

Copyright
by
Su-Chen Liao
2009

**The Dissertation Committee for Su-Chen Liao Certifies that this is the approved
version of the following dissertation:**

**The Contexts of Heritage Language Learning:
Immigrant Taiwanese Mothers and Social Capital**

Committee:

Stuart Reifel, Supervisor

Pedro Reyes

Angela Valenzuela

Theresa Escobedo

Sandra Briley

**The Contexts of Heritage Language Learning:
Immigrant Taiwanese Mothers and Social Capital**

by

Su-Chen Liao, M. S.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Austin
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2009

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation to all of my participants for their willingness to spare time and for their courage to share their experiences and insights with me. I want to thank my wonderful chair, Dr. Stuart Reifel, for his expert guidance and the enthusiastic support he gave me throughout the years since I have been a graduate student. I could never have reached this goal without his encouragement for me. I also want to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee members, Dr. Angela Valenzuela, Dr. Theresa H. Escobedo, Dr. Pedro Reyes, and Dr. Sandra Briley, for their helpful suggestions and encouragement.

I extend special thanks to all my friends, especially Dr. Tsui-Chin Hsu-Smith and Dr. Michelle LaSeur, who edited my dissertation and provided me with helpful comments. I also thank Mei-Chu Chang and her family for their care and help throughout my graduate studies.

Finally, my deepest thanks go to my family. I would like to thank my parents, my grandfather, my brother and my aunts for their tremendous love and support that enabled me to pursue my academic endeavors. My heartfelt appreciation goes to my late mother-in-law, whose love continues to serve as an inspiration to me.

I am most grateful to my wonderful husband, Dr. Joseph C. Wang, and my children, Rebecca and Aaron, for their endless love, support, caring, patience, understanding, and their affectionate encouragement and insightful suggestions for this study.

**The Contexts of Heritage Language Learning:
Immigrant Taiwanese Mothers and Social Capital**

Publication No. _____

Su-Chen Liao, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

Supervisor: Stuart Reifel

This study explored the contexts that immigrant Taiwanese mothers provided for their American born children concerning heritage language learning. Five immigrant Taiwanese mothers in central Texas participated in this study. To collect data, a qualitative approach was used including in-depth interviews, follow up interviews, supplemental interviews with other family members, and observations of the mothers and their children in different environments. The data was analyzed to answer two research questions: (1) What meanings do immigrant Taiwanese mothers attribute to their American-born children's heritage language? (2) What are the strategies that immigrant Taiwanese mothers describe themselves as using in relation to their American-born children's heritage language learning?

This study demonstrated that because of the relative lack of heritage language teaching resources independent of the family, the mothers played an important role in

teaching their children a wide variety of languages including Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese, Spanish, Japanese, and Cantonese. Furthermore, the meanings that the mothers placed on heritage language could be categorized into cultural relationships, family bonds, social status within the immigrant community, relationship with American and global societies, and academic achievement and social success. The strategies the Taiwanese immigrant mothers used to teach heritage and home languages were diverse but could be analyzed by the concept of social capital and the theories of Lev Vygotsky.

The mothers with more economic capital were able to use their social capital to allow one parent to stay at home teaching their children heritage language full-time. They were also able to purchase other people's time in the form of services and effectively use resources such as the Chinese school or travel to promote heritage language learning. Thus, they could actively pursue and establish goals for their children's heritage language learning. Mothers with less social capital were less able to provide an environment promoting early language learning and instead hoped for other resources in the future. The result was that mothers with more social capital were able to have their children excel in many languages including English, while mothers with less social capital not only had difficulty creating proficiency in heritage language but also in English.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Problem.....	1
Significance of Study	2
Research Questions	7
Limitations of this Study.....	8
Definition of Terms.....	8
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	10
The Conceptual Framework of Lev Vygotsky.....	10
Language and Environment	10
Zone of Proximal Development.....	12
Scaffolding	13
Guided Participation	14
Parental Role	14

Social Capital	15
Language Use in Taiwan	17
Heritage Language	18
Research on Immigrant Chinese Parenting.....	22
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	25
Research questions.....	25
Subjects.....	26
Researcher as Instrument	26
Data Collection	28
Interview	28
Observations	30
Data Analysis	31
The Challenges of Language	31
Persistent Observations	32
Unitizing	32
Categorizing.....	33
Thick Description.....	34
Peer Debriefing	34
Member Checking.....	35
Trustworthiness.....	35
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS	37
Common characteristics.....	38
Case of Zen	40
Background	40
The Meanings of Heritage Language.....	46
Strategies for Heritage Language Learning	51

Case of Lee	63
Background	63
The Meanings of Heritage Language.....	67
Strategies for Heritage language Learning	71
Case of Wa-Wa.....	105
Background	105
The Meanings of Heritage Language.....	109
Strategies for Heritage Language Learning	112
Case of Sofia	133
Background	133
The Meanings of Heritage Languages	136
Strategies for Heritage Language Learning	142
Case of Rita.....	157
Background	157
The Meanings of Heritage Languages	160
Strategies for Heritage Language Learning	170
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	180
Mother’s Experiences	181
Complexity of Experience	182
Meanings of Heritage Language.....	183
Cultural Relationships.....	183
Academic Achievement and Social Success.....	188
Family Bonds	190
Relationship With American and Global Society	191
Social Status Within Immigrant Community	192
Diversity of Strategies.....	193
The Home Environment.....	194
Interactions Between Languages	195

Influence of the Home Environment.....	197
Interaction With the Outside World.....	210
Passivity toward outside community	210
The Chinese School	211
Instructional Methods	213
SAT II and AP Chinese	214
Language Without Borders	217
The Importance of Capital	218
The Uses of Capital.....	222
The Relationship Between Social and Economic Capital.....	224
Social Capital and Community	225
Interaction with Early Home Literacy	229
Unawareness Of Capital	231
Implications for Educational Research and Practice	232
Complexity of the respondents	232
Focus on Economic and Social Capital	233
Early Intervention	234
Role of Technology.....	235
Role of Public Schools.....	235
Interaction With Schools.....	236
Instructional Methods in the Chinese school	238
Global Village Impact And English As A Global Language.....	239
Early Home Literacy Environment	239

Researcher’s Observations Particular to the Sample Data.....	240
Summary of Conclusions	241
APPENDIX	245
Sample Interview Questions	245
REFERENCES	246
VITA	251

List of Tables

Table 1 Language input for Zen's daughter	45
Table 2 Languages used in the Lee Family	68

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study applies the educational theory of Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1986, 1994) and the concept of social capital (Bourdieu 1997; Coleman 1988, 1990) to explore the contexts that immigrant Taiwanese mothers provided their American-born children with heritage language learning. In this chapter, I will first state the problem and describe the significance of the study. I will then state the research questions and limitations of this study, and define critical terms used in this study.

Statement of Problem

According to the 2000 Census (U.S. Census, 2003), an estimated 14.6-million school-age children--more than one in four--lived in U. S. households where a non-English language was spoken. The United States is more linguistically diverse than at any time since the early 1900s. Among languages used in the United States, one is Chinese, which is the most spoken language in the world, and is used by over one billion speakers worldwide (Matthews, 1997). Chinese is the third most-spoken home language in the United States after English and Spanish (US Census, 2003).

As the world's economy becomes more globalized and the population of the United States becomes more diverse, bilingualism and biliteracy are valued increasingly by employers. In addition, Tse (2001a) suggested that biliteracy in particular was associated with greater intellectual confidence and self-esteem. She further proposed that preservation of heritage language was the easiest way to be bilingual.

Significance of Study

Tse (1998, 2001b) believed that becoming proficient in a heritage language could assist young people who were struggling with ethnic ambivalence, or negative attitudes toward their own culture. She believed that learning the heritage language enabled the young people not only to explore their roots and relate more to fellow speakers of their language, but also to overcome feelings of alienation with a sense of pride in their community. Wong-Fillmore (1991) suggested when immigrants were limited in English, they must rely entirely on the heritage language to pass on values, advice, and traditions to their children. However, many young children from the immigrant families tend to rely primarily on English, and lose skills in their parents' or grandparents' only medium of communication. In such cases, neither generation can make itself understood. Language loss creates barriers within families that produce tension, conflict, and sometimes violence (Cho & Krashen, 1998). In the field of heritage language development, there is a considerable amount of documentation and data concerning the benefits of children's educational and emotional development (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Cho & Krashen, 1998; Tse, 2001b).

To understand the general process of heritage language development, it is necessary to study the contexts within specific heritage communities. One example of these contexts is what immigrant Taiwanese mothers provide for their children in regard to heritage language learning. The purpose of my study was to report and document interviews and observations with immigrant Taiwanese mothers concerning heritage language learning of their children. This study may provide more knowledge and insight, and shed light on the current research of contexts used for heritage language learning.

I chose to focus specifically on how mothers provide a context for their children because of the particularly significant role of parents in young children's lives (Sigel, 1985). While I do not wish to underestimate the role of other people besides parents in a child's heritage language development, I want to emphasize the perspective that what happens to children in early childhood is strongly influenced by their parents.

Vygotsky (1978) viewed learning as moving from the interpersonal to the intrapersonal. Based on this viewpoint, it is clear that children are constantly being influenced by their social and cultural environment. According to Rogoff (1990),

Children are seldom alone. As small children, they are usually near others, sometimes interacting with or observing them. As older children, they may amuse themselves alone for some time or be sent to do some solitary work. But their solitary amusement or work is likely to involve culture materials and skills. For example, both watching TV and chopping the family firewood involve the use of cultural objects (TV, ax) and cultural knowledge (language and visual conventions used on TV, information about what wood is good to cut) children are deeply involved in social contexts - in social interaction with others, observation of others, and use of socio-cultural tools, skills, and perspectives (p. 208).

With the dominant language, the child's social and cultural environment is likely to include both school and the general society. However, since the heritage languages are not commonly taught or used, parents' actions and children's home environment become much more important factors in facilitating the heritage language learning. However, despite the advantages of retaining the heritage language, the phenomenon commonly observed has been loss of the heritage language. The tendency observed in Chinese children was a general pattern of children who spoke Chinese at home losing Chinese

oral fluency when they entered an English-speaking school (Tse, 2001b; Wong-Fillmore, 2000) so that most were not functional speakers of Chinese by the time they attended college.

This phenomenon is not isolated to Chinese language speakers. Portes and Hao (1998) surveyed first- and second-generation immigrant students in Miami and San Diego. They reported that 64 percent of 8th and 9th graders knew English “very well”, while only 16 percent knew the heritage language very well. An astounding 72 percent of these children said they preferred to use English.

A heritage language is defined as a language not spoken by the dominant culture, but spoken in the family or associated with the heritage culture (Krashen, 1998). The importance of heritage languages in general and Chinese in particular makes it vital to understand the processes by which it is taught and learned at home and the processes by which language ability is retained or lost.

One part of understanding these processes involves looking at the context in the home in which a child is raised. This is particularly important in the case where the heritage language is not taught in school. Although Mandarin Chinese language is the third most common language spoken in the United States, it is still a less commonly taught language in the United States (Gambhir, 2001). For those less commonly taught languages, the responsibility of language teaching falls on the shoulders of immigrant parents. Heritage language learning begins on the first day of the child’s life in the immigrant family.

To better understand these processes, one must address a number of gaps in heritage language studies. First, the literature largely ignores the diversity of the ethnic Chinese population in the United States. Studies on heritage Chinese language learning have included all Chinese people in a single group (Chao, 1996; Chiang, 2000). Ethnic

Chinese in the United States include people from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, which have different educational systems and socio-political contexts as well as different versions of the Chinese language. Second, most studies of immigrant Chinese populations were conducted in urban areas such as New York City or in Los Angeles' Chinatown (Sung, 1987; Chao, 1995, 1996; Zhou, 2000). These cities have a denser Chinese population and a different socio-economic makeup than other areas. Third, the immigrant community patterns have changed dramatically. More and more immigrant Chinese live in the suburbs where few minorities have traditionally lived. In addition, many of the current Taiwanese immigrants are highly educated in areas of electronic computer technology, which was not true in the past.

Prior to the middle 1980's, the tools of high technology were not available to the general public. The Taiwanese immigrant community now has personal computers available to them, which provide numerous forms of communication including email, exchanges of photographs, communication on computer bulletin boards, spoken interaction facilitating family communication, DVD's, and CD's. International communication by cell phone is also available. Those high tech tools in larger immigrant community in the United States or in other countries provide social capital and heritage language resources for local immigrant communities. These tools were not available in the past so they were not included in the studies that examined the former culture of Chinese American immigrants. High technology influences the frequency of interaction within the ethnic community and between the ethnic community and their home country. The interaction occurs in the following ways: through discount phone cards, cheap international airline tickets, use of the Internet, and satellite TV programs from the home country (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2000). Literature in Chinese language learning tended to not include these new media trends. Zhang and Hao (1999) explored

the roles of on-line Chinese publications in promoting ethnic communication. They considered the possibilities of these publications in strengthening cultural and communal ties of the ethnic groups. The authors also argued that in the age of cyberspace, the ethnic media might play an important role in fortifying and strengthening the cultural traits of ethnic immigrants. As a result, ethnic groups are more likely to be assimilated into the mainstream culture without losing their own cultural roots and ethnic identity. Zhou and Cai (2002) also examined the uses of Chinese language media such as newspapers, radio, television and the Internet. They concluded,

The Chinese language media not only connects immigrants to their host society, but also serves as a road map for the first generation to incorporate into American society by promoting the mobility goals of home ownership, entrepreneurship, and educational achievement (p. 419).

Another limitation in previous studies of Chinese heritage language learning was that they took place in the heritage community schools (Wang 1996; Chiang, 2000; Chao, 1996). Children attended these schools only two or three hours a week. Children were not accepted as students before the age of four. Therefore, the literature did not closely examine the role that parents played in the language learning process before and after a child entered a Chinese school. The present study obtained firsthand information from mothers to examine their perceptions regarding the contexts that they provided for their children's heritage language development, including but not limited to heritage community schools. In addition, most studies on heritage language learning were analyzed from a sociological or a linguistic-language acquisition framework. However, in the current study, theoretical frameworks that are found in early childhood education were applied to examine the results.

One important framework that researchers use in early childhood education is from a theorist named Lev Vygotsky. There are two relevant principles underlying a Vygotskyian framework (Bodrova & Leong, 1996). The first basic principle is that language plays a central role in mental development. Second, development cannot be separated from its social context. Vygotsky (1978) argued that a child's cultural development took place in the process of moving from the interpersonal plane to the intrapersonal plane. If Vygotsky is correct, then a mother plays a crucial role in a child's heritage language learning. Children have very little exposure to interpersonal relationships in Chinese cultural situations with the Chinese language. Instead, these relationships occur in an American cultural context in English. Thus, from Vygotsky's point of view, the role of the mother in providing a Chinese context for Chinese language learning becomes crucial. Without the immigrant parents, there are few other sources for the interpersonal activity that Vygotsky found essential to the language needed for mental development.

Research Questions

There were two research questions, which provided the focus for this dissertation. These questions were:

- (1) What meanings do immigrant Taiwanese mothers attribute to their American-born children's heritage language?
- (2) What are the strategies that immigrant Taiwanese mothers describe themselves as using in relation to their American-born children's heritage language learning?

Limitations of this Study

As this study only focused on a small number of immigrant Taiwanese mothers in one community, the results may not apply to larger populations such as Taiwanese immigrant mothers in the United States in general, and may not even be statistically representative of the community being studied. The purpose of this study was not to generalize the findings. However to increase the applicability of this study, I provided details about the circumstances of each individual so that readers may consider whether or not the findings were applicable to other situations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In addition, time and scope limitations prevented this dissertation from exploring a number of related interesting issues. Although the dissertation included some direct observations and some conclusions regarding outcomes, the main focus of this dissertation was not to study outcomes in detail or to compare parent self-reporting with actual behavior.

Definition of Terms

The terms of environment, immigrant Taiwanese mother, Heritage language and social capital were defined as follow:

Environment: For the purpose of this dissertation, environments including the activities, attitudes, materials and environments that were relevant to the learning of the heritage language. In this study I applied Vygotsky's definition of "environment". Vygotsky (1994) defined environment as a resource rather than a setting. Resources are dynamic and changeable.

Immigrant Taiwanese mothers: The definition of immigrant Taiwanese mothers in this sample included mothers who were born and educated in Taiwan and became either permanent residents or citizens of the United States. Because the focus of this study was

early childhood education, this study included only mothers who had at least one child less than nine years of age.

Heritage language: A heritage language is one not spoken by the dominant culture, but is spoken in the family or associated with the heritage culture (Krashen, 1998). Although the term heritage implies tradition, it is not necessary for the heritage language to be the one spoken traditionally by the group.

Social capital: Social capital is embodied in the relations among persons. Social capital appears in the family between parents and children and in the community such as community language school. In this dissertation, I use the term social capital to refer specifically to social capital used in heritage language learning.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of literature for this study is divided into five sections. The first two sections focus on the theoretical frameworks used in this study. One framework is based on the work of Lev Vygotsky, and the other is the concept of social capital. The following sections focus on the literature regarding language history and Taiwan, heritage language, and research on immigrant Chinese parenting.

The Conceptual Framework of Lev Vygotsky

Vygotsky (1896-1934) was a Russian who worked as a literary critic and schoolteacher before he found his interest in psychology. Because of Vygotsky's early death from tuberculosis at the age of 38, his works were little known until the 1960s and 1970s when his works *Thought and language* (Vygotsky, 1986) followed by *Mind in society* (Vygotsky, 1978) were published in English. Rogoff (1990) believed Vygotsky's emphasis on language as the most important tool of thought may have derived from the agenda of his nation. At the time when he was writing, Russia was trying to forge a new Soviet nation with widespread literacy.

LANGUAGE AND ENVIRONMENT

Vygotsky (1996, 1997) wrote, "The child's intellectual growth is contingent on his mastering the social means of thought, that is, language" (p. 94). In addition, Vygotsky (1994) stated, "a child does not invent his own language, but he finds the words in a ready-made state, fixed to ready-made things, and he assimilates our language and the meaning the words have in our languages" (p. 345). In a frequently cited passage, Vygotsky (1978) explained how the social processes gave rise to individual process. He

believed every function in the child's cultural development appeared twice: first, on the social level that was between people (interpsychological), and later on the individual level that was inside the child (intrapsychological) (p. 57).

Vygotsky (1978) viewed cognitive development as a result of a dialectical process, where the child learned from interacting with others. Although these interactions could take many forms, Vygotsky stressed language dialogue. The adults transmit to children through their speech, the rich body of knowledge that exists in their culture. Vygotsky (1994) also viewed environment as “changeable and dynamic” (p. 346). From this idea, one can conclude that in studying social cultural contexts for heritage language, its context cannot be seen as a static entity, but rather a dialectical process.

Vygotsky (1994) argued that the child kept changing so the relationship between him and his environment also was constantly changing. In Vygotsky's view, the greatest characteristic feature of child development is that this development is achieved under particular conditions of interaction with the environment. This ideal and final form of language is not only already there in the environment from the very first contact with the child, but actually interacts with and exerts a real influence on the first steps of the child's development. He gave an example of a child who had only just begun to speak and pronounce single words. Although the child was not capable of fully formed speech, it was still present in the child's environment. When the child spoke in one word phrases, his mother responded to him in a language with a large vocabulary, which was already grammatically and syntactically formed even though it was being toned down for the child's benefit. Therefore, something that was only supposed to take shape at the very end of development somehow influenced the very first steps in the child's development (Vygotsky, 1994).

The final existing form of language and the social interactions required for the child's earliest language contact is influenced by the individual forms of the heritage language. For example, I mentioned earlier that one problem in the existing research was that all Chinese immigrants were presumed to speak the same form of Chinese, which was Mandarin Chinese. However, there are social and cultural differences between Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan. Vygotsky (1994) stated that the final form of the language actually determined and guided the first steps that the child should take along the road of development of this form.

Using the example of a child who was growing up among people, concerning the development of language, Vygotsky (1994) argued "if no appropriate ideal [language] form can be found in the environment, i.e. without any interaction with the final form, then this proper form will fail to develop properly in the child" (p. 349). Following this logic, one can see the importance of the home environment for the sample in this dissertation. Among Taiwanese immigrant families in Austin, Texas, the home environment is the only environment that has the ideal and final form of Chinese heritage language. Parents are the ones who know this final and ideal form with which they interact with the child. Furthermore, when one studies languages, one cannot merely study languages as an object, a trait or structure, but rather a language, which embeds the social cultural system surrounding the language. Applying this to the current study, one can conclude that one must not look only at Chinese language learning in isolation, but must look at the contexts surrounding the language.

ZONE OF PROXIMAL DEVELOPMENT

To explain how social interactions gave rise to the child's intellectual development, Vygotsky (1978) introduced the idea of the zone of proximal development

(ZPD). The zone of proximal development is the distance between the actual developmental level determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers. Vygotsky believed that the child's development could only be understood by understanding the mental functions which have already matured, and those functions that were in the process of maturation. Based on this concept, researchers have identified a number of processes, which aid the child's progress through the zone of proximal development. The zone of proximal development for early childhood children takes place during play. In the context of this study, the ZPD could occur at home when a child learns languages, including heritage language during play.

Vygotsky (1978) concluded the following three practical implications in developmental history of language: written, reading and speech. First, "Reading and writing must be something the child needs" (p. 117). Second, "writing should be meaningful for children, that an *intrinsic* need should be aroused in them, and that writing should be incorporated into a task that is necessary and relevant for life" (p. 118, emphasis added). Third, "writing should be *taught* naturally" (p. 118, emphasis in original). "Natural methods of teaching reading and writing involve appropriate operations on the child's environment. Reading and writing should become necessary for her in her play" (p. 118). For this reason, I identified heritage language learning that took place in the contexts of the home environment as an important finding because it indicated how mothers provided for and supported spoken and written heritage language.

SCAFFOLDING

Based on Vygotsky's ideas, Wood, Bruner, and Ross (1976) introduced the idea of scaffolding. Scaffolding is defined as a process by which more experienced people

interact with less experienced people, and thereby impart their knowledge. The more experienced person can pull the less experienced person up to a higher level. With the help of more experienced peers or adults, children can move to their potential level.

The concept of scaffolding is relevant to this study because the activities that are considered scaffolding are also not limited to those that exist in formal educational settings. In this study, a large part of the heritage language may be taught in informal home environments rather than in formal school environments. Thus, within the contexts of the study, mothers' descriptions of their scaffolding efforts would be elicited.

GUIDED PARTICIPATION

Guided participation takes place not only in situations of adult-child face-to-face interactions and instructions, but also in the everyday activities without an intention of explicit teaching (Rogoff, 1990). For example, a mother may be in the kitchen cooking while she has the baby placed in its chair so the baby can see her. She sings a song in the heritage language while she cooks. This is not direct instruction or interaction. Yet, it is a relevant scaffold for learning the heritage language. For this study, the question was how do immigrant mothers guide their children toward heritage language.

PARENTAL ROLE

Vygotsky's emphasis on learning through social contexts is different from the adult's role in child-centered developmental theories, which are dominant in the English-speaking world (Litowitz, 1993). In Vygotsky's view, children are neither on their own nor are they programmed by adults, but instead are "working WITH adults at a level beyond his individual capacities, the child gradually takes over the adult's functions" (Litowitz, 1993, p. 184 emphasis in original).

From Vygotsky's theories, one can see that the pre-existing historical, social, and linguistic contexts are important in understanding the process of language learning. Before describing these contexts in general terms, concepts of social capital will be introduced in the next section. After that, the specific characteristics of Chinese, background information about heritage language in the United States, and parenting attitudes among Chinese will be discussed.

Social Capital

Bourdieu (1997) defined capital as material and symbolic means to legitimize and maintain the power relations among social groups, and these means operate as social relations within a system of change. There are various forms of capital, which are interchangeable. Bourdieu described three forms of capital: social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital. Social capital is the network of people whom a person knows and who can help that person achieve aims. Cultural capital consists of forms of knowledge, skills, and education, which give a person a higher status in society. Economic capital consists of financial assets (Bourdieu, 1997). There are two important aspects of Bourdieu's concepts. One is that social capital is the foundation of social class. The other is that people in the upper class have more valuable social capital that can be converted into different types of capital.

The concept of social capital has also been used by other authors such as Coleman (1988, 1990), who defined social capital as the supportive relationships among adults and children that promote the sharing of norms and values. In his view, social capital is created when the relations between people changed in ways that facilitated action. He believed that social capital was "embodied in the *relations* among persons" (Coleman, 1990, p. 304) and also stated, "the elements provided to the child's education by a strong

family can be described as ‘social capital’ . . . social capital in the raising of children . . . is [are] resources that reside in the social structure itself—the norms, the social networks, the relationships between adults and children that are of value for the children’s growing up” (Coleman, 1988, p. 12). Coleman (1988) continued by stating that social capital existed within the family, outside the family, and in the community. He stated that “social capital within family that gives the child access to the adult’s human capital depends both on the physical presence of adults in the family and on the attention given by the adults to the child. The physical absence of adults may be described as a structural deficiency in family social capital.” (p. 111) He further stated that even if adults are physically present, there is a lack of social capital in the family if there are not strong relations between children and parents (Coleman, 1988, p. 111). Coleman (1997) said, “A person’s actions are shaped, redirected, constrained by the social context; norms, interpersonal trust, social networks, and social organization are important in the functioning not only of the society but also of the economy” (p. 80). He also believed that social capital appeared in the relationships between individuals in a community characterized by high-trust relations and shared responsibilities.

Zhou (2000) expressed that social capital should be treated as a process rather than as a concrete object that facilitated access to benefits and resources. She studied social capital in Chinatown and found the community to be an important source of social capital. The community not only made resources available to parents and children, but served as a guide to direct children’s behavior. All of these connotations of social capital were considered during data analysis process in this study.

Language Use in Taiwan

To understand the contexts of immigrant language learning, it would be useful to investigate some background about the original home of the immigrant as well as the current home of the immigrant. Due to the cultural unity of the Chinese people and its standard written form, "Chinese" is often regarded as a single language, both inside and outside China. However, Chinese encompasses an enormous range of dialects. Dialects from different groups are mutually unintelligible. Mandarin Chinese is the official language of the People's Republic of China and Taiwan. However, in China, it is known as Putonghua meaning "common speech," while in Taiwan, it is called Guoyu ("national language"). Mandarin Chinese has more native speakers approaching one billion than any other language, and it is widely understood as a second language by most Chinese people.

The indigenous languages of Taiwan are Austronesian, and about seven are still being spoken by small minority groups in the central mountains and on the east coast. In the seventeenth century, the island was settled by Han Chinese, most of whom spoke a southern Min dialect of the Xiamen area, and some of whom belonged to the Hakka speaking minority. The Japanese occupation of Taiwan from 1895-1945 imposed the Japanese language on the people as the main language of instruction. In 1945, sovereignty of Taiwan was transferred from Japan to the Republic of China, which was then under the control of the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang regime, forced from Mainland China onto Taiwan by the Communists in 1949, imposed Mandarin as the national language (Guoyu) at the expense of the Min dialect, which is known as Taiwanese 'Taiyu'. The retreat of the Kuomintang from Mainland China resulted in an influx of immigrants from Mainland China into Taiwan, who are known as *waishengren* (literally other province people) in contrast to the people descended from the residents of

Taiwan before this influx, who are known as *benshengren* (literally local province people).

During the 1970's, which included the formative years of the sample, Taiwanese was not permitted in schools. With the relaxation of the political climate, the local dialect has regained its status and Taiyu can now be heard beside Mandarin on the radio, in film, and in popular songs (Mathews, 1997).

Heritage Language

In my study, all children of the immigrant Taiwanese mothers were born in the United States. The main heritage language the children spoke was Mandarin Chinese, which was the first language they spoke before they entered school and was commonly used by the mothers and their children. However, it was not commonly used in Taiwan before the 1950's so it may not be the most commonly used language by the parents of the mothers in the sample. They might have spoken Taiwanese, Cantonese, or Japanese at home.

Unlike foreign language acquisition, which usually begins in a classroom setting, heritage language acquisition begins at the earliest stage of children's life at home. Heritage language is not merely another foreign language, but it is a language that influences the identity of the children (Tse, 1998). It has an impact on the whole lives of the immigrant parents and children (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Cummins (1979) presented a linguistic interdependence hypothesis. He proposed that the level of second language competence that a bilingual child attained was partially a function of the type of competence the child developed in the first language at the time when intensive exposure to the second language began. According to Cummins (1979), when the usage of certain functions of language and the development of Chinese - Taiwanese - Japanese -

Cantonese vocabulary and concepts are strongly promoted by the child's linguistic environment outside of school, then intensive exposure to English is likely to result in high levels of English competence at no cost to Chinese – Taiwanese – Japanese - Cantonese competence. The initially high level of the heritage language development makes possible the development of similar levels of competence in English.

In the studies of Fishman & Hofman (1996) and Portes & Rumbault (1990), the loss of the heritage language occurred between the second and the third generations because second generation immigrants rarely used the heritage language enough to impart it to their children. Thus, the process of language loss used to take place over two generations. However, the picture has changed dramatically in the case of present day immigrants. Over the past 25 years, this process of accelerated language loss in immigrant children and families has been documented repeatedly (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Portes & Hao, 1998). This accelerated heritage language loss also happens in the immigrant Taiwanese families (Cho & Krashen, 1998).

Tse (2001a) and Kondo (1998) interviewed the university students who maintained their home languages. They had similar findings in their studies. Tse (2001a) examined the experiences of the U.S. native bilinguals who have managed to develop high levels of literacy in both English and their home or heritage language. Her findings showed that the coexistence of two sets of factors helped the development of biliteracy. These factors were a) language vitality and b) the literacy environment and experiences. Having access to heritage language literacy environments and guidance from more literate adults and peers allowed the participants to observe the use of heritage language literacy in meaningful and socially important ways (Tse, 2001a).

The literature (Zhou 2000, Zhou and Kim, 2006) suggests that immigrant Chinese parents' prioritization of the value of education is due to the long standing cultural belief

rooted in Confucianism. In Lee's (2002) study on the role of cultural heritage in heritage language learning in Korean-American bicultural homes, she stated, "The informants stated that the absence of societal recognition of the importance in maintaining their heritage language was the most significant factor in their lack of motivation to maintain their heritage language" (p. 1). Brecht and Ingold (1998) emphasized the importance and value of heritage language maintenance. They believed that heritage language was not only a personal resource, but also a societal and national resource. In his early studies of English-speaking Canadians, Lambert (1975) found that it was the integrative orientation that motivated the students the most and these motivated students were more successful in second-language learning than those who were instrumentally oriented. The attitude of the mother is also important for determining the outcome of language learning. Kim (1992) conducted a study of student attitudes toward learning heritage language and discovered that parental attitudes were important contributing factors.

Another function of heritage language development is that it can facilitate communication with the elders and the heritage language community. By communicating with the elders and with the heritage language community, it allows the heritage language speaker to profit from their wisdom and knowledge (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Cho and Krashen, 1998). Wong-Fillmore (1991) argued that there were many values that school could not teach, but were taught and passed from one generation to another by family members, such as belonging. Thus, if the American born children could not speak a language which was the only language their parents spoke, then lots of communication and cultural values would be lost. Wong-Fillmore (1989) found that "language learning requires frequent and continuing contact between target language speakers and learners" (p. 321). The continuing contact allows learners and speakers to develop social bonds as Wong-Fillmore said, "which in turn provide the motivation needed to keep both parties

talking despite the difficulties that come from not sharing a common language” (p. 321).

DeHouwer (1999) supported the concept by stating,

. . . active bilingualism to develop at an early age and be sustained as the child matures, children must be regularly and frequently exposed to two or more languages, and must grow up in a situation in which the child’s active use of these languages is necessary for socio-communicative purposes (p. 91).

Wong-Fillmore (1991) concluded that lacking a mutual language would cause conflict between generations while communicating with a heritage language could bring family cohesion. Dopke (1992) found that those families whose children did succeed in maintaining fluent bilingualism throughout the period of his study differed from the others in two key ways. First, the parents were consistent about the approach and most importantly did not let the children respond to them in the inappropriate language. Second, the children had people besides their parents to talk to in the heritage language. Other relatives or neighbors, or social or religious groups that used the heritage language provided necessary language support of both further exposure and motivation to the children.

In Hawaii, Kondo (1998) investigated language loss and maintenance among six second-generation university students who were children of Japanese immigrant mothers. For those students who maintained the language to some degree, Kondo noted several factors that contributed to the maintenance of the heritage language. The most influential factor was the role of the Japanese mother. What those Japanese mothers did was that they spoke the language to their children and sought out opportunities for their children to interact in the language outside of the home (e.g., sending their children to be educated in Japan, or joining local Japanese religious and secular organizations).

These above studies support my rationale for more investigation about what takes place within the socio-cultural environments of my sample group. Based on my data, more details about the importance of the mother's role in heritage language learning will be discussed in later chapters.

In 2005, the United States and China began a cooperative program that would increase the opportunities for learning the Chinese language in American high schools. The United States started to recognize the importance of the Chinese language to Americans in the new global economy. In the American legislature, a bill has been introduced to spend \$1.3 billion over five years on Chinese language programs in schools and on cultural exchanges to improve ties between the United States and China. The bill has been referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Ruethling, 2005).

In this section, I presented a brief historical review of the Chinese language. Mandarin Chinese encompasses an enormous range of dialects. The U.S. immigrant populations have grown since 2000. In these immigrant households, heritage language development is not merely foreign language learning, but it impacts the living of the immigrant families. Heritage language affects the communication between immigrant parents and children, and the passing on of cultural values. Therefore the loss of heritage language is an important concern. The studies mentioned in this chapter are relevant to this dissertation because the sample groups studied were children of the immigrants who did not lose their heritage language. These studies helped to identify some important criteria to support heritage language maintenance.

Research on Immigrant Chinese Parenting

Although there is an increasing concern about children's heritage language learning in the United States, research on mother's involvement is scarce. Yet literature

on immigrant Chinese parenting may shed light on heritage language learning in the United States. Zhou (2000), for example, found that Chinese American families, greatly influenced by Confucianism, emphasized traditional values, such as respect for authority (e.g., the elders, the parents, and the teachers). Those families also regarded education as a means of mobility.

Literature on immigrant Chinese parenting, comparing with that of the mainstream society, showed that immigrant Chinese parents had more parental control and had more emphasis on children's academic achievement. For example, Lin and Fu (1990) used Child-Rearing Practices Report (CRPC) as a questionnaire to investigate the differences and similarities in child rearing practices among Chinese, immigrant Chinese, and Caucasian-American parents. It was found that Chinese and immigrant Chinese parents tended to rate higher on parental control, encouragement of independence, and emphasis on achievement than Caucasian-American parents. Chao (1992) followed the study of Lin and Fu by using the same CRPC questionnaire in addition with three interview questions. She found a similar result that immigrant Chinese mothers rated higher in parental control. However, she also found that Chinese parents who had more parent authority also had more parental involvement than American parents.

Chao (1992) also found Chinese mothers regarded themselves as a very important role that they took very seriously in terms of being responsible for their children's schoolwork and school performance. She found that immigrant Chinese mothers thought that helping their children to do better in school was the most important task. In her findings, one immigrant Chinese mother stated, "mother needs to play a significant role in the child's education" (p. 150). In addition, she found that in a Chinese family, a child's academic achievement was the value and honor of the whole family. Failing school embarrassed the family and the family lost face. Academic issues became a family affair

(Chao, 1992). Because the success of children in school is very much tied to face saving for the immigrant Chinese family as Zhou (2000) stated, “Parents themselves are expected to bring up their children in ways that honor the family” (p. 326).

Zhou (2000) concluded that the Chinese American family did not simply retain their “Chineseness”, but incorporated a set of characteristics associated with adaptational strategies for coping with uprooting and assimilation. She believed immigrant Chinese parents “are constantly caught in the conflict between maintenance of cultural identity in children and the adoption of desire mainstream cultural ways” (p. 325). Zhou further expressed that no matter how integrated the Chinese American families might be into the larger society, they did not function in isolation. They were embedded in a long-standing cultural tradition and in the social structure of the larger Chinese American community (Zhou, 2000).

The existing studies have provided some understanding of heritage language learning. However, they also presented a number of limitations. First, they were mostly quantitative studies that examined general notions of parenting and did not touch on specific aspects of parenting such as parental behavior regarding language learning. Second, they generally used survey questions that limited the depth of information that deserved investigation. Last, they usually compared Chinese parenting with a notion of mainstream society and did not take into account the large differences between these groups, such as socio-economic level, current residency, and place of origin.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In this study, a qualitative approach involving interviews and observations was used to investigate the research questions. This chapter will describe the subjects of the study, the interview technique, and the types of observations that I made. In addition, because this uses the researcher as instrument, I will describe my relationship with the community to which my subjects belong, as well as the steps that I took to analyze the data, including steps to establish the trustworthiness of the data. Trustworthiness was also discussed. Case study reports were used to present the results of the data analysis. Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp.357-360) have proposed that the case study is the reporting mode of choice for the naturalistic study. Erlandson et al (1993) state that “case study allows for thick description that puts the reader vicariously into the context and allow him or her to interact with the data presented.” (p. 40).

Research Questions

The research questions for this study were:

- (1) What meanings did immigrant Taiwanese mothers attribute to their American-born children’s heritage language?
- (2) What were the strategies that immigrant Taiwanese mothers described themselves as using in relation to their American-born children’s heritage language learning?

Subjects

I was able to find and interview 13 mothers, who met the criteria for being a subject of this study on Taiwanese immigrant mothers. Each interviewee was born and raised in Taiwan, currently lived in the United States with either American citizenship or permanent residency, and was a mother who had at least one child under nine who was born and raised in the United States. All of the mothers in the study lived in the Austin, Texas metropolitan area.

In my final analysis I chose five of the 13 mothers to be in this study as the subjects. I chose these five mothers because all of their children attended the same weekend Chinese school. This Chinese school provided social context where immigrant Taiwanese mothers used to encourage their children's heritage language learning. The other reason why I chose these five mothers was because by choosing them, I maximized the variations of the social capital of the five subjects. The method used to select the subjects was called "maximum variation sampling" (Patton 1990, p. 172), whose purpose was "to maximize information, not to facilitate generalization" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 202). The maximized variations of the subjects included profession, language ability, social economic status, education background, marital status, characteristics of their spouses, and the number and age of the children of the five mothers. To safeguard the mothers confidentially, all written reports used pseudonyms. The names of the five mothers were: Lee, Zen, Wa-Wa, Rita, and Sofia. All of the five mothers would be discussed in more detail in chapter four as five case studies.

Researcher as Instrument

I am an immigrant Taiwanese mother myself and at the time of the interviews I had lived in this immigrant community for nine years. As a member of this community, I

was actively serving as a secretary in a Taiwanese Buddhist organization for three years. This experience helped me to build a good relationship with the local immigrant Taiwanese community and have better understanding of this group. Furthermore, I participated in the Chinese school as a room mother for three years. This experience allowed me to observe and understand some of the contexts regarding Chinese language learning. It also helped me gain access to potential subjects. I was aware of “the perils of easy access” (Seidman, 1998) when interviewing acquaintances or friends where the interviewer should not assume what was being said (pp. 34-37).

In the study, I used myself as a “human instrument”. A human instrument has the infinite flexibility to adapt to the situation, to find the salient factors to follow up during the interview and to extend understanding of both concrete and intuitive information (tacit knowledge) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, humans are imperfect so I needed to keep reminding myself that my job was an interviewer, not a therapist, a teacher, or an advocate.

It is important to note that my minor degree was in Chinese literacy from a teachers’ college and I taught Chinese language in an elementary school for five years in Taiwan. I was also trying to raise my children to be bilingual. With these backgrounds, I was seen as an “authority” figure on issues of bilingual education. I had an advantage of gaining trust of my subjects because of this perceived authority. However, since I was seen as an expert, my own opinions and attitudes could also possibly inhibited my subjects from sharing their own.

I tried to avoid developing a therapeutic relationship with the subjects. “The researcher is there to learn, not to treat the participant” (Seidman, 1998; p. 91). I followed Seidman’s suggestion to “let the participant work out the distress without interfering and

taking inappropriate responsibility for it.” (p. 91). If an interviewee asked for an advice during the interview, I asked her to finish the interview first before giving any advice.

Data Collection

INTERVIEW

The interview method was the main technique used to collect data, which was useful because it "gives us access to the observation of others" (Weiss 1994, p. 1). Interviews allowed the researcher and respondent to move back and forth in time; to construct here-and-now; to reconstruct the past, and to project the future (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Erlandson et al, 1993). The human interviewer could be a marvelously smart, adaptable, flexible instrument, which could respond to situations with skill, tact, and understanding (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 107). I probed for comments from the interviewees by encouraging them to tell a story. When I sensed that I was hearing a public voice, I searched for an inner one by asking more questions (Seidman, 1998). All of the interview questions were open-ended questions (see some interview question samples in Appendix).

All of the five mothers were interviewed individually at the first time for between two and half hours and five hours in their homes. I considered interviewing the mothers in their homes to be essential in that I could directly observe the physical environments of the mothers and children. During the interviews in the subjects' homes, I was able to observe physical artifacts which were related to the meanings that each mother ascribed to heritage language as well as mediators that the mother used as undertaken strategies to encourage heritage language learning of the children. Over the course of two-year data collection, multiple follow-up interviews were also conducted with each mother to clarify some information or gather more information after the first interview. The follow-up

interviews took place at the Chinese school, the Buddhist temple and miscellaneous Taiwanese associations. All first interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. They were transcribed into Chinese first and then translated into English. Follow-up interviews were either tape-recorded or jotted down by hand and elaborated in the computer later.

The interviews were in whatever language the mothers were most comfortable with. For these five mothers, they all spoke Mandarin Chinese, with code switching into Taiwanese and English during the interviews. I speak fluent Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese and English. I was also literate in both Chinese and English. These skills provided a range of choices for the participants. Although I did not put any explicit or conscious restrictions on the language to be used in the interviews, the language used turned out to be Mandarin Chinese, with code switching into Taiwanese and English. Mandarin Chinese was the primary language used because all of the mothers were fluent in that language, and this language seemed to be the one that was most socially appropriate for a formal interview. One mother, Lee, started the interview in Taiwanese, but I found myself unconsciously switching back to Chinese because it seemed more socially appropriate to use Chinese for the interview, and because I knew that I would have practical problems in transcribing large amounts of Taiwanese.

Because of the “linguistic differences” (Seidman, 1998, P.88), it took time and effort to find the right word in English to represent the “full sense of the word” (Vygotsky, 1987) that the participants spoke in their native language. To reduce the complexity of translation but not to interrupt the flow of interviews, I asked the interviewees immediately or jotted down the key words which they would like to use in English at the end of the interview or during the follow-up interviews. In transcribing Taiwanese, I used Chinese characters (noting when there was a code switch to Taiwanese) whenever possible and phonetic transcriptions for words that had no Chinese

characters associated with them. There exist phonetic systems for transcribing Taiwanese but neither the interviewees nor the researcher were proficient in using any of them. Thus, using Chinese characters was a better way to preserve meanings of the original text.

OBSERVATIONS

Observations were used to accompany interviews to attain information which could not be attained from the interviews or to validate what had been said by the mothers during the interviews. Since the purpose of the study was to examine the social capital of the heritage language learning, all of the social contexts which might indicate resources the mothers provided for encouraging language learning either consciously or unconsciously could be important information. For example, observing a mother's interactions with her children in different settings gave me a better understanding of how much heritage language was being spoken during an incident. I observed not only the home environments of the mothers, but also interactions the mothers had with their children, and the interactions the children had with their siblings and with other family members in different settings. During the interviews in the subjects' homes, I was able to observe the physical environment as well as physical artifacts associated with language learning, such as books, flash cards, and DVD's. If the observations were not at the mother's home, they usually took place at the Chinese school, the Buddhist temple and miscellaneous Taiwanese associations over a period of two years. Some observations were voluntary and others were encouraged by the mothers. Sometimes the mothers asked the children to show me how much Chinese their children could speak. The observation data provided evidence of the heritage language usage during the interactions

the mothers had with their children, and the interactions their children had with other family members or with the local community in natural settings.

Data Analysis

A constant comparative approach was used in the inductive data analysis process. This method involved unitizing, categorizing, thick description in case reporting, peer debriefing, and member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

THE CHALLENGES OF LANGUAGE

It is fitting that in a study on heritage language that there are many challenges involving the use of language. The mothers all had professional fluency level in Mandarin Chinese, but very different levels of fluency in Taiwanese. Although they were all fluent in English and used it in their daily lives, they were less comfortable in this language than in Mandarin or Taiwanese, and were also generally unfamiliar with the technical language used in educational studies. By contrast, the audience for this study is fluent in academic English, but generally not fluent in either Chinese or Taiwanese at all. It was not practical to translate the entire transcription of the data from Chinese to English nor was it practical to translate the data analysis and presentation from English to Chinese. Most of the translation between English and Chinese occurred at the unitization and categorization phase, in which selected thick descriptions which were relevant to the study were translated at that point from Chinese to English.

In addition, the practicalities of language affected at least one interview in a significant way. One of the mothers (Lee) would have preferred to have had the interview in Taiwanese rather than Mandarin, but after code switching, the interview occurred mostly in Mandarin because it would have been impractical for me to transcribe and process data that was mostly in Taiwanese, as this is primarily a spoken rather than a

written language. In addition, in translating and transcribing between different languages, some significant information related to the use of language may be lost. For example, when using the term “identity,” all of the mothers consistently used the English word because there is no standard Chinese or Taiwanese term that completely captures the English meaning.

PERSISTENT OBSERVATIONS

Before beginning to categorize my data, I spent two years on data collection to build trust with the subjects and to learn the contexts of their stories. I also observed the interactions between the mothers and their children to gain better understanding of the language they used during the interactions. Although only a portion of the observation information was recorded and used in the data analysis, this experience increased my confidence of the consistency and validation of the findings generated from the interview data. I used different methods to collect data, such as interviews, observations, and artifacts collection for triangulation.

After I collected this data, I analyzed it with an inductive data analysis process using a constant comparative approach. This method involved unitizing, categorizing, thick description in case reporting, peer debriefing, and member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As I stated earlier, the use of thick description, peer debriefing, and member checking were intended to establish trustworthiness in the data analysis process. I shall now describe the steps that I took in detail.

UNITIZING

Before unitizing the data, the data from interview with all thirteen mothers were transcribed into Chinese transcripts. In the process of unitizing, I broke down all the data transcriptions from the interviews into the smallest units. I chose the units on a "feel

right" or "look right" basis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 340). I reviewed the transcriptions and paid special attention to the episodes that demonstrated the context and strategies immigrant mothers provided for heritage language learning, I also paid attention to descriptions that demonstrated events related to social and cultural capital or scaffolding. Then I coded the units of information in the margins of the transcriptions. At this point the process of translation began as I began to use English terms to code the data.

CATEGORIZING

I compared all units, looked for descriptions about either meanings or strategies of heritage language learning, and attempted to find themes that would provide insights to the similarities and differences between the interviewees. In addition from the original thirteen mothers, it was during the process of categorization that I made a decision as to which mothers I would present in this dissertation.

Once the categories had reached a critical size, I developed category titles that described category properties and distinguished one category from another (Erlandson et al., 1993). In searching for answers to what meanings the mothers placed on heritage language, five categories were generated from the interview data, which allowed for comparison of meanings between the mothers. These five categories were cultural relationships, family bonds, social status within the immigrant community, integration in American and global communities, and economic and social success. For each interviewee and category, I then described in greater detail how the meanings and strategies reported by a mother could be perceived through the framework of socio-cultural capital or through Vygotsky's concepts such as scaffolding. Data that did not have any relationship with this theoretical framework were excluded from this study. A

constant comparison method was employed until the analysis is finished. The categorization process was primarily performed in English against the Chinese transcript.

THICK DESCRIPTION

Thick descriptions were used to present the data more accurately because they came directly from the mothers. Thick descriptions in each case study provided “a holistic and lifelike description that is like those that the readers normally encounter in their experiencing of the world” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.359). Thick description in a case study also allowed the readers to interact with the data directly. The method that I used to create the thick descriptions was to find from the Chinese transcripts, descriptions which I believed accurately represented the situations of the mothers, and to translate those into English.

PEER DEBRIEFING

Two peers with doctoral level education worked closely with me during the data analysis process. One was an American born Chinese. He had a native speaking and reading level of both academic and colloquial English. He also had a high level of spoken Mandarin Chinese and could read Chinese well enough to understand the transcripts, but did not understand Taiwanese at all. Since he grew up in a Chinese family in the United States, he was familiar with Chinese American culture. He was also a father of two young children who were raised with both English and Chinese. With these unique backgrounds, he was able to provide more accurate translations between the two languages, and offer insights and feedback on social and cultural interpretations of Chinese American culture. In addition because he was biliterate in both Chinese and English, he was able to read the original transcripts and was able to verify my

categorization and unitization, as well as to check whether or not my conclusions regarding relevance to the study were correct.

Another peer debriefer was a Ph. D. in Curriculum and Instruction with a specialization in Early Childhood Education. This debriefer was bilingual and biliterate in English and Spanish. She was raised in South America from early childhood through adulthood within the context of an American English speaking family. She also had a unique background of bilingual education that allowed her to provide feedback and insights of the categories and interpretations. However, because she did not understand Chinese, she was not able to interact directly with the original transcripts, and her feedback was based on my translations and summaries of the transcribed data.

MEMBER CHECKING

Member checking with all of the mothers was also established to increase trustworthiness. As needed, I called the mothers to clarify statements that were unclear. These revisions were made over the telephone or during observations. Because of the translation issue, I also asked the mothers over the telephone or in person if there were some specific terminology that they would prefer to use to clarify their meanings. If they knew the English words that accurately corresponded to the Chinese terms, I asked them to provide those English words.

TRUSTWORTHINESS

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), there are different techniques a researcher can use to establish trustworthiness. Trustworthiness is essential in a qualitative study as validity and reliability are important in a quantitative study. The techniques I used to establish trustworthiness were prolonged engagement, persistent observations, triangulation, thick descriptions, peer debriefing, and member checking. I spent two years

on data collection to build trust with the subjects and to learn the contexts of their stories. I also observed the interactions between the mothers and their children to gain better understanding of the language they used during the interactions. Although only a portion of the observation information was recorded and used in the data analysis, this experience increased my confidence of the consistency and validation of the findings generated from the interview data. I used different methods to collect data, such as interviews, observations, and artifacts collection for triangulation. Thick descriptions were also used to present the data more accurately because they came directly from the mothers. Peer debriefing was provided by two Ph.D. colleagues. One was familiar with Chinese language, English language, and Chinese American culture. The other was specialized in early childhood education. Member checking with all of the mothers was also established to increase trustworthiness.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

In this chapter I present the results of five sets of interviews that I conducted for this study and provide an analysis of the data. I will analyze this data according to the literature and educational theories of Vygotsky (1978, 1986, 1991, 1994), and will look for examples of social capital that the mothers provide for their children. I will use the social capital theories of Coleman (1988, 1997) and Bourdieu (1997) to interpret this data.

Before describing each interviewee separately, I will first mention briefly some of the common backgrounds for each mother. Next, for each interviewee, I begin by describing the background of the parent, usually the mother and my observations of the home environment. In describing each mother, I will include the educational background of the mother, the immigration history of the mother, and the mother's own experiences in language learning. While describing the home environment, I will include interactions that the mother has with her children, and my impressions of the fluency of the child's heritage language. By providing a detailed description of each mother, I will illustrate how a presence or lack of social capital influences the choices that the mother can make for heritage language learning.

Following my description of the mother's background, I will describe the meanings that the mother places on heritage language. In describing the meanings that the mother places on heritage language, I will categorize these meanings into one of the five categories. These categories are cultural relationships, family bonds, social status within the immigrant community, relationship with American and global communities, and academic achievement and social success. I shall present these categories in order in

which I believe they are significant to the mother, which may differ from mother to mother. In addition, not all of the mothers expressed meanings that are relevant to each category, and therefore not all categories will be used for a particular mother.

After I have described how the meanings that the mother's ascribe to heritage language learning. I will describe the different strategies that the mother uses to promote heritage language and analyze them using the theoretical frameworks of social capital and the concepts developed by Vygotsky. I will first describe the strategies that the mother uses within the home environment to promote heritage language. I then will extend the discussion to include the interaction that the mother has with the outside environment, including influences such as other relatives and the Chinese school.

Common characteristics

Before discussing the differences between each mother, I will first summarize some common characteristics that the mothers share and some general observations about the topics that were covered during the interviews. The sample criteria for this study included mothers who were raised in Taiwan and who currently live in a metropolitan area and are currently United States citizens or permanent residents. Although there was no explicit effort to include persons of similar background and social economic status, there were some commonalities in these areas among the mother's studied.

The mothers lived in the Austin, Texas metropolitan, which is a mid city in central Texas. In the 2000 census (2000), the total population of Austin is 656,562 of which 9,158 classified themselves as Chinese either alone or in combination with some other group, with 6,663 being foreign born. The census also reported median family income of Chinese in the Austin area in 2000 was \$62,188 in comparison with \$54,091 for the general Austin population.

All of the mothers in the study had a college education and owned their own home in suburban areas that were predominantly Caucasian and English speaking. The mothers can all speak fluent English, and English was the primary language of communication outside of the family and ethnic Chinese community. The children of the mothers all speak fluent English, and all are enrolled in local area schools. Except for Zen, whose child goes to private school, all of the mother's children attend regular public schools.

All of the mothers were involved in the same Chinese school, which is one of several located in this central Texas metropolitan area. This Chinese school is among the weekend heritage language community schools found in many ethnic communities (Wang 1996; Chiang, 2000; Chao, 1996). As is common for such schools, the Chinese schools provide a Saturday program that contains two hours of language instruction and one hour of cultural programs and is funded entirely of tuition and donations by the parents of the students attending the school. The Chinese school uses classroom facilities at a local public school, but these are provided informally and there are no formal connections between the Chinese school and the regular school system.

All of the mothers had similar formal educational experiences as children. The Taiwanese educational system has a standardized national curriculum, which was taken by all of the mothers. One part of this curriculum is that English is a required subject starting in middle school, continuing in high school, and college, and the mother's English fluency arises from the public school learning which they undertook while in Taiwan.

Case of Zen

“Environment is most important.” (Zen)

Zen is the mother of the family with the most economic and social capital that I interviewed. Her case provides an example of how economic capital and social capital interact, and how social capital enables the mother to implement strategies for heritage language learning that involve changing the environment of the child. Coleman (1988) defines social capital as the supportive relationships among adults and children that promote the sharing of norms and values. In Zen’s situation we shall see how she uses her economic capital to provide social capital to promote language learning for her daughter, Nancy, in the form of social networks. In addition, we shall see how social capital allows Zen to expose her daughter to different environments in a way that promotes her goals of language learning.

BACKGROUND

The concept of social and cultural capital is closely related with possession of economic capital, and Zen and her husband has been able to use their economic capital to create social capital to further their children’s heritage language learning. Zen and her husband are landlords of an entire office building, many shopping centers, duplexes, houses and undeveloped land. In addition, they have also invested in several high-end Vegan restaurants in other states. Her husband’s educational background includes a Ph.D. from an American business school. Zen has an MBA from an American school. Neither of them holds any outside employment. Their wealth was brought over from Taiwan into the United States. In 1980s, real estate in the local area was less than a quarter of the current price while Taiwan’s real estate was at a peak. So her parents-in-laws later sold lands and houses in Taiwan and gave them money to buy properties. She said, “Our

principle in investing in real estate is we never borrow money to avoid any trouble caused by market recession.”

Zen and her husband have vast amounts of economic capital that allows them to contribute both social and economic capital to the local Taiwanese community through their activities in the local Buddhist community. For example, Zen and her husband have hosted vegetarian lunches in the beginning of each semester for the Buddhist association at their home for more than 15 years. They invited their grand master, Dr. Yuan, to give speeches at the local university in 1993 and 2001. Master Yuan is one of the most important contemporary Taiwanese monks and has millions of disciples around the world. The speech was carried in Chinese with English translation and was free to the public. Zen’s involvement with Buddhism not only has strong influences on her parenting philosophy but also brings rich social capital to Nancy at home and also from community.

Interview Setting

According to Bourdieu (1997), the possession of cultural capital includes the possession of artifacts that are related to language and culture. Zen lives in three - story house on a mountaintop, which contains many cultural artifacts related to language and culture. She led me to their 3rd floor that is a complete Buddha hall with a big mural of Buddha on one side, and built-in bookshelf with Buddha Sutra books written in Chinese on the other side. There are three Buddha statues facing the big glass door that leads to their porch. The interview took place in the dining room’s table next to their living room on the first floor.

At a surface level, her home setting was full of Japanese culture. She showed me there were three antique Japanese vessels and a 4 by 3-foot Japanese crane painting in the

living room. She pointed to a beautiful flower arrangement and told me she was learning Japanese flower arranging. She appears to have an emotional attachment to Japanese culture as shown in her home decoration. But they bought the land and designed the house completely according to Chinese fengshui. Zen's husband learned fengshui from his father. This belief of fengshui is deep rooted in Chinese culture. I also found there were six four-foot pieces of amethyst, a violet variety of quartz, in their stairway. Each cost several thousand dollars. Zen believed the stones would bring good fengshui to the family.

There are two eighteen by ten inch pieces of Chinese calligraphy written by Master Yuan that caught my eyes. They were dedicated to her husband's and her name that reflect their close relationship with Master Yuan, providing an example of how physical objects can signify social capital. Chinese calligraphy is an art of written Chinese. It is common to have several meanings in calligraphy. One of the Calligraphy has three words “金如沙“, which translates literally into “Gold as Sand.” There are two meanings for this phrase, one is to wish the recipient wealth and have as much gold as countless grains of sand. Another meaning is gold is like sand, which is to alert the reader that they should not become attached to the material world according to Buddhist teaching. I asked her which meaning was correct. She smiled and told me both meanings. This calligraphy described both their countless economic capital and their charity work.

The first taped recorded interview lasted for five hours. She is the only sample I ate lunch with after the interview because she called me the day before and insisted on inviting me to have a simple vegetarian lunch with her. Over the lunch we shared our vegetarian ideas together. The foods she provided were mixed Chinese and Japanese eating styles.

Later I met her once a week at the temple's reading club and occasionally ran into her on the campus of the Chinese school. She would come to me and share more about Nancy's language learning. I observed Zen's verbal interactions with Nancy in the Chinese school cafeteria sometimes. I paid special attention to what language they used. I conversed with Nancy also.

Mother's Language History

Both Zen and her husband are native speakers of Taiwanese and Chinese and they are also good at English. Both Zen's father and her father-in-law received a Japanese education in Taiwan during the period in which Taiwan was under Japanese control and both grandfathers spoke only Japanese to Nancy. Zen took Japanese courses for two years in college and she also had a Japanese tutor to teach her Japanese three times a week for the entire previous two summers while Nancy studied in elementary school in Japan. Zen's language competence in Japanese provides the scaffolding to help with Nancy's Japanese homework when she was in the lower grades in the Japanese school. She hired tutors to teach herself Spanish when her daughter studied in Argentina's Japanese school. But finally she gave up because "it was hard for me to memorize the vocabulary at my age." However she added, "Spanish is the easiest language for Nancy." So there is no need for the mother to know that language.

Nancy's Language Ability

At age ten, Nancy was multilingual and multi-literate in five languages. Nancy has native speaker fluency in English, Chinese, Japanese, Spanish and Taiwanese. Zen thinks Nancy has an aptitude for language learning. "Ever since she was little, she has been able to competently use adjectives in Chinese." Zen stated Nancy's Japanese ability is equal to the elementary school children who are ten – years - old in Japan. By age ten,

Nancy's Spanish ability was already better than her cousin, an 11th grader, who just passed college level AP Spanish. By age ten, Nancy was able to read Chinese comic books. Nancy was one of the best students among the 11 year olds in the Chinese school. Her English is also above grade level. According to Zen, in third grade, Nancy's English reading level was higher than other fifth graders in her multi-age classroom.

Once I ran into Nancy at the Chinese school and asked if she would speak some Japanese or Spanish for me. She replied in Chinese with a grin, "I will speak only Chinese to you, and I know you interviewed my mom." This confirmed Zen's statement that Nancy has never gotten confused about what language she should use with different people. Zen thinks parents shouldn't be afraid of children learning multiple languages because they will never be confused.

Because the Zen family is a leader of one of the local Buddhist organizations, Nancy has many opportunities to interact with immigrant Taiwanese families. When she has friends over to visit, Zen insists that they not use English but only speak Chinese to her daughter. Zen believes that because she is an only child and can speak only Chinese with her parents that she knows a lot of Chinese.

In addition to Zen's friends, Nancy has many language interlocutors who speak different languages to her in her home setting. The Spanish tutor came to her home twice a week, eight or nine hours a month. The Japanese tutor took her son and went to their house on Wednesdays and Thursdays to read Japanese storybooks to them together. Sometimes the Japanese tutor's son came to sleep over, which provided Nancy with a good motivation to learn. The tutors spoke only Spanish and Japanese to her respectively. Beside the tutoring experience she received at home, the parents and her American grandparents who lived nearby and Nancy's grandparents in Taiwan also provided different language settings.

Since Nancy was little, Zen and her husband spoke mostly Mandarin with a little Taiwanese to her. Zen’s conversations with her husband were primarily spoken in Taiwanese. Zen said that they were aware of Nancy’s weaknesses in Taiwanese, so when she and her husband had secrets that they did not want Nancy to know, they said it in Taiwanese. Nancy’s grandparents who live nearby who they also visit often provide language input. Zen’s mother and mother-in-law spoke to Nancy orally in Chinese. Zen’s father and father-in-law spoke with Nancy completely in Japanese because Zen wanted Nancy to have more opportunity to speak that language. Although Nancy does not chat too much with her grandfather, every time her grandfather saw her, he asked her something in Japanese and had her speak more Japanese. Table 1 illustrates the language inputs for Zen’s daughter.

Age	Parents Language Input	External Language Input	School
Birth to 2 years	Chinese / Taiwanese		
2 years to 4 years	Chinese / Taiwanese	Japanese tutors and their children	
4 years to 10 years	Chinese / Taiwanese	Japanese tutors and their children Spanish tutor Grandfathers speaking Japanese Grandmothers speak Chinese / Taiwanese	English Montessori school full time Japanese school Chinese school Japanese school in either Argentina or Japan

Table 1 Language input for Zen's daughter

Early Literacy with Same Age Peers

Nancy started learning Japanese at age two because Zen and her husband read a report on the Internet that said “if children begin to learn a language before they are four years old, they will learn that language with native fluency and will not have an accent.” So they posted an advertisement for Spanish and Japanese tutors on the UT Education Department bulletin board. Only a Japanese tutor came to be interviewed, which allowed Nancy to start learning Japanese at age two. Nancy’s first Japanese tutor taught Japanese classes at a nearby University and has a daughter the same age as Nancy, so they played and learned together. Nancy began attending the Japanese school each Saturday at age four.

When the first tutor’s family returned to live in Japan, Zen hired a second tutor who lived in their neighborhood and has a son the same age as Nancy. The son has been Nancy’s Japanese school classmate since kindergarten. This tutor taught Japanese classes at the University of Texas and has taught Nancy and her own son for four years.

Zen believes that children learn through peer interaction. When she chose her tutors, she chose those with children Nancy’s age that could learn and play with her. Zen tried to find a Spanish tutor with children Nancy’s age and was unable when Nancy was two-years-old. She found a tutor when Nancy was four-years-old. This tutor did not have children for Nancy to play with.

THE MEANINGS OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE

It was difficult for me to articulate the meanings that Zen placed on heritage language. This is in part for religious reasons. The other members in this study were able to describe the meanings that they place on heritage language by describing goals and plans for the future. Zen by contrast did not describe her goals and plans, and therefore

my analysis of the meanings that she placed on heritage language came from my impressions of her statements, rather than by explicit statements that she made.

Cultural Relationships

Based on my observations, I concluded that Buddhist religion plays an important role in Zen's life, and that for her; there was an association between heritage language and religion. This was illustrated by the large number of Buddhist artifacts such as books and writings that were displayed in her home. In our discussions, she frequently discussed her Buddhist activities, and in those activities, there where heritage language played a role.

Based on my experience in the Taiwanese community, I believe her reluctance to describe goals and motivations come from her Buddhist religion. It was clear to me that Zen uses Buddhist teaching in her parenting. She said she and her husband will donate their money to charity and not pass to Nancy. Once Nancy asked her what kind of physician earn most and she wanted to became to, Zen said she replied, the physician who earned the most is the doctor who don't charge poor people because your customers will introduce more clients for you, and you are not only earning money in this life but also in the future life when you are reincarnated, because you will have good Karma to your next life.

However, Buddhism discourages doing things for a purpose, and I believe Zen's strong Buddhism, made it difficult for her to answer my repeated questions concerning her motivations for Nancy's language learning, and I remain unclear what meanings she places on language learning. The closest thing that I have ever gotten to an answer to this question was, two year after the interview, I asked her again, if there is any purpose that she wanted Nancy to be multilingual, she replied" No, we just let her learn languages

without purpose, both my husband and me agree she can do whatever she wants, in the case if she wants to become a nun when she grows up, we are ok to have her become a nun!”

In addition to the cultural relationships provided by religion, there are also cultural relationships that are provided by ethnic and national identities. Zen described a very complex mix of identities for Nancy. She said,

When she was young, and did not understand the concept of nationality very well, she said she was an American, Chinese, and Japanese because she could speak those languages. So she identified herself as those nationalities. Now she is more grown up, she knows what she is. Now I always emphasize to her “You are Chinese.” I just told her we are all Chinese, and I also brought her back to Taiwan every year and told her this is the place where your father and mother grew up, so now she says that it [Taiwan] is her homeland. She felt that she was also Chinese. Then I told her you are also an American, She knew she was an American but Taiwan was where her roots were. She has started saying she is an American.

When asked about whether her daughter has been taught that there is any difference between Taiwanese and Chinese identities, Zen replied, “I don’t tell her but her father did. Sometimes he said, ‘We’re Taiwanese, not Chinese.’ ”

One other statement that Zen mentioned that involves identity was when she once asked me with a smile,

Don’t you think Nancy is more like a Japanese girl? You just look at her face. She is really like a Japanese girl. When she was in Japan, people thought she was a Japanese girl. Several days ago, we went to a salon, the lady told me Nancy is absolutely like a Japanese doll.

Family Bonds

Taiwanese, Chinese and Japanese are Nancy's heritage languages. The reason Zen wanted her daughter to learn Chinese is because she read a newspaper article mentioning a person with Alzheimer's disease who lost the ability to speak anything other than that person's mother tongue. Zen said "So I told Nancy, if I'm ever in the same situation, then I may only be able to speak Mandarin and Taiwanese, so you will need to learn our [parents'] first languages. She is a very good child, and she was able to accept it." Zen also added that she told her daughter she liked to speak Taiwanese and Chinese to her because it brought back the lovely feeling of her talking to her as a cute baby. She had started speaking these languages to her daughter when Nancy was a baby. While she was saying this she was smiling and making a hand gesture as if she were holding a baby.

Zen said that the bond between father and daughter was very strong. Zen's husband's bedtime Chinese stories had been the highlight of each day since Nancy was little. Zen's husband has routinely told Nancy bedtime stories using four characters named little East, little West, little North and little South since Nancy was little. He created the adventure stories from daily life. Nancy's father enjoyed his hobby of photography. He created the stories to explain the camera's structure and how to take photos. He embraced Buddhist stories and integrated Buddha's teachings into the stories. Sometimes he just made the stories up. Zen said it became a ritual every evening and her daughter was always very eager to listen to the nightly new stories and sometimes got too excited to sleep. Chinese is the language used to build the father-daughter bond. This daily story telling ritual made learning Chinese is relevant to Nancy's life and meaningful as Vygotsky (1978) recommended for language teaching.

Relationship With American and Global Society

Although all of my subjects are US citizens, Zen was the only mother who considered herself an American. She said she stayed in the United States longer than in any other country. “Every time the airplane arrives in the United States, I feel that I have come home!” She said the reason she did not feel at home when she visited Taiwan might be because all her own parents and siblings live in the United States. Zen’s assimilation to American society also is shown in her business. The persons they hire such as the real estate manager, accountant and lawyer are all Caucasians. She added, “We hire a professional Caucasian manager to manage all our properties. He deals with the tenants and also tells us when there is a good opportunity to buy more land or properties. Therefore, all of our tenants don’t even know their landlords are Asians.”

During the interview, Zen is the only sample member who used her daughter’s first name, Nancy. This gave me the impression that she is Americanized in this matter, since Taiwanese prefer to call their relatives by the relationship instead of their names. Typically a mother will use “my daughter, my son or my children” instead of their first names.

Although Zen described herself as an American and also acted in ways which I, as a member of the Taiwanese community, would perceive as American, these relationships did not produce any sense of conflict, as was illustrated by the fact that she used Chinese to discuss the fact that she saw herself as an American. Neither her actual behavior, nor her statements in the interviews suggested that she saw a conflict between either her being American or her daughter being American, and either her or her daughter speaking multiple languages. The trips to study in Japan or Argentina each summer provide Nancy and Zen not only with education in their multiple languages but also the ability to build up global social networks.

Academic Achievement and Social Success

Chinese parents are described in the literature that children's academic achievement is an honor for the whole family (Chao, 1992). Most of the mothers that I interviewed explicitly emphasized the academic achievements of their children, however Zen tried to play down her own efforts and Nancy's achievements in language learning. For example, I mentioned that once I sat in Nancy's Chinese class with my daughter, I was impressed by how neat and fast her daughter's Chinese handwriting was. Zen smiled and told me that recently Nancy's Chinese handwriting was no longer as neat as before because she now wanted to finish it as soon as possible. She even went to the language room to bring one piece of homework her daughter wrote to prove Nancy's current messiness. However, in doing so she reacted in a way that indicated the implicitly indicated the importance of certain values within her environment.

STRATEGIES FOR HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING

Despite the fact that her goals are unclear, Zen employs a very complex strategy for Nancy's language learning. The strategies that Zen uses require the use of large amounts of social capital, and would be impractical for mothers with less access to social capital. Zen is able to use her large amounts of social capital to create an environment for her daughter that contain many languages, and for each language, she is also able to provide multiple environments. These environments include one-to-one tutoring, attending weekend schools for those languages, traveling to different countries so that Nancy can attend schools in other countries, and frequent interaction with her grandparents. Zen is different from the other mothers in my study because instead of seeing each language in isolation, Nancy uses the stronger language such as Japanese to

scaffold the weaker language such as Spanish and she emphasizes learning languages through peer – to - peer interaction in addition to native speaking adults tutoring Nancy.

No English at Home

Zen and her husband created a non-English context at home with multi-levels of input in Chinese and Taiwanese. Her main strategy was to not orally respond to English. Zen said, “When she spoke English to me, I would say I did not understand. I don’t respond when she talks to me in English, so she must use Chinese to talk to me.”

Zen’s strategy is supported by Dopke’s (1992) findings that parents who maintained their children’s fluent bilingualism did not let children respond to them in the inappropriate language. Vygotsky (1986) views language learning as a dialectal progress between the child and the persons within their environment, by controlling the language used in this environment Zen is able to provide an environment for heritage language learning. Zen’s ability to control the home environment is aided by the practices of the private school that Nancy attends. This private school does not have homework, and that is contributing factor to create a non English-speaking environment at home. According to Zen, because Nancy does not have any homework, she has plenty of time to have multi-language tutoring, weekend language schools. Not only do Zen and her husband insist on speaking only Chinese and Taiwanese to Nancy, but Zen also made sure that her friends who visited them also spoke Chinese to Nancy.

Social Capital Provided by Japanese tutors

Japanese is the strongest language fluency that Nancy has besides English. Zen provides multiple social networks that include different people and settings for Nancy’s Japanese learning. Nancy’s two Japanese tutors who taught Japanese classes at universities not only teach the language but also introduce their social networks to Nancy.

For example, both of their children are the same age and the children come to learn and play with Nancy. The first Japanese tutor introduced Nancy to the Japanese school where she has attended every Saturday since she was four years old. Zen stated that when the Japanese homework from the Japanese school increased, Nancy continued to have fun learning Japanese doing her homework with the tutor's son and her tutor. Moreover during the summer, the Japanese's tutor's lawyer friends in Japan offered two spare rooms for them to stay where Zen's daughter attends regular Japanese elementary school for three summers. The Japanese learning in Nancy's case began within the small home context of her family and expanded to her grandparents to her tutors to the Japanese Saturday school and to Japanese school in Argentina and finally to the Japanese elementary school in Japan. This environmental expansion indicates the growth from home to the society at large (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Vygotsky 1994).

In Japan, Zen had a social network provided by her first and second Japanese tutors. She stayed in the house of a friend of the tutor. Both the host and hostess were lawyers and their house was very big so they had two spare rooms. Through their introduction her daughter attended their local Japanese elementary school for two months. Zen talks about the application and admissions process:

It seems that currently Japanese schools value cultural exchange very much. So the wife of the family we lived with went to see her children's principal said there was a case where an American girl wanted to attend public school in order to learn Japanese. The principal said, "Oh, she is very welcome! Our children can also be exposed to a different culture!" Then my daughter was accepted and got in.

The public elementary school did not require any tuition fee. But the air tickets and cost of living in Japan especially since we always traveled to nearby cities on

weekends was very expensive. We also visited the home of Nancy's first tutor. Nancy had the opportunity to observe Japanese culture and play with her daughter.

Both of the opportunities for language learning in Argentina and Japan derived from Zen's considerable social networks. These networks included not only economic capital but also social capital. These networks consisted of adults engaging with adults but children interacting with children. Zen thought that these children's networks were the reason Nancy enjoyed learning language in a foreign country.

Social Capital in Saturday Japanese School

Zen's daughter had a chance to be interviewed at the Japanese school and was monitored in the classroom for half a day. The Japanese school accepted Nancy. Prior to this the Japanese school had only accepted Japanese descendants. Nancy's grandfather who is fluent in Japanese went with Nancy and talked to the principal. The social capital of Nancy's grandfather's Japanese fluency helped Nancy get accepted on the condition that the grandfather speaks more Japanese to Nancy at home.

The Japanese school uses the same Japanese language arts textbooks used at the regular elementary school in Japan. The Japanese school has an accelerated curriculum and ends two months earlier than elementary school in Japan. Zen said that if her daughter does not go to Japan every summer then she will fall behind her classmates in the Japanese school because every student in the Japanese school goes to Japan every summer. I asked are those families wealthy so they can afford the expense to visit and stay in Japan? She replied, "It is not about money but it's about the Japanese school culture." Zen accepted this social norm and sent her daughter to Japan and Argentina to be on the same level as her classmates. She said, "This type of peer pressure forces language learning."

Social Capital in Japanese School in Japan

Zen went to find an album and happily showed me that the colorful album contained messages and pictures taken by the Japanese teachers with Nancy's Japanese classmates in Japan. Nancy's class made the album for her. The students wore their uniforms and hats and were cleaning up the campus. In my samples' childhoods in Taiwan, they also did this. This exemplifies that the Japanese elementary school system still influences Taiwan's elementary school system.

Nancy was smiling in all pictures. Zen asked me again, "Don't you think she looks like a Japanese girl?" I can tell this American born Chinese girl adjusted to Japanese school very well. Zen confirmed my impression. "She did not have any problems in the school in Japan at all. She can listen and understand what the teachers said."

Because Nancy's Japanese has a strong foundation, Zen saw lots of transfer from Kanji to Chinese in her daughter's language because Japanese's Kanji comes from Chinese but with different pronunciations and meanings. Japanese language borrows Chinese characters as written language. Kanji are the Chinese characters used in the modern Japanese logographic writing system. Zen gives an example. Once her daughter could not memorize 御 in Chinese so she reminded her that she already learned 谷 in Kanji so she was able to make that transfer and learned it very quickly.

Because of globalization, studying in Japan not only provide Japanese learning but also Chinese. Zen brought Nancy to the Chinese temple in Japan to join a ceremony lasting several days. She said she was surprised that her daughter was willing to participate for the entire ceremony. It was presented in Chinese and although Nancy did not know most of the Chinese Sutra because it was written in classical Chinese. Language boundaries have become smaller due to globalization. Nancy and Zen went to

Japan to learn Japanese, but they encountered an environment in the Chinese temple that helped Nancy to learn Chinese. Attending the Japanese school in Argentina was another example of shrinking language boundaries.

Social Capital in Japanese School in Argentina

The Japanese school in Argentina is primarily for Japanese descendants. The curriculum was half-day Spanish and half-day Japanese. Before Nancy went to Japanese school in Argentina the first summer, she hardly spoke Spanish. Nancy needed to use Japanese as a bridge language to communicate with other classmates. By the end of the first summer she no longer needed this bridge.

Zen explained that Nancy had social networks in Argentina before they went there for three summers. She said,

She was very happy because she had two friends there, so she could play with them. In January 2002, my friends and their children came to the United States to visit us, and the children played together very happily. So in December 2002 we traveled to Argentina and stayed with this family for two weeks to explore the Argentine environment. We traveled with this family to southern Argentina, near the South Pole for entertainment. Our families enjoyed each other for about two weeks. They provided a spare apartment for us for free and we took the bus to the Japanese school in Argentina.

This pre-existing social capital provides Nancy's enjoyment to study in Argentina. The friendship not only provide the economic capital for free apartment but also provide social capital that Zen can use to consistent her strategies in Nancy's language learning—have same age children to play and learn together not only locally but also in a foreign country. Zen's family had an abundance of social capital. While Nancy and Zen were in Argentina, their friend's family provided them with a free

apartment. This family had two children close to Nancy's age who spoke very good Chinese. This provided an environment for Chinese language learning. Chinese was a communication tool between those overseas born Chinese. This is another example of how social capital help language learning and how one activity such as attending Japanese school in Argentina can help with learning several different languages. By going to Argentina's Japanese school, Nancy was able to learn Spanish and Japanese and Chinese. In discussing her daughter's experiences abroad, Zen said,

Nancy went abroad to learn [languages], but for her, it was like play. There was no stress. I told her if she does well on the test, it is fine. If she cannot it is fine too. Spanish is very easy for her, may be it is because it is very similar to English. There are totally no problems for her in Spanish.

Social Capital by Spanish Tutor

Nancy has had a Spanish tutor come over to her house twice a week for six years since she was four years old. At the beginning, she could speak no Spanish at all, so she used English as bridge language to communicate with the Spanish tutor at home. After she studied in Argentina for one summer, she was able to speak mostly Spanish with her Spanish tutor. So English no longer served as scaffolding languages. Since returning from Argentina, Nancy frequently enjoys speaking Spanish. Nancy learned Spanish in Argentina in a "low anxiety environment" as Krashen and Terrell (2000) recommend.

Social Capital for Taiwanese and Chinese Contexts

Taiwanese is the language Zen and her husband use to speak each other. Although Zen and her husband spoke Taiwanese to each other at home, they spoke mainly Mandarin to Nancy. Sometimes Nancy's father spoke more Taiwanese to Nancy. Nancy's paternal grandmother in Taiwan and her maternal grandmother, who lives

locally, speak mixed Taiwanese and Chinese to Nancy. Nancy has no problem listening and understanding Taiwanese.

Zen has a low expectation of Nancy's competency in Taiwanese as exhibited in the following conversation. When asked whether Zen wants Nancy to speak better Taiwanese, she responded,

I don't have a choice. Since she was little, she did not listen to [Taiwanese] very much, so she can speak only simple Taiwanese. All I can do is bring her back to Taiwan every year. She spoke Taiwanese more with her grandmother here when she returned to the United States.

I asked if she thought if Nancy not learning Japanese and Spanish would improve her Taiwanese, and she said,

Not really, because there are not many opportunities to speak it. My mother-in-law said, "If she can speak Chinese that is enough. It does not matter if she can speak Taiwanese. Taiwanese is too difficult and there are lots of people [in Taiwan] who cannot speak it." I have similar concepts: if she can speak Chinese and can listen to Taiwanese that is enough. It's not necessary to be able to speak Taiwanese. But since I basically speak Taiwanese with my husband, and she understands us, her ability seems fine.

When asked about her daughter's reaction if Zen used difficult Taiwanese, she replied,

She would ask me to explain some content. Since Taiwanese is her weakest language so my husband and I speak Taiwanese as a secret language when we do not want Nancy to understand us.

Zen's strategy teaching Taiwanese to Nancy is different than her approach to Japanese and Spanish. Except for traveling to Taiwan every year, she makes little effort to provide

for Taiwanese language learning. Unlike Japan and Spanish, there are no schools in Taiwan to provide standards and credentials for Taiwanese.

Social Capital in Taiwan

As mentioned earlier, Zen thinks the only strategies she uses for Nancy to learn Taiwanese is bring her to Taiwan. Zen's husband visited his parents in Taiwan at least two or three times annually. Zen has returned with her daughter to Taiwan once a year since Nancy was two-years-old. Each time they stayed for ten days to one month. Nancy visits Taiwan to visit her paternal grandparents because Nancy and her grandparents have a very bonded relationship. I probed, "How about language learning?"

Zen replied, "No, I have never thought that her visits to Taiwan were to learn language. We all stayed at the grandparents' home or visited other relatives only." Although language learning is not their purpose, Zen stated that she observed the same phenomena each time they returned to the United States. She noticed that her daughter spoke more Taiwanese to her grandmother locally.

Although Zen stated she did not pay special attention to teaching Taiwanese, she mentioned she had recently used Taiwanese idioms to teach Nancy Buddhist concepts. For example she used the Taiwanese sentence, "There are no flowers that can be red [bloom] for one hundred days" to teach her daughter the concept of impermanence.

Zen told me once she discussed with her husband that among the languages her daughter is able to speak, Chinese seems to be the weakest. She said her husband said perhaps they should think about transferring her daughter back to Taiwan for one or two years to learn Chinese. But later they thought it was too inconvenient so they gave up the idea.

From earlier in the interview Taiwanese is the weakest language Nancy speaks because Zen does not take Taiwanese as seriously as the other four languages. So here she stated Chinese is Nancy's weakest language.

High Technology

Zen rarely uses the computer and does not watch TV due to religious reasons. She said Nancy got used to not watching TV at an early age. Nancy only watched Japanese cartoon DVDs on TV. Zen stated she does not believe that watching TV is a good way to learn a language. Once I observed a debate between Zen and another mom in a reading group at the temple. Zen disagreed with another mother who thought using TV for language learning was stimulating because it had pictures, motion and sounds, all, which help language learning.

While Nancy sometimes still used a DVD player to watch Japanese DVDs at home, but with other available social networks filled with Japanese, by tutors, grandfathers, Saturday schools and overseas Japanese school, learning from authentic Japanese speakers was better than learning from a machine.

Interaction Between Languages

Both Vygotsky's theoretical framework and the theoretical framework of social capital emphasize looking at the total environment of the child, rather than looking at the interactions of the child and the people around them as individual interactions. This framework is useful in that it allows one to see how different languages reinforce each other. Zen believes that Nancy has a rich language aptitude, and Nancy is constantly placed in situations where languages can reinforce each other. English can serve as mediator in learning Chinese and Spanish. Japanese can mediate in writing Chinese. Japanese can serve as a mediator of learning Spanish. Those languages help each other.

Zen introduced Japanese long before Nancy can articulate complicated sentences. At age two, the Japanese tutor was acting as a “*babysitter* for Nancy, basically brought her daughter to play together in a Japanese only interactions.” Zen recognizes the value of this kind of play, although consistent with her Buddhist philosophy, she said, “we just let her try, it [the result] does not matter.”

Role of Social and Economic Capital

Economic capital is an issue in heritage language learning because those languages don't exist in the child's environment unless one is created and nourished by either the parents or people associated with the parents. However the economic capital may also co-exist with social capital. Zen's economic capital enables her to hire both Japanese and Spanish tutors for her daughters locally and also tutors for herself over the summers in other countries. She was able to find a higher quality and less expensive tutor in her neighborhood.

According to Zen, the Japanese tutor was less concerned about money, because she said she also teaches her son at the same time. So Zen only paid \$200 a month. It is about seven to eight dollars an hour. This is an example of social capital effecting economic capital. The children of both mothers benefited from this interaction. Zen paid \$240 a month for Nancy's Spanish tutor. The original fee was \$30 per hour. Zen and the tutor became friends and Zen offered to hire the tutor on a permanent basis and consequently drove the price down to \$25 an hour, eight hours a month.

Zen's Spanish tutor in Argentina helped her buy Spanish children's books for Nancy to bring back to the United States. Zen said, “The books in Argentina are so cheap when converted to the US dollar, I told my tutor to buy as many books as she could for Nancy.”

Zen led me to the room that she uses as a language learning room for Nancy. She opened the cabinets and showed me many Japanese and Spanish books inside. This is the room where Nancy wrote her Chinese school homework and worked with her Japanese and Spanish tutors.

Case of Lee

“All depends on the extent of the parents’ patience and persistence” (Lee)

According to Vygotsky (1978, 1986) language is a social tool and the product of interaction of children with their environment. Because heritage language is not an integral part of the mainstream community, it becomes necessary for the parents to provide an environment in which social interaction using heritage language can occur. Also, heritage language retention requires both group membership and comprehensive input (Tse 1998, 2001). Lee's case shows an example of parents who provide both group membership and comprehensive input. In addition, other authors such as Bourdieu (1997) and Vygotsky (1978) stress the importance of using language within a wider community. The case of Lee shows parents used the social resources from their background to promote language learning.

I will start with a brief introduction of the backgrounds and language histories of Lee and her husband. I will then describe the interview setting including the presence of their entire family including grandmother. Next I will define the meanings of heritage language through their motivation and their attitudes toward heritage language. Finally, I will present a short portrait of their lifestyle while demonstrating the children's language abilities with recorded examples of verbal interactions. In the section on strategies, I will elaborate on the members of the nuclear family. I will discuss the tools used such as computer, VHS player and Chinese homework.

BACKGROUND

Lee was 41 years old and had two master's degrees from two American Universities. She worked as a computer programmer, and she came to the US 15 years

ago. Mr. Lee was 41 years old and came to the US 19 years ago and had one master's degree from the US. He had been a stay-at-home father taking care of his son and described his role as doing investment for six years since his son was born. They have two American born children: one fifteen-year-old daughter and one six-year-old son.

Lee has a complex immigration and linguistic history. Mr. Lee went to Taiwan from 1991 to 1998, and their daughter was in Taiwan from age three to five. Lee graduated from Normal University and was a middle school math teacher in Taiwan for two years. She speaks English, Mandarin Chinese, and Taiwanese fluently. Her parents both migrated from Mainland China to Taiwan and can speak Mandarin Chinese only. She used some Taiwanese over the interview. She said she did not learn Taiwanese from her parents but from children in her neighborhood when she was little and later made a rapid progress when her father-in-law taught her intentionally after she was married. Mr. Lee is an important figure in the local Taiwanese Business Bureau. I met her family in various Taiwanese gatherings before and after the interview. They always brought their children with them. Lee and Mr. Lee shared the responsibilities of their children's education including language learning. Mr. Lee did not work outside the home, and was able to give his children's heritage language learning his full attention. He developed a rigorous daily routine. Their goal was to have their daughter and son become authentic speakers of four languages. This is an example of Coleman's (1988) theory of social capital not only exists within the family where the parent is present and attentive to the children to learn Chinese but also in ethnic community where children were able to observe heritage language were used.

Affluent Economic Capital and Social Capital

Lee works as a highly paid computer programmer and owns four rental properties with only one house having a loan and they also have inherited lands and houses in Taiwan. Mr. Lee stated, "Because we don't have a problem with money, I can stay home to teach my two children how to make money intelligently in the future. I will not need to leave money for them if I can cultivate one to become a lawyer and if one becomes a physician." He laughed and continued with pride, "I just don't understand why some parents work so hard now to make money but do not think about making money for the future---invest in the children's education and have them make money for you in the future."

The Lee's abundance of economic capital makes his high level of parental involvement possible. Because the Lee's possess a large amount of economic capital, he is able to stay and home to look after his children's education. He said if his daughter gets admitted to Rice University where her mother received one of her master degrees, he said, "I will sacrifice myself. I will buy a house in Houston and live with her and cook for her because we still need to cultivate her academic and linguistic aptitudes." Immigrant Taiwanese families believe that raising children to be successful at academia is a family responsibility (Chao, 1992). In Lee's case she teaches her children everyday after work, while her husband stays at home and perceives teaching his children as his primary job. They were proud to describe their children's academic achievement to me.

Lee thinks that children's language learning all depends on the parent's attitudes. She said, "Even though I am a full time working mother, I still teach my son a half hour every evening." She continued, "Some people say they are too tired when they come home from work, and they don't have energy to teach their children Chinese, but I still do it everyday. I don't have any entertainment time for myself." Lee made a priority of

teaching the children after work. “I use all my time to teach them,” she said. She mentioned that she did not have any entertainment time for herself during the first interview and she was consistently practicing the same strategy one and a half years later.

Mother's Language History

Speaking Taiwanese was socially discouraged in my sample’s childhood through young adulthood. At the beginning of the interview, Lee used some Taiwanese. Her Taiwanese was so fluent I was surprised to find she came from a *waishengren* household whose parents only spoke Chinese. Later I detected she was proud to speak Taiwanese with native levels of fluency.

Lee learned Taiwanese as a second language through a natural approach (Krashen & Terrell, 2000) by playing with her neighbor’s children and watching Taiwanese puppet shows when she was little, but made a big leap after she got married because her father-in-law intentionally taught her authentic Taiwanese. Taiwanese has been a valuable language her husband’s family across generations.

Interview Setting

When the interview took place, the entire Lee family including Mr. Lee, Lee, Mr. Lee's mother, and their daughter and son were at home. I observed the verbal exchanges among all the family members. Lee asked her daughter to speak Chinese and Taiwanese to me. I assessed that her daughter had native Chinese and Taiwanese oral competency. Her daughter communicated Taiwanese fluently with her grandmother and spoke fluent Chinese with her mom. Lee verified my assessment of her daughter linguistic proficiency when she said her daughter passed SAT II Chinese with a score of 760 out of 800 in the ninth grade. Mr. Lee validated my estimate of her Taiwanese when he showed me the first place certificate his daughter won in a Taiwanese speech contest. Now the daughter

studies Spanish in classes at the American school and with a Spanish tutor at home. Lee wants her daughter to pass the SAT II Spanish by twelfth grade.

The interview took place in the study room and lasted for three and half hours while her son played in the living room. He interrupted the interview periodically to ask questions. I recorded the oral interactions with mother and son. Later, I tape recorded 40 minutes with Mr. Lee, the only father I formally interviewed. Among my interviewees, Lee was the only one that tried to speak Taiwanese to me, but the interview switched to Chinese because I was unable to transcribe Taiwanese as it is a spoken language.

After the interview, I met Lee and Mr. Lee a few times at the graduation dinners at the Chinese school and at the Taiwanese Association gatherings. We had long conversations each time and they were passionate about providing me more information regarding their children's language learning. I jotted down the main points right after each talk. I accessed their strategies after the son attended the Chinese school.

THE MEANINGS OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE

The meanings that the Lee put on learning each language are different. For Taiwanese, they want their children to communicate with their grandmother and to maintain a connection with Taiwanese culture. For English and Spanish, they think learning Spanish and English to help enhance future careers. For Chinese, they want their children to communicate with grandparents and relatives in Taiwan and to be successful in their future careers.

Family Bonds

Within the Lee family, the use of heritage language is very closely connected with family relationships (see Table 2). One example of this is that Lee and Mr. Lee explicitly stated they use a “*one parent, one language*” approach (Dopke, 1992) in which each

parent speaks a different language to the children. In the Lee household, Lee speaks only Chinese and Mr. Lee speaks only Taiwanese to their children. Their use of the term “one parent, one language” indicates their knowledge of language instruction. Their separation of languages is not only carried over into the language the parents use together but also is followed with other family members. As she stated,

I speak Taiwanese to my husband and my mother-in-law. I speak better Chinese but Taiwanese is also adequate. So basically I speak to my husband in Taiwanese, although I sometimes mix in a little bit of Chinese or English. But I speak to two children all in Chinese. My mother-in-law and my husband all use Taiwanese to children. This is the way we keep two children to speak two languages [Chinese and Taiwanese].

	Interaction language
Mother and children	Chinese
Father and children	Taiwanese
Paternal grandparents and parents	Taiwanese
Paternal grandparents and children	Taiwanese
Maternal grandparents and parents	Chinese
Maternal grandparents to each other	Chinese
Daughter and son	Taiwanese

Table 2 Languages used in the Lee Family

Lee's mother-in-law who only speaks Taiwanese lived with them for a few years. They had a very close relationship among the family members so her children needed to learn Taiwanese:

My mother-in-law's mom lived to be 104 years old, so my mother-in-law may well have a very long life. My mother-in-law is 84. She must live alone with us for about 20 years. She wants to communicate with her daughter-in-law as well as with the grandchildren so they can enjoy playing with them. That's why the grandchildren must be able to speak Taiwanese in order to interact with them.

Lee described her father-in-law teaching her Taiwanese and is the only one of my sample that describes the process of learning Taiwanese. Taiwanese became a valuable language not only after her children were born but also before her children were born. Lee's family had a family bond between the nuclear and extended family and the language, Taiwanese, played a crucial role in bringing them together. Chinese allows them to communicate with other, but inadequately. The grandmother cannot speak Chinese as well as they speak Taiwanese. When Lee encountered problems when teaching her children Taiwanese, she would ask her father-in-law for help.

Social Status Within Immigrant Community

Vygotsky stated “Speech is the central function of social relations“ (Leontyev, Luria and Smirnoff, 1966) and within the community in which they exist, the ability of their children to speak both Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese brings them social status, which contributes to their motivation in teaching their children these languages. Mr. Lee and Lee asked her daughter and later their son to speak to me in Taiwanese or in Chinese when I ran into them in social gatherings. To be able to speak perfect heritage language is an asset in immigrant Taiwanese community. Lee and Mr. Lee loved to elicit a request to

have their children to demonstrate their competency in speaking the heritage language and the listener, immigrants, who are native speakers, can recognize their ability easily. The applause by the listeners gains social status for them. Chao (1995) stated contrary to the often separate distinctions or boundaries between the American parent's world and the child's, "the Chinese child is not sheltered from the everyday events and realities of the family and what goes on with the parents and is expected to participate in the parents' social gatherings and other functions" (p. 348). In Mr. Lee and Lee's case, their children's participation in parental social gatherings was reinforced by their Taiwanese and Chinese ability.

Relationship with American and Global Society

Language also plays a role in Lee's relationship with American and global society. Lee said, "I always tell my children, you're not an ordinary American. You are a Taiwanese-American. Because your parents are first generation immigrants to this country, your culture is different from those with Caucasian American culture. Your viewpoints have many differences from theirs." Mr. Lee's views on the importance of maintaining a cultural connection to Taiwan are tied to Taiwanese language fluency. Mr. Lee laughed at other American born Chinese children who spoke broken Taiwanese and Chinese. He said he did not understand why local pro-Taiwanese figures who strongly promoted Taiwanese identity permit their children to be illiterate in Taiwanese and Chinese.

Academic Achievement and Social Success

The meaning of heritage language came up when I asked if she enjoyed teaching her children Chinese, and she emphatically replied, "No! I DON'T enjoy doing this at all. That is just a duty for me!" She elaborated,

It is just a responsibility for me. I want my children's generation to be better than their previous generation. It is actually not easy because I [my generation] am in the upper-middle class. I hope my children can earn more money than I have. I want my children to can move up to a higher economic level.

Specifically she believes that learning multiple languages will help her children both in applying to universities and later in their careers. She said that because Chinese was her daughter's foreign language and they wanted to prove that she knew this foreign language and the best way was to take the SAT II test both in Chinese and Spanish. She also said that she thought that learning foreign languages would help her career. She said that she wanted to cultivate her daughter to learn business law and international law in colleges. She said that this is because the United States is an immigrant country and language is very important in an immigrant country. She also said that she hoped that their son could become a physician, and sees language as an important criterion for this goal. She said, "If he has an office in a Chinese-American area, then Chinese is very important, if in a Hispanic area, then Spanish will also be important."

STRATEGIES FOR HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING

Lee believes in the importance of studying language at an early age, but she believes that the age at which one can begin to learn a language is different for each language. Mr. Lee shared the same thought. He said,

I think children must start to learn Taiwanese before eight years of age, because after eight years of age, their minds are set. The patterns of conversation are fixed. You cannot change them. He will speak the language subconsciously. You can wait until 12 years of age to learn Spanish. Spanish is easiest compared to the other three languages. My brother-in-law speaks Spanish and said it is easier than English.

Mr. Lee and Lee think for young children to learn languages, they should start with the most difficult language as early as possible, which is Taiwanese with eight tones, then Chinese with four tones, then English with no tone and then Spanish.”

Both Mrs. and Mr. Lee were passionate about teaching their children Chinese and Taiwanese, and they created a home setting filled with Chinese and Taiwanese language and culture. In that context, Chinese and Taiwanese must be spoken daily. The Lees had intentionally created a highly structured environment in order to allow their children to develop a very high degree of fluency in several languages. These strategies included daily input from parents (one parent one language and parent’s daily vocabulary teaching), long visits to Taiwan when the children were little, and attendance at Chinese school. Lee family perceives language learning as life long learning. When she passes the SAT II successfully in Chinese and Spanish, they will send her to Taiwan in the summer. Chiang (2000) defines being Chinese in an American context as one should be a high-achiever, enter a prestigious school, and obtain a professional career. The expectation of parents and the cultural stereotypes result in a crowded schedule. Lee is one of those families. Lee's family established a very busy schedule for their children beyond American schooling. By contrasting Chiang’s (2000) study that American born Chinese children lost their heritage language on the altar of academic achievement, Lee’s daughter has handled both (heritage language and academics well). They did not adopt a short-term goal imposed by the American educational system to concentrate on only English development. They envisioned their children's potential beyond school and continued to maintain Taiwanese, Chinese and Spanish. Mr. Lee articulated his expectation about his children's language learning clearly. He pointed out learning a language is continuing an everyday endeavor:

I want them to learn a language to a perfect level, speaking and writing fluently. The most important thing for learning a language is practice, very solid practice! You cannot just learn a little bit and say, 'Oh, my son can speak!' Your language must be deep-rooted. Learning a language must take at least five years. Practice that language every day for five years!"

In this section we have defined the strategies the Lees use for teaching heritage language. The strategies include daily language input from the parents in the form of the one parent-one language strategy, and intense vocabulary drill and memorization. Others strategies were long visits to Taiwan at an early age and attendance at the Chinese school. We've established that the Lees have the highest standards for heritage language learning of my sample. They are clear about what they expect from their children, that heritage language learning is a life long daily process.

Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis

Cummin's (1979) hypothesis stated that the level of competence a child attains in his first language may determine the success of how well one is able to learn other languages. The stronger the first language is before other languages are introduced can determine how well the other languages are learned. The Lee family conceptualized and identified the factors influencing their children's language at home. They are more autonomous and in control of the outcome of their children's language learning. She said,

My children all stay at home speaking Taiwanese before they are three-years-old. I want them to master one language very well before being introduced to another language. At least they can reach the level (of Taiwanese) so they can say whatever they want to say for daily conversation. Also my two children have spent a long period of time living in Taiwan. My daughter lived in Taiwan for two years and my son lived in Taiwan for eight months. During that period of time, they all lived with my parents who can only speak Chinese. Their Chinese is very

good. When they started learning English, Chinese and Taiwanese both had reached the level to deal with daily conversation. They can say whatever they want to say. So before children learn English, they must have fluency in the first language competent to express their thinking, and parents need to continue to insist on it, continue to talk with them in Chinese and Taiwanese and don't let them stop.

The social capital provided by Lee's live in parents-in-law and her own parents in Taiwan provides a good foundation for her children's Taiwanese learning and allows them to apply their Taiwanese knowledge to Chinese. They were able to transfer that level of semantic understanding to English and other languages. The literature supports Lee's strategy as well as the linguistic interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1979).

Enforced Use of Heritage Language at Home

Mr. Lee was the only parent among my samples who distinguished “authentic” Chinese and Taiwanese speakers from ordinary speakers. This was a point Mr. Lee repeatedly emphasized. Lee and Mr. Lee used this high standard to push her older daughter toward Chinese in all four domains, which are reading, writing, speaking and listening, and they make sure to trigger their efforts to create an environment that always present Chinese orally and in writing at home. She did this through deliberate planning for the huge amount of Chinese and Taiwanese teaching required by both she and her husband. However, the issue of Chinese language maintenance unavoidably creates huge tensions and conflicts. She described how Mr. Lee spanked her daughter often for a few years to force her to learn Chinese. Passing SAT II Chinese with a high score is a credential of her daughter's Chinese ability. With the “one parent, one language” policy installed and well established in Lee's household, there is no confusion in which language to use to what people. Lee stated, “My son got used to speaking Chinese to me.

If I were to talk to him in Taiwanese, he will feel strange. If I talk to my daughter in Taiwanese, she feels strange too.” Lee concluded,

If you want to teach your children two languages [Chinese and Taiwanese], I found one person just responding in one language is very important. You cannot speak two languages. Because it will turn out that they don't speak Chinese or Taiwanese.

She also mentioned you must know a language good enough to introduce another language:

You don't let children learn two languages at the same time. You must have them learn one language very well first, then teach him another language, and then I think children won't be confused between the languages.

In regard to English, Lee said, “We don't care about their English, they learn English from outside.” There is no English at Lee’s home. The only exception was when she set a fixed time to use Chinese semantics to teach English when her daughter was in the ESL program and then used English as the semantic foundation to teach her daughter Chinese when her daughter’s English became her strongest language. Lee said, “Chinese became her foreign language.”

Interactions Between Different Languages

Language acquisition happened when comprehensive input was presented during daily conversation. Lee explained the learning process of the Chinese character “Party” with the following example. The acquisition happened first between people (when the vocabulary was presented in conversations by the parents) and then within people (her daughter was able to use English semantics as a foundation to internalized Chinese concepts.) Lee presents an example of this, that confirmed Lee’s opinion about the link

between concepts and vocabulary provide the foundation to transfer one language to another language:

She first heard “Dang” (political party) from conversations between my husband and me when we talked about KMT and DPP in Taiwan. She already knew the Democratic Party and Republican Party in the United States. So it was easy for my daughter who already knew of the Republican and Democratic parties in English to pick it up in Chinese. This word is not suitable for my son who has no prior knowledge of this term.

Different social domains of language sets carried different terminology. For example, this political term “Dang” goes beyond common kitchen languages such as basic food names. However by observing parents’ talks over dinner table, the child is able to learn sophisticated language and terms, despite the fact that the parents are not intentionally teaching the language. In this way, dinner conversations create language interactions inside the daughter’s mind, with the strong language scaffolding the weak languages.

The languages interactions also change based by receiver’s ages. When Lee’s daughter was young at ESL program, Lee use her daughter’s strong language, Chinese, as mediator to teach her daughter’s English. Later at high school level English is her daughter’s strong language, Lee use the semantics of English to teach her daughter Chinese. Lee stated now Chinese is a “foreign language” for her daughter, so she used the same method to teach that she had learned English in Taiwan. This is an example of how the mother adjusted their view of languages and therefore created the pedagogical environment for language learning.

Children's Emotional Experience

When asked about the reaction of the child to learning Chinese, Lee indicated that there was some resistance on the part of her daughter:

She resisted very strongly when she was little, now she accepted it. If she did not finish her Chinese homework, we would not allow her to watch TV. For example if she did not do good at the Chinese word tests that I gave her, I did not let her do the thing she wanted to do. So she can only choose to accept it even though she was still very strongly against it.

Lee continued,

I think she had a cognitive conflict though. She knew that [learning Chinese] was good for her but if she wanted to learn any thing very well, anyone must work bitterly [very hard]. In the process while she invested bitter efforts, she complained.

She concluded,

According to my observations, reading and writing are very painful for the children. But the quantity you teach all depends on the extent of the parents' patience and persistence.

To persist in teaching and to continue to overcome his daughter's resistance, Mr. Lee applied punishment as one of his strategies. During Lee's and Mr. Lee's childhoods' punishment was allowed in elementary to middle school nation-wide.

Lee did not express any explicit regrets, and she did not relate her daughter's rejection of reading any Chinese articles to emotional trauma that may be caused from the punishment. However, she did sense that there was something wrong with their teaching approach toward her daughter, so they adopted a different approach to teaching their son.

Discipline and Punishment

Mr. Lee's daughter accelerated her Chinese school's curriculum at her parents' request and finished Pre -Kindergarten through the 8th grade in just five years instead of the customary ten years. This result of accelerating her learning was a triumph for Mr.

Lee since teaching the children is his full time job. Lee thinks that her husband working at home is a contributing factor to her daughter's successful learning of Chinese. She said, "Of course, otherwise who could spend so much time monitoring her, especially when there were moments that she refused to learn." To achieve this impressive language learning required tremendous time and effort not only from Mr. Lee but also from his daughter. Her resistance was confirmed when Lee described "Mainly her father taught her at home, usually one to three hours at a time, an average of two hours each day. She was unhappy then." Lee continued,

My daughter liked to do the homework that the Chinese school's teacher gave her. But she did not want to do the homework we added. We wanted her to recognize and be able to write every word in her textbooks. She did not want to do this because as long as the textbooks were getting hard, she needed to spend a lot of time on it. She did not want to expend such a difficult effort.

I asked if her daughter has ever resisted learning Chinese. Lee said that "Yes, she resisted very strongly. She often screamed, 'No! I don't want to learn! I don't want to learn this Chinese!' "I asked what she did, and she replied, "My husband hit her!"

Lee is the only case in my sample that used corporal punishment to force her children to learn Chinese especially when Mr. Lee taught reading and writing. I probed to see if the punishment was an isolated incident or a part of their general strategy. She elaborated that her husband "wasn't joking. He was very angry. Then she would read it or finish it reluctantly." According to Lee, this happened very often when her daughter did not obey to learn Chinese, and continued for a very long time, a few years, when she did not obey, her husband spanked her several times on each occasion.

I did not witness this punishment because it happened few years ago. Later when I interviewed Mr. Lee, he actively mentioned the corporal punishment suffered by his

daughter when he pushed her daughter to learn Chinese. With a smile, he said, “I made sure she understood there was no way for her to escape [learning Chinese]!” Mr. Lee was satisfied with the results of using punishment. He even thought there was an effective time for using punishment. “You know if you want to pressure (punish) them, elementary school age is the best time to force them (punish), because when they grow up, you cannot hit them.”

Because the power of parents can overwhelm children when they are little, Lee did not worry much about the emotional trauma her daughter had suffered. Instead, she said,

Actually in the process of teaching my daughter, I already considered that I would use a different approach to teach my son, because my daughter’s attitude really discouraged us. Compared to other children, she learned much better, but she does not like Chinese, nor does she like to read Chinese books at all.

I was uncomfortable to hear that they punished their daughter to learn Chinese, so when I ran into Mr. Lee one year after the interview, I asked him if he punished his son to learn Chinese. Mr. Lee smiled and said “Not at all” because his son was very smart and very interested in learning Chinese. He said with a laugh “only after teaching my son Chinese did we figure out how lazy our daughter was. My son was a totally different case.”

Lee’s family is more authoritarian and punitive than other families. When I looked at the 1008 handmade flash cards held together with rubber bands, each card was illustrated or had sentences written in front and back. I knew there were many hours and hours involved in making these. Lee and Mr. Lee’s parenting fit into the studies by Chao (1992) that immigrant Chinese parents are more authoritarian but have more parental involvement than Caucasian parents. Chinese mothers think that helping the child to do

better in school is her most important task. In other cultures, mothers may stress other tasks like being happy, enjoying life, or learning a trade. Chinese think that the mother needs to play a significant role in the child's education, and mothers from other cultures think they should teach other things (Chao, 1992; p. 150).

In immigrant Chinese families, the child's personal academic achievement sheds value and honor on the whole family. (Chao, 1992; p. 149) Lee told me about her daughter's high academic achievement in a magnet high school. Mr. Lee told me with pride that his son was in the math gifted and talented program also. Chao's study (1992) that showed that immigrant Chinese mothers were depicted as having a very important role that they take very seriously in terms of being responsible for the child's school work, and school performance (p.150). In Lee's case even though she is a working mother, she still teaches her children each day while the stay-at-home father takes most of the responsibility.

Social capital for English and Spanish Contexts at Home

Lee's daughter was born in the United States and Lee kept her at home until she was three and a half -years -old. Then the family went back to Taiwan for two years. Her daughter started learning English by attending kindergarten's ESL program at five and a half years old here. Lee talked about the methods she used to teacher her daughter during this period:

Yes, at that time I taught her English a half hour each day. It was very formal and set. The exceptions were only when I had tests or papers due or she was sick.

Otherwise, I taught her English a half hour each day for almost two years.

While their expectation toward Chinese was far higher then the Chinese school, their high expectations showed on their expectations for English and Spanish in regular school.

Currently although her daughter already got an A in English, they still hire an English tutor to teach English at home. The English tutor is a formal high school English teacher.

They have same strategies in her daughter's Spanish. Lee said, "She always gets perfect scores on most Spanish tests." Because they want her daughter to pass SAT II Spanish in two years, they hired a tutor to teach her daughter Spanish at home. Her daughter's first Spanish tutor was free in an exchange of Lee teaching the tutor Chinese but this only lasted for a few months. And the second Spanish tutor was a retired high school teacher who they paid \$25 an hour. Lee and her husband invest social capital and economical capital for her daughter in learning English and Spanish. When her daughter was behind in English at ESL program, Lee provided a formal teaching with set schedule to teach her daughter English. When her daughter in high school, they hire English tutor and Spanish tutor to help her daughter's language even though her daughter was good at English and Spanish. They set a high expectation than school does.

The Lees also see heritage language as a means of teaching English which is necessary for functioning in American and global society. The family's spoken language is exclusively Mandarin Chinese or Taiwanese. When Lee taught her daughter English, she kept in mind that her daughter was not switching to speak English at home by using the following strategies:

If you want to improve your children's English, you must use Chinese to explain English. In the case of my daughter, I taught her all of her English, but basically I used the same method we were taught in Taiwan. I used Chinese to explain English to her. For example, she read left foot, right foot. I told her Jiao-Chun, io-Chun in Chinese. I used Chinese to explain English. Then asked how many feet do you have? I used all Chinese. When I helped her English, I did not use family time [to teach English], I have a set time. Now it's English time. I taught her

English, and used Chinese to teach her, I used this method to help her, other than that in daily life, I use all Chinese.

As discussed earlier, her daughter's Chinese was good enough before they introduced English, so the above statement shows the semantics of the native language (Chinese) being used in learning a foreign language (English) (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 161). Lee was happy with her strategies that effectively raised her daughter to be multilingual. Her daughter had no difficulty with English. One year after her daughter learned English in an ESL program, she entered Gifted and Talented language arts.

Formal Teaching

Language teaching for Mr. Lee is not only for language itself but also for the pedagogy they applied with the purpose to guide their children to possess the skill needed in their future careers. Lee and Mr. Lee provide scaffolding in the way they think will lead their children to a better future. For example, since pushing her daughter to become a lawyer specifically a lawyer in international law, they believe that to be able to debate is very important. Mr. Lee imparts this skill in his teaching Chinese and Taiwanese, he said he liked to take the opposite side to his daughter. This creates a debate between his daughter and Mr. Lee. They use twelve birth animals to represent his son's behavior every day because children love animals. This represents his efforts to make teaching contexts more appropriate and appealing to his child. Mr. Lee demonstrated to me a conversation he used while teaching Taiwanese to his son. The following conversation is carried out in Taiwanese.

Mr. Lee: "Oh, today you're an elephant because you had an accident in bed last night."

Son: (arguing) “No, I am a tiger because I was very good last night and today and I did not have any accident.”

Mr. Lee concludes it is this kind of debate will create a good Taiwanese oral ability and debate skill for his son. Lee was a mathematics teacher in Taiwan for two years. She took 26 credit hours of education-related courses that she regards as “totally useless.” She said that her Chinese teaching is influenced by her teaching experiences, particularly in making the abstract concepts more concrete. She gave an example:

He [my son] spent lots of time and still couldn't memorized the word “張” (chang), so I told him to open his palm and I asked him to count how many fingers [except thumbs] he has. He said there are eight fingers. I said the “eight fingers” resembles “the eight lines of the right part of that word. Then he got it!”

Some of Chinese characters are pictorial representations (DeFrancis, 1984). Lee was able to teach her son to recognize Chinese characters by their structure such as the following : Lee “Yes, for example “勺”. He can remember the dot is a fish ball and one uses a big spoon to eat a fish ball. I do my best to explain. Then he understands it quickly.”

When she could not teach characters by their pictorial representations, she used concrete examples to transfer meanings to daily life. She tried to put a single character into contexts such as in a concrete sentence to help her children to learn.

Su-Chen: 別 (don't or other), I found you made 別說話 (don't talk) 別的事情 (other stuff) , they are very good phrase making, very relevant to daily life.

Lee: I think if you want to explain the meanings of Chinese characters to children, the best way is make sentences. Because some words, you said a phrase, like 就

是 (it is), he may not understand, but if you said “who eat the food, oh, 就是你 (it is you). Then he will understand its meaning.

Schedule of Training

This family follows a detailed plan for both Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese learning, which becomes part of the social environment that the Lees create for their children. Father sets the schedule and implements it step by step. Teaching the languages to the children became Mr. Lee’s full time job. Both Lee and Mr. Lee set a very rigid schedule for two and a half hours of study each day after school for his daughter and then his son. This schedule is monitored and practiced by Mr. Lee. Here is their daily routine:

I let her watch English TV a half hour during the weekdays, one hour during the weekend. And then we asked her to play piano for a half hour, then exercise such as warm up and jumping loop for a half hour, then one hour for Chinese and half hour for math.

When the interview took place, her son has not yet entered Chinese school. The main teaching of Lee and Mr. Lee are word recognition by flash cards. Two years after the interview, Mr. Lee taught his son at least five hours a week of Chinese. He used the Chinese school’s textbooks and with a firm schedule of working on vocabulary on Mondays and Tuesdays and working on contexts on Wednesdays to Fridays one hour daily. Mr. Lee’s Chinese teaching included both spoken Chinese but also included reading and writing on a daily basis. By doing this, the Lee’s make Chinese meaningful in his son’s daily life, which Vygotsky (1978) asserts is necessary for language learning.

Lee’s family has set a higher standard for her daughter than the Chinese school has. While most the Chinese school teachers only require students to memorize 10 to 20 vocabulary words from each chapter, Lee’s family required her daughter to memorize

each word from every chapter. Each chapter has 200-300 words. Both parents and daughter use a huge amount of time and effort to accomplish this massive goal. Mr. Lee conducted an entire Chinese language class daily for his two children at home when the American school is off. Then Lee continued to teach her children Chinese after she returned from her job everyday except Tuesdays. During the summers, Mr. Lee instructed intensive Chinese classes using the Chinese school textbooks for both children and later SAT II preparation for her daughter at home.

Intensive Chinese Learning During Summer

When the regular school is off during the summer, Mr. Lee implied intense heritage language learning at home. Over the past few summers, Mr. Lee spent an average of two hours each day to have his daughter memorize every word from each chapter of the Chinese school Chinese textbooks. Lee influenced Mr. Lee's teaching strategies. Lee said she observed a bottleneck in her daughter's Chinese reading that parents must help their children overcome. The strategies Mrs. Lee used to help her daughter to overcome the bottleneck were to insure that her daughter have a good foundation by memorizing enough characters. She stated, "having enough vocabulary is a key and it is the most difficult part in learning a language!" She continued,

After my daughter memorized all the words from each chapter of the Chinese school textbooks [volume one through volume eight] we tested her vocabulary words to make sure she knew them correctly. This vocabulary mastery enabled her to work her way through the bottleneck. She possesses a very good Chinese linguistic ability!

This daily work on increasing her vocabulary helped her make the reading leap her daughter needed to improve her Chinese reading. Even though her daughter graduated from the Chinese school and passed the Chinese SAT II test, Lee still had her daughter

memorize new Chinese vocabulary each day. Lee continues the teaching in the hope of sending her back to Taiwan in the summers when she attends college. Because Mr. Lee stated that “she is good at children's Chinese now which is different from adult Chinese, so she will still need to learn it in Taiwan in the future.”

Lee has observed another critical period of learning growth in her daughter's Taiwanese learning. Lee stated, “only as my daughter's Taiwanese competency reaches a level where she can express what ever she wants to say in Taiwanese and does not spent an enormous effort searching for the proper vocabulary words“ then their Taiwanese ability is likely to accelerate. Lee added, “Taiwanese is primarily for communication at home.” This shows how important it is to the Lees' to maintain their familial ties with their heritage language spoken in the home. The importance of cross -generational relationships for language learning is demonstrated below.

Lee pays special attention beyond daily conversation, she reads books and tells stories both in Chinese and Taiwanese to her children with the purpose of increasing her children's vocabulary language structure (Arnberg, 1984, p.114). Taiwanese is just a verbal language without written characters, so Lee uses English or Chinese books as a mediator to read to her children in Taiwanese:

I read some English and Chinese books in Taiwanese for them. I read it myself first and understood its meaning, then I used Taiwanese to tell them the stories. At story time, children can also increase their vocabularies.

I use the words I understand to tell them. Sometimes I did not know every vocabulary word. I would ask my father-in-law when he was still alive, because his Taiwanese was much better than my husband's.

The father-in-law served as a resource for teaching Taiwanese for Lee, those heritage language activities also keeps a close bridge across the generations. There is no credential system in Taiwanese to evaluate the level of her Taiwanese ability. But she said before her daughter started learning Chinese, her Taiwanese already included more than 10 word complex sentences. She gave an example, “I put a flower in my left hand while I hold my mother’s hand with my right hand and go out to play.”

She said her strategies in favor of building a foundation of concepts and vocabulary came from her personal experience. She believes that foreign students in the United States lack sufficient English vocabulary. She also has learned from her teaching experience that a student needs to memorize lot of formulas first to be good at Math. Her foundation building not only go through teaching vocabulary to reach a certain level of competence but also one must concentrate on one language until it is strong enough to introduce a second language without confusing the student. She had her daughter and son acquire strong Taiwanese skills, before she introduced Chinese. When they were sufficiently strong at Chinese, then she introduced English. She said,

The basic differences between my children and other children are my children all stayed home to learn Chinese. I wanted them to master one language very well. They were able to master a language very well by three years of age. At least in daily life, they could verbally express whatever they wanted to say. Also my two children have lived a long time in Taiwan. My daughter lived in Taiwan for two years and my son lived in Taiwan for eight months. During that period of time, they all lived with my mom who can only speak Chinese. So their Chinese is very good. By the time they started learning English, despite knowing Taiwanese or Chinese, they all reached the degree of competency to express themselves in their daily lives easily. They can say whatever they want to say. They know the vocabulary they need, so they willingly speak it. My son started learning English

at age four, now he is five-years-old, his Chinese is still progressing. So before children learn English, he must have established his previous language good enough to express his meaning and then parents need to continue to insist on it and continue to verbally interact with them in Chinese and not allow their Chinese ability decrease.

This philosophy contains a number of concepts that are present within Vygotsky's framework. First this illustrates the importance of social interaction between their children and the heritage language community. Second, this illustrates the importance of providing an environment in which the child can function within the zone of proximal development. Lee said,

If you want your children to learn Chinese by watching TV, this kind of learning only happens when they can converse very easily at everyday conversation. Then let them watch cartoons [TV], they will understand. If they are unable to understand, it is meaningless.

The above statement reflects that Lee thinks there is a prerequisite to entering the ZPD of Chinese TV. The contexts of TV must have meaning for children before they can learn from TV. This prerequisite also explains why in the case of Sofia said that Satellite Taiwanese TV made no impression on her two son's Chinese learning because "basically they couldn't understand it." Mr. Lee said, "I weave language learning into my children's academic and daily lives. You must lead them in by yourself."

Like Vygotsky (1978), Mr. Lee has concluded that language learning must be embedded in daily life. If the surrounding society does not provide a nourishing linguistic environment, he and Mrs. Lee feel that they must assume the responsibility for cultivating their children's language learning. They see their responsibility as lasting forever and so does their children's language learning. Their ultimate goal is to "let her

become a spontaneous interpreter because it earns the highest pay. Mr. Lee said, “If she studies in a law department and she also can spontaneously translate and she combines both, it will be great!”

Mr. Lee sees himself as dedicating his life to teaching his children and making great sacrifices for his daughter's language learning. In demonstrating his love, he said:

If my daughter enters Rice University, which is my wife attended, I will move there [Houston] to buy a house and live alone with her. I can cook for her and put all my efforts into cultivating her not just say it. If you love children you must love them to this degree!

In his plan for his daughter to get a better education and language learning, he expected himself not only to invest physical capital (buying a house nearby) but also social capital (living together to continue teaching his daughter).

Homemade Mediator -- Flash Cards

Regarding the amount of time, Mr. Lee spends quantitatively more time taking care of their children but Lee shares the decision-making. For example, Lee hand made 1008 flash cards, which Mr. Lee uses as a tool to teach their daughter Chinese. She showed some of these flash cards that have vocabulary on the front, and sentences using the vocabulary on the back. Some have illustrations to promote comprehension and some words have different sound phrases to expand their knowledge. She stated the advantages of flash cards are they can always go back to review the vocabulary they learned. I pointed at one flash card with an abstract phrase in classic Chinese and asked who about the card, Lee replied,

It is from the Chinese school textbooks Chapter 12. I taught my son Chinese by myself using a different approach. I let him recognize words first. I just let him recognize, recognize, and recognize. Then we took those words apart, I taught

him to recognize the root word. Some words are two words or three words put together.

I then questioned how she taught some abstract phrases shown on the cards. She answered,

I used it in a sentence [to teach], I said, “You and your sister love each other.” It is the concept of each other. It is mutual and reciprocal. You must love each other, not fight each other. This kind of abstractions he may not remember after he has heard them. But if I have the opportunity, I apply the term to other contexts. Some words he could memorize immediately, I will take it apart.

She continued, “I made 1008 cards by myself. I also tested her every time to make sure she got it. If you don't assess their learning, you have no way of knowing whether or not they have mastered it.” In teaching Tzu-Yin (the phonetic spelling system) earlier, she used ready-made cards that she bought from Taiwan. When her son spent a year learning the Tzu-Yin phonetic spelling, Tzu-Yin served as his first hand verbal phonics as he learned to sound out the symbols before writing them. Although this is a conflict with her earlier statement that she skipped Tzu-Yin and instead went directly to teaching characters, she elaborated on her teaching:

First, I let him read it. Because I wrote Tzu-Yin symbols beside each character, so he could read it. Sometimes when he misspelled it, I would correct him and have him repeat it.

I use the traditional method, teaching him ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄏ first. After he recognized each symbol, then I taught him the spelling. For spelling, I used the word cards I brought from Taiwan. Such as ㄅ ㄩ , They are ready-made cards. I taught him a little bit every day. Then I let him repeat and repeat it. When he understood all of

these, then he could spell [words] by himself. I can say he was able to spell most of them, although some words he may still have spelled wrong.

After he read, I let him practice spelling. Then I read it again, reading and explaining the meaning at the same time. Then I told him “this is a vocabulary word, a new vocabulary word” I will have him recognize it. For example, this is “stool” (架), I’ll tell him “ the upper part is 加(add), and the lower part is 木 (wood), I use word cards, to explain that add (加) one wood (木), it became a stool (架), 澆 is three drops of water (水) plus a lots of soil (土) on a pot, to 澆 means watering, to 澆 花 means watering flower.

Lee stated that her teaching math experience in Taiwan allows her to turn abstract into concrete to help students to learn. So she used this method to teach her children to learn Chinese. She now mainly focuses on teaching word-recognition but with some spelling included also. She describes her method:

I made them up myself. I feel if children recognize the root word, then progress to small word recognition, then this process will become very helpful when they need to combine new words. Sometimes if I can split words, I will split it to teach him word-root and some simple words.

I used this method to teach my son, an approach totally focused on word-recognition. I taught my daughter Chinese in first grade when she attended Chinese school. I just followed the Chinese school's curriculum. But for my son, I taught him to recognize words much earlier. I used a different approach. I let him recognize, recognize, recognize. Then we took those words apart. I also taught him how to recognize the roots of characters. Some words require putting two or three words together.

High Technology

In the Lee family, high technology served as tools to learn Chinese. These tools are plentiful around her children's life. Although Lee did not use satellite TV as a tool to promote Chinese, she used TV and a DVD player to have her children watch Chinese cartoons on the DVD and VCD. She explained why she does not use satellite television by saying “because your children' Chinese must be good enough to understand it. I don't want to spend that money to install Satellite TV just for him to watch cartoons. I would rather buy some Chinese cartoons for the DVD or VCD that I know he likes.” She mentioned that she bought six Chinese Dora-A-mon cartoon DVDs for him as well as a set of the Clifford the Big Red Dog cartoon in English and a set of Superman DVD for him. Lee said she let her son select the programs and languages that her son watched. However, although Lee did not select which language and program for her son to watch, but the choice from the only one set of Chinese DVDs allowed Lee the opportunity to detect what and where his son learned his Chinese.

Lee believes that her son learned words such as “世界爆炸” (world explosion) and “地球爆炸” (earth explosion) from cartoons. Because Lee kept track of all her teaching, she was able to tell which vocabulary her son learned is not from her such as the “explore world war” showed above.

Lee also ordered the Chinese SAT II practice questions (DVD) online to have her daughter practice. The high tech online shopping helped her to find Chinese resources, which are not available locally. She gave me the website in case I become interested in it. She used the Chinese Internet to find some of the 1008 Chinese characters to make her flash cards.

Another example of high technology was her son playing with a Chinese-English electronic dictionary during the interview. I observed there was Chinese learning happening so I asked her three different times when her son interrupted the interview by

asking for some English or Chinese meanings of vocabularies he found in the electronic dictionary! “Do you think the electronic dictionary helps his Chinese learning?” she kept answering me, “No!” Later I found she held a rigid definition of Chinese learning.

The Chinese-English electronic dictionary serves as a mediator not only to help Lee’s son’s acquisition of the vocabulary of both Chinese and English because the stronger language will help the weaker language, but also help Lee’s teaching. An example of this was demonstrated during the interview when her son came in and asked “What is this phrase?” in the electronic dictionary. Lee replied that “形成計畫” is to set your schedule, that's what you will do, where you go to play, what time you wake up, when you must go to brush your teeth, wash your face, sleep, play and read your books.”

Lee used examples from daily life to teach her sons more abstract concepts as shown above. The electronic dictionary is a resource for her son to learn Chinese. With the help of this tool, her son can expand his knowledge of the Chinese phrases, which are not shown in his daily life. Lee can also use this tool to scaffold her son's Chinese.

I observed Lee’s child learning a new Chinese phrase using the Chinese-English electronic dictionary as a mediator which allowed the mother to scaffold him, but the mother did not see this as learning as shown by the conversation that took place immediately after the observation. I asked Lee if her son uses the Chinese-English electronic dictionary to learn Chinese, and Lee replied that her son does not use it to learn Chinese and is just playing with it as a toy. I further asked if she felt if her son learned any Chinese while he played with the electronic dictionary, and she replied “Of course not!”

This seemed unusual to me since I just saw him learned the phrase 形成計畫 minutes ago but Lee did not consider that to be learning. She used this modern technology to promote her children's Chinese learning in their daily life without being

aware of what she was doing. Lee's son learned Chinese without Lee being aware that he was learning Chinese. However, for this learning to occur it was still necessary for Lee to be present to solve problems in using the electronic dictionary, and provides an example of how the social capital provided by Lee indirectly helped her son learn Chinese using an electronic Chinese-English dictionary.

Testing and Evaluation

Part of the environment that Lee and Mr. Lee provide involves formal testing of Mandarin Chinese ability. They made sure they assessed the results of their teaching by testing. Lee said, "I test my son every time. I mixed up many words together then test him at the end of each lesson to see if he could read the phrases and construct the phrases correctly." Lee showed me a flash card and continued, "I also test him with different pronunciations of the same character." Lee built sentences from words. For example, in teaching her son Chinese sentence making, she said, "Apple--red apple- a red apple-We have a red apple."

Also the 1008 words that she uses for word-recognition came from textbooks conflicts with Vygotsky's notion that language should be an "intrinsic need should be aroused around them" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 118). In addition, the mother's teaching methods also contradict the ideas of Krashen & Terrell (2000) in which language learning should be low anxiety.

Lee's family is the only family that I found a piece of paper with pre-writing of Chinese-like characters on it on their bookshelf. As I looked at the paper, Lee said, "I don't ask him to write this, but sometimes he just picks up the pen and scribbles it." According to Vygotsky (1978), children go through pre-writing, scribble to writing. Although Lee did not appreciate the process of the pre-writing stage, but her son still

went through this stage. Chinese is the target written language at home, the home environment was set out for promoting Chinese learning including writing, and I wasn't surprised to find that paper.

Vygotsky (1978) stated that “play is learning.” I asked her if she considered “play” as a method of learning. Lee replied, “Play is just play. You don't know how much he has learned. I made flash cards, so I know how much he has learned by using testing as a system of assessment.” The test not only allows a mother to know if children understand what they are taught, but also the mother herself learns what children have already known. Lee seems to believe that if the children are good at tests represent their Chinese ability is good. She fails to consider the possibility that someone could be good at the process of testing and not be able to speak Chinese. Or that conversely someone with a good or excellent grasp of Chinese could do poorly on the tests.

Lee said, “I know what I taught with the flash cards and I also know what was inside the Chinese textbooks.” Lee believed that she knew all of the exact words that her son knew. Interesting, that she measures their Chinese abilities by the number of vocabulary words they know. This also is evidence that there is no voluntarily Chinese reading in the home setting. Since they subscribe to a Chinese newspaper, *World Journal*, I wondered if the children had the opportunity to read that Chinese newspaper. She replied, “Not at all, because we subscribed to the Chinese newspaper for ourselves. It is for adults. Also all the words my daughter can recognize are just a little more than one thousand characters so she does not like to read Chinese articles at all.”

Social Capital in Chinese School

When I interviewed the Lees, they had planned to have their son enter directly into the fourth grade at the Chinese school and skip the grades from Pre-Kindergarten to

third grades (five years of classes). The follow-up interview two years later confirmed they had enrolled her son who attended a second grade class in regular public school, into the fourth grade at the Chinese school as they had planned. Mr. Lee told me proudly that the fourth grade was too easy for their son now, so next year they will have him skip the fifth grade to enroll directly in the sixth grade. One of the benefits of skipping grades is that her daughter can choose the teacher she wants and likes. Lee's Chinese teaching illustrates connecting home strategies to resources in the wider community, which in this case includes the Chinese school. The strategies which enable her daughter and son to skip grades at the Chinese school primarily included memorizing vocabulary words and phrase making, relating these to objects, and then concentrating on the textbooks of the Chinese school at home. The Chinese school validated and valued this kind of memorization, which is also the method used to teach Chinese in Taiwan. Lee's method for teaching Chinese resembles the pedagogy of the Chinese teachers at the Chinese school except for the accelerated speed with which allowed her daughter to skip five grades at the Chinese school. To prepare her daughter to skip these grades, Mr. Lee taught his daughter during the summers the material in every textbook for each grade she skipped. Lee stated, "Chinese school teachers always test those characters listed on the bottom of each chapter and these characters are too easy for my daughter." After her daughter memorized those words, she had her daughter skip the grades. She had her daughter finish Pre-K through the 8th grades in five years instead of the ordinary ten years. Lee's thought that if her daughter knew the vocabulary words in the summer and passed the test given by her parents, then she should be able to skip that part of the curriculum. This test-oriented attitude does not take into account the value of the social contexts such as interactions and scaffolding between the teachers and students or between students with students in the class or any physical contexts such as any

supplemental materials used in the class. It also prevents the application of these words in age- appropriate conversations.

Although Lee's daughter did not attend the skipped grade levels at the Chinese school. The Chinese school textbooks became the standard that the Lee family used to judge the level of fluency that her daughter achieved. Each summer Mr. Lee taught an intense Chinese class at home to prepare his daughter to skip the following class. The Lee family has a low expectation of the Chinese school and they make no effort to change the curriculum. Their parental involvement does not include policy making or curriculum design, they work so hard at home to have their children accelerated in Chinese.

Both Sofia and Lee delayed sending their children to the Chinese school. In Sofia's case it was because her mother considered herself was too lazy [to send her son to the Chinese school]. On the other hand, Lee did not send his son to Chinese school because they believed that they applied a more effective way to build a good Chinese linguistic foundation of for his son at home and wanted her son to learn more Chinese at home in order to skip more classes at the Chinese school. When asked why she did not send her son to the Chinese school, she replied firmly that "there weren't many Chinese teaching [in the Chinese school]!" She continued,

Also as soon as he entered Chinese school, he must begin to write. I don't want him to write [Chinese words] in first grade because my son was born with serious myopia. If he writes Chinese words, his eyesight will get worse. Because Chinese characters have too many strokes, children need to visually study them. It will cause his vision problem to worsen. So I prefer that he write Chinese a little later. If he writes [Chinese] at a latter time, he can use that time to study and increase his vocabulary recognition.

When Lee disagreed with the general teaching method at the Chinese school, such as beginning writing of Tzu-Yin in at the pre-kindergarten class or her disapproval of the quantity of vocabulary the Chinese school taught, Lee did not discuss these perceived deficiencies with the teacher or the administration. Instead, they simply withheld their son from attending Chinese school and educated him themselves at home. While Lee showed me the pile of vocabulary cards she made, I asked if those words were relevant in their daily lives. Lee replied,

No. Those vocabulary words are from the Chinese school [textbooks]. I also searched and found some of them on the Internet. I made them into word cards. I wrote them by hand. I wrote each character with Tzu-Yin on one side then wrote some sentences on the back. I used those words to familiarize and help them with vocabulary recognition. After they know what the meanings are, then I have them made up one or two phrases. Lee used 1008 handmade flash cards as tools to teach and also follow-up test her two children's Chinese.

Although Lee stated that the words were not from their daily life but the example phrase and sentence she wrote down on the cards to explain the vocabulary are daily life relevant.

Lee thinks that vocabulary building is the most important part of any language learning. The resources she used to find those characters involved the local immigrant Taiwanese community, the Chinese school, and the overseas Chinese bureau of the Taiwanese government, who provided free textbooks to the Chinese school, and moreover the Chinese internet community, via the tool of the computer.

Social Norms in the Chinese School: Importance of Grading

Lee did not complain about the Chinese school teachers' teaching methods because she had such low expectations of the Chinese school. Lee and Mr. Lee perceived

teaching Chinese to their children as their job, especially it was Mr. Lee's full time job. So the results and credentials of their children's language abilities are very important since they provide evidence to demonstrate to other people the successful results of their teaching. They are accustomed to getting applause from other immigrant Taiwanese parents. I remembered several years before I interviewed Lee, I ran into their family at a Taiwanese association picnic. I was impressed how the mother wanted to show me how well their daughter's Taiwanese and Chinese abilities were by asking her to speak to me. I instead saw a daughter who was very shy and ended the conversations shortly. They had collected all the language awards in one thick folder. Mr. Lee was happy to go upstairs to bring it to me and show me each page of awards her daughter had earned in Chinese or Taiwanese learning. Each award was an additional trophy for parental achievement of home teaching. So I was not surprised to hear Lee argue with the Chinese school teacher for a trophy with help from her daughter:

Once my daughter had a teacher who was a UT graduate student at the Chinese school. At the end of the semester she gave only two trophies for academic excellence: one was 95 points; the other was 96 points. My daughter had 91 points. Then I re-calculated my daughter's points and found that she [the teacher] was wrong. My daughter actually had 94 points instead of 91 points. So I called the teacher. She did not know how to communicate with parents. She was unhappy and said, "she had to go!" and hung up the phone quickly. I called her the next day. She still did not want to admit her fault, and said she was busy and hung up the phone quickly again. So I called the principal. I told her the teacher's calculation was wrong and 94 points should also get a trophy.

Lee's teaching methodology, the methodology of the Chinese school, and the methodologies used in Taiwanese education are similar in that that it is very competitive

about score. From my own experiences which were similar to those of the mother, there was a monthly test, and the entire grade was compared to see which class got the highest average score and each student would compete and know their place among the classmates tested. Those who won got awards and were called to the stage, to receive the trophy in front of the entire school usually during the morning assembly. The Chinese school seemed to adopt this mode. At the end of each semester at a graduation ceremony, the names of the students who achieve academic excellence and prizes in a reading contest are called by their names and lined up on stage to receive the trophies.

At the graduation ceremony, the first three prizewinners of each class were called on stage to receive medals in front of all the students, teachers, parents and their relatives or friends. Everyone knew who got the awards and who is whose kid. Starting 2007, the awards were given out in each classroom rather than on the stage to avoid arguments between parents and staff. But the award lists were still posted on the entrance and lobby doors where parents can see which children did well. The achievement was not only an award for the children, but also it brought face to the parents

Report cards and awards are confidentially sealed in envelopes in American public school, but at the Chinese school the students' awards had become parents' report cards which showed, in the thinking of some parents, how successfully their parenting job was done.

Social Capital from Local Immigrant Taiwanese Community

Lee used cultural and social contexts in the local Taiwanese community to teach their children Taiwanese culture. Here is an example showing the transmission of cultural capital through the Chinese New Year celebration:

Our family has special activities for celebrating the New Year. We sit together to eat hot pot, eat Nan-Cake (sticky cake), and bow to grandmother on New Year's Eve. My husband brought the children to the Hong Kong Supermarket to see the dancing dragons and lions a few times when they were little.

In addition, Mr. Lee is the vice director of the local Taiwanese Business Bureau (TBB) which holds gatherings during the Chinese holidays. They usually bring their children with them to attend such ethnic gatherings.

I met Lee's family in the TBB's New Year 's party one and a half years after the interview. Lee cooked Nan-Cake (sticky cake) for the cooking competition and won the third place. Her son sang a classic Chinese song on the stage.

Mr. Lee came to talk and showed me how proud he was of his son's Chinese ability. Attending this party, her sons not only heard the Taiwanese and Chinese usage by other adults in informal contexts such as conversations over dinner but also observed the authorities speak Chinese in a formal situation on the stage.

For example, there were two officers from the Houston Overseas Chinese Bureau of Taiwanese Government to give a short talk in Chinese and a city council member gave a speech in English but emphasized her mom being an immigrant from Taiwan. His son was the only young performer who sang a Chinese song in the talent show among other piano and violin performers. The Lee family made exhaustive efforts in promoting his son's languages by seeking different kinds of contexts for their son's Chinese usage. The performance not only made his son's Chinese meaningful to his daily life but also brought pride and status to his parents as the announcer introduced the parents of each performer to go onstage to introduce their children so that other members knew whose children were on the stage and applauded them. Lee's son's performance brought their parents "face" and validation for the parental efforts to enhance their children's Chinese. Their

motivation was reinforced when they received the applause from other immigrant Taiwanese parents. In Lee's case there was a positive cycle, the better Chinese their children speak, the more their parents brought them to Taiwanese community gatherings. The more gatherings they attended, the closer they became to the Chinese community. This kind of validation brought emotional support for children from outside of the family. The Lee's were consistent in finding opportunities to show off their children's heritage language abilities.

The observation of ethnic cultural events in the immigrant Taiwanese community not only provides an opportunity for the Lee children to participate in Chinese culture but also sheds light on their view of heritage language maintenance. These cultural events provide heritage language input, validates their efforts to maintain the heritage language, and provides prestigious adult Taiwanese role models for the children.

Social Capital from Greater Immigrant Society in United States

Lee showed me a SAT II Chinese sample test book that she ordered on line. It had three sections: the first section was listening. The second part was grammar, and the third part was reading comprehension. This booklet provided a goal for Lee's family to reach—pass the SAT II Chinese and use it as a main material to teach after her finishing the Chinese school textbooks. The greater social participation provided more validation for people learning heritage language and it does raise the motivation for immigrant Chinese parents to maintain Chinese.

With respect to mothers with more resources, their attitudes toward heritage languages are influenced from not only the local Chinese community but also from the greater immigrant Chinese society. Lee stated that her approach in teaching her sons started with word-recognition instead of the phonetic system, Tzu-Yi, which was used by

the Taiwanese education system and the Chinese school, were influenced by an article in *World Journal*, a Chinese newspaper published in the United States. She talked about the article, which suggested letting children recognize Chinese characters first. The article states there is a shortcut for very young children to learn Chinese, that's basically for three to six-year-olds. You let them recognize the characters first, our traditional method is to learn Tzu-Yi symbols and Spelling first, when they started learning reading and writing at five or six years old, it would be very hard for young children, because writing is a very difficult skill for them. This article said, if you spent the same amount of time and efforts, let them read, they can do it happier. He learns more characters and has more fun. Basically if he learns the basic five hundred characters, then let him read some children stories, he will be interested, So that article suggested, before children attend regular school, the first grade, teach them to recognize characters, and only word recognition. But how much you teach depend on parents' patience and persistence.

Social Capital in Taiwan

Although her children are fluent in Taiwanese and Chinese, due to the environmental limits in the United States, Lee thinks sending them back to Taiwan can expand their vocabulary structures. Lee said,

Send them back to Taiwan, the younger the better, send them to their Taiwanese relatives for the entire summer so they can learn more vocabulary. Because the [Chinese] words they speak in the United States are very limited, when they go back to Taiwan, they can learn many words.

Lee's son stayed with her mother-in-law who only can speak Taiwanese in the United States, so they needed to speak Taiwanese to each other. They were not satisfied that their son's spoken Taiwanese was good enough for daily conversation but with the

limitations of the vocabulary domain. They sent them back to Taiwan to expand their Taiwanese and Chinese vocabulary structure.

Lee's perception of Chinese learning was from the parents to children. She did not count sibling's interactions as learning. When I asked her if she had ever referred her son to her daughter to ask about something he did not understand, she replied, "No, the teaching is just between him and me." However, she mentioned the peer influences on language learning:

The best is the Taiwanese relative's home that has similar age children to play together. He can watch TV and play with the neighbor's children, and then he can learn more words.

When her son spoke good enough Taiwanese, Lee sent her son alone to Taiwan for eight months to live with her parents who can only speak Chinese, so that he would learn more Mandarin Chinese. Lee's extended family provided help in not only raising children but also provided heritage language teaching. The "one parent, one language" policy had been extended to include "one grandparent family, one language." Her parents-in-law provided Taiwanese only and her own parents provided Chinese only to her children. Different people carried different sets of language input to their children. Lee expected that the visits to Taiwan will continue until her daughter's college age to expand her "adult's vocabulary" again. Lee was the only mother who perceived the sets of Chinese their children learned would be different by age. Her conclusion was

In the future, I will send her to Taiwan and China. She will have a lot of time to learn [Chinese] in college. The more pure and meaningful Taiwanese are the words that adults say. Now she speaks children's Taiwanese but later on she will need to learn "adult words." So you must send her to Taiwan and China. Then her language will be very fluent and very deep-rooted!

Case of Wa-Wa

“Parents are the motivation for children’s language learning” (Wa-Wa)

In contrast Lee whose educational philosophy emphasizes direct instruction, another mother in my sample Wa-Wa emphasizes using culture as a mediator of heritage language instruction. In this section, I will describe Wa-Wa’s biographical data including her immigration history, her educational and linguistic background and her children’s history. We will define the meanings she attributed to learning heritage language as well as demonstrate the strategies Wa-Wa used to teach her children heritage language.

BACKGROUND

Wa-Wa is the youngest daughter in a family of seven sisters. Wa-Wa came to the United States in 1985 at age 18 to attend university, where she received her bachelor’s degree. She has two children, aged 14 and 4. The oldest was born in the United States, moved to Hong Kong at age two and moved back to the United States at age 12. As a result her oldest son grew up in Hong Kong, living there for 10 years. In Hong Kong, her oldest son attended a local Cantonese preschool from two-and-half-years-old until he was five-years-old. He then attended the American International School from the ages of five to twelve. Her second son was born in Hong Kong and moved back to the United States at age three. Wa-Wa moved to Hong Kong and returned to the United States because of her husband’s jobs. Her husband received a master’s degree in the United States in 1985. Wa-Wa taught Chinese at the American International School in Hong Kong for three years. She has been a stay at home mom since moving back to the United States and has taught Chinese at her older son’s class at the Chinese school for one year.

Wa-Wa's parents came from Mainland China and moved to Taiwan. She and her husband can speak only Mandarin, so they speak only Mandarin at home. Wa-Wa did not experience the Mandarin Promotion movement in her childhood because "we already spoke Chinese. The achievement of that movement was outstanding." But "my older sister did, they were forced to speak Mandarin. You would be fined if you spoke Taiwanese." Her attitude toward Taiwanese was "I felt it was OK when I was in elementary school, but when I was in middle school, I started looking at it differently. It's not discrimination but it was like, they were very strange. Why speak Mandarin and then code switch to Taiwanese? Later, I decided that I would rather not. I became more tolerant."

After she moved to Hong Kong, she learned to speak Cantonese "because Cantonese is very useful, and the more languages you know, the more you benefit." Her statement of the language environment in Hong Kong also revealed the strategies that she adopted to learn Cantonese. "The prices [in Hong Kong] depend on what language you speak. There are three different prices for people who speak Cantonese, English and Mandarin. In Hong Kong if I spoke all English, people respected me more but charged me more. So I used as little English as I could so that store owners would not cheat me." She said, "If you want to learn a language, you must speak it!" So she developed the following coping strategies. "When I went to the market, I'd ask the price in Cantonese and I listened very carefully to their replies but if I still couldn't understand. I'd just give them a big bill and have them give me change. You had to hide our lack of understanding. After a while you would figure out the prices. I learned it [Cantonese] this way. I also watched TV. They did not have captions which forced you to guess what they said."

Wa-Wa received a bachelor degree from the United States. While Wa-Wa was in Hong Kong, she attended the Beijing Language & Culture University jointly with the Chinese University of Hong Kong for 258 hours over 10 months. She studied teaching Chinese as a second language in a certificate program and taught Chinese at the International School. She mentioned that one advantage of living in Hong Kong is that she had a very capable Philippine maid, so she could attend classes. Wa-Wa paid US\$500 a month, and the maid could do all home chores and pick up and transport the children. Then she could take classes and did her personal errands. She also attended AP Chinese teacher training workshops held by the College Board twice in the United States. This is an example of how her economic capital enriched her social capital to receive Chinese teaching training.

Mother's Background

Wa-Wa was born and grew up in Taiwan but she expressed the difficulties in assimilating to Taiwan society due to her *waishengren's* background. She thinks her lacking Taiwanese ability is a key element that prevent people see her as Taiwanese. She said her husband has the same feeling that is the main reason their parents want them to move to the United States. She thinks that she is "between Chinese and Taiwanese." She said,

Our situation (my husband and I) is very sad. I only lived in Taiwan for 18 years, right? And the later 20 years were all outside Taiwan. But when we're in Taiwan, people called us *waishengren* [other province people]. When I am in the United States, people say I'm Taiwanese; I was born in Taiwan and grew up in Taiwan. You cannot say I'm not a Taiwanese just because I cannot speak Taiwanese. You cannot only use language to represent who you are. I feel I have always been kicked back and forth. Actually people like us are rare. Both mother and father are

from Mainland China where most men from China married Taiwanese women. So my older sister said,” Like us, those *waishengren*, eventually must go abroad. You feel you cannot do anything if you stay in Taiwan. I did not feel that way when my sister said that. After I came to the United States and I read newspapers and found lots of students studied abroad because their parents are *waishengren*. I think Ang Lee and other famous people wrote articles expressing the same feeling. They very much feel that you must go. You cannot stay in Taiwan because you are not a Taiwanese, and people will oppress you. The majority is Taiwanese, and you cannot speak Taiwanese. Even my parents- in -law said the same thing. They are all *waishengren*. When my husband graduated; they told him that he must leave as soon as possible. I was luckier than others because I got my green card at age 19 when my sister applied for me.

Children’s Language History

Wa-Wa sent her oldest son to a preschool in Hong Kong mainly because she thought, “it was the fastest way to learn Cantonese.” She said, “Otherwise, if the parents cannot understand, how can he be taught? “Her older son later became a language broker in Cantonese for her. She said that he learned Cantonese very fast, and spoke very fluently.

Later when her son attended American school, she found some children who had stayed in Hong Kong for seven or eight years but still could not speak a single sentence of Cantonese. She said, “I think the parents’ attitude is very important. If parents don’t want them to learn [Cantonese], they won’t learn. If parents want them to learn, they will learn. Parents are the motivation behind it.”

Wa-Wa said that although her son’s Cantonese was very good before he entered the International American school, “He forgot Cantonese very quickly because we don’t use it at home... Now he can listen and speak a little basic Cantonese but that is all.”

Children's Language Ability

Wa-Wa said that her older son's Chinese ability is better than most American born-Chinese. She had her son practice SAT II Chinese questions and found he did well. Wa-Wa thought that her older son's reading was good because his advantage was that he attended school in Hong Kong. There they did not teach Tzu-Yin symbols, the phonetic system used in Taiwan to supplement characters, and so basically he cannot read Tzu-Yin. Wa-Wa thought that this was a benefit because he forced himself to recognize and memorize Chinese characters. As far as writing, Wa-Wa said that her older son's reading is fair, but his writing is below level. He was able to write simple sentences, but he could not write essays.

Wa-Wa said that her younger son could express himself very well in Chinese. She gave an example that he can argue with her in Chinese about many things. Sometimes he even corrected her mistakes when she spoke Chinese. For example, when she told them to stop talking when they were fighting, the oldest son obeyed but the younger son immediately replied in Chinese, "Only sleeping people cannot talk!" Wa-Wa pointed out that he can use Chinese to explain himself very well.

THE MEANINGS OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE

Family Bonds

Wa-Wa's six older sisters are all living in the United States, and her older sisters have influenced her expectations and strategies. For example, Wa-Wa said, "All my sisters' children couldn't speak Chinese when they were teenagers, it's normal! But when they graduated from universities, they changed. They wanted to recover their original language skills, then in graduate schools, they now all want to learn Chinese." She continued,

I don't want them [Wa-Wa's sons] to regret the loss of their language... So if they can build a foundation, at least their listening will be fine...if they are interested [in the future], it won't be difficult for them to learn. If they are interested in it, they will do their best to learn. Moreover, they will feel that [Chinese] is relevant to them, so they will learn it easily.

Wa-Wa's two sons all speak Chinese at home, because she requires them not to use English. She said "it's not necessary to remind them to not use English, because the older son uses Chinese as a habit. He was almost ten years old when his younger brother was born, and he already got used to using Chinese only." "Sometimes I have the oldest son teach the second son. For example I have him teach him Tzu-Yin. My oldest son is very smart, I just wrote down the Tzu-Yin beside the Pinyin, then he knows ㄅ is b, then he can teach him." Chinese is the language spoke in the family and the language maintain family bonds in Wa-Wa's family.

Academic Achievement and Social Success

Wa-Wa said she had from a very early age felt that having her children learn Chinese was very important. She said, "Language is a tool, the more you learn the better." She said that her older son thinks nowadays everyone goes to Asia. If you know Chinese, of course, there are benefits. She continued by saying that many of her friends transfer their children from the United States to Taiwan or to Hong Kong "because if you know Chinese, you will be very popular and eventually many future markets will be in China, and you must interact with China. So knowing Chinese is very important."

Wa-Wa played an important role in promoting AP Chinese in the Chinese school and also local Chinese community. She believes that AP Chinese can help her sons apply university.

Relationship With American and Global Society

Although Wa-Wa got US citizenship at age 19, she said that she does not feel that she is an American. She explained her difficulties in assimilating to US society:

No, I don't feel I'm an American! Because when you go to work and have contact with many Americans, then you'll find: you're a Chinese from the beginning, because people just see you that way."

She continued, "I learned from my older sisters and their children's experiences. They all were born and grew up here and speak English as well as other Americans, but people all think they are Chinese. Not to mention that we came here so late."

She later stated that the attitudes she sensed from people were not related to language but were different in different parts of the United States. In doing so she used the English term "friendly" and "unfriendly":

Maybe Texas is ok. California is better because there are many Chinese. But if you go to the Midwest where there are only a few Chinese. You will see there is serious, unfriendly discrimination. I stayed in New Jersey for 10 years. You can feel that they overtly treat Chinese badly. When I moved to California, it was better because there are many Chinese people. There are differences in their attitudes. They are not that friendly to you.

I asked if this was related to language and she replied,

Languages are irrelevant, even though you speak standard English, they still regard you as a foreigner. My cousin went to the university in Newark. She wanted to transfer because she could not bear it. She felt that they wouldn't accept outsiders. They were not friendly. It was because your appearance is foreign. No matter what language you speak, the language is not the problem. They are still not friendly to you. So she transferred to California the second year.

Cultural Relationships

Wa-Wa provided several reasons for her children to speak Chinese which related cultural bonds. First, she believed that they couldn't forget their roots. Wa-Wa said that when their sons grow older they would see that "Yes, We were not Caucasian from the beginning!" Also when her older son studied in Hong Kong, he traveled to Mainland China with his classmates and found he was the only who could speak Mandarin to help friend to purchase. Moreover, understanding Cantonese also helped him to be able to understand the conversation among his friend's family. Wa-Wa said,

He told his Chinese teacher "it [Chinese] is very useful!" because he could help his friends purchase items, using Mandarin. He recognized "one more language, one more benefit." His Cantonese also helped. When he went out, he understood what other people said, and other people could not cheat him. Sometimes he went to his classmate's home, they're Hong Kong people. His friend's mom thought he could not understand Cantonese but he completely understood. It was very funny for him.

STRATEGIES FOR HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING

In Wa-Wa's case, most of the education that her children received in Chinese comes directly or indirectly from the formal school system. Her eldest son attended American International school in Hong Kong where taught one hour Chinese everyday for seven years and then attending Chinese school two hours a week for three years, Wa-Wa's strategies regarding her son's Chinese learning were she taught Chinese in the same schools where her older son studied in Hong Kong and locally. She played a role as a mother and as a teacher at the same time for her son's Chinese learning. By high involvement in those two formal schooling, Wa-Wa also contributed her personal resources and social capitals to other immigrant Taiwanese parents.

Using Culture to Teach Language

Wa-Wa received training on how to teach Chinese language in Hong Kong which she applied to her children. The education that she received in Hong Kong emphasized the use of culture to teach Chinese which influenced her strategies. By associating Chinese language with Chinese culture, Wa-Wa uses Vygotsky's (1986) ideas of embedding language within a social-cultural context:

When I learned how to teach Chinese in Hong Kong, those teachers taught us a lot about Chinese culture. I think if you want to be an authentic Chinese teacher and teach foreigners effectively, you need to know a lot of Chinese information.

She mentioned some examples of this:

First, if your students ask you to introduce them to China, you need to know there are eight systems of culinary styles. My professor came from Beijing and was a good scholar. He explained to his students the unique features of each culinary system. For example, Sichuan style of cuisine features liberal use of hot pepper and strong seasonings. It may use xanthoxylon seeds. Those teachers also are specialized in Han-Yu (Chinese language). They know the traditional Chinese characters, which is used in Taiwan. They also know the ancient Chinese written language, which I do not know, such as oracle-bone script...They are very knowledgeable, and they taught us those basic concepts and Chinese culture, so you can become a capable Chinese teacher.

When asked about the Chinese culture that she was taught, she replied,

You must know some Chinese New Year dishes, some Chinese customs, and Chinese holidays. Those outsiders (non-Chinese) will feel it's interesting, because you include different cultural information.

Wa-Wa said she applied these strategies to her students: "For example, I taught them [her students] to eat moon cake during the full moon festival. Also I taught my

older son about Chinese herbal medicine and how to cook Chinese dish in Chinese in his daily life. I also decorate my house with Chinese culture items.”

Social Capital in Helping With Homework

Wa-Wa was a Chinese teacher in the International School in Hong Kong for three years. Her Chinese pedagogy classes equipped her to teach Chinese using culture in International School, and helping her son doing Chinese projects at home also fueled her experience in teaching Chinese. Those experiences in Hong Kong served as foundation for her to teach in the Chinese school. She stated, “I would like to introduce the homework and projects that my son did in Hong Kong to the class I taught in the Chinese school. I helped my son do this homework so I knew how to do it.” She elaborated on the type of projects she helped her son to do in Hong Kong:

Projects about Confucius or other ancient people. You go online to search for information and use Chinese to write the birthplaces, to describe their childhoods or their significance or about their students. You need to download those pictures. I helped him to find a lot of information, and I taught him how to present it. I forced him to read it well in order to present it well on the stage. I also learned a lot from it.

Wa-Wa helped her son did Chinese homework because Chinese score counted and also “all the Chinese mothers helped their children in his class. They must help. Some parents even hired tutors to help.” By the helping her son’s Chinese homework had benefits not only for her son but also improved Wa-Wa’s teaching skill.

Previous Formal Chinese Learning in Hong Kong

Formal Chinese learning was important in the education of Wa-Wa’s oldest son. Her oldest son attended the American [International] School in Hong Kong, and learned

Chinese one hour each day for seven years, and then attended Chinese school for two hours a week for two years in Austin. The International School in Hong Kong was very expensive being about US \$20,000 a year, but it was paid by her husband's company. Wa-Wa thinks the American International School that used a British system, International Baccalaureate program is superior than American education system. She thinks "If you wanted to go back to the United States you needed this type of school."

Wa-Wa's attitudes about the British and American systems of education illustrate how globalization and Transnationalism is affecting heritage language learning and how varied the influences are on the parental teaching methods. Her experience illustrates how wealth can remove geographical barriers to language learning. Although she was in a Cantonese environment, she was able to provide an environment for both English and Chinese learning. This was possible because, through her husband's company, she had the wealth available to send her son to the American International School in Hong Kong. Her wealth also allowed her to transcend physical location and to find a school with a curriculum based on the IB program that permitted her son to continue his education when they moved back to Texas.

Regular School Encourages Chinese Learning

Wa-Wa's attitudes toward education influenced her decision on where to live. In talking about her decision on where to live one can see how the mother has the ability to shape the environment for their children's heritage language learning and how important it is to have financial capital. She explained why she chose to buy a house where she did:

Because there are a lot of Chinese living here. You can see most of the people from our school (Chinese school) live here. Also it's convenient to the Asian Market. But here houses are expensive.

The school district is very good. Here is XXX High School area. So this area's houses are very expensive. You can find a fourth to a third Asian students in the schools here. I like it here because it has more variety. It is not too white. We just moved back from Hong Kong, and his International School had a multi-cultural environment and different races. I wanted a school that was more similar to his former school, so we decided to live here. The XXX high school also offers International Baccalaureate program like the International school he attended in Hong Kong.

The large number of Chinese in the neighborhood also provides an environment which Wa-Wa thinks is good for Chinese language learning and provides an example in which language becomes a tool that is useful for the child. She said,

At least they won't completely forget Chinese. At least I feel in this area, there are a lot of Chinese who attend the same middle school. The entire school is almost a third to a fourth Chinese. They all know the benefits of knowing Chinese since they were very young. They speak Chinese if they don't want their Caucasian classmates to know what they are saying. They are busy in regular school and may not be in the same classes. So they have no social time. They all like to attend Chinese school. My son likes to go and socialize with other Chinese children.

According to Wa-Wa, the children spoke English when the immigrant Taiwanese families get together, but they used Chinese to speak to each other at lunch as secret language in the regular school. The usage of heritage language as a secret language was not limited to Chinese. She said,

Some even speak a Shanghai dialect if their parents came from Shanghai. Korean students speak Korean to Korean students. Some people speak Cantonese. My son can understand both Cantonese and Chinese.

The interaction of the children in regular school influenced their positive attitudes towards Chinese school. Wa-Wa stated that the children from this area liked to attend Chinese school, especially those in the upper grades. She said that they did not hate to go to the Chinese school because they loved to get together, and while there were always one or two parents that force the children to go to the Chinese school, this did not happen to too many students in the upper grades.

Home Strategies

Balanced Languages

Wa-Wa found that her younger son's Chinese was much better than his English, so she wanted him to be in her words "balanced". Wa-Wa said that her younger son "needs to build up his English first."

Wa-Wa read for her younger son in English "because I want him to pick up as much vocabulary as possible." Her belief was "because we all speak Chinese at home, his English might be a little behind Americans because her son was not exposed to the English idioms that American families use." To compensate when she read the stories in English, she made sure she explains the meanings of the idioms. She said that she was not worried about her English before he entered preschool because she thought the children will learn, and she read English books from the library to him. Like Lee, Wa-Wa spoke only Chinese only to their children before they attended American preschool. She then started teaching their children English when they believed their children's English was behind.

Home Language - Chinese

Wa-Wa insisted that her older son must use only Chinese at home because “otherwise he will lose Chinese ability and he can only speak English. That’s not good because everyone can speak English here.” She continued,

Basically I found his language [Chinese] ability is good. There are differences in [children’s] natures. I remembered I was surprised that my oldest son picked up Cantonese so fast when I first sent him to the local kindergarten, but my second son was slow. Now he attends American preschool here, but he picked up English much slower.

Part of the reason for enforcing this rule came from observations of how her children interacted. The pedagogy that she used was an example of the child as an active learner. In requiring her sons to speak Chinese, Wa-Wa created a situation in which her sons were involved in processes of scaffolding and guided participation. As an example, she said,

My older son has a habit that if my friend calls me and speaks Chinese, he will reply in Chinese. If they speak English, he will reply in English. I feel that if you don’t always speak this language, and you just practice your listening, then when you want to express yourself it is hard. First, you won’t have this habit. Some parents have spoken Chinese to their children since they were little. They are ok but if they don’t use it after awhile, it will regress. If you always use it, the language will keep.

Error Correction and Code Switch Avoidance

Wa-Wa’s pedagogy also placed an emphasis on error correction to prevent the use of Americanized Chinese. This is an example of the parent providing the final and ideal

form of a language by which the child is expected to absorb via guided participation. (Rogoff, 1990) She described an example:

[Speaking] will force you to use your ability to express the language. First, you won't speak Americanized Chinese. For example, you won't say, “穿香水”, that is “wear perfume”. Because he knows what the correct phrase is. Sometimes he would make mistakes but if you correct them immediately, then he can learn immediately. If you don't correct mistakes immediately, he will continue making the mistakes, because he doesn't know the correct way. So I said adults' [parents'] attitudes are very influential.

The importance of correct language use is related to Wa-Wa's own experiences with American-born Chinese, whose language skills she attributed to code switching. One thing to be noted is that Wa-Wa used the term “*code switching*” which indicates familiarity with language education terminology. Wa-Wa believes that some American-born Chinese speak Chinese badly because their parents code switch to English. She gave an example:

My friend's son's Chinese is really bad. When he came to our home, I asked him to go to the living room to get videotape. He couldn't understand. He couldn't understand “Ke-Ting” (客廳) because his mom always uses “living room” instead of “Ke-Ting” (客廳) to him. I think this was the mother's fault because she cultivates it unknowingly. All their conversations mixed Chinese and English. If I had not moved to Hong Kong, I would do the same thing. When I first moved to Hong Kong, I found myself talking to other people using three or five English words in a ten-word Chinese sentence. I have that habit but I don't notice. I feel if you are truly very good at both Chinese and English, you are capable of using Chinese in a whole sentence and you won't mix English vocabulary into it. You will also speak beautiful English only when it is needed. You don't mix Chinese

in English sentences. Only if your Chinese and English are not that good, then you will use half Chinese and half English. I changed this habit when I arrived in Hong Kong. When you mixed English and Chinese to talk to more local people, they couldn't understand because they did not know those English words. So I started to use only Chinese. I have passed this habit to my children. If I had not gone to Hong Kong, I might say, "Ah, you go to the living room, you go to the kitchen." So my children know what Ke-Ting (客廳) is.

Teaching Younger Son Characters Directly

Like Lee, Wa-Wa also praised efforts to teach her younger son characters directly without the help of Tzu-Yin. The standard approach to teach reading in Taiwan is like that of Chinese school is to teach a phonetic system known as Tzu-Yin first and then later teach Chinese characters. She suggested using a different approach:

My second son is in pre-K class [at the Chinese school]. I feel, I really want to suggest that the pre-K teacher teach him some of the simple characters such as 大 中 小 人 天 山, not just ㄉㄞ ㄓㄨㄣ ㄒㄧㄢ. After a while, people may not use it [Tzu-yin] anymore, why do we still struggle with those 36 Tzu-Yin symbols.

Wa-Wa further talked about the interaction between Tzu-Yin and Pinyin, which is a phonetic spelling system used in Mainland China based on the Roman alphabet:

My experience in Pinyin spelling is that you should start teaching it in second grade because if you teach them too early, they may be mixed with English. They will confuse X with ㄨㄛ, So Hong Kong is very good. They have experimented with it and decided to start teaching Pinyin in second grade. Before that, they only taught word recognition and sang songs and played which can also help them to learn lots of characters. I taught before, so I know it works.

She describes the benefits of delaying using a phonetic spelling system such as Pinyin or Tzu-Yin until the second grade and instead teaching characters directly:

The benefit of it is if you give them an article with simple words, they can recognize all the characters. Without the aid of spelling or Tzu-Yin, they won't depend on it to sound. You teach him this character 大 [big] and this character 小 [little] and they will remember them because children's memorization is strong.

Social Capital Through Cultural Connections

Wa-Wa's instruction also emphasizes connecting the speaking of Chinese to the child's experiences and embedding the language within a social-cultural context and making the language meaningful for the child. She cited an example:

I just use my brain to find the methods in my daily life, for example, Tzu-Yin ㄅ ㄆ, my second son always confused the ㄆ and ㄆ, one has a small line. So I told him “ㄆ is Po-Po (grandmother) who has hair, so there is a small line, but ㄆ does not, then he got it. Otherwise it won't work if you just want him to memorize by rote.

This method came from her background. She said,

I think if parents provide appropriate help, kids' achievement will be different. I learned this from my mother-in-law who was a teacher for 30 years. She always used stories to teach children, to instruct children to understand the proper way, not just to directly say it. Kids will naturally accept the reasons after listening to the story. Then it achieves the education goal quickly. So I think to use your behavior as a model to teach them is the most useful.

Share Cultural Meaning With Her Sons

As previously mentioned, Wa-Wa's Chinese teaching was influenced by her formal Chinese language training in which language and culture were very deeply connected. She talked about these connections:

If you want to teach delicate (deep) Chinese, you must teach Chinese culture otherwise you cannot continue teaching. I took those pedagogy classes; teachers said why do Chinese cut vegetables that way? Why must the knife, slide, why must all material, meat, celery, carrot, etc. be cut in similar sizes and pieces when they are fried together? The reason is your pot. The area of vegetables that touches the pot must be similar, then the heat will be balanced and they will be ready at the same time.

Wa-Wa stated that because her older son was interested in cooking, she taught him this fact and that she used Chinese to teach this lesson in cooking. As another example, of using culture to promote heritage language, Wa-Wa taught her children about tea culture and Chinese medicine in Chinese. She described their reaction:

They can listen more or less. If you don't say it, they will never know it. So my attitude is you must say it. Regarding Chinese medicine, I have told him bit by bit since he was small. Then slowly he will understand.

Culture Capital

Bourdieu (1997) said that "the value of culture capital is not only the investment made in education and educational activities, but also more importantly it is the "domestic transmission of cultural capital" (p.48). He said that education alone is not always enough to ensure success but that "scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family." Wa-Wa's instructional strategies contained many examples of transferring cultural capital domestically to her

children. During the interview I found several symbols of Chinese culture within Wa-Wa's home that indicated Wa-Wa's efforts for providing an environment that promotes heritage culture, which is part of her strategy to promote heritage language learning.

Chinese Teapot

The connection between tools and language was illustrated by a conversation we had about a Chinese teapot. Wa-Wa invited me to drink tea while the interview took place. She used a beautiful teapot and delicate teacups. The teapot and cups had beautiful Chinese paintbrush painting and Chinese writing on them. She respects and enjoys the tea ceremony. It is a ritual she uses to transmit Chinese culture in her home. Wa-Wa's oldest son received an abundance of cultural capital while attending school in Hong Kong and easily reproduces this cultural capital. She said,

My older son has already learned and seen these cultural items in Hong Kong. I don't need to use extra, because the teacher at Hong Kong International School decorated their classroom with relevant cultural artifacts.

Rosewood Furniture

Another example of the use of cultural items to influence the heritage language learning was the type of furniture that was in her house. While she invited me to her formal dining room, I found all the furniture was rosewood, an expensive material for furniture in Chinese society not found locally. She said when her Caucasian friends came to visit, they all fell impressed about those Chinese furniture.

Red Envelope Lantern

I saw a lantern made of red envelopes hanging from the ceiling. Wa-Wa told me her son made it and he learned how in Hong Kong. Last year the Taiwanese Business

Association had an event, the oldest son went there to teach other American born Chinese children how to make these.

Chinese Books Bought in Hong Kong

A final example of cultural tools was the large number of Chinese books that she had in her house. Wa-Wa said she brought most of the books from Hong Kong since her husband's company helped to ship them back to the United States. Wa-Wa took five courses before she taught Chinese as a second language in Hong Kong. She said, "We read lots of books at that time related to Phonology and Chinese teaching." I found many language instruction books in Chinese for professionals. There were also some Chinese books for children. Wa-Wa not only studied those instructional Chinese books but she also donated books to Chinese school for teachers to use. Wa-Wa is an example of immigrant Taiwanese mothers share their personal collections and resources of Chinese teaching to other parents or teachers in the Chinese school.

High Technology

In addition to the cultural artifacts that Wa-Wa has put into her house, her efforts at teaching her children the heritage language include using high technology in the form of satellite television and computers. These technologies create connections between the child and the social environment promoting heritage language learning.

Taiwanese Satellite TV

Wa-Wa had Taiwanese satellite TV and her older son liked to watch and understood most of the programs. Her second son liked to watch the Yo-Yo channel, a Taiwanese satellite channel that contains children's programming. She said,

He loves to watch Kong-Fu programs that we adults like to watch. He likes to watch the program where people wear ancient [Chinese] costumes. I do not think

he can understand the ancient costumes program, but he really likes to watch it. I don't know if he likes to watch the pictures or something else.

Wa-Wa not only allowed her son to watch Chinese programs but also English programs. Recently her second son, at age four, just began attending daycare and learning English. Wa-Wa had her son watch more English programming when she found her second son's English development appears to be lagging detected his Chinese language ability. Her son enjoyed watching American cartoons such as Clifford the Big Red Dog program.

Computer

Not long ago, Wa-Wa attended the advanced class teacher workshop. The workshop instructor introduced many websites to her class to have them listen to Chinese songs. She said, "So I have my son go to those websites. Now he is interested in them. He really likes to listen to them. Mrs. Chang found different types of Chinese songs, popular songs, folk songs, etc." Wa-Wa's social resources from Chinese school changed her son's habit toward Chinese learning, by learning Chinese songs over the computer.

Social Capital by Interacting with Grandparents in Taiwan

In addition to the home environment, Wa-Wa promotes heritage language learning through interaction with the extended family.

Wa-Wa's parents live in Taiwan. Her sons talk to their grandparents in Chinese, especially her older son who has the habit of speaking Chinese when the listener also speaks Chinese. Both children like to visit Taiwan because they have lots of happy memories of playing and eating. When they were in Hong Kong, they went back to Taiwan three to four times each year and stayed one to two weeks each time. After the

interview she went back to Taiwan in the winter of 2006 and the summer of 2007, and stayed one month each time.

Wa-Wa stated the reason they visited Taiwan so often is because they returned Taiwan to see their parents. She said, “I think there is an influence, if you interact with your previous generation, children will know that they must respect the elders. Then there are benefits for them, because they can observe. Modeling your own behavior is better than just telling them. If you treat their grandparents very respectfully, then the grandchildren will be thoroughly imbued with what they frequently hear and see.” Another important thing is that they watched a lot of TV because Taiwan has so many channels.

Social Capital in Chinese school

Wa-Wa’s strategies for teaching heritage language include a very high level of parental involvement at the Chinese school. She is very active as a teacher and in formulating policy at the Chinese school because of her Chinese teaching background. In these roles, she blurs the boundary between teaching heritage language at home and the outside community.

Her husband also volunteers in the Chinese school regularly such as leading reading contests. One year after the interview, her husband became the dean of curriculum and Wa-Wa became vice dean of curriculum in the Chinese school. Wa-Wa would sometimes call me to ask my opinion in curriculum reform or to see if I had resource to recruit better Chinese teacher from my networks. I can see their efforts in making the Chinese school a better place for students to learn Chinese. She stated her reason in teaching Chinese at the Chinese school:

I wasn't a Chinese major, so I could use this opportunity to learn more Chinese idioms. I needed to look them up in dictionaries and find out what they were in English. Sometimes you need to find a word in English equal to that word. Sometimes you still need to speak to some children in English, so they can catch the full meaning. You learn a lot. I taught in my son's class, so I can also understand what they're doing and what they think. This helps.

She described her teaching style:

I let them [my students] talk a lot. I want to know what their popular interests are, what they're discussing, what concerns them. I observe them in and between classes. For example, they will talk about what movies they love to watch, or who loves who, girlfriend or boyfriend. You can get some information there. You will connect with them.

She said that her son has no special feelings about having her as a teacher.

Wa-Wa's Parental Involvement in the Chinese school

In Wa-Wa's family, both she and her husband are in charge of the children's Chinese educations but mostly it is Wa-Wa's opinion that matters. She said, "Occasionally if my husband does not like it, he will express it." Wa-Wa's husband was involved in the Chinese school by sitting with his son in the kindergarten classroom weekly while Wa-Wa taught at the Chinese school. But long before her younger son attended the pre-K class, she and her husband brought her younger son to the Chinese school while the older son attended the classes there in the hope that her younger son would learn that "attending Chinese school is important." She stated,

That's why I think both parents must be there. We build this habit, now my children want to go. My younger son loves to go to the Chinese school very

much. Every day he asks what school he will attend tomorrow. If I say tomorrow is Sunday, we will go to Chinese school, then he is very happy. So I feel parental involvement is very important.

She thinks if parents just drop their children off and treat the Chinese school like a day care, then the children will feel differently. “If parents don’t care, why should children care?”

Parents Are the Best Teachers for the Chinese school

In addition to the positive influence of parental involvement on children, Wa-Wa believes that parental involvement allows practical experience to come from the parents to the teacher. Wa-Wa said,

It is best for the parents to teach [at the Chinese school]. There are teachers from UT, and they are all too young. First, if you’re not married and don’t have children, you do not understand that much about children personalities. When children have temper tantrums, they don’t have any idea about what is going on. They come to learn. And it seems our children are there for them to practice, because theory is very different from practice. Also kid’s personalities are different. How can they handle it? I feel the upper level is easier to teach because those who hate school may have already dropped out.

She makes this observation about the teachers:

I substituted this semester. You can tell a teacher’s style from the students’ behaviors. My son’s teacher seems to allow them to chat or to talk in the classes without listening to teacher. I went to substitute when the teacher went into delivery. Oh! My God, I said. I stood in the front, “Why are you talking? Who needs to listen to whom?” Then I scolded them soundly. I wanted them to know that your teacher allowing you to talk whenever you want and leaving you alone to kill the time is not a responsible attitude.

She continued,

I insist that they not wear Walkmans, I said, “Take it away. You are not allowed to listen”. If you are not mean enough, they won’t listen to you. When I was in their class, from the beginning, I often reminded them not to talk. Last week I substituted in another class, and they were very obedient. So you know their teacher is very responsible. Because they just presented what they did as usual. They did not talk or bother others.

She also had some suggestions on school administration. This is an interesting example since it illustrates that production of social capital can exist not only between adults and children but also between adults, as mothers provide knowledge to teachers:

I suggested to the school [the Chinese school] that teachers must rotate. You cannot only teach the same class [students] for many years. Teachers must rotate then children can learn from different teachers. Everybody agreed with me. So now they change teachers every two years.

In addition to her opinions on classroom management, Wa-Wa also had opinions on the type of curriculum that should be used to teach written Chinese. After mentioning that her children were better learning Pinyin in the second grade, I asked if she had ever thought of transferring her son to the Great Wall Chinese School, which is mainly composed of parents from Mainland China who use Pinyin for instruction. She mentioned that she hadn’t thought of this because the Chinese school was already encouraging teachers to teach Pinyin in the seventh and eighth grades:

I ask them if they are all willing to learn because they feel it is very easy. Pinyin is all in English. It’s very easy to teach. If you really want to learn in one week [2 hours] is fine. You just tell them the rules. But sometimes they did not get it. So you can also spend a semester to teach it if you want. That’s after I finished

teaching each chapter, I spent a little time specially to teach Pinyin. And compare them to Tzu-Yin at the same time. For example : ㄅ ㄩ ㄩ is Ba.

When ask why she suggested the use of Pinyin, she replied,

I suggested that the Chinese school to teach it. I suggested that they teach it starting in the second grade, because it is a trend. The United Nations all use simplified Chinese. My main point is if you know more, it's better for you. If those children went to Singapore or Hong Kong, it helps. Only Taiwan uses Tzu-Yin. Even in Taiwan they will have some common spelling system, which modify something. They also recognize the benefit of Pinyin. Why not let children learn it? If you go to China, you won't understand those words. But if you know Pinyin, you can read it. The advantage is much more than the disadvantage.

By joining the Chinese school's curriculum decision-making, providing the teaching materials and helping training the teachers to including Pinyin teaching in the Chinese school, Wa-Wa's brought her Chinese teaching experience and pedagogy training in Hong Kong into the Chinese school. This is an example that social capital that immigrant Taiwanese mother provides, the oversea Chinese teaching curriculum and instruction influx to local Chinese school. This is also another example of influence of globalization on heritage language learning.

In addition to the use of Pinyin in the Chinese school, she contributed her experience on promoting character literacy to other immigrant mothers. She observed those children in upper grades cannot recognize Chinese characters, because they all depend on Tzu-Yin, and without Tzu-Yin, they cannot read. She said, “[B]ecause the textbooks we use (in Chinese school) all with Tzu-Yin. They totally depend on Tzu-Yin to read.” By suggesting immigrant Taiwanese parents to train their older children to read Chinese characters without Tzu-Yin is another example of her using social capital to

help other American born Chinese to learn Chinese. She said she learned this from the instruction her son received in Hong Kong International School and in the Chinese school.

Interaction with Teachers

Wa-Wa's interaction with teachers can also be illustrated in the conversation we had when she showed me the handouts she got from Mrs. Chang the 9th grade teacher's workshop and invited me to attend Mrs. Chang's workshop which I did. This is an example of Wa-Wa brought her social resources by attending workshop in the Chinese school to benefit her students including her son in the Chinese school. Wa-Wa said,

Mrs. Chang said "nowadays' children are an "image generation", for their literacy environment, you must use computer and Internet to teach. Using them in your teaching, make children love it, so she brought her laptop to class and directly went online and had them watch some Chinese video clips. She also taught them to sing Chinese folk songs. Children memorized those songs easily.

Wa-Wa continued,

Mrs. Chang's shared all of her teaching materials with me. She said "for the big children' class, you need to use these kinds of audio-visual stimulation for them to learn. The results will certainly be "half the work with double the result." (事半功倍) ... You cannot be like the teacher in our childhood who held the textbook and read it in the front of the class. If you do that, I think students will fall asleep. So today, if your class is very colorful and has variety, then students will love to come, right?

I attended the teachers' workshop led by Ms. Chang. She used multi-media to teach Chinese such as getting directly online in the classroom to find video clips, or she

read an article and recorded it on MP3 weekly and brought it to Chinese class and had her students practiced it on line at home also.

Promote Chinese Learning in the Chinese School

After the interview was done, I still met Wa-Wa at the Temple's reading club and at the Chinese school regularly, and I sometimes met her whole family at the temple's lunch. She had been very nice to provide me with more information regarding Chinese learning by emails or in person. By that path, I attended two Chinese language pedagogy seminars held at the Chinese school. I also learned that she attended three out of town AP Chinese conferences. She spent more than \$1,000 out her own pocket to attend one in California for ten days. Her husband supported her by taking days off from his job to take care of their children. She knew many people who promote Chinese language learning especially for AP Chinese, and she was able to invite the leader and the author of new textbooks (Mei Zhou Chinese) to give a speech at Chinese school entitled "Standards for foreign language learning and communicate in multiple modes in the United States: explore Chinese schools' curriculum and instruction using "Mei Zhou Chinese". There were professors, principals, teachers and parents from other five Chinese schools in the local area who attended the lecture. During the speech, her husband helped the speaker to use Powerpoint. Wa-Wa's enthusiasm in Chinese learning is not only shown on her personal pedagogical growth, but she also generously shared the resources she had from other Chinese schools in other states. She introduced the Chinese summer camp held in Taiwan Normal University. She had the Vice Principal to email this information to all the Chinese school's parents. Students in the Chinese school were able to have group registered discount with a California Chinese school where she met the principal at a conference. She brought out of state resources to the Chinese school.

Case of Sofia

“We just send them to Chinese school” (Sofia)

I will start with a brief introduction of the backgrounds and language histories of Sofia and her husband. I will then describe the interview setting including the presence of their two sons. Next I will define the meanings of heritage language through their motivation, identity and their attitudes toward heritage language. Finally, I will present a short portrait of their lifestyle while demonstrating the children’s language abilities with recorded examples of verbal interactions. In the section on strategies, I will elaborate on the members of the nuclear family. I will discuss the tools used such as satellite TV, computer, VHS player and Chinese homework and then conclude with a description of relevant Chinese and overseas extended family members.

BACKGROUND

Sofia was 40 years old and has a bachelor’s degree from an American university. Sofia is a state employee with a computer-related job. She has two American born sons, one six-years-old, and the other seven-years-old. Sofia came to the United States sixteen years ago and has lived in central Texas most of time. Sofia is bilingual in English and Chinese. Both her parents are Taiwanese who speak Taiwanese at home. But Sofia lost her mother tongue, Taiwanese, when she entered elementary school because her parents accommodated her school to use Mandarin with Sofia.

Sofia’s husband is Chinese Malaysian. He has a bachelor’s degree and worked as a plumber. He immigrated to Canada, became a Canadian citizen and then moved to central Texas six years ago after he married Sofia. When her first son was born, her husband stayed at home in Canada and took care of her son for one year while awaiting

approval of his Canadian citizenship. He is multilingual in English, Cantonese, Chinese and Malay. He speaks Cantonese very well with his parents and attended regular Chinese school in Malaysia. His reading and writing in Chinese were good. Sofia thinks her husband has talents in languages. She supported this opinion by saying that her husband had never attended cram school for English but got 590 on the TOFEL the first try.

Interview Setting

The interview took place in the living room and lasted for two and half hours while her two sons were watching American TV on nearby sofa. I was able to record the mother-children's interactions. She had me drink tea using a delicate teacup, Sofia said because "it represents Chinese culture!" After the interview, I sometimes ran into Sofia and her husband in the hallway or cafeteria of Chinese school and had short conversations with them each time.

Children's Language Ability

I asked Sofia why she replied to her sons in English when they talked to her in English, and she replied, "Lazy, I am just too lazy, and also they can only understand a little bit of Chinese. They rarely speak Chinese." She said that her children started speaking English at home since they were very little. They attended day care at age one, and they came home just speaking English. They were used to speaking English since then. Sofia said that she and her husband speak Chinese to each other.

Although the parents were speaking Chinese between themselves, Sofia attributed directly the reasons her sons became monolingual in English was because her sons enrolled in regular day care, an English-speaking only environment, since they were one-year-old. English was introduced to their son at age one and used in day care full time while Chinese is limited to verbal input between parents at home. By age six and seven

when this interview took place, the children are already English speakers. Sofia's son did not lose Chinese to English. English was their first and main language both at preschool and at home since they began speaking.

Being consistent and firm about the decision for heritage language learning is one of the challenges immigrant parents face (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Sofia mentioned that sometimes her sons understood the Chinese conversations between she and her husband but they would reply in English. So she and her husband began using English to talk to them. She stated once she continually made attempts to make her sons speak Chinese by speaking Chinese to them but with no success. Sofia's two sons apparently showed reluctance to speak Chinese at home. This was in contrast to Zen and Lee who provided their time and efforts on a daily basis in the context of the home setting for their children's heritage language learning.

Language Use Between Brothers

While the interview took place, the two children sat on a nearby sofa watching TV, so I had the opportunity to record their verbal exchanges. The following conversation between mother and sons during the interview confirmed English was the main language they used.

The following conversation uses italics for English and plain text for Chinese. Austin and Audrey were fighting and came over to their mom.

C1: He is beating me

M: Mom will...

C1: He is beating me rudely!

M: Austin, if you don't behave well...

C2: (crying) ah...get me out

M: You don't hit Di-Di. One, two....

C2: (crying) get me out

M: Don't hit Di-Di

C1: don't

In this conversation, Sofia and two sons all used English except mom code switched to Chinese Di-Di (younger brother in Chinese). This meant that Sofia did not consciously make the effort to teach her children Chinese because she addressed them in English. If Sofia speaks English to her children at home, she will validate the children's English usage at home but provide no effort to support their Chinese.

THE MEANINGS OF HERITAGE LANGUAGES

Sofia wanted her children to learn Chinese. She said,

Of course! Because we're Chinese! Because I feel that Caucasian society has never accepted foreigners! "They [my sons] are Chinese, so I want them to learn Chinese!" We will never be one of them [Caucasians], maybe my sons, Austin and Audrey, still couldn't.

She added,

Also in the future world, Chinese must be very important. Also learning two languages is good for them. When they grow up, if China is very prosperous, they can go back to China to develop!

Sofia did not feel a part of American society despite being an American citizen. She believed there are advantages to learning two languages especially with China's prosperous future.

Family Bonds

The visits of extended family members such as grandparents may provide the fertilizer to the heritage language landscape for the immigrant families as shown in the Lee and Zen's families. Sofia did not see her mother-in-law's visits as having any influence on her children's Chinese learning. She described the language dynamic between her sons and their grandmother over her one-month visit every year. Her mother-in-law spoke Cantonese only in Canada because there were lots of Cantonese there, but she spoke only English to Sofia's sons. Her mother-in-law would like to use Cantonese, but her sons couldn't understand her.

Since her mother-in-law was barely able to speak English, there was little conversation between her mother-in-law and her grandsons. There were language barriers between these two generations. Sofia described her mother-in-law's priority for her grandsons during her visiting was to take good care of them, such as doing house chores and cooking for the entire family. Her mother-in-law spoke in different languages to Sofia and her husband. Sofia stated that her mother-in-law spoke only Cantonese to her husband, which Sofia couldn't understand and spoke a little Chinese to her. This multilingual scenario did not benefit any family member's language learning because they had reached no consensus of what common language they should all speak. The family ties looked peaceful and congenial on the surface but Sofia and her mother-in-law lack an intimate and communicative relationship in reality. As Sofia stated, "I treat her with a peaceful and friendly look, but hate her in my heart."

She confirmed there was no Chinese language learning for her sons during grandmother's visit by saying that her son's Chinese did not improve during the month her mother-in-law visits, their grandmother did not teach them anything each day, and that their grandmother did not read Chinese stories to her sons.

That her mother-in-law did not emphasize language learning contrasts with her behavior on things that her mother-in-law did consider important. Sofia mentioned that her mother-in-law wanted her sons to take very frequent baths, with her son complaining that they had to take a bath five times a day. Sofia did not discuss this topic much. She said that she would occasionally said “don’t wash” but most of the time she just followed along.

Sofia described her reactions:

Yeah! It is very strange!” Today if she were my mom I would argue with her, right? But she is my mother-in-law, she knows this subtle difference. Chinese mothers-in-law can bully and be oppressive to their daughters-in-law. Because she knows you’re an outsider, and you cannot talk back. I admire her that she is very diligent! She can just wash clothes, fold them and cook all day long. I admire her, but it seems she does not consider other things as important such as supervising their homework. She just keeps doing house chores.

In the above narrative, although the grandmother visited each year and stayed for one month, Sofia concluded that there was no learning including language learning between them.

Unlike Lee and Zen perceived the heritage languages as tools to maintain and strengthen the family ties between their nuclear families and their extended families. Sofia’s family lacks a common language and family ties between the generations, Sofia never expressed a need to promote heritage language to improve the family relationship.

Cultural Relationships

Even though Sofia had US and Taiwanese citizenships and her husband has US and Canadian citizenships, they identified themselves in different ways. In response to my question as to her identity, she said,

Taiwanese! In the beginning I did not distinguish myself from Chinese but after I interacted with many people from Mainland China, I felt their moral values were very different from ours, so I said I'm a Taiwanese!

Cooking Chinese was this family's tradition. Sofia spent one hour cooking complicated Chinese meals each day, which left little time for mother-sons interaction during weekdays. On weekends, eating out in Chinese restaurants was a regular family event for Sofia's family. She said her husband was very generous in spending money on eating. She said that she only eats Chinese food when eating out. Since eating out was one of very few opportunities her husband had to interact with her sons. I asked what languages did the family use, and she replied,

My husband told them "I ate all these in my childhood." My husband tells them many stories about Chinese foods in English. For example, he would say, "*When I was a kid...your grandfather...everyday bring the....*" he only talked to me in Chinese.

Sofia's husband spoke English to the children but spoke to Sofia only in Chinese. Although he was born in Malaysia, his identity was attached to Chinese culture. He attempted to transmit his childhood culture through eating and telling stories of his childhood involving Chinese food.

Relationship With American and Global Society

Later I asked her about her never-American identity. Although she is an American citizen, when asked if she feels as if she is American, she replied, "*Never!* I don't feel American!" She said when asked why, "I don't like Western culture. I very look down on their culture. I feel they don't have culture." When I asked Sofia to elaborate the reason for her lack of American identity, she replied,

Maybe because it is Texas. Their dress and food are very vulgar. Asian is more delicate except Mainland China. Our Chinese clothes are very exquisite. Our tea drinking, our teacups, they are all very delicate. Look at their food, except hamburger and steak, what else do they have? Chinese each province has different foods, very complicated. About clothes, Taiwan has many silk goods; the design has refined and sophisticated taste. Here they all wear T-shirt. And sometimes they eat like Barbarians. Look at Chinese building, so delicate! If you really study it, those engrave all with history.

The Taiwanese government allows people to hold dual citizenships. Sofia's view of her identity suggested that she internalized the essence of Chineseness forever even after she became a US citizen. Sofia further stated her husband also did not attach to Caucasians even though he holds joint US and Canada citizenship:

My husband has never liked North America. He never thinks he will stay in the United States. He likes Asia very much. All his friends are in Asia. He does not have a true friend here.

When I asked if she would bring her sons to visit Canada where most of her in-laws live. Sofia simply replied, "No, because Canada is as boring as the United States." Since both Sofia and her husband did not consider Canada as a home, and they could not afford air tickets to Taiwan or Malaysia, the two children had never traveled outside of the United States. Sofia's pro-Asia identity influenced her daily life and is evident in her cooking style:

We don't like American food. My husband thinks if I feed them American food, it's like I am abusing our children. He thinks pizza is junk food. He feels very guilty if we buy *chicken nuggets*, *chicken wings* or *hotdogs* from *Costco*. He thinks those are bad foods. And bad foods are not good for children' health." She

added” I cook Chinese food: rice, soup, one main dish, and one side dish, very complicated and tiring. So I spent lots of time cooking.

Academic Achievement and Social Success

Sofia stated that both she and her husband emphasized the importance of education. She said, “I feel that Chinese people put more emphasis on education and have more respect for teachers [than Caucasians].” She compared herself with her neighbors, who are Caucasian parents who are home schooling their sons:

My neighbor said one of the reasons that they don’t send their children to school is because they don’t want to wake up that early. Their thoughts on this are very different from ours. For us, even though it’s very painful for us to wake up that early also, I want my children to interact with more people and learn more stuff [in school].

She then talked about how hardship of her husband’s job increased the value they had for education. She said, “Of course! I don’t want people to look down on them. I want them to have money and power!” She believed that a good education was a criterion for making enough money, and making enough money was an important future goal for her sons. She said her husband started teaching their sons how to manage money when they were little:

My husband always teaches him ‘live smart, don’t live hard; work smart, and don’t work hard!’ We have cultivated them in how to manage and save money since they were little! Later on he will teach them how to invest. Because my husband lives a very difficult life, so he does not want them to live the same way.

It’s on this basis that Sofia’s husband shared his knowledge of investment with his son in the hope that he will lead a life where they can avoid the hardships he has endured. Sofia’s husband always read books about investment and finance. He did not want to just

work for others. She said, "Doing a labor job is very painful. He did not want his children to live like that. That's why we are doing direct marketing on the side."

Sofia and her husband just began a direct marketing business where they sold natural health and home products. They had been doing this for several months and they had expectations of unrealistically huge profits. Sofia's husband drew from his own job experiences in setting the primary educational goals for his sons. The hardship of his labor job provided the cornerstone of his parenting approach, ensuring that his sons were taught to value education.

While Sofia's financial resources were limited, she choosed academics as the main concern. She was proud to actively tell me that her older son's math ability was further advanced than his classmates. Since Chinese language was not a subject in school, Sofia did not make Chinese a priority in their daily life. Therefore, her two children did not have an intrinsic need for that language either.

STRATEGIES FOR HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING

My impression was that Sofia seemed to have a passive attitude toward heritage language learning and seems to believe that her children can wait for several years before learning Chinese, and saw no urgency in teaching her sons Chinese now. There were three specific examples that gave me this impression.

First, she enrolled her older son one year late in the Chinese school so he was in the same class as his younger brother. The enrollment of two sons in the same class made her older son one year older than most of his classmates. She said she did this because she was lazy. This expresses her passive attitude toward Chinese language learning. It also questioned whether or not she considers Chinese language learning to be important in the future prosperity of her sons' futures.

Second she stated that she did not read Chinese books or provided Chinese tapes to her sons. Although she had some Chinese books such as the “One Hundred Stories” that her friends passed on to her, she had not given to them to read yet. She was not in a hurry. Also she had some Chinese tapes that her mother-in-law brought from Malaysia, but she had not let them listen to them and would wait until they are older. In Sofia’s case, despite having Chinese books and tapes in her home, Sofia thought those materials were not age appropriate for her sons yet. So she did not introduce these materials to the children in their everyday lives and therefore they were not meaningful for them at their current stage.

Third, she said that she thought that learning Chinese should include Chinese history. She said, “If you don’t know your history, you don’t know your roots. They must know some history and know where we come from. If they listen a little bit everyday, then they will become very interested in this culture.” The Chinese school did not provide history class so I probed to see if she taught her sons’ Chinese history herself. She replied” Not yet, they don’t know it yet; I’ll wait for a few years. I may bring them to Taiwan or Malaysia to learn in the future.”

The above examples showed Sofia did not feel any urgency to apply early literacy to her sons’ Chinese language learning. On top of this, Sofia passed her responsibility of her sons’ Chinese learning to the Chinese school. Sofia delayed her older son one year from formal Chinese schooling at the Chinese school to accommodate her second son. In contrast to Lee who skipped four grade levels for her daughter and five grade levels for her son and in contrast to Zen who skipped one grade level for her daughter. Since the Chinese school did not have a criterion for which grade children should be in, neither did the report card system as did regular school. Parents were left to decide the level and proficiency of their children’ Chinese schooling. The others examples showed her views

of waiting for the future for language learning in daily life which also provided counter examples of Zen and Lee who think language learning should be as soon as possible.

Expectations and Attitudes

The expectations and attitudes of the parents form part of the social cultural context that the mother provides the child for heritage language learning. However the environment also influences the expectations and the attitudes of the mother. When asked about her expectations of Chinese learning, Sofia's only response was "I wish the Chinese school would have a Chinese history class such as reading Chinese history stories to them."

I found it interesting that Sofia directs her sons' Chinese language learning to the Chinese school. She put the responsibility for teaching Chinese on the Chinese school. Later in the interview, Sofia expressed this attitude again. When asked about her strategies for her children's Chinese learning, she said "We just send them to Chinese school."

Sofia recognized that two hours a week class was too little time to learn good Chinese and wished not only that the Chinese school but also regular school would take the responsibility to teach her sons Chinese. She wished that the public schools would have a half-day Chinese and half-day English school. When told that the local Asian American center offers bilingual classes, Sofia responded that she wished that the public schools would have Chinese courses everyday because they cannot afford a private school.

Following this same theme that Sofia did not perceive herself as an important resource for her children's language input, this interview took place in summer when there was more time for heritage language teaching and learning because the English-

speaking public school was out for the summer. The children during this period did nothing Chinese related but instead attended martial arts summer camp in which the master spoke only English because the master was Caucasian.

Sofia had her two sons learning martial arts (Shao-Lin Dao) because “it’s a Chinese martial art and it helps in self defense, in building body strength and discipline.” Lacking enough Chinese population, the Chinese marital art class was carried out in a totally English context. Since Sofia did not take responsibility for providing her sons with Chinese language input, when the Chinese school was over in the summer, there was little relevant to Chinese language learning in their daily life.

The daily Chinese conversation between Sofia and her husband was not a resource for comprehensive input as Krashen & Terrell (2000) stated for their children to learn Chinese. Instead, it sometimes served as a secret language to hide negative threats from non-Chinese speaking, non-family members in the public area or family members such as her sons at home. She said that she speaks Chinese a lot and did so especially when they were out. I asked her why and she replied, “for example, when I give them a warning, I use Chinese. I say, ‘If you don’t obey! You must be cautious when you get home!’ They all know what I meant.” When I asked about whether she introduced more abstract concepts in Chinese, she replied,

I don’t do it intentionally. But sometimes when I discuss their behavior problems with my husband in Chinese, they come to us and angrily say, “*I know what you said!*”

Impact of Parental Employment in Reducing Social Capital

Although Sofia worked at a computer-related job in the state government, she did not use a computer at home because she had no time. She remarked, “At home, I’m a

maid! When do I have time? There are always unfinished house chores!” Sofia added with a laugh, “I wish I could bring those house chores to the office [to do], I read Chinese news on the Internet only at work.”

Sofia spoke at length describing how very much her husband loves the children. She said “He is the person who can sacrifice anything for the children. For the sake of the children, he can and is willing to do whatever laborious or toilsome jobs are necessary.”

Sofia said she had never changed her children’s diapers. Sofia’s husband did it and fed them bottles every few hours when her sons were little. He bought the children the best stuff, such as toys, clothes, and shoes...etc and sent them to learn martial arts. He does whatever he can afford.” She concluded, “ My husband is willing to work more part-time jobs to buy the children more stuff.”

But on the other hand, this kind of sacrifice for improving the family economic capital prevented father-son interaction and caused him to be in the role of an absent father during the weekdays. Sofia stated, “my husband always came home after we were already in bed.” Sofia was the main caregiver at home.

Her husband is multilingual yet he did not impart any languages other than English to their sons on a daily basis. Sofia stated “My husband always says we should talk to them in Chinese but most of the time he just forgets. Sometimes he reminds me but he forgets very quickly and starts talking in English. He tried to teach the oldest son Cantonese by naming things in Cantonese but without success.”

Sofia suspected this failure might be caused because he started it too early ”since at that time her son was just a little more than one year old, and unable to talk very much yet.” Sofia had a profound difference in her attitude regarding early literacy than that of Zen and Lee.

Parents' multilingual skills were passing to their children in Zen and Lee's case but were not in Sofia and Rita's case. The researcher thinks the interpretation for this phenomenon could be the difference in SES background. In Sofia's case although her husband can speak four languages, long working hours limit the time he has to interact with his children, as Sofia stated her husband always came home while she and the two children were asleep. This prevented him from being able to provide much scaffolding for them. Although Chinese is the language that the parents speak to each other at home Sofia felt the reason her husband speaks English to the children most of the time was because her husband was more comfortable speaking in English than Chinese. Although her son was exposed to Chinese conversation carried on by his parents everyday and understood some basic Chinese, speaking Chinese was not a necessity for him. Their Chinese ability was far below that of a comfortable conversational level.

When parents resort to English usage at home, like Sofia's sons, they gained some knowledge from Chinese school and from listening to their parents' conversations at home but they failed to reach a comfortable conversational level. The children's English was better than their Chinese and therefore, they spoke English and not the more difficult language, Chinese.

High Technology

There were two kinds of activities that Sofia used to interact with her home country daily by means of high technology. One was reading Taiwanese news on the Internet at her office. The other one was to watch Satellite Chinese TV historical programs one hour a day at home. The high technology served as a vehicle for Sofia to travel back and forth between the country of their birth and the country of their choice on

a daily basis but this was not accomplished because most of the time her sons were not present.

Those activities occurred while her two children were not present. They were either at school or doing their homework in another room, so there was no scaffolding taking place. Occasionally her sons might spot the TV while coming to ask their mother questions. However, according to Sofia these programs she watched did not hold any interests for them.

Sofia installed Satellite TV and wanted to subscribe to Chinese programs broadcast from Taiwan. She ended up erroneously subscribing to the Chinese programs broadcast from Mainland China. Sofia stated, “There are very few children’s programs. Also their children’s programs were very boring, poorly done and unattractive.”

I mentioned that Taiwanese satellite TV had an early childhood channel called Yo Yo which provides children’s programming 24 hours a day and that her sons may be interested. Sofia replied, “I will wait for next year to switch the programs.” I did not detect the sense of desperation she previously expressed in her search for age appropriate Chinese programs for her children.

According to Sofia, she watched mainly historical drama on Chinese television one hour a day. However, her children did not watch Chinese television with her because they were not interested in it and don’t understand the language, and so they concentrated on working on their Chinese homework while she watched Chinese television.

Having the right resources and people to support heritage language is crucial. In Sofia’s case, the subscribing to the wrong satellite TV program resulted in a lack of the appropriate children’s programs and therefore reduced the children’s interest in watching Chinese TV. In addition, while mother was watching the TV the children were doing

their homework either English or Chinese in another room, which prevented any potential scaffolding of their Chinese language learning by their mother.

The hour of complete Chinese time for both mother and sons seemed the best timing for her sons to learn Chinese. Because it involved the direct learning of Chinese writing homework by her sons in the study room and indirect listening input of satellite Chinese programs shown in the living room. But according to Sofia, the Chinese programs meant nothing to her sons. When asked whether she came to them or they came to her while watching Chinese programs, Sofia said, “Either way is ok because they’re not interested in [Chinese programs anyway. They wouldn’t understand it at all!” said with a laugh.

Moreover, while Sofia was watching the Chinese historical programs, she was missing valuable teaching opportunities for her children, while her sons missed valuable learning experiences.

Coleman (1988) stated that “social capital within family that gives the child access to the adult’s human capital depends both on the physical presence of adults in the family and on the attention given by the adults to the child.” (p. 111) He further stated even if adults are physically present, there is a lack of social capital in the family if there are not strong relations between children and parents (p. 111). In Sofia’s case, the episode of Sofia watching Chinese TV while her son doing Chinese homework is an example of a lack of interaction causing a lack of social capital in heritage language.

The following statement revealed the difficulty that Sofia both had with her system of watching TV and helping the children with their homework at the same time. She said,

I need to help them do their homework, such as constructing phrases and sentences. It's headache for me! Then I also need to help them prepare for the tests.

Sofia also said that in the beginning it had been difficult for them to learn Chinese. This contrasted with the reaction of some of the other parents. While Lee felt the pre-kindergarten to third grade classes in Chinese school were too easy for her sons so he skipped them and Zen also skipped pre-kindergarten and kindergarten classes for her daughter. Yet Sofia's older sons were delayed one year, both still felt it was hard in the beginning. This difficulty may be the result of Sofia not preparing their sons for Tzu-Yin before they attended the Chinese school.

The different attitudes result in different strategies. Both Lee and Sofia were working mothers with computer-related jobs, while Lee described teaching her children Chinese as a sacrifice for herself. Lee stated "I don't have any entertainment time for myself." yet Sofia still maintained her personal time for watching TV.

Computer

Sofia said that she did not particularly look for Chinese websites for her sons. Their teacher at the Chinese school gave them a few websites, but her sons only visited them a few times. Those websites were for singing songs or teaching them how to recite Chinese, which her sons were not interested in. Her sons were only interested in games. Although the Chinese school's teacher introduced the high tech method of scaffolding by giving them some Chinese websites to visit, but the lack of interest in these by the children and their mother both caused the results to be insignificant. This contrasts with Wa-Wa's son in the eighth grade class. Unlike Wa-Wa's son's interest in visiting websites to learn Chinese folk songs, Sofia's two young sons showed little interest in it.

VCR Player

Although Sofia stated that her children were not present when she watched satellite Chinese TV one hour everyday, by renting Chinese videotapes, televisions can still provided Chinese input to the children. She said,

They love to watch Chinese martial arts videotapes. For example, Jackie Chan's videos, although sometimes they are a little violent. I like funny ones. We rented those Chinese videos. Some are Chinese movies with English subtitles and the others are English with Chinese subtitles.

However, when asked whether the children understand the Chinese subtitles, she replied "No, they are just children! They did not pay particular attention [on Chinese tapes]." Sofia did not expect her children to understand the Chinese videotapes, so she did not attempt to help her sons understand the Chinese videotapes, which she enjoyed. The differences between Chinese and English programs were not only in quality and understanding but also in the available quantity. Sofia said that the frequency that she rented videos varies. She mentioned that there was a Chinese "Monkey King" program, which she let them watch for 10 to 30 minutes sometimes. But she did not want them to watch too much TV because it wastes time. She also said that every afternoon they watched a children program on channel 18 when they get home, so by dinnertime, they could not watch any more TV. However this one and a half hour program was in English.

Interestingly, that Sofia felt that watching Chinese television was a waste of time but it was fine to watch English television programs for one and one half hours a day. She said that there were very few children's programs on the Satellite program they had [from mainland China]. Also their children's programs were "very boring. Not well done, nor attractive for children." Her children did not like to watch these programs. The only exception was that not long ago, there was a Chinese cartoon "Zhou King," in which

there was a prince fighting with the sea-dragon king in the ocean. She said her younger son loved it but the older son felt so-so.

Daily Chinese Homework

When asked about what the children did when she watched Chinese television, Sofia responded,

They do their Chinese homework mostly. The English school homework is too easy for my oldest son. He finishes it very quickly. His math is already advanced. My husband bought extra math books for him to practice. I feel their Chinese homework is very heavy.

While Mr. Lee said his son's homework was too easy, so he provided him with extra homework himself, Sofia felt the Chinese homework was too heavy and it gave her a headache to help her sons with their Chinese homework. Their homework was designed for them to do it one page each day to form a habit of writing Chinese in their everyday life. While her sons were busy doing their Chinese homework in another room, Sofia had an hour of free time to watch her Chinese historical programs on Chinese satellite TV. She love those historical programs because "they show the wisdom and greed of human nature."

Lack of Social Capital in the Community

Because Sofia did not spend much time in teaching Chinese in the home, any teaching of Chinese must occur through resources in the community. We now take a look at her relationship with the Chinese school and with the wider community.

Chinese School

In describing her expectations of Chinese for her children in ten years, she said that she hopes they can speak and listen and can read a little bit but she doubts that they

will. If they can read, write, speak and listen, it will be perfect. But she said that listening and speaking is more important because reading and writing are more difficult.

From Sofia's statement with her doubt of their future accomplishments, she was unsure how big the zone was in which her sons' Chinese can grow. She recognized that the zone of reading and writing will be smaller than listening and speaking. Actually she did not impart the "i+1" comprehensive input in children's daily life. Compared to the other immigrant mothers I interviewed, Sofia's strategies toward her sons' Chinese learning were only briefly stated. Sofia did not provide the pedagogical aides for her sons in the home, relying instead on the Chinese school, and her hopes for her sons' Chinese learning lies with the Chinese school.

I ran into both Sofia and her husband often at the Chinese school. They either sat with their sons in the class or volunteer to set up the snacks or drinks for break time. They also volunteer as judges for speech contests. Most of the time, Sofia stayed in the cafeteria and chat with other mothers. The conversations I overheard were mostly about family stuff or social topics. I rarely overheard parents discussing Chinese learning in the cafeteria.

Like other immigrant mothers I interviewed, Sofia viewed Chinese learning as an asset. She believed that being "Taiwanese" and speaking Chinese were one of her priority values. She hoped her children will be able to speak Chinese but admits that it is out of her control. Most of their efforts on behalf of this goal were to send their children to Chinese school and to take turns sitting with them in their pre-kindergarten and then Kindergarten classrooms weekly. She did not articulate their views for enabling and supporting her sons at home in speaking Chinese at their current stage. She kept her hopes in the future regarding Chinese learning.

The Chinese school is a place to teach students to have a balanced development in all language skills, including listening, speaking, reading and writing. By the time the interview took place, her sons were still learning the Tzu-Yin (phonetic symbols) in kindergarten class, so they have not developed the reading and writing of Chinese characters yet. This was unlike Lee and Mr. Lee, who both commit themselves to implementing their efforts ambitiously to support and accelerate their children's Chinese learning at home. Sofia's family seemed casual and places the responsibility for her sons' Chinese learning to the Chinese school. When asked about her children's reactions to learning Chinese, she said, "Their reactions are ok, because we seldom [use Chinese] ... , they all speak English to me and I reply to them in English."

Sofia's sons had attended the Chinese school for two years and were still learning the phonetic symbols and had not learned Chinese characters yet. Rarely using Chinese had not caused a loss of interest and her sons were not reluctant to attend the Chinese school yet. Also the extra-curricular cultural activities also helped to maintain their positive attitude to still attend Chinese school. Sofia stated that her sons love to attend the extra-curricular activity after language class, and attending the Chinese yo-yo class was very fun and they liked it.

Lack of Social Capital with Peers

Sofia said that her sons do not have Chinese playmates in her neighborhood, and might have some friends in Chinese school but they did not often play together. She said, "Even when they play together, they all talk in English!" Sofia thinks there is no Chinese carried out when ABC get together, so she did not express her efforts to find capable peers to scaffold her children's Chinese learning.

Unlike Lee and Zen whose parents or parents-in-law provided helps in heritage languages input and also resources to their children, as mentioned earlier, Sofia's mother-in-law provided no help and neither did her own parents. There are very few capable Chinese-speaking adults in Sofia's sons' lives.

Last summer Sofia went back to Taiwan alone to fix her teeth because dentistry is much cheaper there. She said she could not afford to buy tickets for her sons and her husband, so they never visited Taiwan. Her sons did talk to Sofia's parents in Taiwan sometimes on the phone but the conversations were brief due to the lack of a common spoken language and a lack of familiarity and shared experience. She said,

My mom and my dad talk to them in Chinese. They will just reply in English something like, "*Oh! Oh! I love you! Bye-Bye! Talk to mom!*" Ha Ha, That's it!

Vygotsky (1986) stated that ZPD is the zone between the children current ability and the future ability with capable peers' help. Sofia's two son's current ability of Chinese was very low as they only spoke English at home. Her grandparents in Taiwan, like their grandmother in Canada, showed no intention and strategies to scaffold their Chinese ability. So the conversation between them went very short and there were no Chinese learning between them. However, she kept hope in the future like Rita did, she said,

I hope to bring my parents here in two years after they're retired. My parents can only speak Chinese, so I think for a while they will speak some [Chinese]. Kids learn literacy that way. It is better to have them stay with a person who cannot speak English. But they must particularly talk to them. For us, we all reply to them in English, so they learn Chinese very slowly.

Sofia thinks that the children will pick up Chinese if the people they interact with can only speak Chinese. However, she specified the condition that these people must

specifically address and reply to the children in Chinese, which both she and her husband did not. She did not perceive their role as parents in providing children heritage language learning, she relayed it to other people such grandparents. Two years after the interview, I talked to Sofia and learned that her parents did not come to US to live with them as she expected, and her two sons still barely spoke Chinese.

Case of Rita

"I feel I don't have any influences on them" (Rita)

BACKGROUND

Rita was 40 years old and had no formal education in the US. She was the only mother in my sample that had to move back and forth between Taiwan and the US in an effort to get US citizenship. Her older daughter was the only child who struggles with English and academic among my sample's children. Her husband worked as a full professor in a prestigious university in Taiwan, while she single-handedly looked after the three children here in the US. When I interviewed her, she was a permanent resident who wanted citizenship. The US immigration laws required that Rita stay in the US for more than six months every year for five years. One year after the interviewed she got her citizenship. From 1993-1999 she lived in the US and returned to Taiwan in 2000, she then returned to the US in 2001 to stay till 2002 and back again to Taiwan in 2003 and back to the US in 2004. Her two daughters, age eight and six, and son aged two- years and eight months were all born in the US. In fact, her move to the US in 2003 was specifically for the delivery of her son so he could be a US citizen to avoid mandatory military service in Taiwan. Rita left her two daughters in Taiwan with her mother-in-law and came to the US alone to deliver her son. She stayed in the US for only three months, and did not have health insurance. From her only savings, she spent about \$11,000 for the delivery. This included a one- month-post-birthing process, which is regarded as necessary in Taiwanese culture to ensure the health of the mother. She said that all of the mothers in the post-birthing center came to the US to deliver their child. They all did not have permanent residency or citizenship, but Rita had a green card already. She said that

the cost was worth it because “Everyday someone cooked for you. You just chatted the entire day or went shopping!”

To get her son’s US citizenship, Rita sacrificed not only huge amounts of money but she also was unable to parent her daughters then. During that time her mother-in-law provided the social capital to take care of her daughters and her husband. By the helps of money and also her mother-in-law, Rita was able to select the nationality for her son.

Rita has an associate degree in dancing from Taiwan. She learned dance from the time she was little, and continued to attend a special dance school in high school and junior college. Afterwards she taught dance full time for seven years at an elementary school and later, she taught experimental dance classes for two years at a middle school.

Mother’s Language Ability

Rita grew up in a military dependents’ village, a place for the families of Taiwanese people who worked in the army. Like her father, most men in the village were *waishengren*. Her mother was a native speaker of Hakka, Taiwanese, and Mandarin and spoke Taiwanese and Hakka to her family. However, Rita’s mother spoke only Mandarin to Rita and never tried to teach her Taiwanese or Hakka since everyone in her neighborhood spoke Mandarin. She reported that none of the mothers who could speak Taiwanese taught their children to speak it in their village. She mentioned an incident that happened in her Army Art High School to show the influence and power of Mandarin Chinese over Taiwanese. They laughed at the person who could not speak Chinese with a standard accent. Like Sofia, Rita never learned Taiwanese in her childhood.

An important figure in her life was her mother-in-law who she described as abusive and dominant. Virtually a single mother in the United States, Rita’s main goal was to ensure that that her three children receive a good education. However, Rita’s

controlling mother-in-law contributes a lot of tension for Rita as she copes with her daughter's English and academics. This tension complicated and made the Chinese language learning a puzzling issue.

Child's Language Ability

Rita said that she does not read Chinese books to her children. As far as her children's Chinese ability, she said that there is no problem in general conversations in daily life or in more abstract conversations such as those about the Chinese New Year. She said that although there are some difficult idioms that her daughter may not know, her Chinese speaking ability is similar to that of native Taiwanese children. As far as reading and writing, Rita stated that there were no way for her daughter to read and write in Chinese in the United States. She added,

Basically if you read to her, after listening one time, she will be able to read herself. But without listening first, it's very difficult for her to spell those words and read them. My second child is ok. If you give her textbooks, even those she has never read, she can spell and read about 80%. My oldest one totally cannot.

Rita thought her second daughter's good Chinese ability was because her Chinese school teacher, Miss Wang, taught very well. Rita simply concluded that her older daughter's inability to read Chinese was just because the kindergarten at the Taiwanese public school taught nothing. While her second daughter attended the whole day English school in Taiwan but learned good Chinese when she met a good teacher at the Chinese school. Rita did not believe, like the Lees, that the responsibility for cultivating children's heritage language is on the parents' shoulders. Moreover, Rita did not take into account the influences of the entire Chinese environment at the school in Taiwan within the external surrounding society of Taiwan. She overstated the power of the school and

ignored the influences of their parenting. So when the school did not teach reading, then the daughter's reading was left to fail. This perception was also similar to when she said if she sent her daughter to the whole day English high school in Taiwan, then there was no need to worry about the cultural continuity of an American college.

Rita had a restrictive view of Chinese teaching so she did not consider the daily conversations between her son and her as a Chinese teaching. Her son was two years and eight months old. She had been taking care of him herself since he was born. When asked about what is her impact on her children's language development, she replied, "none in particular. I feel I don't have any influences on them."

When I mentioned that she took care of her son all day long in Chinese, she replied, "Yes, but I only 'talk' in Chinese to them." I also asked whether she taught her daughter anything special in Chinese before they went back to Taiwan. Rita's response was that "she was too young to attend Chinese school then. I just talked to her in Chinese at home. That was it."

Rita's perception of Chinese teaching was beyond the daily conversation. So although she talked to her son all day long in Chinese, she did not give herself credit in teaching Chinese. Moreover, when her daughter had not reached the age to attend the Chinese school, she thought that there was no Chinese teaching to her children at home.

THE MEANINGS OF HERITAGE LANGUAGES

Rita did not feel it was necessary for her children to learn Chinese at their present stage, she said, "because we think that we will go back to Taiwan in the near future. So I don't need to push them [to learn Chinese] now." Although she also stated that she would send her children to the whole day English elementary and middle school in Taiwan which did not provide Chinese teaching in their curriculum, her hopes in the future

allowed her to relax in the current stage. She said, “Maybe I was influenced by my father who is a middle school teacher. He told me that the academic performance of children in elementary school wasn’t that important. Middle school is the critical period.” Currently her daughter was not performing well in elementary school so she maintained hope for middle school. Rita did not explain her efforts to help her children overcome their current school problems or to change their current environment. Instead, she hopes for more success in the future.

Although Rita’s husband was an absent father, his opinions still dominated her strategies toward parenting. During the interview, Rita talked more about her husband and her mother-in-law’s opinions than hers. When there was a conflict between Rita and her husband, her husband’s choice won. For example, Rita’s major is dancing and she wanted her daughters to learn piano or music to cultivate and enhance (mold) their personalities. She said that she could not do this because her husband did not want the children to learn piano. “He constantly told me not to let the children learn piano. He said that English and their academic homework were more important.” Rita said that since their children were little, he has told them “You should become a physician or a lawyer when you grow up.” However, this seems to conflict with Rita’s expectations. As she stated,

I feel happiness is most important for them. So my husband told me he always felt that he was also confused whether or not to stay in Taiwan or whether to return to the United States. He worries that if he does not come back to be with the children, the children won’t become outstanding if they only live with me! He said I only think about playing all day. He said, “Being with you is very happy, but it won’t produce outstanding children. Because you don’t push children hard enough in academics.

Rita's statement was interesting in that it is the only example in my sample in which the mother considered happiness to be the most important criterion for education. In all of the other sample members, education in general and heritage language learning in particular is seen as a duty. This seems to create a conflict with the amount of effort needed to learn a heritage language.

Family Bonds

Role of Father

Rita reported that her husband comes to the United States every month or so. He stayed for two to three months in the summers, three weeks for winter break, and then three to five days each time in between. When I asked about the expense of the airfare, Rita mentioned that he usually came to the United States to attend conferences and stopped by. Because he is a full professor at a prestigious university in Taiwan, it is very easy for him to find a sponsor to pay for air tickets.

Rita became emotional in talking about her husband's parenting. She said, "I get angry every time when I talk about this. My husband is very lazy. Money is his only contribution to this family!" She gave an example, "My son is two years and eight months old. My husband has never changed his diaper once, not to mention never feeding him." Although her mother-in-law was the person that she blamed for her husband's lacking life skills but the following narrative shows that Rita's did not think to change it:

Actually, when he studied for his Ph. D. I was the one who supported and took care of everything for him and the family. My husband does not even know how to cook rice." (Rice cooking is considered the basic cooking skill in Taiwan, like boiling eggs in the United States).

Rita further added that after they got married, she did not teach him how to use the rice cooker. Rita said that her husband can wash dishes, but he cannot wash them clean, so she would rather wash them herself. Her husband told her, “You don’t go to work. If I help you, you won’t have chores to do, and you will feel bored.” She concluded,

My husband has a Ph. D. in double E [electrical engineering]. In his field he is real tough but in daily life, I feel he basically is an idiot! He is unable to understand some very simple stuff!

Her husband’s attitude influenced her daughter. Rita said, “My oldest daughter said she wants to become a man because it’s very good to be a father. Every day a father comes home, he just uses his hand to push the buttons on the remote control and watch TV. That’s it!” She continued, “My husband just lays there and eats. He is the kind of person who does not do any house chores. The person responsible for his behavior is my mother-in-law.”

Role of Mother-in-Law

In talking with her, I felt that Rita had many obvious family pressures that influenced the context of heritage language learning and the strategies that she could undertake. One of the important people in Rita’s life was her mother-in-law who she described in very negative terms. Rita described her mother-in-law as domineering, argumentative and sometimes violent. I personally did not meet her mother-in-law. When we were scheduling interviews, she insisted on having the interview after her mother-in-law returned to Taiwan because she said that she was frightened to have an interview with her mother-in-law present. She summarized her relationship with her mother-in-law:

We have lots of mother-in-law and daughter-in-laws conflicts! She does not like me at all. My husband has a Ph. D., and my degree is low. She said I couldn't earn money with such a low degree.

Rita's relationship with her husband and her mother-in-law affected the relationship she and her children had with her parents. Rita said that her mother-in-law forbade her to visit her own parents. She said that when she was in Taiwan, she needed to go to her mother-in-law's place every weekend. So she used weekdays to visit her parents. The fact that Rita was not allowed to openly visit her family and this prevented her children from having relationships with their maternal grandparents.

Hsu (1981) pointed out that Chinese children not only are required to submit to the authority of their parents, but also their social world is decided for them and consists of the parents and siblings as well as the extended family kin. Chao (1995) described this type of very close and highly involved network of parent and kin-group relationships. Chao (1995) presupposed a need for harmony. Chinese individuals do not have the choice to just change or cancel out their relationships with those individuals in their social world. Rita went further and described the effects of her interactions with her mother-in-law on her:

You know me as a very outgoing and positive person, but after these years of trauma, I feel I'm really sick. You know, many years have passed. I feel I may have depression. I often cry without reasons.

I asked if she cried because she missed her husband, and she said "No. Actually I am very happy that my husband is not here." Rita thought her mother-in-law has bipolar disorder or depression because the violent behavior and bad temper. She told of incidents where her mother-in-law slapped her a few times and used an umbrella to hit her husband

several times when she visited. She said, “My husband told her not to do it but she couldn’t control her emotion.”

I asked her if she had ever thought of divorce, and she said that she tried many times because her husband was too lazy. But later she thought at least he made money for the family. I was uncomfortable about this happening but to avoid a therapeutic relationship with the interviewee (Seidman, 1998; p.91), I suggested that she see the doctor or join a religious group to get help.

Despite Rita’s mother-in-law’s violent behavior, she showed her love not only in providing materials that they like for her grandchildren. She was the one who took care of Rita’s daughters when she came to the US to deliver her son and the one who always took care of Rita’s husband’s daily chores when Rita and children were away in the US for years. She did the laundry and cooks many dishes and put them in the refrigerator for Rita’s husband to eat.

This frequent visiting supported Rita’s family but in other ways threatened Rita. Although her mother-in-law won’t live with them if they move back to Taiwan, Rita fears that she will visit them often. Rita said, “This is one reason I want to return to the United States. It will be very painful to live with my mother-in-law.”

I feel that Rita’s relationship with her mother-in-law impacts heritage language learning in that the conflicts within the family reduces the ability of the mother to change her environment, it reduces the amount of social capital available for heritage language learning family members are working toward contradictory goals, and it provides a major disincentive for the mother to promote heritage language learning.

Family Use of Language

Although Rita's mother-in-law speak Taiwanese to Rita's husband and constantly wants Rita to speak Taiwanese to Rita's daughters, Rita was unable to speak Taiwanese to their children. Rita can only speak a little bit Taiwanese. Her mother-in-law spoke Taiwanese when she visited and also when they spoke on the telephone once every two to three weeks. When her mother-in-law brought up the children, she spoke using mixed Chinese and Taiwanese. Her children learned some Taiwanese but forgot it. Her children and her mother-in-law did not have problems speaking in Chinese. In summary, Rita's family did not have a firm attitude toward maintaining Taiwanese or Chinese. She spoke only Chinese to her children because her English was weak. They saw English as a privileged language but so far her older daughter still struggled with it.

Cultural Relationships

Although Rita was born in Taiwan, she was the only sample who identified herself with Mainland China, which was different from her husband and her daughter. She discussed when she first thought about coming to the United States:

I got this idea from my older sister. When I was little, she told us that when you grow up, you could go to the United States to study. So English is very important. My younger brother at middle school also said, "Why study Chinese literacy? TOEFL does not test Chinese literacy." He meant if you want to go to the United States, then there is no need to study Chinese.

Rita said that before coming to the United States, she consistently prepared in English, and that because she was preparing to come to the United States, her academics were bad.

Rita's father is *waishengren* and all of her siblings prepared to go to the United States since they were little. She had a similar experience as Wa-Wa's. Both are *waishengren* and in favor of going abroad when both of them were taught to go to the

United States since they were little. Although Rita was born and grew up in Taiwan she identified herself with Mainland China. When asked why, she said,

In 1990 I was in Beijing for one month. In 1992 I visited my father's hometown, San-Do for two months. The first time I brought my students to Japan, after 10 days stay in Japan, I transferred to China to learn authentic Chinese folk dance. When I first arrived in Mainland China, I felt very close [to them]. I felt very close. I felt at home there. Maybe it was the language and the life style.

As soon as I entered China, I felt that I was back to my home, my country. I feel Taiwan and China are inseparable. I feel they are a country. Regardless of whether China occupied Taiwan or Taiwan occupied China. They are a country. I told my husband and he disagreed with me. He always reminded me "you're a Taiwanese, ok?"

Although her husband has the same family background as Rita where the mother is native Taiwanese and the father is *Waishengren*, Rita identified herself as a mainlander while her husband identified himself as Taiwanese. Rita gave allegiance to China and feels Taiwan is hopeless which put her in a puzzle to teach her children to learning Taiwanese and Chinese because the spelling system and writing system are different in mainland China and in Taiwan.

Older Daughter

Rita's older daughter attended a half-day English and half-day Chinese the first time she was in Taiwan. The second time when they returned to Taiwan, she attended a whole day Chinese kindergarten in a public school. However when asked if her daughter learned more Chinese at whole day Chinese kindergarten, she replied "they taught nothing." In addition, Rita said,

They did not teach Tzu-Yin. My daughter's phonetic spelling was bad. When she came to the United States to attend the Chinese school, she still did not know the Tzu-Yin completely. Their kinder class just taught a little word-recognition. They totally did not teach, so the parents all *complained* [sic] because their children could not get ready for the first grade.

Rita explained why she chose that school:

At that time, I thought her English wasn't a problem because we stayed in the United States for so long. I thought she mainly needed to learn Chinese. I did not know about Taiwanese kindergarten because I had been gone from Taiwan for so long. Only later I heard people say that only poor people attend public kindergarten.

She further explained how she got into the school:

We got the spot by drawing. People told us only poor people join the drawing. It costs very little money NT\$ 5000-6000 a semester. People said that ordinary families send their children to half-day English and half-day Chinese school, while rich families send their children to the whole day English school. I found out about it later but it was too late. My daughter had already attended that public school. In the beginning, my daughter liked it there very much because their lunches were very delicious. My daughter came home everyday telling me what they ate. Then my mother-in-law said, "Too bad! What school did you send her to? Why does she come home everyday talking about what she ate at school and saying nothing about what she learned?"

Academic Achievement and Social Success

Rita felt it was fine that her mother-in-law asked her children to learn Taiwanese because she said, "if they learn one more language, it will benefit them." She said, "I feel language is a tool, it helps them to communicate with others more conveniently!"

Regardless whether for jobs or for making friends, languages make their lives open to more. Language is very important for this new generation. I feel whether it is English or Chinese or any other language, I want them to learn Chinese not for identity but because it is a language and it's a good communication tool."

Rita's husband thinks American education is better, she said, "This is one of the reasons that he let us return to the United States in the beginning, besides to get our citizenship. He feels that the American education system is more creative and English is better." She continued, "You know there is a whole English school in Shin-Chu. They include elementary, middle and high school. They require one of parents to be a professor or in a high tech profession. If we can enroll my children in that school, we will move back to Taiwan after I get citizenship." Even though they may move back to Taiwan after getting citizenship, they plan to send their children back to US for colleges. I asked her if she want to go back to Taiwan, why did she apply for US citizenship, and she replied,

I once wanted to give up, but later thought that if their English were good enough, for them to speak another language, it would be an extra benefit for them. We don't want them [children] to live here alone. We lived in the United States for a long time before, I knew some children that were in the United States for high school without their parents staying with them. They were very pitiful. At the end, some became bad. Although they were very independent, they were no longer that close with their parents. So I told my husband that when they graduate from high school [in the whole English school in Taiwan], if they want to return to the United States for college, I would return with them. At least I can take care of them.

Relationship With American and Global Society

Rita said they would send them to the whole day English school for English continuity when they're back in Taiwan. Because they will attend whole English school in Taiwan, she does not worry about whether they will adjust well when they return to Taiwan. In order for her children to succeed in their education in the United States in the future, while in Taiwan, they will send their children to the whole English school. If the school in Taiwan provides the whole English environment then in Rita's opinion there is no need to worry about the differences between the larger Chinese-speaking society and the English-speaking schools.

Following this idea, Rita's husband thinks it was not necessary to learn Chinese. She said, "When I asked my children to learn Chinese, my husband said there is no need to study [Chinese]. Why should they study Chinese? They must learn English well first!"

STRATEGIES FOR HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING

As with Sofia, and in contrast with Lee, Zen, and Wa-Wa, Rita was unable to articulate a systemic strategy for language learning. Although Rita undertook activities that were connected with heritage language learning, these activities were piecemeal and did not involve an effort to systemically change the child's environment.

Lack of Social Capital for English

Although Rita mentioned saw herself as Chinese and expressed the belief that heritage language would create economic benefits, most of her efforts were used at creating an English speaking environment for her children and there was not much effort or ability at creating a Chinese language environment. The ways in which she was willing and able to promote English contrasted with either the lack of interest or ability in creating a Chinese learning environment.

Lacking knowledge of the ESL program, Rita bought an expensive house in order to have her children attend a good school with mainly Caucasian students. Her daughter attended the [regular] first grade when she first came to the US. Rita said that the main reason her older daughter was left behind in English was because she never attended kindergarten or an American day care. She said, “For example, until now if you said one word to her, she could not spell it.”

Both Lee and Rita’s daughters came to regular school without prior English education. Lee’s daughter attended ESL for one year and she taught her daughter English at daily based at home, yet her daughter was able to enter the language arts GT program. Rita’s daughter received no ESL supports from the school nor did Rita provide English home teaching to help her to overcome her English disadvantage. When the school personal could not provide helps for her daughter’s English, Rita turned her daughter to private tutor and then cram school for helps by their own expense.

When her first daughter was behind in her verbal English, they hired an English tutor, who was a teacher from the daughter’s school. This tutor was recommended by her daughter’s class teacher. However, Rita complained during the interview that it was very expensive and that she paid 40 dollars an hour. Her daughter attended about two months then that teacher retired and they quit because it was too expensive. The teaching took place in the school. When asked if the fee was reasonable, Rita replied,

I don’t know. She said this was her price. She just got her ESL certificate. But she was old and then she retired. Then it was summer. Originally we intended to let her continue attending her class. But later I told my husband, “It’s too expensive! 40 dollars an hour!” So we gave up!

I asked about the daughter’s reaction when she quit the English tutoring, and Rita replied,

She did not have an opinion. To her, it is all extra work. Why would she care? Actually she told me that she hated it. She said she had homework even on holidays. She was very angry. She also said that teacher was very mean.

Rita's quit the ESL teacher's tutoring not because her daughter's complaining but because the rate was too expensive. In the case of Zen and Lee who have more resources and better social capital, they were able to find much cheaper rate but higher quality tutor than Rita.

Rita's husband is a full professor, which is considered a high social position both in income and title in Taiwan. Yet when they converted their money to US dollars, Rita's family lost their economic and social privilege when they immigrated to the US. The following statement shows their financial burden:

I told my daughters that the money your dad makes is so little when converted to US dollars so that we are very poor when we live in the United States. So I need to calculate carefully every dollar we spend here.”

During the interview, she also stated they barely can afford the cost of living here. She said,

“You know, here you need to pay the trash fee and the homeowner association fee...etc. We're running out of money. We don't have money left over. Once I told my husband, “We are both 40 years old and we don't have any savings. It's terrible!” Actually I would prefer to go back [Taiwan] when we receive our citizenship because living here is too expensive.

When they could not afford the tutoring fees, they sought additional alternative resources to help improve her daughter's English. They later registered her in a cram school twice a week at a cost of 100 dollars a month. They mainly gave students work booklets to write and correct. Rita's older daughter's primary English problem was

speaking. Writing was a lesser problem. The teaching strategies did not fit her needs. She described about talking to one teacher there. “That teacher was nice. She agreed that when her daughter’s writing was done, she would ask her to read for her. She would listen, then correct her pronunciation.” Rita said she really appreciated the teacher’s extra helps in her daughter’s verbal English. Unluckily, that nice teacher quit six months later. The new teacher just focused on writing and did not provide any verbal assistance so she quit.

When regular school, tutoring, cram school did not provide helps for Rita’s daughter’s listening comprehension and expressive skills, neither did help from the parents, Rita’s child was left behind in both language and cognition development. Rita said her daughter was still in the lowest levels of classes in all of the subjects. She still required special teachers to help her. Rita said, “That’s the worst!”

English at Home

Rita’s lack of formal American education created a problem in teaching English to her daughter. Rita lacked confidence in English herself and reinforced by her husband’s negative opinion of her English skills, Rita did not provide any English help for her older daughter. She said,

Basically I did not read because my English is very bad. My husband said that it is better that you don’t read [for them]. He said the less you read the better, In order to avoid destroying their pronunciation.

When asked whether pronunciation is important, Rita replied “of course.” By subscribing to a “perfect pronunciation” belief, Rita’s husband forbid Rita to read to her daughter. Rita’s agreement with this showed what little she could do at home. Her husband had practically removed all of the resources for informal English teaching at home. He did

not allow them to buy a TV because he did not want their children to watch TV and Rita could not read to them. English resources at home are scarce. Luckily, at the suggestion of the cram school teacher, a few months ago they bought a small TV in the hope of improving her daughter's English.

Resources from the Local Community

She said she liked to bring them to the public library to join the story times or she let them select books that they liked to read. This kind of activities provided language input although Rita was not aware of it. Rita's low anxiety strategies were confirmed when after the interviews I ran into her at the nearby park twice over the summer evening classes that taught about hummingbirds and snakes. She told me she looked for the activity information in local newspapers and TV because she loved to bring her three children to attend those free or cheap activities provided by the local community. Sometimes she liked to invite other Taiwanese friends and their children to join them.

I watched those five American born Chinese children clinging as they played together within an English context during the outdoor activities. With the help of the local English newspapers and TV, Rita was able to find good environments for her children and other Taiwanese friend's children to get together and play. The languages spoken between the older children were mainly English. Rita showed no intention of promoting her children's Chinese during those Chinese gatherings. When I asked whether she checked out any Chinese books from the public library, she replied that it seemed that there were no such books, but she admitted that she had never tried to find them. From my own knowledge, there are public libraries in her area that have a good quantity of Chinese books, but Rita failed to try to find them.

High Technology

Rita said that she did not have any Chinese VCD's, and that when her husband and mother-in-law came to visit, they did not bring any Chinese things. She stated the reason for this was because her mother-in-law thinks that her family would not stay in the United States very long.

Rita led me to her bookshelf in the living room and showed me some Chinese and English bilingual CDs and books that she brought back from Taiwan. All the tapes recite the story once in Chinese and once in English. And the storybooks provide the supplemental materials for reading. Rita said that her older daughter loves to listen to the tapes but only for the English part. She also did not read the storybooks to her daughter, nor did she discuss the stories with her daughter, and she used the tapes just to have her daughter to kill time.

Arnberg (1984) stated parents who raise children bilingually must structure children's language activities as much as possible; otherwise children will naturally default to their preferred language (p.125). Rita's strategy of non-interaction and lack of interest while her daughter listened to the tapes, resulted in her daughter picking her favorite language for listening, which was English. In reading the bilingual books, her daughter read the English part confidently because "she could not read the [Chinese part]". So the Chinese CD or books became meaningless for her.

Rita's older daughter did not listen to Chinese tapes and read Chinese books due to her inadequate Chinese ability, but her second daughter did not like it because she was too integrated into the English mainstream culture as Rita stated, "my second daughter does not like to listen to Chinese media. She said since everyone speaks English, why do I need to learn Chinese!"

Rita's second daughter's resistance to learning heritage language has been repeatedly shown in the literature. Participants in Fan's (2002) study of cultural identity and achievement reported that most American-born Chinese college students had experienced considerable peer pressure during their childhood and teenage years to assimilate, which had led them to reject their heritage culture. Tse (2001) examined ten U. S. native bilinguals who have managed to develop high levels of literacy in both English and their home or heritage language, at one time or another, accepted the larger society's negative stereotypes about their culture. The stigma of inferiority attached to minority tongues is often internalized by children who speak them. But unlike many ethnic minorities, the participants of her study overcame these stigmas through the influence of families and friendship networks.

Chinese School

Rita sent her two daughters to Chinese school. Her second daughter's Chinese reading ability was better than her older daughter because she met a wonderful teacher, Miss Wang, at the Chinese school. She thought one teacher can make the difference. She said,

My [second] daughter attended the whole English kindergarten in Taiwan and she did not have any foundation in Chinese. After Miss Wang taught her, her Chinese was very good! I let her read some short articles that summer, and she could read all of them. But later, after time passed, she gradually forgot.

Rita thinks the best part of Miss Wang's teaching was spelling (Tzu-Yin phonetic system). Rita sat with her daughter in the kindergarten classroom each time. She described what she learned from Miss Wang:

For example ㄍ ㄌ ㄨㄛˇ, she will spell ㄌ ㄨㄛˇ first, then ㄍ ㄌ ㄨㄛˇ, I remember when I was little we were taught ㄍ ㄌ ㄨㄛˇ then ㄍ ㄌ ㄨㄛˇ together and I always was confused. It did not sound right and I couldn't spell it correctly at that time. Now I know I can spell the bottom parts first and then add the top part.

Ms. Wang was the only American born Chinese who spoke perfect Chinese who taught at the school then. She had a good reputation among parents because she was a kindergarten teacher in AISD and was able to use the Western pedagogy. I was room mother of Ms. Wang's class so I observed her teaching each week too. I exchanged emails with and talked to Miss Wang to learn the experiences she had to become biliterate. She pointed out two sets of factors, one is she decided that Chinese was very important when she was little and another is her mother, an extremely active member in Houston Chinese community, provided her with a rich literacy environment and experience in her childhood. Wang's pedagogy succeeded because of her approach to early essay writing using Tzu-Yin symbols. She selected daily life relevant topics such as having students describe pictures or an M&M chocolate, which appeared to highly motivate the students. This is the first time I saw teachers use Tzu-Yin to teach students to write essays in kindergarten. Teachers in Taiwan or in Chinese school usually wait until the second grade when they can use Chinese characters.

Diversity of Written Chinese and Spelling

Rita's husband discouraged Chinese learning and presents an obstacle that prevents their children from learning Chinese. She said,

My husband recently talked about whether we should let the children learn the Pin-Yin and learn simplified Chinese or not. Taiwan cannot keep up, and these days Taiwanese young people are moving to Mainland China to work. I feel that gradually Taiwan will be left only with old people and young children.

She continued,

Also Pin-Yin is much easier. My husband thinks spending time to learn Tzu-yin is useless since Taiwan's economic strength eventually will go to China. Now the Chinese in the world are simplifying Chinese and University levels only providing Pin-yin for Chinese departments in the US. Although Tzu-yin has its advantages, I feel it's difficult for them.

Rita described her identification with Mainland China, and doubted the usage of Tzu-Yin and traditional Chinese, which was taught in Taiwan and to overseas Taiwanese offspring. She did not have their children learn Pin-Yin or simplified Chinese. So their children ended up not learning those languages.

Lack of Social Capital and Impact on Travel

The lack of social capital that Rita possesses had an impact on the role of travel in heritage language learning. In contrast to Wa-Wa, Lee and Zen who think sending children to a native country to learn the language was the best way to promote heritage language, Rita considered the discontinuity in parts of the culture and language that her daughter suffered from the trips. The difference between Rita and the three other mothers can be explained by the lack of social capital to support language learning. She talked about how traveling to and from Taiwan impacts their language learning:

I feel my older daughter is sad! When she returned to Taiwan, she needed to adjust to the Taiwanese environment. It takes a while to adjust to Taiwan's school and Taiwanese culture. At that time, because she was just three years old, her English was spoken English and she could not read! So she could not keep up at all! She returned to the United States at age four for one year. Then went back to Taiwan at age five, and came back to the United States at age six. She has been here ever since. I feel that she suffered from that disadvantage. She is very

unlucky. When she returned to Taiwan, she needed to adjust to the Taiwanese environment. Before she was familiar with that environment, I brought her to the United States again. This kind of back and forth wasn't good for her, so both her Chinese and English learning are limited.

Both Rita and Lee's children had complicated travels between Taiwan and the United States with long stays in between Taiwan and the United States. Rita concluded her daughter's traveling caused both her English and Chinese to fall behind. While Lee thinks her daughter benefit from those travels.

Unlike Lee's perception that by the age of three, her daughter possessed a good speaking ability in Taiwanese and she was able to use one language's semantics to transfer to another language, therefore they introduced Chinese. But Rita felt that her daughter's English at three-years -old, was just basic conversation and couldn't keep up. She did not detect any strong language that her daughter had. Rather than struggling between the languages, Rita did not report language's transfer.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to answer the two research questions that provided the focus for this dissertation. These questions were:

(1) What meanings do immigrant Taiwanese mothers attribute to their American-born children's heritage language?

(2) What are the strategies that immigrant Taiwanese mothers describe themselves as using in relation to their American-born children's heritage language learning?

In the previous chapter, I discussed the specific experiences of the mothers in my sample. In this chapter, I will discuss various themes that emerged in the interviews and examine the similarities and differences in the experiences of the mothers. I will also state my observations that were particular to my data. This researcher will also state those meanings that the mothers gave to their heritage language and discuss how the meanings motivated these mothers to value heritage language. The discussion in this chapter will begin by summarizing the experiences of the mothers, and by analyzing those experiences through Vygotsky's educational framework. Next we will consider the ways in which a mother actively changed the physical home environment for the child. Then we will examine the interactions between the mothers and the general social environments including the Chinese school. Finally, we will discuss the importance and effects of economic and social capital on what strategies the mothers were able to use in teaching their children heritage languages.

Mother's Experiences

In the case of heritage language, the experiences and motivations of the mother play a much more important role than in the development of the children's mainstream language. In the case of the mainstream language, the child is compelled to learn the language by the outside society, and receives inputs from institutions, such as regular schools, that are beyond the mother's control. A mother of an American-born child does not have a practical option of not having her child learn English.

The role of the mother in heritage language is very different since it is possible for a mother to choose not to teach her child the heritage language. There are also fewer inputs the child can receive in learning the heritage language. The implication of this for the mothers in our study is that they must make a conscious decision to spend a large amount of time and effort to teach their children the language. This is particularly true when the language learning goes beyond daily conversation to literacy and formal uses. Furthermore, because the sources of input for the language are under the mother's control, for the child to learn the language, the mother must take active steps to change the environment of the child. There is limited support from the larger society in teaching heritage languages so the mother must expend a great deal of time and energy to actively change the environment for her child, and to do this the mother must be strongly motivated to teach her child the language.

Due to the lack of resources for the mothers to teach their children heritage language, the backgrounds and experiences of the mothers become very important, because they explained the mothers' motivation for teaching their children the heritage language. In addition, the strategies that they used to teach their children the heritage language were mainly based on their own experiences in language learning.

COMPLEXITY OF EXPERIENCE

One finding of this study was the complexity of the experiences of the sample. They moved to the United States at different times and had different influences both in the places where they lived and in their family backgrounds. For example, in addition to the different backgrounds that the mothers had, both the mothers and the children lived in environments that were very linguistically complex. Not only were there the English mainstream language and the Chinese heritage language, but there was also the existence of Taiwanese. In addition, three of the mothers had expectations for their children to learn languages other than the mainstream or the heritage languages. In the case of Zen, she was actively and successfully creating an environment to foster Nancy's Spanish and Japanese learning in addition to English, Mandarin Chinese, and Taiwanese. Lee was encouraging her daughter to learn Chinese, Taiwanese, and Spanish in addition to English. Wa-Wa was also supporting her son in his Chinese and Cantonese learning in addition to English.

The complexity of experiences also makes it difficult to determine what is a heritage language and what is not. For example, Lee and her children spoke fluent Taiwanese although her parents did not, and Wa-Wa and her children also spoke Cantonese despite the fact that her parents did not. Moreover, some of the meanings and motivations that the mothers placed on learning Mandarin Chinese were also the same as the meanings and motivations that they placed on English and Spanish.

However, although the mothers in my sample had very different childhood backgrounds, they all shared common experiences that shaped their attitudes and strategies toward language learning. All of my five samples and their husbands moved to the USA for academic reasons, and the similarity in these backgrounds may account for some of the similarities in motivations among the mothers.

Meanings of Heritage Language

The meanings that my sample attributed to heritage language learning could be categorized into five categories. These categories were: (a) cultural relationships, (b) academic achievement and social success (c) family bonds (d) relationships with the American and global society, and (e) social status within the immigrant community.

CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the literature on heritage language learning, identity is usually considered to be one of the major factors for the maintenance and development of the heritage language (Chen, 2006). For example, Cho (2000) reported that Korean Americans who developed their heritage language had a strong ethnic identity, were strongly connected to their ethnic group, and had greater understanding and knowledge of cultural values, ethics, and manners; this further enhanced their interactions with heritage language speakers. Lee (2002) stated that heritage language proficiency was related to the strength of bicultural identification composed of characteristics from both Korean and American cultures. Identity and language are very strongly connected with each other. Trueba (1993) wrote,

Language is one of the most powerful human resources needed to maintain a sense of self-identity and self-fulfillment. Without a full command of one's own language, ethnic identity, the sharing of fundamental common cultural values and norms, the social context of interpersonal communication that guides interactional understandings and the feeling of belonging within a group are not possible. Furthermore, without language and a strong self-identity, the ability to learn other languages and understand other cultures is impaired (p. 259).

However, my research shows that this view of identity and its influence on heritage language is too simplistic. In the case of my samples, their social relationships cannot be described by simply referring to the identity of the native country and the identity of the

United States. In addition, there is not merely one heritage language but several languages, which are interacting with each other. Even languages that are not important in maintaining a cultural connection with the immigrant community, they can be important in examining meanings and strategies that mothers place on languages. Some cultural relationships are important factors for heritage language learning, which are not ethnic, but rather religious.

Some of the complexities regarding heritage language come from the complex linguistic environment of Taiwan. In Taiwan, there are those whose parents or grandparents lived in Taiwan when the Japanese occupied the island from 1895 through 1945. The Japanese occupation had long lasting effects on Taiwan and Taiwanese culture. The first linguistic transformation affecting Taiwan was the mandate to speak only Japanese. Heylen (2005) wrote,

In 1937, Japan declared war on China. To compel the island's loyalty, the colonial administration implemented Kominka, literally 'to make into the emperor's people' as the guiding policy for the wartime rule of the colony. In order to accomplish 'complete Japanisation', the Kominka movement banned the use of written Chinese in the press, removed Chinese lessons entirely from the curriculum, and intensified Japanese language campaigns, known as the national language movement . . . Taiwanese were for the first time forced to speak Japanese in public and in family circles, adopt Japanese names and inform on those who continued to speak Taiwanese (p. 505).

The second linguistic transformation was when the prestige language switched from Japanese to Mandarin Chinese and the immigration to Taiwan of the *waishengren*. DeFrancis (1984) wrote,

In 1949, following the defeat of the Nationalists in Mainland China, 2 to 3 million native speakers of Mandarin migrated to Taiwan. The Nationalist regime imposed Mandarin on the natives as the official language of the island. In the ensuing decades of language contact with Southern Min [Taiwanese], the “standard” language is Mandarin spoken in the capital city of Beijing (p. 59).

The Nationalists in Taiwan had succeeded in enforcing Mandarin as the official language of education and government administration. During the Mandarin Promotion Movement, students were forbidden to speak Taiwanese in school. This occurred during the childhood of my samples. If one spoke Taiwanese, he or she would be fined.

The third linguistic transformation occurred during the 1990s. At this time, Taiwanese became a more influential language. Heylen (2005) stated that throughout the 1990s,

Promoting home repertoires, or a Taiwan-centric ideology, was coupled with political aspirations as the only way to guarantee Taiwanese privileges. Discrimination on the basis of a linguistic marker, one’s ability to speak the standard language and the degree of access to social mobility and power, acquired a semiotic carrier in the struggle for an alternative Taiwanese identity against the ideology of the national Chinese one. Indeed, linguistics became a burning issue for the conflicting parties (p. 507).

However, the complexity of the linguistic history in Taiwan does not only include these events commonly described in the literature. My research indicates two more language influences that make the linguistic community even more complex. These influences are languages such as Cantonese that used by ethnic Chinese outside of Taiwan, and the privileged role of English within Taiwan itself.

The current research illustrates some of the language consequences of social and family interactions between ethnic Chinese in Taiwan and ethnic Chinese groups outside

of Taiwan, who often use languages and dialects that are not often used in Taiwan. Wa-Wa, for example, has spent a considerable amount of time in Hong Kong so for her the heritage language included Cantonese. Sofia, on the other hand, considered Cantonese and Malay as the heritage languages since her husband was an ethnic Chinese from Malaysia. In the case of Sofia, these linkages are unable to provide additional social capital for language learning. However, in the case of Wa-Wa, her experiences in language teaching mostly came from her experiences in courses of teaching methods and practices she took back in Hong Kong. Those methods and practices are very different from the approaches commonly taught in Taiwan.

The other important factor that influences the cultural relationships created by language is the privileged role of English as a global language. English is a required subject in Taiwanese schools starting in middle school and continuing through high school and college. As a consequence, all of the mothers in my sample learned English before they immigrated to the United States. In all cases of their mothers, none of the family members played a significant role in their English language learning. The importance of English and its highly regarded status outside of the United States can be illustrated by Rita. Rita's husband encouraged their children to learn English and discouraged them from learning Chinese while they were in Taiwan. This indicates that in Taiwan there are extensive resources and social capital available for English learning. In Taiwan, it is possible for Rita to choose to send her children to an English speaking preschool, whereas similar environments for learning Chinese are not available in the United States. Wa-Wa did choose to send her older son to an American International School, an English speaking school from elementary school to high school.

The linguistic backgrounds of my samples' parents reflect this diverse history. The parents of Mr. Lee grew up during the Japanese occupation but they spoke only

Taiwanese to their grandchildren; Zen's father-in-law and Zen's father grew up during the Japanese colonization and spoke only Japanese to Nancy. The parents of Lee, Wa-Wa and her husband, and Rita's father grew up in Mainland China and migrated to Taiwan in 1949 and spoke only Mandarin to their grandchildren. Sofia's parents, Rita's mother, and Rita's mother-in-law grew up in Taiwan and spoke Taiwanese to their grandchildren. Because my samples' parents came from different backgrounds, my samples identified themselves with different countries. Rita identified herself with Mainland China after a two-month stay there; the Lees and Sofia identified themselves with Taiwan; Zen identified herself as an American; Wa-Wa identified herself as Chinese and Taiwanese.

Although all the mothers were born in Taiwan, Rita's father, Wa-Wa and Lee's parents are *waishengren* (Mainlanders). Since Wa-Wa and Rita couldn't speak Taiwanese, they were encouraged by their family to go abroad to avoid integration problems in Taiwan. Lee learned Taiwanese from the neighbors' children and her Taiwanese improved immensely after she married into a *benshengren* (local Taiwanese) family. Lee identified herself as an authentic Taiwanese so she made efforts to teach her children Taiwanese. Rita's father was *waishengren* (Mainlander). Rita received her education overseas like Wa-Wa. She identified herself with Mainland China. Since she did not learn Taiwanese from her mother and due to a dysfunctional relationship with her mother-in-law, she did not teach her daughter Taiwanese either. Both Zen and Sofia have Taiwanese parents. Sofia did not learn Taiwanese from her parents so their children could not speak Taiwanese. While Zen and her husband spoke Taiwanese, their daughter was able to speak basic Taiwanese.

Finally, in discussing cultural relationships, one needs to be aware that not all cultural relationships are ethnic or national. This is illustrated in the case of Zen in which

the strongest cultural relationships observed were not national or ethnic ones, but rather relationships to Buddhism.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND SOCIAL SUCCESS

Another theme that emerged in discussing heritage language was the mothers' ability to use heritage language to help them in achieving upward mobility by increasing human and financial capital.

All of the participants except Zen were interested in upward social mobility. All of the mothers had a common interest: they were immigrants who learned a second language (English) to improve their upward mobility and physically moved from Taiwan to the United States for academic study. This interest seems to be reflected in the context that they provided for their children. They did different things to make sure that their children were learning English well. For example, when Wa-Wa, Lee, and Rita detected that their children's English ability was low at pre-kindergarten age, they had them watch English cartoons on TV. Lee taught her children English. Rita sent her children to a tutor or an English cram school. When their children were not in the United States, they attended English schools in other countries to provide English learning opportunities. Wa-Wa's son attended an English speaking school in Hong Kong and Rita's second daughter attended an English speaking preschool in Taiwan. These examples reflect the mothers' regard for English.

The literature (Zhou, 2000; Zhou and Kim, 2006) suggests that immigrant Chinese parents' prioritization is due to the long-standing cultural belief rooted in Confucianism that values education. All of the mothers in my study showed their interest in prioritizing their children's education. However none of the mothers explicitly mentioned Confucianism in their interviews, but rather mentioned other motivations.

Zen's family was deeply rooted in Buddhism. They practiced Buddhist teaching in their childrearing and chose specific topics of Chinese stories for bedtime story telling. Although Wa-Wa did not explicitly include Buddhist teaching in her parenting, she said that she and her husband frequently took their son to a Buddhist temple and that did influence her son. Lee and Sofia wanted their children to achieve upward social mobility. Rita also wanted her children to be upwardly mobile but since her husband emphasized the learning of English more than Chinese, they were not learning Chinese.

Most mothers in this study perceived their children's Chinese learning from a utilitarian or an instrumental perspective. Utilitarian value or instrumental value comes from the relationship between the task and its significance regarding reaching a person's current or future career goals. Every mother except Zen in this study acknowledged the instrumental value of learning Chinese. However, the exact type of instrumental value differed from mother to mother. The mothers had somewhat different views in two areas. One was that whether learning the heritage language was useful or whether learning multiple languages was useful. The other area was that whether the instrumental value involved future upward mobility or current ability to communicate.

Lee mentioned that learning multiple languages was useful to get into a good university and to get a good job. Wa-Wa also expressed that learning multiple languages could be a useful tool and learning Chinese in particular was to take advantage of future markets in China. Sofia was interested for her children in learning Chinese in particular for she believed that China would become very prosperous in the future. Rita was also interested for her children in learning multiple languages so that they could use languages as communication tools.

The mothers who had more capital appeared to be academically successful. This fact plays a key role in decisions pertaining to language usage at home in that the mothers

did not see an obstacle in maintaining both the heritage language and the mainstream language. Sofia abandoned maintaining the Chinese heritage language and resorted to exclusive English usage if the children were not performing well at their American school. All of the mothers, except Rita's husband, did not see Chinese language maintenance as a hindrance to English learning and therefore as a hindrance to academic success. On the contrary, Lee and Wa-Wa believed that learning the heritage language would improve their children's prospects for academic success by passing SAT II Chinese or AP Chinese.

FAMILY BONDS

Family interactions also play an important role with respect to the meanings that mothers ascribe to the heritage language. However, those meanings can be complex. In the current study, family interactions appeared to be discouraged in some families. In Zen's case, the mother mentioned that she wished her daughter would learn many languages to increase the mother-daughter connection. Also, Zen believed that multiple languages would allow her daughter to interact with her grandparents. In Lee's situation, the use of Taiwanese not only increased her children's interactions with their grandparents, but also created a closer relationship between Lee and her in-laws.

Although family bonds are often seen as a positive impact on heritage language, they can also be neutral or negative. Neither Sofia nor Wa-Wa mentioned language as a means of increasing family bonding. More interestingly, with Rita, I got the impression that her strained relationship with her mother-in-law was encouraging her to deemphasize the importance of heritage language. Rita also illustrated how language could be a source of intra-family conflicts.

RELATIONSHIP WITH AMERICAN AND GLOBAL SOCIETY

Another meaning that was related to the heritage language was the relationships the mothers had with American and global communities. None of the mothers regarded learning heritage language as being inherently in conflict with integration with American and global communities. Significantly, Zen, the mother that had the strongest identification with the United States was also the mother whose child spoke the largest number of languages. Conversely, the two mothers, Sofia and Rita that felt the least amount of connection with the United States had children with poor heritage language ability. With respect to the other two mothers, Lee did not mention the relationship with American or global society as a meaning, while Wa-Wa expressed the idea that Americans would consider her and her children to be outsiders. Therefore, Wa-Wa believed that it was necessary for her children to speak fluent Chinese.

These descriptions cannot be understood within a model in which motivation or identification within the ethnic community is the main determinant in the success of teaching children heritage language. However, it can be understood by a model involving social capital. The mothers that well integrated into the American and global communities had more social capital, which they could use for heritage language teaching, whereas the mothers who did not well integrate into the American, and global communities had far fewer resources to provide for their children's learning.

There are two additional factors that influence how heritage language interacts with the notion of integration. The first is that none of the mothers seemed to see a conflict between speaking a heritage language and being American. None reported social influences from the outside society would create a conflict. The second factor, which is illustrated in the cases of Zen and Rita, is that English is a global privileged language. Speaking English allows them to interact with people from other countries, which allows

them to provide social capital to promote heritage language learning. In the case of Rita, she believed that English was a privileged language in Taiwan. Both Zen and Rita encouraged their children to attend English-speaking schools in Taiwan.

SOCIAL STATUS WITHIN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

Another important meaning among the mothers for heritage language involves social status within the immigrant community. As a member of the community, I can say that academic achievement is viewed positively within the community, and the ability to speak the heritage language well can result in higher social status for the parents. During my interviews, I had the impression that the mothers believed that having the ability to speak Chinese and Taiwanese was a very positive trait for their children. The mothers who had children with good Chinese and Taiwanese ability (Zen, Lee, and Wa-Wa) were very eager to show me how good their children's language ability was, and how much effort they made to promote their children's language learning. One specific example of this is when Lee asked their children to speak Chinese and Taiwanese to me to show me how good their language abilities were. Furthermore, there was an element of social competition with some of the mothers, such as Lee and Wa-Wa. They seemed eager to show me, not only how well their children spoke the heritage languages, but also how much better their children's language ability was than other children's within their community. Conversely, the mothers with children who did not speak the heritage language well seemed to be somewhat ashamed and apologetic of that fact.

However, viewing heritage language ability as a result of social status within the immigrant community does have some negative aspects. In particular, the mothers whose children's heritage language ability was lacking seemed to be discouraged from asking for the social resources that they needed to improve language learning.

Diversity of Strategies

In discussing the strategies of the mothers, we can divide the interviewees into two groups. The first group includes Zen, Wa-Wa, and Lee whose children spoke the heritage language well according to my subjective impression. The second group includes Rita and Sofia, by contrast, whose children did not speak the heritage language well. It is important to note that the difference between the two groups is not motivation. All of the mothers expressed their desire for their children to learn heritage language.

What particular strategy used by the mothers does not seem to play an important role. Zen, Wa-Wa, and Lee all had very different strategies for teaching their children the heritage language. Zen used her access to social and economic capital to develop social relationships that allowed her daughter to learn the heritage language. Lee applied direct instruction, and flash cards that emphasized rote memorization. Wa-Wa attempted teaching the heritage language by connecting the language with cultural meaning. Although the strategies the mothers applied do not appear to be an important factor in determining the success of the mothers in teaching the heritage language, the fact that the mothers had strategies and the social and economic capital to implement the strategies seems important. Although the mothers that were able to teach their children the heritage language had different strategies, they all had given much thought in developing a strategy to teach their children the heritage language. By contrast, the mothers that were less successful in teaching their children the heritage language found it difficult to articulate a strategy for language learning.

The differences between the more successful mothers and less successful mothers occur in part of the different amounts of social capital available to them. There is a need for great effort and sacrifice on the part of the mothers because of the difficulties in

teaching the heritage language. It is interesting that none of the mothers except Zen, regarded the heritage language teaching as a natural process, (Krashen & Terrell, 2000) whether successful or not, but a process that required much effort and sacrifice was rather natural for the mothers. In situations where a mother is wealthy, this sacrifice is easier. For example, in Zen's wealthy family, this teaching was more of a natural process with the help of tutors, and through playing with the tutor's children and studying in other countries.

Based on the interviews, it seems that all of the mothers appeared to have a hierarchy of languages. English was the most important language to the mothers. However, this did not seem to be an issue because most of the mothers were not actively involved in their children's English learning unless their children were underachievers in English. The next language in the hierarchy was Mandarin Chinese. The third language was Taiwanese. After Taiwanese, there were other languages such as Spanish and Japanese. In addition, there was a preference for the skills that were considered important; the most important skill was conversational fluency, speaking and listening. The next most important skill was literacy including reading and writing.

The Home Environment

In this section, I will examine the significance of environment. I will describe the various environments that resulted in positive results in heritage language learning. I will support these results with relevant literature from scholars in this field. There is literature that describes the types of environments that promote bilingualism. Within Vygotsky's (1978) framework, the child's environment includes not only physical surroundings but also the people in those surroundings. Vygotsky (1986) argued for "the importance of people in the relationships between the contexts in which children participate". For the

children whose mothers were in this study, the environments they provided included home, weekend heritage language school and experience living or studying in other countries. Mothers with more capital emphasized early home literacy. Lee, Zen and Wa-Wa thought language should be taught as early as possible for speakers to have a native accent. Before the children reached the age to attend weekend school, the home setting became their main environment for heritage language input.

The main interview with my samples was conducted at each sample's home. For small children, I could see how the parent and child interacted in my presence. In the case of Lee, I observed the entire family including interaction with the grandmother. I also observed Sofia's two sons and Rita's youngest son at home. The observation data contained different aspects that validate the depth of the multi-interview data. In addition, in the home setting, I was able to see how the mothers decorated their houses, and I could identify items that acted as mediators for heritage language learning and bring up the topic in the interview.

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN LANGUAGES

I will begin by describing the mental processes of bilingualism. Baker (1995) stated bilingualism was a unique combination of two languages that were both separated and integrated within the thinking system. While two languages are visible in production, in thinking quarters of the brain, one feeds the other. One language helps the other to grow. Ideas and concepts learned in one language are easily transferred into the other language. Learning one language helps with the learning of additional languages. Vygotsky (1986), Cummins (1979, 2007) and my research support this idea. Cummins (2007) wrote,

There are close to 150 empirical studies carried out during the past 30 or so years that have reported a positive association between additive bilingualism and students' linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth. The most consistent findings among these research studies are that bilinguals show more developed awareness of language (metalinguistic abilities) and that they have advantages in learning additional languages (p. 112).

Before proceeding with a discussion of the strategies that the mothers used for heritage language learning, we shall first review the ideas that Vygotsky (1986) presented concerning the learning of language. According to Vygotsky (1986), language is evoked not from within but from the social milieu. If a child has a task to solve, he has a need to solve the task and language becomes meaningful to him through this process. If the milieu presents no such tasks for children, makes no new demands on him, and does not stimulate his intellect by providing a rich environment, his language will fail to reach the highest stages. Learning a new language with the aids of an earlier language is an integral part for Lee and Zen's daughters. The acquisition of a foreign language differs from the acquisition of the native one precisely because it uses the semantics of the native language as its foundation. Vygotsky (1986) stated,

It is well known that to learn a foreign language at school and to develop one's native language involve two entirely different processes. While learning a foreign language, we use word meanings that are already well developed in the native language, and only translate them; the advanced knowledge of one's own language also plays an important role in the study of the foreign one, as well as those inner and outer relations that are characteristic only in the study of a foreign language (p. 159).

He further said that “a child’s understanding of his native language is enhanced by learning a foreign one. The child becomes more conscious and deliberate in using words as tools of his thought and expressive means for his ideas” (p. 160). He continued,

The semantic of the native language is used in learning a foreign language. In learning a new language, one does not return to the immediate world of objects and does not repeat past linguistic developments, but uses instead the native language as a mediator between the world of objects and the new language (p. 160).

While Vygotsky’s (1986) notion of the relationship between foreign language and native language is relevant to Zen and Lee’s case, Lee stated the changes of languages “when my daughter was little, Chinese is her native language but when she grew up, English became her native language and Chinese become her foreign language.” Zen’s daughter has been learning multiple languages at the same time since she could talk.

From these passages, we would expect to see that the heritage language learning involves not merely learning a language in isolation but rather a complex interaction between several languages in which the role of the mother in modifying the environment is an important factor. The cases of Lee and Zen in my study support the theory of one language transferring to another language (Vygotsky, 1986; Cummins, 1979, 2007).

INFLUENCE OF THE HOME ENVIRONMENT

As we have pointed out earlier, unlike the mainstream language, the amount of support that the outside community provides to heritage language can be limited. This has a number of implications. It means that heritage language becomes an issue that parents consciously think about, and it also becomes an issue that influences the interaction between parents and their children in ways that the mainstream language does not. For

example, heritage language becomes an issue in the interaction between parents and children and between parents and other relatives. It has been often mentioned that heritage language can bring family members closer together (Wong-Fillmore, 2000). Wong-Fillmore (2000) concluded, “It is not easy to socialize children in a language one does not know well. It takes thorough competence in a language to communicate the nuances of a culture to another” (p. 206).

This researcher found that what has not been mentioned is how heritage language could be a source of conflict and stress within a family. Parental insistence on retaining the language and values of the old country became the source of intergenerational conflict. Because using the heritage language at home is vital to helping children retain it, many parents face the dilemma about whether they should speak English at home. We can see this in the case of Rita where what languages to teach their children can be seen within a larger context of family relationships. We also see this in the case of Lee where enforcing a policy of Chinese creates conflict between parents and children.

Unlike the mainstream language in which the child receives instruction from the outside community, the responsibility for teaching a child a heritage language lies with the parents. In particular, attempting to teach a child a language requires the mother’s high motivation and effort to change the environment around the child. This effort is costly both in time and money, and families with large amounts of wealth and social capitals can afford to teach their children heritage language by parents or by tutors. The mother must sustain this effort to teach her children the heritage language, otherwise there is a negative cycle in which the lack of the child’s linguistic fluency makes it more difficult for the child connect with experiences that would give the child even more experiences in the heritage language.

Interaction Between Motivations and Strategies

Although the mothers came from complex backgrounds, their motivations were similar. This may be a consequence of the way the participants were chosen in this study. Although their motivations were similar, the strategies that the mothers employed were very different. The difference between strategies came not from the motivations but rather from the practical limitations of the quantity of social and economic capital that the mothers had available to teach their children their heritage language. Heritage language learning requires the parents to become actively involved in shaping their children's environment. It is not enough to have passive contact with a language environment for without deliberate effort to teach the language, the language will not be taught. Among my samples, the mother with the most contact with Taiwan was Rita, whose husband lived in Taiwan, and who often visited her mother-in-law in Taiwan. These frequent visits to Taiwan did not translate into heritage language acquisition. The contact with the heritage language environment was mostly at the adult level and did not directly involve the children. When the children were in Taiwan, their contact with formal Chinese instruction was also limited because they only went to an English speaking school.

Vygotsky's (Bedrova & Leong, 1996) concept of scaffolding in which the more advanced learner pulls up the less advanced learner supports the idea that passive language input is not sufficient for teaching language. For this to work, it requires active interaction between the more advanced learner and the less advanced learner, and simply placing the child in an environment where they merely passively receive input will not lead to language development, especially literacy.

My study shows in order to "cultivate" (Vygotsky, 1978, p.118) children's heritage language that the parents must make a conscious effort to include the children for the heritage environment to promote language learning. This finding is similar to

Wong-Fillmore (1989) and DeHouwer's (1999) study. Wong-Fillmore (1989) found that "language learning requires frequent and continuing contact between target language speakers and learners." This allows learners and speakers to develop social bonds, which in turn provide the motivation needed to keep both parties talking despite the difficulties that come from not sharing a common language (p 321). DeHouwer (1999) finds

For active bilingualism to develop at an early age and be sustained as the child matures, children must be regularly and frequently exposed to two or more languages, and must grow up in a situation in which the child's active use of these languages is necessary for socio-communicative purposes (p.91).

DeHouwer (1999) concluded children who hear just a bit of a second language do not in fact use that language actively.

The mothers used different methods for teaching Chinese and different levels of involvement in the Chinese school. For example, Wa-Wa's teaching method involved the connection of the language to cultural artifacts. Lee's home teaching involved direct instruction on a very rigid schedule. Zen brought outside resources such as tutors and brought her daughter overseas to learn. The actual methods used to teach the child language differed from mother to mother; the commonality is that there is a need to expose the child to an environment, which enables the language to become "relevant to life" (Vygotsky 1978, p.118).

In Sofia's case, since both she and her husband work, there is no parental Chinese teaching. Even worse, since Chinese school was not an important factor for them, the only Chinese resource was unavailable. In contrast, in Zen, Wa-Wa and Lee's family, because they are stay-at-home parents, they either personally conducted intensive language teaching at home, or taught at the Chinese school or went abroad with the children to learn language.

Both Zen and Lee established the goal of multilingualism for their children and regulated their everyday life to accomplish this goal at an early age. Lee and Zen had already invested time and effort in cultivating heritage language in their children's lives during the pre-linguistic and pre-literacy stage. They emphasize the verbal language first then reinforce it with reading and writing at the weekend heritage schools or with the regular schools in other countries.

Both Zen and Lee and their husbands had this predetermined goal for their children to be multilingual and have made their children aware of their aims and have scaffolded them to achieve. Zen and Lee's detailed strategies and operations in their everyday life showed that a child can be a native speaker of other languages if cultivated at an early age although both daughters learned in completely different ways. Nancy learned in an atmosphere of low anxiety. In Zen's words, Nancy went abroad to play and learn while Lee's daughter learned very stressfully by the force of punishment. Wa-Wa brought the regular school (International School in Hong Kong) and the Chinese school resources to teach her children Chinese.

High Technology

Access to high technology tools such as Chinese videos, CDs, tapes, and books were also seen as a vital cultural and linguistic resource in facilitating Chinese language and cultural learning and heritage language maintenance. Almost every family had such tools but they were not always a part of the children's daily lives.

Although parents don't perceive high tech media as an effective learning tool for children to learn language, some of the mothers made extensive use of high technology in their language teaching practice while others did not. Satellite Taiwanese television, which did not exist ten years ago, was one type of high technology that was important.

Although the primary purpose of the satellite TV was the languages (Mandarin, Taiwanese), mothers described what kinds of programming attracted their children. For example Wa-Wa's son loved watching shows with elaborate ancient costumes on television, Sofia's sons love Chinese martial art. The satellite TV brought the Chinese culture into their family. Beside the Chinese culture, the aspects of language acquisition, the criteria of high tech functions is their previous target language ability.

Zen and Lee used a DVD player to teach their children languages other than English. Zen had her daughter watch cartoons on DVD only in Japanese while Lee had her son watch Chinese DVD cartoons. Lee's Chinese teaching concentrated on direct teaching so she knew which words she taught him and which Chinese words her son learned from the Chinese DVD. She also let her son play with a Chinese-English electronic dictionary. Because of their children's languages either in Japanese or Chinese Zen had built a foundation and this foundation can serve as scaffolding tool with help from parents. The program watching is within the proximal development zone so their language ability progress. While Sofia also has a DVD to watch Chinese movies, her sons showed little interest in it because they couldn't understand.

Lee's daughter's Chinese teacher introduced tape recording to improve the accuracy of their word pronunciation and Wa-Wa's son's teacher used MP3s to read articles in class and go on line to teach. Wa-Wa as a teacher in her older son's class also used this high tech to teach. The Chinese schoolteachers introduced the computer that served as a vehicle to learn Chinese as shown in Sofia and Wa-Wa's cases. All of the parents had sufficient high tech media such as TV, DVD player, computer, Satellite Taiwanese TV to access languages but they used them in different ways. Rita, Lee and Wa-Wa have their children watch English programs on TV for the purpose of learning English. They have satellite Taiwanese programs because there are no Chinese programs

on local TV. Among the sample, both Sofia and Wa-Wa had satellite TV, but mainly for adults to use. Sofia does not regard it as a learning tool for their children. Zen and Lee used TV to watch DVDs or VCD to have their children learn Japanese and Chinese. While Wa-Wa's older son used the computer to learn Chinese songs. Sofia's sons visited several Chinese websites that the Chinese school, teacher requested and found them uninteresting.

A study by Zhang, & Hao (1999) explored the roles of on-line Chinese publications in promoting ethnic communication. They consider the possibilities of these publications in strengthening cultural and communal ties of the ethnic groups and argue that in the age of cyberspace, the role of ethnic media is in fortifying and strengthening the cultural traits of ethnic immigrants. As a result, ethnic groups are more likely to be assimilated into the mainstream culture without losing their own cultural roots and ethnic identity.

A study by Zhou & Cai (2002) also considered the uses of Chinese language media such as newspapers, radio, television and the Internet. They concluded, "The Chinese language media not only connects immigrants to their host society, but also serves as a road map for the first generation to incorporate into American society by promoting the mobility goals of home ownership, entrepreneurship, and educational achievement" (p.419).

This underscores the role of technology and the Internet in helping immigrants to maintain their culture, identity and of course, their heritage language and also helps them to incorporate into mainstream American society. High-tech technology influences the frequency of interaction within the ethnic community and between the ethnic community and their home country. This interaction occurs in the following ways: through discount

phone cards...use of the Internet, and satellite TV programs from the home country (Suarez-Orozco, C. & Suarez-Orozco, M., 2000).

My study suggested mothers used high tech tools such as satellite TV programs, and the Internet themselves on a daily basis such as Sofia and Wa-Wa. The entire sample used inexpensive or free international phone calls for their children to talk to grandparents. Mothers and Chinese teachers perceived TV and computers as tools for language learning, for example, mothers consciously used TV to improve their preschool children's English, and use computers to learn ethnic songs for older children.

Heritage Language and Family Interactions

One part of the home environment that involves the mother consists of the mother's interactions with other adults and family members. Wong-Fillmore (2000) stated that heritage language can increase interactions between generations. Luria (1982) said that human beings "with the help of language . . . can deal with things which they have not perceived even indirectly and with things which were part of the experience of earlier generations."

In this study, we have found that this is indeed every case except Sofia of our interviewees, the Lee family, who taught their children Taiwanese specifically so that they could talk to their grandparents, and in the case of Zen where the children were able to communicate with their grandparents in Japanese, Taiwanese, and Chinese. However, our study indicates that the role of heritage language in family interaction is much more complicated than this statement suggests. Not only is heritage language able to bring family members together, but it can also create conflict. Because heritage language does not come from the outside, it becomes an issue between different family members in a

way that the mainstream language does not. In the case of Lee, for example, it was a source of conflict between parent and child that resulted in corporal punishment.

Also a neutral or negative relationship between members of the family can remove the motivation to teach the child the heritage language, and without strong motivation to teach a language, the language will not be taught. For example, Sofia does not have a strong motivation to learn Taiwanese or Cantonese, and so she cannot speak this language to her own parents and mother-in-law and neither can her children. In addition, if a member of the family is not supportive of teaching the children Chinese, then it also becomes difficult to provide the necessary effort and resources to teach the language. For example, in Rita's case, the father believes that English is most important and is willing to sacrifice Chinese literacy in favor of English. Under these circumstances, it is likely that the heritage language will not be taught.

Without this interaction between the parents or between adults, the input that the child receives is limited to the language of children, and the child is unable to connect to the broader community in which the heritage language is used. This has occurred in the situation of Rita in which the language of the children is restricted to daily conversation.

Environment

Vygotsky (1994) stated a child's environment keeps changing at every age. It gradually broadens from newborn to street to school. Parents are the providers of these environments such as walking out on the street or selecting the school for them. In this study, when the immigrants' children are little, if they are taken care of by their parents at home, their language input is restricted to heritage language. In Lee, Zen, Wa-Wa, and Rita's cases, as the children broadened their environment; they broadened their language environment also. For example, Sofia sent her child to the American day care to learn

English at age one, Wa-Wa sent her older son to Cantonese pre-school in Hong Kong to learn Cantonese. The Lees and Zen sent their children to Taiwan to learn Chinese and Zen hired tutors to teach her daughter Japanese and Spanish. Speech is the center of child development. Children not only broaden their physical environments but they also broaden their language map.

Vygotsky (1994) notes the fact that even when the environment remains the same, the child changes through the process of development. In the case of Sofia, her children remained the least changed in their environment. They have never gone abroad, and never had a tutor. Their children have spoken mainly English since they began to talk. Her son's language changed when he attended the Chinese school to learn Chinese.

Impact of Family Cohesion

Wong-Fillmore (1991) stated that lacking mutual languages would cause conflict between generations while heritage language can bring family cohesion. In my study, the inactive interactions between grandmother and grandchildren were described in Sofia and Rita's cases. Thinking about the broken relationships between the generations, I see a cycle that no language leads to no communication and no communication leads to no language. The correlation of cause and effect was not determined by my study.

Vygotsky (1986) said of how speech influences our thoughts. In other words, as long as meaningful oral communication takes place, it will influence thought. This is what the parents want to achieve with their children—to assure meaningful communication between the parents and the children and maintain close family unity.

The trap is both the children and parents feel comfortable as long as they can communicate. Furthermore, children's vocabulary growth in heritage language can be affected by the nature of the caretaker's speech. If the focus is on meaningful

communication between parents and children, it is understandable why parents avoid using elevated vocabulary as in Rita's case. According to Krashen & Terrell (2000) the input hypothesis, language acquisition takes place during human interaction in an environment of the foreign language when the learner receives language 'input' that is one step beyond his/her current stage of linguistic competence. For example, if a learner is at a stage 'i', then maximum acquisition takes place when he/she is exposed to 'Comprehensible Input' that belongs to level 'i + 1'. In Lee's case, both Lee and Mr. Lee use 'i+1' input (Krashen, 1980, 1982) to foster their children's language growth during their direct teaching.

All couples in my sample used Chinese or Taiwanese to communicate. The first generation immigrants still used their home country language at home. All the children of my interviewees, except Sofia, spoke their parents' languages at home. There were entirely different languages used at home and school.

All subjects used out-of-home contexts to foster their children heritage language growth. Weekend heritage language Schools such as the Chinese school and the Japanese school compensated for the lack of heritage language reading and written input at home. Moreover immersion in Japanese/Spanish/Chinese/Taiwanese cultures demanded that immigrants' children cultivate their heritage language skills that are not part of their learning in their regular school. As shown by Zen and Lee and Wa-Wa, a long-term vision that looks beyond the children's immediate Chinese schooling experiences is important.

The Influential Role of the Father

The mother has traditionally been the center of child rearing in Chinese family. My study found that the father has an important role in language teaching and child

rearing. Across America, there has been an increase in fathers who are the primary stay-at-home childcare providers. A study by Dr. Rochlen (UT, 2008) claims

According to the US census data, there were 5.5 million stay-at-home parents in 2003 . . . and the 2006 census data indicate there are about 159,000 stay-at-home fathers. The number of stay-at-home fathers has grown over 60 percent since 2004.

Interaction with the father and other adults is important for language learning. If the father is absent or unable to speak in the heritage language, this reduces the amount of input that the child receives. This is especially the case for uses of the language that involves talking about formal situations outside of the family. For example in the case of Lee, the children learned about the term “political party” from hearing their parents discuss the political parties in Taiwan.

In addition, if a member of the family is not supportive of teaching the children Chinese, then it also becomes difficult to provide the necessary effort and resources to teach the language. For example, in Rita’s case, the father believes that English is most important and is willing to sacrifice Chinese literacy in favor of English. Under these circumstances, it is likely that the heritage language will not be taught.

Zen and Lee’s husbands both are stay-at-home fathers so their children’s language is proficient. Mr. Lee spent five hours a day teaching his son Chinese during the past summer. His son is very proficient at this heritage language and he receives positive attention and status from the community and the Chinese school. Mr. Lee rewards his son for his exceptional performance in heritage language. His son enjoys this intense Chinese learning. Mr. Lee transmits culture when he takes his son to see dancing lions for Chinese New Year and when they attend Taiwanese Business Association functions. These take place on Chinese holidays.

Zen's husband created a tradition for transmitting heritage language. He created his own Chinese stories he told Nancy every night throughout her childhood. Zen's husband invites the University of Texas Buddhist Association students into his home for lunch every semester and has done so since Nancy was born. Zen's husband also has a speaker deliver a Buddhist lecture in his home monthly. The guests are Buddhist adults who are welcome to bring their children. The adults hear the lecture while the children play together. Nancy enjoys interacting and speaking Chinese with these adults and children.

Wa-Wa's husband brought his son to the Chinese school every weekend before he was old enough to attend. His son internalized the concept that learning Chinese was valuable and important and he was eager to attend when he was old enough. These three fathers demonstrated that heritage language learning was relevant to their children's lives and an important value within the family. Making heritage language learning meaningful is consistent with Vygotsky's (1978) belief that internalizing this intrinsic need for language in daily life is a requirement for language learning.

Sofia and Rita have absent husbands, and their children's heritage language is not adequate. Although Rita's husband is physically absent while teaching in Taiwan, he is also the primary decision maker for the family. Rita has other choices available to her but she accepts her husband's authority and his decision to not teach the heritage language to the children. Sofia's husband is absent because of long hours at work and is not at home when the family is awake.

These two cases are of multilingual fathers who had little contact with their children. Although the fathers knew these languages, the children did not. It can be assumed that without the presence and interaction and motivation of these multilingual fathers, one child had limited ability in Chinese and English while the other child was a

monolingual English speaker. In this situation, this cultural capital of multilingual fathers did not transfer into the human capital of the next generation.

In my study, fathers played an important role in heritage language learning. They provided linguistic input for the children but more importantly is their ability to transmit the value and importance of heritage language to their children. The transmission of these values for heritage language learning motivates the children and inspires them to want to learn heritage language. These fathers transmit culture by taking their children to important Chinese community events and they invite outside community resources into their homes.

Interaction With the Outside World

PASSIVITY TOWARD OUTSIDE COMMUNITY

One finding involved what the mothers did not report. Although all of the mothers had children that attended regular school, none of the mother's mentioned interaction with public schools to teach heritage language. In all cases, heritage language was considered something that was the responsibility of the family, and in no situation did any mother suggest that the regular school system assist or encourage their efforts to teach heritage language. There was also very little effort involved in organization with other people in the community to encourage the outside community to provide support for heritage language learning. Finally, even at the level of recognition, although many of the mother's have undertaken made considerable efforts at education, they have not made any effort to let the outside community know about the considerable efforts that they have put into their children's education.

However, the lack of effort in influencing the regular school system is not because of lack of interest in regular school. All of the mothers are interested in having their

children do well in regular school. Yet the mother's attitudes toward regular school primarily involve deciding what school to send their children instead of actively changing the curriculum or attempting to allow regular school to support their teaching activities.

THE CHINESE SCHOOL

Hinton (1999) mentions the importance of ethnic community schools by stating that

Heritage language retention is successful only if the language is used in multiple contexts, which not only allows for sufficient input for continued language development but also helps the child realize the usefulness of the language and provides motivations. Two common means of trying to stem the loss are increased insistence on use of the heritage language at home and enrolling children in a heritage language school. These schools teach literacy and oral skills in the heritage language as well as values and culture.

All the subjects in my samples send their children to the Chinese school. Although it is only two to three hours each week, the school not only provides the formal teaching of the four domains of language, in reading, writing, speaking and reading. The Chinese school also provides the social network and information such as instructional workshops. The wider Chinese community provides AP conferences or information about overseas Chinese summer camps to parents. Parents no longer consider their children's heritage language learning to be their own responsibility but also the responsibility of any wider community.

Mothers have a different view of the role of the Chinese school in their children's Chinese learning. While Lee's family used the Chinese school as a guideline to accelerate her daughter and son's Chinese learning they still took the most responsibility on

themselves to teach Chinese. Sofia and Rita allowed the Chinese school to assume most of the responsibility for teaching their children and provided limited efforts themselves.

The Chinese school is especially important for teaching reading and writing since those skills are not taught in daily conversations with parents. Teaching reading and writing requires a large amount of effort for the parent, especially because Chinese has a complicated writing system that is totally unrelated to either the spoken language or to English. As we saw, parents sent their children to Chinese school with the hope that their children will learn Chinese. Since Chinese parents don't have much parental involvement in school decision-making, it is not common for them to criticize the curriculum.

Participants in Chen's (2006) study reported counter-forces against attending supplementary Chinese schools are numerous and complicated. As children get older, they become busier with school and extra-curricular activities and start to feel burdened by the seemingly "extra" work they must do to keep up their Chinese. Many parents choose to discontinue their children's Chinese schooling. But in my study, older children like Wa-Wa's son and Lee's and Zen's daughter reported they like to go to Chinese school to socialize with friends there or like their easy homework.

When their children were able to do well in the Chinese school, they were content. This, I believe, is where a major problem lies. The Chinese school has roles beyond merely providing a place for direct instruction. None of the conversations about the Chinese school have the parents considering the possibility that the curriculum or the school might be harmful to Chinese language acquisition and that the negative attitudes that students have about Chinese could come from the curriculum of the school. Only Lee explained that the harm is for eyesight not for language learning.

The Chinese school has social functions and serves other than as a source of instruction. The Chinese school provides a standard as well as resources that parents can

use in their own teaching. For example, with Lee, they base their home instruction on the curriculum of the Chinese school. The Chinese school provides a forum in which parents can use their children's Chinese ability to gain social status that maintains the motivation for teaching their children Chinese.

INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS

Most teachers at the Chinese school adopted the traditional Chinese method of instruction, which as Li (2005) pointed out was "the pedagogical methods used while they [the teachers] were growing up in their Chinese-speaking countries" (p. 203). This pedagogical continuity creates a language-learning environment, which is familiar to the parents. Lacking a formal evaluation, the Chinese school was left to parents to pick which grade level for their children. Lee's daughter completed her ten years at the Chinese school in five years and Lee's son will finish ten years curriculum in only two years because their father rushed them through the Chinese school textbooks at daily basis and during the summers. Zen's daughter skipped one grade and Sofia's older son was delayed one grade level.

Contrasting to participants in Chen (2006) mentioned socializing with their peer group was a major source of enjoyment when attending Chinese school. Lee's daughter did not complained that the absence of peer group contributed to her feelings of isolation in the class, moreover her younger brother, a third grader, was placed in a eighth grade classroom don't feel isolated too because Mr. Lee said his class teacher will like have him to read the chapter first in front of classmates which give him proud of having good speaking ability. Studying five hours a day for direct Chinese learning over the summer, Lee's son told me with smile, "I rarely got punishment from my father and I love learning Chinese because I always get tokens (incentive) to go to Chuck E Cheese." Mr. Lee

concluded the strategies she used are far better than the Chinese school because he used lots of incentive to get his son high motivate to learn. Vygotsky (1994) stated that the emotional experience [*perezhivanie*] arising from any situation or from any aspect of his environment, determines what kind of influence this situation and this environment will have on the child (pp.339-340). Mr. Lee gave his full attention to his son's Chinese learning during the summers, and with the appealing incentive, Mr. Lee's son have fun of this high stress and long hours working on Chinese.

Vygotsky (1978) stated if we ignore the child's needs, and the incentives that are effective in getting him to act, we will never be able to understand his advancement from one developmental stage to the next. Every advance is connected with a marked change in motives, inclinations, and incentives (p.92) In addition, Vygotsky (1978) stated that intrinsic needs and the concepts of everyday meaningful activities create the need to develop language.

In order to create a meaningful activities for her son's Chinese learning, Lee studied the structure of Chinese characters and used the origin of the Chinese language [such as it came from the shape (pictography) or the sound (phonics combinations)] to teach. Lee was interested in the actual writing of each Chinese character as she realized that there was a certain order and direction to write each stroke.

SAT II AND AP CHINESE

The surging demand for Chinese has made immigrant Chinese mothers view Chinese as fashionable, for example, Sofia, or Lee. Chinese parents are the pictures of dedication for academic achievement (Zhou, 2000). Studies (Chang 2000, Chen 2006) showed when Chinese school learning conflicts with the heavy load of schoolwork, parents would look at regular school achievement at the expense of Chinese language

learning. My study has different finding. Because Advanced Placement (AP) Chinese tests just began in Fall 2007 (The College Board, 2008), there has yet been no mention of it in the current literature. There is an emergent phenomenon that parents in the Chinese school views Chinese as a subject to gain academic achievement, for example, Wa-Wa. This is similar to Tse (2001) stated, “the role that the heritage language plays in a school’s curriculum can have substantial influence on the attitudes students develop toward that language” (p. 66). AP Chinese not only brings credential to the children of my subject but also bring social capitals to the entire immigrant Chinese community to work together. Epstein (1996) stated the most successful parental involvement model is families, schools, and communities worked together and had joint goals for children’s education. In my study, the Chinese school, parents and communities has a joint goal to prepare their children’s pre -AP or AP Chinese.

Standardized tests such as SAT II and AP Chinese are important parts of the environment that the mothers provide. The standardized testing used in SAT II and AP Chinese are similar to the standardized testing used in the Taiwanese education system, which is something that all of the mothers are familiar with.

These tests serve several functions. Standardized testing allows parents to convert their child’s language ability into social status within the community and also provides a means to convert this language ability into career and educational advancement. Earlier studies have discussed situations in which mothers do not provide much emphasis on learning Chinese because it is not considered an activity that would get their children into top colleges (Chiang, 2000). However AP Chinese changes this situation in that it creates a way by which language fluency does translate into college admission and therefore a high standing within the community. This creates motivation for mothers to change their environment to encourage language learning.

Standardized testing also creates an external standard through which mothers and other Chinese teaching institutions such as the Chinese school can structure their curriculum, and provide external resources for Chinese language learning. In my sample, Wa-Wa, who was a Chinese school teacher, attended two conferences about AP Chinese at her own expense, and Nancy's teacher attended one conference in San Antonio. They both made suggestions to the Chinese school. Nancy's teacher introduced AP Chinese testing questions into the homework of the third grade. She was encouraged by the parents at teacher-parents conference to impart the short essay writing of four pictures, the teachers assessed the students' writing abilities and said it was fine if the parents have children talk about the pictures instead of writing them down. Later she included pre-AP supplemental textbooks into her curriculum. This shows the cooperation between parents and teachers to make teaching AP Chinese possible at the third grade level.

Standardized tests also provide parents with an external goal to reach and an external measurement of language ability. One parent for which this was important was Lee who taught her daughter with 1008 flash cards that she had created herself so that the daughter had enough vocabulary to do well on the SAT II.

An example of how these networks are reinforcing Chinese learning involves Wa-Wa. After going to an AP Chinese conference in California for ten days, she met many Chinese schoolteachers and principals and professors in Chinese education. She recommended that the Chinese school invite an AP Chinese promoter. She was one of the authors of a set of Chinese textbooks called "Mei Zhou Hua Yu" (literally "American Chinese") that were specially designed around the pre- AP Chinese curriculum. The promoter gave a presentation at the Chinese school that also was attended by the principals, teachers, staff, and parents of six of the Chinese schools in the Austin area. The result of this meeting was that this semester the Chinese school would have a vote to

decide whether to formally adopt the curriculum. But some of the teachers were already using parts of the “Mei Zhou Hua Yu” textbook in their teaching.

However as with many of the other educational tools that we have mentioned, one important part of the influence of the AP Chinese test on early childhood education is that it requires a financial cost on the parents, and so the parents must have time and money to create the social capital, which allows for this influence. For example, parents and teachers must pay for their own expenses in attending these conferences. Parents themselves may not be able to attend the AP Chinese, but the social capital provided by other parents and teachers has circulated throughout the Chinese school.

Thus, we have found that once children are of age four, their environment expands to include the Chinese school. The Chinese school exposes the students and parents to the social capital that more affluent parents provide in the school. Some parents cannot afford the expenses of AP Chinese education, yet they can avail themselves of the benefits the other parents and teachers have acquired and inserted into the curriculum at the Chinese school.

LANGUAGE WITHOUT BORDERS

The shrinking world has increased the need and opportunity for learning languages. This increasing globalization has created a situation where a regular school in one country may become a summer school to a student from another country. In Zen’s case, the Japanese school in Argentina and the Japanese elementary school in Japan are regular schools in their country but are Nancy’s summer schools. Starting in kindergarten, Nancy went abroad to study Japanese and Spanish every summer. So by the summer of Nancy’s fourth grade, Nancy has studied Spanish and Japanese in Argentina three summers and has studied Japanese in Japan for two summers and traveled to

Taiwan eight times. Nancy has built social capital there as Zen stated, “We take turns in going to these two countries. Last summer we went to Argentina, this summer we will go to Japan. Friends of ours have homes for us to stay in there.” Zen and Nancy’s traveling is an example of seeing the world as a global village. Zen views the world as one resource. Crossing national boundaries and school boundaries result in languages having no boundaries.

In summary, there appears to be a cycle of environmental expansion in language learning that begins small in the parental home but grows to include tutors and extended family, heritage language schools, and eventually other countries. The language learner must interact with the environment on all of these levels in order to evoke language learning. These environments appear to be unlimited and can include other countries and in fact, the entire globe.

The Importance of Capital

As we have discussed, different mothers have very different strategies of teaching their children, and use educational tools in different ways. These strategies have the commonality that they all involve can be seen in terms of Vygotsky’s (1986) educational theory of turning the external into the internal. This process is extremely time consuming and requires a great deal of social and economic capital. This creates a problem for the mothers. For the mothers in this study, teaching a heritage language is labor intensive because there is not the external environmental support for that effort.

Within Vygotsky's framework (1994) of early childhood education, the child is not merely a passive learner, but an active participant in a complex environment. Learning is seen not merely as a passive acquisition of knowledge, but rather as a process in which the child internalizes the external social environment. Within this framework,

the mother is extremely important as her attitudes and expectations direct the changes in the social environment of the child. The mothers in this study all have complex expectations and attitudes and have different strategies by which they change the social environment of the child. There were several mothers (Lee, Zen, and Wa-Wa) in this study that had successfully taught their children heritage language with a high degree of fluency, and other mothers (Rita and Sofia) whose children's heritage language abilities were more limited. The differences between the two groups appear not to be due to differences in the desire to teach their children heritage language, nor does it appear to be due to differences in the exact methods of teaching. The primary difference between these two groups appears to be the amount of effort and social capital that the mothers can use to change their child's social environment, and the controlling factor on this is the amount of time and economic capital available to the mother.

Bourdieu (1997) suggests that capital can be viewed in economic, cultural, and social terms, where social capital is the network of people you know who can help you to achieve your aims. Two important aspects of Bourdieu's approach are that social capital is the foundation for social class. People in the upper classes have more valuable social capital, and that capital can be converted between the different types like economic, social and human capital. Coleman (1988) defines social capital as the supportive relationships among adults and children that promote the sharing of norms and values. St. Clair (2008) stated, "strong relationships between parents, educators, and learners can contribute to a network of support that motivates all involved to achieve common aims"(p 86).

In general, the economic and social capital possessed by an immigrant family are more important for the conditions of teaching heritage language, especially for reading and writing, than it is for the mainstream language. Unlike the mainstream language,

where the child can receive comprehensive input from the outside society, the heritage language, the child's only input can be from the parents or from an environment that was specifically created by the mother. In addition unlike the mainstream language, in which the general social provides social capital for language learning in the form of regular schools, mothers who wish to provide for a heritage language-learning environment must do so using the resources from their immediate family. This situation is compounded by the role of English as a global language. Whereas in Taiwan, there are considerable social resources and motivations for learning English, these resources are absent for non-English languages within the United States, regarding the family to provide social and economic capital necessary for language learning.

In some mothers, these social and economic capital resources can be considerable. These resources include not only economic capital in the form of wealth available to the mother, but also knowledge and background in teaching other languages as in the case of Wa-Wa, as well as a family network which supports heritage language learning as in the case of Lee. Three of the mothers Zen, Wa-Wa, and Lee have considerable economic and social capital, which they have used to create a heritage language-learning environment for their children. Through her wealth and social connections, Zen is able to find schools and tutors for her daughter Nancy. Because of her husband's business, Wa-Wa was able to live in Hong Kong for several years and undergo formal education in Chinese language teaching. Lee is able to stay at home to teach her children Chinese and Taiwanese, and has a family network through which she was able to learn Taiwanese. All three of these mothers live in families that are supportive of language learning. By contrast the two other mothers (Rita and Sofia) do not have these types of resources available, and also live in family situations where language is a source of conflict.

The social and economic capital possess by some of the mothers allows them to make many choices, that includes not only the ability to choose where to live, but also the ability to stay at home to educate their children. Lacking social resources from the outside community, social resources such as extended family become even more important. Without social capital, mothers such as Rita and Sofia are limited as to the choices they can make, especially if there is internal family conflict related to language. They are much less able to change the environment in which their children learn heritage language. Although their motivation to have their children learn heritage language is no less than the other mothers, the lack of social capital makes it much more difficult for them to achieve their goals.

This is especially the situation, once we go past fluency in basic household language, even larger amounts of effort are needed to develop fluency in reading, writing, and more formal uses of the Chinese language. Without support from the outside society, it becomes the responsibility of the mother to create an environment that supports heritage language learning, and this requires a large investment in both time and money. The amount of economic capital needed to preserve heritage language is substantial and in the case of our study, difficult for even middle class families to provide.

The importance of social and economic capital can be seen by the observation that mothers with greater access to this capital are not only able to teach their children heritage languages, but also English and second languages such as Spanish. Mothers with access to social and economic capital were able to use this capital to promote fluency in all languages, and the resources available to promote fluency in language could be used to promote the fluency in another.

The lack of social capital for heritage language learning can be viewed partly the result of a minority immigrant group living in a mainstream society. However, this lack

of social capital is partly also due to the role of English as a global language. It is quite instructive to compare the roles of English in Taiwan with either Taiwanese or Chinese in the United States. Within Taiwan, English is considered a prestige language and therefore there is much social capital devoted to teaching English. All of the mothers in the sample were able to learn some English in schools in Taiwan, and in no situation was the family the primary provider of instruction in English. In Taiwan, being able to speak fluent English is a sign of education and social status, even for those that have no intention of even visit, much less immigrating to, the United States.

By contrast, because neither Taiwanese or Chinese are considered to be prestige languages within the mainstream society that the sample lives in, and hence there are no social pressures for people with no connection with Taiwan to learn either Taiwanese or Chinese. This means that the types of social capital that an English learner in Taiwan can use to learn English, such as English speaking preschools, are absent in the United States, and the primary responsible for heritage language teaching falls with the family. We shall now discuss the specific ways in which the presence or lack of social and economic capital affects the strategies that mothers can use.

THE USES OF CAPITAL

For a mother to possess capital allows the mother to change their environment and promote literacy in several different ways. The mother can change their environment by changing residence and travel, the mother can also choose to stay at home and to pay others to do household duties, also the mother can use capital to teach themselves how to more effectively teach their children.

Economic capital also allows the mother to take their children to different places. Wa-Wa, for example, was able to buy a house in an area that she believed to

promote heritage language learning. In contrast to Sofia who couldn't afford the tickets for their children to go abroad, both Lee and Zen think sending their children abroad at their young ages for an extended period of time to learn the languages in native countries is their most effective strategy. While Zen sent her daughter to Argentina or Japan every summer, Lee sent their children to Taiwan. Wa-Wa's son studied in Hong Kong International School for ten years which taught Chinese one hour each day. Children of these three affluent families' possess good heritage language ability.

However, merely traveling does not result in heritage language learning. Rita's family traveled back and forth between Taiwan and the US more than other mothers in my sample but considered it a disadvantage for both English and Chinese learning. The result depends on more than just going abroad. It must involve the social supports from family or outside resources, and in these situations economic capital also helps provide those social support resources. In Zen's case, the help from local tutors and friends provide free living and peers with which her daughter can interact. Lee's own parents in Taiwan provided childcare for the purpose of teaching Chinese. With the help of the Filipino maid, Wa-Wa was able to take Chinese courses and teach Chinese in the international school in Hong Kong and also help her son prepare his homework of elaborate Chinese projects.

Possessing social and economic capital also allows the mother to choose to stay at home to teach their children a heritage language, as well as to decide to hire tutors to directly teach their children Chinese or to take household tasks so that they can be more involved in their children's heritage language learning. In this area, we can contrast the situations of Zen and Lee who are independently wealthy enough to have both parents stay at home to teach a language, with the situation of Sofia in which both parents must

work and therefore do not have the same amount of time and energy to devote to heritage language teaching.

In addition, a mother that possesses a large amount of social and economic capital can use that capital to improve her own skills. For example, Zen hired Japanese and Spanish tutors to teach herself Japanese and Spanish while she was overseas. Another example in which social and economic capital allowed a mother to improve their own language skills was Wa-Wa who was able to attend classes on Chinese teaching in Hong Kong because she had a maid.

Finally, a mother with access to capital has the ability to make choices based on the mother's perception of quality. Because she has access to economic and social capital, Zen can choose who her daughter's teachers are, whereas Sofia and Rita do not have these choices and must take whatever options are given to them.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CAPITAL

This research illustrates that it is difficult to separate economic capital and social capital. Economic capital can be used to gain social capital. Economic and social capital cannot be separated because people with wealth have a greater ability to create social relationships that are essential in promoting heritage language. Lacking social capital in the immigrant Chinese community in Austin area can mean there is no after school supplemental ethnic language school. Except for the two-hour language lessons provided by Chinese school, the social capital benefits of heritage language rest mainly on parents. And in two cases of the sample I selected, economic capital plays a role in creating social capital. For example, in Lee's situation, the parents put a lot of time into teaching their children Chinese and in promoting the norm and value of studying Chinese. But this was only possible because the father can stay at home and they had enough economic capital

to support this lifestyle. In Zen's case, she was able to use her wealth to provide a network of relationships through friends and tutors. Wa-Wa, a stay-at-home mother devoted herself to teaching Chinese and International school and in the Chinese school and also in terms of teaching her sons' Chinese. Sofia was unable to provide as much social capital because she said that she did not have enough time to provide for Chinese language learning, and this illustrates how the lack of economic capital translates into a lack of ability to create social capital that transmit her norms and values. Although Sofia believes that Chinese is valuable, she did not have the economic or social capital to implement this teaching and transmit these norms and beliefs to her children.

On the other hand, social capital also can lead to the acquisition of economic capital, Zen's good friendship with her daughter's Japanese tutors enabled her to negotiate the fee to \$7-8 a hour to get tutors who taught at university level and also the opportunity for free living in Argentina and in Japan. Rita hired an ESL teacher at the recommendation of the public school teacher, but because Rita lacked social capital, she needed to pay \$40 an hour, a much higher price than Zen did for tutoring. When the fee was more than they could afford, Rita's choices were either to quit or to renegotiate the price. Later Rita selected a cheaper cram school but she still paid more than Zen paid for her daughter's Japanese tutor, a college level instructor. Zen was able to negotiate with the Japanese tutor for a lower price (\$7 -\$8 an hour) because both families became good family friends and later Zen negotiated the price with her Spanish tutor.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COMMUNITY

Coleman (1997) stated a "person's actions are shaped, redirected, constrained by the social context; norms, interpersonal trust, social networks, and social organization are important in the functioning not only of the society but also of the economy" (p. 80).

Coleman (1997) wrote that “social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure (p.81)

Coleman (1988) said “the elements provided to the child’s education by a strong family can be described as “social capital. . . . Social capital in the raising of children... is [are] resources that reside in the social structure itself—the norms, the social networks, the relationships between adults and children that are of value for the children’s growing up.” Coleman (1988) stated, “social capital exists within the family, but also outside the family, in the community” (p.12).

This study found that better social capital creates more effective social capital. The networks of Zen and the two Japanese tutors, who shared the duties of transporting Nancy and tutors’ children to and from the Japanese school, and shared the responsibility of looking after each other’s children by feeding them or sleepovers. This leads to the creation of social capital because these activities also involve communicating to children an agreed set of expectations about appropriate standards of behavior, the value of Japanese, and the benefits of sharing resources including cars and time. This form of informal learning may not be overt, but is achieved by parental interest in what the children did at the Japanese school that day.

Zen provided an environment of Japanese school in Argentina that was half day Japanese and half day Spanish. Nancy was able to use her strongest language, Japanese as a mediator to communicate with her teacher and classmates in the beginning of the first summer and at the same time learn Spanish. By the end of summer, her oral Spanish was fluent enough for speaking. When she was back in the United States, she was able to use 80%-90% Spanish to talk to her tutor in Austin. She improved her oral Spanish, and also

with the help of the Spanish tutor in Argentina, Zen bought lots of children's Spanish books back to Austin to improve her daughter's reading.

Coleman (1997) thought that social capital appears in the relationships between individuals in a community characterized by high-trust relations and shared responsibilities. Nancy's case provides a picture of how social capital between the tutors and Nancy created a rich Japanese environment in which to learn Japanese. Living nearby, Nancy's Japanese tutor not only went to Nancy's home with her son several times a week but also Nancy went to the tutor's home regularly and sometimes slept over which provided an entire Japanese environment for Nancy. Zen said that at the Japanese tutor's home, Nancy was able to read lots of Japanese books. The tutor later informed Nancy of the opportunity for admission to Japanese school and provided the chance for her to go abroad and live in Japan in her tutor's friend's house. In contrast, Rita daughter and her ESL tutor did not form any social bonds and social capital. Instead, she just taught her the language itself and assigned a heavy load of homework that did not inspire Rita's daughter to learn English. In fact, Rita's daughter resisted her lessons with the tutor. When lacking social capital at school with which to find help, Rita's older daughter turned to her parents for help, to improve her English. Her father did not provide any emotional support but stated "learning is painful!" instead and prevented Rita from teaching her daughter English at home.

To illustrate another example of how social capital provide heritage learning, Zen's daughter, Nancy learned Japanese in a natural way through play with the Japanese tutor's daughter and later she played with another Japanese tutor's son for five yrs. These are immigrant mothers from different ethnicities teaching their children their parents' native language together. This idea came true because Zen's social capital created between her and two tutors that shared certain norms, values and social connections.

In addition to providing tutors, Zen is able to have her daughter learn foreign languages by bringing her daughter to foreign countries, Japan and Argentina, to attend their regular school and to learn the language. In those regular schools, there is systematic instruction with native speaker peer interaction, and language acquisition occurs in a natural environment.

Lee brought tutors to teach her daughter Spanish and English at home even though her daughter's fluency in both languages was far more advanced than her peers in the magnet classes. To be able to teach both Chinese and Taiwanese on a daily basis, Lee's family rigidly followed the "one-parent one-language" model, which contributed fluency to the two children's Chinese and Taiwanese abilities. In order to increase the opportunities for Chinese learning especially in reading and writing skills which were rare in all but Lee's home, all parents had their children attend the Chinese school and some were able to find information inside the Chinese school (teacher's workshop) and outside of school at the AP conferences.

The AP Chinese test is creating social capital that extends beyond the local community. By meeting at conferences, mothers from different parts of the United States are establishing social capital, and are creating curriculum materials which are standardized around the AP Chinese curriculum. The AP Chinese conferences are creating social capital between Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese. The educational materials used by Mainland Chinese include Pinyin and simplified characters that differ from the Tzu-Yin and traditional characters used by Taiwanese when teaching Mandarin. The AP Chinese test permits both the methods used by Mainland China and those used by Taiwan, and therefore both groups are now working with each other in ways that did not exist before.

INTERACTION WITH EARLY HOME LITERACY

The mothers who began with a large amount of time and social capital available to teach their children the heritage language created a positive cycle. The ability of the child to speak the heritage language improves and allows the parent to give the child more experiences. When the mothers derive benefits from their children's language ability, this encourages them to spend more effort to teach their children the heritage language. However, this cycle can work in the other direction. The mother's inability to provide the time and effort to teach their child the heritage language results in the child having less fluency in the language. This makes it even more difficult for the mother to change the environment to teach the language, and discourages the mother from trying.

Within the sample of this study, the availability of social capital is particularly important because of the need of this capital for early literacy. The literature indicates the importance of early literacy in heritage language development. Slegers (1997) suggested the window for opportunity for language is from birth until age ten. Sénéchal & LeFevre's (2002) five-year longitudinal study on parental involvement in the development of children's reading skill concluded that parent involvement in teaching children about reading and writing words was related to the development of early literacy skills. Cummins (1979) stated the linguistic interdependence hypothesis proposes that the level of second language competence that a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in the first language at the time when intensive exposure to the second languages begins.

Within this sample, mothers with large amounts of social capital were able to provide the environment that the literature indicates is important for early home literacy, while mothers without social capital were unable to provide this type of environment.

Zen, Wa-Wa and Lee established the goal of multilingualism for their children and regulated their everyday life to accomplish this goal at an early age. In the case of Lee and Zen, they used their social capital to create an environment in which the heritage language was important. From the earliest age of the child, they had already invested time and effort in cultivating heritage language in their children's lives during the pre-linguistic and pre-literacy stages. They emphasized the verbal language first then reinforced it with reading and writing at the weekend heritage schools or with the regular schools in other countries in the summers.

Both Zen and Lee and their husbands have had this multilingual goal for their children and have made their children aware of their aim and have scaffolded them to achieve. Zen and Lee's detailed strategies in their everyday life showed that a child can be a native speaker of other languages if cultivated at an early age although both daughters learned in completely different ways. Nancy learned in an atmosphere of low anxiety. In Zen's words, Nancy went abroad to play and learn while Lee's daughter learned very stressfully through the threat and force of punishment. Cummins' (1979) threshold hypothesis assumes that those aspects of bilingualism that might positively influence cognitive growth are unlikely to come into effect until the child has attained a certain threshold level. Both Zen and Lee's children reached a threshold of competence through their early literacy experience that provided a linguistic foundation that enabled them to learn other language well.

Wa-Wa was also able to provide an environment for her children to promote heritage language as they family was living in Hong Kong, but in contrast to Lee and Zen, she was supported by the external environment and did not have to create an entire environment of her own. This required less social capital on her part, because the social capital needed for the external environment provided language learning.

The two mothers who had less success in maintain heritage language did so, because they had insufficient social capital to create an environment to promote heritage language retention. Coleman (1988) stated that “social capital within family that gives the child access to the adult’s human capital depends both on the physical presence of adults in the family and on the attention given by the adults to the child. The physical absence of adults may be described as a structural deficiency in family social capital.” (p. 111) Rita’s husband who is a full professor in a prestigious university posses high human capital, but his absence both in living in other country or absent-minded when he visited did not provide the social capital for her daughter to learn English. Sofia’s husband who is multi-lingual but the long working hours prevented him to provide social capital for their children.

Coleman (1988) further stated even if adults are physically present, there is a lack of social capital in the family if there are not strong relations between children and parents (p. 111). The mothers-in-law of Sofia and Rita who visited often but the lacking strong relations between grandmothers and the grandchildren cause lacking social capital for heritage language learning.

UNAWARENESS OF CAPITAL

Given the importance of social capital, it is interesting that none of the mothers seemed conscious of the important role of social capital in language learning. While many of the mothers mentioned in the importance of language learning on future success, none of them seems conscious of the impact that differing amounts of social capital have on the ability to teach current heritage language. In discussing heritage language learning, the mother’s tended to focus on the techniques and strategies they used and did seem to

be conscious of the influence that social capital played in determining what strategies were viable.

Implications for Educational Research and Practice

COMPLEXITY OF THE RESPONDENTS

One implication for this research is that heritage language needs to take into account the complexity of the backgrounds of the respondents. The respondents in this study differed in their socio-economic status as well as in the languages that they used and their childhood influences. Studies, particularly quantitative studies need to take into account these differences. One particular difference that makes a huge impact on the development of the children is socio-economic status and this should be looked at in studies of heritage language.

Another finding of this study is that mothers and children, particularly with high socio-economic status, do not fit clearly into immigrants and non-immigrants. A view of immigrants as having migrated from the home country to the new country and then having no contact with outside countries does not fit the experiences of several of the participants in this study. Immigrants to the United States not only maintain connections with the country of origin, they also are able to travel to third countries in order to improve their language fluency.

Furthermore classifying a group of people merely as immigrants or even immigrants from a particular region misses much of this complex histories and backgrounds that motivate heritage language learning. For example, the meanings that Taiwanese mothers in the United States placed on heritage language are influenced by events in Taiwanese history such as the Japanese colonial period and the interaction between *waishengren* who immigrated to Taiwan in 1949 and the *benshengren* who were

already there. In fully understanding the meanings that immigrants have regarding heritage language in the United States, one needs to understand the often complex historical and social situations of the places that the immigrants arrived from, and not merely view them as a blank slate.

In addition, the mothers in the sample suggest that it is not a simple matter to divide people into roles of parent, teacher, and student. The mothers in this study often had formal teaching experience as well as experiences in learning a second language which influenced the strategies that they used for their children's heritage language learning. These mothers used a more diverse variety of Chinese literacy activities and materials that helped maintain their children's interest in heritage language learning. They also provided a varied degree of family involvement as well as people within their social network like the tutors

FOCUS ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

This research illustrates the crucial role of economic and social capital toward heritage language learning and suggests that in thinking about ways of improving heritage language learning one should consider ways of increasing economic and social capital available to the mothers. These can include things such as improving access to educational tools and creating resources that outside the home that mothers can use for heritage language, as well as policies which address issues such as daycare and general economic prosperity which either directly or indirectly gives mothers more access to economic and social capital. Even making mothers aware of the importance of capital so that they can come up with creative solutions to address these limits may be of use in promoting heritage language.

EARLY INTERVENTION

Vygotsky (1991) stated “We become ourselves through others ... Any higher mental function necessarily goes through the external stage in its development because it is originally a social function” (p 39). Language plays a crucial role in mental development. It is important to provide early resources to the parents in order to prevent a negative cycle from forming. When the parents are unable to provide an environment for heritage language learning at a very early age, it becomes more and more difficult for the parents to prevent this from becoming a negative cycle. Without a foundation in the heritage language, it becomes more difficult for the children to build on this knowledge, and hence this creates a cycle in which the heritage language is less often used, and eventually lost.

My research also supported Dopke’s findings. Dopke (1992) found that those families whose children did succeed in maintaining fluent bilingualism throughout the period of his study differed from the others in two key ways:

(1)The parents were consistent about the approach and most importantly did not let the children respond to them in the inappropriate language.

(2)The children had people besides their parents to talk to in the heritage language. Other relatives or neighbors, or social or religious groups that use the heritage language provide necessary language support that offers both further exposure and motivation to the child.

Dopke’s two elements for successful bilingualism were also evident in three cases in my study. These three cases of Lee, Zen and Wa-Wa produced children who did maintain fluent multilingualism through these same consistent methods. The remaining two cases were inconsistent in their methods and did not produce successfully fluent bilingual speaking children.

ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY

Technology can be a useful tool for heritage language learning, and several of the mothers used technology extensively as part of their strategy for heritage language learning. However, one of the mothers that taught their children the heritage language has done so without extensive use of technology. This suggests technology needs to be seen only as part of the environment, and for technology to be useful it must be part of the cultural context. This interaction between technology, the child's environment, and the cultural context is a topic for further study.

ROLE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

One finding of this study was that mothers were making very strong efforts to teach their children heritage language. These mothers were independent of, and largely unknown to the regular public school system. None of the mother's reported any support for their efforts from the regular public school system. Yet ironically, US society is in need of multilingual, multi-literate citizens to advance our position in the global market.

Some authors have describe parents as being caught in a bind, trying to decide whether to adopt the short-term goal imposed by our education system and concentrate on English development, or to envision their children's potential beyond school and continue to maintain first language (Fishman, 1991, p.60). However this is not the dilemma that the mother's in this study face. None of the mothers see a conflict between their children learning English and the heritage language. Rather the dilemma that parents face is that learning a heritage language requires enormous time and effort, and without external support, this time and effort becomes the responsibility of the parents. How well the parents can carry this burden depends on the amount of time and wealth that is available to the parents. Therefore, anything that allows some of the effort in teaching

heritage language to be delegated to institutions outside of the family, especially for young children, may improve the ability of the children to retain the heritage language.

Other authors have argued that immigrant parents can conceptualize and identify the factors influencing their language policy at home, they can become more autonomous and in control of the outcome of their children's language learning (Ono, 1994, p.21), and that their heightened awareness can become an impetus to bring about desired changes in other aspects of the activity model. However, our findings indicate that the main limit on whether mothers are able to provide an environment for heritage language learning is not awareness on the part of the mothers or a lack of motivation or desire to have their children learn the heritage language. The main limitation consists of the practical limits of wealth and time available to teach their language.

How best to support the mother's strategies to teach their children heritage language is a complicated issue and a topic that is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important to begin by recognizing that mothers are not passive in their children's education. They are strongly motivated to have their children learn the heritage language and they are willing to make large sacrifices in time, energy, and wealth to have their children learn the heritage language. By describing their efforts and their struggles, we hope to provide information that will be useful in advancing the preservation of heritage language in the United States.

INTERACTION WITH SCHOOLS

None of the five mothers mentioned any parental involvement in the American school as per the Chinese cultural norm of parental involvement. Previous studies have indicated that Chinese parents are passive in relation to American school (Ho & Willms, 1996) and insure that their children do their homework and were not involved in issues

such as school policy or curriculum design. The mothers continued the teaching of English by having their children watch English programs on TV or teaching their children English at home, or having them do extra supplemental homework at home. Wa-Wa was the only sample member who was also an active participant at the Chinese school. She taught there, made suggestions at meetings and invited educational speakers from other states to promote the teaching of AP Chinese.

Lareau (1989) argued, “social class had a significant effect in shaping family involvement in school” (p 11). Social class shapes the amount of cultural resources available to a family and also influences parental involvement in school activities. Parental involvement in Lareau's (1989) study depended on the amount of resources available to the family. Parents' actions were linked to the resources that education, occupational status, and income provided. Different social groups varied in their power to determine what valuable culture was. A finding in my study contradicts Lareau (1989) by noting that with Taiwanese immigrant mothers', culture has an important influence on parental involvement in school. The Chinese emphasis on respect for authority is responsible for the lack of involvement in policy and the fact that curriculum decisions are left up to the teachers. Ho (1999) stated that Chinese parents would like to participate outside the school and try their hardest to provide their children with “home-based social capital”.

The fact that the mothers have not tried to have the school system support their language teaching efforts is not the result of lack of interaction or awareness of the school system. Parents in my sample with school-aged children were aware of the quality of their school system. Wa-Wa, Rita, and Lee mentioned that they selected the school district that they lived in, and also mentioned that this behavior was typical among Chinese parents. Zen stated they built their house according to the principles of Feng-shui

not necessarily for the good school district but she does live in an effective good school district. It also does not appear to be the result of any explicit efforts by the school system to discourage heritage language learning, as none of the mother's report any conflict with the schools to discourage heritage language learning. Why the mother's maintain a passive attitude toward regular school, and how regular schools can and should interact with immigrant mothers actively teaching their children heritage language is a topic that deserves to be investigated more fully.

INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS IN THE CHINESE SCHOOL

One important finding of this study is that the Chinese school plays an important role in heritage language learning, even though it is not the primary means by which the heritage language is taught. Every parent mentioned his or her perceptions of the Chinese school environment, and most mentioned dissatisfaction with the education provided by the Chinese school. Zen's observation compared the Chinese school to the Japanese school. She said, "The Chinese school does not create a norm that learning heritage language is a serious matter as the Japanese school does."

However, none of the mothers spoke of pulling their children out of the Chinese school suggesting that the Chinese school has some functions other than direct instruction of language. The Chinese school provides a forum that reinforces the learning that occurs in the home, as well as provides a means by which fluency on the part of the child in the heritage language can be converted into social status. Finally, the Chinese school provides a standardized curriculum that is used as the standard against which the mother can direct her educational efforts. The fact that the Chinese school has functions other than as a place in which students learn language suggests the need for further research to

understand exactly how ethnic schools function within a community, and more generally what roles schools have beyond simple instruction.

GLOBAL VILLAGE IMPACT AND ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE

Much the literature views immigrants as being fixed in location and influenced primarily by their surroundings. However, all of my interviewees were extremely mobile and where influenced by things outside their immediate surrounds. More research is needed as far as how these influences affect language learning. One finding of this study is that the global village can help mothers provide resources for heritage language learning, but does not necessarily to so. In Sofia's case, she saved economic capital by buying a ticket to Taiwan to fix her tooth but did not bring her children. In Rita's case, even though her husband visited them every one to two months from Taiwan, he did not see the importance of teaching or speaking Chinese to them because he thought English was most important for his daughter.

Also much of the literature concerning heritage language has failed to consider the role of English as a prestige global language. The role of English can be illustrated by the wide range of resources that allowed the mothers to learn English, and the desire for mother's without strong connections with the United States, such as Rita, to teach their children English even at the expense of the local language.

EARLY HOME LITERACY ENVIRONMENT

One important finding of this study is that families with more financial and social capital provided their children with abundant opportunities for early home literacy. Families with fewer resources seemed mainly to invest their hopes in the future without taking action in the present. The families with more social and economic capital began

their children's heritage language teaching when they were born or before the age of two-years.

Where mothers have limited amounts of economic capital, they are too busy and tired from their daily work to spend the large amount of time and effort necessary to promote learning. This leads to a negative cycle in which the inability of the parents to create a language learning environment make it more difficult for the children to build on their previous language learning. This leads to a situation in which the parents must merely hope that their situation will change in the future without having the active ability to change their situation in the present.

Researcher's Observations Particular to the Sample Data

The researcher made these observations that without further study remain speculation. The researcher noticed an emerging pattern. When the sample's mothers don't speak their native mother tongue, Taiwanese to the sample, and speak only Chinese to the sample, the sample lose their ability to speak their mother tongue. Both Rita and Sofia did not learn to speak Taiwanese and were not as serious about teaching heritage language as other parents.

The first generation did not use their mother tongue (Taiwanese) to speak to their children. The second generation (Sofia and Rita) loses Taiwanese but they do keep Chinese because it is the official language of Taiwan. The third generation (Sofia and Rita's children) of course, cannot speak Taiwanese as this has been lost for one generation and they are also left with limited Chinese language ability.

In contrast, Zen, Lee and Wa-Wa are multilingual parents who continued to maintain their interest in learning other languages as adults. For example, Zen learned Spanish and Japanese as an adult. Although Lee's parents did not speak Taiwanese, Lee

vastly improved her Taiwanese language skills while living with her in-laws. Wa-Wa learned Cantonese in Hong Kong after her marriage.

My observation is that parents who are multilingual appear to have a more open attitude toward language learning as adults. Their children tend to learn and adopt this open attitude toward language learning. This attitude combined with the family economic capital provides multiple opportunities for them to learn other languages. In my sample, these children became multilingual also. This could be a form of language reproduction. Another observation was that in the families with more economic and social capital, such as Zen's, Wa-Wa's and Lee's, they usually brought heritage language-related materials such as DVDs, tapes or books home when they visited other countries. Rita's family has traveled between the home country and host country the most frequently of the sample but due to her husband's belief in teaching and learning English as a language of privilege, they did not avail themselves of these high technology resources. Both Lee and Rita's children don't watch much TV except for the purpose of learning English from it. Like Zen, there is no English input from family members at home, but all of the interviewees have different situations and opinions for reaching their goals. The results therefore, must vary. Sample who lacked economic and social capital took no action at the present time toward heritage language teaching or learning, instead hoping the children would learn Chinese in the future.

Summary of Conclusions

In this study I found that the meanings that the Taiwanese immigrant mothers' attributed to teaching and learning heritage languages could be classified into (a) cultural relationships, (b) family bonds, (c) social status within the immigrant community, (d) relationship with American and global societies, and (e) academic achievement and social

success. All of the mothers viewed the ability to communicate in heritage language positively and wanted their children to learn heritage language.

The strategies Taiwanese immigrant mothers used to teach heritage and home languages were diverse. The precondition of all of these strategies was that the parents value heritage language learning and that they must assume an active role in teaching heritage language. Lacking outside resources, this required that the mothers be able to mobilize large amounts of social capital. Three of the five mothers possessed enough social capital to create an environment for heritage language learning at the earliest phases of language development. The provision of this early literacy of one or more languages created a strong foundation that transferred and facilitated the learning of other languages. Despite believing in the importance of heritage language learning, two mothers could not provide an environment of early literacy. Instead, these two mothers were hoping for other resources in the future.

The mothers with more economic capital were able to use their social capital to allow one parent to stay at home teaching their children heritage language full-time. They were also able to purchase other people's time in the form of services and effectively use resources such as the Chinese school or international travel to promote heritage language learning. Thus, they could actively pursue and establish goals for their children's heritage language learning.

Lacking the necessarily social capital, two mothers and fathers could not provide an environment of early literacy. Instead, these two parents waited for other resources in the future. These resources were returning to Taiwan, where the children would learn heritage language from the environment and relying on external sources like the Chinese school to assume this responsibility in the future. However, because they lacked social capital, they could not adequately make use of these resources in contrast to the three sets

of parents with abundant social capital. These two sets of parents lack the preconditions necessary to enact heritage language teaching strategies. The difficulties that these mothers had in teaching heritage language were compounded by time and intra-family conflict. One husband did not value any language but English even though the mother was capable of teaching her children their heritage language. This husband was critical of his wife's competence in English and forbid her to teach or read English to the children. He feared that her poor pronunciation would transfer to the children. This mother assumed a passive role not teaching English or Chinese. This mother did not recognize herself as an important source for teaching heritage language to her children. The results of this strategy were that the children were behind in English and Chinese. The other parent worked full-time and felt she did not have enough time after work to teach her children. These two sets of parents desired a high standard of heritage language but did not expect it.

People with more social capital were able to teach their children heritage language at home full-time. They were able to purchase other people's time in the form of services, like tutors. They had economic and social capital to travel and live in countries where their children studied languages within a native context. These parents established early goals and actively pursued the achievement of the goal of language teaching and learning. These parents also held their children to a higher standard of achievement that required fluency in the four domains of (1) oral language (2) written language (3) reading and (4) listening comprehension. These parents used every resource available to them at home, within and outside of the community including the Chinese school and oversea schools.

The importance of social capital was illustrated by the connection between children's heritage language ability and their English ability. Children whose parents had higher amounts of social capital were not only able to exhibit high performance in

heritage language but also in English, whereas children whose parents had limited social capital had more difficulty learning not only heritage language but also English.

APPENDIX

Sample Interview Questions

The interview used the following questions as a guide, but was not limited by a "fixed question, open response" format, which limits the depth of information that the subject can provide (Weiss 1994).

1. What are your goals with respect to your children's language learning?
2. Tell me about your child's language learning.
3. Describe your identity and the identity of your children.
4. Describe your childhood experiences with language learning
5. What strategies to you use to implement your goals with respect to your children's language learning?
6. Do you read for your children? What language you use? What language of materials you use?
7. Describe your children's peers and what their language environment is.
8. Can you describe your home environment and how it relates to language learning?
9. How do you use high technology to teach language?

REFERENCES

- Baker, C. (1995). *A parents' and teachers' guide to bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual.
- Bodrova, E., & Leong, D. J. (1996). *Tools of the Mind*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bourdieu, P. (1997). The forms of capital. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, & A. Stuart- Wells (Eds.), *Education: Culture, economy and society* (pp. 46-58). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brecht, R. D., & Ingold, C. W. (1998). *Tapping a national resource: Heritage languages in the United States*. Washington DC: National Foreign Language Center Occasional Paper (NFLC).
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Chao, R. K. (1992). *Immigrant Chinese mothers and European-American mothers: Their aims of control & other child rearing aspects related to school achievement*. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles.
- Chao, T. H. (1996). *Chinese Heritage Community Language Schools in the United States*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED409744)
- Chen, Y. J. (2006). *Balancing Goals and Emotional Responses to Learning Chinese as a Heritage Language*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Chiang, M. H. (2000). *A study of the Chinese language school and the maintenance of ethnic language in the second-generation, American-born Chinese*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Cho, G. (2000). The role of heritage language in social interactions and relationships: Reflections from a language minority group. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24, 369-384.
- Cho, G., & Krashen, S. (1998). The Negative Consequences of Heritage Language Loss and Why we should Care. In S. Krashen, L. Tse, & J. McQuillan (Eds.), *Heritage Language Development* (pp. 31-40). Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 94(Suppl.), 95-120.
- Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Coleman, J. S. (1997). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, & A. Stuart-Wells (Eds.), *Education: Culture, economy and society* (pp. 81-95). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cummins, J. (1979). *Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children*. Los Angeles: California State University, National Dissemination and Assessment Center.
- DeFrancis, J. (1984). *The Chinese language: fact and fantasy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- DeHouwer, A. (1999). Environmental factors in early bilingual development: the role of parental beliefs and attitudes. In G. Extra & L. Vehoeven (Eds.), *Bilingualism and Migration: Studies on language acquisition* (pp. 75-95). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dopke, S. (1992). *One parent, one language: An interactional approach*. Philadelphia: John Benjamin's.
- Erlandson, D., E. Harris, et al. (1993). *Doing Naturalistic Inquiry: A Guide to Methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Fillmore, L. W. (1991). Language and cultural issues in the early education of language minority children. *Yearbook (National Society for the Study of Education)*, 90(Pt. 1).
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual matters.
- Fishman, J. A., & J. E. Hofman (1996). Mother tongue and nativity in the American population. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States* (pp. 34-50). The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co.
- Gambhir, S. (2001). Truly less commonly Taught Languages and Heritage language learners in the United States. In J. Peyton, D. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage Languages in America: Preserving a national resources* (pp. 207-228). McHenry, IL: Delta System Co., Inc.
- Gardner, R., & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Heylen, A. (2005). The legacy of literacy practices in Colonial Taiwan. Japanese-Taiwanese-Chinese: Language interaction and identity formation. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 26(6), 496-511.
- Hinton, L. (1999). *Involuntary Language Loss among Immigrants: Asian-American Linguistics Autobiographies*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on

- Languages and Linguistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED436982)
- Ho, S. (1999). *Parental involvement in children's education: The contributions of cultural and social capital*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. EJ617084)
- Kim, Y. (1992). The role of attitudes and motivation in learning a heritage language: A study of Korean language maintenance in Toronto (Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1992). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 54. 1708.
- Kondo, K. (1998). Social-psychological factors affecting language maintenance: Interviews with Shin Nisei university students in Hawaii. *Linguistics and Education* 9(4), 369-408.
- Krashen, S. (1998). Heritage language development: Some Practical Arguments. In S. Krashen, L. Tse & J. McQuillan (Eds.), *Heritage language development* (pp. 3-13). Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Krashen, S., & Terrell, T. (2000). *The Natural approach: language acquisition in the classroom*. Essex, England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Lambert, W. E. (1975). Culture and language as Factors in Learning and Education. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), *Education of Immigrant Students* (pp. 55-83). Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Lee, J. S. (2002). The Korean language in America: The role of cultural identity in heritage language learning. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 15, 117-133.
- Li, M. (2005). The role of parents in Chinese heritage-language schools. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29, 197-207.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- Matthews, S. (1997). Development and Spread of Languages. In B. Comrie, S. Matthews & M. Plinsky (Eds.), *The Atlas of Languages: The Origin and Development of Languages Throughout the World* (pp. 16-35). New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Portes, A., & Rumbault, R. G. (1990). *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rogoff, B., J. Mistry, J., Goncu, A., & Mosier, C. (1993). Guided Participation in cultural activity by Toddlers and Caregivers. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 58(8, Serial No. 236).

- Ruethling, G. (2005). Class in Chinese grow as the wave of popularity. *The New York Times*. Retrieved October 15, 2005, from <http://www.nytimes.com/>
- Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Sénéchal, M., & LeFevre, J. (2002). Parental involvement in the development of children's reading skill: A five-year longitudinal study. *Child Development*, 73(2), 445-460.
- Siegel, I. (Ed.). (1985). *Parental belief systems. The psychological consequences for children*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Slegers, B. (1997, April). *Brain development and its relationship to early childhood education*. Paper presented at EDEL seminar in elementary education, Long Beach, CA.
- St. Clair, R. Reading, Writing, and Relationships: Human and Social Capital in Family Literacy Programs. (2008). *Adult Basic Education and Literacy*, 2(2), 84-93.
- Suarez-Orozco, M., & Suarez-Orozco, C. (2000). Some Conceptual Considerations in the Interdisciplinary Study of Immigrant Children. In E. Trueba & L. Bartolome (Eds.), *In Immigrant Voices: In Search of Educational Equity* (pp. 17-35). Bartolome, New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Inc.
- Trueba, H. (1993). The relevance of theory on language and culture with pedagogical practices. In B. Merino, H. Trueba & F. Samaniego (Eds.), *Language and Culture in Learning* (p. 259). Washington, DC: Falmer Press.
- Tse, L. (1998). Ethnic identity formation and its implications for heritage language development. Heritage language development. S. Krashen, L. Tse and J. McQuillan. Culver City, CA, Language Education Associates: 15-30.
- Tse, L. (2001a). Resisting and reversing language shift: Language resilience among U.S. native biliterates. *Harvard Educational Review* 71(4), 676-708.
- Tse, L. (2001b). *Why don't they learn English?: Separating Fact from Fallacy in the U.S. Language Debate*. New York: Columbia University, Teacher College.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Census 2000 Demographic Profile Highlights: Austin city, Texas: Selected Population Group: Chinese alone or in any combination*. Retrieved May 2, 2009, from <http://factfinder.census.gov/>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2003). *Language Use and English Speaking Ability: 2000*. Retrieved May 2, 2009, from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/c2kbr-29.pdf>
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S. - Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany: State University of New York.
- Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in Society: The development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Vygotsky, L. (1986). *Thought and Language*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT press.
- Vygotsky, L. (1991). Genesis of the higher mental functions. In P. Light, S. Sheldon & M. Woodhead (Eds.), *Child development in social context 2: Learning to think* (pp. 32-41). New York: The Open University.
- Vygotsky, L. (1994). The problem of the environment. In R. V. Veer & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Vygotsky Reader* (pp. 338-354). Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (1989). Teachability and second language acquisition. In M. L. Rice & R. L. Schiefelbusch (Eds.), *The Teachability of language* (pp. 311-331). Baltimore: Brookes.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6, 323-346.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (2000). Loss of Family Languages: Should Educators Be Concerned? *Theory into Practice* 39(4), 203-210.
- Wood, D., Bruner, J., & Ross, G. (1976). The role of tutoring in problem solving. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, 17, 89-100.
- Zhang, K. & Hao X. (1999). The internet and the ethnic press: A study of Electronic Chinese Publications. *The Information Society*, 15, 21-30.
- Zhou, M. (2000). Social capital in Chinatown: The role of community-based organization and families in the adaptation of the younger generation. In M. Zhou & J. V. Gatewood (Eds.), *Contemporary Asian America: A multidisciplinary reader* (pp. 315-335). New York: New York University Press.
- Zhou, M., & Cai, G. (2002). Chinese Language Media in the United States: Immigration and Assimilation in American Life. *Qualitative Sociology*, 25(3), 419-440.
- Zhou, M., & Kim, S. S. (2006). Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76(1), 1-29.

VITA

Su-Chen Liao was born in Tainan, Taiwan, ROC on January 13, 1965, the daughter of Chuan-Long Liao and Chu-Feng Yen. In 1980, she entered National Tainan University in Tainan, Taiwan. She received an associate degree and a teaching certificate for elementary school in June 1985. She was employed as a fifth and sixth grade teacher at Ba-Du Elementary School in Keelung, Taiwan for three years. In September 1990, she entered the Graduate School of the Chinese Culture University and earned the degree of Master of Science in Child Welfare in June 1993. During the following two years she was employed as a science teacher at Yang Ming Shan Elementary School in Taipei, Taiwan. In January 1996, she entered the Graduate Program of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Texas at Austin for her doctoral study specializing in Early Childhood Education.

Permanent address: 10800 Redgate Lane, Austin, Texas 78739, USA

This dissertation was typed by the author.