cultural and linguistic diversity in education: A mainstream issue? *Educational Review*, 49(2), 105-114.
- Dagenais, D. (2003). Accessing imagined communities through multilingualism and immersion education. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2(4), 269-283.
- Dai, L. L. (2010). Shi lun han zi jian fan zhi zheng. *An hui wen xue*, 240.
- Dale, R. (1999). Globalization and education: Demonstrating a common world educational culture or locating a globally structured educational agenda. *Educational Theory*, 50(4), 427-428.
- Del Valle, J., & Villa, L. (2006). Spanish in brazil: Language policy, business, and cultural propaganda. *Language Policy*, 5, 369-392.
- Deng, S.-z. (2009). The choice of traditional vs. simplified characters in US classrooms. *US-China Education Review*, 6(12), 67-74.

- Dor, D. (2004). From Englishization to imposed multilingualism: Globalization, the Internet, and the political economy of the linguistic code. *Public Culture*, 16(1), 97-118.
- Duncan, A. (2010). Back to school. *Foreign Affairs, November/December*, 65-74.
- Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Arab Republic of Egypt. (2011). Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Arab Republic of Egypt website. Retrieved April 7, 2011, from <http://eg.china-embassy.org/eng/zaigx/jyjl/t76340.htm>
- Evans, B. A., & Hornberger, N. H. (2005). No child left behind: Repealing and unpeeling federal language education policy in the United States. *Language Policy*, 4(1), 87-106.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 3(2), 193-217.
- Fishman, J. A. (1971). *Advances in the sociology of language: Volume one*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York, NY: Random House.
- Foucault, M. (2005). *The archaeology of knowledge* (T. P. Limited, Trans.). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Freeman, R. D. (1998). *Bilingual education and social change*. Philadelphia, PA: Multilingual Matters.
- Gal, S. (1989). Language and political economy. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18, 345-367.
- Gal, S., & Irvine, J. T. (1995). The boundaries of language and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social Research*, 62(4), 967-1001.
- Gee, J. P. (1996). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (2nd ed.). London: Taylor & Francis.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gil, J. (2008). The promotion of Chinese language learning and China's soft power. *Asian Social Science*, 4(10), 116-122.
- Giola, D. A., Thomas, J. B., Clark, S. M., & Chittipeddi, K. (1994). Symbolism and strategic change in academia: The dynamics of sensemaking and influence. *Organizational Science*, 5(3), 363-383.
- Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Goodman, A. E. (2009). Language learning and study abroad: The path to global citizenship. *The Modern Language Journal*, 93, 610-612.
- Gunde, R. (2004). Zheng He's voyages of discovery. Retrieved October 3, 2011, from UCLA International Institute:
<http://www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=10387>
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hallman, H. L., & Burdick, M. N. (2011). Service learning and the preparation of English teachers. *English Education*, 341-368.

- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Hanban. (2011). Topics in focus 'Chinese fever' across the Pacific. Retrieved April 7, 2011, from Hanban: http://english.hanban.org/article/2011-01/21/content_219590.htm
- Harris, R. (2002). *Rethinking writing*. London: Athlone Press.
- Heller, M. (1999a). Alternative ideologies of "La Francophonie". *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(3), 336-359.
- Heller, M. (1999b). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Heller, M. (2001). Critique and sociolinguistic analysis of discourse. *Critique of Anthropology*, 21(1), 117-141.
- Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 473-492.
- Heller, M. (2005). Language, skill and authenticity in the new economy. *Noves SL. Revista de Sociolinguistica*, (an online journal), Winter 2005 Retrieved from www.gencat.cat/llengua/noves
- Henderson, J. (2008). China and global development: Towards a Globa-Asian era? *Contemporary Politics*, 14(4), 375-392.
- Holland, D., Lachicotte, W. J., Skinner, D., & Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Holt, R. D. (December 9, 2003). *Introduction of National Security Language Act*. Retrieved from http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2003_cr/hr3676.html.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1991). Extending enrichment bilingual education: Revisiting typologies and redirecting policy. In O. Garcia (Ed.), *Bilingual education: Focussshift in honor of Joshua A. Fishman on the occasion of his 65th birthday Volume I* (pp. 215-234). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1998). Language policy, language education, language rights: Indigenous, immigrant, and international perspectives. *Language in Society*, 27(4), 439-458.
- International Monetary Fund. (2009). Country tables. Retrieved May 19, 2010: www.imfstatistics.org
- Irvine, J. T. (1989). When talk isn't cheap: Language and political economy. *American Ethnologist*, 16(2), 248-267.
- Isser, N. (1976). *Asian Americans: Then, now, and tomorrow*. Paper presented at the World educators conference on multicultural education.
- Kanno, Y. (2003). Imagined communities, school visions, and the education of bilingual students in Japan. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2(4), 285-300.
- Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2(4), 241-249.
- Kearney, M. (1995). The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 547-565.
- Kellner, D. (2000). Globalization and new social movements: Lessons for critical theory and pedagogy. In N. Barbules & C. A. Torres (Eds.), *Globalization and education: Critical perspectives* (pp. 299-322). New York: Routledge.

- Kramsch, C. (2008). Pierre Bourdieu: A biographical memoir. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp. 33-49). London: Routledge.
- Kramsch, C., & Whiteside, A. (2008). Language ecology in multilingual settings: Towards a theory of symbolic competence. *Applied Linguistics*, 29(4), 645-671.
- Kurlantzick, J. (2006). China's charm offensive in Southeast Asia. *Current History*, 105(692), 270-276.
- Kwong, P., & Miščević, D. (2005). *Chinese America: The untold story of America's oldest new community*. New York: The New Press.
- Lai, H. M. (2004). *Becoming Chinese American: A history of communities and institutions*. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira.
- Lemke, J. L. (1992). Intertextuality and educational research. *Linguistics and Education*, 4, 257-267.
- Lemke, J. L. (1993). Discourse, dynamics, and social change. *Cultural Dynamics*, 6(1), 243-275.
- Li, J. (2003). The core of Confucian learning. *American Psychologist*, 58, 146-147.
- Li, P. S. (1976). Ethnic businesses among Chinese in the U.S. *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 4(3), 35-41.
- Liu, G.-Q., & Lo Bianco, J. (2007). Teaching Chinese, teaching in Chinese, and teaching the Chinese. *Language Policy*, 6, 95-117.
- Lu, D. (2008). Pre-imperial Chinese: Its hurdles towards becoming a world language. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 18(2), 268-279.
- Luke, A. (1997). Genres of power: Literacy education and the production of capital. In R. Hasan & G. Williams (Eds.), *Literacy in society* (pp. 308-338). London: Longman.
- Luke, A. (2009). Race and language as capital in school: A sociological template for language-education reform. In R. Kubota & A. Lin (Eds.), *Race, culture, and identities in second language education: Exploring critically engaged practice* (pp. 286-308). New York: Routledge.
- Lum, P. A. (1978). The creation and demise of San Francisco Chinatown Freedom Schools: One response to desegregation. *Amerasia Journal*, 5(1), 57-73.
- MacDonald, J. (2006). The international school industry: Examining international schools through an economic lens. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 5(2), 191-213.
- Martin, M. F. (March 27, 2009). *What's the difference? Comparing US and Chinese trade data*. Retrieved from www.crs.gov.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2011). Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. Retrieved April 7, 2011, from http://202.205.177.9/english/international_11.htm
- Mitchell, K. (2001). Education for democratic citizenship: transnationalism, multiculturalism, and the limits of liberalism. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(1), 51-78.
- MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages. (2007). *Foreign languages and higher education: New structures for a changed world*. New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America. Available at:

- Moerman, M. (1996). The field of analyzing foreign language conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 147-158.
- Morrison, W. M. (2009, December 11). *China's economic conditions*. Retrieved from www.crs.gov.
- Ngai, M. M. (2008). History as law and life: *Tape v. Hurley* and the origins of the Chinese American middle class. In S. Chan & M. Hsu (Eds.), *Chinese Americans and the politics of race and culture*. Philadelphia: Temple.
- Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 409-429.
- Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. In M. P. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 159-171). Harlow, England: Longman.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1994). Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. *Boston Review*, 1-8.
- Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign Policy*, 80, 153-171.
- O'Connell, M. E., & Norwood, J. L. (2007). *Keys to securing America's future*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.
- Ochs, E. (2006). Transcription as theory. In A. Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.), *The discourse reader* (2nd ed., pp. 166-178). London: Routledge.
- Ochs, E., & Capps, L. (1996). Narrating the self. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25, 19-43.
- Odora Hoppers, C. A. (2009). Education, culture and society in a globalizing world: Implications for comparative and international education. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 39(5), 601-614g.
- Ong, A. (1999a). Cultural citizenship as subject making: Immigrants negotiate racial and cultural boundaries in the United States. In R. D. Torres, L. F. Miron & J. X. Inda (Eds.), *Race, identity and citizenship: A reader* (pp. 262-294). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ong, A. (1999b). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Pang, V. O. (2006). Fighting the marginalization of Asian American students with caring schools: Focusing on curricular change. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 9(1), 67-83.
- Parker, W. (2009). *Is there space for cosmopolitanism in today's "International Education" movement in U.S. schools?* Paper presented at the AERA.
- Patton, M. (1990). *Evaluation and research methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Pavlenko, A. (2002). 'We have room for but one language here': Language and national identity in the U.S. at the turn of the 20th century. *Multilingua*, 21, 163-196.
- Peirce, B. N. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29(1), 9-31.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. London: Routledge.
- Pomerantz, A. (2002). Language ideologies and the production of identities: Spanish as a resource for participation in a multilingual marketplace. *Multilingua*, 21, 275-302.
- Portes, A., & Hao, L. (1998). E Pluribus Unum: Bilingualism and loss of language in the second generation. *Sociology of Education*, 71(4), 269-294.
- Rassool, N. (2004). Sustaining linguistic diversity within the global cultural economy: Issues of language rights and linguistic possibilities. *Comparative Education*, 40(2), 199-214.

- Ricento, T. (2005). Problems with the 'language-as-resource' discourse in the promotion of heritage languages in the U.S.A. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), 348-368.
- Robinson, J. P., Rivers, W. P., & Brecht, R. D. (2006). Demographic and sociopolitical predictors of American attitudes toward foreign language policy. *Language Policy*, 5, 419-440.
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15-34.
- Sachar, E. (2004). *Schools for the global age: Promising practices in International Education*. New York, NY: Asia Society. Available at:
- Saxenian, A. (2002). Silicon Valley's new immigrant high-growth entrepreneurs. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 16(20), 20-31.
- Saxenian, A. (2005). From brain drain to brain circulation: Transnational communities and regional upgrading in India and China. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 40(2), 35-61.
- Schmidt, R. (2002). Racialization and language policy: The case of the U.S.A. *Multilingua*, 21, 141-161.
- Shu, H., Chen, X., Anderson, R. C., Wu, N., & Xuan, Y. (2003). Properties of school Chinese: Implications for learning to read. *Child Development*, 74(1), 27-47.
- Spellings, M., & Oldham, C. A. (August 2008). *Enhancing foreign language proficiency in the United States: Preliminary results of the National Security Language Initiative*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/inits/ed/competitiveness/nsli/nsli-preliminary-results.pdf>.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Tan, P. K. W., & Rubdy, R. (Eds.). (2008). *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*. London: Continuum.
- The Epoch Times. (October 5, 2004). Foreign capital transfer widens China's rich-poor gap. *The Epoch Times*. Retrieved from <http://en.epochtimes.com/news/4-10-5/23622.html>
- The World Bank. (2010). China Country Data. Retrieved May 17, 2010: data.worldbank.org/country/china
- Tse, L. (2000). The effects of ethnic identity formation on bilingual maintenance and development: An analysis of Asian American narratives. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 3(3), 185-200.
- Tse, L. (2001). Resisting and reversing language shift: Heritage-language resilience among U.S. native biliterates. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(4), 677-709.
- UNESCO. (2010). Intangible cultural heritage lists. www.unesco.org/culture/ich
- Wang, S. C. (2007). Building societal capital: Chinese in the U.S. *Language Policy*, 6, 27-52.
- Wee, L. (2002). The semiotics of metaphor: The conduit metaphor in Singapore's language policy. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 1(2), 199-220.
- Wee, L. (2003). Linguistic instrumentalism in Singapore. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24(3).

- Weinstein, B. (1979). Language strategists: Redefining political frontiers on the basis of linguistic choices. *World Politics*, 31(3), 345-364.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiley, T. G. (1996). Language planning and policy. In S. L. McKay & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language teaching*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiley, T. G., & Wright, W. E. (2004). Against the undertow: Language-minority education policy and politics in the "Age of accountability". *Educational Policy*, 18(1), 142-168.
- Willis, P., & Trondman, M. (2000). Manifesto for ethnography. *Ethnography*, 1(1), 5-16.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6, 323-346.
- Wong, S.-L. C. (1988). The language situation of Chinese Americans. In S. L. McKay & S.-L. C. Wong (Eds.), *Language diversity, problem or resource?: A social and educational perspective on language minorities in the United States* (pp. 193-228). New York: Newbury House.
- Woolard, K. A. (1985). Language variation and cultural hegemony: Toward an integration of sociolinguistic and social theory. *American Ethnologist*, 12(4), 738-748.
- Xinhua News. (March 13, 2009). 40 million foreigners learning Chinese. Retrieved April 7, 2011, from Xinhua News: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/13/content_11004221.htm
- Xinhua News. (October 21, 2010). Chinese language attracts Italian students during Chinese culture year. Retrieved from <http://china.globaltimes.cn/diplomacy/2010-10/584286.html>
- Zhao, X. (2010). *New Chinese America: Class, economy, and social hierarchy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Appendix A Transcription conventions

- . falling tone
- , slight rising inflection
- ? rising intonation
- [overlapped speech
- (()) non-verbal behavior
- () unintelligible speech or best guess
- (.) slight pause
- (#) pause of (number) of seconds
- [] names of non-participants or specific locations and institutions
- ... speech or text that has been eliminated

Appendix B Original Chinese texts from chapter six

Classroom excerpt: AXC's involvement in Sichuan

Wang Laoshi: 那個時候我們(2.5)幫忙。我們收集很多點心,飲料,然後我們拍賣我們的還有很多人捐錢(家人)捐錢,學生捐錢有些學生把他們生日的禮物拿出來,捐出來。我們一共收了八千塊錢。

S: 八千塊

Wang Laoshi: 八千塊。然後校長暑假的時候到四川的這個小學(writing 曲谷學)叫做曲谷小學。(2.5)跟他們校長學生見面了,我們會買他們--我們會幫他們買他們需要用上課需要用到的東西。譬如說 ((holding up a pen)) 鉛筆,橡皮,紙,本子,書本...我們要寫信給他們。

Classroom excerpt: How to write the letter

TA: 所以我們現在呢,剛開始我們說親愛的[name of school] ((writing it out on wipe board))...你們好。寫完以後我們第一部分你當然要說你自己是誰。你說啊(1)我是AXC七年級的學生,我叫

Tyler: 你叫

S: (jiaogerong)

TA: 對。我叫做 Tyler... 第一部分就是你介紹你自己。然後第二部分呢我們要寫說你當時地震發生的時候,你們是怎麼知道的... 然後呢,最後一部分我們希望說你可以寫說我希望他-我希望你們可以每天過得開開心心或者說,希望你們身體健康。

Haley's student letter draft

親愛的(name of school)全體師生，

你們好！我是 Haley。我十二歲。我住在加州的[name of city]。地震發生的時候AXC的同學老師家長都很難過。我希望我們能夠幫助你。

你現在還好嗎？你現在上課怎麼樣？地震發生的時候，你在哪裡？

不要擔心，以後會更好。

我希望你們身體健康，功課進步。祝你每天快樂！

關心你們的 Haley

Classroom text excerpt: White Racism

華人的勤奮，受人歡迎，但也引起白人的不滿。白人勞工認為化工從白人手中搶走工作機會。。。從 1904 年到 1943 年，是華裔移民黑暗期。華裔在社會、經濟、政治等方面收到歧視。

Text excerpt: Confucius across time and space

孔子偉大的人格和高超的學說，幾千年來，收到人們的尊重，被尊稱為“至聖先師。”孔子的思想不但影響中國，也影響了越南，日本，韓國等亞洲各國。

Classroom excerpt: Confucian ethics in school values.

Wang Laoshi: 這個仁字，創造這個仁字((points at board))...他要你(.5)有(.)仁愛的心...現在你們在學校有 inclusive (的字)(.5)就是要把同學統統(.)包括在裡頭((holds out both arms in a wrapping gesture))。

Classroom excerpt: Welcoming Haley mini-narrative

Wang Laoshi:...你們從小到大一起相處。Haley 是五年級才來的。(.) 你們都很有nai- 愛心接受讓她覺得(2)她是你們班的同- 有沒有? ((to Haley)) 他們有沒有對你有愛心?

Haley: 有.

Wang Laoshi: 我也感覺到。所以她是五年級才進來的，你們大約有同情心，有愛心讓她- 歡迎她。

Classroom excerpt: The global development of Chinese medicine

Dr. Loh: 其實中藥啊，並不是所有從中國來的東西。(1.5)也有從外國來的。(1.5)那世界上各各民族之間總是有互相學習的。我學你的好東西，你也學我的好東西。

Classroom excerpt: The voyages of Zheng He and Chinese medicine

Dr. Loh:...鄭和來下西洋啊就從南京出發。(1)這燕窩在哪裡的，這個中藥？燕窩就在南洋群島這個地方，菲律賓啊。(5)這個南海啊, South China Sea 那個是個很好，名貴的補藥。這裡帶回來。還有呢? ... 當然是一種樹脂 (.5) resin. From a tree. (.) 在那那些阿拉伯國家 Saudi Arabia 今天的甚麼？Iraq, Iran 這些地方(.5)伊朗啊這些地方帶來的。當然呢，鄭和帶來了長頸鹿，非洲啊，甚麼還有犀牛角那些東西hah....結果他也把好多好多的藥材啊甚麼帶回來，結果把中國的藥（）豐富了。

Classroom excerpt: The new face of Chinese medicine

Dr. Loh:今天的中醫教育也不只在中國了 ...這樣培養了大批的這個洋中醫了。(.) 所以中醫不要你你看就是我們這些黑頭髮(.)扁鼻子的啊. 還有黃頭髮的也有了. 高鼻子也有了. 洋中醫了.

Classroom excerpt: World cultural heritage

Dr. Loh: Yeah 所以現在中醫呢，在美國這個教育學其實是非常就說我們已經走出世界了，成為世界的(2)文化遺產了.

Classroom excerpt: Limited numbers of simplified characters

Wang Laoshi: 不是每個字都有簡體字. 只有兩千兩百二手有簡體字.

Classroom excerpt: The pluses of traditional characters

Wang Laoshi: 好, 親人的親有簡體字,但是這個簡體字呢不美麗.

S: ()

Wang Laoshi: 因為這個簡體-因為繁體字是這樣(1)這是聲音這是看見. 你看見一個人你對他們很親. 這個簡體字是你看不到人呢,人沒有了你怎麼親?

Classroom excerpt: La1ji1 came from a mispronunciation

Zhuang Laoshi: 這是(2.5)其實(1)我不是在說甚麼，我的了解是(1)標準念法應該是 le4se4. 那麼後來為甚麼有人會念 la1ji1 呢？因為(.)因為有邊讀邊. 他們這個字不認識的時候就像這樣喔！這個垃就代一個手邊答了。然後這個是(.5)不會的字就念成他們聽（到）的一個 ji2 了變成 la1ji1 了.

Classroom excerpt: AXC has and still uses traditional characters

Zhuang Laoshi: 可是我們學校有一個(1)不承認的規定就是我在我們的學校 () 看過的()我們正式的(.)正式的標語或甚麼的時候，或者發給家長的文件的時候，我們用的是繁體字. (1)

S*: oh o

Appendix C Original Chinese texts from chapter seven

所以不光是你會說說話去跟他們溝通而且是你要知道他們的文化是那樣子然後你去理解他們然後你才知道要如何去幫助她們. (Wu Laoshi, 1st grade Chinese teacher)

他的環境...文化，她的價值觀還有她是 where you come from different. (Jian Laoshi, 6th grade Chinese teacher)

要關懷任何一個這個世界上，地球上任何一個生物. (Zhuang Laoshi, 8th grade Chinese teacher)