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Teachers' Perspectives on Chinese Culture Integration and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Teaching Chinese as a Heritage Language: A Multiple-Case Study

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. My parents, 吳國欽 and 劉香梅. My twin sister, 吳彩帆, and my younger brother, 吳宗倫.

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Teachers' Perspectives on Chinese Culture Integration and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Teaching Chinese as a Heritage Language: A Multiple-Case Study

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This multiple-case study investigated six teachers' perspectives on their teaching practices and cultural integration in a Chinese heritage language school. This research also explored how the teachers' instructional practices were linked to Ladson-Billings' theories on culturally relevant pedagogy (1994). Qualitative in nature, multiple data sources were included, such as semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, and teachers' artifacts. Data analysis included both within- and cross-case analysis. Within-case analysis showed that each teacher had her particular method of fostering students' language learning. They also had unique ways of teaching Chinese culture; one held that culture is embedded in literature, another held that culture is the daily life of a group of people, another held that culture is gained through reading, a fourth held that culture is transmitted from one generation to the next, another held that culture is analyzed in relation to other cultures, and, finally, one teacher perceived that culture is hybrid and multifaceted.

Based on the central tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy, four themes emerged from the cross-case analysis: (a) motivational and skill-building strategies to promote academic success, (b) individual, plural, and progressive ways to integrate and reconceptualize Chinese culture, (c) rebalancing authority to share power with students, and (d) culture identity development to enhance self-empowerment. Despite the link between the current study and Ladson-Billings' theory, differences were found. For example, the Chinese teachers viewed heritage language learning as a way to help students connect their family members rather than to become active agents in the larger society. Besides cultural facts, the teachers incorporated cultural virtues and cultural reconceptualization. Instead of focusing on questioning inequities, the teachers encouraged students to build harmonious relationship with other ethnic groups.

As the existing studies emphasized minority education for Mexican and African American students, the present study shed new light on language and culture instruction for Chinese Americans. This study suggests four implications: (a) developing heritage language teachers' professional knowledge about implementing a "student-centered" approach, (b) enhancing heritage language teachers' critical cultural awareness, (c) investigating heritage language teaching from diverse sociocultural backgrounds, and (d) introducing the theory of culturally relevant pedagogy in heritage language education.

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Chapter I: Introduction

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The number of students coming from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in educational institutions is rapidly increasing. According to U.S. Census Data in 2004, there are more than 30 million residents who speak foreign languages other than English at home. Specifically, Chinese is the second most commonly spoken language in the United States, after Spanish. After immigrant families arrive in the United States, most first generations remain proficient in their native languages. However, when the children of these immigrants go to school, English language proficiency becomes essential to enable them and succeeding generations to achieve a better intellectual and social condition. When they hear the higher status language, English, on the screen, in the street, and at school, minority students quickly learn that English has more power than and is preferred over their native languages. Researchers have argued that limited opportunities to speak and use native languages might lead to language loss (Crawford, 1996; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Chinese Americans follow the same linguistic pattern as do other immigrants. In fact, second-generation Chinese Americans are well-known, if not "notorious," for their rapidly acquiring English in order to assimilate to American life (Pak, 2005). The relationship between language loss and Americanization has prompted an awareness of the importance of maintaining heritage language for educators in the broader context of foreign language teaching (Brecht & Ingold, 2002; Krashen, Tse, & McQuillan, 1998; Valdés, 2000). Valdés (2001) argued that heritage language development helps students

strengthen their ethnic identity and connect to their ethnic groups. In recent years, to maintain heritage languages and cultures, various types of heritage language schools have been established by various ethnic groups, who have created after school or Sunday school language and culture programs (He & Xiao, 2008). In the United States, Texas has the third-largest Chinese population, after California and New York. According to data from the Culture Division Taipei Economic and Culture office in Houston as of 2009, there were 40 Taiwanese-led Chinese heritage language schools in Texas. Of these schools, 17 are in Houston, 12 in Dallas, 5 in Austin, 2 in San Antonio, and one each in Port Lavaca, El Paso, College Station, and Beaumont. These schools are all operated as non-profit organizations, and seek to maintain the Chinese culture and language among Chinese Americans. Their existence reveals that language loyalty is associated with feelings that one's language is threatened or dominated (Li, 1995).

In heritage language schools, students learn not only through textbooks but also through literacy activities created by teachers. Heritage language teachers' perspectives toward students and teaching are important since what teachers think, perceive, and say might empower or disempower minority students (Nel, 1992). A substantial number of researchers have advocated that, to empower minority students, one must employ appropriate instructional practices to ensure that minority students receive a high quality and equitable education (Au & Kawakami, 1994; Gay, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Specifically, the notion of culturally relevant pedagogy proposed by Ladson-Billings (1994) aims to develop minority students' academic achievement and to enable them to construct a cultural identity that includes their languages and cultures. According to

Ladson-Billings (1994, 1995a, 1995b), culturally relevant pedagogy refers to classroom practices, behaviors, and structures that recognize, affirm, and value the cultural experience of students. Culturally relevant pedagogy also capitalizes on the knowledge that students bring to school and connects their existing knowledge to curriculum. Teachers who implement culturally relevant pedagogy emphasize students' academic achievement and construct caring relationships with students.

Language is a central vehicle for both transmitting and creating culture, and is a significant feature of cultural identity in its own right (Byram, 1989; Kramsch, 1993). In addition, students' native languages or bilingual abilities are "a substantive part of a well-functioning social network in which knowledge is embedded" (Garcia, 1995, p. 383). Research on teachers' thinking has focused on the relationship between teachers' thought processes and actions. Recognizing that teachers' perspectives influence their classroom behaviors (Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984), it is essential to explore teachers' perceptions and uses of language as one way to unpack what the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy might mean in the heritage language school.

STATEMENT OF THE PURPOSE

This dissertation is motivated by matters of the heart. The motivation to choose this topic arises from a deep concern with the sociocultural, cognitive-linguistic, and critical perspectives that might involve heritage language teaching. In 2005, my first year teaching in a Chinese heritage language school, I learned that the instructional strategies used in Taiwan could not be fully applied here. In addition, Chinese American students were very different from students in Taiwan. What they know about Chinese culture and

their cultural identity is deeply influenced by the receipt of cultural knowledge and experience in the United States.

Most of my students live with parents who speak Mandarin to them at home. However, English is still the students' primary language for daily communication with others in American schools and even in the Chinese school. Thus, the priority in teaching Chinese is not to focus on their academic achievement but to motivate them to speak Mandarin. Teaching students to read and write Chinese correctly is not an easy job, because Chinese characters are difficult to learn, requiring more memorization than languages rely on an alphabet. As a lot of Chinese words, phrases, or idioms cannot be directly translated into English, teachers use various strategies to help students understand them.

As a heritage Chinese speaker and teacher, I am also curious about how students perceive Chinese culture and develop their cultural identities. I remember an interesting discussion during one of my Chinese classes in which I asked students about their ethnicities. Most students, especially the younger ones, considered themselves ethnically Americans since they were born in the United States. Some of the older students had begun to develop more cultural awareness and experienced a dilemma in trying to choose between an American and a Chinese American identity. Students' choosing to identify as "being Americans" startled me since I assumed that students would consider themselves as Chinese Americans.

In heritage language classes, students are particularly involved in discussing Chinese culture when I provide related literacy materials. For them, Chinese culture is

appealing since learning about Chinese culture fills a need for them that US schools cannot. Thus, the classroom discourse is dynamic, as students share their experiences with one another. However, Chinese American students encounter many challenges developing their language skills and knowledge of Chinese culture because there are limited learning resources and a dearth of Chinese schools here. As a Chinese heritage language teacher, the longer I teach in the Chinese school, the more I realize I have a sense of mission and responsibility to preserve Chinese cultural knowledge and values for subsequent generations in the United States.

This dissertation is also informed by academic questions. In the pilot study that I conducted with three teachers in the spring of 2009, I found that two of the teachers viewed Chinese culture as essential to language teaching. According to these two teachers, they integrated Chinese culture by introducing Chinese holidays or providing supplemental literacy materials. However, one of the teachers did not believe it was necessity to make a language and culture connection. The results from my pilot study prompted my interest in further understanding more Chinese heritage language teachers' thought processes and their practices. Thus, this dissertation aims to explore how teachers describe their teaching methods and investigate the connection between language and culture. More importantly, through the observation of Chinese heritage language school classrooms, this study seeks to understand the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy as implemented in the Chinese heritage language school.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

This study builds on sociocultural theory and critical pedagogy as theoretical frameworks to guide inquiry. The concept of sociocultural theory provides insight into how social, cultural, and historical contexts interactively influence language teaching and learning. This study also relies on critical pedagogy to examine the power relationship between teachers and students in classrooms, and to further understand the empowerment of heritage language education in the larger society of the United States.

Sociocultural Theory--Heath, Vygotsky

Sociocultural theorists argued that child development involves the transformation of participation in cultural activities (Bronfenbrenners 1979; Rogoff, 2003). On the topic of language and literacy development, all children in a literate society have numerous experiences of language and literacy within their cultures (Harste, Wood-ward, & Burke, 1984; Heath, 1983). For example, in her book *Ways with Words*: *Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms,* Shirley Brice Heath provided an in-depth overview of how cultural norms, community, and parents interactively shape literacy events and literacy development in children in the two working-class populations of two towns (Roadville and Trackton). Children in Roadville tended to be more involved in receiving didactic direction and formal instructions from parents, whereas children in Trackton acted as active agents to learn with community members. Heath's study explicitly showed the influence of sociocultural environment on language learning and literacy development in children.

Vygotsky (1987) focused on the relationship between thought and language development. From his perspective, language is not merely an expression of knowledge but also becomes essential in forming thought and determining personal features. He argued that children develop their language and literacy abilities through social interaction with others and exploration of cultural artifacts. Further, the learning process often involves being mentored by knowledgeable adults in order to reach the zone of proximal development. As described by Vygotsky (1987), the zone refers to the "difference between the child's actual level of development and the level of performance that he or she achieves in collaboration with the adult" (p. 209). In school settings, sociocultural studies focus on the teachers' roles in mediating learning and on the dynamics of classroom instruction (Moll, 1990). Thus, learning is viewed as a process of inquiry, which indicates that meaning is constructed through the process of articulating ideas.

In addition to looking at how cultures shape language and literacy norms, sociocultural theory also emphasizes the cultural knowledge, values, and behaviors embedded in literacy practices. The individual's literacy performance expresses the literacy practices of various social groups and identifies the individual as a member. To capture the notion of literacy practices and cultural memberships, Gee (2008) indicated that Discourse includes more than issues of syntax, phonology, and vocabulary; it also incorporates beliefs, values, and social practices through which members of a speech community constitute their identities. Within schools, classrooms are speech communities in which Discourse and identity are intertwined.

The increasing numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse students in schools prompt one to ask how teachers can respond to the challenges presented by sociocultural diversity to provide a literacy learning environment that is effective for minority students (Luke, 2000). Researchers have argued that instructional practices should build on cultural modeling derived from students' funds of knowledge and cultural experiences (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). Taken together, sociocultural theory in literacy teaching and learning rejects the notion of decontextualized linguistic skills and instead focuses on literacy development that is constructed through cooperative activity and inquiry. In this view, teachers are experts who use students' community-based knowledge as the foundation for literacy instruction. In addition, classroom instruction focuses on students' authentic literacy practices related to their cultural experiences (Lee & Samgorinsky, 2000). Drawing on the above concepts, this study focused on how Chinese heritage language teachers help students develop language and literacy abilities and integrate Chinese cultural knowledge and values into literacy practices.

Critical Pedagogy--Dewey, Freire

Critical pedagogy emphasizes the empowerment of minority students and the involvement of inquiry and transformation in the educational process. Dewey is the first scholar who proposes progressive education and integrates the notion of democracy into education. According to Dewey (1916), the essence of democracy is inclusiveness--everyone is recognized, utilized, and rewarded, both as an individual and as a member of the whole. His vision of democracy welcomes plurality and diversity and rejects barriers that exclude and divide. Further, the democratic society in the classroom is built upon

communication, participation, and association. By interacting with the others and their environments, students freely express their perspectives on the practice of constructing knowledge. Dewey also views students as active agents in directing their own learning, emphasizing how individual thinking might be embedded within social history. Through individual inquiry, one can reconstruct community and social history with reflections and actions.

Consistent with Dewey's perspectives, Paulo Freire has been the most widely recognized theorist and educator in critical pedagogy. Freire supports the critical consciousness of the oppressed in an effort to achieve social justice through subjective equality. In his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, he argued that a critical, multicultural democracy should be the driving force in the struggle for freedom. For Freire, conscientization, praxis, and dialogue are central to such a struggle. In making his case, Freire rejects banking concept of education; instead, he views education as act of praxis and transformation. Freire's problem-posing education indicates that individuals develop their power to critically perceive the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world as a reality in process, in transformation (Freire, 2003, p. 65). Accordingly, in problem-posing education, learning builds upon the dialogue between teachers and students. Both teachers and students become subjects of the educational process by overcoming authoritarianism and constructing knowledge.

Freire's (1987) concept of "reading the world and the word" deeply investigates the connection between literacy development and sociocultural practices. While Freire's works focus on how literacy empowers Latino students, this concept can also be applied

in the Chinese heritage language learning context. According to Freire, culture is the way in which "the people understand and express their world and how people understand themselves in their relation to their world" (p. 86). When teaching literacy, teachers have to focus on emancipatory literacy, which challenges them to view the world and the word critically. In this sense, reading the world and the word involves not only the complex learning of Chinese characters but also the students' embedded sociocultural and historical knowledge. This knowledge serves to support the performance of social activities that help transform cultures, social groups, and institutions. In addition, receiving cultural knowledge through textbooks and discourse enables students to develop a cultural identity and help them maintain cultural values.

Critical pedagogy theory enables the educational researchers and teachers to see the school not only as a site for instruction and socialization but also cultural terrain where students empower and transform themselves. Since my study particularly focuses on the Chinese community, the link critical pedagogy makes between culture and power is also essential. In addition to defining culture as a set of practices, ideologies, and values, we need to recognize how cultural questions help us understand who has power and how it is reproduced with the influence of the wider society (McLaren, 2003). Drawing on the above concepts, this study aimed to investigate how teachers viewed their work in the United States, coped with power relations in classrooms, and perceived the source of knowledge.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study was to conduct an in-depth investigation of the perspectives of five Chinese heritage language teachers, focusing on their descriptions of classroom pedagogy and their perceptions about the connection between language and culture. In addition, by interacting with teachers and observing their teaching, I aimed to explore the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy as it was implemented and constructed in a Chinese heritage language school. Therefore, the following questions guided this study:

1. How do teachers describe and conceptualize their classroom pedagogy?
2. How are teachers' perspectives on Chinese language and culture reflected in their teaching?
3. What is the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy in the Chinese heritage language school context?

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY DESIGN

Qualitative inquiry was utilized to deeply explore Chinese heritage language teachers' perspectives. Qualitative research seeks to gain insights about phenomena, such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions, that are not easy to evaluate through quantitative research (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In addition, since the researchers have direct contact with people and situation being examined, qualitative study helps build a holistic understanding of research contexts and participants (Patton, 1990). The case study approach is used to investigate the phenomenon of heritage language instruction in-depth and to investigate the real-life experience of teachers, who will be asked "how" and

"why" questions (Yin, 2003). As Smith (1978) and Stake (1995) pointed out, case studies focus on the integrated and bounded system and view each case as a single entity. Thus, the teachers in this study were bounded in two senses: as individual heritage language teachers and as a group of heritage language teachers. While case studies can be of a single-or multiple-case design, the multiple-case study was employed here to strengthen the results and increase the robustness of the theory by replicating patterns (Yin, 2003).

Case studies can be much more accurate and convincing if a greater number and variety of resources are involved in the data-collection process (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). In addition, cross-checking multiple data sources provides a multidimensional profile of activities in a particular setting. As Merriam (1998) suggested, one must check, verify, test, probe, and confirm collected data along the way. She argued that this process is funnel-like design, resulting in less data gathering in later phases of the study along with a congruent increase in analysis checking, verifying, and confirming. Thus, multiple data sources were collected in this study: semi-structured interviews, participant-observations, and artifacts from teachers.

Data analysis is an ongoing process, occurring both during and after data collection (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990). During the data analysis, transcriptions, field notes, and artifacts were compared and analyzed to identify the themes. Since this study focused on the characteristics of each teacher and the similarities among them, within- and cross-case analysis were employed.

SIGNITFICANT OF THE STUDY

This study made significant contributions to the field of heritage language education and to teacher education. First, this study called for public attention to the important of heritage language schools' roles in providing a space for minority students to maintain their languages and cultures in the United States. Second, choosing teachers as the focus opened a new avenue in heritage language research. Previous studies in the field of Chinese heritage language have investigated students' cultural identity and motivation to learn Chinese (Chen, 2006; He & Xiao, 2008; Lu & Li, 2008), parents' roles in or attitudes toward Chinese heritage language learning (Lao, 2004; Li, 2005) and textbook analysis (Curt-Christiansen, 2008); the findings of this study allowed teachers' voices to be heard and further communicated among the wider community of Chinese heritage language educators.

Third, this study helped me understand how the theory of culturally relevant pedagogy connected to the Chinese heritage language school context. Whereas earlier studies were designed to focus on culturally relevant pedagogy for African Americans (Howard, 2001, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994) or Mexican Americans (Gustein, Lipman, Hernandez, & de los Reyes, 1997), this dissertation was an initial step toward revealing the nature of Chinese heritage language teachers' instruction and its comparison with culturally relevant pedagogy. Finally, drawing on teachers' perspectives and practices, the study addressed the essential implication in future teacher education to emphasize professional development and pre-service and in-service programs for heritage language teachers.

SUMMARY

This chapter presents an introductory overview of the heritage language context in the United States. Drawing on sociocultural theory and critical pedagogy, this study examined heritage language teaching that involved interaction, communication, and transmission of knowledge about Chinese culture. Further, heritage language teaching was influenced by the power of language in the larger society. By investigating teachers' perspectives and observing their instruction, I hoped to uncover the connection between language and culture in Chinese heritage language classes and to empower minority teachers in the United States.

Chapter II: Review of Literature

The fields of heritage language schooling, teachers' perspectives, and conceptions of culturally relevant pedagogy are reviewed in this chapter to illustrate theoretical and empirical research related to this study. This chapter is divided into five sections: (a) heritage language education, (b) the Chinese heritage language contexts in the United States, (c) teachers' perspectives and practices, (d) culturally relevant pedagogy, and (e) language, culture, power, and education. This chapter ends with a summary discussing how this literature provides the structure for this study.

HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION

An enormous demographic shift drives the heritage language movement. Heritage groups, and their languages and cultures, are changing the United State's political, economic, and cultural life. As Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis (2001) pointed out, we may be approaching the time when everyone is a member of a minority, which indicates the meaninglessness of the label *minority*. In schools, while English-speaking students struggle to achieve basic proficiency in another language, heritage language students already have a level of proficiency in their home languages and an understanding of a corresponding culture (Carreira & Armengol, 2001). As students bring their languages and cultures into schools, legislation such as the Heritage Language Initiative (Brecht & Ingold, 1998) values these as resources to be preserved and developed, rather than as obstacles to be overcome.

Linguistic Minorities and Education

The number of people in the United States who speak a language other than

English increases daily. However, new immigrants, refugees, international students, and Native Americans have to learn English in order to succeed in "mainstream" U.S. society (Carrasquillo & Rodríguez, 2002). In the context of living in the United States, English is the language of power. "Deep values" within the society have rejected the idea of heritage language maintenance (Ricento, 1998). In the school context, the devaluing of heritage languages forces students to choose between academic failure (Valenzuela, 1999) and "Americanization" (Olsen, 1997). In addition, nonnative English speaking students are more likely to perform poorly and to drop out of the school system than are their English-speaking peers (Capps et al., 2006).

The choice between maintaining home languages and assimilating linguistically has been a dilemma for immigrant families for generations. According to Fishman (2001), language maintenance "depends in large part on the communities where the languages are spoken. The work of policymakers and educators will have little impact unless it is matched by the community's commitment to make the language a vital part of life" (p. 4). Luo and Wiseman (2000) suggested that heritage peers and parent-child cohesion are the most essential factors in determining heritage language retention. However, immigrant parents urge their children to accept English as their first language since English proficiency is recognized as an essential tool to achieving academic and social success (Shin, 2005). Although the majority of heritage children speak their parents' native languages in early childhood, English rapidly displaces it, causing loss of the language after they enter mainstream schools (Tse, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Wong Fillmore and her students documented the process in which diverse

minority groups learn at school lose their heritage languages (Wong Fillmore, 1991). The results showed that increased use of English in preschool programs caused a decrease use of the home language in all contexts. Parents in this studies expressed negative feelings regarding the assimilative forces separating them from their children. In recent years, Zhou and Bankston (2002) and Espiritu and Wolf (2001) found similar patterns in heritage language decline among Vietnamese and Filipino students. Tse (2001) further argued that language shift occurs not only from one generation to the next but also within individual, over his or her lifetime. For example, Chinese American students do not recognize Chinese as their first language, even though they are labeled as members of a heritage language group (Chang, 1995). The experience of language loss may have a great effect on the emotional, social, cognitive, and educational development of minority students and may likewise affect their families as they operate in the larger society (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

The First Heritage Language in America conference was held in California in 1999 to address the vital role of language maintenance. Organized by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC), and California State University-Long Beach, the conference addressed two major issues: (1) the formation of sound language policy for education, government, and the private sector, and (2) the promotion of positive attitudes toward language diversity, bilingualism, and the speaking of foreign and heritage languages. The conference also emphasized the need for educational institutions and community members to cooperate to provide better heritage language education. Generally, heritage language education "refers to the

education of language minority children through their minority or majority languages" (Baker, 1996, p. 185). Such programs stress the value of bilingualism and multilingualism for the individual and for the society as a whole (Cummins, 1996). Frequently cited examples include the use of and instruction in Maori in schools in New Zealand and aboriginal languages in Australia (Baker, 1996). The target group in heritage language instruction primarily refers to students who have learned the language as their home language or who have some heritage connection to the language (Cummins, 2005). Valdés (2005) proposed the term *L1/L2 user* to describe heritage students. The language proficiency of L1 or L2 would fluctuate from one linguistic, social, or psychological situation to another. Thus, heritage language educators might find varied levels of proficiency among their students (Kondo-Brown, 2003).

A substantial number of researchers have suggested the implementation of bilingual programs in preserving heritage languages and cultures (Cummins, 1983; Krashen, 1996; Valdés, 2001). However, besides programs incorporating Native American languages, most bilingual programs in the public school system are designed for Spanish-speaking Latino students (Wright, 2007). Among the few Chinese-English bilingual programs, for example, are K-5 programs in California, New Jersey, and Oregon; and dual-language programs for high school students in New York (Lao, 2004).

Krashen (1996) argued that in addition to providing bilingual programs, school must create heritage language contexts to accelerate students' heritage language learning. Heritage language educators need to build on the existing language strengths of students and provide further appropriate instruction. The new Standards for Foreign Language

Learning (National Standards for Foreign Language Learning Project, 1996) follow an approach suggested by Valdés (2001). The statement of philosophy from this project clearly states:

> Language and communication are at the heart of the human experience. The United States must educate students who are linguistically and culturally equipped to communicate successfully in a pluralistic American society and abroad. This imperative envisions a future in which ALL students will develop and maintain proficiency in English and at least one other language, modern or classical. Children who come to school from non-English backgrounds should also have opportunities to develop further proficiencies in their first language.

Based on the above statement, five goals are introduced as a framework for heritage language instruction, including the goals to (1) communicate in languages other than English, (2) gain knowledge and understanding of other cultures, (3) connect with other disciplines and acquire information, (4) develop insights into the nature of language and culture, and (5) participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world. By achieving these goals, students who receive heritage language education would communicate with others, explore other disciplines using the target language, and use the heritage language to participate in multilingual communities in this country and abroad. More importantly, through their study of their home language, students learn about their heritage culture and the nature of language.

Heritage Language and Heritage Language Learners

The notion of *heritage language* has existed for a long time under various names, such as *home language, mother tongue,* and *community language* (He & Xiao, 2008). The term heritage language emerged in 1977 with the inception of the Ontario Heritage Language Program in Canada (Cummins, 2005). Heritage language has recently been

used broadly in the United States by those who are committed to maintaining, preserving, and revitalizing their non-English language (Valdés, 2001). According to Cummins (1983), heritage language refers to the languages of immigrant, refugee, and indigenous groups. My study builds on the perspectives of Valdés (2001), who defined heritage language as all non-English languages spoken in the United States, including those spoken by Native American peoples.

Wiley (2001) pointed out that "the labels and definitions that we apply to heritage language learners are important, because they help to shape the status of the learners and the languages they are learning" (p. 35). Wiley further discussed the term *heritage language learners* in various contexts, such as educational programs and sociolinguistic situations from the perspectives of community needs. As this term is relatively new, there is some national debate regarding the definition. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Fishman (2001) emphasized the involvement of a historical and personal connection to a spoken language. For example, U.S. students of Armenian ancestry, who are concerned about strengthening and preserving the Armenian language in the United States, can be seen as heritage language speakers. Thus, one may regard one's ancestral language as a heritage language even if the learners themselves and the immediate family members hardly speak the language. Valdés (2000) focused on the maintenance of endangered indigenous and immigrant languages. In this case, the term refers to a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken and who speaks or at least understands the language, or who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English. Hornberger and Wang (2008) encompassed the group Fishman (2001) described

and the one Valdés (2000) described and further included individuals who identify themselves as heritage language learners. Drawing on ecological views, Hornberger and Wang identified heritage language learners as individuals who exert their agency through the act of determining if they are heritage language learners of specific languages, such as persons in multi-racial marriages, or children adopted from overseas.

In spite of the diverse definitions, heritage language learners share certain characteristics. First, they are bilingual and utilize at least parts of two language systems (Chevalier, 2004). Since these speakers may use two or more languages in order to meet their everyday communicative needs, Valdés and Figueroa (1994) identified them as *circumstantial bilinguals*. Second, unlike foreign-or second-language learning, heritage language learners are often motivated not only by pragmatic concerns but also by the intrinsic cultural, affective, and aesthetic values of the language (Wiley, 2001). Fishman (2001) claimed that heritage language learners are motivated by a particular "family relevance" when learning their home language. Accordingly, formal classrooms, homes, and communities are possible contexts for heritage language learning.

Heritage Language Instruction in Community-Based Schools in the United States

According to the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for English Language Arts and Reading standards, a student's native language serves as a foundation for English-language acquisition (http://www.tea.state.tx.us/rules/tac/chapter110/ch110a.html). A number of researchers have examined the linguistic and academic needs of language minority students and the importance of understanding their cultural and linguistic backgrounds in public school

contexts (August & Hakuta, 1997; Cummins, 2005; González & Darling-Hammond, 2000). Krashen, Tse, and McQuillan (1998) argued that the teacher's use of a student's native tongues provides them with knowledge and literacy. Garcia (2001) also suggested the language-as-resource approach (Ruiz, 1984), which is a responsive pedagogy for *all* students.

Since public schools mostly provide only English or Spanish bilingual programs, various minority groups have established schools outside of the public school system to preserve their languages and cultures. The classes are usually held after school or on the weekend (Draper & Hicks, 2000). Numerous scholars from China (Wang, 1996; He & Xiao, 2008), Korea (Shin, 2005), Japan (Kondo-Brown, 2005), and Russia (Kagan & Dillon, 2001), have begun to investigate the phenomenon from different perspectives. For example, Shibata (2000) and Siegel (2004) investigated the function of community language schools for Japanese. Shibata (2000) argued that community language schools become not only a place to learn the Japanese language but also a place where parents gather to pursue a common goal: to transmit their native language and culture to their children. The school also becomes a context for students to share their ethnic values and identity, and to make friendship. Similar to Shibata (2000), Siegel (2004) reported that heritage language schools provide a social network to keep the heritage language program going.

Hong (2005), in a mixed-method study, focused on how teachers and students conceptualized culture in their teaching and learning. Teachers in this study used music, movies, cultural projects, and Web activities to incorporate Korean culture into their

instruction. The results showed that cultural activities and the materials the teachers provided motivated students to learn the language. This study also found that teachers depended on intuition rather than institution to integrate Korean culture into their teaching. For example, teachers' selection of media depended very much on whether they liked it or not.

In lieu of weekend heritage language programs provided, McCarty (2002) examined indigenous-language programs in an American Indian Reservation community school that adheres to a typical public school schedule. The results showed that students in this immersion program made greater improvements than those who were not, shown by local and national achievement measures. The above research provides clear evidence to suggest the importance of connecting language and culture and involving of community members in facilitating students' learning in heritage language schools.

THE CHINESE HERITAGE LANGUAGE CONTEXT IN THE UNITED STATES

The population of Chinese heritage language speakers has been growing rapidly in the United States, totaling as many as 2.5 million persons in 2000, making it the largest Asian and the second-largest immigrant population after Mexican Americans (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2004). As China becomes an international power and a more important market, more public or private schools are offering Chinese language classes to both heritage language speakers and students of Chinese as a foreign language (He & Xiao, 2008). For example, the public school system in Portland Oregon, is experimenting with K-8 Chinese-English bilingual education. The National Security Education Program has established a Chinese flagship program at the University of Oregon, aiming to

collaborate with K-12 Chinese immersion and bilingual programs to foster superior-level Chinese proficiency among a future generation of professionals in business, science, law, and so forth.

The Diversity of Chinese Community

Chinese community members use language differently from one another, depending on when and why they immigrated to the United States. There were three major waves of immigrant in the Chinese community (Li, 2005). The initial wave occurred during the mid-19th century when Chinese laborers arrived. Most of these Chinese immigrants came from Guangdong, a province in southeastern China. They spoke Cantonese and used traditional Chinese characters. The second wave was mostly made up of Taiwanese professionals or anti-Communist elites in the mid-20th century. Following official oral and written forms of language in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China, they spoke Mandarin and wrote in traditional Chinese characters. In 1976, after the United States established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, the third and largest wave of immigrants arrived, coming from all socioeconomic groups in China (Chang, 2003). Most of them spoke Mandarin but used simplified Chinese characters, which were promoted by the Chinese government in the 1950s. The variety of spoken and written languages in the Chinese community influences the language use of Chinese language schools. Currently, Mandarin is taught in most Chinese language schools. Both traditional and simplified Chinese characters may be taught, depending on a given school's policy.

Chinese Heritage Language Schools: Background

Chinese immigrants have endeavored to preserve their language and culture for almost two centuries by establishing Chinese language schools. The first school dates to 1848 in San Francisco (Wang, 1996). Also as early as the 19th century, Cantonese classes were held for residents of Chinatown in large cities such as New York and San Francisco (Wang, 1996). The language schools proliferated with the rapid growth of the Chinese American population. According to Chao, Chen, and Chang (1996), one example of the dramatic growth in enrollment was the Berryessa Chinese School in San Francisco, which had 100 students in the 1970s. The Chinese heritage language students continue to swell; Wang (1996) reported, "There are 634 schools and 82,675 students enrolled in Chinese heritage language schools nationwide" by the mid-1990s (p. 3). Today, according to a 2005 Asia Society report, approximately 150,000 students were taking Chinese in community-based language schools across the United States as Chinese language schools have become an integral part of the Chinese community.

The most distinguishing characteristic of Chinese language schools is their being community-based institutions. Independent from the public school system, most Chinese language schools are non-profits operated by parents interested in maintaining the Chinese language and culture and passing it on to the next generation (Wang, 1996). Parents not only serve as volunteer administrative staffs but also decide the curriculum and set assessment standard. The classrooms in which Chinese is taught are usually rented from local public schools or churches on weekends or after school. In the early 1980s, studying Chinese became increasingly popular in universities and in the public

school system (Wang, 1996). However, the goals, curriculum, and make up of teachers and students there differ greatly from those of heritage language schools. Table 1 compares the public school system and the Chinese language school system.

	Public School System	Chinese Heritage Language School System
Goals	• Communication; emphasis on four skills • More than one language offered	• Preservation of language and culture; emphasis on literacy • One language offered primarily for heritage students
Teachers	• Full time/part time, paid • Professionally trained • Usually certified	• Usually parent volunteers, low pay • Limited training • Usually not certified
Administrators	• Paid career position	• Parent volunteers, no salary
Students	• Non-Chinese heritage & Chinese heritage students • Similar age • Students have a choice of a language • Usually start learning at older age than Chinese heritage language students	• Primarily Chinese heritage language students • Large range of ages in one class • Only Chinese is taught • Start learning in preschool age
Parents	• Limited role • Usually not speakers of the language taught • Of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds	• Active role • Usually speakers of the language taught • Of same cultural and linguistic background
Programs	• For credit • Part of curriculum; may be required by school district • English-speaking environment	• Not for credit • Extracurricular; not required by school district • Authentic linguistic and cultural environment of the language taught

Table 1: Two Systems of Chinese Language Instruction

Table 1. (continued)

	Public School System	Chinese Heritage Language School System
Schedule	• During regular school hours	• After school or on weekends
Teaching Methods	• Taught as foreign language	• Taught as both heritage language and second or foreign language, depending on students
Textbooks	• Typically not from home country • Targeted to English speakers	• Usually from home country • Targeted to native speakers
Teaching/ Assessment	• Affects GPA and graduation credit	• No effect on GPA or graduation credit
Resources	• Taxes • Free access to other school resources • Own building	• Donations, tuition, & funding from home country • No free access to other resources • No permanent space

McGinnis (2008) argued that Chinese language schools should be considered a "compass" when creating a Chinese AP curriculum, providing professional teaching programs, and promoting societal improvement. To foster the development of Chinese language schools, the formal U.S. educational system and society as a whole need to value the existence of heritage language schools. As McGinnis noted, more educators and the public should understand that "the failure to integrate heritage learners into the American educational system is a squandering of precious natural resources that may only serve to leave us in an isolationist position of no small potential peril, for ourselves, and the world " (McGinnis, 2008, p. 240).

Chinese Heritage Language Teachers

Chinese heritage language teachers have a wide variety of educational, socioeconomic, and professional backgrounds. According to data from the National Council of Associations of the Chinese Language Schools in 1995, approximately 80 percent of teachers had a bachelor's degree, and 20 percent held either a master's or doctorate degree. Seventy-five percent of these teachers majored in the sciences and 25 percent in the arts and humanities. These teachers typically had full-time jobs in addition to their teaching responsibilities. Although the numbers of language schools and students have increased, the majority of teachers was not language-teaching professionals and lacked formal educational training (Wang, 1996).

Despite the critical need to develop Chinese language teachers' professional knowledge, few studies have specifically focused on how teachers perceive themselves and their work. Liu (2006) surveyed 92 Chinese language teachers' about their perceptions of the quality of education provided by the Chinese language schools and what future improvements were needed. The results revealed that these Chinese language teachers expected to receive more appropriate teaching materials and they expressed an interest in earning teaching credentials specific to English-Chinese bilingual education. In addition, the teachers expected a future connection with the public education system to help them receive more teaching resources and improve the quality of instruction they delivered.

Chinese language teachers also have their particular ways of teaching language and interacting with students. In Curt-Christiansen's study (2006), teachers implemented

traditional teaching methods and authoritative discourse in literacy instruction, with the beliefs that they were transmitters of knowledge and that students need to respect their elders. Since classes generally followed the patterns of (1) word recognition, (2) sentence interpretation, and (3) paragraph reading, the learning process involved memorization and recitation. He (2000) reported that Chinese language teachers used more imperatives and IRE (Initiate-Response-Evaluate) patterns when interacting with students, using an instructional style involving closed-ended questions. These studies explicitly demonstrated that teachers' previous educational and developmental background in China or Taiwan likely influence their methods of heritage language instruction. The experiences and perspectives of teachers are often culturally specific and serve as references for them to mediate teaching and learning.

Chinese as a Heritage Language

Using "Chinese" as a label to refer to the heritage language is problematic since "Chinese" is an umbrella term that includes numerous dialects besides Mandarin, such as Min, Cantonese, and Hakka. Essentially, "Mandarin" is the majority dialect of China, and is associated with the speech of Beijing. Thus, Mandarin serves as the standard dialect and is the most commonly taught in Chinese language schools. In terms of writing, there are two variants: the simplified character, which is officially used in mainland China and Singapore, and the traditional script, which is used in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Chinese is based on an ideographic writing system, which are radically different from the alphabetic system used in English. Chinese is often viewed as an "isolating language," in which almost every syllable corresponds to a morpheme, represented by a

single graph called a *zi* (character) (Norman, 1988). The *zi*, usually considered a component of a logographic writing system, maps a printed character to a corresponding monosyllabic morpheme. Since this mapping reflects both a unit of pronunciation and a unit of meaning, Chinese can also be characterized as a morpho-syllabic writing system. The English writing system, however, follows the alphabetic principle--the written letters correspond to sounds or phonemes.

Learning Chinese as a heritage language refers not only to language acquisition but also to acquisition of one's heritage culture and to identity transformation (He, 2006). A growing number of studies have examined Chinese heritage language education from linguistic, psychological, and sociocultural perspectives. Dai and Zhang (2008) surveyed 80 Chinese heritage language college students to examine their experiences, desires, and struggles in Chinese language learning. The findings revealed that social context restricted their use of Chinese in the United States since Chinese could merely be spoken only with families, whereas English is used to communicate with most other people. These students also struggled with cultural identity development since they were viewed as Chinese in the United States and seen as Americans in China or Taiwan.

Lu and Li (2008) also surveyed Chinese heritage college students but emphasized the effect of motivation on their heritage language learning. In this study, the major motivation to learn Chinese correlated with individual intrinsic interests in Chinese culture and a desire to understand their cultural heritage. Further, getting a better job and requesting a higher salary were among their reasons for continuing Chinese language study. Chen (2006) interviewed 6th-8th grade students regarding their motivation to study

in Chinese schools. The results showed that besides personal goals, factors such as peer and family support and teachers' instructional methods determined students' willingness to go to Chinese language schools. As these studies suggest, while students have various opportunities to learn Chinese, the complexity of demographic, socio-psychological, and economic factors might influence their decision to pursue study.

TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES AND PRACTICES

In recent years, there has been a shift away from a perception of teachers as people who master a set of principles developed by experts and toward a view of teaching as a thinking activity and teachers as people who construct their own personal ways of teaching (Borg, 2003; Fang, 1996). Drawing on Schwab, Craig (2003) also argued the idea of teachers-as-curriculum-makers, indicating that "what teachers reflect on, build theories about, view as significant, negotiate meanings for, and act upon all necessarily inform their curricular exchanges with students" (p. 181). Accordingly, teachers' thoughts, judgments and decisions guide their classroom behaviors.

The notion of "voice" has been central to the development of research in teacher thinking. For example, Butt and Raymond (1987) wrote of "the expression of the teachers' perspectives and voices." Others are interested in "the teachers' points of view" (Clarkson & Peterson, 1986) or "the teachers' perspectives" (Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984). Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss (1961) defined perspectives as "a coordinated set of ideas and actions a person uses in dealing with some problematic situation." According to this definition, perspectives differ from attitudes in that they include actions and not merely dispositions to act. Also, unlike values, perspectives are specific to

situations and do not represent generalized beliefs.

In an earlier work, Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984) chose the term "teachers' perspectives" instead of "teachers' beliefs" because the former are "a reflective, socially defined interpretation of experience that serves as a basis for subsequent action…a combination of beliefs, intentions, interpretations, and behavior that interact continually" (p. 28). According to Tabachnick and Zeichner, teachers' perspectives include both teachers' beliefs about their work (goals, purposes, conceptions of children, curriculum), and the ways in which they give meaning to these beliefs by their behaviors in classrooms. Tabulawa (1998) suggested that teachers attach assumptions and meanings to their day-to-day classroom activities. These assumptions and meanings coalesce to constitute teachers' perspectives. Decuir-Gunby, Taliaferro, and Greenfield (2010) argued that teachers' perspectives not only contain the message they send to students but also influence students' academic performance and perceptions of themselves. By investigating teachers' perspectives, it helps teachers become reflective and active agents to challenge prior perceptions and incorporate new information in their teaching (Tabulawa, 1998).

To date, a growing number of qualitative studies (Anderson, 2008; Feuerverger, 1997; Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 2000) conducted in public or community-based schools have found that heritage language teachers demonstrated more cultural awareness and sense of mission in their teaching. However, these teachers often did not view themselves as "legitimate" teachers because they had no communication with mainstream teachers or no permanent classrooms. Teachers believed that pursuing a teaching

certificate and receiving professional training would help them feel more empowered and personally fulfilled.

The Relationship between Teachers' Perspectives and Practices

Teachers' perspectives and practices are inseparable. In fact, the implementation of classroom practices is influenced by teachers' perspectives on the nature of knowledge, the characteristics of students, and the goals of schooling and education. As Bartolomé (1994) pointed out, "Teaching strategies are neither designed nor implemented in a vacuum. Design, selection, and use of particular teaching approaches and strategies arise from perceptions about learning and learners" (p.180). Research has demonstrated that teachers use different instructional strategies when teaching students from different sociocultural backgrounds (Chang, 2008). Teachers' knowledge of subject matters also affects their instruction and further influences students' academic achievement (Hill, Rowan, & Ball, 2005).

Earlier research on teachers' thinking has acknowledged a consistent relationship between teachers' perspectives and their classroom practices (Elbaz, 1983). For example, Richardson (1994) suggested that teachers' adoption of new practices depends on the degree to which the assumptions inherent in an innovative practice are congruent with teachers' perspectives. Focusing on culture, language, and literacy education in recent research, Ozbarlas (2008) investigated two teachers' perspectives on multicultural education and their literacy practices. The findings showed that teachers' perspectives on culture were reflected in their teaching practices. The teacher who emphasized the notion of caring created a safe environment by celebrating everybody's culture through

multicultural literature. The teacher who focused on critical multicultural education encouraged students to speak critically and allowed students to challenge classmates' opinions. Students were also allowed to express what they felt about their cultural heritages.

Although consistency between teachers' perspectives and practices has been demonstrated in various studies, inconsistency also exists. Previous research has suggested that the complexities of classroom life can constrain teachers' implementation of particular practices (Duffy & Anderson, 1984). In recent research, Karathanos (2009) explored mainstream teachers' perspectives on integrating the native languages of minority students into their instruction. The results of questionnaires indicated that teachers who valued students' native languages showed stronger support for integrating those languages. However, there was an inconsistent relationship between the theoretical underpinnings teachers' beliefs and the teachers' actual practices. For example, while teachers agreed with the concept that developing literacy in native languages facilitates literacy development in English, they did not strongly reject the notion that students learned English better when placed in English-only classrooms. The above studies illustrate that the differences in the degree of consistency between teachers' perspectives and practices have multiple factors.

Individual, Sociocultural, and Institutional Factors Affecting Teachers' Perspectives and Practices

Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984) argued that the development of teachers' perspectives is a process involving individual, cultural, and institutional factors, in which

teachers act as socializing agents and students are socializees (LeVine, 1969). The cognitive activity of socializing agents, including their perspectives and values, importantly involves "preserving positively selected variants, and deliberating socialization acts toward duplicating them in the next generation" (LeVine, 1969, p. 513). That is, teachers' perspectives and values, as part of their cognitive activity, guide their socializing actions toward students.

At the individual level, instead of viewing teachers as socialized into a uniform "teacher culture," one can see that their characteristics, dispositions, and capabilities variously determine their perspectives. In addition, teachers' various experiences of culture and education also influence their perspectives and practices. As Berlak and Berlak (1981) noted, teachers "take some of the social attitudes, values, and beliefs of the multiple groups or communities to which they belong or with whom they come into contact over the course of their lifetimes" (p. 100). In the case of sociocultural differences, Menard-Warwick (2008) conducted a case study to examine two teachers' perspectives on the influence of transnational life experiences and development of intercultural competence on the teaching culture. Although both teachers self-identified as bicultural, they were observed to have somewhat different approaches to teaching cultural issues. The Brazilian American teacher emphasized subjective comparisons between various national cultures represented in her classroom, but the American teacher in Chile focused more on the cultural changes that she and her students had experienced as a result of globalization. This study revealed a connection between teachers' cultural identities and their pedagogies.

Li and Wilhelm (2008) examined the effect of teaching experience on teachers' decision-making processes in reading instruction. The findings showed that the less-experienced teacher was more aware of integrating theory into actual practice and taking a more learner-centered approach. The more experienced teacher was more concerned with testing outcomes and appeared to be much more comfortable with a teacher-directed approach. The researchers contended that teachers' classroom practices stemmed both from their earlier learning and from their teaching experiences.

At the institutional level, socializing process is related to school contexts, such as spatial arrangement of classes, modes of affiliation between schools, and authority relations of schools (Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984). Moreover, numerous studies have revealed the influence of economic and political factors on teachers' perspectives. Focusing on educational reform, Caballero (2008) investigated teachers' perspectives on challenges, constraints, and the possibility of language revitalization through language instruction. Teachers were aware of the limited time for teaching, exposure to languages, and educational training and institutional support. Nevertheless, teachers were still positive and expected to plan well-designed heritage programs in the future.

Skilton-Sylvester (2003) explored how teachers' perspectives and legal policies interactively influenced teachers' language use in a Khmer-English bilingual program. Insufficient funding was viewed as a challenge to keeping this bilingual program going. In addition, Khmer was a language with little instrumental value in the global economy. Thus, some teachers showed more interest in encouraging students to speak English than in providing opportunities for them to speak Khmer. The above studies demonstrate how

micro and macro language policies, along with economic values, are entangled to influence teachers' perspectives on language choice and teaching practices. Teachers' perspectives toward heritage language maintenance might either empower or constrain the development of heritage language programs.

CULTURALLY RELEVANT PEDAGOGY

Numerous scholars have suggested well-conceived arguments to improve pedagogy. Shulman (1987) presented pedagogy as consisting of subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and pedagogical content knowledge. Berliner (1988) doubted the ability of experts in pedagogy to relate their expertise to novice practitioners. Bartolomé (1994) discussed the "right" teaching strategy and argued for a humanizing pedagogy that respects and incorporates the reality, history, and perspectives of students as an integral part of educational practice.

To investigate how teaching can connect students' home and community cultures, Ladson-Billings (1994) proposed culturally relevant pedagogy for educators to improve minority students' social and academic achievement. Central to culturally relevant pedagogy is the belief that schools should empower (Ladson-Billings, 1995a), transform (Gay, 2000), and emancipate (Gay, 2000) minority students. Culturally relevant pedagogy also aims to transform deficit thinking toward minority students into the realization that these students are capable learners (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994). The goal, as described by Ladson-Billings (1994), is designed not only to fit the school culture to the students' cultures but also to use students' cultures as the basis for helping them understand themselves and others, structure social interactions, and conceptualize

knowledge. Guided by critical theory, the central purpose of this pedagogy is to prepare students for active participation in a more just and democratic society (Freire, 1985; Giroux, 1991). The purpose within this pedagogy is to empower the powerless and transform existing social inequalities and injustices (McLaren, 2003).

Teachers who implement culturally relevant pedagogy emphasize that knowledge is co-constructed and power is shared among teachers and students. This pedagogy involves three central tenets: academic success, cultural competence, and critical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b; Osborne, 1996). Following the work of Ladson-Billings, culturally responsive teaching is termed by Gay (2000) to be applicable to students from other minorities as well. Drawing from multicultural education and concepts of equity (Banks & Banks, 1995; Banks, 1999), culturally responsive teaching is designed to respond or react to minority students appropriately (Irvine & Armento, 2001). Thus, teaching should "use the cultural knowledge, prior experience, frames of reference and performances styles of ethnically diverse students" (Gay, 2000, p. 29).

Studies on cultural pedagogy tend to refer to either a culturally relevant or a culturally responsive approach. Although they have different philosophical bases, these two practices focus on many similar principles. Studies that use the term "relevant" focus on the importance of making teaching culturally relevant for students. Studies which choose "responsive" emphasize care and sensitivity to students' cultural diversity. Both these terms address the importance of self and others, social relations, and knowledge. In his literature review, Osborne (1996) acknowledged Ladson-Billings' definition of culturally relevant pedagogy but does not make a distinction between culturally relevant

and culturally responsive pedagogy. For the purpose of this study, I mainly draw from Ladson-Billings' (1994, 1995a, 1995b) for tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy and studies built upon this concept (Benson, 2003; Coffey, 2008; Foster, 1995; Hefflin, 2001; Howard, 2001, 2003; Osborne, 1996) since culturally relevant pedagogy focuses more on the cultural particularities of specific ethnic groups rather than cultural diversity and multicultural education.

Tenets of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

As Ladson-Billings (1995b) suggested, there are three central tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy: high academic expectations, cultural competence, and critical consciousness. Instead of viewing minority students as "others," culturally relevant pedagogy encourages teachers to challenge the nature of the student-teacher relationship, the curriculum, schooling, and society. The central tenets are illustrated as follows.

High Academic Expectations

Culturally relevant teaching requires that teachers attend to students' academic needs; that is, they should not merely make pupils "feel good" but should also teach students to "choose academic excellence" (Coffey, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1995b). Teachers who focus on high academic achievement are knowledgeable and have clear goals for student learning and achievement. These teachers do not rely solely on standardized tests to assess students but also strive to understand each student's progress and take individual differences into account (Ladson-Billings, 1995a). Research suggests that when students strive to meet teachers' expectations, they achieve more academically and become more confident (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). For

example, teachers in Howard's study (2001) employed skill-building strategies to help students understand "the what, when, how, and why" of specific rules for academic tasks. Starting with the belief that "all children can learn," teachers created a safe environment by encouraging students to take risks even though they might give incorrect answers. This practice created opportunities for students to demonstrate their academic strength and ultimately led to their academic success.

Osborne (1996) and Howard (2001) further suggested that an ethic of caring also facilitates students' academic achievement. An ethic of caring indicates not only take care of students' needs but also help students succeed (Collins, 1991). According to Gay (2000), teachers who genuinely care for their students expect the highest achievement from them, and there is no "option to fail." Thus, high expectations and standards are essential in the culturally relevant classroom.

Cultural Competence

The goal of culturally relevant teaching is not to have students acquire the norms of the dominant culture, but rather to help students develop a sense of cultural competence and foster a dynamic relationship between the home and school cultures (Ladson-Billings, 1995). To connect the home and school, teachers take action to bring students' cultural experience and funds of knowledge into classroom (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). This cultural knowledge incorporates a broad range of elements, including cultural or family ways of being, values, languages, and identities that are important in students' home lives. One powerful way to incorporate these is to invite parents and community members to participate in class. By sharing

traditional experience and stories relevant to students' cultures, the teacher and community members create authentic and meaningful learning. Research has suggested that when parents are involved in reinforcing what students learn at school, the students achieve higher grades, have a better attendance rate, and demonstrate positive attitudes and behaviors (Epstein, 2001; Henderson & Berla, 1994).

The development of cultural competence can also connect the curriculum or instruction to students' backgrounds, for example, providing literature that is consistent with students' lives and school-related experiences (Hefflin, 2001), using culturally compatible communication patterns (Foster, 1996; Howard, 2001), and allowing a collaborative work style (Benson, 2003). Ladson-Billings (1995b) argued that teachers themselves had to explore their own cultural identities through self-examination. Based on this concept, Howard (2003) advocated the importance of teachers' critically reflecting to develop cultural competence. Critical reflection is a process in which teachers examine how their cultural and racial position influences students. This reflective action enables teachers to avoid stereotypically profiling their students and help them enhance their own cultural awareness.

Critical Consciousness

"Critical consciousness" is a necessary step to help students challenge the status quo and the current social order (Ladson-Billings, 1995b). Despite various definitions of critical consciousness, the word "*conscientização*" can be traced back to the teachings and writings of Freire (2003). Ladson-Billings (1995a) stated that teachers not only encourage academic success and cultural competence but also help students recognize,

understand, and critique current social inequities. In literacy class, teachers seek to help students develop critical consciousness by implementing Critical Literacy strategies (Luke, 2000), inviting students to question and examine the power relations between writers and readers. During this process, teachers are no longer transferring knowledge to students. Instead, they value knowledge as continuously constructed with students through group discussion, inquiry-based assignments and cooperative activities (Hefflin, 2001; Howard, 2001). This problem-posing strategy leads students to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation (Freire, 2003). Furthermore, teachers and students collaboratively share power and learning opportunities.

Culturally relevant teachers also encourage students to view knowledge as an emancipatory process, which elicits more awareness regarding social justice, equality, and empowerment in society (McLaren, 2003). In addition to classroom learning, it is powerful for students to experience social justice by participating in real service to their community. For example, teachers in Howard's study (2001) engaged students to help socially and economically marginalized groups in their area. Topics related to public behavior and social equity is discussed through their visits. Ladson-Billings (1995a) concluded that the development of sociopolitical consciousness allows students to critique cultural norms and encourages them to fight oppression of themselves or other minorities.

Focusing on the link between culturally relevant pedagogy and heritage language education, Yu (2002) examined how teachers helped Chinese Americans construct their cultural identity through culturally relevant pedagogy. The findings suggested that

teachers not only provided culturally related literature but also integrated students' lived experiences, ethnic American history, and community resources. Yoneda (2009) described the difficulty of defining culturally relevant pedagogy in her class since she did not share a similar background with her Japanese Americans students. She concluded that literacy practices should be based on the educational background, cultural awareness, and academic needs of students. These studies illustrate the importance of understanding students' heritage cultures in order to create a meaningful learning context.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, POWER, AND EDUCATION

Language is more than a vehicle for communication. Languages express identity and contribute to the sum of human knowledge and culture (Baker, 2006). Language is also a medium for turning power into influence. More importantly, the creation of power and its maintenance or change can also occur through language (Reid & Ng, 1999).

Language and Culture

Literature on the relationship between language and culture primarily supports the belief that language and culture are inseparable (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1972; Trueba, 1993). That is, people use language to share in the experiences of a culture and depend on language to transmit a culture. Culture refers to a variety of conceptions with different definitions (Erickson, 2004). Earlier models (Nostrand, 1974) view culture as a static entity made up of accumulated, classifiable, and teachable and learnable "facts." This notion emphasizes surface-level behavior, but neglects the underlying value orientations, the variability of behavior within the target cultural community, the

participative role of the individual in the creation of culture, and the interaction of language and culture in the making of meaning (Moore, 1996).

For sociolinguistic scholars, culture is defined as a system of symbols, meanings, and norms passed from one generation to the next. This system has its own "speech communities," governed by cultural values and beliefs (Hymes, 1972; Savignon & Syosoyev, 2002). By using language, one can also conceive culture as a construction: it shapes our minds and we construct not only our worlds but the concepts of ourselves and our powers (Erickson, 2004). As Bandura (1986) pointed out, culture independently influences through either directly, through the socialization of individuals within a culture, or indirectly, through the learning of a language. In these respects, language is viewed as a complex system that reflects what meanings are attached to behaviors and how these meanings are expressed (Hinkel, 1999). Thus, culture associated with language learning cannot be merely limited to a few lessons about celebration, customs, or folk songs. Instead, culture encompasses shared patterns of behaviors and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding through a process of socialization (Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein, & Colby, 2003).

A body of research has examined the influence of sociocultural contexts on language learning. Through the investigation of communication patterns in Native American Reservations (Philips, 1972), literacy development and literacy practices in different cultural communities (Heath, 1983), and topic-centered or topic-associating narratives of African American children during sharing time (Michael, 1981), studies explicitly reveal that familial and cultural contexts shape various norms of discourse,

communication, and literacy events. Another finding of these studies is that there is a cultural clash between students and schools, which take two forms. First, when a significant discrepancy emerges between students' cultures and a school's culture, teachers might misread students' intents or abilities because they are not familiar with students' language use and interactional patterns. Second, when such cultural diversity is present, teachers may utilize styles of instruction that are different from students' community norms (Delpit, 1993).

As U.S. schools become more pluralistic, scholars have suggested that to stress and celebrate this diversity, instruction should incorporate and maintain students' languages and cultures (Au & Jordan, 1981; Garcia, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1994; McCarty, 2002; Nieto, 2001). Such instruction includes multiple learning and communication styles, recognizes levels of ethnic and cultural identity, understands various students' experiences, and helps students recognize themselves as capable learners (Villegas & Lucas, 2001). Focusing on literacy teaching and learning, Yau and Jiménez (2003) reported that heritage language teachers developed Asian American students' literacy by choosing culturally relevant and realistic children's literature, and engaging the students in a family-history project, bilingual book discussion, and character-map practice. The study showed that the mutual construction of meaning through two languages enhanced students' literacy abilities and cognitive skills. In addition, literacy materials and practices related to students' cultures helped enhance their self-understanding and cultural awareness.

A similar example can be found in the study undertaken by Moll, Sáez, and Dworin (2001), in which two Spanish-speaking students used both English and Spanish cultural resources (e.g. books, posters, parents) to develop their literacy competence in both languages. The authors specifically focused on student writing that incorporated their lived experiences, emotions, and ideas into the texts. The findings of the above studies demonstrate that meaningful practices connected to heritage language students' real lives enhance their engagement in and development of biliterate reading and writing skills. In addition, using both languages and reading literature close to their cultures facilitated a positive cultural identity in the students.

As Heath (1983) stated, research in language minority communities has expanded our understanding about "not only the structures of different languages, but also the variation of language socialization patterns and the wide range of language uses that different communities foster in their children's early learning" (p.145). Educators who have minority students in class have to connect two language systems and must explain and explore cultural values in collaboration with their students (Savignon & Syosoyev, 2002). More importantly, creating a learning space that respects students' affective, academic, social, and linguistic needs would strengthen their cultural identity and help them become life-long learners (Potowski & Carreira, 2004).

Language and Power

There is debate regarding whether a language has its own power or not. According to Corson (2001), language is essentially powerless on its own, because "it is people who have power to use language in various ways; it is people who give discourse

its form and make judgments about the status of various texts; and it is a situation in which people have power and are using language to serve some potent purpose" (p. 4). That is, the power of language is determined through human agencies, structures, and social institutions. As indicated previously, it is possible to integrate the languages and cultures of minority students into classroom; however, when looking at the macro-level, English proficiency is still highly emphasized and valued as a powerful language by school's educational policies (Corson, 2001; Cummins, 1996; Delpit, 2003; Soto, 2004; Wright, 2007). As Michael Apple (1982) argued, schools are middle institutions to reproduce mainstream privilege. Language is the vehicle for this routine activity of power distribution in education (Corson, 2001).

The social theories of Pierre Bourdieu (1981, 1984) help us understand the relationship among language, power, and education. Similar to Apple, Bourdieu saw schooling as a process of reproducing the dominant power structures. Bourdieu further proposed the concepts of "linguistic capital" and "linguistic market" to describe how individuals use language through in this reproducing process. Examining the link between education and the reproduction of power, Bourdieu concluded that there was no "democratic school." His "big discovery" was that rather than providing equal opportunities for all students, schools are cultural filters. Passing through this filter, students who are part of the dominant culture benefit from the school whereas those outside the dominant culture fail academically. Accordingly, language is the medium for this implicit "social selection."

Bourdieu argued that individuals possess linguistic capital and considered as the most important part of cultural heritage. For Bourdieu, linguistic capital referred not only to the production of grammatically well-formed expressions and forms of language but also to the ability to use linguistic norms and to produce the right expressions for a particular linguistic market. To express social processes, Bourdieu chose the word "market," which is defined as a "system of relations of force which determines the price of linguistic products and thus helps fashion linguistic production" (Wachquant, 1989, p. 47). Grenfell (2009) further argued that a linguistic market needs to be understood as a *field*, and if field relates to the objective conditions of social space, then habitus is an expression of subjectivity. If linguistic habitus is the subjective element of habitus connected with language use, a linguistic market represents its objective field relations. From this perspective, when a sociocultural group brings a form of linguistic capital that is not valued in the field, this disenfranchises them. To connect this notion to school contexts, when the linguistic capital of students from minority backgrounds is not valued as much as that of mainstream students, schools reproduce the social arrangements that favor only to some social groups.

Following Bourdieu, a number of scholars have noted the influence of power in education. Jim Cummins (1996) distinguished between collaborative and coercive power. According to Cummins, coercive power imposes oppression, abuse, inequity, and violations of human rights and freedoms, while collaborative power affords democratic expression, human rights, and freedom. Cummins proposed a framework of cultural and critical literacies to empower students. In this framework, cultural literacy uses literacy

materials relevant to the cultural backgrounds of students, and critical literacy helps students deconstruct and challenge inequity.

Lisa Delpit (1995) documented how the larger society negatively identifies black children and devalues the use of Black English. Delpit suggested the empowerment of "otherness" through the implementation of multicultural education in school reform. Lourdes Diaz Soto (1996) investigated power differentials between immigrant families and school districts. In her ethnographic study, she described how a school board and superintendent decided to close a 20-year-old bilingual program, disregarding the demonstrations, petitions, and oral statements from local Latino parents, students, and community members. These studies explicitly illustrate how political factors contribute to the oppression or empowerment of minority students.

In recent years, policymakers have continued to eliminate the maintenance of heritage languages from the curriculum by constructing English-only environments or legitimating educational policies (Cummins, 2005; Soto, Smrekar, Nekcovei, 1999). For example, California's Proposition 227 was designed to end bilingual programs by mandating that English-language learners be taught exclusively in English through "sheltered English immersion" classrooms (Crawford, 2000). Following the passage of Proposition 227, school districts required bilingual kindergarten classes to switch immediately to all-English instruction. Bilingual programs in grade 1 and higher were allowed to continue, but teachers were forced to decrease the use of students' native languages over the course of the year in order to prepare them for English-only contexts.

The situation worsened with the enactment of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

Act of 2001, which emphasized standardized tests and measurable goals. NCLB created difficulties for the development of heritage or foreign language learning since adequate yearly progress is typically assessed only in English (McCarty & Romero, 2005). According to Wright (2007), with the NCLB legislation in place, educational leaders in California and Arizona decided to close most bilingual programs in an effort to make English-only instruction a top priority. Unlike California and Arizona, in Texas, bilingual programs remain common throughout the state. Latino students still have the option to take the state test, the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS), in Spanish. However, the Spanish TAKS is available only in grades 3-6; after that, students must take the TAKS in English. Angela Valenzuela (2005) expressed her concerns regarding bilingual maintenance, stating:

> It is apparent that neither leadership nor policies at the federal level truly seek the betterment of the Latino community. If they did, the highly compatible and indeed, necessary goals of biliteracy, bilingualism, and high academic achievement would constitute an explicit focus. Instead, we witness a 180 degree turn away from the language rights of either indigenous or minority communities. This abandonment at the federal level is itself enshrined in the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA) where measuring each student's progress in learning English is its explicit focus. . . . With its near-exclusive focus on children's rapid acquisition of the English language, Latinos' rights to biliteracy in their own native, U.S. tongues are scarcely a blip on the OELA screen (Valenzuela & Jaramillo, 2005, p. 9).

Borrowing a metaphor from Bourdieu (1981), there are many linguistic markets where some people find their own language is not valued. They are either silent within those "markets" or else withdraw from them. Similarly, scholars use the term "culture of silence" (Freire, 1985) or "voiceless" (Giroux, 1991) to describe the literacy works of oppressed groups. Both teachers and policy makers need to put more emphasis on "appropriateness" rather than "correctness" in language use to value standard and non-

standard varieties in schools. As Delpit (1995) noted, teachers in the public school system have to support the languages that students bring into class, provide input from additional codes, and give students the opportunity to use the new codes in a nonthreatening and real communicative context. Hence, while speaking "standard English," the language associated with the power structure, is viewed as "educated," students should have space to access their heritage languages. Heritage language teachers have two missions: to maintain students' languages and to empower these students.

SUMMARY

This chapter discusses the history and current situation of the heritage language movement in the United States, using the Chinese heritage language schooling as an example. The study of the Chinese context demonstrates the interplay of the school and teachers' characteristics. Literature regarding teachers' perspectives and practices provides insight into the influence of individual, sociocultural, and political factors on teachers' instruction. The central tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy guide the research into how teachers construct pedagogy relevant to Chinese American students. Finally, the relationship among language, culture, and power is analyzed to address the maintenance of subordinate cultures and languages through heritage language schools.

Chapter III: Methodology

The research methodology for this dissertation was grounded in qualitative case study design. Interpretive in nature, this chapter begins with the rationale for choosing qualitative research and using the case study method. It is followed by the description of data collection procedure and data analysis approaches. The final section illustrates the methods used to establish the trustworthiness of this study.

RATIONALE FOR USING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

This study used qualitative research to explore Chinese heritage language teachers' descriptions of pedagogy and perspectives on the connection between teaching language alone and teaching it as part of culture. Drawing on Crotty's (2003) theoretical perspectives, this study was relied on interpretivism when analyzing the qualitative research, which involved explaining of relevant antecedent phenomena as meaning-complexes (Weber, 1962). Qualitative research emphasizes that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in their interaction with the world around them (Merriam, 2002). Qualitative research also has its own way of seeking knowledge and viewing the purpose of inquiry. The intent of the qualitative research is to investigate phenomena in a naturalistic context (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and to view individual participants as unique entities (Stake, 1995). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) further defined qualitative research:

> Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving in interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collections of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal

> experience, introspect, life story, interview, observation, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic and meaning in individuals' lives (p. 2).

Focusing on the phenomena constructed by participants' perspectives and experiences, the rationale for using qualitative research in this study was to uncover the *emic* views of studied individuals, groups, societies, and cultures (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Such an inquiry can adequately uncover nonmainstream lives or provide material for undertaking a criticism of Western culture (Marcus & Fischer, 1986). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), qualitative inquiry seeks to reflect a phenomenological perspective that people in particular situations construct events and interact with others. This perspective holds that people use multiple ways to interpret experience and construct realities (Bogden & Biklen, 1992). Because of the complexity of this perspective and experience, qualitative research is well suited to examining how Chinese heritage language teachers conceive their pedagogy and connect their perspectives to their practices. As Stake (1978) pointed out, qualitative research contains detail and insights into participants' experiences of the world, which elicits an in-depth and descriptive understanding.

To deeply explore teachers' personal perspectives about the relationship between language and culture and their experiences in heritage language teaching, this study included four aspects of qualitative research (Merriam, 1998): (a) the researcher aims at understanding the meaning people have constructed, (b) the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, (c) the study is conducted in a natural setting, and (d) the findings are composed in a descriptive and inductive way.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study was a qualitative case study. Erickson (1986) and Yin (1994) argued that case studies provide depth, insight, and perspectives that are useful in various contexts. Case study refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group. Rather than focusing on a universal and generalizable truth, case study researchers are interested in understanding the uniqueness of specific participants or contexts (Stake, 1995). According to Yin (2003), a case study seeks to "investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). Merriam (1998) similarly argued that a case study is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit. Therefore, the case study approach described by Yin and Merriam fits the intent of this study because it affords the researcher the chance to make an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon of heritage language instruction and an opportunity to investigate the real-life experiences of teachers with open-ended "how" and "why" questions (Yin, 2003).

An interpretive case study is also richly descriptive. The descriptive data are used to develop conceptual categories or to illustrate, support, or challenge the theoretical assumptions the researcher held before gathering the data (Merriam, 1998). Smith (1978) and Stake (1995) further claimed that case studies are "bounded" and "integrated" systems, which view a study as a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries. Drawing on this notion, teachers in this study were bounded in two senses: as individual heritage language teachers and as a group of heritage language teachers. To conduct a

case study, one must choose whether to use a single- or multiple-case study. Compared to a single-case study, the evidence from the multiple-case approach is considered more compelling and robust (Herriott & Firestone, 1983). Thus, a multiple-case study design was employed to investigate the multiple beliefs and perspectives of six Chinese heritage language teachers.

Each case differs, describing teacher's perspectives on the connection between language and culture in their practices. In addition, by investigating multiple cases, the goal is to understand the implementation model of culturally relevant pedagogy in the Chinese heritage language context. Drawing on the above notions, the case study method allows the researcher to appropriately investigate the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events regarding Chinese heritage language teachers and their teaching practices in the United States (Yin, 2003).

DATA COLLECTION

Overview

This study investigated six Chinese heritage language teachers' perspectives on their instruction and the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy in a Chinese heritage language school. During the summer in 2010, I conducted semi-structured interviews with each teacher to first understand their perspectives, ideas, and values about heritage language instruction, and secondly, to discover the connection between language and culture. As the Chinese school opens in fall semester 2010, participant-observation was employed to collect data about how teachers implemented Chinese lessons, connected Chinese culture and literacy learning, and built relationships with students. In addition,

teachers' artifacts such as lesson plans were included to analyze how teachers facilitated student literacy learning. As a means of strengthening the trustworthiness of this study, data from multiple sources was triangulated to aid interpretation through various perspectives.

Researcher's Positionality

In qualitative research inquiry, researchers must adopt the stance suggested by the naturalistic paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Banks (1998), researchers' life experience, values, and personal biography exercise a cogent influence on their research findings, questions, concepts, generalizations, and theories. Thus, it is essential for researchers to identify their roles and positionalities before entering the research site. Drawing on the typology of researchers as conceived by Banks (1998), the researcher served as an indigenous-insider in this study. The indigenous-insider endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge of his or her indigenous community and culture (Banks, 1998).

My four years of teaching in the Dragon Chinese School helped me build connections with teachers, staff, and administrators. Talking with teachers in and out of school also provided me with an opportunity to gain more insights about the faculty's perspectives and instructional practices. In addition, being raised and educated in Taiwan instilled in me values and knowledge similar to that shared by people in the Chinese heritage language community. My experience and biographical background have made me an insider. Furthermore, the pilot study that I conducted in 2009 also helped me gain more insights into teachers' professional identity and beliefs. When I described my

dissertation ideas to the principal and teachers, they were very supportive and interested in my topic. These experiences shed light on the early development of this study. Merton (1972) stated that both insider and outsider perspectives are needed in the "process of truth seeking." Therefore, I resigned from my teaching job at the Chinese school while collecting my dissertation data, so that I could observe teachers from an outsider's perspective.

Research Site

Data was collected at the Dragon Chinese School (pseudonym) in the 2010 school year. The Dragon Chinese School is a community-based learning institution situated in a city in Texas in the United States. Founded in 1974, this school is operated by volunteer Taiwanese parents, and enrolls students from pre-kindergarten through eighth grade. There are also advanced classes for students who with an interests in preparing for the Advanced Placement (AP) Chinese exam. The Dragon Chinese School's mission statement can be found at its Web site:

> Dragon Chinese School is a Texas registered non-profit Organization to provide opportunities for children and adults in our community to learn Chinese Language and culture. Dragon Chinese School does not discriminate on the basis of sex, nation origin, race, color or religion.

Because the school is a non-profit, the administrative staff is all parents who volunteer. Since the school does not have its own building, the classrooms are rented from a local middle school every Sunday afternoon. Teachers in the Dragon Chinese

School are not allowed to decorate the walls there or remove any items from the classroom.

Students in the Dragon Chinese School come from diverse backgrounds. The majority of students are second-or third- generation Taiwanese. However, there are also students whose parents came from other Asian countries, such as, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and Malaysia. The Dragon Chinese School is also seeing more Anglo or Latino origins lately. In order to meet students' needs, two different classes, a Chinese heritage language class and a Chinese as second language class (CSL) are offered from pre-kindergarten through third grade. Students are assigned to a class based on their Chinese proficiency levels and their parents' wishes.

All teachers are from Taiwan and have other jobs or attend graduate school during the week. Some of them are students' parents. Few of the teachers view teaching Chinese as a profession or a life-long goal since the Chinese school provides only part-time work, the turnover rate is pretty high. In addition, most teachers have not majored in education and have received only limited professional training. They rely primarily on previous experience and textbooks to design the curriculum. Consistent with language usage in Taiwan, teachers teach Mandarin and traditional Chinese characters. Besides language class, there are extra-curricular classes for adults and children, such as Chinese yo-yo, tai-chi, Chinese painting, and Chinese calligraphy.

The school also occasionally sponsors various activities and celebrations. For example, students enter reading and vocabulary contests each semester to practice their speaking and word-recognition ability. Teachers and parents are also invited to celebrate

Chinese New Year and other Chinese-related holidays in the school. There is a dynamic interaction among teachers, parents, and students. Thus, the Dragon Chinese School not only provides programs that teaches language and transmits culture but also serves as a space for its Chinese members to build a network.

Participants

Qualitative inquiry seeks to understand the meaning of a phenomenon from the perspectives of the participants; thus, it is essential to select a sample from which the participants can learn the most (Merriam, 2002). To construct purposeful sampling, researchers have to select "information-rich" cases to investigate the study in depth. For this study, six teachers from the Dragon Chinese School have been purposefully chosen, taking the teachers' backgrounds into consideration: their cultural and educational background, their motivation for teaching at the school, and their professional commitment to the program. The teachers chosen were raised and educated in Taiwan, taught Chinese as a heritage language rather than as a second language, and were willing to participate in this study. The six selected teachers have different years of teaching experience and taught at various grades levels in the Dragon Chinese School.

The six teachers invited to participate in this study were Mrs. Kim, Miss Lin, Mrs. Su, Mrs. Wang, Mrs. Lee, and Mrs. Chen (pseudonyms). Their age ranged from 27 to 50. All the teachers earned their high school diploma or bachelor's degree in Taiwan and had different majors. In addition to teaching in the Chinese school, some of teachers had other jobs during the week. Mrs. Kim earned her high school diploma in accounting in Taiwan. She had a job in a family owned restaurant in another city. Miss Lin was a graduate

student in the pursuit of her master's degree in music education at a public university. She received a teaching certification at the elementary level in Taiwan. Mrs. Su, a student's parent, earned her PhD degree in the United States in social work. She was a housewife to take care of her three children. Mrs. Wang pursued her doctoral degree in philosophy in a public university during the data collection. She married to a man from Mainland China. Mrs. Lee received a master's degree in instructional technology in the United States and accompanied her husband to pursue his doctoral degree. Finally, Mrs. Chen earned her bachelor degree in linguistic in the United States and was a housewife. Mrs. Chen had been the principle of the Dragon Chinese School and decided to teach a class from the 2010 fall semester. Table 2 summarizes the profiles of the six teachers, including their age, years of teaching, teaching grade level, class size, educational background, and occupation.

	Mrs. Kim	Miss Lin	Mrs. Su	Mrs. Wang	Mrs. Lee	Mrs. Chen
Age	50	27	33	31	33	48
Years of teaching	11	1	1	2	1	0
Teaching grade level	Pre-K	1st	4th	6th	8th	Ad
Class size	10	12	9	6	8	9
Educational background	High school	BA	PhD	MA	MA	MA
Occupation	Work	Student	No	Student	No	No

Table 2: Teachers' Profiles

DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION PROCEDURE

According to Patton (1990), researchers must seek and use multiple sources of information since no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective. Thus, I used the following sources to collect data: semi-structured interviews, participant-observations, and teachers' artifacts.

Interview

Interviews are essential to gaining insight into participants' perspectives in a case study (Yin, 2003). By interviewing participants, researchers learn information that cannot be directly observed, such as participants' feelings, thoughts, and intentions (Patton, 1990). I interviewed the teachers before the semester began to help me connect and compare the teachers' perspectives with later observations. Further, the interview data provided the information about similarities and differences among the teachers. I also interviewed each teacher after observations to clarify my question as emerged during observation. For the purpose of this study, I used semi-structured interviews approximately 90-120 minutes with each teacher.

In semi-structured interviews, I used guiding questions in order to make sure all topics related to this study were covered in the interviews. For example, I asked, "How do you involve Chinese culture in language teaching?" "What is the importance of the Chinese school and Chinese heritage language learning?" and "How do you make decisions about what you teach and how to teach? The interviews were conducted in Mandarin so that the teachers could best express their perspectives. All interviews were

audiotaped and those parts of the interviews related to the research questions were transcribed into English.

Participant-observation

After the interviews, I closely observed six teachers in their classrooms ten times while teaching during the semester. Participant-observation helped me establish an insider's identity without participating in class activities (Merriam, 1998). Before observing in each classroom, I reread the interview transcripts to refamiliarize myself with each teacher's perspective. Since I focused on how these teachers integrated Chinese culture into literacy instruction and constructed the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy, I looked for teachers' behaviors, interactions, and actions with students and literacy materials that might inform how culturally relevant pedagogy could be implemented in the classroom. As I observed each teacher, I took field notes to record how they interacted with and instructed students, and how they utilized literacy materials with students in the classroom. In addition to drawing on teachers' perspectives from interviews, I also relied on the central tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy to direct my observations of teachers' instructional practices. I primarily observed with an eye to identifying: (a) Chinese cultural values and knowledge, (b) relevant Chinese literacy materials, (c) interaction and communication styles, (d) language and literacy development, and (e) Chinese consciousness and identity construction. In addition, I sat in the back of the classroom without interacting with students or teachers unless teachers ask me to participate. I audio and videotaped all observations so that I could document teachers' speech and actions in more detail after class.

Artifacts

Artifacts here included a wide range of written, visual and physical materials relevant to the study at hand (Merriam, 1998). In this study, I collected teachers' artifacts in order to develop a holistic picture of teachers' perspectives. Teachers' artifacts included lesson plans and supplemental literacy materials designed by the teachers. These artifacts provided resources to help me understand what strategies or activities teachers used to develop students' literacy abilities.

DATA ANALYSIS

In qualitative research, data analysis occurs both during and after data collection (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990). The findings in a qualitative case study take the form of themes, categories, or theories that are inductively derived from the data (Merriam, 1998). Thus, the data analysis process consists of identifying, coding, and categorizing patterns. I used within- and cross-case analyses in order to understand each teacher and to investigate the similarities among them. Patton (1990) indicated that it is appropriate to begin with within-case analysis and then to compare and contrast them. The findings from each case analysis "allow the readers to understand the case as a unique, holistic entity and construct a comprehensive picture of a particular case" (p. 387). Different from within-case analysis, cross-case analysis looks for underlying similarities, compares cases, and begins to form more general explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I began with the within-case analysis to describe each teacher's perspectives on their instruction and the relationship between language and culture. I further used the cross-case analysis to identify the similarities among the teachers.

In this study, I mainly analyzed data by hand. Miles and Huberman (1994) argued that data analysis in an ongoing process that sorts, focuses, discards, and organizes data in such a way that "final" conclusions can be drawn and verified. To create initial codes in individual case analysis, I drew on conceptual framework and research questions to generate a provisional "start list" as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994). This start list contained numerous codes related to this study, for example, cultural integration or power relation. Various codes were marked in the margins when analyzing each interview data line by line. When the codes were refined and constructed, coherent codes were organized and developed into a specific category. As more related categories emerged, I started to think about which patterns of teachers' perspectives were connected to the research questions. Field notes were coded through a "contact summary sheet" (Miles & Huberman, 1994), focusing on the participants' verbal and nonverbal actions, literacy activities, related research questions, and my personal reflections. Examining these factors guided me in my next visit and helped with further data analysis. I analyzed field notes drawing from observations in order to find patterns in each teacher's instructional practices, teacher-student interactions, and integration of Chinese culture into their classroom actions. Finally, I included teachers' artifacts to triangulate the teachers' literacy practices that I observed in classes. In the final stage, I compared the transcriptions, field notes, and artifacts to construct themes for each teacher.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), by comparing sites or cases, the researcher can establish the range of generality of a finding or explanation. Thus, I employed a cross-case analysis based on the findings from each teacher. While the

individual analysis attempted to understand each teacher's characteristic, the goal of cross-analysis was to identify the similarities among the teachers, to help illuminate the most common perspectives among Chinese heritage language teachers, and to construct the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy in the Chinese heritage language school context.

TRUSTWORTHINESS

Compared to quantitative research, qualitative research does not rely on tests in constructing reliability and validity. Instead, the researcher is central to any measures of faithfulness of data to the respondents' experience (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Thus, the accuracy and rigor of qualitative research rests on the researcher's competent use of trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The criteria of trustworthiness included credibility, transferbility, dependability, and confirmability (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). For the purpose of this study, I employed the following approaches to build trustworthiness: member checking, peer debriefing, triangulation, and thick description.

Credibility

Credibility refers to how truth can be determined, communicated, detected, and corrected. Credibility is assessed by determining whether the description developed through inquiry "rings true" for people who involve in the research setting (Erlandson et al., 1993). In this study, the credibility incorporated member checking, peer debriefing, and triangulation.

Member checking provides an opportunity for participants to indicate whether the reconstructions of the inquirers are accurate (Erlandson et al., 1993). I employed member checking after tentative interpretation. Based on my interpretation, I took data back to participants, which allowed them to critically analyze the findings and build upon interpretation. In terms of peer debriefing, I invited a peer to review and assess transcripts, emerging categories from transcripts, and the final report. This peer might examine whether a researcher has over-emphasized or missed a point (Erlandson et al., 1993). The peer reviewer was a graduate student in the School of Education at the same university. She helped to clarify my biases, perspectives, and assumptions.

To support interpretation and provide better understanding, triangulation involves multiple data from different sources to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioral issues (Yin, 2003). According to Stake (1995), these sources encompass data, investigator, theory, and methodological triangulation. Data triangulation seeks to understand if the phenomenon or the case remains the same at other times. For investigator triangulation, the researchers invite others to observe the same phenomenon. Thus, the different theoretical viewpoints from co-observers could establish theory triangulation. Finally, methodological triangulation improves credibility by combing multiple approaches. To establish triangulation for this study, I employed data and methodological triangulation by observing teachers' behaviors in and out of classes as well as to collect multiple sources of data, such as classroom observations, teacher interviews, and artifacts.

Transferability

Transferability aims to examine if findings can be applied in other contexts or with other respondents (Erlandson et al., 1993). Rather than selecting isolated variables that are equivalent across contexts, the naturalistic researchers describe in detail of the context being studied. With in-depth description of specific sights, sounds, and relationships, it brings the readers into the context and allows them to determine how closely their situations match the study situation, and hence, whether findings can be transferred (Merriam, 1998). In this study, I provided detail and thick descriptions for readers who would like to transfer the findings to the similar context.

Dependability

Dependability emphasizes that if findings could be repeated with the similar subjects in the similar context (Erlandson et al., 1993). Naturalistic researchers rely on dependability audit to establish dependability. In this study, I employed multiple documents (e.g., interview notes, artifacts) examine both the process and the product of the research for consistency (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Confirmability

Confirmability is implemented in order to check the findings are not bias of the researchers (Erlandson et al., 1993). In this sense, it refers to the degree to which the researchers can demonstrate the neutrality of the research interpretations through a confirmability audit. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), confirmability audit trail includes raw data, analysis notes, reconstruction and synthesis products, process notes,

personal notes, and preliminary developmental information. In this study, I primarily chose analysis notes in order to build confirmability.

SUMMARY

This chapter demonstrates the rationale for using qualitative inquiry and choosing case study as the research method. The participants were six teachers in a Chinese heritage language school in the United States. Focusing on teachers' perspectives and practices, this study sought to explore how teachers described pedagogy, viewed the relationship between language and culture, and further constructed the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy for Chinese heritage language learners. The techniques to collect data included semi-structured interviews, participant-observations, and teachers' artifacts. Using within- and cross-case analyses, these methods helped to identify the characteristics of each teacher as well as the similarities among them. This chapter ends with the descriptions of approaches to build the trustworthiness.

Chapter IV: Results (within-case study)

The findings of each case study are comprehensively and individually presented in this chapter through within-case analysis because each case study represents an independent rich-information experiment (Stake, 1995). The current chapter responds to the first and second research questions for each case specifically: (1) how do teachers describe and conceptualize their classroom pedagogy? and (2) how are teachers' perspectives on Chinese language and culture reflected in their teaching?

This chapter begins with a brief profile of each teacher, including their academic, immigrant, and personal background, role as a Chinese heritage language teacher, and description of their personal style of instruction. This information was gathered primarily from the interviews. The next section centers on each teacher's perspectives on cultural and language instruction, with the aim of investigating their instructional styles in class. The information in this section was obtained from interviews and classroom observations.

Personal Background and Instruction

Mrs. Kim

Academic, immigration, and personal profile

Mrs. Kim, who was almost 50 years old at the time of the interview, was an active and enthusiastic person. She said that she "loved teaching" and liked to play the role of an "old child" in class. She had never considered becoming a teacher until teaching in the Chinese heritage language school. Mrs. Kim earned her high school diploma and had major in accounting in Taiwan. She immigrated to the United States with her husband over 20 years ago. In addition to teaching in the Chinese school, Mrs. Kim worked in her

in-law's Chinese restaurant, which was in the city where she lived. Mrs. Kim spent one hour and twenty minutes' driving to the Chinese school every Sunday.

Mrs. Kim has taught preschool students in the Dragon Chinese School for 11 years. Her reason for becoming a Chinese teacher was that the Chinese school encouraged her to teach a class instead of just sitting and waiting for her children in the cafeteria. Later she came to view teaching Chinese not only as a job but also as a mission. When asked about her motivation to keep teaching Chinese despite the long commute, she stated:

> I think at first [I taught] because my kids had to learn Chinese. However, after all my kids graduated from the Chinese school, I gradually developed a sense of mission, wanting to share the language and culture with future generations. Although I am not a professional educator, I feel that there is a deeper meaning in teaching these kids. Besides, I think it is very important to build a strong foundation for preschool students to facilitate their future studies. (Interview, 07/15/10, 29-32)

Mrs. Kim's strong commitment to teaching Chinese demonstrates her dedication to heritage language education and her sense of responsibility to construct preschool students' language abilities from the earliest years of schooling.

Role as a Chinese heritage language teacher

When asked about her role as a Chinese teacher, Mrs. Kim noted that she did not view herself as a teacher but as a "clown":

> I have to motivate students to learn Chinese with me. You know, kids are so sensitive and they expect you to make Chinese learning fun. So whenever we play a game or sing a song, I act like a clown to show my enthusiasm when playing with them. Besides, I don't see myself as a teacher because teachers in Chinese culture are always symbols of authority. However, I want students to feel that I welcome them and take care of them. (Interview, 07/15/10, 108-115)

Mrs. Kim rejected the stereotype of the traditional Chinese teacher, an authority figure, and instead wanted to be her students' partner in learning. To engage students, she showed her love of learning Chinese through various language activities. More importantly, she created a fun atmosphere to engage her students' interest.

Mrs. Kim also stated that she served as a consultant to parents. Her rich experience in teaching Chinese enabled her to educate parents on how to "use appropriate ways to interact with their children and further foster in their children a love for the Chinese language" (Interview, 07/15/10, 200). During her long tenure as a Chinese heritage language teacher, Mrs. Kim became aware of how the job brought changes to her life. She stated:

> I am proud of being Chinese in the United States. In addition, I want to introduce the Chinese culture to more people. If some people have unfavorable impressions of the Chinese or of Chinese culture, I want to give them a more accurate understanding. (Interview, 07/15/10, 210-212)

Mrs. Kim constructed a more positive cultural identity and stronger cultural consciousness in her ten years of teaching. Her heightened self-esteem and commitment

to disseminating accurate information about Chinese culture lessened her feelings of being an oppressed minority.

Description of personal instruction

"Play" was the primary instructional strategy that Mrs. Kim used in her class, where students were only four to six years old. Mrs. Kim described her instruction as "learning by playing." To create an enjoyable learning environment, she employed a variety of materials (e.g., bottles, cards, and chairs) and spent much time making props on her own. The use of props in instruction was essential to helping her students feel "they had played some games rather than actually studied Chinese" (Interview, 07/15/10, 7). Mrs. Kim also noted the importance of "interaction" in her instruction. From her perspective, the traditional instructional techniques such as teachers talking and students listening needed to be transformed. That is, students had to become active learners and construct learning with their teachers. Through this interaction, students could engage in activities and experience learning Chinese as something fun. Mrs. Kim felt that she had "learned a lot from students and enjoyed this fluid teacher-student relationship" (Interview, 07/15/10, 10). Clearly, Mrs. Kim did not teach only through one-way knowledge transmission but sought to construct knowledge with students.

Mrs. Kim's instructional goal was to teach what students really needed to know in real life. Mrs. Kim focused on students' listening, speaking, and character-recognition competence. She also stated that "developing students' cognitive ability was important at the preschool level because it helped them use language correctly" (Interview, 07/15/10, 327-328). In class, she would tell students that she did not understand English, so they

had to try their best to use Mandarin. In addition to using textbooks provided by the school, Mrs. Kim relied on numerous other resources, such as storybooks, songs, poems, and idioms, to enrich the curriculum. When she traveled to Taiwan, she also bought or borrowed books, which she used frequently in class.

According to Mrs. Kim, her teaching model always started with a review. She recognized the importance of repetition in maintaining students' language abilities. Thus, in the first hour of the two-hour class, she usually spent 30 minutes reviewing previous lessons. After that Mrs. Kim would teach the new lesson. Although the preschool curriculum was very basic, she deconstructed the traditional way of instruction when teaching the zhuyin system or word recognition. She stated:

> My teaching uses a very different method from the one that I learned Chinese with. For example, when I teach zhuyin, I don't follow the ㄅ (b), ㄆ(p), ㄇ(m), and ㄈ(f) order. Instead, I might first teach them ㄧ(yi) or ㄨ(u) because I don't want students to always count from ㄅ(b), as we learned English alphabets. I want them to directly recognize the symbol and say the sound. (Interview, 07/15/10, 150-154)

Her instructional strategy demonstrated that she had found a better way to make learning more meaningful and dynamic. More importantly, Mrs. Kim appeared to recognize the inappropriateness of repeating the learning experience she herself had had in Taiwan to teach her students in the United States.

Mrs. Kim described several literacy activities that she used to connect language learning and "play":

> I write the characters or phrases that the kids have learned on a card. Then we sit in a circle and sing a song while passing the card. As the song finishes, the student who gets the card has to pronounce the sound of the card. Or I use plastic bottle caps and put characters on them. I would cover the caps and let students put them in order to form a phrase. Students really like these games. (Interview, 07/15/10, 70-72)

Mrs. Kim described how she introduced the zhuyin system through various hands-on activities. Her instruction helped students use concrete objects to facilitate their language learning. Mrs. Kim also continuously created activities. She and her students had their favorites. She remarked:

> One of activities that I tried last semester was a lottery. I first put each student's name tag in a bag. When we learn new words, I choose one tag from the bag and call on that student. If the student can read the word, he or she can enter the lottery to win a prize. I found that my students were eager to engage in this activity. (Interview, 07/15/10, 73-76)

Instead of using the same activity, Mrs. Kim tried new games to draw students' attention. She further expressed that the lottery game was one of her students' favorites. She noted, "When the next semester begins, they ask me if they can play the lottery again" (Interview, 07/15/10, 77). The students appeared to enjoy the games, which motivated them to learn more Mandarin.

Mrs. Kim emphasized how she provided "encouragement" in her instruction, meaning that she used plenty of "positive reinforcement" to motivate students. This positive reinforcement included both material incentives and verbal encouragement. For example, she prepared a variety of prizes (e.g., candy, cakes, fruit, and toys) for the students who answered questions correctly. She also used positive feedback in response to the students' answers; for example, she would say, "You did a good job!" or "Excellent!" Another strategy that Mrs. Kim used to motivate her students was to ask them to play the role of teacher. She explained:

> I sometimes let my students try to be the teacher. I tell the parents that they need to help their kids review the curriculum at home so that when the students come to Chinese class, they can teach others. The students are really proud of themselves when they can teach others. The students also learn each other's names through this process. I find that most students in the Chinese school don't know their classmates' Chinese names. If they serve as a teacher, they have to call on others and memorize their names. This is a unique perspective on learning that I have never considered before. (Interview, 07/15/10, 277-280)

Mrs. Kim viewed her students as "competitive learners" and encouraged them to demonstrate their language abilities in class. The opportunity to act as a teacher helped students develop their confidence. Mrs. Kim further noted the importance of this peer interaction to helping students learn each others' Chinese names.

Miss Lin

Academic, immigration, and personal profile

Miss Lin is a young lady in her twenties. She always dresses fashionably. She was very interested in participating in this study and showed a willingness to let me observe her class. She liked the idea of someone observing her and giving her feedback on "how she did" in class. Miss Lin held a bachelor's degree in music education and received her elementary-level teaching certification in Taiwan. She came to the United States to pursue her master's degree in music education. She also had thought about becoming a professional Chinese teacher in the United States in the future. In addition to teaching in the Chinese heritage language school, she served as a tutor for piano, flute, and Chinese.

Miss Lin had taught first grade in the Dragon Chinese School for one year. Since her graduate school was in another city, it usually took an hour drive to the Chinese school. Miss Lin's purpose for teaching in the Chinese school was to gain more knowledge and experience in heritage language education. She said, "Because I want to become a certified Chinese teacher in the United States, I need to understand students' needs" (Interview, 07/09/10, 12-13). When asked what she most enjoyed about being a Chinese teacher, she said that "students' progress" was the most interesting to her. She explained:

> When I teach them, at the beginning students cannot pronounce tones correctly. I recognize that some of my students are afraid of speaking Chinese because someone has laughed at their tones before. Thus, I encouraged them to speak and practice with each other in class. My students can now understand many sentences and characters. Some parents even tell me that their kids have started to

> speak Chinese with them, which shows the students' improvement and gives me a positive feedback about my instruction. (Interview, 07/09/10, 35-39)

To enhance her students' confidence, Miss Lin created a comfortable environment for them to freely express themselves. Her statement also demonstrated that she was pleased to see the students' progress during her first year of teaching. In addition, parents' affirmations motivated her to continue teaching Chinese.

Role as a Chinese heritage language teacher

Miss Lin described her primary role as a "leader" because her first grade students remained at a stage in which they "receive information." Thus, her major responsibility was to instruct students in the correct use of the language. Rather than acting as the authority figure, Miss Lin stressed a balanced relationship with her students. She noted that when "students develop sufficient language abilities, teachers need to gradually release authority to their students" (Interview, 07/09/10, 40). That is, students' ideas and interests become the focus of the class. She further stated, "Students' learning competence is beyond our imagination. Teachers have to provide more opportunities for students to explore" (Interview, 07/09/10, 50-51). Clearly, Miss Lin viewed scaffolding as an essential strategy to enhance students' language competence.

Miss Lin also perceived that it was her responsibility to create a "safe" environment, a space for students to freely express their perspectives without worrying about their language abilities. In addition, each student learned how to value and learn from others' comments, which enhanced their social competence. As a first grade teacher, Miss Lin was aware of her important role in facilitating students' continuous

learning. She noted that if students developed strong language fundamentals at an early age, it would be easier for them to develop greater skills as they got older.

Miss Lin's experience as a Chinese heritage language teacher also brought changes to her personal image. She said, "I am happy that I use my language ability to transmit language and culture to the next generation in the United States rather than only to chat with friends" (Interview, 07/09/10, 233-234). Miss Lin appeared to develop greater self-worth through teaching in the Chinese school.

Description of personal instruction

Miss Lin described her instruction as proceeding "from teacher-centered to student-centered." She stated that this notion came from her experience in college and teacher training:

> I remember that when I was in college, and during my internship, the professors always reminded us to implement student-centered instruction in class. This perspective impressed me. Thus, I don't want to be one who dominates conversation all the time. I lead the students at the beginning, but they need to know how to pronounce Chinese characters, phrases, or sentences by themselves later. (Interview, 07/09/10, 149-152)

Miss Lin's instruction in the Chinese school was deeply influenced by her educational experience in Taiwan. She sought to implement a student-centered approach to facilitate students' developing their language abilities independently. Miss Lin believed that teachers thus had to be models for students, rather than explicitly instruct them. She noted, "At first, I mainly play the role of leader, but later I share my authority with the

students" (Interview, 07/09/10, 153-154). That is, in the first semester, she usually read the text aloud for the students. But once the second semester started, students had the primary role of reading to everyone.

The student-centered instructional strategy was also used to help students become active learners, since each served as a leader to teach others. Miss Lin provided an example concerning learning Chinese characters:

> I do not teach, but assign a character to each student. They have to go home and research the correct way to write the character. When they come to class next week, each student has to act as a teacher and take responsibility for teaching the others. This procedure fosters in them a desire to find resources and to share with their peers, and demonstrates their understanding in class. (Interview, 07/09/10, 115-118)

Rather than presenting herself as a repository of knowledge, Miss Lin encouraged her students to explore knowledge and construct learning on their own. The independent investigation and joint collaboration enabled the students to take an active approach toward learning Chinese.

Miss Lin said that her class basically followed a standard format. She usually began her lessons by teaching new words and asking students to explain them. Next, she discussed texts with the students. The class typically ended with a review of new characters. To develop students' language abilities, Miss Lin specifically emphasized "recitation" in her instruction. That is, each student had to recite a passage or poem in front of the class every week. She believed that reciting passages helped students

"understand how to use words in a sentence and demonstrate their language abilities to others" (Interview, 07/09/10, 291). In Taiwan, recitation is still highly emphasized in Mandarin class. Miss Lin saw this skill as important and encouraged her students to develop it.

Miss Lin also focused on designing a curriculum on her own to develop students' communication competence. She indicated that the textbook was too "easy" for her students, so she spent much time looking for other materials to develop students' listening and speaking abilities. She primarily used handouts to provide conversations relevant to students' lived experiences (e.g., grocery shopping, birthday party). Miss Lin usually asked her students to follow these handouts to practice conversations. However, she was conflicted about this strategy:

> Recently, I started to reflect on my instruction. I realized that the handouts don't really help students practice conversation since students tend to "recite" the conversations rather than using their own words to communicate with others. I feel frustrated and don't know how to deal with it. (Interview, 07/09/10, 41-43)

Although Miss Lin focused on her students' communication skills, she employed the traditional method to teach them. Miss Lin recognized the inappropriateness of this strategy but indicated she felt helpless in her search for a better method.

Miss Lin further stressed "reading" to facilitate students' communication competence. She explained:

> I really emphasize reading in my class. Take me for example, with English; I sometimes don't know how to use a word in a sentence. I primarily rely on

> reading to receive information. Applying this concept to Chinese learning, when students read, they receive some instructions and then know how to express themselves in a complete sentence. Many parents hope that their kids can communicate fluently. However, if kids don't know how to use a word in a sentence, it is hard for them to exchange thoughts with others. (Interview, 07/09/10, 197-202)

Borrowing from her personal experience in learning a second language, Miss Lin viewed reading as the first step in developing students' communication skills. Reading helped students understand sentence structure and convey their ideas. She also prepared a variety of reading materials and encouraged parents to read with students at home.

When asked about the main characteristic of her instruction, Miss Lin described it as "positive reinforcement." She wanted to create an environment in which students saw learning Chinese as a happy activity rather than as hard work. In addition to studying in the Chinese school, Miss Lin encouraged students to find information themselves after class and bring to the Chinese school to share with others. To motivate students to express themselves, Miss Lin invited a room mother to record the students' performance during every class. When students voluntarily expressed their perspectives or taught others, they received one point. After collecting 20 points, students received a prize. She said that this method was really useful because "students are enthusiastic about raising their hands and expect her to call their names" (Interview, 07/09/10, 118). Clearly, students became more motivated as their answers were confirmed and praised.

Miss Lin also viewed "peers" and "peer-learning" as reinforcements. That is, learning from or with peers could motivate students. She observed that when a student successfully recited a poem in front of the class, other students showed their enthusiasm by trying to do a good job, too. This experience fostered an awareness of "he/she can do it, so I can, too." In addition, Miss Lin always encouraged her students to collaborate in small groups. In a group, students could practice conversation with a partner or correct each other's pronunciation. The students with better language abilities were also inspired to assist those who needed help.

Mrs. Su

Academic, immigrant, and personal profile

Mrs. Su has a warm personality and always speaks softly and slowly. She was hesitant to participate in this study at first because she had limited experience teaching Chinese. Mrs. Su earned her master's degree in social work and had taught for two years in a university in Taiwan. After that, she continued to pursue her PhD in social work in the United States. She also had four years' experience as a professor in three public universities in the United States. However, she decided to quit her job to spend more time with her three children.

Mrs. Su had been teaching fourth grade students for a year in the Dragon Chinese School. She had also served as a substitute teacher in her son's class. This experience motivated her "to try to lead a class rather than just sitting in the class or chatting with other parents" (Interview, 07/01/10, 5-6). When asked what she enjoyed about being a Chinese teacher, Mrs. Su focused on having fun with students in her class:

> Well, I think when students show that they are engaged in class, it makes me want to teach Chinese. For example, when students are engaged in listening to stories or playing games, I am also involved in teaching them. Besides, I personally like to interact with students and enjoy the process of sharing our perspectives. (Interview, 07/01/10, 25-28)

Mrs. Su saw students' engagement as the most satisfying aspect of this job. Because she had only one year's experience teaching Chinese, Mrs. Su felt her instruction still needed improvement.

Role as a Chinese heritage language teacher

When asked about her role, Mrs. Su described herself as a "facilitator" in class. She explained:

> Because some of my students are older, they sometimes don't really need my help or direction. Rather, they need more stimulation and help developing a willingness to stay in Chinese school. I realized that the older students' involvement in learning Chinese influences younger students. (Interview, 07/01/10, 113-116)

Mrs. Su not only viewed herself as a director guiding students but also acted as a partner in initiating their active involvement. She further indicated the importance of students' attitudes toward learning Chinese. From her perspective, one student's positive attitude could be a good model for other students.

Mrs. Su further remarked that the goal of being a facilitator was to help students learn independently:

> I don't think that we learn only from teachers' instruction. The knowledge we received from teachers is like a database installed in our mind. It is only through interaction with others and personal experience that that knowledge can be internalized as our learning. (Interview, 07/01/10, 308-310)

Being a facilitator, Mrs. Su aimed to help students develop an awareness of how to construct knowledge on their own. She viewed a teacher as not only one source of knowledge. Students needed to transfer classroom instruction into knowledge through social interaction.

Mrs. Su was aware of how teaching work helped her professional growth. She said, "I think I've gained more knowledge about my language. For example, I've corrected how I write some Chinese characters that I had written incorrectly for a long time. I also gained more understanding of Chinese culture" (Interview, 07/01/10, 222-224). Mrs. Su noted that this teaching job had significantly increased her own knowledge of subject matter.

Description of personal instruction

Mrs. Su described her instructional style as "motivating students first and developing their language abilities after." She explicitly indicated that she did not focus on her instructional strategies in the first semester but stressed motivation. From her perspective, to "engage students in learning Chinese" and to "develop their willingness to come to the Chinese school" were top priorities. She noted:

> I remember one time when I explained the root of a character; all the students looked at me blankly because it didn't make any sense to them. I realized that

> teachers don't need to explain a lot to students but rather to motivate them to continue learning Chinese. Besides, I have three children and I know what they need. It's very important for Chinese teachers to think of ways to motivate their students. (Interview, 07/01/10, 44-50)

Rather than emphasizing what teachers believed to be important, Mrs. Su sought to focus on what students were interested in. As a mother and a teacher, Mrs. Su pointed out that Chinese teachers should develop an awareness of how to motivate their students first.

To get students to become more engaged in learning, Mrs. Su often used group competitions and connected them to language learning. For example, students collaborate to create stories based on pictures Mrs. Su provided. The group demonstrating better writing was awarded a sticker. She found that her students showed "strong motivation to speak and write Mandarin in this activity" (Interview, 07/01/10, 323). Mrs. Su also made reading interesting by emphasizing reading for enjoyment, having fun while reading, and allowing for self-expression. Besides using textbook, she usually read a chapter from a famous Chinese fable every week and asked questions about it. The first student who responded to a question got a point. Mrs. Su said, "I think this instruction is successful in my class because I can see how involved students are from their eyes and the level of participation" (Interview, 07/01/10, 68-69). Mrs. Su felt that Chinese fable-telling facilitated students' language development and enabled them to experience literary work from the Chinese culture.

Mrs. Su emphasized that a harmonious teacher-student relationship facilitated students' learning. She always related her experience to those of students and shared her

perspectives with them. Mrs. Su also tried to understand each student's interests (e.g., swimming, basketball) and chatted with them after class. She said, "Students get along with me, which increases their willingness to learn Chinese" (Interview, 07/01/10, 72). According to Mrs. Su, her students felt more comfortable expressing their perspectives in Mandarin when she built a caring relationship and showed interest in hearing their voices. Mrs. Su also stressed "equal rights" for every student in her class. She indicated that her major in social work influenced her interaction with students:

> I really pay attention to ensure that every student has the opportunity to answer questions. I stayed in my son's class for three years and observed that the teacher didn't call on him when he raised his hand. It is probably because of my social work background that I emphasize "fairness" to every student. I usually remind myself to make sure everyone receives an equal opportunity to talk. I don't want to neglect any students. (Interview, 07/01/10, 265-271)

Mrs. Su saw every student as an independent entity to be valued. The experience of observing her son's class provided an opportunity to reflect on her own instruction. More importantly, that Mrs. Su's profession was in social work helped ensure "equality" in class.

Mrs. Su indicated that she primarily followed the textbook during the first year of teaching. To enrich the curriculum, she tried to integrate a variety of resources into class. For example, she used websites and video tapes related to the textbook with the students. Similar to Miss Lin, Mrs. Su encouraged her students to recite Chinese idioms and poems in class. However, she put more emphasis on students' ability to explain the meaning of

passages in Chinese literature. Besides communication competence, Mrs. Su noted that fourth graders needed to develop their Chinese writing skills. She would choose a topic and encourage her students to write a short paragraph. She also provided opportunities for students to share their work in class and participate in reading contests. However, time limits and students' varied language levels influenced the implementation of writing instruction. She explained:

> I usually spend one hour teaching and letting students practice writing. However, with only a two-hour class per week, it is apparent that we don't have enough time for students to develop their writing abilities. In addition, I found that a few students still cannot even write a full sentence. I feel frustrated in trying to improve this situation and want to find a solution. (Interview, 07/01/10, 107-110)

Her statement showed that it was hard to enhance students' writing skills because there was insufficient time in Chinese school. The fact that some students were more advanced in writing than others also make it difficult to make progress in writing instruction. Mrs. Su expressed frustration regarding this issue.

Mrs. Lee

Academic, immigration, and personal profile

Mrs. Lee had a warm and positive personality but hesitated to participate in my study because she was not sure if she taught "culture" in her class. After I discussed and clarified the topic with Mrs. Lee, she realized that she did implicitly include culture when teaching language. Mrs. Lee received her bachelor's degree in history in Taiwan but decided to pursue a career in education. However, she did not have an opportunity to

enter a teacher training program in Taiwan. Thus, she chose to come to the United States to enter a master's program in instructional technology at a public university. After receiving her master's degree, she went back to Taiwan and worked in two companies that focused on e-learning in the classroom. Currently, she is a housewife, having accompanied her husband to the United States so that he can pursue his PhD.

Mrs. Lee has taught eighth grade students in the Chinese school for a year. The reason she teaches Chinese is that she plans to become a certified Chinese teacher. She believed that teaching in the Chinese school will help her gain experience and facilitate her job hunt. When asked what she enjoyed most about her job, Mrs. Lee said:

> There are a lot of things! First, I like learning about the differences between students' perspectives and mine because of our different backgrounds. Because I don't have any children, I think it's interesting to view the world through their eyes. Second, I think it's an opportunity to relearn Mandarin. I have known Mandarin for such a long time, but I never really had an opportunity to teach Mandarin. The Chinese school job fosters in me the motivation to find appropriate ways to teach Mandarin. Third, I can implement what I learn in class. Because my major is instructional technology, this teaching opportunity helps me integrate e-learning into my instruction. (Interview, 08/17/10, 21-28)

Mrs. Lee showed her strong interest in teaching Mandarin and viewed her job as a way to experience cultural differences, reconnect with her native language, and integrate her experiences into her professional knowledge. However, she indicated that she had difficulty managing the classroom well. According to Mrs. Lee, she had more experience

teaching adults rather than children. In addition, she did not want to be a strict teacher. Thus, her students usually chatted and paid little attention in class. Mrs. Lee said, "I don't know how to properly redirect students when they chat" (Interview, 08/17/10, 185-186). Lacking professional training, Mrs. Lee had difficulty setting rules to manage the classroom well.

As for personal growth, Mrs. Lee indicated that she had gained the most knowledge in subject matter. Because language learning was not her major, she spent much time searching for information about other teachers' instructional models. She also took online courses provided by E-learning Hanyu of Taiwan to learn how to teach Chinese grammar and characters. However, she still felt it was hard to teach Mandarin systematically, giving rules for students to follow. She said, "English has grammar rules to follow, but Chinese relies on a subtle difference in tone to indicate different meanings" (Interview, 08/17/10, 40-42). Recognizing that she did not know a lot about how to teach Chinese, Mrs. Lee hoped to develop her skills through her experience in the Chinese school.

Role as a Chinese heritage language teacher

According to Mrs. Lee, she spent 60% time acting as an instructor and 40% serving as a facilitator. She believed that her instruction was still "tradition driven" and modeled her own teaching styles. That is, she relied on her prior learning experiences when teaching. She stated:

> Because I've never had professional teacher training, I primarily copy how my Chinese teachers taught me. For example, I'll start from reading the text, teaching

> the Chinese characters, and practicing the grammar. My prior learning experience is my primary resource to help me teach kids. (Interview, 08/17/10, 94-96)

Mrs. Lee's statement showed that her instruction was influenced by her educational experience in Taiwan. She tended to follow her teachers' instructional models and mainly saw herself as an instructor transmitting knowledge. However, Mrs. Lee realized the trend in education focused on both teacher-student and student-student interaction. She tried to become a facilitator and to use questions to engage students in learning.

Mrs. Lee also viewed herself as "an architect laying the foundation for students." She indicated that most of her students had a natural environment in which to speak Mandarin: they could speak at home with their parents. Her class, then, should be viewed as "half-heritage" rather than "heritage" because of her students' fundamental competency. Thus, her responsibility was to help the students aggregate more profound knowledge based on their existing language abilities.

Description of Personal Instruction

Mrs. Lee described her instruction as traditional and static. She said, "I don't think I'm creative, and I hope I can be more creative and have more interaction with students next semester" (Interview, 08/17/10, 221-222). In designing a curriculum, Mrs. Lee primarily used the textbook and gave the students handouts. The handouts contained a summary of each lesson to help students follow the classroom instruction. According to Mrs. Lee, her class usually followed a four-step procedure: read and discuss texts, teach Chinese characters and vocabulary, practice sentences, and explain homework. She felt that this procedure was also essential because it provided a structure.

Mrs. Lee emphasized the importance of practical language use in her instruction. She hoped that "students could really apply what they learn in class in their daily lives" (Interview, 08/17/10, 67). In addition to using the textbook, she designed supplementary materials, which included vocabulary lists and sentences relevant to students' lived experiences. She also discussed with students how their learning could be useful in American schools. To reinforce students' comprehension, Mrs. Lee preferred to help students review immediately after each lesson. For example, when she finished teaching Chinese characters, she would directly asked students to write the characters on the board and pronounce them. From her perspective, having a review right after each lesson strengthened students' understanding and helped them memorize information from the day's lesson.

When asked about her instructional style, Mrs. Lee indicates that she integrated e-learning. She explained:

> I try to involve multimedia in my class. For example, I make PowerPoint presentations or use flash [graphics] to introduce a story. I find a song related to a lesson or a holiday. I also use the software program (e.g., Hot potato) to design tests. (Interview, 08/17/10, 212-214)

Mrs. Lee tried to use her professional skills to the class and thus used a variety of online resources to enrich the curriculum. Although e-learning was viewed as a way to enhance her teaching efficacy, Mrs. Lee faced difficulties in implementing it because the Chinese school did not have its own classrooms. Besides, the difficulty of borrowing the school's only projector constrained her attempt at implementing high quality e-learning. Mrs. Lee

further said, “I don’t think the Chinese school provides enough resources for teachers to facilitate instruction. I feel that we have to rely on ourselves” (Interview, 08/17/10, 217). According to Mrs. Lee, teachers received limited instructional support from the Chinese school.

In helping students develop their students’ language abilities, Mrs. Lee focused on their speaking skills. She saw that students had good listening abilities but needed a push to develop their speaking skills. To encourage her students to speak Mandarin in class, Mrs. Lee suggested that to tell a joke or a short story at the start of every class. This practice enhanced students’ listening comprehension at the same time as they tried to understand the joke. Mrs. Lee would also discuss a topic related to students’ interests in class, which allowed them to speak and listen naturally. While she was able to foster listening and speaking in class, she appeared to struggle to develop students’ reading and writing skills since there was limited time for this. Compared to their interest in speaking and listening, students’ interest in reading and writing activities and homework was less, especially if they could not complete the assignment correctly the first time.

Although Mrs. Lee stated that she spent more time “instructing students” rather than “interacting” with them, she did use group activities to foster classroom interaction. She noted:

> I sometimes put the students in groups and ask them to answer my questions. I gradually realize that group discussion does not work well because they always chat in English. Thus, I prefer to use group competitions. I usually put the questions on PowerPoint slides. If one student answers correctly, the group earns

> one point. I found that students really like to compete with each other: they show more concentration and engagement when competing. (Interview, 08/17/10, 74-78)

Mrs. Lee tried to use group competitions to encourage students to communicate and collaborate. She was aware of the effectiveness of this strategy to inspire students to actively participate in class. However, she admitted that students with better language abilities appeared to dominate whole group.

Mrs. Lee created a free and relaxed learning environment in her class. She did not pressure students but expected them to enjoy learning Mandarin with her, stating:

> I hope to help my students feel that learning Mandarin is truly an interesting thing. This is my biggest expectation. I also hope to build their confidence and open a door for them. Because the students only take Chinese class for a while, the important thing is that they develop their willingness to continue learning. (Interview, 08/17/10, 246-250)

From Mrs. Lee's perspective, learning Chinese should be enjoyable. She saw her job as not only teaching the language but also enhancing students' confidence. She hoped to help students become lifelong learners. However, Mrs. Lee noted that she felt it was hard to develop a good rapport with students while maintaining good classroom management. She explained, "I have a dilemma in sharing authority with my students. I don't want to take all the power, but the students don't listen to me if I am not a strict teacher. My students view me as their friend, but that's not the kind of relationship I want to construct" (Interview, 08/17/10, 351-353). Mrs. Lee appeared unready to construct a

teacher identity and determine what kind of relationship she wanted to build with her students.

When motivating students, Mrs. Lee said she seldom used material. In her experience, the eighth grade students with better language skills usually dominated the class. She felt that it was unnecessary to keep reinforcing these students' performance by giving them rewards. Rather, she always used verbal praise to encourage those with lower language ability but demonstrated progress. The positive feedback, such as phrases, like "well done" and "try to talk more" helped raise students' self-esteem and acknowledge their efforts.

Mrs. Wang

Academic, immigration, and personal profile

Mrs. Wang was an energetic woman in her early 30s. She had married a man from Mainland China and had a one-year-old daughter. She was interested in participating in my study and felt comfortable letting me observe her class. Mrs. Wang had received her bachelor's degree in philosophy in Taiwan and was pursuing her doctoral degree in philosophy at a public university in the United States. During data collection, Mrs. Wang served as a teaching assistant in her department. Because her husband had a high-paying job, Mrs. Wang planned to stay in the United States after earning her PhD.

Mrs. Wang had been a teacher in the Dragon Chinese School in 2008 but left for a year because of pregnancy. As a doctoral student, the pressure of writing her dissertation discouraged her intention to finish the degree rapidly. She started to think about being a Chinese teacher because she thought it would be less stressful. She noted, "Teaching at

the Chinese school is a way to break up the monotony of writing my dissertation. Besides, I am interested in understanding this group of children" (Interview, 10/15/10, 16-17). Mrs. Wang further indicated why she liked being a Chinese teacher:

> I'm interested in "humans," with a special focus on their feelings and thoughts. Although children in the Chinese school have black hair and yellow skin like me, their growing-up experiences are very different from ours. They come to the Chinese school every Sunday, but most of them are forced by their parents. These circumstances make me curious about the students' attitude toward learning Chinese. By teaching and interacting with them, I can understand their feelings and reflect on how sociocultural contexts influence their heritage language learning. (Interview, 10/15/10, 18-24)

Because she had personal interest in it, Mrs. Wang viewed this teaching job as a relax pursuit that allowed her to meet with this particular group of children and investigate their Chinese learning style.

Mrs. Wang taught fourth grade students in 2008 and returned to teach them as they became sixth grade in 2010. She noticed that her students demonstrated more willingness to express their ideas in sixth grade; however, they were more likely to be distracted in class. The change in students' learning attitudes led her to spend more time reminding them to concentrate. As for personal growth, Mrs. Wang appeared to have more ideas about how to make Chinese learning fun:

> I think I've gained more knowledge about how to design activities to motivate students. I also know what activities help students learn. Sometimes, I'm

> surprised by students' reactions because they're excited about activities I don't expect them to be interested in. (Interview, 10/15/10, 44-47)

By interacting with students and learning from their response, Mrs. Wang became aware of her growing ability to plan activities to better engage students and enhance their language development.

Role as a Chinese heritage language teacher

Mrs. Wang primarily saw herself as a "leader" in class. She noted, "When students bargain with me about how much homework I give them or how many tests they'll take, I say, 'I'm the teacher so they have to listen to me" (Interview, 324-325). Mrs. Wang appeared to construct a clear teacher-student relationship in order to maintain good classroom management. She further said, "I still place myself above my students, but I don't want to be a traditional Chinese teacher" (Interview, 10/15/10, 54-55). Clearly, she did not intend to be the stereotypical Chinese teacher holding all authority in the classroom.

In addition to teaching students language, Mrs. Wang noted her important role in helping students construct cultural awareness:

> It is apparent that the students' look different from Caucasians, who represent the majority of the United States. No matter what they do, this truth cannot be changed. When they grow older, they will definitely face an identity problem. Rather than avoiding this issue, I choose to discuss it with them. I think it's important to let them know that they are unique because they can speak another

language. I want to help them be proud of their bilingualism and view it as an asset. (Interview, 10/15/10, 62-68)

Recognizing that her students might confront an identity crisis as a result of their ethnic background, Mrs. Wang decided that her instruction should not neglect this issue. She viewed heritage language study as a tool to help minority students construct a cultural identity and value their differences in the United States.

Description of personal instruction

Mrs. Wang first discussed about her teaching philosophy. According to her, if students "were willing to come to the Chinese school" and "viewed Mandarin learning as fun," that was enough. Although this was a low standard for a teacher, Mrs. Wang saw her students' motivation as the first priority. She further said that it would be a "bonus" if students voluntarily spent time listening, reading, or speaking Mandarin based on their interests.

Mrs. Wang described her instruction as being centered on "students' participation" and "knowledge beyond the curriculum." She said:

> I don't want to be the only person to talk in class. I think it's not an efficient way of teaching to ask students to sit and listen to me for two hours. I prefer to encourage students to talk with me, interact with their peers, and do something. Besides using the textbook, I also provide them with supplementary materials, such as songs and movies. (Interview, 10/15/10, 212-216)

Mrs. Wang's emphasis on teacher-student interaction derived from her experience as a teaching assistant. She explained, "I find that students learn better by doing and solving

problems themselves than by listening to me" (Interview, 10/15/10, 78). To apply this perspective to the Chinese school, Mrs. Wang invited students to express their perspectives and collaborate with one another. Supplementary materials also allowed students to obtain knowledge from multiple sources.

Individual competition was one of the strategies that Mrs. Wang implemented in class. She observed that her sixth grade students were at a stage at which they like "showing off." Thus, she usually asked two students to compete with each other to write Chinese characters or make sentences. Such competition enabled students to engage more fully as they tried to win. However, she noted that students with less language ability tended to give up and were aware of their weakness in this activity. Despite their slower progress, Mrs. Wang was willing to "wait" for students who needed more support. She said, "I give every student the same opportunity to read the texts or write the characters, even though some of them need more time to finish. I cannot give up on any one of them" (Interview, 10/15/10, 94-95). Clearly, Mrs. Wang attempted to help students view themselves as competent learners who could complete the task on their own.

To promote students' language development, Mrs. Wang challenged students to provide more complex sentences or used more difficult words beyond their language levels. She indicated, "I encourage students to use more words to make a sentence, even though they might make a mistake" (Interview, 10/15/10, 90). Regardless of students' errors, Mrs. Wang offered scaffolding to help students achieve a higher level of language development.

Mrs. Wang emphasized that she insisted on using Mandarin only in her instruction. That is, students were required to use Mandarin to answer questions or talk with others. She explained, "Students have limited opportunities to speak Mandarin during the week, so I insist that everyone speaks only Mandarin in class" (Interview, 10/15/10, 80-81). Therefore, Mrs. Wang admonished students if they spoke English. However, she recognized that students fell silent after receiving three warnings because they were afraid of losing points. Facing this dilemma, Mrs. Wang had difficulty choosing maintaining the ideal classroom or encouraging students to talk.

When asked about her teaching method, Mrs. Wang indicated that she seldom followed a model. She said:

> I don't have a strict teaching method. I usually think about what I want to teach this week and then design some activities for the class. Most of time, I alternate between drill practice and peer interaction so that students don't get bored. I don't teach every word myself but ask the students be teachers and teach the others. I consider this teaching method to be effective for my students; however, I'm not sure what the students think. (Interview, 10/15/10, 228-233)

Unlike other teachers, who used an organized process to teach lessons, Mrs. Wang was casual about what content to teach with which activities. Because she had few opportunities to talk with students, Mrs. Wang was uncertain about the appropriateness of implementing this strategy.

To motivate students, Mrs. Wang gave them stamps when they answered correctly or spontaneously made comments. Once students had collected ten stamps, they

could exchange them for a prize. She explained, "I usually stamp students' books as soon as they respond. I find that when I do this, more students demonstrate a motivation to talk" (Interview, 10/15/10, 243-245). In this case, Mrs. Wang saw that giving students direct rewards and incentives could be an effective way to engage students.

Mrs. Chen

Academic, immigration, and personal profile

Mrs. Chen was a very warm and friendly woman in her early 40s. Although I belatedly asked her to participate in my study, she was still very willing. Mrs. Chen's family had immigrated to the United States when she was a sophomore study Chinese literature and linguistics in Taiwan. She then received her bachelor's degree in linguistics in the United States. Despite her major, Mrs. Chen had worked as an accountant for almost 20 years in San Francisco; she then decided to be a housewife when her family moved to Austin in 2001.

Mrs. Chen had no teaching experience but served as an assistant principal and principal from 2006 to 2010 in the Dragon Chinese School. She felt that parents had to be their children's models for learning the heritage language; therefore, she decided to be an administrative volunteer in the Chinese school in 2001. She said, "If I am part of the administrative team in the Chinese school, kids know that I value learning Chinese and that they need to value it as well" (Interview, 10/21/10, 15-17). Mrs. Chen considered parents' involvement in the Chinese school to influence students' attitudes toward learning Chinese.

Mrs. Chen resigned as principal in spring 2010 and decided to become a teacher for the advanced class. This class was designed to prepare students for passing the Advanced Placement (AP) Chinese test. Most of her students were high school students and had been attending the Chinese school from preschool. As a "rookie" teacher, Mrs. Wang viewed curriculum preparation as the most interesting part of her job:

> When I was a principal, I had some images of teaching but I didn't really have any experience. As I teach this class and prepare the curriculum, all my previous memories and learning come back to me. It is interesting to review Chinese literature that I haven't read for 20 years. (Interview, 10/21/10, 91-93)

Because of Mrs. Chen's educational background, connecting with her previous profession was the main aspect of the initial stage of her teaching career. Besides finding teaching personally enjoyable, Mrs. Chen also said she was pleased by students' progress while she worked as a Chinese teacher. She noted, "I like the moment when I explain some concept and students say, 'Oh! I get it!' I feel that I really help them learn and teach them something new" (Interview, 10/21/10, 104). Clearly, successfully teaching increased Mrs. Chen's motivation to teach.

Role as a Chinese heritage language teacher

Mrs. Chen primarily saw herself as a "leader" in her job teaching AP students. She explained, "Unlike other classes, my class has a clear goal. Thus, I have the responsibility to teach my students strategies to prepare for the test" (Interview, 10/21/10, 47-48). Mrs. Chen viewed helping students meet the test's requirement as her main focus. She further indicated that she was an "initiator" encouraging students to talk more in

class. According to Mrs. Chen, the students in her class were sometimes shy about expressing their perspectives or answering questions with more than just short responses. Thus, she had to use cued elicitation to prompt them to respond with more complex answers.

Mrs. Chen created a "positive" environment for her students. She usually told them, "Don't feel embarrassed or discouraged when you don't do well on tests or homework. The important thing is that you are learning a language" (Interview, 10/21/10, 58-60). Mrs. Chen felt that teachers should emphasize encouraging their students to come to the Chinese school than pushing them to get high test scores. She quoted from a philosopher--"For every language you learn, you gain another soul"--to encourage her students to continue their learning. In her view, when you learn Chinese, you gain another way of thinking and experience another cultural perspective.

Mrs. Chen was also aware of her responsibility for developing students' cultural identity: "Living in the United States," she felt, "this issue is the most important" (Interview, 10/21/10, 266). However, she noticed that students' identification as "American" or "Chinese American" was a personal choice. As a Chinese heritage language teacher, she hoped to use this learning environment to increase students' Chinese cultural awareness. She said, "Although most of them identify themselves as Americans, I want to let them know they are Chinese, too. Because when people look at you, it is apparent that you are not Caucasian or African American. You have to learn to accept and understand yourself so that you will have a sense of belonging" (Interview, 10/21/10, 270-272). More than fostering students' academic achievement, Mrs. Chen

addressed the crucial importance of incorporating students' identity development into the language-learning process.

Description of personal instruction

Mrs. Chen described her first semester of instruction as "old-fashioned" rather than "creative." That is, she primarily relied on the textbook and followed a set pattern. She noted:

> I usually follow the order of the textbook: warming up, reading an article, practicing dialogue, and discussing cultural knowledge. I'm not sure if this structure actually helps students. I'm kind of worried that if I keep using this pattern, students will feel that learning Chinese is boring and unchallenging. (Interview, 10/21/10, 228-230)

As a first year teacher, Mrs. Chen was uncertain if she was using appropriate instructional strategies to enhance her students' language development. She viewed the textbook as the major guide in her teaching.

Despite her lack of teaching experience, Mrs. Chen sought to construct her teaching style to involve more students' participation:

> Teachers in the United States are not like teachers in Taiwan. They give students sufficient opportunities to express themselves rather than lecturing to students. I realize that if I talk all the time, students will easily feel bored. I try to break from the Chinese model of teaching and encourage students to convey their ideas. (Interview, 10/21/10, 41-45)

Reflecting on her cross-cultural experience in Taiwan and the United States, Mrs. Chen appeared to choose to be an American-style teacher and incorporated students' voices in class. She remarked, "I hope that the students are the ones who talk the most in class, through conversation, interaction, or giving speeches" (Interview, 10/21/10, 154). Clearly, Mrs. Chen was willing to share authority with her students.

As for language development, Mrs. Chen focused on students' listening and speaking competence first, and on reading and writing ability second. She noted, "If students cannot speak correctly, they don't know how to write" (Interview, 10/21/10, 211). To enhance students' communication skills, Mrs. Chen usually assigned them a partner and encouraged them to chat. She said, "I always tell my students that discussion helps you think more deeply, aggregate knowledge more broadly, and speak more fluently" (Interview, 10/21/10, 221). She emphasized that collaborative interaction facilitated students' language development. However, Mrs. Chen noticed that students sometimes used simple words with each other. She needed to stay in the groups and "push" them to say more.

In addition to stressing students' classroom interaction, Mrs. Chen also inspired students to learn independently through their homework, which included searching online resources, comparing American and Chinese culture, and doing various projects. Mrs. Chen said, "By doing homework on their own, students can really learn how to use the language and internalize what they learn" (Interview, 10/21/10, 110). In her view, the ultimate instructional goal was to help students become active learners who took responsibility for their own learning.

Unlike other teachers setting strict rules to let students use only Mandarin in class, Mrs. Chen allowed students to speak English when speaking with their peers. She said:

> Although there are heritage and non-heritage classes in the Chinese school, we cannot deny that all of the classes are bilingual-based because students speak English most of time. It is impossible for students not to speak a language that they use in daily lives. (Interview, 10/21/10, 200-202)

Mrs. Chen supported the idea of integrating English into class to facilitate students' Mandarin learning. She believed that if the students were willing to participate in classroom discussions, it was not harmful to answer in English. Influenced by her linguistic background, Mrs. Chen suggested that Chinese heritage language teachers should employ instructional strategies based on bilingual-education theory.

Mrs. Chen was the only teacher who mentioned students' diverse backgrounds in the interview. She explained:

> I notice that some of my students have difficulty using tones accurately because they speak Cantonese or Vietnamese at home. Therefore, when they express their perspectives in class, I have to be careful not to correct them too much lest they lose confidence. In addition, I encourage them to share their travel experiences in Hong Kong and Vietnam, which helps all the students understand Asian countries besides Taiwan. (Interview, 10/21/10, 317-322)

Recognizing that students' backgrounds might influence their achievement, Mrs. Chen created a safe environment for students to practice Mandarin without subjecting them to

rigorous correction. She also valued each student's cultural roots and integrated multicultural knowledge into class.

When asked about how to motivate students, Mrs. Chen indicated that she did not use any gifts to engage them:

> The students who are willing to stay in the advanced class have a strong motivation to learn Mandarin. Unlike the lower grade students who are forced by their parents to take classes, my students have developed an inner motivation to come to the Chinese school. I think if I encourage them to talk more and give them positive feedback on their responses, it will motivate them. In addition, they are in the process of finding their cultural identity. Language learning helps them understand themselves better. (Interview, 10/21/10, 192-194)

Mrs. Chen was aware of students' desire to learn Mandarin without relying on rewards. Instead of using incentives, Mrs. Chen offered encouragement and viewed students' successful language development as itself a motivator. She also noted that their desire to find belong and find their cultural identity could be motivations for their being more engaged in language learning.

Cultural Integration in Chinese Heritage Language Teaching

Mrs. Kim

Perspectives on culture and language instruction

When the pre-kindergarten teacher Mrs. Kim was asked about her views on culture, she laid claim to multiple perspectives:

> Culture contains ethics and philosophies, such as Confucianism and Taoism passed down from previous generations. History is an essential part of a culture. Try to imagine the abundance of Chinese culture, with five thousand years of history. A culture also encompasses the evolution of words, arts, and architectures. Each dynasty has its own specific characteristics, which enrich a culture. (Interview, 07/15/10, 214-218)

Mrs. Kim believed that culture contains the integrated pattern of human knowledge, the arts, history, words, and architecture is shared by people of a period. Mrs. Kim's statement suggested that culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. However, she expressed concern about the growing ignorance of Chinese culture in recent generations. Mrs. Kim also described the essence of the Chinese culture, as she sees it:

> Chinese morals, such as *li* (politeness), *yi* (loyalty), *lian* (honesty), and *chi* (honor). I believe that a strong nation derives from a good familial system. I really appreciate the Chinese people's culture of respecting one's elders. We need to demonstrate our respect and consideration for those more senior than ourselves. This is visibly absent in the American culture. I also admire the idea of being polite to everyone; we [the Chinese] often say that politeness costs nothing. (Interview, 07/15/10, 223-226)

Mrs. Kim particularly emphasized the individual's moral development and its connection to familial and societal construction. According to her, the concepts of respecting seniority and politeness were the major Chinese values that should be conveyed in the Chinese school.

Mrs. Kim further noted the inseparableness of language and culture. She said:

> Why do we have culture? The reason is that we use verbal or written language to record what has happened in a period of time. If we don't have language, we cannot record our culture. We also rely on language to understand culture. (Interview, 07/15/10, 242-244)

Recognizing the link between language and culture, Mrs. Kim believed that her responsibility was not only to teach Chinese characters but also to transmit the Chinese culture. As her students usually experienced U.S. culture in their daily lives, she viewed herself as some who could integrate Chinese and American cultures for them.

The other primary area of the interview involved questions about how Chinese culture was integrated into her language teaching. One of the main points that Mrs. Kim addressed was verbal and kinesthetic expression. She explained:

> I use every opportunity to educate students. For example, I teach them how to bow in class. Because I think it is the most traditional and fundamental action to show our respect in the Chinese culture, we cannot neglect it. I always tell my students that, the lower you bow, the more respect you show others. Besides, every student must say thank you to their peers, parents, or me. I think it is important to help students develop and show a sense of appreciation through action. (Interview, 07/15/10, 228-232)

Mrs. Kim introduced Chinese virtues by encouraging her students to experience cultural actions and words. She understood that many Chinese people are shy and hide their

feelings. To bring about change, she encouraged her students to show their appreciation and respect while learning the language by learning to be polite to her and their parents.

The other way Mrs. Kim integrated Chinese culture was by introducing Chinese holidays. Mrs. Kim noted that her students were still very young, so they needed concrete objects to experience Chinese culture:

> For example, in the Chinese New Year, I show my students what we do and what we eat during this time. I also bring some materials (e.g., spring festival couplets, firecrackers, or red envelops) to class and let them know how to say these words. Or for the Chinese Autumn Festival, I tell a story and bring moon cakes for them to eat. (Interview, 07/15/10, 246-251)

To help preschool students construct fundamental knowledge of the Chinese culture, Mrs. Kim used a variety of cultural objects to engage them. Besides materials related to holidays, Mrs. Kim also brought spinning tops or Chinese lanterns for students to play with in class. She further noted, "For younger kids, you don't need to tell them a lot of details. The most important thing is to let them have fun and touch the objects" (Interview, 07/15/10, 364-365). That is, students can experience the Chinese culture by interacting with artifacts or cultural objects while participating in multiple literacy activities.

Mrs. Kim perceived that Chinese idioms helped students understand the Chinese history. Rather than directly explaining the idioms, she used stories to facilitate students' comprehension. She noted, "Although the students might not thoroughly know the origin of the idioms, they could understand the meanings" (Interview, 07/15/10, 377-378).

Borrowing stories familiar to her students and connecting them to Chinese virtues was another way to enhance students' cultural consciousness. For example, she introduced the concept of "filial piety" by telling the stories of *Cinderella* and *Little Red Riding Hood*. She discussed with students why the story characters showed consideration for the elders and let them know the importance of taking care of parents.

Teacher's instructional behaviors: Culture is embedded in literature

Mrs. Kim and her nine pre-kindergarten students were observed in mid-fall in a crowded classroom. Each student's parents were required to stay in the classroom to assist their child, adding to a feeling of too little space. The students' desks were arranged in a U-shape in the front of the classroom; their parents sat in a row in the back of the classroom. There was also a space for Mrs. Kim to do group activities with the students. She always greeted the students in a very loud and animated voice at the beginning of class by saying, "*Xiao pengyou hao!*" (Hello. kids!). She expected every student to respond to her with "*Laoshi hao!*" (Hello. teacher!). Mrs. Kim also called the roll at the beginning of every class, which was a traditional way to begin class in Taiwan. In the roll call, students had to say "*yo*" (yes) when Mrs. Kim called their names; this would earn a sticker. The stickers not only served as a reward but also became a teaching material, since Mrs. Kim asked students to say the name of the picture on each sticker in Mandarin.

Mrs. Kim proceeded to do some warm-up activities to review prior lessons. She usually wrote the zhuyin symbol or Chinese characters on the blackboard and asked the students to pronounce them. Mrs. Kim's teaching approach seemed to provide coherent and organized instruction for the students during the semester. She usually followed a

pattern: introduce the zhuyin symbol, ask the students to write each symbol, connect related words, and repeat the symbol and words. To help the students learn, Mrs. Kim used gestures and multiple props such as, flash cards, pictures, handouts to strengthen their understanding. In the learning process, Mrs. Kim served as a leader in directing the students. She usually said, "Kids, repeat after me. I want to hear your voices," or, "Ok, now I want you all to listen and look at me." Despite her tendency to guide students, her energetic voice and actions suggested that she enjoyed teaching the lesson and her work.

Mrs. Kim put more emphasis on students' individual achievement than on group collaboration in her class. That is, she spent more time determining if every student pronounced the Mandarin vocabulary correctly. She usually walked by each student's seat and asked them to pronounce the zhuyin symbols or Chinese characters. To strengthen students' self-confidence, she encouraged them to demonstrate their language abilities in front of the classroom. For example, her students might be asked to pronounce Chinese characters or perform Chinese songs that they have learned in class. Such instruction helped the students build on prior experiences to construct their understanding. More importantly, students' self-expression showed that Mrs. Kim shared her authority with her students.

Mrs. Kim focused on integrating a variety of literature to enhance pre-kindergarten students' cultural knowledge. She primarily used nursery rhymes, including *huoche kuaifei* (fast-running train)*, sanlunche* (tricycle)*, liangzhi laohu* (two tigers)*,* and *datou* (big head). The nursery rhymes chosen were very well known, traditional songs that almost every child in Taiwan could sing. Each week, Mrs. Kim taught students one

song after finishing the formal lesson. To encourage students to learn and interact with her, she always asked the students to sit in a circle in the front of the classroom. Instead of teaching the song sentence by sentence, Mrs. Kim sang the whole song first, while gesturing. Her students then sang the song and imitated Mrs. Kim's gestures. They practice every week, and Mrs. Kim observed that the students enjoyed this activity and were able to memorize the songs without much difficulty. As students fluently sang a song, Mrs. Kim encouraged them to say "*wo hao bang*" (I am wonderful) with a thumb-up gesture themselves. Such instruction helped students "sing" in Mandarin naturally and learn that the song was part of their culture. The positive and joyful atmosphere Mrs. Kim created also helped the students value Chinese culture and become competent learners.

Another way Mrs. Kim mentioned Chinese culture was by reading aloud from storybooks she brought in Taiwan to connect the lessons. In this activity, she would explain the story and transmitted the embedded cultural virtues. For examples, when she taught the names of animals in Mandarin; she linked the curriculum to one of the most famous stories *gui tu saipao* (*The tortoise and The Hare*), to help students understand the importance of "working hard." During the book reading, Mrs. Kim tended to read the story aloud without interacting much with students. It was only upon completing the book that she would ask recall questions. For example, she asked, "How many animals are there in this story?" and "What are their names?" The students were observed to receive more opportunities to express their ideas when she raised an open-ended question such as, "What animal do you want to be?" Interestingly, one of the students answered that he wanted to be the rabbit. Mrs. Kim corrected him, "No, we don't want to be a lazy person.

We are Chinese, so we have to work hard and put much effort into our work" (Observation, 10/13/10). The reading materials associated with the curriculum enriched students' language learning and helped them get in touch with cultural literature. Mrs. Kim's clear indication of cultural virtues also fostered recognition that "working hard" was one of the characteristics of Chinese people.

Connecting cultural holidays and language learning was an approach Mrs. Kim used to develop students' cultural awareness. The mid-autumn festival is the Chinese holiday that Mrs. Kim celebrated with her students during the semester. From Chinese literature, she chose a short poem to help students understand holiday's origin. She also increased students' cultural content knowledge by pointing out that "the moon will be big and bright" and "family members have to get together" at this time. Furthermore, she brought moon cakes for the students, and they learned that specific food was also a part of the Chinese culture.

In addition to incorporating culturally relevant literature, Mrs. Kim emphasized "respecting seniority" and "politeness" through oral interaction. Mrs. Kim expected students to demonstrate respect for one's elders by greeting her with "Hello! Teacher!" as the class began. She also explained how this virtue would apply to the students' families. For example, when teaching the lesson "Good morning," she said to students, "When you get up in the morning, you have to say good morning to your parents or grandparents. It is our culture that young people greet their elders first" (Observation, 09/19/10). As for politeness, Mrs. Kim always said "*xie xie*" (thank you) loudly when students returned materials to her. She also expected students to learn this virtue by expressing their own

appreciation. Thus, every time students received a reward, she used an interesting method to prompt them to say "x*ie xie*." For example, when she gave students a lollipop, she said, "If you don't say '*xie xie*,' the lollipop will stick on my hand" (Observation, 10/24/10). Clearly, Mrs. Kim not only focused on students' language learning but also assisted in constructing their cultural morals.

In summary, Mrs. Kim primarily used a variety of literature to introduce Chinese culture. Her establishing a joyful atmosphere allowed students to gain cultural knowledge while having fun. Cultural virtues were also emphasized in class to help students understand how to show the appropriate attitudes and how to respect elders and be polite when interacting with others.

Miss Lin

Perspectives on culture and language instruction

When the first grade teacher Miss Lin was asked what culture meant to her, she replied:

> It is difficult for me to give a clear definition. Well, I think culture means how a group of people show their attitudes and characteristics. For example, Chinese always give others the impression of being hard-working and thrifty. People then understand that this is part of Chinese culture. A culture also means how a group of people eat and dress. (Interview, 07/09/10, 246-248)

Miss Lin's statement indicated that she viewed culture as composed of group-specific behaviors in relation to social influences. When discussing Chinese virtues and language instruction, she specifically mentioned the "kinship system":

> I teach students how to say family members' titles. I draw a family tree and tell them that they have to respect the family members senior to them. I let them know that Chinese people stress familial hierarchy, so the titles are more complicated in than American culture. I want to help them accept that it is part of their culture. (Interview, 07/09/10, 250-253)

Miss Lin emphasized respecting seniority in the family and connected it to language learning. This virtue was also exemplified in her interactions with students: she asked her students to give her things with both hands. She explained, "When you use both hands, it shows your respect for someone. I tell my students that Chinese people consider using one hand to be impolite" (Interview, 07/09/10, 255-257). Clearly, Miss Lin emphasized inculcating proper cultural attitudes and rituals early.

Miss Lin perceived that language and culture coexisted together and that their connection could be noted in daily conversation. She stated:

> For example, I tell them [my students] that if they want to ask someone questions in Mandarin, they need to start with *qing wen* (excuse me) to be polite. Thus, as I design conversation handouts, the questions always start with *qing wen*. The students then learn to use *qing wen* as they ask me questions in class. Another example is when I teach *ni* (you), I also let them know the difference between *ni* and *nin*. I tell students that they need to use *nin* when talking to elders to show respect. These are examples of how language learning and Chinese culture are linked. (Interview, 07/09/10, 270-275)

Miss Lin focused on language use to convey cultural rituals. According to her statement, "respect" and "politeness" were the major values embedded in language teaching. She also incorporated the basic greetings that students might hear in Taiwan to help them experience the culture. She said, "For example, when they play the role of a salesperson, they have to learn how to say *huanying guanglin* (welcome) and *xiexie guanglin* (thanks for coming). I mean, when they go to Taiwan, they will recognize the words and understand it immediately" (Interview, 07/09/10, 279-281). In this sense, Miss Lin created a context that helped the students understood social *do's* and *don't*s in the Chinese speech community.

In terms of the methods she used to integrate Chinese culture into the lessons, Miss Lin first mentioned storybook reading:

> Compared to the textbook, students show more interest in listening to cultural stories. I usually use both Mandarin and English to read stories in the first semester. However, I start to use only Mandarin to help them practice listening in the second semester. Students really enjoy this activity because they always pay attention to me when I read a story. (Interview, 07/09/10, 96-99)

Miss Lin viewed cultural literature as a resource to immerse her students in Chinese culture. To develop her students' listening abilities, she shifted from Mandarin-English bilingual instruction to a Chinese-only strategy.

Miss Lin also saw the use of poems as an effective way to introduce Chinese culture. She explained:

> I realize that my students are more interested in memorizing poems than texts. Because poems are short and rhythmic, students can learn them really quickly. I remember that one time when I taught a poem, one of my students went home and explained this poem to his parents. The parents were really surprised about their son's ability to understand Chinese culture by reciting a poem. (Interview, 07/09/10, 90-93)

Miss Lin's statement demonstrated that the use of Chinese poems enabled students to internalize Chinese culture. Although Chinese poems are complex and contained multilayered meanings, for example, one word may imply multiple things, Miss Lin tried to make their interpretation fun and encourage students to memorize them.

Finally, Miss Lin emphasized that teaching roots of Chinese characters fostered cultural learning. She noted, "For example, 木 is related to wood and 氵relates to water. Introducing this concept helps the students understand how and when the Chinese characters were invented" (Interview, 07/09/10, 275-276). Clearly, Miss Lin viewed the evolution of Chinese characters as a way to enable her students to experience Chinese culture.

Teacher's instructional behavior: Culture is the daily life of a group of people

In Miss Lin's first grade class, each student sat with a partner. Miss Lin randomly changed her students' seats every week. She usually arrived early and put the students' name tags on their desks before class started. Thus, the students had the opportunity to get to know their peers. During class, Miss Lin asked parents to record the students' points: the students received points for giving a correct response or voluntarily using an

expression. The nine students in her class clearly enjoyed coming to the Chinese school and interacting with Miss Lin, as evidenced by their willingly engaging in activities without needing to be called on. In addition, the classroom atmosphere was pleasant, and the students laughed and smiled a lot. Although Miss Lin taught first grade students, she viewed them as independent thinkers who did not need their parents to do their thinking for them. She asked the students to raise their hands before expressing their ideas and asked them to be responsible by completing their worksheets on their own. Speaking English was not allowed in Miss Lin's class. If the students spoke English, she gave them an oral warning, "Lose a point." It was apparent that as the semester progressed, the students spoke Mandarin more fluently and policed one another to discouraging the use of English.

Miss Lin used a fast-paced, structured learning process. Whereas other teachers completed only three to four lessons in a semester, Miss Lin finished eight lessons. Unlike the pre-kindergarten teacher who focused on Chinese character "recognition," Miss Lin specifically stressed the correct "formation of Chinese characters." Thus, she spent more time directing her students do write characters correctly. Miss Lin's instruction usually followed a static pattern: reading texts, writing Chinese characters, and introducing related words. To better help her students recognize Chinese words, Miss Lin made vocabulary flash cards and demonstrated them on the blackboard. The flash cards also served as a tool to assess her students' comprehension when she used them to them to review previous lessons.

In the observations during the semester, Miss Lin did not always play the role of a leader or knowledge transmitter. Instead, she gradually shifted that responsibility to her students. This was especially true after mid-semester. Recognizing that her students were young learners, Miss Lin usually introduced skills first and gradually built their autonomous learning after. For example, she encouraged the students to be the teacher and lead the class in writing Chinese characters or reading texts. The student who acted as teacher learned to give the others instructions by saying "raise your hand" or "read with me." Miss Lin also promoted knowledge construction through peer collaboration. This could be seen when Miss Lin grouped her students and asked them to write a short story based on the pictures she provided. After building on each other's perspectives, the story became more organized and complex. In addition, the students with higher language ability learned to support the ones with lower language ability. The shift of authority and the involvement of peer support indicated that Miss Lin viewed teachers' and students' scaffolding as an essential way to facilitate students' language development.

The primary way culture was carried into Miss Lin's language teaching was through conversation practice. Miss Lin was aware that most of her students had traveled to Taiwan or other Asian countries. Thus, she viewed the classroom conversation as a way of "visiting" Taiwan. To enhance students' communicative competence, Miss Lin created a variety of lived contexts and put examples of dialogue on the blackboard for them to practice in conversation. For example, on the topic of grocery shopping, the students played the roles of grocers and shoppers and learned how to bargain with each others in Mandarin. By practicing the dialogue models Miss Lin provided, the students

implicitly learned communication patterns that were shared from Chinese culture. Other topics, such as age ("How old are you?"), dates, ("What date is today?"), and sharing ("May I borrow…?") were also illustrated in class. This practice helped students apply their learning to their daily lives and increase communication with their peers, although this activity was not described in the textbook. Miss Lin allowed time for each student to practice with a partner in front of the class. Her emphasis on developing students' communicative competence connected to the notion that people in a speech community have their norms and expectations regarding the use of a language. Miss Lin fostered the students to share cultural understanding, values, and attitudes by practicing Chinese linguistic norms.

Cultural integration was also observed when Miss Lin used games from Taiwan. For example, she used the game *one two three, trees* to strengthen students' listening abilities. In this game, Miss Lin first put animals' pictures on the blackboard. The students had to line up in a row away at the back of the classroom. As Miss Lin turned to face the blackboard, she called out "one two three, (animal's name)" in Mandarin, and the students had to run as fast as possible to identify the right picture before Miss Lin turned around. If the student did not freeze when Miss Lin turned around, he or she was out of the game. The rest of the student who took the card first earned a point (Observation, 09/13/10). The other game, *heart attack,* was utilized to cultivate students' counting abilities in Mandarin. In this game, four students in a group were dealt thirteen poker cards that remained face down. The game began with person number one showing a card and saying "one." The numbering continued with the next person showing a card

and saying “two.” This continued around to be until 13 is reached. If the number said and the card shown matched, students had to “slap” the card in union and the sequence began again with “one” (Observation, 08/29/10). These cultural games not only encouraged students’ engagement in class but also helped them experience cultural activities that were hard to access in American schools.

Poems were another source that Miss Lin used to teach Chinese culture. Chinese poems are rich in cultural information and traditional values. In addition, there is a rigorous format and rhythm to follow when writing Chinese poems. Miss Lin illustrated one of the most famous poems written by ZhiHuan Wang, *deng guan que lou* (登鸛雀樓) in class:

End of the day, sunset by the mountain (白日依山盡），

Where the Yellow River enters the ocean (黃河入海流) ，

To see one thousand miles further (欲窮千里目) ，

Ascending one more story （更上一層樓）。

Because Chinese poems are hard to understand, Miss Lin explained the poem word by word. In this poem, the first two sentences describe the beauty of natural scenes. However, the embedded value is in the last two sentences, which suggests that the higher you climb, the better your view. Elaborating on this metaphor, Miss Lin connected to the poem to the notion of “the harder you work, the more you gain.” As this poem is the one that everyone in Taiwan has to learn, Miss Lin required every student to recite it in front of the class (Observation, 11/28/10).

In general, Miss Lin was consistent in bringing Chinese culture into her teaching in three primary ways. Focusing on linguistic forms, Miss Lin provided performative experience to help students understand language codes through "role play." Under such instruction, the students gradually recognized that Chinese culture is the "residue" of social communication. The games borrowed from Taiwan also highlighted an unwritten feature of culture embedded in language learning. Finally, poems containing cultural values were examined to help students experience the beauty of Chinese literary work.

Mrs. Su

Perspectives on culture and language instruction

> The fourth grade teacher Mrs. Su expressed her perspective on culture in this way: I think culture means a life style and habit. For example, Chinese people like to eat rice. Culture implies how a group of people do things. For example, the way I educate my kids is influenced by my parents. Culture also indicates the personality of a group of people. For example, Chinese people are modest and express their feelings in a very reserved way. (Interview, 07/01/10, 229-232)

Mrs. Su appeared to stress the influence of culture on the pattern of human thinking and actions. More importantly, she suggested that this pattern was likely to be transmitted from one generation to the next. When talking about Chinese culture, she argued that there was a difference between people from Taiwan and those from Mainland China:

> When we speak of "Chinese culture," I think there is a big difference between Taiwan and Mainland China. Compared to the Taiwanese, people from Mainland China are more aggressive and more likely to show off. Because during Mainland

> China's revolution, they fought Confucianism and traditional culture, I think the Taiwanese people have maintained a more complete Chinese culture. Such differences also influence people's personality. Taiwanese are more kind and humble than people from Mainland China. (Interview, 07/01/10, 232-238)

Based on her experiences interacting with people from Mainland China in the United States, Mrs. Su was aware that Chinese culture might mean different things in Taiwan than it does in Mainland China. She argued that Taiwanese retained the original Chinese culture and Confucius's ideology. While she asserted that the revolution squelched Confucianism and traditional attitudes, she did not connect political beliefs to culture.

As for the integration of Chinese virtues into language instruction, Mrs. Su focused on the concept of "filial piety":

> I have taught the character, *xiao* (filial piety) in class. I tell my students that you have to respect your elders and take care of them when they get old. Although I have not introduced Confucius and his teachings, my students all learn to respect their elders, which is a crucial value in Chinese culture. (Interview, 07/01/10, 245-249)

Mrs. Su used the Chinese character itself to teach the notion of filial piety. Yet she faced difficulty when explaining this concept to her biracial students. She said, "For biracial students, they absolutely need English to support their understanding. However, I find that English sometimes cannot precisely interpret Chinese virtues" (Interview, 07/01/10, 250-252). From her perspective, it is a problem to use English to use translations.

Mrs. Su perceived that language and culture were linked and that culture influenced the students more profoundly when they had better language abilities:

> I think language learning usually starts with word recognition and pronunciation. When you have more ability to express your ideas and read complex texts, you can connect deeper cultural knowledge. The cultural knowledge then helps you better understand the language and yourself. I mean, if you want to learn a language thoroughly, you definitely need to involve culture. However, I think it's a pity that most of the students decide not to come to Chinese school after eighth grade since middle school is a key time for learning deeper cultural values. (Interview, 07/01/10, 255-263)

Mrs. Su considered culture a major factor in broadening the students' language development in higher grades. She suggested that it was essential to help students understand that language and identity were bound up with culture. However, most students stopped studying Mandarin after graduating from the Chinese school in eighth grade, which restricted their cultural development.

Mrs. Su also used other language activities to help her students approach Chinese culture. For example, she read one of the most famous Chinese fables to her students:

> I spend some time reading the Chinese fable (*Xi Yo Ji*, 西遊記) to my students. When I finish reading, the student who answers my question [about the text] correctly receives a prize. This activity encourages my students to practice their listening comprehension and helps the students gain cultural knowledge. (Interview, 07/01/10, 65-68)

Mrs. Su perceived that listening to Chinese fables helped the students develop their language abilities and enabled them to experience literary works preserved in Chinese culture. She further noted, "Because I read only one chapter each week, students show that they are engaged in listening because they are eager to hear the end of the story" (Interview, 07/01/10, 70). Clearly, cultural literacy materials motivate students to concentrate in class.

Another way Mrs. Su integrated Chinese culture into lessons was by teaching about Chinese holidays. She noted, "For example, during the Chinese New Year, I use stories, videos, websites, or other materials to help students understand Chinese culture. However, I recognize that the students may become bored when I talk about this because they have heard about it before" (Interview, 07/01/10, 388-391). Thus, rather than introducing only the Chinese holidays, Mrs. Su began to make comparisons between Chinese and American holidays. She said, "I discuss with my students the differences between the Chinese New Year and the American New Year, such as dates, food, and clothes. The students are really interested in sharing their ideas and perspectives" (Interview, 07/01/10, 395-398). Mrs. Su not only helped her students review Chinese cultural concepts but also aimed to encourage them to distinguish between American and Chinese culture.

Teacher's instructional behaviors: Culture is knowledge gained from reading

Mrs. Su's classroom was small and crowded with many chairs and desks. To ensure she had the students' attention, she had them sit in the front two rows. The students in her class were from diverse cultural backgrounds: some were from Taiwan or

Hong Kong, whereas some were biracial. They usually chatted in English before class began. Mrs. Su's voice was very soft and low; sometimes it was hard to hear her. Although Mrs. Su rarely indicated in the interview that she had classroom management problems, observation revealed that students' misbehaviors influenced the quality of her teaching. For example, when some of the students walked around or chatted in class, the other students became distracted and joined them. However, Mrs. Su appeared not to strictly prohibit these behaviors. Her inability to lay down and enforce rules derived from having previously taught only adults.

Mrs. Su usually started class by discussing homework with the whole group. She spent more time "explaining" students' misconceptions rather than she did encouraging students to actively think about the right answers. As for language instruction, Mrs. Su tended to follow a procedural step throughout the semester: reading texts, teaching Chinese characters and related words, and practicing sentences. To foster learning, she used handouts to explain words and phrases. Mrs. Su was also observed to focus on enhancing the students' "reading" abilities. Most of her students still relied heavily on zhuyin symbols to pronounce the Chinese characters: Mrs. Su was the only teacher who provided texts without zhuyin symbols thereby encouraging her students to read the characters themselves fluently. This emphasis was evident in each week's assignment as Mrs. Su asked her students to read the texts without zhuyin support at home.

Besides encouraging reading, Mrs. Su was the only teacher who encouraged the students to be "writers" by engaging in creative writing. For instance, in the lesson, "If I were…," Mrs. Su spent the whole class having her students write a short paragraph and

draw pictures depicting what people or objects they wanted to be. She also offered several guiding questions to help them write, including "Why do I want to be a…?" "What are the functions of the person/object?" and "How can this person/object benefit society?" Interestingly, most students chose to be animals or objects, such as a horse, rain, a rocket, and an eraser. Unlike normal class time, which centered on memorization and mechanical practice, this literacy activity promoted imagination and freedom of expression. Thus, the students were observed to actively comment on each other's ideas without Mrs. Su's assistance. As the students presented their work in front of the class, it was evident that everyone was proud of their creativity and writing abilities. Rather than serving as an authority assessing their work, Mrs. Su allowed every student to become a teacher by evaluating each other's work.

Group competition was the primary method that Mrs. Su used to motivate her students and help them review prior lessons. She usually divided the students into two groups to compete with each other. In this activity, the students had to correctly write words or construct sentences according to Mrs. Su's instruction. Demonstrating their motivation to win the game, the students engaged enthusiastically in reflecting on prior lessons and supporting each other. Therefore, this group activity created a space to legitimize students' agency in problem solving.

Mrs. Su shared cultural information through a wide range of "readings." As she stated in her interview, Mrs. Su chose the folktale *Xi Yo Ji* to integrate Chinese culture into the lesson. *Xi Yo Ji* consists of 100 chapters describing how a monkey king helped a monk make a pilgrimage to bring a Buddhist scripture from China to India. It is a well-

known figurative narrative that includes Chinese religions and customs. Mrs. Su usually brought the book and read one chapter aloud at the end of the class. While reading the story, she rarely interacted with the students but kept reading. To evaluate her students' comprehension, Mrs. Su asked several questions after reading each chapter. However, the questions tended to be "what" and "who," with short answers, rather than "how" encouraging students to elaborate. Although each chapter was long, the students responded to Mrs. Su's questions immediately and excitedly talked about the story. After she finished reading each chapter, Mrs. Su also required that the students read it themselves for their homework. Although this literacy activity was not included in the formal curriculum, Mrs. Su implemented it every two weeks. To enrich students' learning, Mrs. Su also introduced this story through videos. The students were observed to be highly engaged in watching the videos and discussing the characters with each other. In addition to the folktale, Mrs. Su brought a variety of reading materials on Chinese history and arts to class.

Mrs. Su also incorporated cultural festivals and food to enrich cultural learning. For example, for the mid-autumn festival, she used an online animated cartoon to explain the origin of this holiday. After watching the cartoon, Mrs. Su raised open-ended questions to elicit exploratory talk. For example, she asked, "How do you celebrate this holiday?" and "What does this holiday mean to you?" She further encouraged students' cultural awareness by saying, "During this holiday, Chinese people get together. We eat moon cakes and enjoy the glorious full moon." Besides food related to the festivals, Mrs. Su discussed other Chinese foods that the students might have in restaurants, such as

clear noodles, green onion pancakes, and dumplings. The students were excitedly discussed what kind of Chinese food they liked and to which Chinese restaurants they usually went.

In addition to introducing Chinese festivals, Mrs. Su also discussed American holidays to enhance students' cultural knowledge. For instance, in a lesson discussing Thanksgiving, she inspired the students to express how they appreciated their parents. The notion of "filial piety" was addressed when Mrs. Su said, "In Chinese culture, we usually use the character '*xiao*' to show our respect and gratitude to our parents. When you grow up, you have the responsibility of take care of your parents" (Observation, 10/10/10). From Mrs. Su's perspective, integrating Chinese festivals into language learning helped the students gain cultural awareness that they had little experience of in American schools. Moreover, by connecting American holidays and Chinese virtues, Mrs. Su fostered students' understanding of cultural exchange.

In general, Mrs. Su primarily focused on folktale reading to teach the students about Chinese culture. Celebrating Chinese festivals and introducing Chinese food became the main means of illustrating cultural traditions. Finally, using American holidays to elaborate on Chinese virtues was also used to help students see the cultural connections.

Mrs. Lee

Perspective on culture and language instruction

When asked for her definition of culture, the eighth grade teacher Mrs. Lee explained:

> Culture is an attitude toward life, a set of ethics, an extension of history, and a construction of beliefs. Culture also influences how you view things. For example, I think Asians are more likely to take care of themselves, whereas Americans dedicate themselves to others. I am surprised to find that Americans enthusiastically devote themselves to volunteerism, even younger kids. In Taiwan, parents always tell children to study hard rather than spend time helping others. (Interview, 08/17/10, 164-168)

Mrs. Lee focused on how culture influenced family and further affected individuals' beliefs. According to Mrs. Lee, although Asian cultures emphasize close connections among family members, Asians show less generosity to those with whom they are not familiar.

Unlike the other teachers during the interview, Mrs. Lee indicated that she faced a dilemma when using the term "Chinese culture":

> It is sensitive for me when you use the term "Chinese people" or "Chinese culture." I feel like I still view things from the "Taiwanese perspective." However, it is hard for me to separate that from the "Chinese culture." I am wondering if it is appropriate to use "Chinese people" or "Chinese culture" when articulating my ideas. (Interview, 08/17/10, 142-144)

Mrs. Lee appeared to show her strong disposition to separate herself from the label of "Chinese" to act as a "Taiwanese" person rather than a "Chinese" person. However, she recognized the inseparable roots connecting the Taiwan and Mainland China cultures.

She further asked me to use the words "Taiwanese" and "Taiwanese culture" in the interview, which made her more "comfortable" about answering the questions.

When discussing the essence of the "Taiwanese culture," Mrs. Lee focused on family:

> Family is very important for me. We have the proverb, "charity begins at home." I think family is my top priority, and I put all my focus on my family members. My American friends tell me that they stress individualism and independence. Some of them even get married without asking their parents. It really surprises me, because in our culture, you have to get approval from the parents on both sides before getting married. (Interview, 08/17/10, 174-178)

In Mrs. Lee's view, building close relationships with family members is the central value in Taiwanese culture. Mrs. Lee revealed that she saw a strong connection between language and culture and gave an example to show the difference between Taiwanese and American beliefs about respecting older family members:

> To better understand a culture, it is necessary to learn the language completely. For example, in my first few years of living in the United States, I could understand the TV show *Friends*. However, when my English improved, I could watch more difficult shows and understand not only the meaning of words but also the embedded cultural values. (Interview, 08/17/10, 194-200)

Mrs. Lee perceived that the more language ability one gained, the deeper the cultural knowledge one had.

Mrs. Lee specifically mentioned her role in helping students access Taiwanese culture. She remarked:

> I see myself as a promoter. Because I think of it as my culture, I hope my students can identify with this culture. Although they identify themselves as Americans, I know that deep in my heart I expect them to increasingly indentify with Taiwan or the Taiwanese. (Interview, 08/17/10, 204-205)

Further, Mrs. Lee offered some examples of how she affirmed students' cultural identification:

> When I teach a lesson about Taiwan, I encourage my students to share their perspectives on Taiwan. As the students show their love of and preference for eating Taiwanese food or having fun with their cousins in Taiwan, I give them positive feedback and inspire them to talk more. (Interview, 08/17/10, 207-209)

Mrs. Lee emphasized encouraging students to value and identify with Taiwanese culture. She also viewed herself as "a model" to represent Taiwanese culture and "a mediator" to provide information on Taiwanese culture to her students.

Mrs. Lee indicated that she did not intentionally teach Taiwanese culture in her instruction but followed the curriculum:

> I think every lesson has its own value to transmit. For example, when I teach Confucius, I share the concept of "respecting the elders." When I talk about the poet Tu Fu, I tell students about the importance of "working hard." In the lesson of discussing a baseball game watched with family members, I connect in to some perspectives on "filial piety." (Interview, 08/17/10, 311-315)

Mrs. Lee viewed the curriculum as the major tool with which to teach Taiwanese culture. She implicitly transmitted cultural virtues to students during language instruction. She also employed instructional technology, such as flash and videos to help students experience Taiwanese culture in a fun way.

Teacher's instructional behavior: Culture is analyzed in relation to other cultures

Mrs. Lee's eighth grade class was assigned to a science classroom where students sat in small groups. Of the seven students, three of them were from Cantonese families and the others were from a Taiwanese background. The students were observed to be familiar with each other and usually chatted in English before Mrs. Lee entered the classroom. To create a relaxed atmosphere, Mrs. Lee began the class by asking one student to tell a joke. Most of time, only through Mrs. Lee's explanation did the students understand the jokes. Taking the jokes students shared, Mrs. Lee linked the content to cultural knowledge. For example, when talking about a joke about booking a ticket, Mrs. Lee introduced the notion of "yellow cow ticket," which is term that Taiwanese used to describe scalping tickets. Mrs. Lee tried to help the students understand the terms "*leng xiao hua*" (冷笑話) and "*tai che le*" (太扯了), which are used and understood in Taiwan (related to a type of language and humor use) do not directly translate into English. Such instruction was contrasted with what was found in the textbook. Through learning Taiwanese slang and contemporary language use, the students were more likely to experience the specialized used of terms in Taiwan's local culture.

After listening to the joke, Mrs. Lee discussed homework with the students. She frequently asked questions to encourage active participation rather than passive learning.

Her questions elicited information and involved them in the process of analyzing that information. For example, she asked, "Why can't we use '的' instead of '得'?" and "Could you explain the difference between '*huanxi*' (delightful) and '*gaoxing*' (happy)?" In this way, Mrs. Lee situated the students in a problem-based learning context and "waited" for them to solve problems. The students then had opportunities to construct their understanding through collaborative discussion. This strategy not only helped the students share in problem solving but actually construct correct answers. Mrs. Lee typically taught a lesson using a static sequence: discussing texts, teaching Chinese characters and words, and practicing phrases. She also designed vocabulary handouts to supplement what was in the textbook.

As she explained in the interview, Mrs. Lee introduced cultural knowledge primarily from "Taiwan." In introducing the concept of culture during her language class, Mrs. Lee demonstrated tendency to compare Taiwan and the United States to elicit her students' analysis of cultural differences. It was important to Mrs. Lee that the students both acquired knowledge about American culture and also were able to demonstrate knowledge of their heritage culture. Thus, she used the students' knowledge of American culture to teach them about Taiwanese culture. She frequently provided information about cultural differences between Taiwan and the United States. For example, in a lesson about shopping, Mrs. Lee indicated the concept of "bargaining with a merchant over the price of an item," which is normal in Taiwan but is not easily seen in the United States. Likewise, the notion of "getting a refund for a returned item" is normal in the United States whereas consumers in Taiwan rarely have this right. When Mrs. Lee made

the comparison, she encouraged her students to talk about which cultures they preferred and to analyze the pros and cons of living in Taiwan and the United States. This teaching approach helped them build a bank of information with which to examine cultural distinctions about living styles that the students might not otherwise have been aware of in their daily lives in the United States. Mrs. Lee also viewed herself as a cultural informant providing lived experiences to help her students "see" culture. The information Mrs. Lee shared with the students helped them gain cultural knowledge, particularly from Taiwan.

Mrs. Lee also sought to enhance her students' cultural identity through multifaceted resources. For instance, she used PowerPoint to show a map of Taiwan and introduce several cities. As this map was presented in class, one of the students excitedly yelled, "Yeah! Taiwan!" In a lesson discussing about clothing, Mrs. Lee used the Taiwanese fashion designer Jason Wu, as an example. Wu was famous for designing the clothes that Michelle Obama wore to President Barack Obama's inauguration. Mrs. Lee used his success as a model to inspire the students to talk about how his story influenced their way of viewing themselves. She also referred to several famous Chinese actors, such as Jackie Chan and ZhiYi Zhang, to strengthen students' positive image of themselves as Asians in the United States. To enhance students' cultural awareness, Mrs. Lee used a scene from a movie *Fatal Attraction* to address the issue of racial discrimination. The scene described a character's disdain for things Taiwanese when realized that his umbrella, which broken only a few uses, had been made in Taiwan. Based on this scene, Mrs. Lee asked several critical-thinking questions, such as "What

does this message tell you?" and "How would you change this scene?" The students expressed feelings of discomfort with the scene but did not clearly indicate how they might change racial stereotype of address inequities. They showed more concern about identities, as when Mrs. Lee asked them, "How do you identify yourself when filling out a form?" Interestingly, all of the students said that they identified themselves as Asian Americans rather than as Americans.

Mrs. Lee also emphasized developing students' cultural virtues. Rather than merely transmitting Chinese virtues to the students, Mrs. Lee encouraged them to evaluate what cultural virtues to maintain when interacting with others. Through discussion, the students concluded that the basic principles included being polite, working hard, and respecting their parents. Interestingly, without Mrs. Lee's reminding them of the Chinese virtues, the students' perspectives were closely connected to those virtues, which emphasized "politeness," "effort," and "respecting one's elders." Building on the students' responses, Mrs. Lee further introduced the proverb, "Treat others as yourself" (待人如待己) to provide a broader sense of cultural beliefs in Chinese society. This proverb helped students realize the importance of building harmonious relationships in the collective culture. Mrs. Lee's willingness to open a space to hear students' voices enabled them to take the initiative in reflecting on cultural morals.

In summary, Mrs. Lee mainly bridged of the American and Chinese cultures to explore "cultural contact" with the students. To develop her students' cultural identity, Mrs. Lee used several figures from contemporary culture to enhance their sense of belonging. She further encouraged them to actively discuss cultural virtues that were

likely to influence their personalities in the future. Mrs. Lee's rigid notion of a concrete deviation between "Taiwanese" and "Chinese" culture made her assert herself as a "Taiwanese" and further reflect on her ways to teach culture. Although she showed a strong awareness to integrate "Taiwanese culture" into her class, she appeared to neglect the fact that not all of her students were from a Taiwanese background.

Mrs. Wang

Perspective on culture and language instruction

In the interview, the sixth grade teacher Mrs. Wang defined culture, stating:

> All of the things related to humans can be defined as culture. For example, the Disney mug not only is a commodity but also represents the American dream. Humans designed it to make adults and children feel that going to Disneyland enable them to fulfill the American dream. Through the media advertisement, people all over the world gradually internalize this value and their beliefs are influenced by American culture. (Interview, 10/15/10, 161-166)

Mrs. Wang particularly focused on how humans created culture and received culture not only through their heritage background but also through exposure to national values. She pointed out the transformation of culture by using "food" as a metaphor:

> I think culture can change throughout history, and this can be seen in the relationship between food and culture. In the past, people living in cold areas could not eat rice because it was too cold to cultivate it, whereas people living in the warmers climate did not eat ice cream because they could not store it. However, nowadays, ice cream is not a special food but belongs to several

> cultures. People can eat ice cream everywhere. Well, I mean culture is not static but changes over time and as the environment changes. (Interview, 10/15/10, 169-175)

Considering the transformation of dietary habits, Mrs. Wang indicated that culture is reconceptualized as humans change their life styles and living environments, and as global communication is globalized. She suggested that culture "changes" because humans change.

When discussing the essence of the Chinese culture, Mrs. Wang specifically mentioned Chinese characters. She noted, "I think Chinese characters are a very important part of Chinese culture because they reflect our ancients' wisdom and thoughts" (Interview, 10/15/10, 177-180). Mrs. Wang primarily viewed Chinese characters as core in representing the Chinese culture. She further said, "If you understand Chinese characters, you have more ability to access Chinese philosophy and theories" (Interview, 10/15/10, 186). Clearly, she saw Chinese characters as a tool to link cultural values.

While most teachers at the Dragon Chinese School emphasized Confucianism in the Chinese culture, Mrs. Wang had a unique perspective. She stated:

> Why do we have to obey the principles of Confucianism? Why do we have to be perfect? Why can't we just be happy people? Although we study the *Analects* of Confucius in schools, it does not mean that we have to follow his philosophy. (Interview, 10/15/10, 182-184)

Although Confucianism is the major ethical and philosophical system dominating Chinese society, Mrs. Wang appeared to challenge this value and wondered if Chinese people should continue to follow this tradition as a guiding philosophy. She added, "I think Confucianism also emphasizes collectivism, but I am not sure if this virtue works in the United States" (Interview, 10/15/10, 189). In this sense, she perceived that heritage culture might need readjustment as acculturates to a new culture.

Mrs. Wang indicated that the cultivation of culture was related to language learning. She explained:

> You can understand a culture either superficially or deeply. For example, most people know that the Chinese give [younger or less senior people] red envelopes during the Chinese New Year. However, when you know why we give red envelopes, or related stories, it shows that you know this culture more deeply. If you want to better understand a culture, you cannot neglect learning its language. (Interview, 10/15/10, 63-67)

Suggesting the close connection between language and culture, Mrs. Wang said she viewed language ability as a factor influencing cultural understanding. She further elaborated on the relationship between language and culture, saying, "If you are interested in a culture, it motivates you to learn the language. When you achieve better language ability, it helps you understand a culture more deeply" (Interview, 10/15/10, 205-206). Her statement explicitly showed her believing that one's degree of attachment to a culture is related to the extent of one's competence in the language.

As previously mentioned, Mrs. Wang had married a man from Mainland China. Interestingly, she still saw Taiwanese and people from Mainland China differently:

> When I meet people from Mainland China, I don't actively seek to know them. I still feel more comfortable talking with people from Taiwan. I think the Taiwanese are more courteous than people from Mainland China. (Interview, 10/15/10, 191-193)

Although Mrs. Wang had more opportunities to meet people from Mainland China, she appeared not to consider Taiwanese and Chinese in the same group. She said, "I identify myself as 'culturally Chinese' but I don't identify myself as 'Chinese'" (Interview, 10/15/10, 200). Her choice of identity also applied to her child. When asked about her child's identity, she responded that her child was "Taiwanese" and "American," using a jokey tone.

Mrs. Wang further illustrated how "Chinese culture" meant different things in Taiwan and Mainland China:

> I experience "culture shock" when I interact with my husband. I'm surprised to find out that the Chinese don't read the *Analects* of Confucius in school. They don't post Chinese couplets beside the front door during the Chinese New Year. They don't worship their ancestors. They aren't "traditional" in the way we are. (Interview, 10/15/10, 194-197)

While most people believe China represents Chinese culture, Mrs. Wang's statement demonstrated that, instead, it is Taiwanese who have maintained the original Chinese culture and customs.

As for cultural integration in language instruction, Mrs. Wang focused on developing her students' cultural identity in class:

> I think sixth grade is a good time to start discussing cultural awareness and cultural identity. I usually show some movies to elicit discussion. For example, I ask the students "Why do you learn Chinese? What ethnicity are most of your friends?" or "Do you see yourself as different from your friends?" I think identity development is probably more important than language learning. I don't expect my students to identify themselves as "Chinese" because they identify themselves as Americans first, but I want to help them feel comfortable if someone views them as a Chinese person. (Interview, 10/15/10, 302-208)

Rather than introducing cultural holidays or virtues, Mrs. Wang emphasized constructing students' cultural awareness through mutual discussion. Although this issue was not incorporated into the curriculum, she provided opportunities for her students to reflect on themselves. Clearly, Mrs. Wang viewed identity development as crucial because Chinese children will have to face and address it in their lives.

Teachers' instructional behaviors: Culture is transmitted from one generation to the next

Mrs. Wang's class was assigned to a science classroom, where the students had to sit in two small groups. Among the five students, three of them came from Hong Kong or Vietnam. The others were from Taiwan. Before Mrs. Wang's arrival, the students were quiet and had little interaction with each other. Mrs. Wang usually started class by discussing and correcting homework. Speaking English was prohibited at the beginning

of the semester. However, Mrs. Wang became aware that applying this rule limited students' ability to learn Chinese. Thus, she gradually allowed the students to use English in class, but they had to try to translate their statements from English to Mandarin. Toward the end of the semester, the students were demonstrating improved language ability and could better express their perspectives.

Mrs. Wang created a relaxed atmosphere that welcomed the students to freely interact with her. She always showed a strong interest in listening to the students' responses and smiled as she gave them positive feedback. Consistent with her interview statement, Mrs. Wang seldom followed a structured model to instruct the students. During the semester, the most salient features of instruction were two parts: having students demonstrate their learning individually and having them collaborate. To encourage individual performance, Mrs. Wang provided an equal opportunity for each student to take a turn reading texts, explaining phrases, writing words, and showing their work to their peers. Thus, the students were "on task," with limited time to become distracted in class. More importantly, in order to demonstrate their language competence to their peers, the students were in providing "correct information." Based on their contributions, Mrs. Wang rewarded them with stickers and inspired them to improve each other's language abilities. As for peer collaboration, Mrs. Wang used "role play" to embed the students in a multimodal literacy environment. Drawing on the content of the textbook, the students had to discuss which roles to play and what lines to say. Although Mrs. Wang did not offer much time to implement this approach, the students were observed to enjoy acting out different characters. Such unique instruction, which was not

seen in traditional Chinese classrooms, provided the students a space to become leaders who could make decisions and direct their own learning.

To motivate the students to talk more, Mrs. Wang preferred to link the curriculum to their lived experiences. In a lesson about quarrels between parents and children, Mrs. Wang provided opportunities for the students to express themselves. She raised several questions to facilitate discussion, for example, "How do you resolve conflicts with your parents?" and "What things do you like to do that your parents don't like you doing?" Since the topic was related to their experiences, the students actively shared their perspectives. Other topics, such as using a computer and learning to play a musical instrument were also included to make the lesson more relevant to students' lives.

Mrs. Wang used multiple and dynamic means to integrate Chinese culture into classroom instruction. One of her primary methods was familial involvement. Rather than viewing herself as the only cultural informant, Mrs. Wang saw the students' family members as resources to provide additional cultural experiences. This instruction was especially evident in the home work assignments. For example, when teaching the lesson "School Life," the students were asked to interview their parents about their own school in Asian countries and how the school systems in their home town were different from that of the United States. By interacting with their parents, the students gained more understanding of their heritage cultures. In addition to viewing parents as a source of knowledge, Mrs. Wang emphasized family members' connection. In a lesson describing how a child taught his grandparents to use a computer, Mrs. Wang encouraged the students to share where their grandparents lived and how often they visited them. As

taking care of one's elders was a traditional value in Chinese culture, Mrs. Wang required every student to write letters to their grandparents in class. She even helped the students mail the letters. Under Mrs. Wang's instruction, the students' letters became an important medium to connect the two generations. It also helped the students' ability to view heritage language learning as not only an academic activity but also as a tool to communicate with family members.

Introducing Chinese idioms was another method that Mrs. Wang used to share Chinese culture. Chinese idioms, called "*chengyu,*" usually consist of four characters. They are an essential part of Chinese culture because each idiom has values embedded in it. The idioms Mrs. Wang chose were all related to "animals," and thus were easier for the students to understand. Rather than "explaining" the idioms through one-way transmission, Mrs. Wang inspired the students to "draw," to concretize them. For example, when introducing the idiom, *hu tou she wei* (虎頭蛇尾), the students were invited to draw a snake with a tiger head on the blackboard and explain the meaning. Mrs. Wang then pointed out the cultural value by stating, "This idiom tells us that we have to complete a task with effort and full heart." This instructional strategy was implemented throughout the semester when illustrating other idioms such as, *hua she tian zu* (畫蛇添足), *ru hu tian yi* (如虎添翼) and *chen yu luo yan* (沉魚落雁). The students appeared to enjoy this approach since they had the opportunity to be creative by drawing pictures as they learned about cultural values.

In addition to transmitting cultural knowledge, Mrs. Wang stressed developing the students' cultural identity and raising their awareness of cultural "reconceptualization."

This instruction was particularly evident when Mrs. Wang discussed movies with her students. Connecting movies to the students' growing experiences, she had them watch the movie *Pushing Hands* (推手), which was directed by the Taiwanese director, An Li. *Pushing Hands* tells the story of three generations of Chinese immigrants and their struggle with Americanization. Mrs. Wang used open-ended questions to situate the students in the characters' experience and encourage them to reflect on how they were culturally different from their grandparents. For instance, she asked, "If you are a child who likes to eat American food, but your grandparents cook Chinese food, how do you feel about them?" and "When you see your grandparents write Chinese calligraphy or engage in *tai chi chuan*, how do you feel about them?" Mrs. Wang also encouraged the students to recreate Chinese culture by asking, "If you were a director, how would you stereotype Chinese people in this movie?" "What do you think the movie would end?" and "Would the family assimilate into American culture or challenge essentialism to take ownership of their Chinese culture?" Clearly, this movie dialogue helped the students an opportunity to rethink their identities and how the culture is reconceptualized through the process of cultural appropriation.

In summary, Mrs. Wang's practices showed that teaching culture not only involved static transmission from one generation to another but also included continuous discussion to transform traditional cultural values. She used a variety of literacy activities to raise this issue and further assisted the students to reevaluate their perspectives on cultural identity and acculturation.

Mrs. Chen

Perspectives on culture and language instruction

Mrs. Chen, who taught an advanced class, took a while to express her definition of culture:

> I think culture includes everything, such as humanity, the economy, the arts, and, literature, etc. Broadly speaking, everything related to humans can be seen as a larger culture. I also think if we don't compare ourselves with one another, we can't know how our culture is special. Thus, by observing the actions of Americans, Asians, or Europeans, we can understand the characteristics of each culture. (Interview, 10/21/10, 103-107)

Mrs. Chen not only focused on how sociocultural and historical contexts affect humans but also pointed out distinct ways that people living in different parts of the world develop their beliefs and values.

When asking about the essence of Chinese culture, Mrs. Chen indicated:

> I think Chinese people emphasize "human beings," including our behaviors, morals, virtues, and familial relationship. It does not mean that Americans don't care about their families, but we are more likely to stress that the individual should respect their elders and build close relationships with family members. (Interview, 10/15/10, 109-111)

Mrs. Chen's emphasis on the importance of family in Chinese culture was influenced by her experience of growing up in Taiwan. However, she lamented the cultural value due to the change of living environments. She noted, "Filial piety is a virtue that is hard to

implement in the United States because everyone lives so far apart. A possible way to show that I care is by calling with my parents on the phone so that my children can learn this behavior" (Interview, 10/21/10, 113-114). Rather than viewing culture a static, Mrs. Chen considered culture to be transformed when sociocultural and geographic context changed.

Having lived in the United States for more than 30 years, Mrs. Chen did not feel uncomfortable if other ethnic groups called her "Chinese." She said, "It takes a lot of effort to explain the difference between Chinese and Taiwanese. Besides, when someone calls you Chinese, how can you reply 'I'm not'?" Despite this neutral response, Mrs. Chen still preferred to identify herself as "Taiwanese" because of the political and cultural factors between Taiwan and China. Mrs. Chen also referenced who operated the Chinese schools as an important reason to identify the differences between Taiwan and China. She explained, "Immigrants from Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, or Vietnam don't go to Chinese schools run by people from Mainland China. Likewise, people from Mainland China don't come to our school. No one will say it, but everyone knows which group they belong to" (Interview, 10/21/10, 75-76). Her statement showed that one's language choice is connected to political factors and that recognition of the distinctions between Taiwan and China kept her politically safe.

Mrs. Chen viewed language and culture as inseparable and indicated that people used a different thinking process when using a different language:

> Do you notice that when you speak Mandarin and English, you use different ways of thinking? Sometimes, if you want to express your feelings, it is hard to be

> precise in English. On the other hand, if you want to describe some logical perspectives, English can be more effective than Mandarin. It doesn't mean one language is better. It shows how culture influences language. The Chinese culture and their society have emphasized literary scholars (文人) for centuries. Thus, people who study and create literature are highly valued. However, in Western culture, since the Renaissance, they have focused on developing technology. This difference caused Mandarin become romantic and implicit, whereas English is logical and explicit. (Interview, 10/21/10, 132-141)

Referring to her linguistic background, Mrs. Chen specifically indicated how Chinese and American cultures influenced language development. The discrepancies also affected individuals' thinking when they used one or the other language. Mrs. Chen further addressed the notion of "switching" and "mixing" to describe bilingual speakers' language uses as they encounter different languages and contexts.

When asked about the cultural values that students should learn, Mrs. Chen focused on appreciating Chinese characters and literature:

> Chinese literature is implicit and concise and has embedded values. I remember one time when I discussed a poem written by Li Bo with my students; they were surprised that a Mandarin speaker could create such a beautiful work. I mean, if they have an emotional response when reading Chinese, as they do when they read Shakespeare, this can maintain Chinese cultural values. (Interview, 10/21/10, 238-242)

More than focusing on cultural virtues and moral transmission, Mrs. Chen led the high school students to experience the beauty of Chinese literary works. She further noted, "Chinese literature also facilitates the understanding of Chinese people's beliefs and thoughts. This learning opportunity helps the students gain more understanding of their parents and build a better relationship with them" (Interview, 10/21/10, 96-97). Mrs. Chen viewed Chinese literature as a medium to strengthen students' cultural development and familial connections.

Mrs. Chen indicated that the textbook contained rich descriptions of Chinese culture. In each chapter, there was a unit called "cultural gas station" that covered cultural knowledge. A wide range of topics, such as Chinese history, architecture, and entertainment, were included. Rather than "explaining" and "repeating" this information, Mrs. Chen prompted her students to find related resources to share with others in class. She said, "The students in my class already have a fundamental concept about Chinese culture because they have studied in the Chinese school for more than ten years. I think what they need is to learn to find more evidence to support their comprehension" (Interview, 10/21/10, 176). Clearly, she emphasized the students' active learning to construct their cultural knowledge. Besides using the textbook, Mrs. Chen also encouraged her students to compare the Chinese and American cultures by sharing their experiences travelling in Asian countries. She raised several questions, for example, "How do you feel when you go to your parents' hometown?" and "What are the differences between living in Asian countries and in the United States for you?" From

Mrs. Chen's perspective, the discussion strategy helped students compare the two cultures and incorporate their real-life experiences to enrich their language learning.

Teachers' instructional behaviors: Culture is multifaceted and hybrid

Mrs. Chen preferred to have students sit in a group, although the classroom had rows of desks. When she entered the classroom, she always asked the students to move the desks into a circle so that they could see each other. Unlike other teachers, who stood in the classroom, Mrs. Chen sat in front of the students, unless she needed to write something on the blackboard. The students sometimes reviewed the textbook or casually chatted with each other in English before the class started. Rather than directly teaching the lesson, Mrs. Chen usually began the class by having students present their homework. The content of homework involved topics, such as the students' school calendars, their favorite leisure time activities, and information about family members. Mrs. Chen encouraged the students to give each other comments or feedback on their oral presentations. Such instruction centered on facilitator-guided discourse rather than on "top-down" or "expert-led" knowledge transmission. Mrs. Chen played a passive role by listening to the students' perspectives and arguments.

The use of a "small group forum" was evident in Mrs. Chen's classroom. Compared to the other teachers, Mrs. Chen spent more time on students' practicing dialogue and solving problems. The reason might be that the Advanced Placement test for Chinese assesses language learners' speaking skills. There were two forms of discussion in class.

The first form aimed to meet the test requirements. Mrs. Chen usually divided the students into two groups, and each group had to compose a story based on the pictures or Chinese words in the textbook. Although the students were observed to make contributions in their groups, most of them tended to use English when composing the story. As Mrs. Chen asked them to show their work, the students with better language ability were always put forwarded by their peers to present.

The second form focused on students' lived experiences. Mrs. Chen connected the lessons and students' personal encounters to facilitate dynamic communication. A variety of subjects, such as school life, favorite movies, their dream house, and Chinese superstitions were included. The students had to interview each other based on the questions Mrs. Chen designed and further reported the results in front of the classroom. In this discussion, the students appeared to demonstrate more interest and use Mandarin more naturally when seeking to understand each other. Using both formal discourse and casual dialogue assisted the students in their practices of Mandarin speaking.

Mrs. Chen primarily relied on the textbook to elaborate on Chinese culture. Unlike in other classes, the textbook for the AP test incorporated multiple dimensions of Chinese culture, including holidays, the arts, drama, music, religion, movies, architecture, and literature. Mrs. Chen thus viewed teaching culture as an essential part of her instruction since the AP test assessed students' cultural knowledge. She also offered more complicated concepts to deepen students' understanding. For example, when talking about Chinese holidays, Mrs. Chen connected them to the origins of the lunar calendar and explained how to use it. When mentioning Chinese drama, Mrs. Chen talked about

gezixi（歌仔戲）and *guoju* (國劇), which are two types of dramas from Taiwan and China. When discussing music, Mrs. Chen not only played Chinese songs but also introduced the five music scales created by the Chinese. Other aspects of culture, such as *fengshui*（風水）, *taichi*（太極）, and *yinyang*（陰陽） were also introduced in class. This diverse information motivated the students to converse in class and helped them build a profound knowledge of Chinese culture.

Another way that Mrs. Chen added to students' cultural knowledge while they were working with textbook activities was to urge them to express their own perspectives. This was a technique she returned to whenever the topics were relevant to students' experiences. For example, in the lesson "viewing film," Mrs. Chen encouraged the students to discuss the movies that had Chinese actors. They were also asked to describe how the movies illustrated cultural values. Through interaction with each other, the students appeared to gain more cultural awareness by valuing the Chinese actors and appreciating the movies' plots. Their travel experiences in Taiwan or other Asian countries were also a focus and every student showed eagerness to convey their ideas and paid attention to one another's descriptions. Using the students' responses as a launching pad, Mrs. Chen encouraged them to talk about the benefits of living in Taiwan. Clearly, connecting between the curriculum and the students' experiences was a fun way to enhance their cultural awareness.

Mrs. Chen also emphasized cultural "hybridity" in language teaching. Cultural hybridity refers to transnational and transcultural dialects brought about by globalization and localization (Kraidy, 2002). In class, Mrs. Chen illustrated language and culture in

Taiwan and also highlighted the differences in language usage between Taiwan and Mainland China. Mrs. Chen offered some examples to help students compare them. Difference included not only that there are different words to describe the same thing but also that a word might have multiple meanings. For instance, software is called *ruanjian* （軟件）in China, whereas *ruanti*（軟體）is used in Taiwan. *Tudou*（土豆）means peanuts in Taiwan, but it refers to potatoes in China. Besides language, they compared the educational systems, foods, and living environments. As Taiwan and Mainland China are resuming economic and political contact, Mrs. Chen considered transcultural understanding to be essential to the students' future. As Chinese becomes an important international language, acquiring this language ability helps them become multilingual people who can succeed on the global stage. The incorporation of language and culture from Taiwan and China helped the students recognize that "Mandarin" and "Chinese culture" are not monolithic entities but change over time and from one place to another. Accordingly, heritage language speakers not only inherit heritage languages but also transform dialects, accents, and discourse norms to adapt their language uses.

Another method to support students' cultural consciousness was to encourage them to compare Chinese and Americans life styles. Throughout the observations in this semester, this was seen to be the most effective instruction, showing the students' awareness of how their culture differed from American culture. By sharing with each other, the students realized that some of their habits were still "Chinese oriented." Thus, the students recognized their similarities in maintaining Chinese traditions and further

valued the characteristics of Chinese culture. Clearly, the discourse between peers facilitated the development of their cultural identity.

In summary, Mrs. Chen's instructional practices helped the students experience Chinese culture on both the macro and micro levels. Her encouraging their self-expression enabled the students to construct cultural knowledge, realize cultural differences, and acknowledge cultural values on their own More importantly, the comparison of Taiwan and Mainland China helped the students realize that culture, under the influence of globalization, is ever-changing and transferrable.

Chapter V: Results (cross-case analysis)

This case study aimed to investigate how Chinese heritage language teachers conceptualized their pedagogy and integrated Chinese culture into their teaching. As the previous chapter answered the first and second research questions, this chapter attempts to respond to the third research question: What is the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy in the Chinese heritage language school context? Drawing on the concept of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995), four themes emerged. Each theme also connected to a quote from the teachers' interviews: (a) "Motivating students first and developing their language abilities after" illustrates motivational and skill-building strategies to promote academic success, (b) "Culture is an attitude toward life, a spirit of ethics, an extension of history, and a construction of beliefs" illustrates individual, plural, and progressive ways to integrate and reconceptualize Chinese culture, (c) "I learn a lot from students and I like this fluid teacher-student relationship" illustrates rebalancing authority to share power with students, and (d) "For every language you learn, you gain another soul" illustrates culture identity development to enhance self-empowerment. This chapter analyzes these themes through sociocultural theory, critical pedagogy, and the central tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy.

THEME ONE: "MOTIVATING STUDENTS FIRST AND DEVELOPING THEIR LANGUAGE ABILITIES AFTER": MOTIVATIONAL AND SKILL-BUILDING STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE ACADEMIC SUCCESS

The first theme addressed the ways in which teachers engaged students and used instructional strategies to develop their academic success. While academic success in the

study by Ladson-Billings (1995) focused on fostering African American students' literacy proficiency to prevent their failing in school, here the teachers emphasized strengthening students' love of learning or maintaining their heritage language and their abilities to communicate with Chinese community members. The data indicated that all of the teachers viewed "motivating students" as their top priority in their language teaching. For example, Mrs. Su viewed her teaching strategy as "motivating students first and developing their language abilities after" (Interview, 07/01/10, 80). Mrs. Lee said, "I hope to help my students feel that learning Mandarin is truly an interesting thing. This is my biggest expectation" (Interview, 08/17/10, 246). Despite the wide age range of students, the teachers were seen to create a joyful and relaxed atmosphere to enhance students' desire to come to the Chinese school and continue to learn Mandarin. The teachers also communicated easily and openly with their students. In contrast to teachers in traditional Chinese classrooms who focus on lectures, the teachers in the Chinese heritage language school used a variety of approaches to make learning Mandarin fun. For younger kids, the teachers tended to stress the notion of "learning by playing." The observational data showed that Mrs. Kim and Miss Lin both integrated games into their instruction. Students then used hands-on experiences to construct their understanding through playing games. As for older students, the teachers shared the benefits of "peer support." For instance, Mrs. Su employed "group competition" to engage students, and Mrs. Chen used "group discussion" to prompt students to talk. By implementing collaborative sharing, students' language ability gradually developed through mutual communication and group efforts.

Students' participation in class made heritage language learning fun rather than stressful. Clearly, the teachers saw the cultivation of social interaction as critical to motivating students to learn their heritage language and further develop their language competence (Rogoff, 2003). Thus, language learning is achieved not simply through the internalization of knowledge by an isolated mind but through reflexive communication with others in a social context (Erickson, 1996). As the teachers encouraged peer interaction, students were expected to teach one another and help their peers achieve academic excellence (Ladson-Billings, 1995). In this sense, both teachers and students have the responsibility to promote their language development.

Also key in facilitating students' academic achievement was a skill-building strategy. The teachers implemented this strategy mainly through reviewing prior lessons, having test, using systematic lesson plans, and scaffolding. The observational data indicated that all of the teachers consistently assessed students' prior knowledge by reviewing previous lessons at the beginning of class. A discussion of errors in students' homework was viewed as a method to increase their comprehension of what they had learning up to the point in Mrs. Lee's and Mrs. Wang's classrooms. The review strategy also included directly assessing students' understanding of what they were learning in Mrs. Lee's class. As for the testing, in the interviews the teachers stated their lack of concern about testing in developing the students' learning competence. For example, Mrs. Kim said, "I don't really care about students' test scores but rather about their learning attitudes" (Interview, 07/15/10, 105). Mrs. Chen stated, "I think teachers should not push students to achieve high test scores" (Interview, 10/21/10, 200). However, the

teachers did give multiple quizzes in their classes. According to the observations, the teachers averaged one quiz every two weeks, even in the pre-kindergarten class. The test primarily examined students' ability to write Chinese characters but rarely evaluated their competence in conversation. Nevertheless, the teachers felt that assessment was still an effective approach to understanding how much students had learned. Testing was also a way to help students review their existing knowledge. Fortunately, in the teachers' classrooms, tests were not the only method to determine academic achievement; teachers also considered students' abilities to read, speak, argue, and solve problems in class.

Using a skill-building strategy provided an organized learning process and a holistic understanding of a lesson. Five of the teachers (except Mrs. Chen) perceived that a static teaching pattern followed by the design of textbooks was an appropriate method to develop students' language and literacy skills. Under the structured lesson plans, the observations demonstrated that most of the teachers focused on developing students' communication skills by encouraging them to do conversational practices (Miss Lin), presentations (Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Chen), or discussions (Mrs. Wang). Reading and writing instruction however, was rarely seen and was developed primarily through homework. Only Mrs. Su's classroom had clear evidence to show that she developed her students' literacy ability by having them write compositions. Systematic lesson plans also indicated that the teachers understood what level of language ability students should achieve at each grade levels to facilitate their future learning. Each teacher was found to have their particular focus to develop students' language and literacy development. Mrs. Kim focused on "Chinese character recognition," Miss Lin emphasized "Chinese character

writing," Mrs. Su stressed "reading and composition," and the rest of teachers highlighted mostly "dialogue practice." In addition to tailoring the curriculum to students' needs, the teachers also drew on students' lived experiences. For instance, Mrs. Chen encouraged her students to share their travel experiences, and Mrs. Wang invited her students to talk about their families. By valuing what students brought into the classroom, the teachers enabled their students to gain knowledge not only by studying the textbook but also by constructing it through sharing with peers.

A skill-building strategy cannot be established without the teachers' ability to scaffold. Throughout the observations, the teachers provided a variety of aids to help students achieve better language abilities, such as handouts, flash cards, supplementary materials, and questions to prompt discussion to help students improve their language skills. The joint activities designed by the teachers also served as a method to maximize the development of students' self-expression and autonomy learning. Besides academic scaffolding, the teachers also emphasized emotional support. Positive feedback and encouragement was provided throughout the learning process. As Mrs. Chen noted, "Don't feel embarrassed or discouraged when you don't do well on tests or homework. The important thing is that you are learning a language" (Interview, 10/21/10, 58-60). The observations also showed that the teachers allowed students to make errors; however, the belief "I can't" was not accepted. Such instruction was linked to Ladson-Billings' notion of academic success (1995), which viewed every student as a capable learner regardless of his or her linguistic and cultural background. While scaffolding was present in every class, the teachers primarily depended upon "direct instruction" to lead the class.

That is, the curriculum was determined, delineated, and designed by the teachers rather than bent to address students' interests. Although culturally relevant pedagogy views knowledge as continuously recreated through reciprocal discourse (Ladson-Billings, 1995), the teachers' practices demonstrated that they tended to ask "what" questions when reading stories or discussing texts. The classroom discourse was thereby limited to a conventional pattern of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation (IRE). "How" and "why" questions, which elicited more turn-taking and exploratory talk (Mercer, 1995), were not often asked.

These teachers' instruction validated sociocultural theory and culturally relevant pedagogy to ensure students' academic success by creating a joyful learning atmosphere, promoting peer interactions, reviewing prior knowledge to support metacognitive development, designing structured lesson plans, and providing academic and emotional assistance. The analysis revealed that although the teachers modified traditional teaching methods to offer meaningful instruction to students; however, insufficient time was allotted for students to engage in inquiry-based instruction. Thus, students were seldom given opportunities to expand their understanding.

THEME TWO: "CULTURE IS AN ATTITUDE TOWARD LIFE, A SPIRIT OF ETHICS, AN EXTENSION OF HISTORY, AND A CONSTRUCTION OF BELIEFS": INDIVIDUAL, PLURAL, AND PROGRESSIVE WAYS TO INTEGRATE AND RECONCEPTUALIZE CHINESE CULTURE

Similar to sociolinguistic scholars (Erickson, 2004; Vygotksy, 1978) who view language as a tool to transmit culture, the teachers in the current study recognized that

students could not learn Mandarin without understanding Chinese culture. While Ladson-Billings (1995) stressed the involvement of minority students' cultures in mainstream schools, this study focused on how the heritage language teachers brought Chinese culture into non-mainstream schools to enrich language learning. The goal was to enhance students' cultural competence and to help them reevaluate cultural knowledge.

All of the teachers expressed strong views about the importance of cultural integration in the heritage language class. The data analysis revealed that the teachers had their distinct ways of viewing culture, which also shown in their instructional behaviors. Each teacher's main views about culture fell into one of the six categories: culture is embedded in literature (Mrs. Kim), culture is the daily life of a group of people (Miss Lin), culture is gained through reading (Mrs. Su), culture is transmitted from one generation to the next (Mrs. Wang), culture is analyzed in relation to other cultures (Mrs. Lee), and culture is multifaceted and hybrid (Mrs. Chen). Although each teacher had her specific focus, their methods to integrate Chinese culture were not limited to one category.

The identified categories illustrated that culture intersected with heritage language in a variety of ways. They also demonstrated that the teachers involved different levels of cultural knowledge based on students' ages and abilities. Mrs. Kim, who believed "culture is embedded in literature," focused on introducing cultural nursery rhymes and storybooks. Miss Lin, who believed "culture is the daily life of a group of people," emphasized practicing dialogue forms in a Chinese speech community. Mrs. Su, who believed "culture is gained through reading," stressed experiencing Chinese culture

though folktale reading. Mrs. Wang, who held that "culture is transmitted from one generation to another," embraced family members as cultural resources. Mrs. Lee, who stated "culture is analyzed in relation to other cultures," focused on cultural comparison. Mrs. Chen, who contained, "culture is multifaceted and hybrid," celebrated the richness of Chinese culture and recognized the differences between Mainland China and Taiwan.

It was evident that the teachers' integration of cultural information was consistent with their perspectives. Their particular dispositions in defining Chinese culture enabled them to become different "cultural informants" to socialize students in multiple ways (Levine, 1969). Based on their sociocultural experiences, the teachers' cultural identities determined how they viewed "Chinese culture" locally and globally. For example, Mrs. Lee, who strongly identified herself as "Taiwanese," provided more cultural information from Taiwan. However, Mrs. Chen accepted "Chinese" as part of her identity and encouraged her students to understand a broader definition of "Chinese culture" by comparing China and Taiwan. Still, the teachers identified themselves as "Taiwanese identity" rather than Chinese when they were asked to choose being either a Chinese or Taiwanese. For example, Mrs. Lee viewed herself as "Taiwanese," and Mrs. Wang said that she was "culturally Chinese" but not "Chinese." Despite their differing national affiliations, all of the teachers stressed the importance of revitalizing the Chinese language and culture in U.S. society. This notion is connected to critical pedagogy, which aims to deconstruct ideological hegemony (McLaren, 2003). The teachers further indicated that insufficient cultural resources restricted their ability to teach cultural knowledge in class since heritage language education is not highly valued in the

educational system. Clearly, teaching culture is influenced by individual, sociocultural, and institutional factors.

In addition to looking at each teacher's individual perceptions on cultural definitions, the analysis also found that the teachers used plural techniques and methods to implement cultural teaching. They employed multiple techniques to transmit cultural values using teaching materials that were chosen and created by the teachers. Based on the six teachers' perspectives and practices, I grouped them into five categories to describe specific formats for cultural instruction.

Lecture: Textbook

Lecture was the most common technique among the teachers. Especially, as they attempted to explain the content of the textbooks, the teachers tended to provide cultural knowledge through one-way transmission. The teachers viewed textbooks as the most reliable resource with which to teach the target culture. However, the textbooks from pre-kindergarten to eighth grade focused mainly on students' language development without providing a clear cultural transmission. Cultural information was contained in articles introducing Chinese people, holidays, or traditions. Unlike in the lower grades, culture in the advanced classes was a prominent feature of the textbook. A broad range of topics were clearly addressed, including Chinese dynasties, history, religion, the arts, music, and architecture. One possible reason for this emphasis is that Chinese cultural knowledge is an important component of the AP test. According to the classroom observations, when the teachers noticed that some of the information in the textbooks was new to students, they directly explained it to them. Thus, using the textbook in the lectures helped students

learn the "facts" of Chinese culture. Although the textbook was unlikely to cover everything, for these teachers the textbook remained the major source for cultural content, including intercultural elements (Hinkel, 1999).

Interaction: Games, conversation, and discussion

In addition to using textbooks and lectures, the teachers emphasized interaction with peers to help the students gain cultural knowledge through social activities. Games were effective in motivating younger kids and helped immersed them in cultural activities. For instance, Miss Lin borrowed games from Taiwan and re-created them to connect heritage language speaking. Through fun activities, students had opportunities to work with their peers and recognized that games were "culturally bounded." The dialogue practice, which all of the teachers included in their instruction, became a crucial method to help students develop their communication competence to understand "cultural norms." Connecting to the "tacit theory" of Gee's (2008), conversation practice helped the students construct cultural models and understand how appropriate discourse works in the everyday life of Chinese people. As for discussion, the teachers invited students to make contributions when talking about cultural topics or cultural awareness. Students were required to debate with each others within groups. The discussion included sharing cultural experiences, comparing different cultures, and transforming cultural stereotypes. The teachers also brought their experiences into class to foster students' understanding. Through reciprocal discussion and interaction, cultural knowledge was constructed.

Supplementary wise old sayings: Storybooks, nursery rhythms, poems, folktales, and idioms

As Chinese people historically emphasize the development of literacy, rich cultural values are embedded in a variety of literary works. Recognizing that there was limited cultural information in the textbooks, each teacher chose different "cultural artifacts" to enhance their learning of culture. In the pre-kindergarten class, Mrs. Kim used nursery rhymes and storybooks to explore students in culturally bounded children's literature. Poems are a genre that fuses the vocabulary, grammar, and the verbal aspects of culture (Fredrich, 1996). In Miss Lin's first grade class, a Chinese poem written by ZhiHuan Wang was introduced to help student understand both the structure of poems and the cultural values embedded in them. Folktales are cultural resources that having a "mirror quality," reflect characteristics of cultural groups (Virtue & Vogler, 2008). Mrs. Su served told folktales in her fourth grade class and inspired students to reflect on the cultural knowledge contained in the storied. Finally, idioms are culture-specific and represent as an aspect of a community's language use (Qualls & Harris, 1999). Chinese idioms, most of which are formed by four characters with implicit cultural virtues, were illustrated in Mrs. Wang's sixth grade class. By integrating these rich literacy materials, students experienced previous generations' cultural beliefs that have been preserved.

Real-life exposure: Holidays, videos, and online information

Nothing better serves the language learning experience than the opportunity to see and touch cultural materials (Stern, 1992). Holiday celebrations were a fundamental way to nurture cultural development in every grade. Since the observational data were gathered in the fall, a couple of the teachers were observed to celebrate the Chinese mid-autumn festival. According to the observations, the teachers generally introduced the

festival first by reading a story or encouraging students to tell the story. The cultural tradition of family reunion was illustrated. To strengthen students' understanding, the teachers also brought moon cakes into the classrooms. By experiencing cultural literature and food, students could "feel" the holiday and gain a better understanding of the Chinese culture.

Although there has been a trend toward involving instructional technology in recent years, the teachers in this study had difficulty implementing it because they could not use any equipment in the rented classrooms. The teachers had to take turns borrowing projectors from the Chinese school if they wanted to show online sources. This restricted the integration of Internet resources into the classes. However, some of the upper grade teachers still incorporated instructional technology to enrich learning. For instance, Mrs. Su (4th grade) used online animation to introduce mid-autumn festival events. Mrs. Wang (6th grade) played movies to illustrate Chinese immigrants' cultural assimilation. Mrs. Lee (8th grade) and Mrs. Chen (advanced) both used Internet resources to show various perspectives on Chinese culture, such as Chinese arts and architecture. In this sense, the information from the Internet broadened their ways to access "lived" culture.

Kinesthetic action and reconnection: Filial piety and respecting one's elders

Cultural teaching included not only enhancing students' cultural knowledge but also developing students' cultural virtues. The observations demonstrated that the notion of "filial piety" and "respecting seniority" was particularly emphasized among these teachers. Rather than "explaining" the concept, the teachers encouraged students to experience these virtues by acting them out. For example, Mrs. Kim inspired students to

"bow" or "say thank you" to her. Miss Lin required students to use "two hands" when handing materials to her. These actions aimed to help students experience the virtue of "respecting one's elders." Filial piety was introduced in lessons related to Chinese characters (e.g., *xiao*) or articles, as when one of the teachers (Mrs. Wang) provided an opportunity for students to write letters to their grandparents. The teachers' instruction demonstrated that they were influenced by Confucianism, which valued the maintenance of the hierarchical structure in Chinese families.

While the paragraphs above focused on multifaceted ways of involving culture, Mrs. Wang and Mrs. Chen's "progressive ways" referred to their perception of cultural reconceptualization. As culture can be constructed through language (Erickson, 2004), the teachers were not merely teaching "dead" history. Instead, Mrs. Wang and Mrs. Chen, in particular, challenged their students to transform the stereotype of Chinese culture. Mrs. Wang encouraged sixth grade students to debate the idea that "Chinese people are always shy" by discussing Chinese idioms. Students in this literature discussion reflected on the meaning of being Chinese and sought to create a new image of Chinese people. Although Mandarin is commonly taught in Chinese heritage language schools, Mrs. Chen believed it was important to explain the varied literacy systems and cultural heritages of Taiwan and Mainland China. Her goal was to help students understand that the "Chinese culture" could be changed in different sociocultural and political contexts.

Culture was viewed as core in language teaching. The teachers had their unique perspectives on what constituted culture, cultural pedagogy, and cultural transformation. The employment of multiple learning materials and continuous discussion enriched the

curriculum and allowed students to experience and reconceptualize Chinese culture. The work of Ladson-Billings (1995) again placed the responsibility on teachers to cultivate cultural competence. Unlike teachers in Ladson-Billings' (1995b) study who mainly developed students' cultural awareness through conventional literature, the teachers here integrated more dynamic interactions, lived experiences, and multimodal literacy activities into their instruction. Chinese cultural virtues were embedded in both language learning and teacher-student interactions. The teachers also served as the key person in helping students not only maintain Chinese culture but also reconstruct it.

THEME THREE: "I LEARN A LOT FROM STUDENTS AND I LIKE THIS FLUID TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP": REBALANCING AUTHORITY TO SHARE POWER WITH STUDENTS

To implement effective culturally relevant pedagogy, Ladson-Billings (1995) argued that the teacher-student relationship must be equitable and reciprocal. This theme described how the teachers shared partial authority with students through restructuring interaction, allowing each student to act as teacher, and increasing students' responsibility. Although all of the teachers in this study were raised in Taiwan, they did not foster the hierarchal teacher-student relationship emphasized in Chinese culture. Instead, they constructed a balanced relationship and sought to help students become independent learners.

In considering the ways to in which the teachers rebalanced authority, it was essential to examine how they managed classroom interactions. All of the teachers indicated that the traditional idea that "teachers are the knowledge authority" was

inappropriate in these classes. For example, Mrs. Chen said, "I still place myself above my students, but I don't want to be a traditional Chinese teacher" (Interview, 10/15/10, 54-55). Mrs. Kim stated, "I don't see myself as a teacher because teachers in Chinese culture are always symbols of authority" (Interview, 07/15/10, 112). Indeed, the teachers emphasized encouraging students to make contributions through peer collaboration and discussion. As Mrs. Su noted:

> I don't think that we learn only from teachers' instruction. The knowledge we received from teachers is like a database installed in our minds. It is only through interaction with others and personal experience that knowledge can be internalized as our learning. (Interview, 07/01/10, 308-310)

To inspire students to speak more Mandarin, the teachers viewed creating a "safe environments" as important to encouraging students to freely express their perspectives. Miss Lin said, "I recognize that some of my students are afraid of speaking Chinese because someone has laughed at their tones before. Thus, I always tell my students not to laugh at others if they don't pronounce something correctly" (Interview, 07/09/10, 36-37). Mrs. Chen stated, "I notice that some of my students have difficulty pronouncing tones accurately because they speak Cantonese or Vietnamese at home. Therefore, when they express their perspectives in class, I have to be careful not to correct them too much, causing them to lose confidence" (Interview, 10/21/10, 317-319). Despite students' diverse language abilities, the teachers stressed allowing enough time for every student to talk in class. Such instruction legitimated the contributions of students and secured a more equitable balance in classroom interaction.

The more fluid relationship was apparent when the teachers allowed students to act as teacher. It was evident that, in every classroom, students were not always sitting and listening to their teachers. Rather, they received opportunities to "be the teacher." In particular, as the semester progressed, the teachers were observed to provide more time for student teaching. For example, Miss Lin asked students to lead others in writing Chinese characters, and Mrs. Kim encouraged her students to follow along as a student to read a texts. This role exchange enabled students to actively demonstrate their language abilities and view themselves as capable learners (Ladson-Billings, 1995). This redistribution of authority, although limited, did give students some share in power and recognize the value of student-directed instruction. Clearly, the teachers aimed to facilitate students' ability to become active agents taking responsibility for their own learning.

Drawing on Freire's problem-posing education (2003), in which teachers and students are "subjects" constructing knowledge through dialogue, the teachers in this study also noticed the importance of involving students' voices in their instruction. In the interviews, Mrs. Su, Mrs. Lee, and Miss Lin identified themselves as "facilitators" and indicated the importance of taking "student-centered" approach. The questions initiated by the teachers focused on evaluating students' prior knowledge, understanding students' lived experiences, and eliciting students' responses. The fluid teacher-student relationship helped the teachers learn from students' misconceptions and other perspectives, which further enabled them to connect this with previous lessons to provide better instruction. Thus, in dialogue with students, the teachers are no longer the ones who teach, but the

ones who are taught in dialogue with students (Freire, 2003). However, the observations showed that students' language abilities limited the teachers' ability to build knowledge in a more constructivist way.

Despite their effort to create an open relationship with students, the teachers did not seem to regularly establish students' autonomy to construct understanding themselves. One of the reasons might derive from students' insufficient ability to use Mandarin to express themselves well. Based on the observations, of different grade levels, it was interesting to discover that students' oral competence did not improve no matter how long they attended the Chinese school. Ironically, most of the higher grade students still needed English support to convey their ideas. Compared to higher grade students, younger grade students spoke Mandarin more naturally and showed more willingness to use Mandarin in class without being forced. This phenomenon showed that when minority students entered mainstream schools and got more experience using English, they started to lose their heritage language (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Recognizing this problem, the teachers tended to direct learning and dominate the discussion process. As well, because the weekly classes were short, students had limited opportunities to reflect on what they had learned. Thus, it was difficult to identify whether students actually reevaluated their perspectives, added to their understanding, and built new information through dialogue.

Another reason to have limited students' autonomous learning might be related to the teachers' backgrounds. Since most of the teachers were not education majors, they had inadequate professional training regarding how to elicit dynamic discourse. When

students had difficulty using complex sentences to express their perspectives, the teachers appeared to ask known-answer questions or immediately provide correct answers. The student answer was also immediately evaluated by the teachers, who made a brief reply such as “Good” or “No. Try again.” Thus, students lacked time to engage critically and constructively with each other’s ideas. Clearly, the strategy of initiating critical thinking or challenging students was not explicitly seen in the teachers’ instruction.

Although vertical instruction was observed to dominate the learning process, the teachers hoped students recognized that it was their responsibility to maintain their Mandarin language ability. To increase students’ independent learning, the teachers assigned homework for students to complete themselves. For example, Mrs. Wang asked her students to interview family members and report in class. Mrs. Lee and Mrs. Chen encouraged their students to find online resources and shared it with their peers. Since each student was required to demonstrate in class what they had learned by completing their assignment, this practice strengthened their sense of responsibility to mastering work language skills and cultural knowledge on their own.

While teachers in traditional Chinese culture tend to dominate the class and have a hierarchical relationship with students, these teachers shifted their authority and broadened students’ roles by allowing them to express themselves and lead the class. However, limited time was allotted for in-depth discussion and exploration. The teachers also had not developed sufficient proficiency to implement the student-centered approach.

THEME FOUR: "FOR EVERY LANGUAGE YOU LEARN, YOU GAIN ANOTHER SOUL": CULTURAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT TO ENHANCE SELF-EMPOWERMENT

Ladson-Billings (1994) indicated that teachers not only encourage academic success and cultural competence but also help students recognize, understand, and critique current social inequities. However, the teachers in this study rarely raised the issue of social inequities in their instruction. Rather, they focused on enhancing students' self-esteems as an Asians in the United States. This theme, then, described how the teachers helped students build a healthy identity and enhance their self-empowerment.

The interviews and observations showed that lower grade teachers seldom discussed the issue of cultural identity with their students. The main reason was that the teachers perceived that the students were still too young to address this topic. As Mrs. Kim said, "It is still too early to discuss race issues with three-or-four-year old kids. I just want to help them enjoy learning Chinese" (Interview, 07/15/10, 121). To empower younger students, the teachers provided a positive learning environment that encouraged them to demonstrate their language abilities. For example, Mrs. Kim encouraged her pre-kindergarten students to affirm themselves by saying "I did a good job!" after singing songs themselves. Miss Lin did not allow the notion of "I can't," being positive enabled the first grade students to view themselves as capable learners to accomplish tasks. This affirmation helped students be proud of speaking Mandarin and affirm their Asian American identity.

Compared to lower grade teachers, higher grade teachers were more likely to discuss cultural identity issues with their students. To improve eighth grade students' self-esteem, Mrs. Lee talked about several successful Taiwanese people in the United States to build students' positive attitudes about being Asian Americans. She also raised the issue that "cultural stereotypes" existed in society to encourage students to discuss racial discrimination. Mrs. Chen, the advanced teacher, focused on the empowerment of "Chinese people" by encouraging students to appreciate the cultural heritages of both Taiwan and Mainland China. She further emphasized the transmission of traditional cultural virtues and encouraged students to maintain close relationships with family members. Although the teachers recognized that identity was a personal choice, they hoped that students gained Chinese identity awareness by learning about successful Chinese people and valuing the beauty of Chinese culture. The classroom observations also demonstrated that several students gradually developed a sense of belonging as they studied a map of Taiwan or learn to consider Chinese culture valuable.

Ladson-Billings (1994) highlighted that the attainment of critical consciousness as developed by encouraging students to change the status quo, stand up for themselves, and take actions against inequity. The teachers in this study fostered critical consciousness by giving their students a language with which to stand up and express themselves. To help students understand "who they are," all of the teachers encouraged students to investigate their cultural roots and share authentic experiences related to Chinese culture. As Freire (1987) suggested that literacy empowers minorities by enabling them to "read the word and the world," Mrs. Wang and Mrs. Chen in particular encouraged students not only to

understand cultural heritages but also to question traditional Chinese culture by watching and discussing movies or literature. The observational data showed that in Mrs. Wang's and Mrs. Lee's classrooms students recognized cultural differences between their home environments and the dominant society. Yet the students were uncertain of whether to maintain the Chinese culture or assimilate into U.S. culture when the teachers asked them their preference.

Although the teachers fostered identity development and empowerment, they rarely encouraged their students to challenge social inequality or deconstruct the dominant ideology. Mrs. Chen noted, "Compared to African or Mexican Americans, we are even more a minority. It is better to be a good citizen rather than to cause problems" (Interview, 10/21/10, 300). Mrs. Su said, "I have discussed unfairness at school with my children. However, I think this situation will always exist. You can't solve it" (Interview, 07/01/10, 181). Thus, effort to enhance students' critical consciousness was not commonly seen in Mandarin heritage contexts. The teachers lacked awareness of how to challenge the status quo, possibly because Chinese people tend to seek to maintain harmonious relationships. Mrs. Su used the Chinese idioms, "以和為貴" (harmony is valuable) and "退一步海闊天空 (yield one step and you earn the sky)," to indicate the needlessness of arguing about racial issues with other ethnic groups. Clearly, although students had opportunities to understand Chinese culture, they did not get to practice critical thinking or social activism. The teachers empowered students mainly by acknowledging their Mandarin language skills, affirming their Asian American identity, and valuing their cultural heritages.

Chapter VI: Discussion

Three research questions underlay this study. They were: (a) how do teachers describe and conceptualize their classroom pedagogy? (b) how are teachers' perspectives on Chinese language and culture reflected in their teaching? and (c) what is the nature of culturally relevant pedagogy in the Chinese heritage language school context? The teachers in this study viewed themselves as "clown," "facilitator," or "leader," to play and learn with and to guide with the students. As motivating students is the top priority, the teachers showed their enthusiasm in teaching Chinese and provided an enjoyable learning experience to engage students. The teachers also encouraged students to debate, interact, and discuss topics with their peers to promote language learning.

The analysis revealed that most of the teachers' perspectives on language instruction were aligned with their actual classroom pedagogy. This finding validated previous literature that supports a consistent relationship between teachers' perspectives and practices (Richardson, 1994). However, I did find a disconnection in this relationship in Mrs. Su's (4^{th} grade) and Mrs. Lee's (8^{th} grade) classrooms when comparing their interviews and with my observational data. Although Mrs. Su did not indicate a classroom-management problem, observations clearly showed that she spent some time asking students to sit down or stop chatting in almost every class. As for Mrs. Lee, in her interview she indicated that she was aware of her lack skill in handling appropriate teacher-student relationships. Yet from classroom observations, it was apparent that she constructed fluid relationship with students and welcomed students' self-expressions. The

results indicated that how teachers perceive themselves might be inconsistent with their actual practices.

The analysis of interviews also found that most teachers sought to transform their instruction so as not to mirror the traditional instruction they themselves had received in Taiwan. Although there were many ways in which the teachers modified their pedagogy to implement what they called a "student-centered" approach, it was clear from multiple observations that the teachers still implemented primarily teacher-directed instruction. Student-centered learning only appeared when the teachers allowed students to have discussion with their peers or encouraged them to express their perspectives. Active investigation or self-determined learning strategies were rarely used to develop students' language abilities. The teachers' definition of "facilitator" then primarily entailed bridging English and Mandarin but not completely enabling students to gauge knowledge by themselves. In this sense, problem-posing education (Freire, 2003) was hardly seen in these teachers' classrooms. While Ladson-Billings (1994) suggested that knowledge is continuously recreated, most of the teachers tended to "transmit" knowledge to students because there was limited time provided for knowledge construction. Although the teachers showed their willingness to share authority with students, the direction of instruction was still determined mainly by the teachers, not the students. The teachers then fell back into a more traditionally authoritative mode of instruction rather than a constructed method of collaboration.

As teachers' perspectives and instruction are influenced by sociocultural and institutional factors (Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984), the analysis revealed that the

teachers' practices were associated with their teaching experiences and reasons for taking this job. It is interesting to find that the newer teachers, who were just becoming familiar with the curriculum, tended to try to follow the teacher-directed approach. The experienced teachers however, demonstrated more comfort in sharing authority and using multiple ways to interact with students. Although teachers' educational backgrounds were not the research focus of this study, the observational data showed that the teacher who implemented a student-oriented approach was not the one who received the highest educational degree. Mrs. Su (4th grade), who held a PhD degree, employed cooperative learning the least in her classroom. Mrs. Kim (pre-kindergarten), with only a high school diploma, encouraged students to be active learners and indicated a love of "learning" with her students. This finding is different from that of the study by Isikoglu, Nasturk, and Haraca (2009), which revealed that teachers' educational backgrounds had significant effects on their implementation of student-centered learning. A possible explanation is that Mrs. Kim had more teaching experience than Mrs. Su so she had obtained more knowledge about how to engage students. Another explanation might be related to the age of Mrs. Kim's students. She needed to use more interactive ways to get pre-kindergarten students' attention. As for their reasons for becoming Chinese heritage language teachers, the analysis showed that when the teachers viewed teaching as a "mission," they appeared to use "transmission" more in their instruction. On the other hand, when the teachers saw instruction as a way to "enhance their teaching skills," they put more emphasis on "developing students' language abilities." In addition, the teachers

who believed in their missions to teach Mandarin demonstrated more dedication and determination to continue teach heritage language.

The teachers in the present study all saw culture as inextricable in language learning. This perception validates the notion of the sociocultural framework that suggests that human action is shaped by cultural and historical semiotics (Heath, 1983; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1987). While the teachers considered language and culture to be inseparable, some of them had difficulty at first in expressing what culture meant to them. As they continued giving personal explanations, individual definitions of "culture" emerged. Some of the teachers were also uncertain if they really integrated Chinese culture into their language teaching since culture is always a "hidden" curriculum in language teaching (Byram, 1989). The analysis revealed that each teacher had unique ideas about culture which were conceptualized in differently in their teaching practices. For example, Mrs. Lee (8th grade) focused on comparing the U.S. and Chinese cultures. Her instruction, then, was observed to encourage students to illustrate the differences between these two cultures. Miss Lin (1st grade) emphasized the daily life of a group of people; therefore, she created various real-life contexts to develop students' communication competence.

Unlike the study by Wu (2010), which concluded that teachers incorporated only cultural holidays and folk tales to transmit culture, here the teachers used a variety of cultural materials, such as literature, history, movies, and online resources to introduce Chinese culture. From the teachers' point of views, integrating these cultural resources was also a way to motivate students. The teachers teaching in upper grades further

highlighted the notion of cultural reconceptualization by reconstructing traditional values with students. Although this study did not aim to investigate the teachers' cultural identity, from the interview it was surprising to find that the teachers did care about which ethnic groups they belonged to. For instance, Mrs. Su (4th grade) was concerned about the term when I asked her, "How do you feel about being a 'Chinese' person in the United States?" Mrs. Lee (8th grade), who showed the strongest emotional reaction, asked me to change the word in the interview question from "Chinese" to "Taiwanese." The other teachers also demonstrated a disposition to identify themselves as "Taiwanese" rather than "Chinese."

The degree of preserving "Taiwanese identity" was also reflected in the teachers' instruction. Mrs. Lee (8th grade), for instance, identified herself as a Taiwanese; she provided cultural information mainly from Taiwan. Mrs. Wang (advanced class) accepted that Chinese was part of her cultural identity; as a result, she incorporated cultural knowledge both from Mainland China and Taiwan. This finding is related to the research of Menard-Warwick (2008), which suggested a connection between teachers' cultural identities and their pedagogies. As Bourdieu (1977) pointed out, the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood separate from the person who speaks, and the person who speaks cannot be understood separate from larger networks of social relationship. Thus, every time the teachers teach the language, they are negotiating and renegotiating their sense of self in relation to the larger society. Despite the fact that the terms "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" have been part of a historically political debate, the teachers still showed a sense of grounding and belonging in relation to the term "Taiwanese." Since it is easy to

label “Asian-looking” people as “Chinese,” the teachers’ strong awareness of maintaining a Taiwanese identity helped them rethink the need to argue about “Chinese” and “Taiwanese” labels in heritage language class. In addition to the teachers, the Chinese school in this study also illustrated the connection between language and political identity. The use of traditional Chinese characters and the zhuyin system in the Dragon Chinese School clearly indicates the support for the political and educational system in Taiwan.

This study aimed to investigate how the theory of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billing, 1994) was apparent in heritage language contexts. It was valuable to discuss the similarities to and differences from the current study to Ladson-Billings’ research. By observing in their classrooms, I found that the teachers’ practices did not completely adhere to the three central tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy: academic achievement, cultural competence, and critical consciousness (see Table 3). The following illustrates this comparison in detail.

	Ladson-Billings	Participants
Academic achievement	• Set rigorous criteria for every student. • View knowledge as gained through critical thinking. • Serve as a tool for students to become active agents in the larger society in the United States.	• Focus on students' interests in coming to the Chinese school. Equal standard for every student is not expected. • View grade-level language proficiency as more important than critical-thinking skills. • Become a medium to connect students with family members and facilitate future use of the language. • Differentiate between people from Mainland China and Taiwan.
Cultural competence	• Build a relationship with students both in school and out of the school contexts. • Concentrate on transmitting cultural facts. • Connect personal culture to the wider culture.	• Establish only a teacher-student relationship in the Chinese school. • Integrate cultural virtues and cultural transformation. • Emphasize understanding the Chinese culture only.
Critical consciousness	• Question the inequities and racism in the society. • Become social activists.	• Build harmonious relationship with other ethnic groups. • Affirm and value themselves as Chinese Americans.

Table 3: Comparisons Ladson-Billings' theory with the teachers' instruction

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The teachers' instructions centered on Ladson-Billings' discussion of academic success (1994), which viewed students as capable learners by allowing them to play the role of teacher to their peers. The teachers also demonstrated a strong passion in teaching Mandarin with students and affirming students' contributions. Rather than using only tests to evaluate students, the teachers also assessed students' academic achievement in

class performances and oral presentations. However, differences were found between Ladson-Billings' research and the current study. Ladson-Billings (1994) emphasized that teachers have to set rigorous learning criteria and engage students in critical thinking. The goal is to help students become active participants in the society. The heritage language teachers felt that academic achievement should be built upon students' interest in coming to the Chinese school and a love of learning Mandarin. Therefore, they did not require that every student achieve equal the same standards in class. Nor did the teachers view critical thinking as more important than appropriate language use to promote students' grade-level proficiency. Instead of considering academic success a tool for sociopolitical actions in the United States, the teachers sought to help students see developing their Mandarin ability as a way to connect with family members and enhance their competitiveness in their careers. The maintenance of traditional Chinese characters and zhuyin systems also illustrated the teachers' sociopolitical determination to distinguish "Taiwanese" from "Chinese."

CULTURAL COMPETENCE

In line with Ladson-Billings' idea about bringing students' culture into the classroom, the teachers promoted cultural competence by providing supplementary materials covering a broad range of Chinese culture, such as Chinese arts, literature, and history. Instead of seeing themselves as the sole cultural informants, several teachers encouraged students to interact with their parents to access their funds of knowledge. Differences were still found between the current study and Ladson-Billings' study. For example, Ladson-Billings advocated the teachers construct a relationship with students

beyond the classroom; however, the teachers in the Chinese school felt it hard to implement this notion since they only met students only two hours a week. While Ladson-Billings focused on developing students' content knowledge of their cultures, the teachers in this study further incorporated the teaching of cultural virtues into their instruction. Two Chinese virtues, respecting one's elders and being polite, were acknowledged as the most essential values to be maintained and transmitted to future generations. Ladson-Billings (2006) also suggested that cultural competence not only helps students understand their own cultures but also creates a bridge between the minority culture with the wider culture. Yet the teachers here lacked awareness of how to help students use their cultural knowledge in the dominant society.

CRITICAL CONSCIOUNESS

Ladson-Billings (1994) saw culturally relevant pedagogy as being about questioning the structural inequality, racism, and injustice in society. Although a couple of the teachers in this study raised issues of cultural stereotypes and racial discrimination in their instruction, none of them mentioned the idea of deconstructing social inequality. The underdeveloped awareness of sociopolitical consciousness probably derives from their Chinese values, which stress socially oriented tolerance rather than individually oriented aggression (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The teachers were more likely to spend time ensuring that students valued their "Asian American" identity than encouraging them to become social activists.

This study investigated two critical areas of teaching and teacher education: hearing non-mainstream teachers' voices and understanding the gap between literature

and the implementation of culturally relevant pedagogy. The interviews and observations of the participants supported previous research, which indicated a consistent relationship between teachers' perspectives and their instruction (Ozbarlas, 2008; Richardson, 1994). Each teacher's practices were unique and found to be influenced by their teaching experiences and reasons for serving as heritage language teachers. Despite their different teaching styles, a similar discourse pattern emerged from the teachers' method of instruction. The observational data demonstrated that most of classroom discussion was followed by the teacher asking questions, students replying, and teachers evaluating *educated discourse* (Mercer, 1998). This strategy helped the teachers use questions to establish students' prior knowledge and make connections to new learning. However, relatively little time was offered for students to explore and guide their own learning. Mercer (1998) further argued that the goal of education is to create *educational discourse*, which emphasizes teacher's scaffolding to enable students to become active learners. Thus, it is necessary to enhance heritage language teachers' professional knowledge about how to use open-ended "how" and "why" questions to prompt students.

This study also demonstrated how each teacher used her own method to bring cultural knowledge into the classroom. The teachers not only were concerned about the plural methods of integrating Chinese cultures into the lessons but also sought to recreate Chinese cultural experiences into teaching to make it more relevant to students' lived experiences in the United States. More importantly, the teachers guided students to use communication, including writing appropriately, which involved them in a culturally bounded "speech community" (Hymes, 1972). Clearly, language teaching can rarely take

place without cultural instruction because language refers to the knowledge and perceptions of a group of people (Bryam, 1997). The narrow and broad range of cultural knowledge embedded in heritage language teaching supports the idea of culture both with a "capital C" and with a "small c" (Paige et al., 2003).

In an effort to investigate how culturally relevant pedagogy might be applied to heritage language contexts, the teachers' practices in class showed a gap between theory and practice. Morrison, Robbins and Rose (2008) suggested that one of the challenges to implementing culturally relevant pedagogy was that the theory "ultimately clashes with the traditional ways in which education is carried out in our society, thus making [it] seem herculean to many teachers" (p. 444). Because they were educated in Taiwan, this group of teachers unsurprisingly had a tendency to follow traditional teaching methods despite wishing to avoid doing so. Because there was limited time in the weekly classes, the teachers also felt overwhelmed to cover the curriculum, so the implementation of constructivist pedagogy and attention to sociopolitical consciousness were scarified. Based on these problems, perhaps, the culture of teaching teachers how to teach heritage language needs to be transformed. Interestingly, although I did not introduce the concept of "culturally relevant pedagogy" to the teachers, their perspectives on enhancing students' language abilities, promoting students' cultural competence, and empowering students' cultural identity primarily were linked to the central values described in the research of Ladson-Billings (1994).

Chapter VII: Conclusion

This study investigated how the teachers in a Chinese heritage language context implemented instructional strategies, revitalized language and culture, and provided culturally relevant experiences. Hearing these teachers' voices helps one understand how marginalized community members maintain their traditions by sharing them with future generations. Throughout the study, the teachers' instruction continuously demonstrated that Mandarin Chinese is an essential tool for students to communicate with family members, identify themselves, and enhance their competitiveness. The ability to speak Mandarin thus involves not only the well-formed expression but also the ability to use appropriate linguistic forms to value the linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). More importantly, achieving this language proficiency helps students become empowered since Mainland China has recently come to dominate the "linguistic market" (Bourdieu, 1984). Despite the teachers' dedication to heritage language education, they recognized that the larger society and the educational system in the United States still provided insufficient support for heritage language education. Their frustration with the lack of personal classrooms and teaching resources also influenced the implementation of high-quality instruction.

The teachers' perspectives on the nature of culture were obviously reflected in their teaching practices in this study. Their unique ways of introducing or reconstructing Chinese culture enriched the curriculum and helped students understand "who they are." Clearly, the teachers believed that it was important for students to develop their language competence as well as to enhance their cultural consciousness. This type of pedagogical

philosophy is related to the notion of culturally relevant pedagogy, which develops both students' academic achievement and cultural identity. By acknowledging students' contributions and encouraging their active participation, the teachers also created a balanced relationship to redistribute authority and open a dialogue with and among students (Freire, 2003). Although there was scant evidence to show how students actually constructed knowledge, the teachers' strong belief in students' capability implicitly motivated students to learn their heritage language.

Situated in an inadequate teaching environment, the teachers did not personally position themselves as having a lower sociocultural status or being Americanized. Instead, most of them maintained their Taiwanese identity and valued the opportunity to serve as a heritage language teacher. Specifically, Mrs. Kim indicated that her self-esteem had increased as a result of working as a Chinese heritage language teacher for ten years. In this sense, the Chinese school became a sociocultural context in which both students and teachers could gain a sense of belonging and identity. What is critical to note is that, in addition to interacting with parents in students' home environment, teachers in the Chinese school served as other socializing agents (Levine, 1969) to help students broaden the ways in which they learned Mandarin, experienced Chinese culture, and constructed cultural identity.

This study did just that, to begin understand heritage language teachers' perspectives on their practices and ways to integrate culture. Continuous conversation is necessary to understand the possibility of implementing instruction that reflects a commitment to the culturally relevant pedagogy of Ladson-Billings (1994). Indeed,

Chinese teachers' lack of both sociopolitical awareness and an ability to enhance students' critical-thinking skills derives from the teachers' own educational and sociocultural experiences in Taiwan. Thus, enhancing heritage language teachers' race consciousness and knowledge of constructivist pedagogy should become the main focus for future improvement. Recognizing that limited research has investigated heritage language education, this study echoes the critical role of heritage language teachers to provide a curriculum relevant to minority students and to further facilitate multicultural education in the mainstream schools. As Dewey (1916) advocated for democracy in education, the diversity of students and also teachers should be in a continued commitment to create a democratic public sphere (Dimitriadis & Carlson, 2003).

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study investigated six teachers' instructional practices and perspectives on heritage language and culture teaching. Qualitative in nature, the findings reveal several limitations. First, the study was a small-scale one involving only six teachers at one Chinese heritage language school. Even though different grade levels of teachers were recruited, the findings cannot be broadly generalized. However, the researcher's detailed description of the data helps readers transfer the results to similar contexts. Second, the study was conducted over a short time. As culture is not static but recursive and changing (Rogoff, 2003), identifying teachers' methods for teaching culture is not something that can be achieved in a semester. In addition, students' growing sociopolitical consciousness also cannot be discerned in a short period of time. Finally, there is a limitation involving the influence of videotaping the classes. Of all the teachers, only Mrs. Kim had

experience of being observed when teaching their students. Mrs. Lee indicated that her students were distracted by the videotape recorder. Being observed and videotaped in class might prevent teachers and students from fully engaging in teaching and learning. Further, it may have caused the teachers and students to act unnaturally.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Using sociocultural theory and critical pedagogy as frameworks, this study explored how Chinese heritage language teachers helped Chinese Americans learn Mandarin and understand their cultural heritage. This study also took an on-site approach to investigate the differences between teachers' instructional practices and culturally relevant pedagogy. As substantial research has focused on how culturally relevant pedagogy empowers African American and Mexican American students, the results of the study shed new light on the connection between culturally relevant pedagogy and Chinese heritage language contexts. The findings from this study provide guidance for mainstream teachers to understand Chinese American students and how to integrate Chinese culture into the classroom. Especially, teachers' diverse backgrounds and various perspectives on "culture" demonstrate multiple ways of teaching culture in heritage language learning. This study suggests four implications for practice and future research: (a) developing heritage language teachers' professional knowledge in implementing a "student-centered" approach, (b) enhancing heritage language teachers' critical cultural awareness, (c) investigating heritage language instruction from diverse sociocultural

backgrounds, and (d) introducing the theory of culturally relevant pedagogy in heritage language education.

First, to better implement "student-centered" learning, teachers need to try to use an inquiry-based approach, change seating arrangements, and stress students' responsibility. Heritage language teachers' ability to use open-ended questions to construct students' understanding should be cultivated to encourage deeper and recursive discussion. In other words, heritage language teachers should learn to serve as listeners to foster real, active, and exploratory conversation. Students' knowledge can then truly be shaped, modified, and recreated by the students themselves. Most of the teachers kept original classroom sitting arrangements throughout the semester in this study; however, rearrangement seating is recommended to better help students work collaboratively and increase communication among them. Furthermore, teachers should consider how students can take responsibility for guiding their own learning and supporting peer collaboration. More student-directed learning opportunities are needed in class to develop students' engagement in solving problems and constructing understanding.

Second, teachers' awareness of incorporating heritage cultures and enhancing critical awareness should be emphasized in teacher education. Wong (2010) argued that cultural instruction is based on the concept of the learning "process" rather than on the learning of "facts." Instead of focusing on the memorization of historical facts, understanding how to reconstruct cultural virtues and funds of knowledge should be the core focus of culture learning. In addition, teachers should not only provide information on the target culture but also encourage students to identify cultural values in the target

society as well as in their own (Ortuño, 1991). Although the multifaceted ways of incorporating Chinese culture showed in this study, the teachers rarely noticed the importance of developing students' sociopolitical consciousness. Young (2010) also found that white teachers in elementary schools seldom engaged students in discussions of race and racism. Thus, future research should explore how teacher-education programs might adequately prepare mainstream and non-mainstream teachers to discuss social inequalities and race in their classrooms.

Third, teachers' practices highlighted in this study are not important only to Chinese heritage language teachers but also to teachers of other ethnicities. As the number of heritage language schools is growing in local communities in the United States, more research needs to done to explore how nonmainstream teachers maintain their languages and cultures. More broadly, how teachers in different heritage language school settings (e.g., church, temple) follow their beliefs in teaching languages and transmitting cultural values is worth investigation. Since immigrants from Taiwan and Mainland China both use "Chinese" to describe their heritage language school, it is interesting to compare the difference between "Taiwanese" and "Chinese" styles of teaching and preserving the culture.

Finally, introducing the theory of culturally relevant pedagogy might help teachers provide better heritage language education. Since most heritage language teachers are not education majors, they often lack the professional knowledge to employ appropriate strategies appropriate to their students. Thus, future research should examine

what heritage language teachers believe about culturally relevant pedagogy and how they would benefit from implementing this approach.

CLOSING THOUGHTS

As a Chinese heritage language teacher, observing these six teachers' classrooms helps me reflect not only on what materials I should myself use to teach but how I will adapt and implement instruction that I believe is "culturally relevant" to this special group of students. The conversation among these teachers and I helped to produce more questions. For example, what does "good teaching" mean to heritage language teachers and students? How do heritage language teachers enrich students' literacy skills as good as their communication competence in addition to using tests? How do heritage language teachers teach "Chinese culture" without bias and take students cultural backgrounds into consideration?

It is noticeable that heritage language teaching is intertwined with sociocultural contexts and political power. In other words, minority groups strive to maintain their heritages in communities, but at the same time they are oppressed by the ethnocentrism in the larger society. Unless the hegemony of English disappears, "English first" still exists in heritage language education. Despite the difficulties in providing high-quality education, teachers' concern for heritage language education in this study clearly shows their strong commitments to help future generations value, identify, and empower themselves. More importantly, I could also see tangible evidence of progress toward the integration of cultural knowledge that went beyond celebrating holidays but instead also involved linguistic norms, cultural stereotypes, and cultural hybridity in class. As

research in the area of heritage language education is limited, this study starts a new journey for researchers and educators to become aware of the importance of integrating cultural relevant pedagogy into mainstream schools and creating possibilities for students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

This study also helps me rethink how Chinese heritage language teachers' perspectives, classroom behaviors, and cultural values and beliefs are governed by Confucianism and further impact students' learning. Confucianism encourages the Chinese to respect hierarchical relationship so teachers are expected to teach as well as to guide students. Thus, teachers are likely to feel that ineffective teaching takes place if they continually ask students to solve problems by themselves and become independent thinkers. As teachers are seen as the authority to determine what knowledge to be taught, students' abilities to question and challenge teachers are rarely developed in Chinese heritage language contexts. Great importance is placed on the debate of preserving this cultural teaching pattern for future Chinese generations in the United States. Chinese heritage language teachers' directive teaching style might indicate the maintenance of a "tradition." It certainly is valued by the parents. However, the language and cultural variations caused by an intra-racial generation shift (first generation versus second and third generation) and an inter-racial shift (Chinese heritage language learners versus non-Chinese heritage language learners) becomes a factor for teachers to adapt their instruction to meet language learners who are different from their growing and educational experiences in Taiwan.

In closing my dissertation study, I would like to borrow Freire's word—praxis—the reflection and action of men and women upon their world to transform it. Graddole (2006) has suggested that Mandarin language has become the new must-have language because of Mainland China's superpower. It is essential for heritage language teachers to reflect on how to provide appropriate curriculum, pedagogical approaches, and instructional materials to implement effective heritage language teaching. The relationship among language, literacy, and identity should also be investigated to understand how heritage language learning influences students' determination in being Americanized or maintaining cultural heritages. Heritage language schools should take more actions to connect with mainstream society and strengthen heritage language teachers' professional knowledge to serve as an important hub to promote heritage language education and empower minority groups.

Appendix A

Semi-structured Interview Protocol:

Prior experience:

1. Describe your past experience before you became a teacher in the Chinese School.
2. Do you have an occupation in addition to working in the Chinese school? What?

Teaching experience:

3. How many years have you been teaching in ___ grade?
4. Describe your teaching experience in the Chinese school.
5. Why do you choose to be a Chinese teacher? How do you see yourself as a Chinese teacher?
6. As a Chinese teacher, how does your educational background and prior experience in Taiwan influences your instruction? How?
7. From your teaching experience, what other factors influence your teaching? How?

Heritage language education:

8. What is the importance of the Chinese school and Chinese heritage language learning?
9. What are your main goals or purposes when teaching your students?

Language and culture:

10. What does it to be Chinese? How has teaching in a Chinese heritage school changed you? How does that relate to your teaching? Can you give me a big definition now that we have talked about that culture is?
11. How do you perceive the essence of Chinese culture?

12. What is the relationship between language and culture?

Curriculum and instruction:

13. Describe your instructional strategies and characteristics when teaching in your class.
14. How do you plan your curriculum? What resources do you rely on?
15. How do you make decisions about what you teach and how to teach?
16. What do you hope your students will gain from being in your class?
17. How do you perceive learning process and create learning contexts when teaching Chinese as a heritage language?

Language and literacy development:

18. How do you use languages (Chinese, English) in your instruction?
19. What specific language or literacy abilities should students develop in their current grade?
20. How do you usually plan a two hour class and facilitate students' language and literacy development?

Chinese culture:

21. What Chinese cultural values students need to obtain?
22. How do you integrate Chinese cultural value and knowledge into your teaching or literacy work?
23. What difficulties do you confront when involving cultural knowledge in your teaching?

Culturally relevant pedagogy:

24. What kinds of support have you received from parents or community resources in facilitating your teaching?
25. How do you provide the learning experience relevant to students' lives?
26. How do you help students develop their cultural identity and awareness?
27. How do you view students' academic achievement in the Chinese school?
28. How do you see yourself in teaching Chinese as a heritage language in the United States?
29. What is the relationship between teachers and students in and out of class?

Appendix B

Modified Contact Summary Sheet

Date	Class	Lesson	Types of Cultural Activities and Language Learning	Teacher-Student Interaction and Communication	Students' Language and Literacy Development	Cultural Identity and Awareness

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