

THE FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY OF CHINESE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN A NEW  
GATEWAY STATE: AN EXPLANATORY SEQUENTIAL MIXED METHODS STUDY ON  
PARENTS' VIEWS

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## **ABSTRACT**

Wenyang Sun: The Family Language Policy of Chinese Immigrant Families in a New Gateway State: An Explanatory Sequential Mixed Methods Study on Parents' Views  
(Under the direction of Dr. Xue Lan Rong)

Among various groups of immigrant students who face challenges in maintaining their heritage languages (HLs), Asian American students are especially vulnerable to HL loss (Fillmore, 2000; Pew Research Center, 2012). As the loss of HLs has negative effects on children's academic, psychological, and emotional well-being (Tse, 2000; Li & Wen, 2015), there is an urgent need to support immigrant students' HL maintenance.

Among efforts in countering the HL loss, families often play the most important role by implementing family language policies (FLP; Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018). To better understand factors influencing immigrant parents' FLP, this study uses an explanatory sequential mixed methods design (Creswell & Clark, 2018) to analyze parents' perspectives, practices, and efforts on their children's HL maintenance, using the data from Chinese immigrant parents in North Carolina. This study collects quantitative data from an online survey on parents' demographics and general FLP and then collects qualitative data through interviews. In between these two phases, the quantitative results are used to inform the design of the qualitative interview protocols and the sampling of interviewees from the survey participants. The qualitative results are analyzed through an AsianCrit lens (Museus, 2013) and are connected back to the quantitative data to provide further explanation and contextualization.

Findings reveal that parents' immigration history, racialized experiences living in the U.S. and North Carolina, and their children's schooling experience contribute to their various language ideologies towards their children's HL maintenance. These language ideologies, together with the larger sociocultural, socioeconomic, sociohistorical, and sociopolitical context, shape parents' language practices and management strategies that support their children's bilingual development. Implications of findings for researchers, educators, and policymakers are also discussed.

To my parents.  
Thank you for supporting me along the way.

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **Introduction**

The population of immigrants in the United States is growing rapidly. Currently, the foreign-born population accounts for about 14% of the U.S. population (Pew Research Center, 2015), and the total number of immigrants in the U.S. is four times the number of immigrants in 1970 (Conway, 2014). Children of immigrants now constitute 25% of all the U.S. children, and they are projected to reach 33% by 2050 (Baum & Flores, 2011; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015). According to the American Community Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), between 2009 and 2013, at least 350 languages were spoken in U.S. homes, and 20.7% of the total population spoke a language other than English at home. Among these people, 41.7% self-reported as speaking English less than “very well”. Language learning, especially the acquisition of English, is often an important challenge for children from immigrant families.

However, as there has always been an expectation of linguistic assimilation into English throughout the U.S. history (Wiley, 2014), immigrant students often face challenges in maintaining their heritage language (HL) as they acquire English language proficiency (Fillmore, 2000; Li & Wen, 2015), and a complete language shift for immigrants often happen within three generations (Baker, 2011; García & Diaz, 1992; Rong & Preissle, 2009). Among all the linguistic-minoritized groups, Asian Americans are especially vulnerable to HL loss (Pew Research Center, 2012). For example, only 45% of Asian Americans consider speaking the language of their parents as very important whereas 75% of Hispanic population believe in the same level of importance. For U.S.-born Asians, only 14% can carry on a conversation in their

HL fluently, compared with 40% of U.S.-born Hispanic population who can do so in Spanish (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Research has shown that the learning of HL has a positive impact on immigrant children's view of their cultural identity, their academic achievements, and psychological well-being (Liu, Benner, Lau, & Kim, 2009; Seals & Peyton, 2016). Learning of their HLs also contributes to a state's linguistic diversity (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001). It is often considered a national resource that is associated with the dominating agendas such as national security and trade (Ricento, 2005). On the other hand, the loss of HL among children of immigrant families could have negative consequences for the children, their families, their communities, and the country (Fillmore, 2000; Li & Wen, 2015). Therefore, it is important to counter the linguistic assimilative force in the United States.

Although large support for HL learning is provided by school-based and community-based HL education programs (Lee & Wright, 2014), families are still serving the most important role in maintaining learners' HL (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018). Parents' family language policy (FLP)—including parents' beliefs or ideologies on the value of a certain language, their actual language uses, and the efforts they make to promote a certain language or variety—is increasingly discussed in the literature (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Spolsky, 2009). Among the three components of FLP, parents' language ideologies can play a fundamental role in shaping children's HL learning experience (Kang, 2015). As defined by Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), language ideologies are “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (p. 57). Borrowing from Ruíz's (1984) framework, parents' perception of bilingualism is driven by three language orientations: 1) language as a problem, 2) language as a right, and 3) language as a resource. The three

orientations are influenced by a wide range of political, cultural, racial, linguistic, and sociohistorical forces. Therefore, to understand parents' language ideologies, researchers also need to consider the larger context shaped by broad ideological underpinnings, such as the hegemony of English, White supremacy, linguicism, and the neoliberalism (Baker, 2011; Macedo et al., 2003; Phillipson, 1988; Wiley & Lukes, 1996).

### **Purpose and Rationale**

Previous research on parents' FLP are drawing mainly from either qualitative inquiries that collect data through parent interviews and home observations (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006; Kopeliovich, 2010; Lee et al., 2015; Li, 1999; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010) or the quantitative analysis of survey data on parents' FLP (e.g., Lao, 2004; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012; Li, 2006; Kang, 2015; Mucherah, 2008; Schwartz, 2008). The quantitative studies offer insights on the general trend of parents' FLP; however, they are highly reliant on Likert scale data, and fail to take parents' own voices into account. The qualitative studies present us with a rich and complicated illustration of parents' perspectives and experiences that contribute to the formation of FLP, yet they are focused on the particularity of specific cases. Therefore, a mixed methods design may combine the strengths of both research methods and help us understand both the larger picture and the nuanced personal narratives on this topic (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Compared to other ethnic minority groups, Asian Americans are often perceived as part of a successful community with high academic achievement. However, research that propels the model minority stereotype often overlooks the heterogeneity of the Asian American population, ignores the structural racism they experience daily, and pits Asian Americans against the struggles of other minoritized populations (Knapp, 2005; Lee, 2001; Pang, Han, & Pang, 2011;



Warikoo & Carter, 2009). As a subgroup of Critical Race Theory (CRT), AsianCrit provides a theoretical lens to analyze the Asian American experiences in the context of hegemonic Whiteness, with a particular focus on the racism that propels the portraying of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners and model minorities (Chang, 1993; Museus, 2013). AsianCrit scholars have explored a variety of fields, such as social studies (An, 2016; 2017), higher education (Museus, 2013), secondary education (Chae, 2013), and refugee students (Kolano, 2016). However, few studies exist to analyze the Asian American's HL maintenance through this critical lens.

Different from the traditional immigrant gateway states such as California, New York, and Texas, the rapid increase of immigrants is a new yet significant phenomenon in the Southeastern United States. Between 1990 and 2010, seven of the ten states in the U.S. with the fastest growing foreign-born populations were located in the Deep South region, traditionally populated by Blacks and Whites (Rong, Hilburn, & Sun, 2017). Specifically, North Carolina's foreign-born population increased by 625%, making it first in the U.S. for the percentage growth during period (Rong et al., 2017). In the same period, Asian American populations in North Carolina also experienced a dramatic increase, with the Chinese population increasing from 100 Chinese residents in 1970 to approximately 42,600 in 2015 (Rong, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). In 2015, the Asian American population constitutes 2.8% of the total population in North Carolina, making it the fourth largest race/ethnic group following Non-Hispanic Whites (63.8%), African American (22.1%), and Latinx American (9.1%; Rong et al., 2017). The increase of Asian (particularly Chinese) population in the Southeastern U.S. creates a unique challenge and opportunity for both educators and students. As one of the new immigrant gateway states, North

Carolina educators and policymakers need more preparation to meet the needs of language minoritized children (Rong & Preissle, 2009; Rong, 2012).

To address the literature gaps identified above, I use an explanatory sequential mixed methods design (Creswell & Clark, 2018) to analyze immigrant parents' perspectives, practices, and efforts on their children's HL maintenance, using the data from Chinese immigrant parents in North Carolina. I collected quantitative data from an online survey on parents' demographics and general FLP, and then collected qualitative data through interviews. In between these two phases, I used the quantitative results to inform the design of the qualitative interview protocols and the sampling of interviewees from the survey participants. The qualitative results are analyzed through an AsianCrit lens and are connected back to the quantitative data to provide further explanation and contextualization.

### **Research Questions**

I hope to answer the following questions through this study. More details about the research questions and research design will be provided in Chapter 3.

1. Quantitative Research Questions:
  - a. What are the impacts of socio-demographic characteristics of parents and children on the parents' language ideologies?
  - b. What are the relationships between Chinese immigrant parents' language ideologies, language practices, and language management?
2. Qualitative Research Questions:
  - a. What are Chinese immigrant parents' perspectives on the rationale of heritage language maintenance?

- b. What aspects (e.g., lived experiences, broader sociocultural processes, etc.) contribute to their different family language policies?
3. Mixed Methods Questions:
- a. In what ways do the interview data help to explain the quantitative analysis results in the survey?
  - b. To what extent do the interview data provide more detailed explanation of the quantitative analysis findings?
  - c. To what extent do the interview data provide information contradicting to the quantitative analysis findings?
  - d. Taken together, how do the qualitative and quantitative data explain Chinese immigrant parents' family language policies?

## Definition of Key Terms

AsianCrit — a subgroup of Critical Race Theory that has seven tenets, including (1) *Asianization*, (2) *Transnational Contexts*, (3) *(Re)Constructive History*, (4) *Strategic (Anti)Essentialism*, (5) *Intersectionality*, (6) *Story, Theory, and Praxis*, and (7) *Commitment to Social Justice* (Museus, 2013).

Family language policy — “explicit and overt as well as implicit and covert language planning by family members in relation to language choice and literacy practices within home domains and among family members” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; p. 420)

Heritage language — “individuals with familial or ancestral ties to a language other than English who exert their agency in determining if they are HLLs [heritage language learners] of that language” (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p. 6)

Language ideology — “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 57)

Mixed methods — A research method where a researcher “collects and analyzes both qualitative and quantitative data rigorously in response to research questions and hypotheses, integrates (or mixes or combines) the two forms of data and their results, organizes these procedures into specific research designs that provide the logic and procedures for conducting the study, and frames these procedures within theory and philosophy” (Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 5).

Explanatory Sequential design — “a two-phase mixed methods design in which the researcher starts with the collection and analysis of quantitative data, which is then followed by

the collection and analysis of qualitative data to help explain the initial quantitative results”  
(Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 448).

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### Definition of Bilingualism

There are numerous definitions of bilingualism in the literature across disciplines and contexts. To start with, Baker (2011) argued that there existed an initial distinction between bilingualism as individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism, depending on whether bilingualism was considered as a possession of a person or a social group. Similarly, Hakuta and García (1989) considered bilingualism as “an attribute of individual children as well as social institutions” (p. 374). Therefore, bilingualism needs to be discussed in both the individual and societal dimension.

### Bilingualism as an Individual Possession

As an individual possession, bilingualism can refer to both a person’s *ability* and the *use* of the two languages (Baker, 2011). Language *abilities* include listening, speaking, reading, writing, and sometimes thinking (Baker, 2011; Cummins, 1984). Besides language abilities, bilingualism can also refer to the *use* of two languages. When applied in with different contexts, an individual’s *use* of their bilingual language abilities might be different. Baker (2011) considered the use of bilingualism as functional bilingualism, which is enacted in the interaction with different language targets (e.g., teachers, family members, neighbors, etc.) and contexts (work, shopping, religious meetings, etc.). For immigrant families specifically, it is important to distinguish “interpersonal communicative skills” and “cognitive/academic language” competences (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2009, p. 151).

**Bilingual continuum.** Depending on an individual’s different language abilities in different languages, multiple types of bilingualism exist. Some early scholars either defined

bilingualism as the *native control* of two languages (e.g., Bloomfield, 1933) or the minimal competence of language skills in a language other than the first one (Diebold, 1961; Haugen, 1953; Macnamara, 1967). Although some people might have well developed the ability in more than one language, absolute equivalent abilities in two languages are rare (Baker, 2011; Valdés, 2005). Valdés (2005) argued that bilingual individuals' language abilities in two languages fell into a continuum that represents various types of bilingualism. For example, recent immigrants might be dominant in their immigrant languages and at the early stage of English acquisition, therefore their abilities might be located close to the monolingual end of their immigrant languages on the continuum; likewise, fourth-generation immigrants with English as the dominant language and some proficiency in their HLs might fall close to the other end of the continuum (Valdés, 2005). A person's proficiency in different languages in different contexts creates an additional layer of complexity to individual bilingualism. For example, a sophisticated speaker and writer of one language in academic settings might only be able to carry simple conversations in an interpersonal context with another language. Therefore, bilingualism is a relative concept that reflected the dynamic, fluid, and highly context-dependent nature of language acquisition (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008, p. 151).

**Debates in semilingualism.** The term “semilingualism” describes a situation not reflected in the bilingual continuum (Baker, 2011; García, 2009). Semilingualism refers to the bilingual's limited displayed language competence in either language as compared with monolinguals (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), and is often used to negatively describe immigrant groups in the U.S. (Baker, 2011). The term semilingualism is problematic and increasingly criticized (Baker, 2011; Edelsky et al., 1983; García, 2009; Hinnenkamp, 2005; MacSwan, 2000). This term only focuses on the internal and individual factors of bilingualism, thusly

ignoring the external and social constraints (García, 2009). This over-emphasis on individual's factors creates a deficit label of the language speaker (Baker, 2011), contributing to the "linguistic stigmatization and language shaming" of many bilingual children (García, 2009, p. 56). Therefore, this term is politically and ideologically constructed (Baker, 2011; Hinnenkamp, 2005) to restrict immigrants' access to symbolic and linguistic power (Stroud, 2004), and should be "abandoned on empirical, theoretical, and moral grounds" (McSwan, 2000; p. 3).

**Translanguaging.** Instead of posing monolingual norms on language minority children and labeling them as "semilinguals", García (2009) argued for the concept of translanguaging, defined as the "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009, p. 45). Translanguaging is a norm for bilingual families to construct meanings (García & Wei, 2014). Different from simply shifting the language from one to another, translanguaging considers bilinguals as having "one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively" (García, 2012, p. 1). By challenging the monolingual norm in the current language education policy, translanguaging goes beyond the traditional notions of treating bilingualism as second language teaching and learning, and further argues for using bilingualism as a resource for all students and educators (García, 2012).

### **Bilingualism in Society**

The bilingual individuals discussed above do not exist in isolation; instead, they exist in networks, communities, and regions (Baker, 2011). Meanwhile, individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism do not have a direct causal or pre-requisite relationship, as either phenomenon can occur without the existence of the other (Fishman, 1980). Societal bilingualism is driven by "social and political forces that go beyond individuals", but can also strongly affect



individual bilingualism (García, 2009, p. 73). Because of the complicated relationship and significant distinction between the two forms of bilingualism, societal bilingualism is another half of bilingualism that needs to be specifically addressed.

**Bilingualism and diglossia.** In a narrow sense, the term bilingualism is often used to only describe individual bilingualism; scholars often use the term “diglossia” to describe two languages in a society (Baker, 2001, p. 44; Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1980). Based on the French word *diglossie*, Ferguson (1959) first introduced diglossia to describe the co-existence of two varieties of one language in a community. Further, he distinguished the superposed high language variety (H) and regional dialectal low language variety (L) (Ferguson, 1959). Diglossia is later extended to include two languages in a country, rather than only two varieties of one language (Fishman, 1980). The H and L are then used to distinguish the majority and minority language within a country, often with a non-neutral and discriminatory reference (Baker, 2011). Compared to the minority language, the H language is often considered more prestigious and therefore more closely associated with educational and economic success (Baker, 2011).

To better illustrate the relationship between bilingualism (i.e., individual bilingualism) and diglossia (i.e., societal bilingualism), Fishman (1980) described four possible combinations. The first combination, bilingualism with diglossia, is referring to a situation where bilingual speakers live in a society that is structured to have two languages fulfilling different roles (Fishman, 1980). In the second situation, bilingualism without diglossia, bilingual speakers live in a society where no societal arrangements exist to maintain the two languages (Fishman, 1980; García, 2009). The non-English speaking new immigrants in the United States fit into this category. Because the combination of bilingualism without diglossia is not a stable arrangement (Fishman, 1980), these bilingual speakers often lose their first languages eventually (Fillmore,

1991; 2000; Rong & Preissle, 2009), leaving the majority language to become even more powerful, as predicted by Fishman (1972; 1980). The third situation, diglossia without bilingualism, describes a society that has a societal and political arrangement of different languages in different regions or groups, but individuals of the groups are not necessarily bilingual. Colonialism can often lead to such combination, as the colonizers' language might not be widely spoken by the indigenous population (Baker, 2011; Fishman, 1980). The fourth situation, neither diglossia nor bilingualism, can exist in countries with relatively little immigration, such as Korea, Yemen, and Norway (Fishman, 1980). García (2009) believed that this combination is rare and disappearing.

**Language shift and maintenance.** The change from bilingualism-without-diglossia to neither-diglossia-nor-bilingualism reflects the issues in language shift and maintenance. Language shift and maintenance could be influenced by various social and individual factors, although societal and political arrangement could play the dominant role. García (2009) believed that language shift or maintenance could only happen under certain conditions, including the co-existence of two languages (i.e. bilingualism), the asymmetry of power distribution and language statuses, as well as the political and economic pressure from one of the two language groups. Similarly, Baker (2001) argued that economic and social change, power and politics, the existence of language community networks, and institutional support could all affect language shift. Multiple studies have shown that language shift for immigrants happens within three generations (Baker, 2011; García & Diaz, 1992; Rong & Preissle, 2009). However, several factors can decelerate the rapid language shift and promote language maintenance, such as political, social, and demographic factors (e.g., proximity to the homeland, large language community, low upward social mobility), cultural factors (e.g., cultural ceremonies, self-

identification with ethnicity), and linguistic factors (e.g., standardization of mother tongue, international status of home language; Baker, 2011).

**Language planning.** Language planning, defined as the “deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others concerning the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (Cooper, 1989, p. 45), constitutes an important force to influence language shift and maintenance. At the family level, language planning is often called family language policy, which is “a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 352). As stated by various studies, family language planning plays an important role in language survival and maintenance (Baker, 2011; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Schwartz, 2008). At a national or regional level, language planning is often coupled with language policies. For example, Wiley and Lukes (1996) identified a growing body of literature on “language planning as an instrument of social stratification” (p. 512) in explaining its implicit influences on the formation of language policies. Baker (2011) identified three goals in language planning, including status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. All three goals are directly related to language policies. In this paper, I mainly use “language planning” to refer to the planning in a society, and “family language policy” to refer to families’ language ideologies, language uses, and their efforts in promoting a specific language or variety.

**Orientations and ideologies of language planning.** Different forces and mindsets can lead to different kinds of language planning in a society. In his seminal work, Ruíz (1984) summarized three orientations of language planning, namely language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. Language planners with the “language-as-problem” orientation consider language as a problem that needs to be fixed. With this orientation, the HL of minority

students is framed as a social problem; therefore, remedies are needed to eradicate their bilingualism. The second orientation, “language-as-right,” underscores the consideration of language as a basic human right. Guided by this orientation, minority students have the right to their own languages, including but not limited to the use of their own languages in communal activities, and the freedom from the discrimination based on the language they speak. Ruíz pointed out the problems with this orientation, because the use of terms such as “entitlements,” “enforcement,” and “compliance” might create confrontations (p. 24). The third orientation, “language-as-resource,” regards language as an asset for all. Language planners with this orientation assume that language, as a resource, needs to be “managed, developed and conserved”; therefore, they tend to value the language expertise of the language minority communities (p. 28). Ruíz favored this orientation over the first two, because it can directly promote the language status of subordinate languages, help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities, serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society, and highlight the importance of cooperative language planning (Ruíz, 1984).

Orientations in language planning provide an important framework to analyze the thinking behind language practices and policies. As Ruíz (1984) pointed out, orientations are related to language attitudes because they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in a society.

The concept of “orientation” is very similar to language ideology, which is defined as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of

perceived language structure and use” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 57). Although language ideology is not a “perfect match” of language orientation (Ruíz, 1984, p. 29), the two concepts both focus on the implicit mindsets that shape the current landscape of language planning, policy, and practices. Therefore, this paper borrows Ruíz’s (1984) framework to analyze the language ideologies underlying parents’ beliefs on bilingualism.

### **History of Bilingual Education in the United States**

Bilingual education in the United States has experienced a consistent change throughout history, and different ideologies in each period shaped the nation’s attitudes towards diversity (Ovando, 2003). From the 18th century to the 1880s, the country experienced a general amount of tolerance towards languages, especially for languages from Northern Europe. Ovando (2003) considered this period as a permissive period, as several states authorized bilingual education in many public and private schools. It is worth noticing that nearly all of the minority languages in these programs are European languages. In addition, the education during this period “was not set up to actively promote bilingualism”, because “a policy of linguistic stimulation without coercion seemed to prevail” (Ovando, 2003, p. 4).

During the period of the 1880s to 1960s, European nationalism became more influential on what constituted a national citizenship. Reflected in the *Naturalization Act of 1906*, which emphasized the speaking of English as a prerequisite to becoming a U.S. citizen, this period was characterized as a “restrictive period” (Ovando, 2003, p. 4). The U.S. government mandated repressive Indian language policies that punished the native American students’ use of their home languages. The policies were later described by scholars as “a campaign of linguistic genocide” (Crawford, 1999, p. 26). Moreover, with the need for unity during the two world wars, English was further mandated in schools. Based on the decision of *Meyer v. Nebraska* in 1923, teachers

would face criminal penalties if they taught in a language other than English. Immigrant children were treated with a “sink or swim” approach in schools for them to adjust to English-only instruction as quickly as possible (Gándara et al., 2010; Ovando, 2003). Americanization classes were taught in large urban schools, presenting U.S. culture and values as more desirable than those of the immigrants (Ovando, 2003). This restrictive period has long-lasting effects until today, as “the United States continues to consider linguistic assimilation of immigrants or the achievement of English monolingualism, as the final step in the multigenerational assimilation process” (Gándara et al., 2010, p. 24).

Marked by the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, the United States moved into a new era of rights for non-English speaking students. *Title VI* of the act forbade discrimination based on national origin, which was perceived to include languages (Gándara et al., 2010). Shortly thereafter, *Bilingual Education Act* was enacted by the federal government in 1968, under which the school districts that received federal funding were obligated to address the needs of ELL students (Gándara et al., 2010; Ovando, 2003). In 1974, the *Lau v. Nichols* case recognized minority students’ rights to have equal access to the curriculum as the English-speaking students, mandated schools’ role in facilitating the process, and therefore significantly reduced the “sink or swim” approach for ELL students (Gándara et al., 2010). The period of the 1960s to 1980s was described as an “opportunist period,” as the court cases and federal legislation offered great opportunities for developing bilingual education (Ovando, 2003, p. 7). However, only a small percentage of language-minority students were served with appropriate instruction, reflecting the continuous existence of controversies in bilingual education (Ovando, 2003).

From 1980 until the present, bilingual education is continuously attacked and challenged (Gándara, 2015; Gándara et al., 2010; Kim, Hutchison, & Winsler, 2013; Ovando, 2003). By the

end of the 1980s, about ten states passed some form of laws that supported English as the official language (Gándara, 2015), and anti-bilingual education groups (e.g., *US English*, *English Only*, *English First*, etc.) experienced rapid growth (Ovando, 2003). Between 1992 and 2002, the percentage of ELL students receiving English-only instruction increased from 34% to 48% (Gándara, 2015). *Proposition 227* in California was passed in 1998, banning the use of languages other than English for classroom instruction in public schools in California (Kim et al., 2013; Ovando, 2003). In 2001, *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) was passed, further regulating the language used in classrooms. Although this policy was aiming at improving historically marginalized students' academic achievement, the high-stakes system harmed the same population, because it considered learning English as the ultimate goal in bilingual education, and linked severe consequences to schools whose students were low performing in tests that used English as the only testing language (Gándara, 2015; Kim et al., 2013; Palmer et al., 2015).

### **The English-only Ideology**

The history and the current state of bilingual education in the U.S. illustrated the broad picture of the ideological debates on language education. Ovando (2003) argued that the policy regarding language issues in the United States “lacked ideological consistency”, partly because language was a minor issue to policymakers as compared to other issues such as race, religion, and class (p. 17). However, what is consistent throughout this inconsistency is the English-only ideology with a language-as-problem orientation, as exemplified by *Meyer v. Nebraska*, *Proposition 227* and *NCLB* (Baker, 2011; Gándara et al., 2010; Ovando, 2003). Although cases such as *Lau v. Nichols* and *Bilingual Education Act* had a slightly language-as-right orientation by recognizing the needs of ELL students, their goals were still to achieve fluency in English, rather than bilingualism and biculturalism (Gándara et al., 2010; Ovando, 2003). Macedo,

Dendrinos, and Gounari (2003) argued that the dominant ideology of the U.S. required a “homogenized standard language,” through which “otherness” is created and “different” languages are devalued (p. 35). Under the hegemonic English-only ideology, the changing language policies operate to enhance the marginalization of minority languages, thus promoting the current inequitable social structure. To understand the underpinning ideology of the U.S. bilingual education history, we need to be conscious of how the hegemony of English is inextricably related to nationalism, individualism, and symbolic racism.

**Nationalism and unity.** In Western discourses of language planning, linguistic homogeneity is viewed as a “key to unity” (Macedo et al., 2003). Although English achieved hegemonic status during the British American colonial period (Wiley & Lukes, 1996), it was not until the rise of Americanization movement during the World War I that the English monolingualism became the “principal defining characteristic of the U.S. American identity among peoples of European origin” (Wiley, 2014, p. 28). Starting in 1981, the “English-only” movement perpetuated by senators and anti-immigrant groups aimed at making English the only official language of the United States (Crawford, 2000). This movement’s major rationale was that English was the bonding force of diverse Americans. If bilingual education and HL education were allowed to grow, then hostility, separatism, and disputes would emerge (Baker, 2011). The national unity argument still persists, as it is continuously mentioned by the proponents of the English-only ideology (Wiley & Lukes, 1996). As pointed out by several scholars (e.g., Kloss, 1971; Wiley & Lukes, 1996), this argument unfairly accuses the minority’s perceived “disloyalty” caused by “overt discrimination and a denial of language minority rights” (Wiley & Lukes, 1996, p. 521). The system was set up to create the “very unrest, dissatisfaction



and centrifugal tendency” among minorities by unfair treatments, and used their discontentment to support the restrictive policies (Kloss, 1971, p. 257).

**Individualism and social mobility.** English-only ideology existed in relation to other social ideologies, and one of the most predominant ideologies is individualism, the ideology of “social mobility through individual ability and effort”(Wiley & Lukes, 1996, p. 516). This ideology is also referred to as meritocracy, a belief in an individual’s ability to achieve higher social status through hard work, without systematic barriers (Katz & Hass, 1988). In this view, the failure to achieve upward social mobility is reduced to an individual problem. Therefore, the individuals are blamed. English-only ideology associates educational success with the mastery of standard English, and further attributes the proficiency in English to individual efforts. With the dominance of individualism inscribed in English-only ideology, U.S. immigrants’ failure to achieve educational and socioeconomic success is framed as individual problems with their proficiency in English, rather than as “a result of systematic, institutional inequity between groups” (Wiley & Lukes, 1996, p. 517). This ideology inevitably leads to policies that aim at remedying individual deficiencies, rather than reforming the inequitable system.

**Linguicism as a new form of racism.** In the ideology of individualism, language minorities in the U.S. are blamed for their language differences, and such differences are used to ascribe a deficit status to them (Wiley & Lukes, 1996). This status ascription is often referred to as linguicism, defined as “the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are in turn defined on the basis of language” (Phillipson, 1988, p. 339). As Skutnabb-Kangas (1990) argued, racism based on biological criteria had been replaced by “more sophisticated forms of racism”, including ethnicism and linguicism that hierarchized different

groups based on ethnicities and languages. By presenting an “idealized image of itself”, the dominant language group stigmatize the dominated group and rationalize “the relationship between the two, always to the advantage of the dominant group” (Phillipson, 1988, p. 341). Macedo et al. (2003) further suggested the concept of linguoracism instead of linguicism, in order to more accurately capture the “insidious racism involved in all forms of linguistic imperialism” (p. 91). This ideology first constructs certain languages as superior to others, and then “assert[s] that linguistic and cultural purity are a prerequisite for the development and even survival of a culture” (Macedo et al., 2003, p. 93). In the case of the United States, linguoracism legitimates the discrimination based on languages other than English, denies the linguistic right of the language-minority groups, and functions to maintain the current power structure to the advantage of the dominant group (Macedo et al., 2003). The ideology of linguoracism and the discourses driven from this ideology racialize the non-native English speakers, and reproduce “a hierarchical social order in which U.S.-born citizens, native English speakers, and Caucasians come to stand in for each other as conceptual categories” (Shuck, 2006, p. 273).

### **Heritage Language Education in the United States**

The existence of English hegemony and linguicism throughout history has a huge impact on the HL maintenance of the immigrant population. The terms *heritage language* and *heritage language learner* have been increasingly used since the late 1990s, promoted by the language instructional programs that support language learning and aims to reverse language shift (Wiley, 2014). In this section, I review the definition of HL and identify the major education models of HL education in the United States.

## **Definition of Heritage Language**

Heritage language, as a term, started to be used in the United States following the publication of the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* by the *American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages* in 1996 (Valdés, 2005). Although it is a relatively recent term, the theoretical underpinning of HL education emerges in the 1960s (Deusen-Scholl, 2014; Fishman, 1964). With the development of HL education over time, the definition of HL and HL learners has also evolved into various forms to address multiple layers of complexities.

For example, Valdés (2001; 2017) categories HL learners into two types: “(1) those students who have a personal ancestral connection to a non-societal language (i.e., a HL) and some degree of proficiency (however minimal) in this language, and (2) students who also have a personal ancestral connection to the non-societal language but no proficiency whatsoever” (p. 75). This definition emphasizes the ancestral connections and differentiates the two types of learners based on their current language proficiency level. From a linguistics perspective, this definition is widely adopted in pedagogical research that focuses on language instruction (Hornberger & Wang, 2008).

From a historical perspective, Fishman (2001; 2014) considers HLs in the United States as languages that are (1) different from English, and (2) have “a particular family relevance to the learners” (Fishman, 2014, p. 36). He further categorizes HLs into three groups, namely indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages. The indigenous languages refer to the languages spoken by Native American tribes, many of which are now endangered. The colonial languages refer to the non-indigenous languages brought by earlier European settlers before the establishment of the United States. The third category, immigrant languages, refers to the languages spoken by the more recent influxes of immigrants (Fishman, 2014).

Hornberger and Wang (2008) argued that previous definitions of HL—mostly based on the description of linguistic abilities and relationship to the dominant languages—fail to capture the learners’ cultural and socio-psychological struggles within the ecological system consists of “social, educational, cultural, economic, and political institutions” (p. 6). From an ecological view, HL learners should be defined as “individuals with familial or ancestral ties to a language other than English who exert their agency in determining if they are HLLs [heritage language learners] of that language” (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p. 6). According to the Hornberger and Wang (2008), this definition covers HL learners who may or may not have HL proficiency (similar to Valdés, 2001) and does not differentiate the learners by various types of language programs (e.g., foreign, heritage, or indigenous, etc., as discussed in Fishman, 2001). By adding the individual’s agency in self-determining whether they are HL learners, this definition provides a space to understand the learners’ identity in the inhabited ecological system. In this study, I will use this Hornberger and Wang (2008) definition to analyze HLs.

### **Contextualizing Heritage Language Education in the United States**

As discussed in the sections above, the history of bilingual education in the United States reflects the English-only ideology that mostly positions HLs as a problem (Baker, 2011; Gándara et al., 2010; Ovando, 2003). Despite English’s assimilative forces, immigrant families have also sought to maintain HLs. School-based bilingual education programs for HL learners and community-based HL programs are two common types of programs that serve this need (Lee & Wright, 2014).

**School-based models for heritage language education.** The review of the history of bilingual education in the United States in the previous section reveals that the rise and fall of bilingual education in U.S. schools is deeply influenced by the English-only ideology. Therefore,

most of the existing models, regardless of whether students' HLs are instructed, aim at transforming students into monolingual English speakers.

Scholars have mostly discussed the current bilingual education models based on how English and language minority students' HLs are addressed (Baker, 2011; García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Kim et al., 2013; Roberts, 1995). Although the categories are variously defined, there is a general consensus on the five dominant models in the United States, including (1) English submersion, (2) ESL instruction, (3) transitional bilingual education, (4) developmental bilingual education, and (5) dual language immersion.

The English submersion model is not technically a bilingual education model, because English is the only language used in instruction, and the goal of this model is monolingualism (Roberts, 1995). The second model, English as a second language (ESL) model, is one of the most prevalent models for teaching language minority children (Nieto & Bode, 2012). Comparing to the English submersion model, ESL programs provide extra linguistic support for language minority students with ESL placement. However, the goal of ESL instruction is still subtractive linguistic assimilation, and students' own cultural and linguistic backgrounds are not specifically addressed (García & Kleifgen, 2010). Transitional bilingual education, also referred to as early-exit bilingual education, is also one of the most common models in bilingual education (Collier, 1992; Nieto & Bode, 2012). Different from the first two models, this model uses minority students' HLs. However, this model is aimed at transitioning students into English-speaking mainstream classrooms as soon as possible, usually in three years (García & Kleifgen, 2010), sometimes even sooner (Cummins, 1992). In other words, although language minority students' HLs are used, the rationale of this model is to use students' HL only as transition to

English (Nieto & Bode, 2012). Therefore, all the first three models are subtractive models (García, 2009) and embrace the language-as-problem ideology (Ruíz, 1984).

Developmental bilingual education, also called the “late-exit bilingual education” (Collier, 1992; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Kim et al., 2013), “maintenance bilingual education” (García, 2009; Nieto & Bode, 2012) and “heritage language bilingual education” (Baker, 2011), is a different model from the transitional bilingual education model in many ways. One of the most fundamental differences is that this model aims for bilingualism and biliteracy, rather than proficiency in English only. Students in these programs receive significant amount of instruction in their HLs (50% to 90% of their time in the beginning) while learning English (August & Hakuta, 1998; García & Kleifgen, 2010), and there is often no limit on the time that students can stay in the program (Nieto & Bode, 2012). Developmental bilingual education is relatively rare in public schools in the U.S. (García, 2009), with Navajo education being one of the major examples (Baker, 2011; McCarty, 2003).

Among all the bilingual education models, dual language (DL) immersion model (also called two-way dual language, bilingual immersion, two-way immersion, or poly-directional program, as preferred by García, 2009) is one of the fastest expanding enrichment educational models in the United States (Valdez, Freire, & Delavan, 2016). Although it has similar structures as the developmental bilingual model, the DL model serves both language minority and majority students, rather than exclusively the minority groups (García, 2009). In DL programs, the ratio of the number of language minority and English-speaking students in one classroom should be close to 1:1, to avoid one language being more dominant (Baker, 2011). In each instruction period, only one language is used, and the instruction needs to be adjusted to students’ various language levels without watering down the academic standard (Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

Empirical studies have shown that DL programs help students' gain language proficiency in two languages in the long term (Alanís, 2000; García & Kleifgen, 2010), without harming students' academic performances (Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Marian, Shook, & Schroeder, 2013; Valentino & Reardon, 2015). Therefore, DL model is seen as a very promising model that serves the needs of minority students (Lindholm-Leary, 2012; Thomas & Collier, 2002).

In the DL model, linguistic minoritized students' HL is treated as a resource for all, exemplifying a language-as-resource ideology (Ruíz, 1984). However, scholars have started to question this orientation, as its market-driven neoliberal nature and the imbalanced power in the classroom would reproduce social inequity (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Petrovic, 2005; Valdéz, Delavan, & Freire, 2014). Without critically examining the neoliberal ideologies that made bilingual education appealing to the dominant group, bilingual education might become a new form of gifted education serving privileged students. The commodification of minority language might not only reify the inequity in linguistic status but also "perpetuate the objectification and dehumanization" of minoritized communities in the larger society (Cervantes-Soon, 2014, p. 74).

**Community-based heritage language programs.** Community-based heritage language schools constitute the most significant efforts for HL maintenance outside the home throughout U.S. history (Lee & Wright, 2014). From the 17<sup>th</sup> century to World War I, community-based language instruction was established by ethnic minority groups, offering instruction for HL speakers in Chinese, Japanese, French, Cherokee, Italian, Dutch, among many others (Crawford, 2004; Kloss, 1998). After World War I, the rise of the restriction-orientated language policies drove English-only instructional policies for both public and private schools, posing heavy restrictions on teaching HLs, especially German (Lee & Wright, 2014). During World War II, Chinese and Japanese schools in California and Hawaii were shut down, and the number of

German and Japanese language schools dropped dramatically (Wiley & Wright, 2004; Lee & Wright, 2014). However, also during the same period, the *Farrington v. Tokushige* in 1927 and *Stainback v. Mo Hock Ke Lok Po* in 1947 laws were passed, offering protections for after-school and weekend heritage and community language programs under U. S. Constitution. The legacy of these cases has long-lasting effects on the community-based HL programs (Lee & Wright, 2014). Following the Civil Rights Movement, the 1968 *Bilingual Education Act* marks a tolerant-oriented period, which was later challenged by restrictive policies and the *NCLB Act* at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Gándara, 2015; Lee & Wright, 2014; Ovando, 2003). Although indirectly, the *NCLB* has posed challenges to community-based HL schools. For example, some school districts mandated test preparation sessions conflict with the HL learning classes (Wright, 2007). The emphasis on testing—usually only in English—raises parents’ sense of urgency for English acquisition and decreases the priority of HL maintenance (Lee & Wright, 2014).

Currently, the United States has approximately 8000 community-based HL schools teaching more than 200 languages (Seals & Peyton, 2016). These programs are often in the form of weekend or after-class programs established by community groups, churches, ethnic/cultural association, or other non-profit organizations (Leeman, 2015; Seals & Peyton, 2016). Because these programs typically do not receive funding from local/federal government and school districts, they may have less formal curricular and structure, and rely heavily on instructors and administrators with limited training and experiences in teaching (Moore, 2014). Chinese heritage language schools, dated back to the 1880s, are developed by Chinese immigrants to preserve their children’s heritage culture and language (Li, 2005; Wang, 1996; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Currently, more than 800 Chinese HL programs are documented in the major association



databases, and the number is still growing (Li, 2005; Lü, 2014). These programs have become the largest provider of Chinese language teaching in the United States (McGinnis, 2007).

Several common challenges faced by community-based heritage language schools include (1) the lack of broad-based support from the wider society, (2) lack of financial, spatial, and temporal resources, (3) the need for appropriate curriculum, materials, and instruction, (4) the need for recruiting and providing professional development opportunities for teachers, and (5) the needs to recruit and retain students (Lee & Wright, 2014). Despite these difficulties, there is an increasing interest in supporting HLs through community efforts (You & Liu, 2011).

Research shows that these programs can help children from immigrant families build a positive ethnic identity, preserve their cultural heritage, and strengthen multi-generational ties (Endo, 2013; He, 2004; J. Kim, 2011; You & Liu, 2011; Zhou, 2014). Moreover, they are also considered effective for building and maintaining an ethnic social structure that generates and sustains social capital for immigrant parents (Zhou, 2014; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Therefore, community-based heritage language programs should be viewed as a space for promoting multilingualism in the nation, as well as space for students to foster “both individual agency and the collective agency as an ethnic group” to develop their HL proficiency (Lee & Wright, 2014, p. 159).

### **Family Language Policy and Heritage Language Maintenance**

Although school-based and community-based heritage language education programs provide much support for HL learners, families still play the most important role in maintaining learners’ HLs (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018). In this section, I will review the literature on FLP and HL, and synthesize the studies focusing on Asian American families’ language ideologies, practices, and management.

## **Heritage Language Loss**

With the monolingual, English-only ideology pervasive throughout the U.S. history, children often leave their HL behind as they acquire English, and the complete transition often takes two generations for European and Asian children, and three generations for Hispanic/Latinx children (Baker, 2011; Fishman, 1991; Portes & Rumbault, 1990; Rong & Preissle, 2009).

The maintaining of HL has multiple benefits for immigrant children. First and foremost, research has shown that HL maintenance is associated with positive ethnic and cultural identities (Fillmore, 2000; Tse, 2000). By instilling a strong sense of connection to the cultural group, HL proficiency helps immigrant children develop more positive self-esteem (Lee, 2002; Vadas, 1995). Besides building cultural identity, proficiency in HL also leads to higher academic achievement (Cummins, 1986; Lee, 2002), facilitate the acquisition of English (Cummins, 1983; Krashen, 1998), enhance cognitive flexibility (Cummins, 1986; Hakuta, 1986), and improve psychological well beings (Liu, Benner, Lau, & Kim, 2009). On the other hand, when the HL is lost, children lose the access to the “curriculum of the home” where families provide basic elements for children’s successful functioning, thus leading to the loss of sense of worth, cultural identities and family connections, and resulting in the harm to students educational achievement as well as psychological and emotional well beings (Fillmore, 2000, p. 206; Li & Wen, 2015; Tse, 2000).

Fillmore (2000) argued that language loss among immigrant children is the result of both internal and external forces. Internal factors include the “desire for social inclusion, conformity, and the need to communicate with others,” while the external factors are “the sociopolitical ones operating in the society against outsiders, against differences, against diversity” (p. 208).

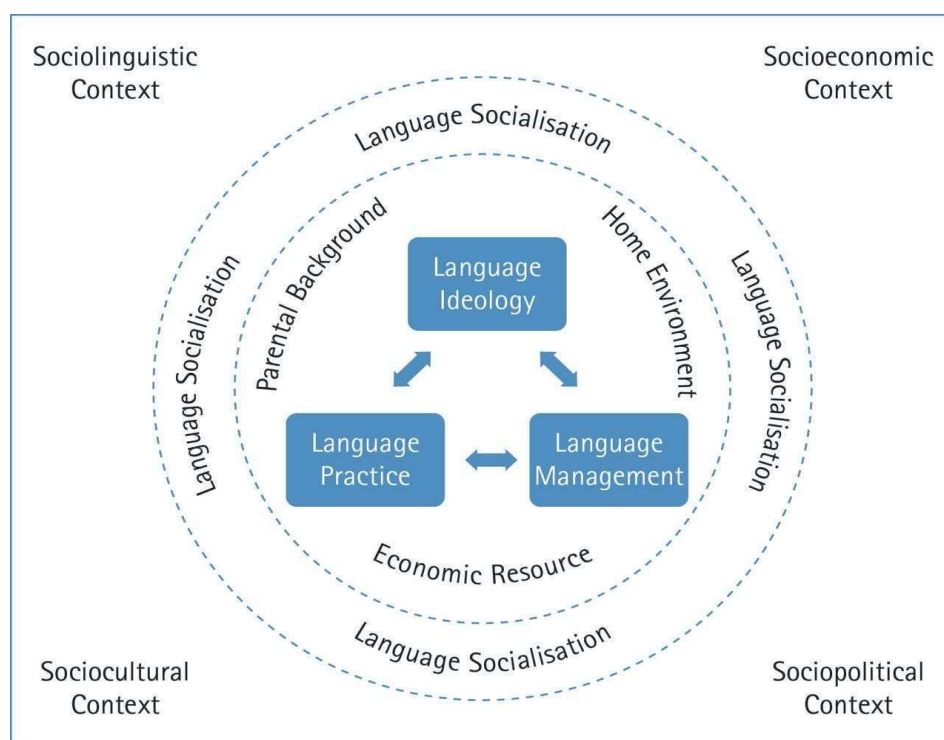
Language development is an ideologically shaped social practice (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018); therefore all forces are driven by the ideology that ascribes privileges to languages based on the position in the societal power hierarchy. As parental support and involvement have been found to be the most important factor for children's HL development (Orellana, 2016), it is important to examine parents' language ideology and how this ideology affects their efforts and practices in maintaining children's HLs.

### **Family Language Policy**

According to Spolsky (2009), language policy has three interrelated domains, namely practice, beliefs, and management. Language practice refers to people's observable behaviors, or what people do in reality. Language beliefs, often called language ideologies, are connected to the values assigned to different languages, varieties, or features. The third component, language management, refers to "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 4).

Family language policy (FLP), as defined by Curdt-Christiansen (2018), is referred to the "explicit and overt as well as implicit and covert language planning by family members in relation to language choice and literacy practices within home domains and among family members" (p. 420). Drawn on Spolsky's (2009) model, FLP also includes three major components. In the domain of families, language ideologies refer to how languages are perceived by family members, language practices refer to how the family members use the language, and language management is pertinent to the efforts made to promote a certain language at home (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Curdt-Christiansen (2018) integrates Spolsky's (2009) FLP model with language socialization theory and proposes an interdisciplinary framework for FLP. As is

shown in Figure 1, parents' language ideology, practice, and management are influenced by (1) their education, immigration, language learning experiences, (2) the natural intergenerational speech resources, and (3) family's economic affordance to providing a particular linguistic resource (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Outside the inner circle of FLP, families are also positioned in the larger sociolinguistic, socioeconomic, sociocultural, and sociopolitical context. Language socialization is located between the larger context and the inner circle, allowing "external forces to penetrate, through language socialization, into the family domain" and "inner forces of FLP to pass in the opposite direction into the society" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 422)



*Figure 1.* The interdisciplinary framework of family language policy (FLP)

*Note.* The figure is proposed by Curdt-Christiansen (2018, p. 422).

### **Parents' Ideologies on Heritage Language Maintenance: The Asian American Case**

After reviewing the theoretical underpinnings of HL loss and FLP, this section includes a discussion of the empirical studies on immigrant parents' language ideologies, and the impact on

their language practices and management in the family domain. Besides discussing the FLP in general, I also synthesize the limited literature on FLP in the Asian American community, specifically discussing the general challenges faced by the Asian Americans, followed by a discussion of immigrant families', especially Asian Americans' FLP as framed by Ruíz's (1984) typology of language ideologies.

### **The Asian American Community**

Asian immigration to the United States has more than 160 years of history, and the majority of them are recent immigrants since the passing of the *1965 Immigration Act* (Rong & Preissle, 2009). Asian immigrants have grown tremendously over the past few decades. As of 2012, Asians have surpassed Latinos as the main source of immigrants in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2012). According to the prediction by Pew Research Center (2015), Asian immigrants would become the largest immigrant group by 2055. By 2065, Asian immigrants are predicted to make up 38% of the foreign-born population (Pew Research Center, 2015).

**History.** Asian Americans have experienced a long history of exclusion and marginalization, as evidenced in the *Naturalization Law* of 1790 that excluded Asians from granting citizenship, as well as the *Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1882 and the *1917 Immigration Law* that prohibited the immigration of specific Asian ethnic groups (Jo & Rong, 2003; Rong & Preissle, 2009). Even after the desegregation, Asian American children continuously face discriminatory and unequal treatment in schools. The long neglect of Asian American children's linguistic needs resulted in the landmark *Lau v. Nichols* case, in which the families of Kinney Kinmon Lau and twelve other Chinese American students sued the San Francisco Unified School District in 1970 (Gándara et al., 2010; Jo & Rong, 2003). This case has greatly influenced the bilingual education in the United States not only for Asian immigrants, but also for all the

immigrants with children speaking a language other than English (Baker, 2011; Ovando, 2003). However, English-only advocates soon provoked a backlash of bilingual education (Jo & Rong, 2003). Meanwhile, linguistic minorities, including Asian immigrants, are often treated as scapegoats in times of economic decline and political crisis (Jo & Rong, 2003).

**Model minority stereotype.** Because of the “model minority” stereotype, Asian Americans are often portrayed as an academically and socioeconomically successful group (Lee, 2009). However, this stereotype is problematic in many dimensions. First, the model minority stereotype falsely considers Asian Americans as a homogenous group. Asian American includes more than 50 ethnic groups, with diverse languages, immigration history, and socioeconomic status (Lee, 2006; Rong & Preissle, 2009). Second, this stereotype was used to support American meritocracy that everyone could achieve American Dream without any structural barriers, therefore pitting the Asian American group against the struggle of other minority groups (Ngo & Lee, 2007; Rong & Preissle, 2009). Third, for Asian American children who are failing in schools, this stereotype resulted in teachers’ “blaming the victim” approach, disguising the fact that many Asian Americans face various problems, such as sociocultural barriers, language differences, and low socioeconomic status (Li, 2003).

### **Immigrant Families’ Perspectives on Heritage Language Maintenance**

As there has always been an expectation of linguistic assimilation into English through the U.S. history (Wiley, 2014), and educators do not consider HL maintenance as their jobs (Lee & Oxelson, 2006), parents can play an important role in countering the assimilation force, especially when the assimilation process is subtractive of their HLs. Immigrant parents’ attitudes towards HL maintenance can to a large extent reflect their language ideologies.

As discussed earlier, Ruíz (1984) summarized three orientations of language planning, namely language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. Mapping into immigrant parents' perspectives on HL maintenance, the language-as-problem orientation is manifested in the assimilationist ideology. With this ideology, children's use of HL is discouraged for the fear of marginalization and linguistic discrimination (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Fillmore, 2000; Ogbu, 1995; Mucherah, 2008; Zhang, 2010). The second orientation, language-as-right, often emphasis on ethnic identity preservation. Parents with this ideology consider HL as a vehicle to preserve cultural and ethnic heritage (e.g., Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Worthy & Rodriguez-Galindo, 2006; Zhang, 2010). The language-as-resource orientation is often reflected in parents' emphasis on HL as a resource that will transform into market values in the future. This language ideology is especially evident in studies in Asian American communities (e.g., Celik, 2007; Kang, 2013; H. Kim, 2011; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010). In this section, I will this framework to synthesize the literature on immigrant parents', especially Asian American parents', perspectives on bilingualism.

**Ethnic identity preservation and language-as-right ideology.** One of the major factors that contribute to immigrant parents' beliefs on HL preservation is their beliefs in the preservation of ethnic identity. For Latinx community specifically, Farruggio (2010)'s research found that Latinx parents viewed Spanish as “a marker for ethnic identity, respect, and the preservation of the Hispanic culture and family relationships as well as a matter of family survival in the harsh social and economic climate of the U.S. urban centers” (p. 8). Another research on Latinx immigrant parents from the southwestern U.S. reflected Latinx parents' beliefs in speaking Spanish as an essential tie to familial and cultural roots (Worthy & Rodriguez-Galindo, 2006). The existence of local ethnic communities may provide material and

symbolic supports in helping parents preserve their children's HL and ethnic identity at the same time (Reese & Goldenberg, 2006). In fact, children from Spanish speaking backgrounds are four times more likely to retain their HL than children from other backgrounds, and one of the reasons is the existence of larger communities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

In Asian American communities, Chinese immigrant parents in Canada also believed that ethnic identity can be maintained through language use and viewed learning Chinese as a vehicle to transmitting cultural values (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010). Also, one of the reasons that Korean immigrant parents in the U.S. pass on the Korean language to their American-born children is their perception of language as an identity marker (Kang, 2013). Similarly, Park and Sarkar's (2007) study reveals that all the surveyed Korean immigrant parents in Canada believe that their children should maintain their HL in order to "keep their identity as Koreans" (p. 228). When looking at the socioeconomic factors, Zhang's (2010) ethnography conducted in Philadelphia revealed how Chinese immigrant parents from various socioeconomic backgrounds formed their beliefs in Chinese perseverance. Although all of the Chinese immigrant parents exhibited strong preference in using their HL, the Chinese families living in local Chinatown with lower socioeconomic backgrounds relied on their HL as the only means of communication, while the Chinese families with higher educational backgrounds associated Chinese with "closeness, freedom, and intimacy" within families and communities (p.52). The findings showed that even within the same immigrant ethnic group, parents' diverse educational and socioeconomic backgrounds could lead to a different interpretation of HL maintenance as a vehicle to heritage culture maintenance (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Zhang, 2010).

**The instrumental value of HL and the language-as-resource ideology.** Besides parents' intention to preserve ethnic identity, another important factor that contributes to parents'



support of their children's HL maintenance is their perception of the instrumental value of bilingual development. In other words, immigrant parents consider HL as a resource that will transform into market value in the future. This language ideology is especially evident in studies in Asian American communities.

Riches and Curdt-Christiansen's (2010) research on Chinese speakers' and English speakers' multi-literacy development in Canada discovered that Chinese immigrant parents not only view Chinese maintenance as a tool to preserve their children's ethnic identities but also as a means to resources (p. 540). With a firm belief that the Chinese language will become increasingly important in the international scene, Chinese immigrant parents play active roles in maintaining their HL in the home, in addition to supporting their children's school languages (French and English). Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009)'s study discovers that Mandarin-speaking parents from the upper-middle-class expect their children to keep Chinese as a foreign language in postsecondary education where multiple foreign languages are needed, as they are aware of the importance of multilingualism in an increasingly globalized world. In both cases, the Chinese immigrant parents' perceptions of the market values of languages contributed to their belief in multilingualism. Similarly, research on Korean immigrant parents in the United States also discovers parents' beliefs in the economic benefits for their children to become bilingual in both Korean and English (Kang, 2013; Kim, 2011). Drawing from a case study of a South Korean family in the United States, Celik (2007) argued parents' notion of investment in language contributed to their view of bilingualism as a resource. This study highlighted that immigrant parents habitually sought wider symbolic and material resources for their children, with the hope to increase their children's cultural capital in a situation where their HLs are often marginalized (Celik, 2007).

**Assimilation and the language-as-problem ideology.** Although many immigrant parents view their native language positively, they perceive negative consequences related to speaking the language (Mucherah, 2008). One of the reasons that contribute to the negative perception is the fear of being perceived as different. For example, a study on Latinx immigrant communities showed that although parents believed in the benefits of Spanish maintenance, the pressure of assimilation often caused doubt about whether they should openly speak Spanish at home (Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001).

In several studies in the Asian American communities, parents' doubts influenced by assimilative ideology transform into their actual FLP implementations, such as banning the use of HL at home. Fillmore (2003) found that because of the fear to be viewed as different from the mainstream, as well as the perception of the English-only ideologies reflected in education policies, many immigrant parents decided to stop speaking HL to their children. Jeon's (2008) study on Korean immigrants in the United States confirmed Fillmore's (2000) notion by discovering immigrant parents' decision to forbid their native language use at home. The researcher's conversation with the parents showed that many first-generation immigrants considered English proficiency as an indicator of Americanness. One adult student in the ESL classroom even considered English to be a more "beautiful" language than Korean (p. 62). In this case, the parents' efforts to "close the gap" in their children's English abilities (p.61) reflect their assimilationist language ideologies, which is derived from the strains of xenophobia in the larger social context. Combined with the English-only ideology in schools, communities and societies, this assimilationist ideology conveys the message that devalues immigrant students' HL by considering HL as a barrier to social acceptance (Jeon, 2008). Parents' fear of their children's HL acquisition and the no-HL FLP will inevitably cause the loss of HL among their children.

Even among the immigrant groups that hold optimism towards education, there still exists “pessimism underlying immigrants’ view on education and the socio-political power attached to certain languages” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 361; Ogbu, 1995). Curdt-Christiansen’s (2009) research on Chinese immigrant families in Canada disclosed parents’ attitudes of xenophilia and xenophobia toward English. These parents, often having obtained more than one post-secondary degree, reflected the discrimination they suffered in their immigration experience, and considered English as the only path towards equal opportunities for minority language speakers. Even though these parents valued bilingualism/multilingualism and did not forbid HL use at home, their own experiences of linguistic discrimination and the perceived notion of English hegemony and the power dynamics “invisibly” affected their planning of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 361).

The assimilative ideology and the hegemony of English also make the implementation of FLP more complicated and difficult (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012). With the perception of desired cultural capital associated with English in schools, immigrant children often show resistance to the FLP that emphasizes HL use (Fillmore, 2000; Zhang, 2010). For example, despite parents’ willingness to maintain HL at home, Zhang’s (2010) study shows that second-generation Chinese immigrant children from families with lower socioeconomic status in the U.S. witnessed their parents’ life trajectories limited by their English proficiency, while the Chinese immigrant children with higher socioeconomic status experienced isolation and marginalization in predominately White schools. Therefore, these children perceived the power relations between their HL and English, and resisted the use of HL at home, even though their parents viewed their HL maintenance positively.

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODS**

The purpose of the study is to understand Chinese immigrant parents' FLP towards HL maintenance. Using an explanatory sequential mixed methods research design (Creswell & Clark, 2018), this study collects both quantitative and qualitative data to explore and examine how Chinese immigrant parents' language ideologies, practices, and efforts on their children's HL education are connected to each other. In this chapter, I will present the research questions, theoretical lens, design rationale, data collection, and data analysis procedures of the project. The limitations of the design will be identified at the end of this chapter.

### **Research Questions**

As suggested by Creswell and Clark (2018), a mixed methods project should have three types of research questions, including (1) quantitative research questions, (2) qualitative questions, and (3) mixed methods research questions. The sequence of the questions should follow the flow of the particular mixed methods design. Drawing on the examples from published mixed methods studies using the same design (e.g., Buck, Cook, Quigley, Eastwood, & Lucas, 2009; Ivankova & Stick, 2006), this study is guided by the following research questions:

1. Quantitative Research Questions:
  - a. What are the impacts of socio-demographic characteristics of parents and children on the parents' language ideologies?
  - b. What are the relationships between Chinese immigrant parents' language ideologies, language practices, and language management?
2. Qualitative Research Questions:

- a. What are Chinese immigrant parents' perspectives on the rationale of heritage language maintenance?
  - b. What aspects (e.g., lived experiences, broader sociocultural processes, etc.) contribute to their different family language policies?
3. Mixed Methods Questions:
- a. In what ways do the interview data help to explain the quantitative analysis results in the survey?
  - b. To what extent do the interview data provide more detailed explanation of the quantitative analysis findings?
  - c. To what extent do the interview data provide information contradicting to the quantitative analysis findings?
  - d. Taken together, how do the qualitative and quantitative data explain Chinese immigrant parents' family language policies?

### **Theoretical Lens**

#### **Critical Race Theory and AsianCrit**

As Bell (1992) stated, “racism is a permanent component of American life” (p. 13). Hegemonic Whiteness and racism impact immigrant parents from various aspects, therefore need to be examined when analyzing parents' view on bilingualism. This study employs a theoretical stance of Critical Race Theory (CRT; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), especially AsianCrit (Museus, 2013), to unpack how Chinese immigrant parents' FLPs towards HL and English are shaped by their racialized experiences in the United States.

First introduced by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) to the field of education, the Critical Race Theory (CRT) became a valuable tool in analyzing the functionality of racism in

education. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) further explained the elements for a CRT analysis, including “the permanence of racism, Whiteness as property, interest convergence, and the critique of liberalism” (p.27). Although the CRT was originally focused on the White-Black dichotomy, various subgroups that focus on the non-Black minorities have emerged, such as LatCrit, TribalCrit, QueerCrit, and AsianCrit (Brayboy, 2005; Castagno & Lee, 2007; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001).

Two major aspects of racism pertinent to Asian Americans are related to the discussion of nativism and the model minority myth (An, 2016; Chang, 1993). The first aspect refers to the general exclusion of Asian Americans from the collective memory of the U.S. history, thus posing Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners, rather than true Americans (Lee, 2006; Tuan, 1998). The second aspect, the model minority stereotype, presents Asian Americans as homogeneously high achieving. This myth not only ignores the history of oppression and structural racism faced by Asian Americans, but also further pits Asian Americans against the struggles of other minorities (Chang, 1993; Lee, 2001). Extending from the CRT scholarship, Museus (2013) identifies seven tenets of Asian Critical (AsianCrit) Theory, including (1) *Asianization*, (2) *Transnational Contexts*, (3) *(Re)Constructive History*, (4) *Strategic (Anti)Essentialism*, (5) *Intersectionality*, (6) *Story, Theory, and Praxis*, and (7) *Commitment to Social Justice*. In this paper, AsianCrit theory informs the design of the whole study, from the establishment of rationale to the interpretation of data.

For example, the tenet of *Asianization* refers to the nativist racism that “lumps all Asian Americans into a monolithic group and racializes them as overachieving model minorities, perpetual foreigners, and threatening yellow perils” (Museus, 2013, p. 23). In the field of HL education for Asian Americans, the fear of being portrayed as foreigners and the desire to be a

*real* American contribute to parents' language-as-problem ideology towards HL (Fillmore, 2000; Ogbu, 1995; Mucherah, 2008; Zhang, 2010). The overachieving model minority myth might as well contribute to the language-as-resource ideology that focuses on the instrumental value of HL learning, such as added cognitive benefits and career advancement (Celik, 2007; Kang, 2013; Kim, 2011; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010).

The tenet of *Strategic (Anti)Essentialism* recognizes that the racialization of Asian Americans is constructed by the dominant oppressive political, economic and social forces, which echoes the anti-essentialism tenet in CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Museus, 2013). However, as Museus (2013) argued, "complete rejection of racial categorization and uncritical reification of racial categories can both yield undesirable outcomes" (p. 26). Instead, scholars should make purposeful decisions about the when to aggregate and disaggregate Asian American groups, so as to better advocate for the well-being of the community. This tenet informs the choice of using mixed methods in this study, because the discussion of Asian Americans, especially Chinese Americans, is analyzed as a whole group in the quantitative phase, whereas the qualitative phase focuses on the anti-essentialism efforts to unpack the stereotypical myths and underscore the complexities within this socially constructed racial category.

The addition of qualitative narratives from Chinese immigrant parents reflects the tenet of *Story, Theory, and Praxis*, which "underscores the notion that counterstories, theoretical work, and practice are important inextricably intertwined elements" in the analysis of Asian American experiences (Museus, 2013, p. 27). The tenet of *Transnational Contexts* is highlighted when discussing parents' language ideologies and practices as influenced by their immigrant history, transnational contact, and the shifting relationships between China and the United States in this trade war era that has potential leading to a new Cold War (Landler, 2018). Additionally, the data

analysis of this study is conducted with a special focus on the intersections of racial and other social identities (e.g., gender, class, etc.) with a social justice orientation. Thus, the tenets of *Intersectionality* and *Commitment to Social Justice* in AsianCrit are applicable to this study as well (An, 2016; Museus, 2013). With the above concerns, AsianCrit is appropriate to serve as the theoretical lens of the study.

### **Mixed Methods Design Rationale**

#### **Definition**

Although mixed methods research is variously defined (e.g., Hesse-Biber, 2015; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007), the commonalities of these definitions lie in the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study for enhanced understanding. As quantitative and qualitative design each has its own strengths and weaknesses, the field of mixed methods research moves beyond the “quantitative *versus* qualitative” debate and recognizes the value of drawing the strengths of both research methods in answering research questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 14).

Considering the mixed methods as a method, a design, and a philosophical orientation, Creswell and Clark (2018) proposed a definition by highlighting core characteristics of mixed methods. They argued that in mixed methods, a researcher does the following:

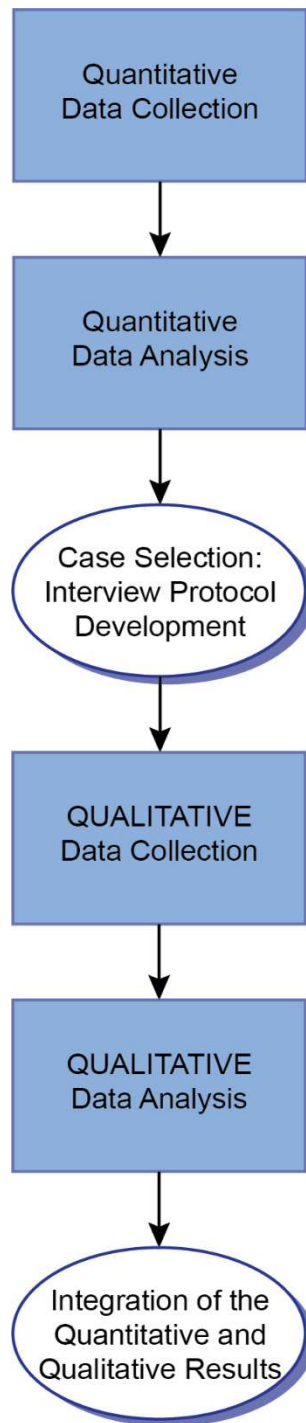
- Collects and analyzes both qualitative and quantitative data rigorously in response to research questions and hypotheses,
- Integrates (or mixes or combines) the two forms of data and their results,
- Organizes these procedures into specific research designs that provide the logic and procedures for conducting the study, and
- Frames these procedures within theory and philosophy. (p. 5)



### **Study Design: The Explanatory Sequential Mixed Methods Design**

The three most commonly used mixed methods designs are (1) the convergent parallel design, (2) the explanatory sequential design, and (3) the exploratory sequential design (Creswell & Clark, 2018). In the first design, the convergent parallel design, the researcher collects and analyzes both qualitative and quantitative data concurrently and/or separately. After the initial results are finalized, the researcher merges the results of the two datasets, and interprets to what extent the two sets of data conform or diverge from each other. Different from the first design, the second and the third design collect and analyze the qualitative and quantitative data following a particular sequence. For example, in the third design, the exploratory sequential design, the researcher starts with collecting and analyzing the qualitative data. Based on the themes emerged from the qualitative data in the exploratory phase, the researcher designs a quantitative study, collects data, and interprets how the quantitative results either build onto the qualitative results or provide an enhanced understanding of the qualitative data (Creswell & Clark, 2018).

This study adopts the second design, the explanatory sequential design. Different from the exploratory sequential design, the explanatory sequential design starts with a quantitative phase. Based on the quantitative data, the researcher develops the interview protocol and purposefully selects cases for qualitative data collection and analysis. In the final phase, the researcher interprets and explains the quantitative and qualitative results. The diagram of the explanatory sequential design is presented in Figure 2 (Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 85).



*Figure 2.* The diagram of the explanatory sequential design

*Note.* \*The use of Uppercase letters (e.g., QUALITATIVE) indicates that this method is prioritized or emphasized in this design (Morse, 2003).

Source: Creswell and Clark (2018, p. 85).

The explanatory sequential design intends to use qualitative data to explain the initial quantitative results (Creswell & Clark, 2018). This study strives to understand how immigrant parents' language ideologies, practices, and management are connected to each other. Therefore, quantitative survey data can be used to understand the general pattern of FLP at home, and whether or to what extent language ideologies, practices, and management are related. However, the quantitative results lack the ability to consider the outside circle of the FLP model – namely, the sociopolitical, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociolinguistic context where the families reside in and constantly interact with (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Particularly, for research on marginalized and minoritized families, the voices of individuals are necessary to create the counter hegemonic narratives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). All these concerns highlight the necessity to incorporate a qualitative phase of data collection and analysis to further understand the central research questions. Therefore, the explanatory sequential mixed methods design is an appropriate and necessary approach to answer the research questions of this study.

Mixed methods consist of a set of philosophical assumptions or worldviews that guide the epistemology, ontology, and axiology of the study, and the four major worldviews include postpositivism, constructivism, transformative, and pragmatism (Creswell & Clark, 2018). Although the quantitative phase of the study inherently follows a post-positivist logic, I mainly employ a constructivism paradigm that acknowledges the existence of multiple realities, as well as a transformative stance that recognizes how knowledge is constructed by the power and social hierarchy in the society and centers the critical issue of oppression and domination (Mertens, 2007). For this mixed methods study, I will write mainly in first-person to better triangulate and corroborate perspectives from different traditions (Zhou & Hall, 2018).

## Outline of the Study

Adapted from the flowchart of the basic procedures in implementing an explanatory sequential design (Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 79), the outline of this study is presented below. I will describe each step in more detail in the following sections of this chapter.

### *Step 1. Design and implement the quantitative strand*

- Identify the research site and the quantitative sample
- Obtain permissions from the Institutional Review Board (IRB)
- Design and pilot-testing the instrument: An online survey of Chinese immigrant parents
- Collect data with the online survey
- Analyze the quantitative data using descriptive and inferential statistics to answer the quantitative research questions

### *Step 2. Use strategies to connect from the quantitative results*

- Determine the significant and nonsignificant results, and identify groups with different patterns and/or combinations of language ideologies, practices and management
- Design the parent interview protocol based on the quantitative results

### *Step 3. Design and implement the qualitative strand*

- Obtain permission from IRB with the interview protocol designed in Step 2
- Purposefully sample parents with various socio-demographic characteristics and FLPs, and invite each parent for a 1-hour long, in-depth, semi-structured interview
- Collect, transcribe, and analyze the interview data

### *Step 4. Interpret the connected results*

- Summarize and interpret the quantitative results
- Summarize and interpret the qualitative results

- Discuss how the qualitative results help to explain the quantitative results

### **Research Sites and Participants**

The data of the study is collected through a community-based Chinese heritage language school located in a suburban college town in North Carolina. As a nonprofit educational organization, the school runs every Saturday from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m., teaching both Chinese language classes and activity classes. Currently, this school is the largest Chinese heritage language school in the area, with a current student enrollment between 100 and 200. The school also connects to parents of the larger Chinese immigrant community, regardless of whether they have children enrolled in the program. For example, the school created a WeChat group (a popular instant messaging app among the Chinese population with 700 million users during the time of data collection; McKitterick, 2016) that consisted of more than 400 active parents. In the past three years, I conducted a pilot study in this school, and have collected data from individual interviews and focus groups with school administrators and parents, school activity observation field notes, and official and unofficial school documents. The pilot study helps me contextualize the participants of this dissertation study.

I recruited the participants of the quantitative phase of the study through this school's network. The school principal shared the questionnaire link through the school's weekly announcement, which was sent to the school's email listserv and posted on the school's official website. According to the data from the public school district where the Chinese language school is located, Asian American students are the second largest minority group enrolled, constituting approximately 15% of the student population in local public schools. Based on the interviews with school principals and the nature of the area as a college town, the majority of the Chinese immigrant parents are first-generation immigrants and middle-class professionals. Unlike states

with a long history of Chinese immigration, the Chinese population in this area has a scattered residential pattern, with no ethnic enclave to speak of, nor is there a neighborhood with a large cluster of Chinese residents. Therefore, the Chinese language school provides a platform to reach out to the maximum number the Chinese immigrant families in this area.

### **Data Collection and Analysis**

As discussed earlier, the nature of explanatory sequential mixed methods design involves four steps (Creswell & Clark, 2018). An explanatory sequential design starts with the collection of quantitative data, and the preliminary analysis of which needs to be completed before designing the qualitative data collection instrument. After collecting qualitative data, the researcher will be able to analyze the qualitative data and discuss how the two phases of data collection and analysis inform each other. Therefore, to better document the design of this study, I will not structure this section with two separate sections titled “data collection” and “data analysis”. Instead, I will follow the structure proposed in Creswell and Clark’s (2018) flowchart for implementing an explanatory sequential design (see the “Outline of the Study” section above).

#### **Step 1. Design and Implement the Quantitative Strand**

**Instrument Design.** In the study, I used an online survey (questionnaire) to collect quantitative data. Based on the Curdt-Christiansen (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP (see Figure 1), the survey consists of three major domains, including parents’ (1) language ideology, (2) language practice, and (3) language management. Drawing on Ruíz’s (1984) framework of language planning orientations, the language ideology domain is further divided into three categories, namely language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. The FLP framework also includes three factors important for children to acquire sociocultural

knowledge, including parental background, home environment, and economic resource (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; also see Figure 1). Therefore, a demographic domain is added at the beginning of the survey. To ensure parents have access to the content of the survey regardless of their English language proficiency, I translated this survey into Chinese and offered the survey with English and Chinese side-by-side. The translation was reviewed by an expert in the field of immigration education who is also bilingual in Chinese and English. Because this survey is distributed to the parents through the Chinese heritage language school, a domain about parents' heritage language school experience is included. Due to the scope of this study, this domain will not be explored further, although the results are used to inform my understanding of parents' experiences of raising bilingual children. The three major domains of FLP in this survey are discussed below. The full survey is presented in Appendix 1.

***Domain 1: Language Practices.*** The domain of language practices includes single-option questions regarding language use at home. Parents are surveyed on the language used among adult family members, the language that parents use to speak to the children, the language that children use to speak to parents, the language spoken among children, and the language that parents encourage their children to speak (see Table 1). Especially, Question 2, “What is the language you speak to your child(ren) at home?”, is used to measure parents' language practices towards their children and is included in the quantitative analysis. The Question 5, “What is the language spoken among your children at home?”, is related to parents' specific efforts in supporting their children's HL learning, rather than their language practices. This question is included in the analysis of language management. The phrasing of all these questions is informed by Lao's (2004) survey items regarding parents' language practices at home.

Table 1  
*Survey Questions for Language Practices Domain*

Questions for <i>Language Practices</i>	Choices
1. What is the language you speak to your spouse or other adult family members at home?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chinese</li> <li>• Mostly Chinese and some English</li> <li>• Most English and some Chinese</li> <li>• English</li> <li>• Other Languages</li> </ul>
2. What is the language you speak to your child(ren) at home? <sup>a</sup>	
3. What is the language that your child(ren) speak(s) to you at home?	
4. What is the language do you encourage your children to speak at home? <sup>b</sup>	
5. What is the language spoken among your children at home?	

*Note.* a. This question is included in the quantitative analysis for parents' language practices. b. This question is included in the quantitative analysis for parents' language management.

***Domain 2: Language Management.*** This domain focuses on the efforts that parents made to encourage or discourage HL maintenance. Based on Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) definition, Kang's (2015) published survey study on Korean American families' FLP, and Li's (2006) survey on Chinese immigrant parents' perspectives on children's learning, the questions in this domain have three major categories, including 1) enrollment in the public Mandarin-English dual language (MDL) immersion program or community-based Chinese heritage language school, 2) opportunities using Chinese at home, and 3) language parents encourage their children to speak at home (see Table 2). The school district where the Chinese heritage language school is located houses a well-known MDL immersion program. Based on the pilot study, most of the parents' children are eligible to enroll their children in the program and know of the existence of this program. Therefore, their children's enrollment in the MDL program is included in the domain of language management. Of all the sub-questions of the second question regarding home language management, Items 2.5, and 2.7 in Table 2 are particularly related to parents' efforts in promoting HL learning, and are included in the quantitative data analysis of parents' language management. Other sub-questions survey children's frequency of Chinese-related activities without asking parents' roles; therefore, they are indirectly related to parents' efforts.



Table 2  
*Survey Questions for Language Management Domain*

Questions for <i>Language Management</i>	Choices
1. a. What kind(s) of school do your children go to?*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional public schools (not dual language, charter, or magnet)</li> <li>• Dual language immersion programs in English and Mandarin (public schools)*</li> <li>• Dual language immersion programs in English and a non-Chinese language (e.g., Spanish) (public schools)</li> <li>• Charter schools (public schools)</li> <li>• Magnet schools (public schools)</li> <li>• Private schools (please specify if possible)</li> </ul>
b. Do you have child(ren) currently or previously enrolled in the Chinese school?*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My child is currently enrolled</li> <li>• My child was enrolled before, but not anymore.</li> <li>• No, I don't have a child who is currently or was previously enrolled in the Chinese school</li> <li>• other</li> </ul>
2. On average, how many hours do your child(ren) spend on the following activities at home everyday? 2.1. Watch TV programs (TV shows, cartoons, movies, etc.) in Chinese 2.2. Use computers / mobile phones / tablet to browsing information in Chinese (e.g., BBS, news, general websites, etc.) 2.3. Text (e.g., Wechat, Whatsapp, etc.), or talk (e.g., Facetime, Skype, etc.) to friends / schoolmates / relatives over the cell phone / tablet / computer in Chinese 2.4. Read Chinese books (children's books, etc.) by him/herself 2.5. Read Chinese books with parents*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Never</li> <li>• 0.5-1 hours</li> <li>• 1-2 hours</li> <li>• 2-4 hours</li> <li>• More than 4 hours</li> <li>• NA</li> </ul>

2.6. Doing teacher-assigned homework for learning Chinese	
2.7. Doing parent-assigned homework for learning Chinese*	
2.8. Other Chinese-related Activities	
3. What is the language do you encourage your children to speak at home?*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chinese</li> <li>• Mostly Chinese and some English</li> <li>• Most English and some Chinese</li> <li>• English</li> <li>• Other Languages</li> </ul>

*Note.* \*Items included in the quantitative analysis of parents' language management.

**Domain 3: Language Ideology.** This domain includes 14 four-point Likert-scale questions regarding statements about bilingualism. Based on Ruíz's (1984) framework of language orientations, this domain is divided into three categories, namely language-as-problem, language-as-resource, and language-as-right/heritage (all "language" here are referring to the heritage language). Some of the items in this domain are adapted from Lao's (2004) survey on parents' attitudes toward Chinese-English education and/or informed by Kang's (2015) survey items on Korean American parents' ideology. For a complete list, see Table 3. In this table, the items are categorized for clarity. The survey does not follow this particular sequence in order to avoid acquiescence bias, which refers to respondents' tendency to choose a certain option regardless of the item's content (Iarossi, 2006).

*Table 3. Survey Questions for Language Ideology Domain*

Questions for <i>Language Ideology</i>	Choices
1. Heritage language-as-problem	
1.1. If my child is placed in English-only classes in school, he/she will learn English better and faster	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strongly Disagree</li> <li>• Disagree</li> <li>• Agree</li> <li>• Strongly Agree</li> </ul>
1.2. A child needs to learn English as quickly as possible; therefore, there is no need to develop the first language (e.g., Chinese) in school.	
1.3. Learning Chinese can sometimes impede the process of learning English	

1.4. It is more important for my child(ren) to learn English than Chinese in the United States.	
1.5. Speaking a language different than English at school may make my child feel isolated or marginalized.	
2. Heritage language-as-resource	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strongly Disagree</li> <li>• Disagree</li> <li>• Agree</li> <li>• Strongly Agree</li> </ul>
2.1. Learning subject matter (e.g., math, language arts, social studies, science, etc.) in Chinese helps my child learn subject matter better than when he/she studies them in English only.	
2.2. If my child develop literacy in Chinese, it will facilitate the development of reading and writing in English.	
2.3. Being bilingual can result in superior cognitive development	
2.4. Being bilingual can provide better career opportunities	
2.5. Learning Chinese can help my child have higher academic achievement.	
2.6. Learning Chinese can help my child make more friends	
3. Heritage language-as-right (heritage)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strongly Disagree</li> <li>• Disagree</li> <li>• Agree</li> <li>• Strongly Agree</li> </ul>
3.1. My child can develop a positive self-image by learning about Chinese language and culture	
3.2. It is important that my child(ren) can communicate with parents and grandparents in Chinese.	
3.3. Learning Chinese can help my child preserve our cultural heritage	

**Validity and Reliability.** To ensure the content validity of this survey, I designed this instrument based on FLP literature and surveys published in peer-reviewed journals (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Kang, 2015; Lao, 2004), and had the survey reviewed by three experts in the field of language education and immigrant children. The survey was also shared with the Chinese school principal—an expert-practitioner in the field of Chinese HL education—and incorporated the principal’s suggestions. To assess the reliability of the instrument, especially the 14 items regarding parents’ language ideologies, I computed the Cronbach’s alpha based on all the survey responses. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the 14 items regarding parents’ language ideologies is 0.73, indicating that the internal consistency of the items is acceptable. I further

tested the construct validity of the language ideologies items through confirmative factor analysis (see Chapter 4 for more details).

**Quantitative data collection.** After establishing and validating the instrument, I incorporated the survey into Qualtrics, an online survey tool widely used in survey research. The IRB consent form is embedded on the first page of the survey, and all the participants need to click on “I agree” before proceeding to the next steps. At the end of the survey, participants were asked to voluntarily leave their contact information if they were willing to be contacted for an interview. The link of the survey was sent to the Chinese heritage language school principal, who distributed the survey link in the school’s email listserv and the weekly announcement on the school website. In the announcement, I introduced the purpose of this study, possible compensations, and encouraged all the Chinese immigrant parents to participate. I was able to collect 326 valid responses during the qualitative phase. The demographic characteristics of the participants are presented in Chapter 4.

**Quantitative data analysis.** In this section, I will discuss how I analyzed the quantitative data, including data pre-processing, descriptive statistics, and inferential statistical analysis.

**Data pre-processing.** When the quantitative data collection was completed, I screened out the invalid results based on Curran’s (2016) methods of detecting careless invalid responses in survey data. Because this survey was distributed via one link and I did not have a list of parents’ emails, it was impossible to send individualized links to each participant. Therefore, it was necessary to screen the participants who participated more than once, so as to ensure the data was valid for further analysis.

When the screen was complete, I exported the survey data to SPSS 25. Numerical values are assigned to all the responses. For example, in the *Language Practices* domain (Table 1), one

point is assigned to “Chinese” and four points are assigned to “English”. In this way, the higher score means that the language practices are more gearing towards English than Chinese. For the second group of questions in the *Language Management* domain, I assigned one point to “Never” and six points to “More than 4 hours”; more points are assigned to the higher frequency of Chinese-related activities at home. Likewise, in the *Language Ideology* domain (Table 3), each participant is assigned one point for “Strongly Disagree” and four points for “Strongly Agree”. The higher score is connected to a higher level of agreement on the statement.

***Descriptive statistics.*** The descriptive statistics for all the questions—including the socio-demographics questions and the questions in the three major domains presented above—are analyzed first. I conducted univariate analysis in SPSS 25 to compute the descriptive statistics of all the questions’ responses, in order to observe the central tendency and the spread of the data (Muijs, 2011).

***Confirmative factor analysis.*** To determine whether the sub-questions for the language ideology domain can form scales and reduce the number of variables, as well as to compute the three new variables if the model fits, I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using Mplus Version 8.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017). Based on the conceptual framework (e.g., Ruíz, 1984) and the results of CFA, the 14 items were loaded into three latent factors, each representing parents’ language ideologies associated with language-as-resource (*Resource*), language-as-right/heritage (*Heritage*), and language-as-problem (*Problem*) ideologies. More details of the CFA analysis are presented in Chapter 4.

***Inferential Statistics.*** In this step, I conducted inferential statistics to identify whether there are relationships among the variables in the three domains of FLP. All these variables, whether they are newly computed in the last step or not, are imported to SPSS. I conducted

various types of regressions, depending on the types of the variable value, to test whether there are significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) relationships among the variables in the three domains. Specifically, I explore the answers to three sets of questions, including 1) whether parents' demographic information can predict their language ideologies, 2) whether parents' language ideologies can predict parents' language practices at home, and 3) whether parents' language ideologies can predict parents' language management strategies. To ensure the quantitative data analysis and interpretation are appropriate, I consulted with the statistics experts in the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science, UNC Chapel Hill.

## **Step 2. Use Strategies to Connect from the Quantitative Results**

**Determine quantitative results that are worth further explanation.** In this step of an explanatory sequential design, a researcher needs to decide what quantitative results warrant further explanation (Creswell & Clark, 2018). After the quantitative data collection was completed, I conducted the descriptive and inferential statistical analysis and consulted literature and theories to identify if any results are “unclear, surprising, or unexpected” (Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 191). Based on the literature and intuition, I hypothesized that 1) parents' demographic information can predict parents language ideologies; 2) parents' positive language ideologies towards HL (i.e., *Resource* and *Heritage*) predict more language practices in Chinese than English, whereas parents' *Problem* ideology predicts the opposite; and 3) parents with lower *Problem* ideology make more efforts in language management to support their children's HL development. The findings that are worth further explanation are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

**Identify groups and design parent interview protocol.** Based on the results from the analysis above, I identified several variables that are worth further explanation, and attempted to recruit participants with various demographic characteristics, language practices, language

management, and language ideologies for a one-hour interview. However, due to a low response rate, I expanded my invitation to include all the parents who left their email addresses and agreed to be further contacted, and I was able to recruit six parents. The design of the interview protocol was also based on the quantitative results and the conceptual framework of FLP. In an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, the connection between the quantitative phase and qualitative phase is made through the sampling and interview protocol development, and such connection is an important part of the research findings (Creswell & Clark, 2018). Therefore, more details about the sampling and protocol design are presented in Chapter 5.

### **Step 3. Design and Implement the Qualitative Strand**

**Data Collection and Analysis.** As mentioned in Step 2, I was able to recruit six parents to participate in the qualitative phase of the study. Each parent was interviewed for approximately one hour. The interviewees had the option to choose the language of the interview, and all of them chose to have the interview in Chinese, although we occasionally engaged in translanguaging practices that involved both Chinese and English. The interviews were semi-structured to allow space for parents to elaborate on their experiences and perspectives (Galletta, 2013). After transcribing the interviews in Chinese, I translated the transcript from Chinese to English, and had a Chinese-English bilingual person reviewed the translation.

For qualitative data analysis and interpretation, I adopt a critical discourse analysis approach, which enables me to analyze the interview data and unpack the ideologies and power imbalance that underlie the discourse (Fairclough, 2001). In this study, I wrote analytic memos throughout the data collection process. Following the collection of data, I openly coded the field notes and interview transcripts (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) using MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis software. Drawing on analytical memos, literature and coded data, I then returned

to the data coding process for the second time. Finally, with the refined coding, I integrated the analysis with this study's theoretical lens, AsianCrit, with a particular focus on how English hegemony, racism, and linguicism shape parents' language ideologies, uses and management at home (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Macedo et al., 2003; Museus, 2013).

#### **Step 4. Interpret the Connected Results**

**Connecting qualitative results and quantitative results.** Many mixed methods studies use a joint display table to display the integration of data analysis by presenting the qualitative and quantitative data in a single table or graph, to integrate data after presenting the quantitative and qualitative findings separately (Creswell & Clark, 2018). However, the intent of the explanatory sequential design is not for group comparisons. As Creswell and Clark (2018) have argued, if the connection is made between the quantitative and qualitative phases (Step 2), then the qualitative data collection and analysis—such as the protocol design, the purposeful sampling, and the analysis focus—are naturally informed and shaped by the results in the quantitative phase. Therefore, following Chapter 4, which presents quantitative findings, I wrote Chapter 5 to illustrate the integration process between the two phases. In Chapter 6, I identify themes emerged in the qualitative phase and determine how it can better explain the quantitative findings. For this purpose, I present joint display tables while describing qualitative data findings, rather than after I finish presenting all the quantitative data and qualitative data findings. This structure allows me to connect the qualitative analysis findings to the findings in the quantitative phase throughout the whole qualitative data analysis process, with a purpose to identify how qualitative data findings can provide extra layers of nuances and additional insights to the quantitative results (Creswell & Clark, 2018).



## Positionality

In this study, I position myself as a researcher with a Chinese ethnic background and affiliation with one of the largest universities in the area. My social network within the local Chinese communities is strongly associated with people affiliated with this university, especially students and visiting scholars. Being a researcher and a doctoral student in the field of education, I also recognize my privilege that the academy affords me (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004). However, as a first-generation college student and the granddaughter of peasants who live in rural China and have experienced extreme poverty and starvation, I also find myself related to working-class parents in the communities.

My experience with the dominant language/variety also resonates with many of the Chinese immigrant families' experiences. My family migrated to a large city in China when I was three years old. During the first day of kindergarten, my teacher asked me to stop speaking my dialect, and start speaking Mandarin only. After being silent for a few weeks, I eventually lost my dialect and became a Mandarin speaker who can speak the standard language without any accent. I was told that a lack of accent is associated with higher educational background and socioeconomic status. However, the memory of fear and shame during my first day at kindergarten was still fresh, and I felt distanced from my family members when I could only respond to them in Mandarin, rather than the dialect that we all cherish.

My positionality also changed during this dissertation project. When I designed the survey, I was not a parent and my research design was largely informed by the literature and a pilot study with community members. I was pregnant when conducting the interviews, and became a mother of a newborn baby when I was analyzing the findings. Becoming a parent provided me with a fresh perspective in collecting and interpreting the data. Interviewed parents

considered me more as an insider (Bourke, 2014) and shared how some of their struggles might be applicable to me in the future. When coding and analyzing the data, my reflections on my own FLP shaped how I interpreted parents' dilemmas and persistence in implementing various FLPs.

My positionality and experience with both working-class and middle-class families, my understanding of the hegemony of the dominant language/variety, as well as my identity as a new mother, have provided me with passion and a sense of proximity to this topic and the Chinese immigrant communities.

### **Limitations**

This study has several limitations. First, because the local community-based Chinese language school is the only community hub that can reach out to a large group of Chinese immigrant parents, I collected the data through the school's network. However, this method of recruitment may not recruit the participants who have no connections to the school. Because the recruited parents either enroll their children in the school or have connections with the school, they may have more positive attitudes towards preserving their children's HL than those Chinese parents who have no connections to the school. Second, due to suggestions from the Chinese language school administrators and other privacy concerns, the survey does not include questions regarding parents' socioeconomic status, education backgrounds, and English proficiency. Such information can be very helpful for addressing the intersectionality parents' identities and adding extra layers of complexity to the understanding of parents' sociodemographic characteristics. Third, like any research project that uses an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, this study has no control over which survey participants will also be willing to participate in the qualitative data collection phase. In this study, I encountered a low response rate during the sampling process. Because all the recruited interviewees have lower than average *Problem*

scores, their responses may not represent the voices of the parents who view their children's HL less positively. In addition, although nearly half of the survey participants identified themselves as fathers, I was only able to recruit one father for the interview. Therefore, the qualitative data were not able to provide a detailed explanation of the gender differences in FLPs.

## CHAPTER 4: QUANTITATIVE DATA FINDINGS

As discussed in earlier chapters, this study begins by collecting quantitative data through an online survey. The analysis results of the quantitative data are used to inform the design of qualitative interview protocol and interview sample selection (Creswell & Clark, 2018). This chapter will present the findings of the quantitative data collection and data analysis phases. I will first provide an overview of the participants' demographics and FLPs using descriptive statistics. I will then illustrate the inferential statistics results that aim at answering the two quantitative research questions, including:

- a. What are the impacts of socio-demographic characteristics of parents and children on the parents' language ideologies?
- b. What are the relationships between Chinese immigrant parents' language ideologies, language practices, and language management?

### Descriptive Analyses

The online survey, which was distributed to the Chinese immigrant community through the local Chinese language school network, collected valid responses from 326 parents. In this section, I will illustrate the general descriptive statistics of the demographics of the participants and their answers to the three domains of FLP (i.e., language ideology, language practice, and language management) in the survey.

### Demographics

**Age.** As is shown in Table 3, nearly half of the parents who participated in the survey fall into the age group of 36 to 40. Close to 70% of the parents are aged between 36 and 45. Table 4

displays the children’s current school grade level. More than 30% of the parents’ youngest child is in middle school, followed by 24.2% in upper elementary schools (Grade 3-5). For the second youngest child, middle schoolers and high schoolers constitute the two largest groups, with a percentage of 20% and 19.3%, respectively. Of all the 326 participants, 209 (64.1%) parents have more than one child, and 47 (14.4%) parents have more than two children.

Table 3  
*Participants’ Age*

Age	Participant Age		Spouse Age	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
<30	7	2.1	6	1.8
31-35	59	18.1	68	20.9
36-40	143	43.9	145	44.5
41-45	91	27.9	78	23.9
46-50	13	4	18	5.5
>51	9	2.8	5	1.5
Missing	4	1.2	6	1.8
Total	326	100	326	100

Table 4  
*Child(ren)’s Grade Level*

Grade	Child 1 (Youngest)		Child 2		Child 3	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Before K	27	8.3	6	1.8	2	0.6
K-2	35	10.7	18	5.5	5	1.5
3-5	79	24.2	36	11	9	2.8
6-8	102	31.3	67	20.6	18	5.5
9-12	54	16.6	63	19.3	9	2.8
After high school	22	6.7	9	2.8	4	1.2
Missing	7	2.1	127	39	279	85.6
Total	326	100	326	100	326	100

**The number of years living in the United States and North Carolina.** Parents who participated in the survey generally have lived in the United States for a long time. As is shown in Table 5, 70.6% of the parents have lived in the U.S. for more than ten years, followed by 13.8% of them who have lived in the country for three to six years, and 12.9% for seven to ten years. Many parents have lived in other states before finally moving to North Carolina. As compared to 230 parents who have lived in the U.S. for more than ten years, only 182 parents have lived in North Carolina for more than a decade. Approximately 20% of the parents have lived in North Carolina for three to six years, and 15% have been in the state for seven to ten years.

Table 5  
*Years living in the U.S. and North Carolina*

Years	U.S.		North Carolina	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
< 3 years	3	0.9	7	2.1
3-6 years	45	13.8	69	21.2
7-10 years	42	12.9	51	15.6
> 10 years	230	70.6	182	55.8
Missing	6	1.8	17	5.2
Total	326	100	326	100

**Relationship to the children.** More participants of the survey identify themselves as mothers than fathers, although the difference is very small (49% vs. 47%). As shown in Table 6, 160 of the participants identify themselves as mothers, 156 as fathers, and 5 as others.

Table 6  
*Relationship to the Child(ren)*

Relationship	N	Percent
Father	156	47.9
Mother	160	49.1
Other	5	1.5
Missing	5	1.5

Total	326	100
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**Children’s schooling.** Nearly half of the parents have at least one child enrolled in traditional public schools. As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the school district where the research site is located, one Mandarin-English and two Spanish-English DL immersion programs are housed within three public schools. All the school-age children in the school district are eligible to apply to get into these programs. In this study, 239 participants have at least one child ever enrolled in the MDL program. As is shown in Table 7, most of the participants have children enrolled in DL programs in public schools.

Table 7  
*Children’s School Type*

Have at least one child enrolled in ...	N	Percent
Traditional public schools (not dual language, charter, or magnet)	139	42.6
Dual language immersion programs in English and Mandarin (public schools)	239	73.3
Dual language immersion programs in English and a non-Chinese language (e.g., Spanish) (public schools)	106	32.5
Charter schools (public schools)	39	12
Magnet schools (public schools)	17	5.2
Private schools (please specify if possible)	14	4.3
Total Number of Participants	326	100

**Enrollment in the Chinese Language School.** Because the survey was distributed through the social network of the local Chinese language school, a majority (85%) of the parents have enrolled their children in the Chinese language school. As is shown in Table 8, only 6.7% of the parents have never enrolled their children in any Chinese language school.

Table 8  
*Children’s Enrollment in Community-Based Chinese Language School*

Do you have child(ren) currently or previously enrolled in the Chinese Language School?	N	Percent
No, I don’t have a child who is currently or was previously enrolled in the Chinese School.	22	6.7
My child was enrolled before, but not anymore.	21	6.4
My child is currently enrolled.	277	85.0
No Answer	6	1.8
Total	326	100

**Language Practices and Language Management**

The parents who participated in this study generally speak more English than Chinese to their children and to other adults in the family. Table 9 displays the language practices at home, and Table 10 shows the language that the participating parents encourage their children to speak. More than 40% of the parents speak mostly English to their children, as compared to 30.1% who speak mostly Chinese to their children. However, 42.9% of parents encourage their children to speak mostly Chinese, whereas only 23.9% encourage their children to speak mostly English. For children’s language use at home, the percentages of children who speak mostly Chinese and mostly English to adults and among children themselves are relatively equivalent. The finding indicates that although parents speak more English to their children and among themselves, they encourage children to speak Chinese more. Compared to those speak “mostly Chinese” or “mostly English” at home, fewer participants and their children use exclusively Chinese or English.

Table 9  
*Language Practices at Home*



Language	Adult to Adult		Adult to Child		Child to Adult		Child to Child	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Chinese	34	10.4	45	13.8	31	9.5	36	11
Mostly Chinese	84	25.8	98	30.1	115	35.3	113	34.7
Mostly English	116	35.6	133	40.8	119	36.5	118	36.2
English	80	24.5	37	11.3	43	13.2	40	12.3
Missing	12	3.7	13	4	18	5.5	19	5.8
Total	326	100	326	100	326	100	326	100

Table 10  
*Language Management at Home*

Language	Language the parents encourage children to speak	
	N	Percent
Chinese	51	15.6
Mostly Chinese	140	42.9
Mostly English	78	23.9
English	40	12.3
Missing	17	5.2
Total	326	100

Table 11 shows how much time the children spend on Chinese language-related activities every day as reported by their parents. For most of the activities, children spend less than one hour daily. Item 5 and 7 are related to parents' language management as they indicate the time that parents spend on reading books with their children and the time their children spend on working on parents-assigned Chinese homework. Most of the parents have implemented these language management strategies to their children. Only about 12.3% of the parents reported that their children have never spent time on doing parent-assigned Chinese homework, and only 3.7% of the parents have never read Chinese books with their children. Among those parents who

reported that their children spent time doing parent-assigned homework, their children generally spent more time on this task than reading Chinese books with parents.

Table 11  
*Time Spent on Chinese Language Related Activities (Daily)*

Chinese Language Related Activities	Never	<0.5 hr	0.5-1 hr	1-2 hr	2-4 hr	> 4 hr	Missing
1. Watch Chinese TV programs	17 (5.2%)	71 (21.8%)	114 (35.0%)	67 (20.6%)	41 (12.6%)	8 (2.5%)	8 (2.5%)
2. Browsing online information in Chinese	34 (10.4%)	71 (21.8%)	84 (25.8%)	56 (17.2%)	46 (14.1%)	26 (8.0%)	9 (2.8%)
3. Text (e.g., Wechat), or talk (e.g., Skype) in Chinese	46 (14.1%)	73 (22.4%)	69 (21.2%)	57 (17.5%)	39 (12.0%)	31 (9.5%)	11 (3.4%)
4. Read Chinese books by him/herself	30 (9.2%)	81 (24.8%)	71 (21.8%)	52 (16.0%)	42 (12.9%)	33 (10.1%)	17 (5.2%)
5. Read Chinese books with parents	12 (3.7%)	84 (25.8%)	95 (29.1%)	55 (16.9%)	54 (16.6%)	17 (5.2%)	9 (2.8%)
6. Doing teacher-assigned Chinese homework	15 (4.6%)	88 (27.0%)	88 (27.0%)	42 (12.9%)	41 (12.6%)	41 (12.6%)	11 (3.4%)
7. Doing parent-assigned Chinese homework	40 (12.3%)	56 (17.2%)	73 (22.4%)	59 (18.1%)	49 (15.0%)	37 (11.3%)	12 (3.7%)
8. Other Chinese-related Activities	14 (4.3%)	14 (4.3%)	15 (4.6%)	11 (3.4%)	10 (3.1%)	16 (4.9%)	246 (75.5%)

## Language Ideologies

Table 12 shows the results of parents' answers to the Likert scale questions regarding parents' language ideologies. Of all the 14 questions, parents are asked to rate their level of agreement using the four-point scale. To understand parents' general agreement on different statements, I coded the four options with number one to four, with the option of "Strongly Disagree" as one and "Strongly Agree" as four. I then calculated the mean and standard deviation of parents' answers to each statement. As shown in Table 12, the statements that the parents have the highest level of the agreement are Q12 ( $M = 3.19, SD = 0.828$ ), Q2 ( $M = 3.18, SD = 0.858$ ), Q5 ( $M = 3.17, SD = 0.746$ ) and Q7 ( $M = 3.17, SD = 0.8$ ). All these statements focus on the benefits of learning Chinese, including making friends (Q12), facilitating the learning of English (Q2), developing positive self-image (Q5), and having better career opportunities (Q7). The statements that parents are least likely to agree on are Q4 ( $M = 2.64, SD = 1.021$ ), Q14 ( $M = 2.7, SD = 1.009$ ) and Q8 ( $M = 2.77, SD = 0.933$ ). All these statements commented on the negative perspectives of learning Chinese. For example, Q4 argues that there is no need to learn Chinese at school because students need to learn English as quickly as possible. Q14 and Q8 each argues that learning Chinese can make children feel marginalized and can impede children's learning of English. In general, the descriptive results of the 14 statements related to parents' language ideologies indicate that parents who participated in the survey are more likely to agree on the statements regarding the positive aspects of learning Chinese.

Table 12

*Statements on Parents' Language Ideologies*

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N	Mean	SD
Q1. Learning subject matter (e.g., math, language arts, social studies, science, etc.) in Chinese helps my child learn subject matter better than when he/she studies them in English only.	15 (4.6%)	50 (15.3%)	217 (66.6%)	44 (13.5%)	326 (100%)	2.89	0.679
Q2. If my child develops literacy in Chinese, it will facilitate the development of reading and writing in English.	17 (5.2%)	44 (13.5%)	127 (39%)	136 (41.7%)	324 (99.4%)	3.18	0.858
Q3. If my child is placed in English-only classes in school, he/she will learn English better and faster.	23 (7.1%)	66 (20.2%)	154 (47.2%)	83 (25.5%)	326 (100%)	2.91	0.857
Q4. A child needs to learn English as quickly as possible; therefore, there is no need to develop the first language (e.g., Chinese) in school.	53 (16.3%)	89 (27.3%)	105 (32.2%)	79 (24.2%)	326 (100%)	2.64	1.021
Q5. My child can develop a positive self-image by learning about Chinese language and culture.	9 (2.8%)	40 (12.3%)	161 (49.4%)	111 (34%)	321 (98.5%)	3.17	0.746
Q6. Being bilingual can result in superior cognitive development.	13 (4%)	44 (13.5%)	189 (58%)	78 (23.9%)	324 (99.4%)	3.02	0.734
Q7. Being bilingual can provide better career opportunities.	9 (2.8%)	53 (16.3%)	134 (41.1%)	126 (38.7%)	322 (98.8%)	3.17	0.8
Q8. Learning Chinese can sometimes impede the process of learning English.	34 (10.4%)	84 (25.8%)	128 (39.3%)	78 (23.9%)	324 (99.4%)	2.77	0.933
Q9. It is more important for my child(ren) to learn English than Chinese in the United States.	23 (7.1%)	72 (22.1%)	129 (39.6%)	100 (30.7%)	324 (99.4%)	2.94	0.902
	13	44	161	105	323	3.11	0.783

Q10. It is important that my child(ren) can communicate with parents and grandparents in Chinese.	(4%)	(13.5%)	(49.4%)	(32.2%)	(99.1%)		
Q11. Learning Chinese can help my child have higher academic achievement.	17 (5.2%)	37 (11.3%)	190 (58.3%)	81 (24.8%)	325 (99.7%)	3.03	0.757
Q12. Learning Chinese can help my child make more friends.	13 (4%)	47 (14.4%)	130 (39.9%)	133 (40.8%)	323 (99.1%)	3.19	0.828
Q13. Learning Chinese can help my child preserve our cultural heritage.	20 (6.1%)	41 (12.6%)	165 (50.6%)	98 (30.1%)	324 (99.4%)	3.05	0.822
Q14. Speaking a language different than English at school may make my child feel isolated or marginalized.	49 (15%)	81 (24.8%)	113 (34.7%)	82 (25.2%)	325 (99.7%)	2.7	1.009

## Confirmative Factor Analysis

As mentioned in Chapter 3, to better understand parents' language ideologies in the three categories, including language-as-right/heritage (*Heritage*), language-as-resource (*Resource*), and language-as-problem (*Problem*; Ruíz, 1984), I conducted CFA of the 14 Likert scale questions regarding language ideologies. The latent variables and the related items are displayed in Table 13.

Table 13  
*Language Ideologies Items and Scales*

Latent Construct	Item	Question
<i>Heritage</i>	Q5	My child can develop a positive self-image by learning about Chinese language and culture.
	Q10	It is important that my child(ren) can communicate with parents and grandparents in Chinese.
	Q13	Learning Chinese can help my child preserve our cultural heritage.
<i>Resource</i>	Q1	Learning subject matter (e.g., math, language arts, social studies, science) in Chinese helps my child learn subject matter better than when he/she studies them in English only.
	Q2	If my child develops literacy in Chinese, it will facilitate the development of reading and writing in English.
	Q6	Being bilingual can result in superior cognitive development.
	Q7	Being bilingual can provide better career opportunities.
	Q11	Learning Chinese can help my child have higher academic achievement.
	Q12	Learning Chinese can help my child make more friends.
<i>Problem</i>	Q3	If my child is placed in English-only classes in school, he/she will learn English better and faster.
	Q4	A child needs to learn English as quickly as possible; therefore, there is no need to develop the first language (e.g., Chinese) in school.
	Q8	Learning Chinese can sometimes impede the process of learning English.
	Q9	It is more important for my child(ren) to learn English than Chinese in the United States.

Q14	Speaking a language different than English at school may make my child feel isolated or marginalized.
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Both exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and CFA can be used to understand how measured variables can attribute to a factor or latent construct (Kline, 2010). However, as compared to EFA, which explores factors based on data, CFA examines priori hypotheses driven by theory (Thompson, 2004). Because the design of the 14 questions related to three different types of language ideologies is based on theory and literature (e.g., Ruíz, 1984), this study employed CFA to assess the factor structure for the three factors (*Heritage*, *Resource*, and *Problem*) of the model using Mplus Version 8.3. After the initial examination of the modification indices, item Q3 was removed. In the final model ( $\chi^2_{60} = 126.674, p < .001$ ), the comparative fit index (CFI) is 0.924, the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) is 0.901, and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) is 0.058. The fit indices suggest a reasonable, although not outstanding, fit to the data (Kelloway, 2015). Using MPlus, each participant is computed with three scores of the three latent variables (see Table 14 for descriptive statistics). Higher scores indicate parents' higher level of agreement to each of the three latent variables (*Heritage*, *Resource*, and *Problem*) that indicate parents' embodiment of the three different types of language ideologies. In other words, parents with high *Heritage*, *Resource*, or *Problem* scores are more likely to view their HL as a part of their heritage, as a resource with practical value, or as a problem that needs to be fixed.

Table 14  
*Descriptive Statistics of the Language Ideologies Factor Scores*

Variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD	Variance
<i>Resource</i>	326	-.731	.697	-.00383	.273105	.075
<i>Heritage</i>	326	-1.082	.954	-.00502	.366315	.134
<i>Problem</i>	326	-1.394	1.184	-.00979	.517295	.268



## Inferential Statistics

***Demographics vs. Language ideologies.*** I conducted linear regressions to understand how demographic characteristics can predict parents' three different types of language ideologies scores. I included several demographic variables as the independent variables, such as the parent's age, the number of years that the parent has stayed in the U.S. and North Carolina, parent's gender, children's grade level, and whether they have children enrolled in the MDL program.

As is shown in Table 15, all three models fit the data well. The independent variables included in the analysis explain 22.8% of the variability of the *Heritage* score, 19.5% of the *Resource* score, and 13.2% of the *Problem* score. Some individual variables are significant contributors to the three regression models. For example, younger parents, longer time spent in the U.S. and North Carolina, and older children significantly predicted higher *Heritage* score and *Resource* scores. However, years in the U.S. and North Carolina are not significant predictors of the *Problem* scores. Parents are more likely to have higher *Problem* scores if they are younger, they are fathers, and they have at least one child enrolled in the MDL program.

Table 15  
*Socio-demographic Predictors of Parents' Language Ideologies*

Independent Variable	Language ideologies		
	$\beta$		
	Heritage	Resource	Problem
Your Age	-0.12*	-0.091*	-0.016**
Years in US	0.162**	0.155**	0.015
Years in NC	0.261***	0.249***	0.025
Gender	-0.079	-0.046	-0.2***
Child's Age	0.121**	0.143**	0.01
Enrollment in MDL	0.021	-0.027	0.115*
R <sup>2</sup>	0.228***	0.195***	0.132***

Note.  $\beta$  = Standardized Coefficient

\* $p < .10$ ; \*\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

***Language ideologies vs. Language practices.*** Based on the conceptual model and literature on FLPs (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018), I hypothesize that parents’ language ideologies may impact the language they choose to speak to their children, an important part of the home language practices in FLPs. To understand how parents’ language ideologies can predict the home language practices, I conducted multinomial logistic regressions. Because there are four categories in the language practices (“Chinese,” “Mostly Chinese,” “Mostly English,” and “English”), the reference categories for the dependent variables are set as “Chinese,” “Mostly Chinese,” and then “English” so that the regressions of all the six pairs of four categories can be conducted. As is shown in Table 16, at  $p < 0.05$  level, the statistically significant and positive coefficients for *Heritage* and *Resource* suggest that parents with higher *Heritage* and *Resource* scores are more likely to speak mostly Chinese, mostly English, or English only than speaking Chinese only to their children. Also, at  $p < 0.05$  level, parents with higher *Problem* scores are more likely to speak mostly English than Chinese to their children. The odds ratio computed by SPSS 25 shows that as the *Problem* scale goes up by 1, the odds of speaking mostly English rather than Chinese are increased 2.013 times. It is understandable that parents who consider speaking HL as a problem speak more English than Chinese. However, it is counterintuitive that parents who consider HL as a part of their children’s heritage and a resource would also speak more English than Chinese. In the next chapter, I will use qualitative data findings to provide further explanation.

Table 16  
*Parent’s Language Ideologies as Predictors of Home Language Practices (the Language that Parents Use to Speak to Children)*

Reference Category	Language Spoken to Children	Language Ideologies		
		Heritage	Resource	Problem

	Mostly Chinese	1.447** (0.498)	2.342*** (-0.67)	0.142 (0.357)
Chinese	Mostly English	2.065*** (0.492)	2.847*** (0.654)	0.842*** (0.347)
	English	1.377** (0.613)	1.778** (0.81)	0.768* (0.443)
Mostly Chinese	Mostly English	0.618 (0.381)	0.505 (0.513)	0.7* (0.268)
	English	-0.07 (0.535)	-0.564 (0.715)	0.626 (0.384)
Mostly English	English	-0.688 (0.523)	-1.069 (0.696)	-0.074 (0.367)

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses

\* $p < .10$ ; \*\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

***Ideology vs. Management.*** Parents' language management can be reflected by their responses to three different groups of questions. First, the time that children spend on Chinese-related activities arranged by their parents, such as reading Chinese books with the parents and doing Chinese homework assigned by their parents, can indicate parents' efforts in supporting their children's Chinese language learning at home. Second, parents' efforts can also be reflected by the language that they encourage their children to speak at home. Third, although not directly related to parents' language management inside home, parents' decisions to enroll their children into the weekend community-based Chinese language school or the public MDL program can also indicate parents' deliberate efforts in helping their children maintain their HL. In this section, I will analyze how parents' language ideologies impact their language management using the data from the three groups of questions mentioned above.

For the first group of questions, I conducted linear regression to analyze how parents' language ideologies can predict the time that the children spend on Chinese learning-related activities arranged by parents (see Chapter 3 for the rationale of choosing these two variables). As is shown in Table 17, all three language ideologies can significantly predict children's time

spent on the two types of Chinese learning-related activities that directly involve parents' efforts ( $p < 0.05$ ). In other words, as parents' *Heritage*, *Resource*, or *Problem* scores increase, their children spend more time on reading Chinese books with their parents or working on Chinese homework assigned by their parents. It is especially interesting to note that although many parents consider learning Chinese to be highly problematic, they still make efforts to help their children spend more time learning Chinese at home.

Table 17  
*Parent's Language Ideologies as Predictors of Home Language Management (Children's Time Spent on Chinese-Related Activities Arranged by Parents)*

Language Ideologies (Independent Variable)	B	
	Read Chinese books with parents	Chinese homework assigned by parents
Heritage	0.259***	0.235***
Resource	0.147**	0.122**
Problem	0.436***	0.444***

Note. \* $p < .10$ ; \*\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

To understand how parents' different language ideologies predict the language that parents encourage their children to speak at home, I conducted multinomial regressions. In Table 18, the statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) and negative coefficients for *Heritage* suggest that parents with lower *Heritage* scores are more likely to encourage their children to speak English only ("English") than speak both languages with Chinese as the priority ("mostly Chinese"). Similarly, parents with lower *Resource* scores are more likely to encourage their children's speaking of "mostly English" or "English" than "mostly Chinese". Parents' *Problem* scores do not significantly predict the types of language that parents encourage their children to speak.

Table 18  
*Parent's Language Ideologies as Predictors of Home Language Management (the Language that Parents Encourage Children to Speak)*

	Language Ideologies
--	---------------------

Reference Category	Language Encouraged	Heritage	Resource	Problem
Chinese	Mostly Chinese	-0.032 (0.464)	-0.080 (0.633)	-0.083 (0.316)
	Mostly English	-0.772 (0.504)	-1.242* (0.684)	0.010 (0.349)
	English	-1.050* (0.583)	-1.538* (0.789)	-0.113 (0.408)
Mostly Chinese	Mostly English	-0.740* (0.391)	-1.162** (0.528)	0.093 (0.273)
	English	-1.018** (0.488)	-1.458** (0.658)	-0.030 (0.346)
Mostly English	English	-0.278 (0.19)	-0.295 (0.696)	-0.123 (0.376)

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses  
 \* $p < .10$ ; \*\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

For the third set of questions regarding parents' decisions to enroll their children into Chinese language schools or the MDL programs, I conducted binary logistic regressions (see Table 19). None of the three independent variables (i.e., *Heritage*, *Resource*, and *Problem*) significantly ( $p < 0.05$ ) predicts parents' choice to enroll their children in Chinese language schools. However, parents' *Problem* scores significantly predict parents' choice to enroll their children in the public MDL program (OR = 1.787,  $p < 0.001$ ). This result indicates that for every unit increase in the *Problem* belief, the odds of parents' enrolling their children into MDL than not is increased 1.787 times. In other words, the result may indicate that parents with lower *Problem* scores are less likely to enroll their children into MDL programs, which is contradictory to our intuition. This finding will also need to be further explained by the qualitative data.

Table 19  
*Parent's Language Ideologies as Predictors of Children's Enrollment in Community-Based Chinese Heritage Language School and Public School's Dual Language Program*

Variable	Enrollment into Community-Based Chinese Language School			Enrollment into Public Mandarin-English Dual Language Program		
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
Heritage	0.838	0.441	2.313*	0.547	0.34	1.728
Resource	1.038	0.587	2.822*	0.342	0.456	1.407
Problem	0.581	0.323	1.787*	0.559	0.248	1.787**

*Note.* \* $p < .10$ ; \*\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

## **CHAPTER 5: INTEGRATION OF THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE PHASE**

According to Creswell and Clark (2018), researchers using the sequential explanatory mixed methods design need to represent the connected integration at different points of the study, rather than at the end of the study. Therefore, it is important to present the integration between the quantitative and qualitative phases. In this chapter, I will present the integration of the two phases by identifying the quantitative results that need further explanation. Moreover, I will describe the sampling of the interviewees, especially how the quantitative results play a role in this process. I will then present the qualitative findings, with a specific intention to explain the quantitative results.

### **Quantitative Findings for Further Explanation**

As Creswell and Clark (2018) have pointed out, the purpose of the integration of quantitative results and qualitative results in explanatory sequential mixed methods design is to connect the two phases of the study so that the qualitative data could provide stronger explanations of the quantitative results. The sampling for interview and qualitative data collection procedures need to be informed by the quantitative analysis results. Especially, researchers need to examine the quantitative results carefully “to isolate findings that may be surprising, contrary to expectations, perplexing, or unusual and then gathering qualitative data to explore those specific findings in more depth” (p. 234).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, several findings in the quantitative phase are worth further explanation. First, in terms of how socio-demographic factors predict parents’ language ideologies, I found that the years that parents spend in the U.S. and North Carolina are

significant predictors of the *Heritage* and *Resource* scores, but not the *Problem* scores. It is interesting to understand how parents' length of years living in the U.S. and North Carolina can predict different language ideologies.

Second, in analyzing how parents' language ideologies predict home language practices, I found that parents with higher scores in any of the three language ideologies tend to speak more English than Chinese to their children. It is not reasonable that parents who have positive perspectives towards HL, i.e., those consider Chinese as a part of their children's heritage and a resource, would also speak more English than Chinese. This finding needs to be further explained by the qualitative data.

Third, two findings from the analyses of the relationship between parents' language ideologies and language management need further explanation. I assume that parents with higher *Problem* scores should view HL negatively, thus making fewer efforts in helping their children maintain HL. However, the analysis shows that children of parents with higher *Problem* scores significantly spend more time in reading Chinese books with parents and doing parent-assigned Chinese homework. Moreover, I assume that parents with lower *Problem* scores should have more intention to enroll their children into MDL programs. However, the analysis results reveal the opposite.

### **The Sampling of Participants for Interviews**

To further understand the findings mentioned above, I followed the example of Igo, Kiewra, and Bruning (2008), with a goal to select participants with different scores on the significant predictors to explain the reasons behind the different results (Creswell & Clark, 2018). In this study, I attempted to recruit participants with various socio-demographic characteristics, language practices, language management, and language ideologies. To ease the



process of sampling, I divided parents' language ideologies into three subgroups, including *high*, *medium*, and *low*, each representing the top, middle, and bottom terciles of the scores of the whole group. Because parents' length of stay in the U.S. and North Carolina, gender, and language ideologies are significant predictors that are worth further explanation, I started by emailing a select group of parents with various values of these variables, with an intention to include parents with maximum variation. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, because the response rate was very low, I expanded my invitation to eventually include all the parents who left their email addresses and agreed to be further contacted. I was able to recruit six parents for interviews.

In sequential explanatory mixed methods design, one important representation of the integration includes tables or graphs that illustrate the sampling decisions with quantitative information (Creswell & Clark, 2018). Table 20 shows the six participants' information based on their answers to the survey and the interview data, including their relationship to the children, age range, the number of children they have, their children's ages, their educational background, the language they use to speak to their children at home, the language they encourage their children to speak at home, the time their children spend on reading Chinese books with parents and doing parent-assigned Chinese homework daily, and their ideologies scores computed by CFA in the three categories of language ideologies (see Chapter 4).

Table 20  
*Interviewees' Information Table*

Parent's Pseudonym	Relationship	Age (Range)	Children's Age	Years in U.S. and NC	Parents' Education Level	Language practices at home	Language Management			Language Ideologies <sup>a</sup>		
							Language encouraged	Hours reading/ homework	Dual Language program	Resource	Heritage	Problem
Aimei	Mother	31-35	8, 6, 4, 4	12, 10	Some high School	Chinese only	Chinese only	0.5-1 hr 0.5-1 hr	Yes	-0.052 (medium)	0.03 (medium)	-0.299 (low)
Qiu	Mother	41-45	13, 9	>10, 2	Master	Mostly Chinese	Mostly English	0.5-1 hr <0.5 hr	No	-0.287 (low)	-0.364 (low)	-0.375 (low)
Hai	Mother	36-40	1,1	7, 5	Bachelor	Mostly English	N/A	0.5-1 hr N/A	No	0.177 (high)	0.042 (medium)	-0.912 (low)
Wan	Father	41-45	14, 7	17, 10	Master	Mostly Chinese	Mostly Chinese	0.5-1 hr 0.5-1 hr	No	-0.063 (medium)	-0.155 (medium)	-0.366 (low)
Mei	Mother	36-40	7	2, 2	Master	Mostly Chinese	Chinese only	1-2 hr 0.5-1 hr	Yes	0.19 (high)	0.331 (high)	-0.232 (medium)
Xiao	Mother	31-35	8, 5	12, 6	Some high School	Chinese only	Chinese only	0.5-1 hr 0.5-1 hr	No	0.084 (medium)	0.004 (medium)	-0.224 (medium)

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Parents' scores in each category are divided into three subgroups, including *high*, *medium*, and *low*, differentiated by the top, middle, and bottom tercile of the scores of the whole population participated in the survey. The subgroups that the interviewees belong to are noted in parentheses.

As is shown in Figure 3, which visualizes how the six interviewees' language ideologies are distributed among the whole group of participants, we can find that the six participants' language ideologies are generally distributed widely, although their *Problem* scores are all relatively low. One possible explanation for this distribution is that parents with high *Problem* ideology may view studies on bilingualism like this one negatively; therefore, they are unwilling to be further contacted. The six participants' other characteristics also vary. Table 20 illustrates that the participants' ages range from 30 to 45, with children as young as one year old and as old as fourteen. Parents' educational backgrounds also vary. Two of the participants had some secondary education, one finished an undergraduate degree, and three attended graduate schools. Most of these participants speak and encourage the speaking of Chinese ("Chinese only" or "mostly Chinese") at home, and their children generally spend 0.5-1 hour each day working on Chinese-related activities arranged by the parents. Two of the participants have their children enrolled in the local MDL program, whereas the other four do not enroll their children in the program. Table 20 and Figure 3 show that the six participants represent a sample of parents with various socioeconomic backgrounds and FLPs. I will present more details about the participants in Chapter 6.

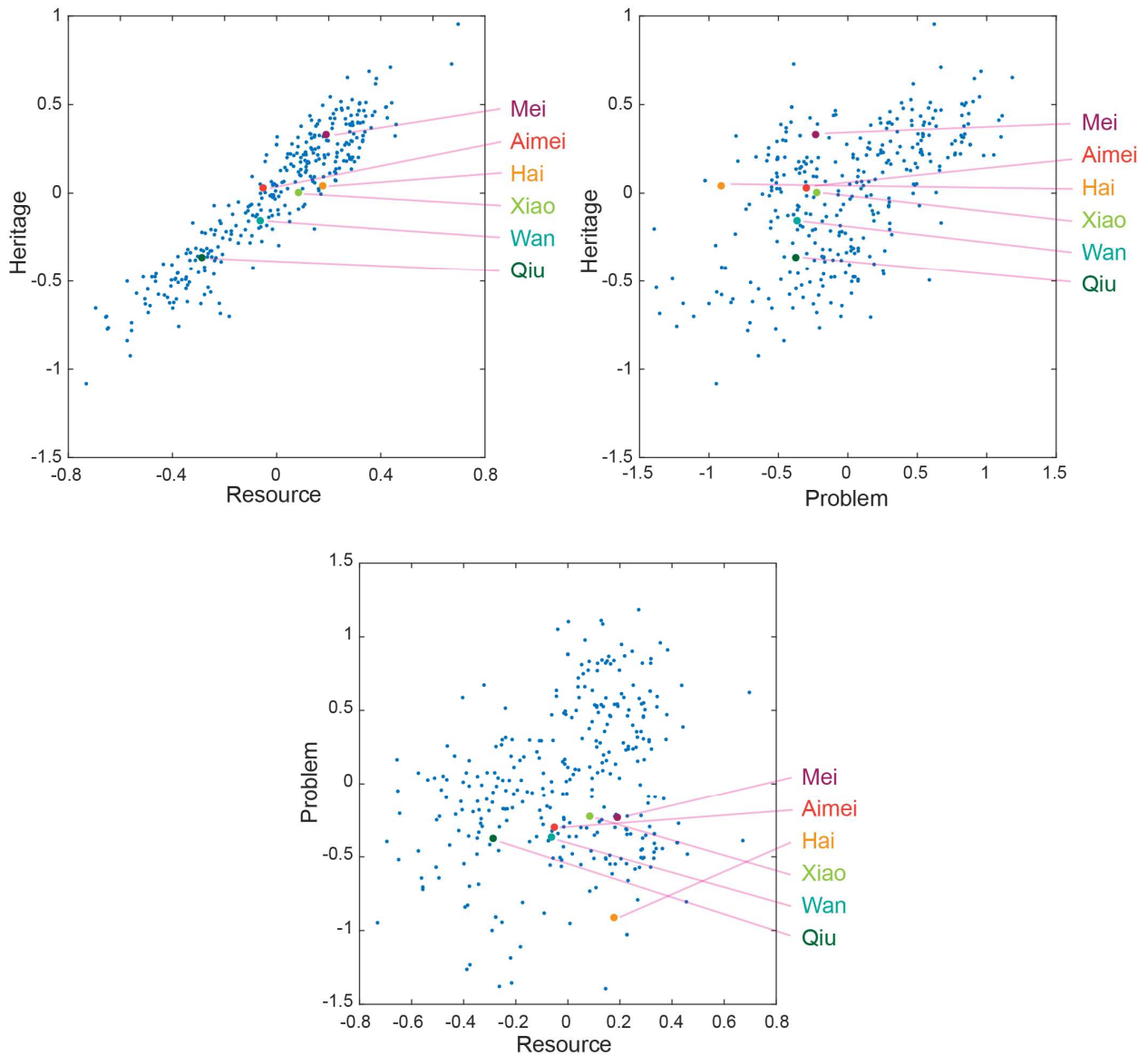


Figure 3. Distribution of interviewees' language ideologies

Note. The six bigger colored dots represent the language ideologies of the six interviewed parents. The smaller blue dots represent the other 320 participants' language ideologies.

### Design of Interview Protocol

Based on the quantitative data findings, I designed the interview protocol to explore parents' lived experiences, their rationale behind language ideologies, and how their language ideologies shape their language practices and management at home. I purposefully designed the

questions to be semi-structured, leaving room and space for “a narrative grounded in participant experience” (Galletta, 2013, p. 46). The semi-structured interview protocol is presented below.

### **Interview Guide**

1. Parents’ immigration history and experiences in China and the United States (particularly in North Carolina)
  - a. When and how did you immigrate to the United States?
  - b. When and how did you move to North Carolina?
  - c. (If moved from other states) How do you like North Carolina as compared to the place you used to stay?
2. What roles do their English and Chinese language proficiency play in this process
  - a. How did you learn English before immigrating to the United States?
  - b. During the past X years living and working (if applicable) in the United States, do you think that your English language proficiency plays an important role? Why?
  - c. During the past X living and working (if applicable) in the United States, do you think that your Chinese language proficiency plays an important role? Why?
3. Their expectations for their children’s Chinese and English proficiency level
  - a. What English language proficiency do you expect your children to achieve? Why?
  - b. Do you think your children meet (or will meet) your expectations? Why?
  - c. What Chinese language proficiency do you expect your children to achieve? Why?
  - d. Do you think your children meet (or will meet) your expectations? Why?
4. Any efforts that are taken to ensure their children can meet their expectations
  - a. What did you do to support your children’s English language proficiency development?
  - b. What did you do to support your children’s Chinese language proficiency development?
  - c. Examples of follow-up questions:
    - i. What language do you use to speak to your children?
    - ii. How often do you read to your children in English/Chinese?
    - iii. Have you enrolled your children in programs that use English/Chinese outside school (e.g., afterschool programs, weekend language programs)?
    - iv. Have you enrolled your children in schools that use two languages (e.g., Chinese-English dual language schools)?
    - v. What else did you do to help your children learn English/Chinese better?
5. Importance of learning Chinese
  - a. Do you think it is important for your children to learn Chinese? Why?
6. Language practices and efforts toward learning Chinese
  - a. You mentioned that you did X to help your children learn Chinese. Why did you make these efforts?
7. Language ideology (statements significantly correlated to parents’ language practices and management)
  - a. Some people think that a child needs to learn English as quickly as possible; therefore, there is no need to develop Chinese in school. Do you agree? Why or why not?
  - b. Some people think that speaking a language different than English at school will make their children feel isolated or marginalized. Do you agree? Why or why not?
  - c. Etc.

## CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE DATA FINDINGS

I present the qualitative findings in this chapter, with a specific emphasis on how the qualitative findings are connected to the quantitative findings. I first describe the general information of the six participants. I then shift the focus to the three sets of quantitative findings mentioned above, and present the findings from the interviews, with an intention to further explain the quantitative findings. This chapter aims at addressing both qualitative questions and the mixed methods questions:

### 2. Qualitative Research Questions:

- i. What are Chinese immigrant parents' perspectives on the rationale of heritage language maintenance?
- ii. What aspects (e.g., lived experiences, broader sociocultural processes, etc.) contribute to their different family language policies?

### 3. Mixed Methods Questions:

- i. In what ways do the interview data help to explain the quantitative analysis results in the survey?
- ii. To what extent do the interview data provide more detailed explanation of the quantitative analysis findings?
- iii. To what extent do the interview data provide information contradicting to the quantitative analysis findings?
- iv. Taken together, how do the qualitative and quantitative data explain Chinese immigrant parents' family language policies?

## Participants

As is briefly discussed in Chapter 5 (see also Table 20 and Figure 3), the six parents, which include five mothers and one father, are generally in their 30s or 40s. They have as many as four children and as few as one child. Two of the parents have lived in the U.S. for fewer than ten years, whereas others have all lived in the country for more than a decade. Most of them have postsecondary education, and two of them have finished some high school. All but one parent speak exclusively Chinese or mostly Chinese at home. Two parents enroll their children in the MDL program, although all are or will be eligible to enroll their children in the program. Figure 3 shows that their language ideologies are generally distributed widely, although their *Problem* scores are all located at the lower half of the whole participant population. Among the six interviewed parents, Mei has the highest *Heritage* and *Resource* scores, whereas Qiu has the lowest for both categories. Xiao has the highest *Problem* score, and Hai has the lowest. I will present detailed information about each participant below.

### Aimei

Aimei is the youngest parent of all the participants, and she also has the most children. During the summer of 2019, when the data was collected, her eldest child (daughter) was enrolled in the local MDL program as a third-grader, and her second child (daughter) was starting kindergarten in the same program. Her younger twin sons were both four years old. She immigrated to the United States 12 years ago to be united with her family members who immigrated earlier. She finished one year of high school in New York City, and moved to North Carolina ten years ago. She is currently a homemaker who takes care of her four young children, and her husband works in a local Chinese restaurant. She is a fluent speaker of Mandarin Chinese and Fujianese, a dialect spoken by people living in Fujian, which is a province located

on the southeastern coast of China. She described herself as having limited English proficiency. As is shown in Table 20, she encourages her children to speak Chinese at home, and she spends time reading Chinese books with her children and assigns Chinese homework to her children. Her children spend half an hour to one hour on these activities each day. She described her eldest child as having a very high Chinese proficiency level. However, she was worried about her eldest child's English reading proficiency and considered finding a tutor to help her eldest child's testing scores in English reading. Based on scores of language ideologies computed in the quantitative phase, her language ideologies of *Resource*, *Heritage*, and *Problem* are located in the middle, middle, and lowest tercile among all the 326 participants (see Table 20 and Figure 3).

### **Qiu**

Qiu is a mother of two children, including a daughter in elementary school and a son in middle school. She moved to the United States more than ten years ago for graduate school. After living in several states in the Southeast and Midwest region, she and her family eventually moved to North Carolina two years ago. She is now working in the largest public university in the area. Qiu is a fluent speaker of Mandarin Chinese and speaks mostly Chinese to her children. In the survey, she chooses the option of "Mostly English" when she was asked the language she encourages to her children, although in the interview, she mentioned that she encouraged her children to speak Chinese, and she was dedicated to making more efforts in facilitating her children's learning of Chinese. On average, her children spend between half an hour to one hour reading Chinese books with her every day, yet they spend little time doing Chinese homework assigned by their parents. She did not enroll her children in the MDL program, partially because her children were newly transferred to the schools in this area. Her scores of language ideologies in the three categories are all in the bottom tercile of the whole group who participated in the



survey. In other words, she has relatively low level of belief in HL as a part of her children's heritage, as a resource, or as a problem.

### **Hai**

After finishing her undergraduate degree and having worked for an international corporation for several years in China, Hai came to the United States seven years ago with her husband. After spending two years in Northern California, she moved to North Carolina five years ago. Her husband is a native English speaker and does not have a Chinese heritage. Although they met in China and her husband can speak some Chinese, his Chinese language proficiency is limited, and the language they use at home is primarily English. They have twin toddlers who were about to start speaking during the time of the interview. She currently speaks mostly English to her children. She mentioned that she plans to create an environment that sparks her children's interests in the Chinese language and culture. However, if her children still do not show interest in learning Chinese, she would not push them to learn. Because her children have not yet reached school age, she has not enrolled her children in the MDL program. She would consider enrolling them if they become interested in learning Chinese as they get older. Hai currently works at a local public university. She has a high *Resource* score, medium *Heritage* score, and a low *Problem* score.

### **Wan**

Wan is the only father who participated in the qualitative phase of the study. He came to the U.S. 17 years ago for graduate school. After spending two years in another Southeastern state and five years in California, he moved to North Carolina ten years ago. Currently, he works in an IT company. Similar to Qiu, he also has two children, including a son in middle school and a daughter in elementary school. Chinese is the primary language he uses to speak to his children,

although he and his children occasionally use English when the children want to express ideas that they are incapable of expressing in Chinese. He encourages his children to speak mostly Chinese at home, and spends time reading Chinese books with them, especially his daughter, on a daily basis. According to his response to the survey, his children spend from 30 minutes to an hour reading Chinese books with their parents or working on parent-assigned Chinese homework. He does not enroll either of his children in the MDL program, although he knows the program well. His scores on the language ideologies scale show that he has a medium *Resource* score, a medium *Heritage* score, and a low *Problem* score.

### **Mei**

Compared to other participants, Mei has spent the least number of years in the U.S. and North Carolina. Although she has previously paid short visits, she moved to the U.S. and North Carolina two years ago for a family reunion and to attend graduate school. Her seven-year-old son is currently enrolled in the MDL program. In part, because her son was enrolled in an English-Mandarin bilingual kindergarten in China before they moved to North Carolina, his English proficiency level was high when he started school in the United States. Mei speaks mostly Chinese to her child, and she is the only interviewed parent who spends daily, dedicated time teaching Chinese to her children, using the same Chinese Language Arts textbooks that are adopted in the elementary schools of China. On the language ideologies scale, she has a high *Resource* ideology, a high *Heritage* ideology, and a medium *Problem* ideology.

### **Xiao**

Similar to Aimei, Xiao spent one year in a New York City high school when she first immigrated to the U.S. to reunite with her family members in the New York City metropolitan area twelve years ago. She moved to North Carolina five years ago with her husband, who

worked in a Chinese restaurant as a chef. After arriving in North Carolina, Xiao also found work at the same restaurant. Her two boys, a third-grader and a kindergartner, were both born in the U.S. Because of their parents' long working schedules and a lack of childcare resources, the boys were sent back to China when they were 4-months-old. Their grandmother took care of them in China until they came back to their parents when they each reached school age. The two boys came to the United States with limited English, and are both receiving ESL services. Xiao speaks only Chinese at home, and spends thirty minutes to an hour every day reading Chinese books to her children. Based on her answers to the survey questions regarding language ideologies, her scores in *Resource*, *Heritage*, and *Problem* are all in the middle level.

**Finding 1: “Chinese is Myself”: Parents’ Lived Experiences Reflected by Their Language Ideologies**

To understand the first unsolved puzzle in the quantitative results, I set out to uncover how parents' own lived experiences have an impact on their various language ideologies towards the importance of HL learning. The quantitative results indicate that parents' beliefs on *Resource* and *Heritage* aspects of HL learning are significantly predicted by parents' past immigration experiences. The longer that parents have stayed in the U.S. and North Carolina, the higher *Resource* and *Heritage* scores they tend to have.

Of all the six participants, Aimei, Qiu, Wan, and Xiao have lived in the U.S. for longer than ten years, whereas Hai and Mei immigrated to the country more recently. In this section, I present the findings regarding how they embody the *Heritage* and *Resource* ideologies among the two groups of parents, so as to understand how parents' lived experience and the length of stay in the U.S. and North Carolina are connected to their current language ideologies. The summary of the findings is shown in Table 21.

## The *Heritage* Aspect of Maintaining Chinese

**Chinese as an important part of their heritage.** When asked about their rationale for maintaining HL, all the participants mentioned the personal importance of Chinese as a part of their cultural heritage. However, parents who immigrated to the U.S. earlier emphasize more on the family ties and the identity aspect associated with HL learning, whereas parents who came to the U.S. in the recent decade pay more attention to their children's connections to China.

**HL as the language for the family.** For the parents who have lived in the U.S. for more than ten years, they believe that it is crucial for their children to be able to communicate with themselves and grandparents, and their children cannot maintain such close family ties without learning Chinese. For nearly all the participants in my study, they find it unacceptable for their children to lose the ability to communicate with their grandparents. In this study, Xiao, Aimei, and Wan all emphasized the importance of communicating with grandparents. When asked about the most important reason for her children to learn Chinese, Xiao mentioned the ability to communicate with family members as the top priority. Similarly, Aimei said,

他们会更好地跟老一辈，像我妈他奶奶他会能沟通。我知道现在很多像我亲戚的孩子，他就没办法跟自己的那些爷爷奶奶什么的沟通了，他就开口就英文了，人家听不懂你讲什么了，他们就没办法很好的沟通。我觉得这比较不好。 [They will be able to communicate with the older generation better, such as my mother and their (paternal) grandmother. I know that many children, such as the child of one of my relatives, can't communicate with his grandparents. He can only speak English, but they (grandparents) can't understand him, so they can't communicate very well. I don't think that's okay.]

Children's ability to communicate in Chinese is not only important for their connections to their grandparents, but also for connection to their parents, regardless of the parents' English

proficiency. For many parents, especially those who have been in the U.S. for a longer time, they are cognizant of the differences between the abilities to carry daily conversations and deep conversations. For them, if their children do not learn Chinese from the beginning, they will not be able to have more meaningful conversations with their children when the children become adults. For example, when I asked a follow-up question regarding how learning Chinese benefits the communication between parents and children, Qiu argued that,

会有，会有好处。但是真的是完全取决于...我真的觉得是要到小孩能完全用中文流利的表达自己内心感受。那种才能真的帮助互相交流。如果不到水平的话，卡在中间，我不知道。 [Yes, there will be benefits, but it entirely depends on... I really think that the children need to be able to express their deeper feelings in Chinese fluently. Only at that level can the Chinese language really help with communication. If the children cannot reach that level, and they are stuck in the middle, then I don't know.]

Aimei, whose English proficiency level is lower than that of Qiu, also emphasized the importance of the ability to communicate at a deeper level. For Aimei, her children's ability to talk with their parents when they are little, and their capacity to continue communicating with the parents when they grow up, are extremely important for her. She said,

我年纪再大，他们可能就跟我也会文化上各方面上不好沟通。他们可能会很努力跟你走近去走不近了，因为好像两个世界的人。我觉得他们会觉得好像爸爸妈妈远远得一样的。他们会懂得这边的文化，还能懂爸爸妈妈的这边会更好。... 我觉得好处实在太多了，一定要学的。 [When I am older, they will have difficulties in communicating with me at the cultural level. It is possible that they want to be close to you, but they cannot. Because... it's just like we are in two entirely different worlds. I think they will feel like their parents are far away from them. They will know the culture here, but not the culture of their

parents. It will be much better if they can do both... I believe it [learning Chinese] has so many benefits. They must learn.]

**Children's identity as Chinese.** Besides HL's role in connecting with family members, many parents, especially those who have been in the U.S. for more than a decade, also believe that HL learning is important for their children to understand their identities as Chinese. For example, Wan believed that psychological wellbeing is most important for his children. Learning Chinese, as well as the learning of Chinese culture during this process, plays an important role in building his children's confidence in themselves. He said,

我有时候当然我不能讲说是很刻意的，就是说我有也有时候在试图的告诉他们，就是说就中国不错，或者我们中国的人不错。所以不管是说你觉得是让他有自豪感也好，或什么东西也好... 比如你可能知道的，因为我姓刘，然后我跟老大讲一下历史上的，比如说我们老刘家有很多皇帝什么东西的... 目的就是说你要有自信了。然后他们至少没有抵触情绪。 [I did not always do it on purpose, but I often tried to tell them, that China is good, or Chinese people are good. You could say that I want to make them feel pride or something else... For example, you may know that my last name is Liu, and I told my son that our Liu family has many emperors... The purpose is for them to feel confident about themselves. At the very least, they should not resist (this part of their identity).]

For Qiu, she reflected on how Chinese is connected to her identity, and shared why she believed learning Chinese plays a role in constructing her children's identity as well. She told me that while Chinese is not important for survival in the U.S., the connection between herself and the language is so important. She could never forget the Chinese language, although she could possibly forget English one day. She told me, “中文就是我自己；我就是那种感觉。 [Chinese is

myself; that's how I feel.]” Regarding how she viewed the role that the Chinese language played in her children’s identities, she said,

首先是她不管怎么样，她是在美国出生的中国人。她是美国人也是中国人，这个是她的根基，她自己不能忘掉这个事情... 毕竟我觉得我是100%认同是中国人，可是自己孩子如果不认同自己是中国人，她将来长大以后还是有一个文化认同的问题。我希望她能包容两个它生长的美国的文化，另外还有一个中国的传统，至少不能排斥。我觉得可能这些东西很多至少得通过语言能沟通才能实现。 [First of all, no matter what, she<sup>1</sup> is an American-born Chinese. She’s an American and she’s a Chinese. This is her root, and she should not forget it ... After all, I consider myself 100% Chinese, but if my child does not recognize that she is Chinese, she will have a problem with her identity when she grows up. I hope she will embrace both the U.S. culture and Chinese tradition. At least, she should not resist it. I think maybe this needs to be achieved through language and communication.]

Overall, the interview data from these parents who possess a longer immigration history showed that they perceived Chinese as an integral part of their own identities and their children’s identities. Therefore, it is necessary for their children to maintain their HLs.

**Children’s connection to China.** Both Hai and Mei have lived in the U.S. for fewer than ten years. When they shared about their rationales regarding their children’s HL maintenance, they did have similarities with those four parents who had been here longer. For example, Hai mentioned that all of her family members in China speak Chinese, therefore, it is important for her children to learn Chinese. Mei also discussed how Chinese is important to her on a personal

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<sup>1</sup> In Chinese language, “he” and “she” pronounce the same (“ta”), therefore it is unclear whether the parent is referring to he or she in the interview. In most cases, the parent is not referring to a particular gender. I use “she” in the translation for simplicity reasons but would like to note that the parents could mean both or either pronoun.

level. However, as compared to the former group, they shared more about how learning Chinese helped their children to make connections to China.

For example, Hai believes that it is important for her children to know about the culture in China. Hai mentioned that she sometimes could not understand the humor in the U.S., some of which only the people who were raised in this country would understand. She does not want her children to not understand her humor that is related to her experiences growing up in China. She also mentioned that if her children would visit China one day, they should at least be able to communicate with people there, and that they should feel that this culture belongs to them, rather than it being something irrelevant. Similarly, Mei said,

因为至少在他这一代，你和中国的联系是不可能完全切断的，对吧？他的下一代当然我们也就知道了，但至少在他一代，他的爷爷奶奶、他的姥姥姥爷什么的都在中国，他还要跟着我们经常回去。所以他这一代他和中国的联系是不可能完全切断的。... [回中国] 如果不会说中文，别人会觉得你是个中国人，你为什么不会说中文？这样对他会是个问题。 [At least for his generation, there is no way we can cut his connection with China, right? For his children's generation, I would not know, but at least for his generation, his grandparents are in China, and he often goes back to visit China with us. So, there is always a connection between him and China... If he cannot speak Chinese [in China], other people will wonder, why can't you, a Chinese, speak the Chinese language? That could be a problem for him.]

Partially because of their relatively shorter immigration history, Hai and Mei's understanding of the heritage perspective of HL learning is more related to their own and their children's transnational experiences. More specifically, they emphasize their children's



connections to China, the country, whereas the parents with longer immigration history pay more attention to the cultural layer of being Chinese.

### **Chinese as a *Resource* for Children's Future**

All the parents who participated in the qualitative phase of my study mentioned the more practical benefits of learning Chinese, such as more employment opportunities and better cognitive development. However, the level of importance of these benefits to these parents varies.

**Future employment opportunities.** As one of the parents who has been in the U.S. for longer, Qiu mentioned that learning Chinese opens more doors for her children, and that not learning the language is a waste of the linguistic resource that her family already possesses. However, she also emphasized that this is just one minor reason, but not the main reason. Aimei, on the other hand, shared that this is one important reason that contributes to her enthusiasm for helping her children learn Chinese. She told me, “我觉得我就想得比较现实点，就算她成绩不是特别好，我觉得一点都不怕，如果他能有双语的话。我觉得她一样可以找到比较好的工作。[To be realistic, even if she does not do well in school, I will not worry about her future if she speaks two languages. I think she will be able to find a good job anyway]”. Similarly, Wan also paid much attention to the potential benefits that HL could bring to his children's future career advancement. He said,

现在讲中文的人口还是最多的，对吧？从经济上来说，如果是说你从未来国际化的角度来说的话，你读一门语言肯定有好处了，对不对？尤其是他，因为我们家作为华裔应该有条件。... 然后我曾经跟她讲说，其实你数学你什么都不会，你什么都不会，但是如果你把中文跟英文都学好了，其实你是可以survive的。[Chinese is the language that is spoken by most people, right? Economically speaking, if you view this from the perspective of

globalization, speaking a new language definitely has an advantage, right? Especially, our Chinese families have the resources to help them learn the Chinese language... I once told her that, even if you don't know math, or you don't know anything else, but you learn Chinese and English well, you actually can survive.]

For parents who have shorter immigration history, Hai and Mei briefly mentioned the potential career opportunities brought by HL learning, but also admitted that this was not a determining reason. Mei shared that her family may move back to China one day, therefore learning Chinese might be important for her child's future in China. Hai mentioned that she is much less interested in the career aspects of learning Chinese as compared to other aspects.

**Cognitive development.** Although less mentioned by the participants, another practical reason that contributes to parents' motivation for HL maintenance is its benefits to cognitive development. For example, Wan believed that learning a language can develop children's intelligence. He then argued that learning any skill is helpful. He would rather let his children learn any skill than to let them spend time on the TV or playing computer games. Because he considers language to be a skill, he believes that learning any language is helpful. His children are also learning Spanish in school, and he tries to provide more opportunities for his children to speak Spanish. This rationale of learning Chinese is also mentioned by Xiao, who stressed the importance for her children to cherish the opportunity to learn Spanish in schools.

**Language brokering.** Children of immigrant families often play a role as language brokers, which refer to children who translate and interpret for parents and other people who need assistance in languages (Morales & Hanson, 2005). Aimei and Xiao both mentioned that they struggle with communicating in English. For them, their children's ability to speak Chinese is necessary for the children to be the language brokers for the family. When asked about why

she believed learning Chinese is important for her children, Xiao's first response was “帮助其他人 [to help other people]”. She then elaborated that many people in the U.S. do not speak English well. In addition, as compared to New York City, where she used to live, North Carolina is a place that is hard to survive without English. If her children could speak both Chinese and English, they could then help many people, including her family members, to navigate their new lives in this country and this area. She believes that children will have a sense of achievement by helping others with their bilingual capabilities. Aimei shared that when she went to grocery stores with her children, she would ask them to talk with the cashiers by telling them, “妈妈英文不如你好。你能过去替我跟他们讲讲吗? [Mom's English is not as good as yours. Could you please talk to them on my behalf?]” She believes that her children's abilities to speak both Chinese and English are very helpful for her. In addition, being bilingual in Chinese and English is important for her children to build confidence in themselves. Besides Aimei and Xiao, no other parents in my study mentioned the possibility of language brokering as a reason for their positive attitudes towards HL maintenance. Aimei and Xiao's lived experiences in North Carolina involve daily challenges brought by their relatively limited English proficiency level might contribute their emphasis on this particular benefit of maintaining HL.

Table 21

*Joint Display of Parents' Language Ideologies with Different Length of Immigration History*

Group	Parent's Pseudonym	Years in U.S. and NC	<i>Heritage Ideology</i>		<i>Resource Ideology</i>	
			Quantitative	Qualitative	Quantitative	Qualitative
Longer Immigration History	Wan	17, 10	-0.155 (medium)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Communicate with grandparents and parents (All)</li> <li>Identity as Chinese (Aimei, Wan and Qiu)</li> </ul>	-0.063 (medium)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Future career prospective (Wan, Aimei and Xiao)</li> <li>Language brokering for parents (Aimei and Xiao)</li> <li>Cognitive development (Wan, Aimei and Xiao)</li> <li>Not as important (Qiu)</li> </ul>
	Aimei	12, 10	0.331 (high)		0.19 (high)	
	Xiao	12, 6	0.004 (medium)		0.084 (medium)	
	Qiu	>10, 2	-0.364 (low)		-0.287 (low)	
Shorter Immigration History	Hai	7, 5	0.042 (medium)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Transnational connections with China (Both)</li> </ul>	0.177 (high)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not as important (Both)</li> <li>Career prospective (Mei)</li> </ul>
	Mei	2, 2	0.331 (high)		0.19 (high)	

## **Finding 2: “Of Course, English is More Important”: Parents’ Language Practices and the English Hegemony**

As discussed earlier, the second qualitative finding that is worth further explanation is related to how parents’ language ideologies predict home language practices. Quantitative data shows that parents with higher scores in any of the three language ideologies, including the positive attitudes that treat HL as *Resource* or *Heritage*, tend to speak more English than Chinese to their children. It is counterintuitive that parents who have positive perspectives towards HL and consider Chinese as a part of their children’s heritage and a resource, would also speak more English than Chinese. This finding needs to be further explained by the qualitative data. Among the six parents who participated in the qualitative phase of this study, Mei and Xiao speak exclusively Chinese at home, Hai speaks mostly English, and the other four parents speak mostly Chinese. In this section, I will present the findings from the three groups of parents with different language practices at home, and explore the rationales and language ideologies that contribute to their language practices. Particularly, I would like to understand why parents with relatively high *Heritage* and *Resource* scores may not choose to speak as much Chinese as they can at home. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 22.

### **Parents’ English Proficiency Level and Home Language Environment**

Not surprisingly, the findings show that parents’ English proficiency level may play an important role in determining parents’ language practices at home. Both Mei and Xiao, who reported that they speak exclusively Chinese at home, shared that they have a limited English proficiency level and wish they could speak better English. In addition, Mei’s mother, who does not speak English, is also home with the children. Speaking to children in Chinese is probably the only choice they have. Hai, who mainly speaks English to her children at home, is married to

a person with no Chinese heritage. Although her husband can speak some Chinese, English is the dominant language spoken at home, and therefore, she speaks mostly English to her children. Qiu, who speaks mostly Chinese home, mentioned how parents' English proficiency level can impact parents' and children's language use. She said,

我自己觉得能学好的都是父母坚持在家里坚决不说英文。父母英文不好，对小孩学中文觉得有特别大的帮助。小孩没有办法，所以他必须要[说中文]。如果家长英文还凑合了，就得要特别坚持。有的时候为了方便就那么一下就放过去了。长期来看对小孩学中文肯定没有好处。 [I personally believe that children's high Chinese language proficiency is attributed to parental persistence in not speaking any English. A parent's lower English proficiency is extremely helpful with children learning Chinese. Because the children have no choice, they have to (speak Chinese). If the parents' English level is okay, then they need to be extra persistent. Sometimes, for the sake of convenience, parents will let go. In the long term, this definitely does not help the children to learn Chinese.]

In all the cases discussed above, parents' English proficiency level and other family members' English/Chinese proficiency level play an important role in determining parents' language use with their children at home, and may further have an impact on their children's ability to speak Chinese. Parents who can speak English well are at a disadvantage in creating a language environment that promotes children's maintaining of their HL.

### **Perceived Importance of English**

With all six parents, regardless of how much they speak Chinese to their children and how much they embody the *Heritage* and *Resource* ideologies, they believed that English is more important than Chinese. The perceived importance of English may also contribute to parents' and children's language practices.

When asked about which language between Chinese and English is more important, all the parents chose English without hesitation, even among those parents who repeatedly expressed how they valued Chinese. For example, Qiu, who mentioned that “中文就是我自己 [Chinese is myself],” argued that English is the language for survival. Mei shared a similar belief. She said, “从个人角度来说，肯定是中文对我更有意义。但是从你的 practical 的这种工作学习来讲，肯定是英文更重要。[From my personal perspective, of course, Chinese is more meaningful to me. However, from a practical perspective, for studying and working here, of course, English is much more important.]” The major reason that contributes to such belief is that the U.S. is an English-speaking country, as is mentioned by nearly all the parents. Other than that, parents’ own experiences and their children’s schooling experiences also play important roles.

***Parents’ negative experiences.*** Many participants in my study shared how their own experiences informed them of the importance of English. Xiao, who speaks only Chinese at home and has limited English proficiency, shared that English is extremely important for living in the U.S., especially in North Carolina. As compared to New York City, where she used to live, much fewer people in North Carolina speak Chinese, thus making the ability to speak English especially essential. She said,

我个人觉得英文是很重要的。因为不管你去什么地方，跟人家说话都需要它。就好像，你需要带带小孩子去在北卡看医生，你都要听懂人家说什么是不是？然后你又要回答人家。要是你不会英文的话，你要跟人家说你什么都听不懂。所以就比较麻烦。你都要找翻译，或者麻烦你的朋友。 [I personally believe that English is very important. Because no matter where you go, you always need it to speak to people. For example, if you need to take your children to the doctor in North Carolina, you need to understand what they are

saying, right? And then you need to answer them. If you don't know English, you need to tell that person that you don't understand anything. That will be very troublesome. You will always need an interpreter, or you have to bother your friend.]

Xiao mentioned the importance of English in daily life, but she did not think her English proficiency level had limited her working capabilities, partially because she works in a Chinese restaurant. Wan, who works in a tech company, shared that his experience at work is associated with his abilities to speak English. He said,

应该英语说多多少少会有影响我的职业发展啦。我觉得也许我现在，比如说谈工作也是问题不是太大，但是生活不仅仅是工作了。比如说你说你是我的manager就好了，你如果升上去了，你需要抓一个人替代你。你一定会讲要找一个能够很顺畅交流的，对不对？我觉得这个是蛮重要的。假如说我是manager，这我也会这样想。是在这方面来说，可能我们会有欠缺。... 所以我觉得毫无疑问，这应该说是我们的短板。[English has limited my career development, more or less. For example, I think that I don't have a big problem with talking about my work in English, but life is more than just work. If you are my manager, and for example, you are promoted and want to find someone to fill your position. You definitely will find someone with whom you can communicate very smoothly, right? I think that's important. If I were the manager, I would think that way too. In this aspect, we are at a disadvantage... Without any doubt, I think this is our weakness.]

Wan has no problem working with his colleagues using English, but he still sees his career advancement opportunities as being limited by his English proficiency. He shared that the manager and his colleagues need to have more patience and take more time to explain things to him, which could harm his career in the long run. Moreover, as compared to California, he



sometimes felt pressured and isolated in a place with less diversity, such as North Carolina. He preferred to live and work in places with a larger Asian American population. Mei, who was a college English instructor in China and has a high English proficiency level, also shared that socializing with native English-speaking parents is not easy. After starting a casual conversation while waiting for their children to be dismissed, she soon runs out of topics. Qiu shared that due to cultural and language differences, as well as their perceived “foreignness,” Chinese immigrant parents often normalize the unfairness they encounter. She reflected,

中国人有一种很奇怪的（特性）：特别能忍。比如，在任何环境下很多不公平都觉得我作为一个外国人，可能在这个国家这是应该的，很多事情不会去challenge别人。这些事发生了，先是把自己放在一个说这些可能都是正常的，不会要求特别多，也没有想很多那种情况。有很多事情过了过后，你可能才会想说，可能之前也可以争取更多权利。[Chinese people have a strange characteristic; we often can tolerate a lot of things. For example, in many circumstances, you experience unfairness. However, you often feel that as a foreigner, maybe this is normal in this country, and you should not challenge them. Whenever these things happen, you often persuade yourself that this is normal. Don't ask too much, and don't think too much. After a number of things have happened, you may start wanting to say something, or you may think that you could have fought for more rights.]

Just like Wan, Mei, and Qiu, even though their English proficiency level is considered high, non-native English-speaking parents are still disadvantaged in various scenarios in work and life. These negative experiences may contribute to their emphasis on their children's English learning and the inclusion of English in their home language practices.

*Children's schooling experiences.* Besides parents' own experiences, their children's schooling experiences also contributed to their understanding of the importance of English. Xiao, whose children grew up in China and have a relatively low English proficiency level, shared that her elder child's teacher advised her to speak English to her children. The teacher asked her to not speak Chinese all the time, but to speak more English, so that her children can “适应 [get used to]” English. The teacher is clearly sending a message to Xiao that English is the language valued in schools.

For the two parents who have children in the MDL program, Aimei and Mei both reflected on their children's experiences with the two languages in the program. For example, their children are learning math in Chinese, but their math homework and tests are in English. When asked why children's math homework is in English, Aimei said,

因为他说方便其他别人中文看不懂。我觉得是更多给老外孩子。不然老外孩子拿回去，中文他就看不懂。... 反正老师好像有讲过。毕竟美国可能以后考试什么都要用英文。 [It is for the convenience of those who cannot read Chinese well. I think it's for the foreigners' (“Laowai”) children. Otherwise, those children take the homework home, and they don't understand Chinese... Anyway, the teacher has said that. After all, the math tests in the United States are all in English.]

Aimei used the word “老外 [Laowai],” which is often used in China to refer to foreigners, to refer to the parents of the children in the MDL classrooms who do not have a Chinese heritage. While her children learn math in Chinese, the fact that they need to do the homework in English for the ease of the “Laowai”'s children and that all the math tests are in English also send a message to the parents, which argues that English is the most important language for their children.

*Children's interests and choices.* Some parents, especially Hai and Xiao, emphasized that they respect their children's choices, and would not force their children to learn if they choose not to. However, children's own choices are shaped by their experiences. In most cases, children often lean toward English. Wan and Qiu, who have relatively older children among the six participants, both mentioned that their children speak more and more English as they grow older. They observed that even in the Saturday Chinese heritage language school, no students are speaking Chinese outside the Chinese language classroom. Even Xiao, whose children grew up in China and only spoke Chinese during the first five years of their life, also agreed that her children are far more interested in English than Chinese. She believed that the school definitely plays a role in forming her children's interests in English, because there is no one speaking Chinese there and English is the only language valued in the school.

Some parents believe that how children view their identities as Chinese can contribute to their interests and language choices. For many children, they may face more challenges associated with their identities when they grow up. For example, Qiu shared that although her children do not have any negative experience associated with their Chinese identity so far, she believed that they may have a deeper understanding of these issues when they grow older. She said,

我听到的很多故事。一个是可能父母自己本身，我不知道是出于政治或者个人经历之类，很排斥这个[中国人]身份，或者说对有很多怨恨。我觉得孩子也可能在如果认真看书的话，从别人的经历觉得也许受到过各种各样的歧视，或者让他有点排斥这种文化... 我感觉现在还没有觉得，但是以后不知道。他真的要开始，就算是进入社会脱离父母保护，然后真的面对时候，各种各样明显的明面的或者是subtle，可能他自己才能体会到。 [I have heard many stories. I don't know if it is because of political reasons or personal

experiences, but many parents reject this identity (as Chinese), or have a grudge towards it. I think if my children really read books carefully, they will know the existence of such discrimination that other people experience, and they may reject this culture... I don't think they understand this now, but I don't know what will happen in the future. When they truly enter society, leave their parents' protection, and really face reality, then they will start to experience these blatant or subtle things.]

Just like their parents, children's own interests and choices are influenced by their own experiences. Growing up in a society where English is the dominant language, children are more likely to choose English than not. As Hai put it, “中文很重要，但是不是必需的 [Chinese is important, but it is not essential]”.

Table 22

*Joint Display of Parents' Language Ideologies, Language Practices, and Aspects Contributing to the Current Language Practices*

Language Practices	Parent's Pseudonym	<i>Heritage</i>	<i>Resource</i>	Major Qualitative Findings
Chinese only	Aimei	0.331 (high)	0.19 (high)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Home language practices as a result of parents' and grandparents' English proficiency</li> <li>• Testing in English</li> </ul>
	Xiao	0.004 (medium)	0.084 (medium)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Home language practices as a result of parents' English proficiency</li> <li>• Inconveniences in life caused by low English proficiency level</li> <li>• Teachers' advice on speaking English at home</li> <li>• Respect children's language choices</li> </ul>
Mostly Chinese	Wan	-0.155 (medium)	-0.063 (medium)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Speaking English occasionally for the convenience of communication with children</li> <li>• Working trajectories limited by English</li> </ul>
	Qiu	-0.364 (low)	-0.287 (low)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Speaking English occasionally for the convenience of communication with children</li> <li>• English serving survival needs</li> </ul>
	Mei	0.331 (high)	0.19 (high)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Possibilities of staying in the U.S. or going to international schools in China in the future</li> <li>• Testing in English</li> </ul>
English only	Hai	0.042 (medium)	0.177 (high)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Home language practices influenced by the existence of an English-speaking parent</li> <li>• English for work</li> <li>• Respect children's language choices</li> </ul>

### **Finding 3: Paradoxes of Parents' Language Ideologies and Language Management**

The last finding that is worthy of further explanation is related to parents' language management. The qualitative findings show that children of parents with lower *Problem* scores spend significantly less time reading Chinese books with parents or doing parent-assigned Chinese homework. Moreover, parents with lower *Problem* scores are less likely to enroll their children in MDL programs. As is discussed in the sampling section, none of the participants recruited during the quantitative phase has a *Problem* score that belongs to the high subgroup of the three groups. Additionally, all of their scores are lower than the mean scores ( $M=-0.00979$ ), which means that their *Problem* scores fall into the lower half of the whole group. Because of their *Problem* scores' distribution, I mainly focus on analyzing how their low *Problem* ideology is connected to their language management, especially how they manage their children's Chinese-related activities at home, and how they make decisions on whether to enroll their children in the MDL program or not. The joint display of the quantitative and qualitative results is presented in Table 23.

#### **Parents' Efforts in Supporting Chinese Learning at Home**

Based on the quantitative findings, children of the interviewed parents spend around thirty minutes to an hour reading Chinese books with parents or working on parent-assigned Chinese homework. To triangulate with the qualitative data findings, I asked each parent what efforts they made to help their children learn Chinese at home. Although their responses to the survey questions related to language management are similar, the details they shared during the interviews are very different.

Compared to the other three, Aimei, Xiao, and Hai make fewer efforts in promoting Chinese at home. Aimei speaks exclusively Chinese at home and has never enrolled her children

in any English-speaking daycare or preschools. As a result, her two school-age children spoke very fluent Chinese and very little English when they started school. She shared that she never made any specific efforts to help her children with their Chinese, because “我们在家每天都说中文。 [We speak Chinese at home every day.]” Following her children’s teachers’ advice, she asked her children to read more English books and write English diaries. Xiao, whose children also only spoke Chinese when they started school, told me that she read Chinese books to her children during bedtime. She mentioned that her children occasionally watch either Chinese or English cartoons. She would suggest her children watch more English programs when she noticed that her children had watched too many Chinese programs. However, she would not do the opposite. Hai’s children are still learning to speak, and she specifically emphasized that she would respect her children’s preference in language learning. Her language management mainly involves speaking more Chinese to her children and creating opportunities for her children to communicate with other children in Chinese. She and her partner are mainly reading English books to their children, but she plans to add some Chinese books to the reading list in the near future.

Qiu, Wan, and Mei make deliberate efforts and use various strategies to promote their children’s Chinese learning. Qiu, whose children speak more English at home, mentioned that she sometimes “强迫 [forces]” her children to repeat their words in Chinese, because their first responses to Qiu’s questions are usually in English. In addition, she sometimes lets her children watch Chinese variety shows. Very recently, she found a Chinese storytelling YouTube channel. She played an episode to her daughter every day, and asked her daughter to retell the story in Chinese. During the interview, she told me that she had just made up her mind to push her children to learn more Chinese in the next semester, by speaking more Chinese to her children,

checking her children's Chinese School's homework on a daily basis, and participating in more activities organized by the local Chinese communities. Similarly, Wan is also making more and more efforts in language management to facilitate his children's learning of Chinese. He did not read much with his elder child, but he is now trying to read Chinese books with his younger child every day. The change was partially inspired by his colleague, whose wife spends a long time teaching Chinese to their children on a daily basis, and as a result, their children can speak fluent Chinese, even when they have reached high school age. Different from Qiu and Wan, Mei spends time teaching Chinese through the Chinese Language Arts textbooks used in China. As discussed earlier, she may or may not stay in the United States in the future, thus she makes efforts to help her child keep up with his peers in China. She also asks her child to read Chinese books during her cooking time.

The findings on parents' language management at home generally show that parents employ different strategies to promote their children's Chinese learning at home, and their choices are informed by their children's language levels, preferences, and their family's future plans. Mei and Xiao, whose children are speaking Chinese on a daily basis, do not make much effort in language management that supports Chinese learning. Qiu and Wan, whose children are speaking English most of the time, are trying to make more effort in helping their children learn Chinese. Hai will gradually add Chinese books to her children's reading list, but she will also respect her children's preference in language. Mei's son is currently a relatively balanced bilingual, although English is gradually becoming his dominant language. Because Mei's family has not eliminated the possibility of moving back to China in their future plan, she spends time teaching Chinese to her child using textbooks adopted by elementary schools in China.



## The Decision of MDL Program Enrollment

All of the six participants' children, except Mei's children who have not reached school age, are or were eligible to be enrolled in the MDL program. All the parents are also aware of the existence of the program. However, only Aimei and Mei choose to enroll their children in the program. Quantitative findings have shown that parents with lower *Problem* scores are less likely to enroll their children in the program. As all the interviewed parents' *Problem* scores are below the average of the whole group, I would like to understand why they did or did not choose to enroll their children in the MDL program. The interview data show that parents have various reasons to make this decision.

For a program designed to help language minoritized children learn English while also keep their HL (Thomas & Collier, 2012), Chinese immigrant parents seem to have concerns about how this program can support their children's English learning. Qiu's children transferred to this school district two years ago. She said that she would not hesitate to send her children to the program if they were in kindergarten or first grade when they moved to the school district. However, because her younger child was already in the upper elementary level when they moved to North Carolina, she worried that her children's Chinese proficiency level would not keep up with the children who had been in the program for a few years. Additionally, she shared a different issue that concerned her. She met a Chinese father in a community park, who mentioned that he chose to transfer his child from the MDL program to a traditional public school. He believed that there was not enough English instruction for his child, and that his child's English learning was delayed.

Xiao and Wan shared similar concerns regarding how this program could support their children's English learning. Xiao heard that children in that program are learning Chinese,

English, and French (as a weekly special area subject). She worried that learning three languages could be too much for her children, and believed that she should not send her children there until “他们英文已经学好了。[they have learned English well.]” Wan also mentioned that he had seriously considered enrolling his children there when his eldest child reached school age. He chose not to because his child’s ability to speak English was limited, and the program might not help with his child to learn English well. For Xiao and Wan, they believe that this program is mainly suitable for students with high English proficiency, rather than the students who are in the process of learning English as a second language. Mei’s observation echoed Wan and Xiao’s concerns. She discovered that none of the Chinese visiting scholars’ children in the school district were enrolled in the program. Because these visiting scholars only lived in the United States for one year, they wanted their children to have a fully immersive experience in English-only classrooms. Mei did not enroll her child in the program when her child was in kindergarten for similar reasons. She wanted her child to learn English well first.

Wan also has other reasons for not choosing the MDL program. He cast doubt on the claimed effectiveness of the program in improving students’ academic achievement in the long term. He said,

因为本来华裔的小孩，我就是说这也是统计规律... 华裔的小孩他本来成绩就比较好，甚至可以说亚裔的小孩了。你应该是了解的，对吧？就是说[华裔小孩]这个成绩相对来说是比较好的。然后我同样认为就是说，比如说我是美国的家长，我愿意会把小孩送到双语班的话，我认为他应该是重视教育的。至少站在我的立场上来说，我认为是这样子的，当然我没有数据表明对。但我认为如果说你家长重视教育的话，那成绩好这很合理。这种好成绩不能说明是双语教育的效果。[Because, I mean, this is also a statistical pattern for children of Chinese descent... Chinese children have better grades, and this is true even

for Asian children. You should know that, right? That is to say, the result is relatively good [for Chinese children]. Then I also think that if I am an American parent, for example, if I would like to send my child to the bilingual program, I should be the kind of parents who pay attention to my children's education. At least from my point of view, I think it's like this. Of course, I don't have any data to show that it's right. But I think if parents believe in the importance of education, it's reasonable that the children get good grades. These children's good grades cannot prove the effectiveness of the bilingual education program.]

Aimei and Mei are the only two interviewed parents who have children enrolled in the MDL program. They both valued the opportunities to learn two languages in the school, and both had a positive experience in the program. This is especially true for Aimei, whose children did not speak English when starting school. She emphasized that the program helped her children to feel confident, know more about the Chinese culture, and feel good about being a Chinese American. However, she also mentioned her several struggles with the program. For example, the school district had a meeting regarding the future of the program during the winter of last year. She shared what she heard from the meeting,

我知道有[家长]我觉得是反对双语的。我觉得讲的也很对。那是这个学区的黑人爸爸。他说你们的这一批[双语项目的]人拿着国家的钱，剥夺了我们这一批孩子[的资源]。他说你们想学中文，请让你们去花钱去课外去学，他们言论就蛮激烈... 我觉得的确他们说得是。我们是在美国，然后你们在美国你们就想着学中文，他们是这么讲，像你们中国人想学额外的中文，你们要花钱去搞课外，你们别把政府拨下的钱拿去搞这些。 [I know there are parents who oppose this program. I think they are right. There was an African American father who lived in the same school zone. He said that all of you (DL parents) took the

money from the government and deprived our children's resources. He said if you want to learn Chinese, please pay a tutor and learn outside school. His words were pretty harsh... I think indeed, they are right. We are in the United States, and you want to learn Chinese in the United States—that's what they say—you Chinese want to learn more Chinese, then please do this after school. Don't use the government's money to do this.]

Aimei shared that during the meeting, the district's administrators and board members always applauded when the parents who objected to the MDL program finished talking, but not so much when pro-MDL parents finished their words. The tension during the meeting made Aimei worried about the program's future. She enjoyed the program, but she also understood the other angry parents' concerns. She mentioned that the children from non-Chinese heritage families in the program are predominately White. Aimei referred to the non-heritage parents as “老外 [Laomei]” or “老美 [Laowai],” which means “Americans” or “foreigners” and are often used to refer to White foreign people in China. She has only seen one African American child. She also suspected as to whether the lottery system was truly random, because she believed that nearly all the non-Chinese heritage children are from White middle- to upper-middle-class families with highly educated parents. Mei mentioned that the children with Chinese heritage tend to be from the relatively established families who have lived in the U.S. for a long time, and have resources to support their children's learning of both English and Chinese. These children often speak fluent English before they start school, and they only speak English among themselves outside the Chinese classrooms.

Besides the conflicts between MDL and non-MDL parents, English-speaking and Chinese-speaking parents also have different views. Aimei shared that the English-speaking parents would like to change the current 50:50 model to 80:20 model, in which children learn

80% of the content knowledge in Chinese and 20% in English. Due to the strong opposition from the Chinese heritage families, the program kept the 50:50 model. Aimei said that she would transfer her children out of the program if the program changes to the 80:20 model. Only 20% of English a day is far from enough for her children to learn English, she said, and that the 80:20 model is “太迁就 [too accommodating]” to the non-heritage children’s needs. Mei’s Chinese friend, on the other hand, told Mei that the program teaches too little Chinese. She believed that the Chinese curriculum is watered down to meet the needs of non-heritage learners, and is therefore too simple for HL learners.

All of these concerns did not change Aimei and Mei’s decisions in enrolling their children in the MDL program, although they might have influenced many Chinese-speaking parents’ decisions. The findings above may partially explain why many parents who do not view HL as problematic, and have low *Problem* scores, choose not to enroll their children in the MDL program. The findings also show that Chinese immigrant parents with different educational backgrounds, socioeconomic status, and English proficiency have different needs and beliefs regarding the MDL program. Such differences reveal the complexity of HL learners’ needs in DL programs, and the importance of understanding their challenges intersectionally.

Table 23

*Joint Display of the Quantitative and Qualitative Findings of Parents' Problem Language Ideologies and Language Management*

Parent's Pseudonym	Problem	Read Chinese books with children	Parent-assigned Chinese homework	Dual Language program	Major Qualitative Findings	
					Efforts in home	Decisions on DL program enrollment
Aimei	-0.299 (low)	0.5-1 hr	0.5-1 hr	Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No efforts on Chinese learning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Positive experience in the MDL program</li> <li>Concerns with the program being too accommodating to non-heritage language learners' needs</li> </ul>
Qiu	-0.375 (low)	0.5-1 hr	<0.5 hr	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Play Chinese stories on YouTube, and ask her children to retell stories in Chinese</li> <li>Will increase the time spent on helping children learn Chinese</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Younger child was transferred to the school district at upper elementary level</li> <li>Concerns with whether her children will catch up with the children who are already in the program for a few years</li> </ul>
Hai	-0.912 (low)	0.5-1 hr	N/A	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read English books to her children; will add Chinese books</li> <li>Respect her children's choice</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Children have not reached school age</li> <li>Will respect her children's interests in learning Chinese</li> </ul>
Wan	-0.366 (low)	0.5-1 hr	0.5-1 hr	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read more Chinese books with his younger child</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Doubts about the research that shows the effectiveness of DL program in improving students' scores</li> <li>His children needed more English</li> </ul>
Mei	-0.232 (medium)	1-2 hr	0.5-1 hr	Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teach her child Chinese with the Chinese Language Arts textbooks used in China</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Positive experience in the MDL program</li> <li>Her child was not enrolled at first, partially because he needed more English during the first year in the U.S.</li> </ul>
Xiao	-0.224 (medium)	0.5-1 hr	0.5-1 hr	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read some Chinese stories to her child</li> <li>Ask her children to watch more English TV programs if her children watch too many Chinese cartoons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Her children needed more English</li> <li>Learning three languages (Chinese, English, and French) is too much for her children</li> </ul>

## CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Using an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, this study first analyzes how first-generation Chinese immigrant parents' socio-demographic background, as well as their FLPs—i.e., their language ideologies, language practices, and language management—are connected to each other during the quantitative phase. I then present further explanations of the quantitative findings and the various aspects that contribute to parents' FLPs through analyzing the interview data. In this final chapter, I will summarize the qualitative, quantitative, and integrated findings from the data, and interpret the integrated findings using the theoretical lens of AsianCrit (Museus, 2013). I will then discuss the implications of the findings to researchers, educators, and policymakers.

### Conclusion and Discussion

In this study, both the quantitative and qualitative data collection phases aim at presenting a more nuanced understanding of first-generation Chinese immigrants' FLPs. Following the *Strategic (Anti)Essentialism* tenet of AsianCrit (Museus, 2013), the quantitative phase presents the larger picture of the Chinese immigrant families in the area by aggregating survey data from more than 300 parents. During the qualitative phase, I focused on the anti-essentialism efforts to collect interview data from a select sample of parents, who shared their own experiences and perspectives of raising bilingual children in North Carolina. The interview data explain some of the surprising findings in the quantitative phase, and add additional layers of complexity to understand immigrant parents' FLPs. As discussed in Chapter 1, this study aims at answering three types of research questions, including quantitative questions, qualitative questions, and

mixed methods questions. In this section, I summarize the findings that address the three groups of research questions of this mixed methods research project, and interpret the integrated findings through the AsianCrit theoretical lens (Museus, 2013).

### **Quantitative Research Findings**

In the quantitative phase, I use the survey data to answer two research questions, including 1) whether parents' socio-demographic information can predict their language ideologies, 2) what the relationships are between Chinese immigrant parents' language ideologies, language practices, and language management. Findings for the first question show that the decrease in parents' age, the increase in their time spent in the U.S. or North Carolina, and the increase in their children's ages can significantly predict higher *Heritage* score and *Resource* scores. Years spent in the U.S. or North Carolina are not significant predictors of their *Problem* scores. Parents are more likely to have higher *Problem* scores if they are young, they are fathers, and they have at least one child enrolled in the MDL program. For the second quantitative question, I analyzed whether parents' language ideologies can predict their language practices and management. Data show that parents with higher ideologies scores in any of the three categories tend to speak "mostly English" as opposed to "Chinese" to their children; moreover, their children tend to spend more time involved in Chinese learning activities arranged by parents at home. Parents with higher *Heritage* or *Resource* scores are more likely to encourage their children to speak "mostly Chinese" as opposed to "English". Parents with higher *Problem* scores are more likely to enroll their children in MDL programs.

### **Qualitative Research Findings**

This study has two qualitative questions: 1) What are Chinese immigrant parents' perspectives on the rationale of heritage language maintenance? and 2) What aspects (e.g., lived



experiences, broader sociocultural processes, etc.) contribute to their different FLPs? In addressing the first question, qualitative data show that parents have various rationales in maintaining their children's HL. From a *Heritage* perspective, parents consider HL as an important part of theirs, and their children's, identities, as utilized as a language for their children to form bonds with other family members, and as a language that maintains their children's connections to China. With a *Resource* perspective, many parents consider Chinese as a language or a skill that leads to better career prospects and cognitive development. For parents with limited English proficiency, their children's abilities to become bilingual in English and their HL enable them to be the language broker for the family. For the second question, qualitative data show that parents' English proficiency and their perceived importance of English both contribute to their various FLPs. The interview data reveal that parents' negative experiences associated with their English proficiency and "foreignness," the messages that embody the English-only ideology sent by their children's schools, and their children's personal choice as influenced by their experiences in school, all contribute to parents' understanding of the importance of English, which in turn, results in different FLPs.

### **Integrated Findings: Understanding Chinese Immigrant Parents' FLPs with an AsianCrit Perspective**

One of the strengths of the mixed methods design is that studies using this type of design offer "new insights that go beyond separate quantitative and qualitative results." (Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 13). To answer the mixed methods questions, this section will summarize the integrated findings from the quantitative and qualitative data, with a specific emphasis on understanding how the qualitative data explain, expand, and contradict the quantitative findings, as well as how both sets of data explain Chinese immigrant parents' FLPs. In addition to

answering the mixed methods questions, this section will also discuss the integrated findings using the AsianCrit theoretical lens (Museus, 2003).

**Parents' immigration history and language ideologies: Understanding parents' perspectives intersectionally.** In the first finding, quantitative data show that parents who have longer immigration history are more likely to view HL as a part of their heritage and a resource, but not as a problem. Qualitative data further expand this finding. From a heritage perspective, parents who immigrated earlier, having spent more time in the U.S., consider the Chinese language as an integral part of their identities and as a tie that connects their children with themselves and grandparents. Parents who immigrated in the recent decade emphasize their children's transnational experience and their connections to China. When Chinese is viewed as a resource, parents' emphases vary. Some parents underscore Chinese's value in providing future career advancement, whereas other parents do not consider the extra employment opportunities as an important factor that impacts their decisions. Two parents who immigrated earlier consider Chinese, just as any language, as a useful skill that would promote their children's cognitive development. This view was not mentioned by other parents. Working-class parents with limited English proficiency focused on their children's abilities to be the language broker for the family, whereas this perspective was not discussed by parents with relatively higher English proficiency levels.

The findings illustrate the heterogeneity of beliefs among the first-generation Chinese immigrant parents with various length of immigration history, educational backgrounds, socioeconomic status, and English language proficiency. Even among parents with similar demographic characteristics, some emphasized on how the Chinese language plays a role in constructing theirs, and their children's, cultural and ethnic identities, whereas others shift the

focus to the instrumental value that Chinese, just as any language or any skill, can bring to their children.

The findings also reveal that many parents' agency in holding onto their cultural heritage, as well as their persistence in maintaining their children's heritage through supporting HL learning, needs to be understood and known. These parents provide powerful stories, countering the grand narrative that portrays Asian Americans as a model minority group who are eager to assimilate into the hegemonic White and English-speaking world. This diversity also reflects the importance of including *Intersectionality*, a tenet of AsianCrit (Museus, 2013), in understanding the Asian American experience. In other words, the understanding of their identities should go beyond ethnicity, "intersecting with English language proficiency, gender, class, sexuality, and generational status" (Naseem Rodríguez, 2019, p. 220).

**Parents' language ideologies and their language practices: When nativism meets linguicism.** For the second finding, the quantitative data analysis shows that parents with higher scores in any of the three language ideologies tend to speak more English as opposed to Chinese to their children. Intuitively, parents with positive attitudes towards HL, and treat HL as *Resource* or *Heritage*, should focus on speaking more Chinese to their children, yet the results show the opposite. During the qualitative phase, I sought to understand what aspects contribute to parents' language practices at home. Besides family members' English and Chinese language proficiency, parents' racialized experiences and their children's schooling experiences both contribute to their choice of language, either consciously or subconsciously.

Resonating with literature (e.g., Zhang, 2010), parents have experienced life trajectories as limited by their English proficiency level, regardless of whether their English proficiency enables them to work in a professional setting or not. In their life and work, they experienced

linguicism, a more subtle form of racism that reproduces the unequal distribution of resources and power between groups with different languages or levels of the dominant language proficiency (Phillipson, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990). They were disadvantaged in being promoted at work, were asked by the teachers to speak English to their children, and were instructed to focus on their children's scores from the tests in English, even though their children learn the subject area in Chinese in MDL. Some parents mentioned that they would respect their children's language choices. However, having experienced the U.S. schools that sustain the English hegemony, nearly all the children, regardless of their grade level, are in the process of becoming monolingual English speakers.

Moreover, parents experienced microaggressions that are associated with their embodied foreignness. They normalize the unfair treatment they experienced, and consider the injustice as a normal part of life for foreigners. This embodied foreigner mindset is also reflected by how they often refer to others as “Laomei” (Americans) or “Laowai” (foreigners), which reveals how they position themselves as others. The findings on the embodied foreignness reflect the nativism discussed in the *Asianization* tenet of AsianCrit, which attends to portraying Asian Americans as a homogenous and monolithic group and “racializes them as overachieving model minorities, perpetual foreigners, and threatening yellow perils” (Museus, 2013, p. 23). The linguicism coupled with nativism contributes to parents' and children's preference for English.

**Chinese parents' language management: The MDL program debate and the model minority stereotype.** When analyzing how language ideologies inform parents' language management, the quantitative findings show that contrary to our intuition, parents with lower *Problem* ideology scores are less likely make efforts in language management, such as reading Chinese books with their children, assigning Chinese homework to their children, or enrolling

their children in the MDL program. With these findings in mind, I collected qualitative data to understand parents' language management at home and their rationales to enroll or not enroll their children in the MDL program. The findings, again, illustrate the importance of understanding parents' experiences with a focus on the *Intersectionality* of their identities (Museus, 2013). Parents' English proficiency, educational background, age, and transnational contact all play a role in shaping their language management at home.

Findings on parents' decisions on MDL enrollment further reflect the *Asianization* tenet (Museus, 2013), especially how they and other groups embody the model minority stereotype, and how this stereotype can be used against their interests. For example, when discussing the research that proves the effectiveness of DL programs in improving students' academic achievement, Wan argued that Chinese American children, and Asian American children in general, have high academic achievement. The MDL students' high achievement cannot be attributed to the program's effectiveness in closing the achievement gap. Rather, this program is believed to pre-select a group of students who are either high achieving Asian American children, or the children from predominately White, English-speaking families with higher socioeconomic status. Based on Aimei's observation in the school district meeting, this stereotype is clearly embraced by the non-MDL parents and the personnel from the school district. This program was framed as a gifted program that uses public funding to serve high achieving children of Asian and White parents, who have all the resources to ensure their children's academic achievement.

On the other hand, while the DL program underscores the interests of the White, English-speaking children, the Chinese speaking communities are often the ones to blame. Research has shown that DL programs are often promoted as the result of the interest convergence of language

minoritized communities' needs with the White families' needs to learn an additional language to cultivate their children's global competence (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). Interview data also show that many Chinese immigrant parents have concerns about the program being "too accommodating" to non-heritage speakers by prioritizing their needs. However, during the meeting, Chinese parents, rather than the non-Chinese heritage parents, are positioned at the center of the debate. Non-MDL parents from other racial minority groups asked Chinese parents to teach their children Chinese outside school, rather than taking resources from their children. This result vividly demonstrates how the *Asianization* process that portrays Asian Americans as overachieving model minorities is often used to pit Asian American groups against the struggles of other minoritized groups (Museus, 2013; Ngo & Lee, 2007; Rong & Preissle, 2009).

### **Implications**

This study has several implications for researchers, educators, and policymakers. First, despite all the discrimination and microaggressions they experience in the U.S., whether at work, in life, or from children's schools, most of the Chinese immigrant parents embrace their Chinese heritage and consider the Chinese language as an integral part of their and their children's cultural identities. Although data show that Asian Americans emphasize less on the importance of HL learning as compared to other language minoritized groups (Pew Research Center, 2012), the findings from this study provide counter narratives that illustrate how these parents exert their agency in claiming their heritage and cultural identities through sustaining their children's HL. Educators and policymakers need to recognize immigrant parents' needs to maintain their HL as a part of their heritage, and create spaces that promote, rather stigmatize, immigrant children's learning of their HL.

Second, the framing of Asian American children with the model minority stereotype needs to be critically examined, especially in DL programs. In promoting DL programs, language minoritized children's HL is often commodified as a resource to cultivate global competence, rather than the heritage and cultural identities that language minoritized children want to sustain. Such discourses prioritize the language majority children's interests and are at risk of framing the DL as a new type of gifted program (Cervantes-Soon et al., in press; Valdez et al., 2014). This is especially evident in the MDL program debate, where the program is perceived as a gifted program that promotes the neoliberal global competence for all, rather than a program for equity through sustaining language minority children's heritage and bilingual/bicultural identities. When Chinese children are considered as a group with high achievement and no need in schools, students like Aimei's children's needs are largely ignored in the debate. Chinese children are therefore positioned at the center of the debate and pitted against other minoritized groups.

Third, schools' monolingual, English-only ideology needs to be unpacked and problematized. When immigrant parents are asked to speak English to their children at home, the schools are sending messages to the parents that 1) English is the language valued at school, and that 2) it is the parents' fault for not providing resources that support their children's English development. Even for parents whose children learn subject areas in both their HL and English, English is emphasized as the only testing language. Without critical examination of these messages that perpetuate the hegemony of English and the ideology of neoliberal individualism (Macedo et al., 2003; Wiley & Lukes, 1996), schools can reproduce the inequitable linguistic status quo. It is necessary for educators and policymakers to problematize the power relations in language education and promote critical consciousness in schools, so as to make children's

schooling experience “socially transformative as opposed to socially reproductive” (Flores, 2016, p. 34).



# APPENDIX 1: THE SURVEY

## Consent

Dear parent,  
亲爱的家长:

My name is Wenyang Sun and I am a doctoral student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I am conducting a research study on parents' experiences in heritage language schools. The purpose of the research is to understand your beliefs on your children's education, and what roles do heritage language schools play in your family life.

我是北卡罗莱纳大学教育学院的博士生孙文扬。我正在进行一个关于中文学校家长的研究。研究的目的是了解您对孩子的教育理念，以及中文学校在您的家庭生活中扮演着怎样的角色。

The survey, which will ask you questions about your understanding of raising a bilingual child and your experience in the Chinese school, should take about 20 minutes of your time and is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or stop taking the survey at anytime, and you may skip any question for any reason. You will not receive any direct benefit from being in this research study. The only possible risk to you of participating in this research study might be embarrassment if your answers became public, but that is very unlikely. All possible measures have been taken to protect the confidentiality of your answers. One parent can only participated once. Repeated participation will only be counted as once.

这个问卷将包含一些问题，主要围绕着您对于培养双语儿童的想法以及您在中文学校的经历展开。整个问卷大约会花费您20分钟的时间；问卷的填写是完全自愿的。您可以选择不参加或者在任何时候停止参加这项研究。您也可以因为任何原因跳过任何问题。在这项研究中，您可能得不到直接的利益。您参与这项研究的唯一风险可能是您的回答被公开而带来的不安，不过这种情况几乎是不可能发生的。我们已经采取了所有可能的措施来保护你的答案的匿名性。一位家长只能参与一次；重复的回答将会被记为一次。

We will report only summaries of the aggregated data. This means that your responses will be combined with all of the other responses received and will not be able to be identified as yours. Deductive disclosure which is the discerning of an individual respondent's identity and responses through the use of known characteristics of that individual is also possible but unlikely.

当我们发表我们的研究结果时，我们只会发表汇总数据的总结。这意味着你的回答将与所有其他的回答汇合在一起，从而无法辨认出哪些答案是您的回答。通过一些已知的信息来推测出您具体身份是有理论上的可能的，但事实上几乎不可能发生。

If you have any questions regarding this survey, you may contact me via email at [wenyang.sun@unc.edu](mailto:wenyang.sun@unc.edu).  
如果您对本调查有任何疑问，可以通过电子邮件与我联系：[wenyang.sun@unc.edu](mailto:wenyang.sun@unc.edu)

All research on human volunteers is reviewed by a committee that works to protect your rights and welfare. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research subject you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board at (919) 966-3113 or via email at [IRB\\_subjects@unc.edu](mailto:IRB_subjects@unc.edu) with study number 15-2979.  
所有包含人类志愿者的研究都由一个致力于保护您的权利和福利的委员会进行审查。如果您对作为研究参与者的权利有

任何疑问或疑虑，您可以通过以下两种方式和机构审查委员会取得联系（匿名或实名皆可）：电话（919）966-3113；电子邮件IRB\_subjects@unc.edu。这项研究的备案编号为15-2979。

By clicking I agree and completing the survey, you agree to be a participant in this study.

点击“我同意”代表您同意成为本研究的参与者来回答问卷。

- I agree. 我同意。
- I do not agree. 我不同意。

## Tell us a little about your family

### I. Tell us a little about your family

请简单介绍一下您的家庭情况

#### 1.1 What is the age of you and your spouse?

您和您的配偶的年龄是多少？

	30 and younger 30岁及以下	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51 and older 51岁及以上	Not Applicable (NA) 不适用
Your Age 您的年龄	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your Spouse's Age 您配偶的年龄	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

#### 1.2 How do you identify yourself in relation to the child(ren) enrolled in this school?

您和您在这个学校上学的孩子是什么关系？

- Mother 母亲
- Father 父亲
- Other 其他

#### 1.3 How long have you been living in

您已经在以下几个地点生活了多久了？

	< 3 years 少于3年	3-6 years / 年	7-10 years / 年	> 10 years 大于10年
United States 美国	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



1.4 What are the grade levels of your child(ren)? (If you have more than 3 children, please list the youngest three)

您的孩子(们)现在上几年级? (如果您有多于三个孩子, 请仅列出最小的三个, 下同)

	Before Kindergarten 幼儿园 (K) 之前	K-2	3-5	6-8	9-12	After high school 已高中 毕业	Not Applicable (NA) 不适用
Child 1 (youngest) 孩子1 (最年幼)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Child 2 (older) 孩子2 (稍年长)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Child 3 (oldest) 孩子3 (最年长)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

1.5 What kind(s) of school do your children go to?

您孩子在以下哪种学校上学?

- Traditional public schools (not dual language, charter, or magnet)  
传统公立学校 (非双语项目、非特许或磁力学校)
- Dual language immersion programs in English and Mandarin (public schools)  
公立学校的英语和中文双语沉浸式项目
- Dual language immersion programs in English and a non-Chinese language (e.g., Spanish) (public schools)  
公立学校的英语和其他语言 (如西班牙语) 双语沉浸式项目
- Charter schools (public schools)  
公立特许学校 (Charter Schools)
- Magnet schools (public schools)  
公立磁力学校 (Magnet Schools)
- Private schools (please specify if possible)  
 私立学校 (如果可以, 请写明具体信息)

1.6 Do(es) your child(ren) go to after school programs?

放学后您的孩子(们)会去上课后班 (after school programs) 吗?

- Yes, my children go to Mandarin-related after school programs (e.g., RedApple, American School of Asian Culture, etc.).  
是的, 我的孩子去上提供普通话内容的课后班 (比如RedApple、American School of Asian Culture等)
- Yes, my children go to programs that does not provide Mandarin-related curriculum.  
是的, 我的孩子去上不提供普通话课程的课后班
- No, my children do not go to after school programs.  
不, 我的孩子不去上课后班

1.7 Do you have child(ren) currently or previously enrolled in the Chinese School?

您有孩子（们）现在或者曾经在中文学校学习吗？

- My child is currently enrolled. 我的孩子现在正在中文学校注册学习。
- My child was enrolled before, but not anymore. 我的孩子曾经是中文学校的学生，现在不是了。
- No, I don't have a child who is currently or was previously enrolled in the Chinese School. 我的孩子没有上过中文学校。
- Other 其他

1.71 How many years have your child(ren) been enrolled in the Chinese School?

您的孩子（们）上中文学校的课程多少年了？

	Less than 1 year 不到1年	1-3 years / 年	3-6 years / 年	> 6 years 超过6年	NA 不适用
Child 1 (youngest) 孩子1 (最年幼)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Child 2 (older) 孩子2 (稍年长)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Child 3 (oldest) 孩子3 (最年长)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

1.8 At what age did your child(ren) start attending Chinese School?

您的孩子（们）是从几岁开始上中文学校的？

Child 1 (youngest)  
孩子1 (最年幼)

Child 2 (older)  
孩子2 (稍年长)

Child 3 (oldest)  
孩子3 (最年长)

1.9 Did any of your children have any intervals (i.e., dropped out then re-enrolled) during their enrollment in this Chinese School? If so, for how many years?

在中文学校学习期间，您的孩子有没有过间歇（即暂时退出学校并之后重新入学）？如果有，间歇是多少年？

- Yes, my Child 1 (youngest) skipped enrollment in Chinese school for the following number of years:  
 是的，我年龄最小的孩子有过间歇，时间为这些年数：
- Yes, my Child 2 (older) skipped enrollment in Chinese school for the following number of years:  
 是的，我年龄第二小的孩子有过间歇，时间为这些年数：
- Yes, my Child 3 (oldest) skipped enrollment in Chinese school for the following number of years:  
 是的，我年龄第三小的孩子有过间歇，时间为这些年数：

- No, none of my children did.  
不，我的任何一个孩子都没有过问歌。

### 1.10 What language do you speak at home?

你们在家里用什么语言交谈?

	Chinese 中文	Mostly Chinese and some English 大部分 时间中 文，有 时英文	Most English and some Chinese 大部分 时间英 文，有 时中文	English 英文	Other Languages 其他语言	NA 不适 用
1. What is the language you speak to your spouse or other adult family members at home? 在家里，您对您的配偶或者其他成年家庭成员说话用什么语言?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. What is the language you speak to your child(ren) at home? 在家里，您对您的孩子(们)说话用什么语言?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. What is the language that your child(ren) speak(s) to you at home? 在家里，您的孩子(们)对您说话用什么语言?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Chinese 中文	Mostly Chinese and some English 大部分 时间中 文，有 时英文	Most English and some Chinese 大部分 时间英 文，有 时中文	English 英文	Other Languages 其他语言	NA 不适 用
4. What is the language you encourage your children to speak at home? 在家里，您鼓励您的孩子说什么语言?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. What is the language spoken among your children at home? 在家里，您的孩子们之间说什么语言?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

### 1.11 On average, how many hours do your child(ren) spend on the following activities at home everyday?

平均下来，您的孩子每天在家从事以下这些活动大约多长时间?

More  
than 4  
, ...

	Never 从不	<0.5 hour / 小时	0.5-1 hours / 小时	1-2 hours / 小时	2-4 hours / 小时	More than 4 hours 超过4 小时	NA 不适用
1. Watch TV programs (TV shows, cartoons, movies, etc.) in Chinese 看中文电视节目 (如电视剧、卡通、电影等)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Use computers / mobile phones / tablet to browsing information in Chinese (e.g., BBS, news, general websites, etc.) 用电脑、手机或者平板电脑浏览中文信息 (比如论坛、新闻、网页等等)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Text (e.g., Wechat, Whatsapp, etc.), or talk (e.g., Facetime, Skype, etc.) to friends / schoolmates / relatives over the cell phone / tablet / computer in Chinese 通过手机、平板或电脑和朋友、同学或者亲戚用中文发信息 (如发微信、短信或WhatsApp信息等) 或聊天 (比如用FaceTime或Skype视频语音聊天)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Read Chinese books (children's books, etc.) by him/herself 独自阅读中文书籍 (如儿童图书)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Never 从不	<0.5 hour / 小时	0.5-1 hours / 小时	1-2 hours / 小时	2-4 hours / 小时	More than 4 hours 超过4 小时	NA 不适用
5. Read Chinese books with parents 和父母一起读中文书籍	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Doing teacher-assigned homework for learning Chinese 做老师布置的中文作业	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Doing parent-assigned homework for learning Chinese 做家长布置的中文作业	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Other Chinese-related Activities 其他和中文相关的活动 <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

### What are your expectations for your child(ren)?

#### II. What are your expectations for your child(ren)?

您对孩子有哪些期待?

##### 2.1 What kind of Chinese proficiency do you expect your children to achieve?



2.1 How much of Chinese proficiency do you expect your children to demonstrate?  
您期望您孩子的中文未来达到什么水平?

	No expectation 没有期望	Elementary Proficiency 初级水平	Limited Working Proficiency 可以满足简单的工作需求	General Professional Proficiency 较为专业的水平	Functionally Native Proficiency 相当或者接近于母语水平
Reading 阅读	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing 写作	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening 听力	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Speaking 口语	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2.2 Do you think your children meet your general expectations of Chinese proficiency? Why or why not? (You can write in English or Chinese)

您认为您孩子的中文水平达到了您的期望了吗? 为什么达到了或者为什么没有? (用中文或者英文回答都可以)

### Your thoughts on bilingualism

### III. Your thoughts on bilingualism

您对双语的看法

3.1 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

您在多大程度上同意以下这些观点?

	Strongly Disagree 非常不同意	Disagree 不同意	Agree 同意	Strongly Agree 强烈同意
1. Learning subject matter (e.g., math, language arts, social studies, science, etc.) in Chinese helps my child learn subject matter better than when he/she studies them in English only. 用中文学习学校的学科(例如数学、语言艺术、社会学、科学等)比用英文更能帮助我的孩子学好这些科目。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2. If my child develop literacy in Chinese, it will facilitate the development of reading and writing in English. 如果我的孩子提高中文的读写能力，那么这些能力将同样有助于提高他们的英语阅读和写作能力。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. If my child is placed in English-only classes in school, he/she will learn English better and faster. 如果我的孩子上纯英文教学的学校，那么他/她学习英语会更快一些。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. A child needs to learn English as quickly as possible; therefore, there is no need to develop the first language (e.g., Chinese) in school. 孩子需要越快学好英文越好；因此，没必要让他们在学校里（指全日制正式学校）学习中文。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. My child can develop a positive self-image by learning about Chinese language and culture. 通过学习中国文化和语言，我的孩子可以树立积极的自我身份认同。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Strongly Disagree 非常不同意	Disagree 不同意	Agree 同意	Strongly Agree 强烈同意
6. Being bilingual can result in superior cognitive development. 熟练掌握两种语言对于孩子的认知发展(大脑)有好处	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Being bilingual can provide better career opportunities. 熟练掌握两种语言可以拥有更多的职业发展机会。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Learning Chinese can sometimes impede the process of learning English. 学习中文有的时候会减缓孩子学习英文的速度。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. It is more important for my child(ren) to learn English than Chinese in the United States. 在美国，孩子学习英文比学习中文更重要。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. It is important that my child(ren) can communicate with parents and grandparents in Chinese. 对我来说，我的孩子能用中文和父母以及祖父母交流非常重要。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Strongly Disagree 非常不同意	Disagree 不同意	Agree 同意	Strongly Agree 强烈同意
11. Learning Chinese can help my child have higher academic achievement. 学习中文可以帮助孩子取得更好的学业成绩。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Learning Chinese can help my child make more friends. 学习中文可以让我的孩子交到更多的朋友。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. Learning Chinese can help my child preserve our cultural heritage. 学习中文可以帮助我的孩子保留我们的文化传统。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Speaking a language different than English at school may make my child feel isolated or marginalized. 在学校里讲除了英语以外的语言会让我的孩子感到孤独和孤立。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



3.2 In general do you think it is important for your child(ren) to be bilingual in English and Chinese?

总体而言，您认为让孩子同时掌握英语和中文重要吗？

- Yes  
是的
- Maybe  
也许
- No  
不重要
- Other  
 其他

3.3 Why or why not? Please list at least two reasons. (You can write in English or Chinese)

为什么呢？请至少列出两个理由。（用中文或者英文回答都可以）

Reason 1 理由1	<input type="text"/>
Reason 2 理由2	<input type="text"/>
Other 其他	<input type="text"/>

### Your experience at the Chinese Language School

#### IV. Your experience at the Chinese Language School

您在中文学校的经历

4.1 What classes did you enroll your children in this Chinese School? (check all that applies)

您的孩子在中文学校都参加了哪些课程？（请选择所有适用的选项）

- Chinese language classes  
中文语言课
- Activity classes (please specify)  
 活动课（请具体写明）
- Other  
 其他

4.2 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

您在多大程度上认同以下这些观点？

	Strongly Disagree 非常不同意	Disagree 不同意	Agree 同意	Strongly Agree 强烈同意
1. In general, my child enjoys going to the Chinese School. 总体来说，我的孩子喜欢上中文学校。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. My child enjoys going to Chinese school more when he/she was younger than older. 我的孩子小的时候比长大以后更喜欢上中文学校。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. My child meets my expectation of his/her Chinese proficiency level through learning Chinese at the Chinese School. 通过在中文学校学习中文，我孩子的中文水平达到了我的预期。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I learn more about the the US society through participating in activities and events organized by the Chinese School. 参加中文学校组织的活动让我更加了解美国社会。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. I become more active in civic engagement (e.g., volunteering, protesting, voting in local elections, etc.) because of my experience in the Chinese school. 由于我在中文学校的经历，我更加积极地参加公共事务了（比如：志愿者、抗议游行、选举投票等）。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Strongly Disagree 非常不同意	Disagree 不同意	Agree 同意	Strongly Agree 强烈同意
6. I make friends with other Chinese parents at the Chinese School. 我在中文学校和其他家长交了朋友。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I feel more confident about my decisions about my children's education (e.g., which school to go to, which extracurricular classes to choose) through communicating with other parents at the Chinese school. 通过和中文学校其他家长的交流，我对自己关于孩子教育的决定（比如：选哪所学校、上哪个兴趣班等）更有信心了。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I feel that my voice is heard in this school. 我能感觉到学校重视聆听我的声音（如观点、建议等）。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. The activities and events organized by the Chinese school have very positive impacts on my child in school. 中文学校组织的活动对我孩子在学校（指全日制中小学）的经历起到了积极的影响。	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**4.3 What are the most important reasons that you enroll your children in this school? Please arrange the following reasons in the order from most importance to the least importance. You can drag and drop the statements to change the order.**

你让孩子在这所中文学校上学的最重要原因是什么？请按照从最重要到最不重要的顺序排列以下原因。您可以通过拖拽下面的条目来改变顺序。

The Chinese school helps my children learn the Chinese language  
中文学校帮助我的孩子学习中文

The Chinese school helps my child make friends with other children

Others (please specify)  其他(请具体说明)

4.5 What do you like most about this Chinese School? (You can write in English or Chinese)  
您最喜欢中文学校的哪些方面? (用中文或者英文回答都可以)

4.6 What would you like this school to improve in the future? (You can write in English or Chinese)

您希望这所学校在未来改进哪些方面? (用中文或者英文回答都可以)

**Thank you for participating this survey! Your thoughts are valuable to us.**

Would you like to be contacted by our researchers in the future for further questions regarding your experience as a parent?

您是否允许我们的研究人员在未来和您取得联系，以便更多地了解您作为家长的经验?

- Yes, you can contact me via (email or phone):  
 是的，可以通过这个电话或者邮箱联系我:
- No, please do not contact me  
不，请不要联系我
- Other  
 其他

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