DISSERTATION APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Dissertation: Mandarin-English Dual Language Education: Understanding Parental Ideologies and Expectations

Name of Candidate: May F. Chung

Doctor of Philosophy, 2021

Graduate Program: Language, Literacy, and Culture

Dissertation and Abstract Approved:

Dr. Sarah Shin

Dr. Sarah Shin

Professor

Department of Education

Christine Mallinson

Christine Mallinson

Professor

Language, Literacy & Culture Program

Date Approved: 09/08/2021

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: MANDARIN-ENGLISH DUAL LANGUAGE EDUCATION: UNDERSTANDING PARENTAL IDEOLOGIES AND EXPECTATIONS

May Fung Chung, Language Literacy and Culture, 2021

Directed By: Dr. Sarah Shin, Professor of Education
Dr. Christine Mallinson, Professor of Language, Literacy, and Culture

Research on bilingual education presents clear advantages for children's linguistic, cognitive, and social development (Lindholm-Leary, 2011; Thomas, Collier, and Abbott, 1993). However, recent criticism of dual language education programs has led to claims of dual language education as a marker of "elite bilingualism" (de Costa, 2010) or that parents play their roles as socially accepted "good parents" by sending their child to a bilingual school (King & Fogle, 2006). This dissertation presents the linguistic ideologies, motivations, and practices of parents of students enrolled in a Mandarin-English dual language school (DLS) in the Mid-Atlantic U.S. Qualitative data were obtained from in-depth interviews with 21 parents, the majority of whom have no Chinese ethnic connection. In drawing from theories of Family Language Policy (FLP), parents addressed the connections between Mandarin and economic, political, sociolinguistic, or sociocultural factors (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). This research adds insight into the ways parents uniquely shape their identities in how they both accept and reject aspects of Chinese culture and language. Despite their language proficiency in the target language, parents prove to be capable

language agents for their children. My study reveals a more nuanced portrait of the parents who choose Mandarin immersion for their children and explores the critical role that parents can play in informing bilingual policies and practices.

MANDARIN-ENGLISH DUAL LANGUAGE EDUCATION: UNDERSTANDING PARENTAL IDEOLOGIES AND EXPECTATIONS

By

May Fung Chung

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, Baltimore County, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Language, Literacy, and
Culture
2021

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Chee Ping Chung, who unfortunately passed away a few weeks before my defense. He was my fiercest advocate and strongest supporter and the first to inspire me to complete my doctorate because he always knew I could “do better”. May this dissertation serve as a memory of his kind, compassionate heart and fighting spirit. I love you, Dad. In the words of your favorite English phrase, “take it easy.”

Acknowledgements

In the seven years that it took me to complete my doctorate, there have been a number of friends that I have met along the way--and some who have been there through thick and (very) thin.

To my family, my late dad (baba) Chee Chung, my mom Pam Chung, my sister Mayla Chung, and my brother Kevin Chung. You're not always there when I call, but you're always on time.

To my teachers who believed in me before I did, Dr. Jeff Reaser, Dr. Sid Johnson, Ruie Pritchard, and Dr. Walt Wolfram.

To my committee, who without their support and continued guidance, this dissertation would not have happened: Dr. Christine Mallinson, Dr. Sarah Shin, Dr. Bev Bickel, Dr. Jiyoon Lee, and Dr. Fan Yang.

To my North Carolina friends, Molly Wright, Brian Yu, Melanie Spransy, Mary Charles Hale, Sarah Greenberg, Michele Chandler and Russell Witham, Jane Moon Dail, Jenifer Burney, Katelyn Patrick Bell, Emily Haggard Yang, Dr. Shivonne Gates, Jaclyn Daugherty, Melissa and Brandon Pitzen, Danielle Jones and Pippa Hall, Martha Collins, Joel Tatarka, and Alex Kallimanis. From the steps of NC State's brick-laden campus to the soft ground of my father's grave, you were there for me.

My Baltimore crew who showed me, as the benches say, "The best city in America" : Robyn Vance and Dr. Daniel Viete, Jana and Aaron Wolff, Ben Wolff, Kyle Mundy, Mimi and Jordan Durner, Dr. Maya Gomes and Jesse Galdston, Dr. Mel Sharpe and Chris Izod, Cathy and Tomas Otvos, and Mark Howard.

To the Say family, who took me in and made me babar, and the ELI, Vathany Say, Heera Lee, Maria Blanca, and Laurel Kircher.

To my PhD support group who have read countless drafts and shared in laughing about cones, Dr. Erin Berry-McCrea, Dr. J. "the grit before there was greatness" Inscoe, Dr. Sherella Cupid, Dr. Teresa Daniell, soon-to-be Dr. Forrest Caskey, and Dr. Landry Digeon.

To my friends in DC new-found and old, Greg Joseph II; Shreya Tulsiani, Ernie Enriquez, Caitlin Christian Lamb, the TT Ladies, Dr. Bethany Bradshaw Monea, and Solveig Entwistle.

To my coworkers at the NDU Library and International Student Management Office and my beloved students, the International Fellows. Thank you for indulging in musings from your neighborhood writing teacher.

There are many countless others--strangers and friends alike--to whom I have talked endlessly about my dissertation. And last but not least, thank you, the Reader, for taking part in this journey.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Illustrations

Chapter 1
A History of Mandarin English Dual Language Education

1.1 Introduction

On a typical day, students are seated cross-legged on a mat in the center of the classroom, learning how to draw strokes of a Chinese character on a piece of paper, while the teacher models by gliding the paint from the large-tipped brush on an easel. In another class, the teacher is pronouncing tones to her students, vocalizing and engaging as if an orchestrator: the high, level tone (mā), the rising tone (má), the falling and rising tone (mǎ), and the sharp falling tone (mà). At home, students watch Pleasant Goat and Big Big Wolf or 喜羊羊与灰太狼, a children's animated cartoon featuring the adventures of a group of goats who evade the capture of a hopeless wolf trying to eat them.

These scenes are not from a classroom in mainland China but can be found at Alice Fong Yu Alternative School in San Francisco, California; Glenwood Elementary in Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Washington Yu Ying in Washington, D.C.; or any of the 170 Mandarin immersion programs located in the United States. These programs do not just feature Chinese students who are learning their heritage language, but also may comprise diverse students from a range of ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. In these classrooms, there can be a mix of Chinese students amid blond-haired Caucasian and African American children, all learning to differentiate between tones at the teacher's guidance.

In the United States, it is often trendy for speakers to learn more than one language. Every year, parents seeking this opportunity for their children vie to enroll their children in bilingual programs. As of July of 2021, there were 886 dual language programs in the United

States (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2021), and that number continues to grow. Language immersion programs are also increasing in number and popularity. While Spanish continues to be a top option, recently Mandarin Chinese has been gaining traction even in places that do not historically have a large Chinese population, such as Salt Lake City, Utah; Minnetonka, Minnesota; and Scottsdale, Arizona.

With language immersion schools multiplying in popularity, parents may have many reasons for selecting these schools for their children. What motivations and ideologies are behind parents choosing a bilingual school? For parents who are culturally Chinese, what purpose is served by sending a child to a bilingual school instead of teaching the language at home or in the community? For parents of non-Chinese descent, what parenting ideologies are involved in their desire for Mandarin language learning? Many studies have looked at the development of English Language Learners or ELLs (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Potowski, 2007); my study aims to offer another perspective on the reasons parents select Chinese dual language education for their children.

This study investigates the ideologies, beliefs, motivations, and experiences of parents of students enrolled in a Chinese-English dual language school, drawing upon qualitative data obtained from in-depth interviews. My research asks about the linguistic and educational beliefs, motivations, ideologies, and experiences of these parents, and how they discuss their decisions regarding their experiences with their children's schooling. I investigate the ways in which their linguistic background and cultural heritage serve as factors in their decision making.

Also relevant to the motivations of parents is how they engage with Mandarin outside of the school and within the context of their homes. I explore their levels of engagement with the language, as well as how they reveal explicit and implicit family language policies and practices.

As parents of dual language immersion students, I delve deeper into their roles and identities as parents of Chinese language learners. It is my wish that by understanding parental motivations, I will be able to influence educational policies that provide access to dual language programs for children of linguistically diverse families.

This beginning chapter, Chapter 1, gives a brief overview of the history of bilingual education, including the many issues surrounding its implementation in the United States. These issues and more will be reexamined in greater depth in Chapter 2. In the next section, section 2, I provide my own personal linguistic and cultural background for my dissertation study, outlining my reasoning for studying dual language schools. Section 3 provides a brief history of bilingual and immersion education in the U.S., and I review documented benefits as well as challenges of this educational model. In section 4, I explain the various factors that relate to parents' choices regarding bilingual and immersion education. In the following section, Section 5, I detail a brief history of Chinese Americans, from migration to so-called "model minorities," and explore how language is interwoven into immigration. Section 6 examines the rise of the Chinese language in the United States, leading to Section 7, which describes the structure of teaching in Chinese two-way or dual language immersion schools. In Section 8, I provide an overview of the type of parents who choose this type of education. Lastly in Section 9, I explore the next steps in my research on how language, ethnicity, and culture may intersect with parents' decisions.

1.2 My Linguistic Autobiography

Becoming Cantonese

Gloria E. Anzaldúa (1987) once wrote about people stuck in a sense of linguistic and cultural loss, "As a people who have been stripped of our history, language, identity, and pride, we attempt again and again to find what we have lost digging into our cultural roots imaginatively and making art out of our findings" (p. 176). My own exploration into bilingual identity was thus also impacted by my cultural upbringing.

My first language is Cantonese, which is the language of my culture, my customs, my heritage, and the food that I love. Every time I would get angry or frustrated, I would immediately resort to phrases of insult in Cantonese. It was the language I would use to fight with my siblings as we were growing up. When we would close down our family restaurant and eat poached chicken with ginger and scallions on Chinese New Year, I would pray to my ancestors in Cantonese.[1] All of my parents' habits would be given in a voice that was astute, multi-toned, lively, and ambitious. This was my mother tongue.

I grew up in a small town of North Carolina, in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains, in a town with a receding manufacturing industry. Growing up, my family was the only Chinese family in the area. Therefore, as I enrolled in school, it became clear that no one spoke my mother tongue. Immediately, I was put in an English as a second language (ESL) class with individualized lessons. English became a hard language to grapple with, so far removed from the warm embrace of the sounds I was raised in. I remember feeling lost, constantly searching for someone to understand me, for someone I could understand. This feeling always stayed with me, and it is one of the reasons why I pursued linguistics as an area of interest and teach ESL.

[1] Chinese can consist of many different dialects. More famously, it is used interchangeably with Mandarin, a language spoken by 800 million people (or about 70% of Chinese nationals). However, the Chinese of my heritage language is Cantonese, spoken by 68 million, and prominently used by speakers from Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangdong province.

Losing my Language for English

As I began to grasp more English, I began to lose parts of my native Cantonese. When classmates at school would ask me to pronounce certain words, I would refuse to speak Chinese because I was ashamed and resented the fact that my parents always spoke English with an accent. Instead, I tried to find ways in which I could become more "American," favoring fast food and American music over my parents' traditional cooking and popular Cantopop.

What made matters worse was that I began to see my Chinese decline. I stopped responding back in Chinese to my parents and, gradually, spoke more and more in English. My parents became increasingly frustrated about my lack of Chinese. "*Ai ya*!"[2] my dad would exclaim, "*jook-sing m sik gong Gwóngdūng wá*" (The bamboo pole[3] doesn't speak Cantonese). And I often reflected on just how right he was, "Why *can't* I speak Chinese?" After a while, my parents begrudgingly accommodated my responses in English, but often critiqued how they struggled to communicate Chinese concepts in another language, especially one so foreign to them. To this date, my parents and I continue our conversations in English, never managing to get over the linguistic wall between us.

When Bilingualism Subtracts

Unfortunately, my story sounds all too familiar to many Americans. I am one of many children of immigrants who cannot speak their native language well or at all, especially in the United States, where the expectation to learn English leads to the loss of many heritage languages. This type of phenomenon, known as "subtractive bilingualism," is what Wong-

---

[2] Any child growing up in a Cantonese household is familiar with this popular exclamation, similar to "Oh my God!" in English, but with a mixture of anger, exasperation, and disappointment.

[3] "Jook-sing", which means "bamboo pole" or "bamboo rod" in Cantonese is often a derogatory term for Chinese Americans and other overseas Chinese who are perceived to identify more with Western culture and beliefs than with that of their Asian heritage. The bamboo represents an Asian countenance, while being hollow on the inside.

Fillmore (1991) discusses as a plight of "countless American immigrant and native children and adults who have lost their ethnic languages in the process of becoming linguistically assimilated into the English-speaking world of the school and society" (p. 324).

In particular, speakers of Asian languages are especially in danger of losing their native tongues, possibly due to the lack of access to those languages in the community and society at large. Another factor could be the dominance of English, especially its status as the language needed for academic success and upward mobility in the United States. As Shin (2005) mentions, immigrant parents often fear that their children will "not learn English quickly enough and thus fall behind in school" (p. 7). This fear and pressure of children trailing behind in academics manifest in parents wanting to speak English to children at home, instead of the native language. As a result, many children of immigrants grow up speaking primarily English, while losing proficiency in their native tongues.

While I reflect upon my own language experiences and become disappointed by my lack of language skills in Chinese, I am also curious about why some parents want to retain the native language, despite societal pressures. What draws me to investigating the experiences of parental motivations is wondering, "Why do some parents want to teach their children the heritage language while others do not?" This question has stayed with me and has motivated me through my own career trajectory.

Uncovering the Bilingual Possibilities

The turning point for my interest in bilingualism came when, as part of my teaching practicum, my professor recommended that I observe a dual language school in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. This was a new kind of instruction model, one that offered bilingual education in Mandarin Chinese and English, with the classroom consisting of speakers of both languages. At

first glance, it was a surprise to see both children who looked like me and children of all different ethnicities and racial backgrounds speaking together in Mandarin. I asked the teacher whether the school was primarily for Chinese or English-speaking backgrounds, and she responded "both." For English-speaking students, it opens doors to another world of culture and new ways of thinking. "What about for Chinese students?" I asked.

The teacher then pointed to a Chinese student in her class, a small girl with two braided pigtails. "She just arrived in the U.S. a week ago," she said. For me, it was mind-boggling to know that she, like me, was a student who spoke a language different from her peers but unlike me, her peers could speak it back. For Chinese students, they got to feel like they belonged in an American classroom. In watching the girl interact with her peers, she did not seem to carry the same shame I had in harboring a secret language no one could understand. Instead, she seemed like any other child, laughing and playing along with the other children in her grade. It was an eye-opener to see my culture featured in my home state, on the main stage, as something someone wanted to learn. For once, being Chinese was something that was valued. My cultural heritage was on display as something *good*. The little girl and all the children I saw in the classroom that day will have so many more opportunities than I ever had. That moment changed my life.

One Moment Becomes a Mission

From that instant, I wanted to become a champion for bilingual education. When I graduated with my ESL licensure and got my first job teaching in an elementary school, I became not only an educator but also an advocate for my students and their native languages. There were times when I would step in to intervene on a student's behalf, or actively work with the teachers to allow opportunities for their students to share their cultural and linguistic

backgrounds. From the beginning, the teachers were hesitant and would ask me to translate for their ESL kids for something as simple as bringing in their lunch money, but over the years, I would work with my fellow educators so they felt comfortable enough to communicate with their English learners.

As teachers, sometimes we set the tone for our classroom cultures, whether we intend to or not. Classrooms can be intimidating, isolated institutions that demand much of young children to "perform" in a language they are learning. On the other hand, teachers can make their classroom into a refuge, where they can experiment in English and also be surrounded by the comfort of their language of nurture. A teacher can make their students feel included by just being interested in their background and believe that what they have to say is important.

For older students, or for those like me, who have lost or who have started to lose their native languages, teachers can help bridge that connection between home and school by connecting some of the links. For example, I encouraged the parents of my ESL students to speak in their native languages at home and also invited parents to write a letter in their home language addressed to their child. In class, I invited my students to decipher their personal letter using dictionaries and tools like Google Translate. In class, their children could not only strengthen their linguistic skills but also remain proud of their own cultures and languages.

Today, I am an ESL teacher so I can be that voice for parents that tells them to embrace their native tongues. I want to tell them my story that, by teaching English every day, I do so with pain to reconcile my own native language and culture. Advocating for bilingual education offers me a chance to promote Cantonese, a language and culture I was once ashamed of and resented, to become appreciated and even coveted in an institutionalized setting of a school. I may have lost my voice, my Chinese voice, but at the cost of knowledge and a resolved mission

to ensure that young people, just like the girl I saw in the classroom that day, can remain confident in their bilingual identities.

Returning to My Language

As for my siblings and me, even though we primarily communicate in English, we find ourselves inserting Cantonese when there is not a translation that fits or when we want to speak privately about someone without them knowing. Now when I am speaking with my own parents, my ears are more interested in their words, and sometimes I will repeat back their phrases. They may think I am listening intently, but actually I am re-learning the language!

Last year, I was in route to visit a friend in Macau and had an opportunity for a quick stopover in Hong Kong. Almost instantly, I felt my Cantonese returning. I was able to recognize certain words here or there and recognize the tones. As I began to voice the sounds myself, I found my mother tongue coming back—and I realized that it never truly went away. My native language was like a box that I put away on a shelf in the back of a closet. Over the years, it has gathered dust, but I find that I can return to unpack that box—and still return to the familiar sights and sounds.

I remember stopping in a cafe where an elderly waitress asked me a question.

"*Sek teng mm sek gong* (I can understand, but I can't speak)" I responded in Cantonese. She smiled and responded that her own granddaughter who lived in Canada was just like me. There were many overseas Chinese who grew up in Western countries and did not learn their native language, she remarked. But it did not make them any less Chinese.

"*Jook-sing*," I asked?

"*Jook-sing*," she winked.

I may be a bamboo pole, but as it turns out: I am still a bamboo.

1.3 Bilingual and Immersion Education in the United States: History, Benefits, and Challenges

The American Community Survey, issued by the United States Census Bureau, estimates that 21% of Americans among 5 to 17 years of age—or 61.8 million people—speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Up 2.2 million since 2010, the number of foreign-language speaking U.S. residents is at a record high. Consequently, the United States citizenry is changing toward a greater multicultural and multilingual composition, posing a need for public schools to accommodate the language needs of these students.

The earliest forms of language education sought to educate students who entered school with little to no English skills, either by providing them with English immersion as quickly as possible or by grouping them into special education and offering them little instructional support. Many students felt pressured by teachers who disregarded their previous experiences and only concentrated on ensuring that they learn English (Ovando, Collier, and Combs, 2005); still other students felt silenced in the classroom (Robinson & Clardy, 2011). In this process, many students lost their native language.

The movement for bilingual education arose from Cuban refugees escaping their native land after the Cuban Revolution in the early 1960s. These Cuban immigrants wanted to maintain their language and culture, while integrating English and their new linguistic environment. Born out of this movement, parents, educators, academics, and Latino activists came together to develop a new type of bilingual education—called dual language education—that promised additive language for both speakers of native-language instruction and language majority students. As a result, the first-cited dual language school in the U.S. was Coral Way Elementary in Dade County, Florida. Five years later, in 1968, Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act,

guaranteeing federal funding to serve students who were deemed Limited English Proficient (LEP). A later Supreme Court case *Lau v. Nichols* ruled that forcing LEP students to assimilate into mainstream classes was a violation of the Civil Rights Act, which led to the development of bilingual programs in the United States (U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Department, 1975). In the U.S. dual language immersion model, "students are taught both literacy and academic content in English and a partner language" (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016). Dual language schools may be either one-way or two-way: for instance, one-way features classes in Mandarin catered for students who primarily speak English. Two-way or dual language refers to two populations—for instance, one English-speaking group who will learn Mandarin; another cohort of Mandarin speakers who will emerge from the program with the knowledge of English. The rationale behind these dual language programs focuses on both language-majority and -minority students who learn together in both languages, so each student contributes to both L2 output and input (Krashen, 1981). Language-minority speakers can continue maintenance of their home languages and acquire English proficiency, while language-majority speakers can hone their English skills and acquire an additional language.

While dual language programs theoretically have 50% from each population, the reality of schools may be a less equal balance. For example, Spanish immersion programs are more likely to be two-way than Mandarin programs, because of the sheer numbers of Spanish speakers in the U.S. Within the U.S., the majority of immersion programs are Spanish-English dominant, but Mandarin is becoming a popular choice among language immersion programs. Since 2007, the number of Mandarin language immersion schools have been steadily increasing, making up 13.4% of language immersion programs (Andersen, 2014). Today, the number of immersion

schools offering any type of Mandarin immersion classes have increased to 335 schools, including 44 school-wide programs with curricula delivered entirely in Mandarin (Weise, 2021).

Research on bilingual education presents clear advantages for children's linguistic, cognitive, and social development (Schwartz, Moin, and Klayle, 2013). Students in language immersion programs are shown to follow behind their mainstream education peers in early grades, but eventually catch up and even outperform their peers in standardized tests in elementary grades (Thomas, et al., 1993). Research consistently shows that students of different ethnicities, language backgrounds, socioeconomic levels, and certain special education groups even develop proficiencies in a dual language program (Genesse et al., 2006; Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2010; Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008). Similar to previous studies conducted on the academic achievement of students with lower socioeconomic status in Spanish-English bilingual schools (Genesee et al., 2005), Lindholm-Leary's (2011) study on two Mandarin dual language programs revealed that "even low SES children achieve as well or higher than their peers in English mainstream classes, showing that the Mandarin programs do not work only for children from more advantaged family backgrounds" (p. 98).

Because students are learning in another language, immersion schools provide another benefit for English-speaking children by providing another set of cultural competency skills. In two Chinese-English dual language programs, students not only make strides in the target language, but further evidence suggests that students also develop cultural interest and knowledge in Chinese culture (Lindholm-Leary, 2011). For example, students celebrate Chinese holidays, such as Chinese New Year or Lantern Festival; create classroom materials, like travel brochures; or engage in cultural activities, for example, cooking Chinese food.

While ample amount of research also suggests dual language programs are beneficial for immigrant communities, proponents of English-only schools have touted English-only immersion classes as the only viable method for English language learners. Measures, like Proposition 227, a resolution, spearheaded by Silicon Valley entrepreneur Ron Unz, restricted English language learners to a more English-centric curriculum. As a result, bilingual schools in California were severely affected by the resolution, especially schools for students in the upper grades (Parrish et al., 2006). This resolution, along with a similar legislation Proposition 203 in Arizona and others, have been highly successful over the years in maintaining that English language learners do not receive native language instruction. Yet, the tide may be changing. In November of 2016, almost two decades after Proposition 227, California voters passed Proposition 58, a bill that repealed the former act and opened the door for other languages besides English in public classrooms ("California Proposition 58"). With California once again setting the stage for bilingual education, other states may be looking to follow suit in establishing dual language programs (Ulloa, 2016).

However, communities must still believe in the goals and outcomes of bilingual education to continue to fight for its existence amid a contentious climate. Despite the overwhelming amount of evidence for bilingual education, many native English-speaking parents may feel daunted by not being able to provide instructional assistance in the home language. Further, they may witness children's frustration at spending 90% of class time grappling with a language they do not understand, as noted in a 2009 Center for Applied Linguistics report, "Program Models and the Language of Initial Literacy in Two-Way Immersion Programs" (Howard et al., 2007).

Parkes (2008) writes that a hallmark of successful language immersion programs comes from investments from highly invested and motivated parents, such as those who seek out schools that offer such programs. For some families, school choice may be a deliberate, conscious decision: bilingual education may be viewed as a means of investment, such that language acquisition and access to linguistic resources by their children is seen as a return on parents' investment. Accordingly, some parents may make concerted efforts, such as moving to a neighborhood that has better school availability or making economic sacrifices, so their children can attend certain schools with language immersion programs (Schwartz et al., 2013; Williams, 2017). Indeed, research finds that parental participation is essential to the survival and maintenance of immersion programs. Cenoz (2009), referring to her research on Basque-English immersion, writes that "parents' participation is more important [in dual immersion schools] than some other schools" (p. 60). Gómez, Freeman, and Freeman (2005) also note, in the context of Spanish dual language schools, that the structure of two-way immersion relies equally on parents from both the language majority and the language minority. If there is a lack of parents from either group, the program will most likely be abandoned. In the case of dual language schools, investment from both communities is especially important to succeed.

At the same time, although dual immersion offers the opportunity for students from both language-minority and -majority backgrounds to interact, other macro factors may impede on establishing truly equitable schools. For one, school choice may be complicated by economic factors. Bell (2009) finds that school choice may not be as equitable as parents expect, when there is a lack of resources to support their decision-making processes. Hill and Scott (2017), in particular, indicate that especially for low-income and minority parents and caregivers, school choice is constrained by location and transportation options. For parents who are recent

immigrants to the United States, language barriers may impact their lack of access to school information (Sattin-Bajaj, 2015). These factors may lead to critiques of dual language education as elitist.

Parkes (2008) discovers crucial differences between those parents who actively sought out a bilingual school and those parents who had enrolled as a matter of convenience. Parents who intentionally transfer their children into immersion programs not only had a different set of reasons but also tended to have higher socioeconomic incomes. Potowski's (2007) study also finds that dual language education programs tend to enroll language majority students from wealthier backgrounds than those from working class or middle class backgrounds. Indeed, social class plays a factor in bilingual education as many language majority parents are of higher socioeconomic status compared to their parents of language minority students. For some parents, the disparity in bilingualism, which De Costa (2010) refers to as “elite bilingualism” or “designer bilingualism” could create discord in communities as dual language school become a commodity only for the economically and academically privileged (Valdez, Freire, and Delavan, 2016). Despite the egalitarian language model, whether dual language programs are actually equitable in social stratifications such as class, however, remains contested.

Research looking at dual immersion schools show that language programs often pair students from similar linguistic and cultural as well as socioeconomic backgrounds. What is less apparent are studies that show a comparison of academic achievement among a myriad of students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. Tedick, Christian, and Fortune (2011) ask an even larger question, “do immersion programs hold promise for decreasing the achievement gap that persists in US schools between students of color and white students?” (p. 6-7). Realistically,

there may not be many schools featuring a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds to satisfactorily respond to the authors' question.

Another vein of criticism and common complaint for schools is the lack of teachers, or lack of training for teachers of language. Cammarata and Tedick (2012) also reveal that immersion teachers may not understand academic learning and language learning, in effectively teaching language and content effectively. With respect to Mandarin immersion programs in particular, Weise (2014) also writes that there are few teacher training programs for teaching Mandarin, especially ones that specialize in immersion, which may delay the implementation of programs. Many Mandarin immersion schools feature visiting teachers from China to supplement the teacher shortage, but as Asia Society, a non-profit specializing in global education in Asian affairs, reports, "most teachers tend to be more traditional in their instructional approaches" (p. 86). However, Programs such as STARTALK, a national grant that funds world language programs, are especially designed to structure Mandarin teacher training to combat these problems (Gu, 2015).

1.4 Parental Factors Related to Dual Language Education

A variety of factors influence the types of decisions that parents make regarding school choice. First, I consider the factor of parent identity. Prominent cultural theorist Stuart Hall contextualizes identity as a concept that defies categories such as race and gender. He writes, "Identities are about questions of the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from,' so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (Hall, 1996, p. 4). As with many other post-structuralist scholars, Hall conceptualizes

identity as being in flux. While the literature presents examples of immigrant parents being devout harbingers of the customs and language from their countries of origins (McCoy, 1992), these perspectives may shroud instances in which immigrant parents' experiences vary and are diverse, and may be susceptible to change, especially as they become integrated into their host countries. The language choices that bilingual speakers may make are motivated by their loyalties to the language group and the utility of the language in the host country (Fishman, 2001). However, these choices may be complicated by the balance of wanting to maintain linguistic and cultural roots while thriving in the language of mainstream society.

The language we speak often imparts to us a sense of identity of how we experience our own self. As Weedon (1997) states, "Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed" (p. 21). Elinor Ochs, a prominent language socialization scholar, conceptualizes identity construction as "ebbs and tides… over interactional time, over historical time, and even over developmental time" (Ochs, 2010, p. 298). Even though linguistic choices do not determine identity, they can be factors that shape it.

The language learner and identity literature also contribute to the idea that learning a language changes one's self-conception. As learners possess multiple reasons for learning a language, their identities and educational trajectories are "dynamic, contingent, multidirectional, and hybrid" (Li & Duff, 2008, p. 20). Individual motivations are affected by learners' reciprocal relationships with speakers and the situated, dynamic, and relational context (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). However, most of the research in language learning looks at children's identities, and not much is focused on parents' perspectives.

For parents, a sense of identity is also deeply tied to language and culture and is shaped by their own experiences, all of which can then translate into the choices they make for their children. Research into parental linguistic attitudes and ideologies have shown that children's language attitudes have been shown to reflect that of their parents (Feenstra, 1969; Potowski, 2004). As Norton and Toohey (2001) argue, "the language choices available to children and their parents, as well as the discursive practices that are encouraged and supported in school, have an important impact on children's identity" (p. 310). Hye Yeong Kim (2011) investigates how Korean immigrant parents' linguistic ideologies impact their children's identities. The author witnesses one instance in which a father decides to use English in an attempt to improve his daughter's language skills because he was discriminated against for his accented speech. As a result, the child could only understand simple Korean but not long or complex sentences. Kim details the loss of cultural and social capital that comes when a child loses their ability to communicate with their parents in their native language. She writes, "when parents themselves do not feel proud of their culture and language, they cannot teach their children to be confident despite differences from the mainstream in their appearance, language, or culture" (p. 19). When parents transfer the language onto their children, they are also transmitting cultures and identities. Parents' identities then pose a crucial aspect to language transference. Relatedly, Ochs (2010) notes that there is a sense of sadness that immigrant parents witness when they see their children's adoption of another language. The sense of language loss could also impact the shifts in children's relationships with their parents.

Language also serves an especially important role, as the most often-cited contributor to ethnic identity (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988; Hurtado & Gurin, 1995; Miller & Hoogstra, 1992). Ethnic and linguistic identity both play a role in individuals' sense of self, which may

motivate and impact parental choices about linguistic and cultural transmission. There may also be positive family relationships and academic connections and psychological factors that may accompany an enduring ethnic identity (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Yip & Fuligni, 2002; Phinney, 1992). Linguistic access provides the individual with opportunities to engage with their own sense of self and membership within certain groups, which can include identity or ethnic groups (Erikson, 1968; Tajfel, 1981).

Immigrant parents face a particular dilemma. Many parents, like my own, do not want their child to lose their ethnic culture, but realize that English development will aid in their child's academic and social success. Therefore, many parents often face conflict within their goals in maintaining the cultures of both the L1 and the L2. For heritage language learning, one must consider the political, cultural, societal ideologies that form immigrant identities. Their ethnic identities connect to their sense of belonging and attitudes that accompany their membership in an ethnic group (Phinney, 1990). Studies of immigrants and linguistic ties have varied by ethnicity and country of origin. For example, Pauwels, Winter, and Bianco (2007) found that some Greek parents felt strongly about maintaining the home language, where Germans witnessed "disengagement with the community language and ethnolinguistic histories" (p. 166). Costigan and Dokis (2006), in studying Chinese Canadian families, write that parents who are immigrants want to instill a strong sense of ethnic identity to their children. Within the U.S., because a majority of the Chinese American population are of the first (63%) or second generation (27%), immigration is still tied to the identities of many Chinese heritage individuals (Zhou, 2009).

Considering the idea of parents as a unit may be complicated, however, since each parent brings to the family particular identities that are being negotiated within the family and in

relationship to parenting issues. As individuals, caretakers may differently construct their own ways of being and parenting. For example, Okita (2002) describes how Japanese mothers living in the U.K. with English husbands perceived the social identity of a "good parent" brought with it a stream of advice from others, based on the lack of understanding on how much work is involved in raising bilingual children in Japanese and English. The cultural discourse affects aspects of parenthood, including what it means to be a "good mother" or a "good father", and influences parental beliefs. Similarly, Winter and Pauwels (2005) found that the discourses of "parenting" opened up a new avenue for agency regarding language maintenance and activism (p. 164). In their study, both Greek and German-heritage women discussed their progress in taking agency "for their children's language acquisition through a mixture of immersion in the home, links with grandparents and formal instruction." (p. 166).

Previous studies have focused on acculturation gaps regarding immigrants or foreign-born and their children or successive generations growing up in different cultures (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Farver, Narang, and Bhadha, 2002; Phinney, 1990). However, researchers agree that acculturation is a multidimensional phenomenon that involves "changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors that result from contact between two distinct cultures" (Costigan & Su, 2004). The process of acculturation is tied to issues related to language and identity, especially ethnic identity.

While many studies look into the acculturation gap between immigrant parents and their children raised in the host country, not much is observed in how immigrant mothers and fathers conceptualize their own identity or acculturate to the host communities. Norton (2013) describes the experiences of five immigrant Canadian parents in the 1990s and their experiences with how language intersects with identity. One of her parents, Eva from Poland, had changed her identity

from an immigrant to a multicultural citizen, but her self-conception remained a "site of struggle" (p. 166). Eva remarks, "Because of my distinguishable pronunciation, I am viewed as an immigrant by others and therefore I still feel like one." Another parent, Martina, preferred to speak English because of her identity as a parent, even though Spanish was more natural to her. Because many of the home and public life tasks included knowledge in English, Martina arranged to learn the language to provide a "better life for [her] children" (p. 21). For Martina, the identity of a parent is equated with "refus[al] to be silenced". For this parent, her language is tied to her identity as a caretaker.

Lastly, Norton details the identity negotiation of a parent, Felicia, who, although technically an immigrant, did not identify with the image of a poor Peruvian immigrant. Instead, she more closely aligned with a wealthy Peruvian identity. In this manner, social class was more of a marker of identity than immigrant status. Because she came from a privileged background in her home country, Felicia was well-versed in English. However, Felicia identifies more with her Peruvian nationality than her Canadian citizenship.

Just as Felicia uses Spanish as the language of the home, these parents may have to negotiate multiple languages in different domains. Parents undergo a process by which they accept and reject labels such as country of origin, immigrant status, and social class—all of which factor in the linguistic and cultural transmission to their children. Norton's interviews with immigrant parents reveal that not only are their identities changed by their role as a parent and caretaker, but also that these roles may lead them to make different language choices than they might otherwise make on their own.

In a similar type of study, Von Korff et al. (2010) look at adoptive parents who act as identity agents in speaking to their children about adoption, and found adoptive parents take

different approaches when it comes to the formation of identity. Three of the parents in von Korff et al.'s study acted as "adoptive identity agents" in which they helped their adopted children negotiate both the adoptive and birth culture (p.133). The parents, in expressing deep concern for their children developed goals, and acted on their concerns and goals. Their role as caretakers facilitated their actions, such as negotiating contact between their children and their birth parents.

In summary, the literature reveals the many ways in which parents' identities continue to shape the language choices they make for their children. For immigrants, passing on the heritage language is closely tied to their ethnic identity. Further, cultural discourses of what makes a "good mother" or a "good father" may influence parental decisions for language maintenance. A more detailed description of how the participants in this study negotiate their identities of parents of Mandarin learners will be discussed in future chapters.

1.5 A Portrait of Chinese Americans

1.5.1 A History of Chinese Migration

I now turn my discussion from parental identities to explore the scope of a larger history of Chinese immigration to the United States. It is not surprising that Chinese America is only one part of a greater Chinese diaspora that encompasses the world. One can find overseas Chinese from the skilled laborers to shopkeepers to successful entrepreneurs, accounting for about 35 million of the world's population and leading to the adage: "There are Chinese people wherever the ocean waves touch". In the United States, the number of Chinese-descent individuals amounts to over 5 million residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020).

Historically, Chinese Americans were subjugated to strict immigration policies. In the 1870s, the first immigrants to come from China were contractors, commissioned to work in the plantations in Hawaii and the mining and railroad industries on the west coast. These workers were mostly bachelors (since women were largely banned) who had planned on returning to the mainland after "striking gold" in America. However, for many immigrants, that dream was never realized, and many Chinese Americans stayed in the new land, some out of fear of disappointment and failure (Zhou, 2009).

Their time in the United States was not without difficulties, however. The earliest Chinese immigrants faced prejudice and discrimination. White workers resented the Chinese presence, calling their pocket communities "a filthy nest of iniquity and rottenness" and referring to the immigrants in derogatory names such as the "yellow peril", "the Chinese menace", or the "indispensable enemy" (Zhou, 2009). Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and was not repealed until the 1940s. Even after the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, immigration to the United States was still stagnant. The repeal allowed for more women to arrive, including some as war brides, along with refugees after the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Demographic tides in Chinese immigration took a turn in the mid-1960s due in part to the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act which repealed national origin quotas that strictly ensured immigration from European immigrants only ("Fifty Years On", 2015). This bill, coupled with China's improved relations with other countries at the end of the Cold War, paved the way for large-scale immigration for many Chinese Americans. By 1978, the Chinese government had relaxed its emigration regulations, leading to a wave of Chinese migration to the United States. To illustrate, in the 1970s, there were over 17,000 immigrants from China who have obtained

permanent residency cards (White, 2015). From 1980-1989, the number of new residents grew ten-fold, to over 170,000 in the decade alone (White, 2015). Since then, the number of immigrants arriving annually has continued to double, from 536,000 in 1990, to 989,000 in 2000, to 2.1 million in 2016 (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

According to the 2020 Census, the largest percentages of Chinese Americans tend to reside in New York City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. New York City, with a population of over 800,000 in 2015, has the largest overseas Chinese population, whereas San Francisco, California hosts the largest percentage of Chinese Americans per capita (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). Other cities boast large Chinatowns, including San Francisco, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., Boston, and their surrounding suburbs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Figure 1 shows the percentage of the diversely populated diaspora.

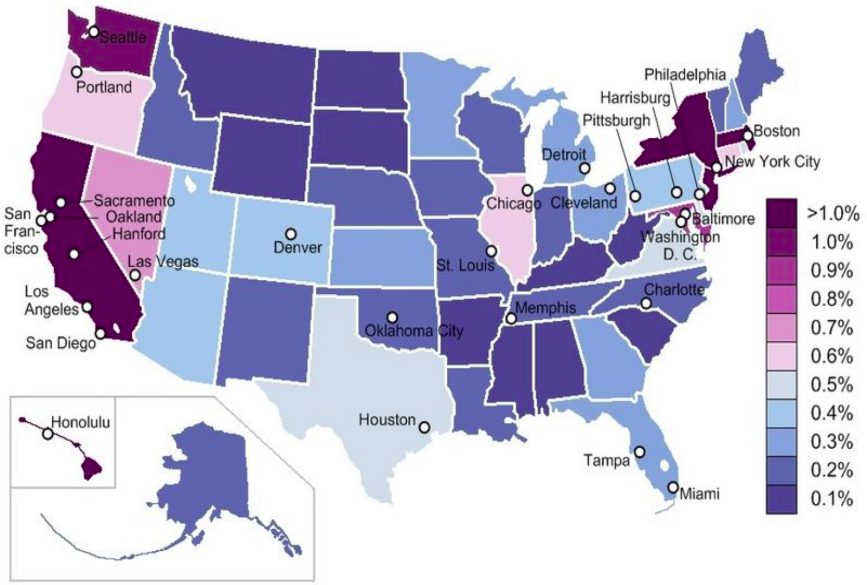

Figure 1. *Percentage of Chinese population in the U. S. (source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000)*

1.5.2 "A Model Minority"?

Since 2000, Chinese Americans have been one of the fastest growing ethnic groups, with almost 5 million residents in the United States, according to 2015 estimates ("Pew Social Trends", 2012). The current population of Chinese Americans are young compared to other groups. At the turn of the century, only 44% of second-generation Chinese Americans were 17 or younger.

As a group, Chinese Americans have been typified as being very successful, academically and economically, with the median income, including some Taiwanese Americans, averaging nearly $70,000 (United States Census Bureau, 2010). However, while Chinese Americans rate above the national income on average, it does not presume that all members of the Chinese diaspora follow the stereotype of "model minority," an image of highly educated and upper middle-class success. Shinagawa and Kim (2008) describe the educational success as being dichotomous: while over half of Chinese Americans 25 and older hold a college degree, twice as likely as their European American peers, on the opposite end of the spectrum, the other half of Chinese Americans only slightly outrank the average rate of attaining a diploma (19% compared to 16%).

Nevertheless, Chinese immigrant parents are known for their strong values on education (Zhou, 2009, p. 151). Based on Confucian principles, many may believe that education is the most pragmatic strategy to social mobility. The history of Chinese exclusion and discrimination poses education for many Chinese families as "the only road" (Sue & Okazaki, 1991) to success in America. Many families may feel compelled to sacrifice many of their own needs to

accommodate their child's schooling. As a former student once told me, "Chinese parents will move three times for their child's education."

1.5.3 Chinese Americans and Language

Interestingly, when Chinese Americans attain success, they often do not retain their ethnic language. The higher the family income and more educated the parents, the less likely the child will continue to speak Chinese. The reasoning behind this seems to be that higher assimilation with the culture also involved proficiency of the language. According to a 2015 American Community Survey, 92% of Chinese individuals 5 or older who are U.S. born speak English at home, compared to 70% of all Asians. The figure of Chinese-proficient Chinese Americans also includes speakers who speak a non-English language at home but also report they speak English "very well". This percentage indicates that Chinese Americans, more so than other Asian ethnic groups, are highly proficient in English (Pew Research Center, 2018).

Based on this data, it could be that Chinese immigrant parents focus their efforts on helping their children understand English literacy, at the expense of the home language. As documented in cases of Latino communities, cultural and linguistic assimilation to English occurs at a rapid rate for second generation Chinese Americans. Children who can speak Chinese often prefer English because of the pressures of assimilation in the United States (Alba, Logan, Lutz, and Stults, 2002; Zhou & Kim, 2006). A study of Mandarin-speaking children who arrived in the U.S. before the age of nine were found to switch their preferred language to English within a year (Jia, 2008). Children also may receive a passive understanding of the language of their parents, as they speak the majority language with their parents. As bilingual education pioneer, Jim Cummings (2001), explains, "by the time the children become adolescents, the linguistic gap between parents and children has become an emotional chasm. Pupils frequently become

alienated from the cultures of both home and school with predictable results" (p. 19). The layers of Chinese American identity in this salient language environment will be uncovered in later chapters.

1.5.4 A Changing Portrait of Chinese Americans

Additionally, the portrait of Chinese American families today may be changing. Lindholm-Leary (2011) states that intermarriage is "fairly high" among Chinese American families. One-tenth of Chinese Americans are multiethnic or multiracial; 60% of which are a mix of Chinese or another Asian group and 40% are Chinese and White (p. 82). The rate of mixed marriages among Chinese Americans continues to grow: 45% of both American-born Chinese husbands and wives marry non-Chinese, with a slightly larger percentage of American-born Chinese wives (31%) who marry non-Asians, compared to 26.5% of American-born Chinese husbands who marry non-Asians (Zinzius, 2005).

Today's generation of Chinese Americans are highly skilled and educated, contributing to American communities and economic enterprises. The portrait of modern-day Chinese Americans is of a diverse group that consists of multi-generational individuals with roots from mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. As immigrants arrive from various ethnic roots and find themselves as the only member of their ethnic group, they may reformulate their identity as more Chinese in the context of the United States.

1.6 The Rise of Chinese Language Learning

A Sino-Tibetan language, Chinese, like English, is actually a conglomerate of many different linguistic varieties. Therefore, it is more accurate to describe Chinese as a language family (Mair, 1991). Putonghua, or Standard Mandarin, is based on the spoken variety in

Beijing, China's capital and is the official language of the People's Republic of China and one of the four official languages of Singapore. Mandarin is the most commonly spoken language on the planet with at least 960 million speakers (Li, 2017). One out of seven people speaks Mandarin natively. 70% of mainland Chinese individuals speak Mandarin, while 30% learn it in formal school instruction. Outside the mainland, the official language of Hong Kong is Standard Cantonese, whereas Hokkien is spoken primarily in Taiwan. According to the 2000 United States Census, the prominent languages of the Chinese American community, outside Mandarin, are Cantonese, Taishanese, and Hokkien (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

It is worth noting that the Chinese language itself is not heterogeneous, as not all Chinese language varieties are mutually intelligible, and not all Chinese bilingual programs teach Standard Mandarin. Although Chinese languages can be a myriad of mutually exclusive spoken tongues (Cantonese, Hokkien, Wu, etc), it shares a written language. Even if the speech is linguistically diverse, "Chinese language" is used in this dissertation to refer to the majority of Chinese dual language schools, and the spoken language variety by the majority of Chinese heritage speakers, Mandarin.

Some California school districts offer language immersion in Cantonese due to a large migration from Hong Kong and Canton province (He, 2008). One of the attractions to Cantonese school is the history of high test scores on state-mandated standardized assessments (Weise, 2014). Similarly, the rise in Taiwanese immigrants to the U.S. may prompt an interest in Hakka and Min, localized dialects in the region (Zhou, 2009). According to the former Director of Applied Linguistics, Terry Wiley (2005), even if the families do not speak Mandarin, a popular choice for Chinese immigrant families is to enroll their children in Mandarin schools. In this case, Chinese serves as a "surrogate" heritage language for Chinese speakers from different

dialects. Even though the children are not learning the home language, they can still "connect with Chinese culture" (p. 22). When enrolling students in these programs, there may be other linguistic and political decisions to consider when choosing a language.

Historically, Chinese language learning has been rooted in the community. The two prominent organizations in organizing Chinese language schools have been the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (from parents of Taiwanese and Cantonese descent) and the Chinese School Association in the United States (from parents of mainland Chinese). To date, there are over 750 heritage language programs, ranging from after school classes to community-sponsored language courses to church-supported schemes (Asia Society, 2006).

In 2006, President George Bush introduced the National Security Language Initiative, which expanded the needs of American students to learn critical languages, including Chinese, for matters of national security. Part of the surge in the interest and popularity of Chinese language programs are also due in part to funding by the US Department of Education in programs such as Foreign Language Assistance Program, STARTALK (based in the University of Maryland), and the Flagship Program (Lindholm-Leary, 2011). The Foreign Language Assistance Program, discontinued in 2012, provided grants for elementary and secondary students to learn foreign languages. The FLAP program also contributed to the "development of foreign language assessments, professional development, and distance learning" (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). In 2006, The Office of the Director of National Intelligence started a program to "increase the number of U.S. citizens learning, speaking, and teaching critical need foreign languages". Originally, the National Security Agency oversaw the program as a matter of national security; however, now the National Foreign Language Center now

operates STARTALK as a liaison for not only security concerns, but also to improve the U.S.'s role in economic competition ("About STARTALK"). At the university level, the Language Flagship Program sponsors eleven Chinese programs across the U.S. to encourage language proficiency at the college level. While most of these programs are sponsored by the U.S. government and are centered around maintaining global security, another avenue for students to learn Chinese is through Confucius Institutes. The non-profit organization is a partnership of the People's Republic of China's Ministry of Education and the Office of Chinese Language Council International (also known as Hanban). Since 2004, the Confucius Institutes have partnered with many local institutions in promoting teaching of Chinese language and culture in schools, businesses, and communities ("Confucius Institute Headquarters", 2014).

Although there is no study yet about the exact number of programs teaching Chinese, the Asia Society and the College Board (2008) estimate that in the U.S., there are about 779 "Chinese as a foreign language" programs at the K-12 level, about 57% in public schools and 43% private schools. At the university level, part of the funding from National Security Language Initiative went to support the Chinese Flagship program at Brigham Young University in Utah, which integrates Chinese language teaching in the K-12 school curriculum. Through the success of this program, it is no wonder why Utah ranks as the holder of the largest number of Chinese immersion programs in the country (Andersen, 2014), despite there being far less Chinese people in Utah compared to New York and California (Asia Society, 2006).

1.7 Chinese Dual Immersion

With the rise of Chinese as a popular language to learn, many parents may choose to place their child in an immersion experience rather than a separate foreign language program or

heritage school. Mandarin immersion has become so coveted that by 2014, there were at least 170 Chinese immersion programs (Weise, 2014). Most immersion programs contain Chinese language as "strands," where Chinese is one of the languages in a multilingual immersion program. One common, recent trend is schools that feature both Mandarin language immersion and Montessori education. The pairing of challenging Chinese academic learning within a backdrop of a more fluid, self-directed form of learning provides what Weise (2014) prefers to as an American twist of the "perfect school" (p. 18).

Within the two-way immersion model, there are two main types of models, 90:10 and 50:50 (Howard, et al., 2007). In the 90:10 model, the beginning classes Kindergarten and first grade are structured with 90% of the instructional content in Chinese, whereas 10% are in English. In the second grade, a little more English is added. In the third grade, literacy instruction is held in the two languages and continued until fifth grade, where the balance is ideally equal (Freeman, Freeman, and Mercuri, 2005). California is home to 46% of dual language schools (DLS), which is not surprising since the state also has the largest percentage of Chinese immigrants ("2010 Census Briefs,").

The focus of Chinese dual language schools in the U.S. have been largely centralized on the West Coast in places like California and Utah. Although the first public Chinese immersion program in the United States opened in Maryland in 1996, not much research is conducted on the immersion programs on the east coast. The west coast features more schools and thus allows for more documented instances of diversity among parents; however, the experiences of non-Chinese speaking parents of diverse backgrounds, have also not been explored as much in the literature on immersion schools.

As the success of immersion programs rely heavily on parental participation. Cognizant of parental worries, some schools organize a network of non-Chinese speaking families. Parents may have yearly workshops and webinars that bridge school with home life. For example, one such activity that students have is a set of graded readers that they take home. Parents can listen to the audio recording of the books and engage their children with reading instruction at home. While some schools may encourage parents to incorporate Chinese instruction at home, what is less certain is how parents actually incorporate the language into day-to-day routines.

1.8 Parents Who Choose Dual Language Immersion

I now shift to another important aspect in examining who historically have been the types of parents who choose Mandarin immersion, and more interestingly, some tensions and sutures among parents, the community, and the school. The motivations of parents may be varied, but as a Chinese immersion parent of two ethnically Chinese children, Elizabeth Weise (2014) explains, "understanding what motivates parents to have their children in these programs can go a long way toward calming the tensions that now and again rise up" (p. 95). The author explains that there are six categories of parents who choose Mandarin: pioneer, global, academic, adoptive, heritage, and Chinese, which are detailed below:

Pioneer families may have no Chinese ethnic connection, but wish to place their children in an immersion classroom, solely for the sake of immersion. These families are more committed since they are taking a large risk with often failing schools teaching their students Mandarin. For these programs, support from the parents is key. However, the student population tends to be white, non-Chinese Asian American, or mixed heritage students since Chinese families are less

likely to choose programs in urban environments with low test scores. Because the program is in its early stages, there can be a lot of discord among parents as to how the school is managed. Global families sense the value of Chinese as a part of a global, diverse world. These are typically non-Chinese speaking families who see Mandarin as adding another challenge to their child's education. Tensions arise among dual language parents when non-Chinese parents may believe teachers are giving their child too much homework, while Chinese parents may contest that the teachers are not giving students enough. Parents may feel anxious about homework helping or that their child isn't on par with kids their age, a phenomenon Weise (2014) refers to as "First Grade Freak-Out" (p. 146).

For Academic parents, the main reason parents are enrolling their students into schools isn't the language, per se, but the type of school. In Andersen's (2014) study of Chinese immersion school in Utah, parents would have chosen the school if it was Spanish or any other language. Immersion presents parents with a chance to provide their children with a cognitively demanding education. The cognitive advantage of an immersion education provides families with a chance to compete with other families in a different socioeconomic bracket.

Adoptive families were one of the early parents engaged in Chinese immersion, although the number of adoptive families have decreased in the past years, from almost 23,000 children adopted from abroad in 2004 to 5,400 ("Adoptions in America are declining"). Between 1991 and 2010, close to 70,000 children were adopted from China, most of them girls (Statistical Information on Adoptions from China, 2008). These parents want to give their adoptive children a sense of culture keeping (Jacobson, 2008), and allow them an opportunity to reconnect with their birth culture and country. Shin (2014), invoking Jacobson's research, investigated a study of Korean adoptees and found that even American parents who have no connection to the Korean

language still wanted to maintain the linguistic and cultural connections of their adopted children. Similarly, as seen in Andersen (2014)'s study on Chinese immersion schools in Utah, parents who were not Chinese but had adopted Chinese children expressed a desire that their child be able to connect with their heritage culture and language. Parents also reason that because new adoptees are exposed to foreign sights and sounds, having additional language support would provide a stable component to children's upbringing.

Heritage families consist of Chinese-heritage individuals who were born in the U.S. but grew up speaking English only. Chinese immersion schools provide an alternative to Chinese school on the weekends, or parents may have unsavory experiences with language immersion in the past. Within Chinese-heritage families, there are also others who never had the opportunity of Chinese language school, or individuals who forsook the language for social pressures to learn English. These heritage families may seek Mandarin as a "surrogate heritage language" even though they may speak Cantonese, Hokkien, Fujinese, or any of the minor language in the Sino linguistic diaspora. Heritage families tend to be more biracial than other types of Chinese immersion families.

Although dual language schools are built on the premise that both language groups and speakers are equal, Chinese immersion is less popular with Chinese families than with non-Chinese. However, the mostly Caucasian families, as Weise (2014) observes, are usually confident of their child's English skills. The motivation for Chinese families seems to be less about learning the target language, but more about maintaining the heritage language. Because the reasons parents have may be varied, evaluating parental identities informs a more nuanced description of the role language and identity in their enrollment decisions. Additionally, while Weise (2014) notes in her memoir and guide for other immersion parents, that although

parental goals and expectations regarding immersion may conflict, few studies evaluate what tensions and doubts parents have about their school choice.

Within a bilingual community, tensions can arise between Chinese and non-Chinese parents. Some can be cross-cultural differences, such as Americans who may reject cultural notions of “tiger-parenting” (Kim, 2013). Furthermore, it can be difficult for American parents to embrace Chinese pedagogical practices that are culturally informed. In Weise (2014)’s interview with a non-Chinese parent, one parent responded that they were afraid the Chinese instructor's way of teaching would be "too strict and less creative" (p. 132).

Despite the overwhelming research on the benefits of dual language education, native English-speaking parents must also contend with the fear of their child being “left behind” in comparison to a more traditional curriculum. For example, in the early stages of bilingual education, students in a dual language setting lag in developing English skills behind those who are in traditional schools (Thomas, et al., 1993). Because of this reason, many non-Chinese parents may choose to unenroll their children from such programs, regardless of evidence that their children will eventually catch up to their monolingual peers. The Chinese language itself may pose another concern to non-Chinese parents, because not only are they missing the linguistic knowledge to provide learning support for their children, but many parents may find the learning of Mandarin daunting. While it is true that Mandarin poses difficulty to native English speakers because of its script and syntax, a common hesitation of parents in their children learning Chinese is that the language is “too hard” (Lindholm-Leary, 2011, p. 98).

Much of the literature surrounding non-Chinese parents feature Caucasian families, leaving an entire avenue of research on multiracial and ethnic parents open for exploration. Parent support organizations for multicultural students have emerged, such as Parents of African

American Students Studying Chinese (or PAASSC), established in 2011 in the San Francisco and Oakland area as the first parent organization to support African American youth developing fluency in Chinese. This and other supportive communities of multiracial parents may have different motivations and concerns than other parents for choosing Chinese immersion. Some parents may be fearful that teachers will not be able to provide a culturally and linguistically supportive environment for their children. For example, traditional Chinese teachers expect student behavior to be docile and obedient (Dimmock & Walker, 2005), and may not accept other types of learning styles. African American students may possess further difficulties in Asian communities because of the portrayal of Black stereotypes in Asian media. For those parents who have more recent immigration to the U.S., China has also been exporting economic enterprises in Africa, as the continent's largest trade partner ("China in Africa", 2021). Its efforts of "soft power" (Liang, 2012) perhaps have led to an increased interest in Chinese language and culture. Along with all the benefits of Chinese immersion, for these families, Chinese offers another advantage of offering students a chance to learn a non-oppressive language.

1.9 What's Next?

In the next chapter, I will offer a critical theoretical lens to view Chinese dual immersion programs through the theory of Family Language Policy, which investigates how parents make decisions regarding language. Chapter 3 will look at the methods used to inquire into parental linguistic identities. Chapter 4 will discuss parents' ideologies and attitudes regarding language and education, and their experiences and motivations toward their Mandarin dual language school. Chapter 5 looks at parents' language policies and practices including how caretakers

facilitate Mandarin within their school, their family, and within the community. The final, Chapter 6, evaluates lessons learned from the study and presents recommendations for parents, school officials, teachers, policymakers, and key stakeholders.

Chapter 2

A History of Family Language Policy

2.1 Introduction

For a closer investigation of the decisions parents can make for their children regarding school choice, I turn to the framework of Family Language Policy (FLP). In this chapter, I introduce the field of FLP, its history, and how it can shed light on parents' motivations for school choice. I heavily rely on Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) interactive model of the intervening factors that contribute to FLP, including parental background, parents' experiences with language and language loss, and their current home experiences. Pertinent to how parents think about language is how they also perceive their role, both as parents and as cultural agents. In line with the model, I explain the linguistic factors that motivate language policy: Language Ideology, Language Management, and Language Practices. In Language Ideology, I explain the ways in which parents' perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes contribute to their linguistic choices. Language Management refers to how parents and community members try to manipulate the "desired" language for their children, including how parents utilize language in home-based activities. Language Practices concern children's actual language use and how they choose to accept or resist the family language policies in the household. Using Curdt-Christiansen's framework, I argue that dual language schools can serve as a form of FLP. To sum up, I discuss how these theories can be used in conceptualizing parents' choices for enrollment in Chinese immersion.

2.2 Family Language Policy: an Emerging Field of Study

The study of Family Language Policy, or FLP, is grounded in previous studies on language planning and policy, which investigates how public institutions, such as a governing bodies, workplaces, or educational establishments institute or regulate the use of one or more languages in society (Johnson, 2013; McCarty, 2011; Spolsky, 2004). According to Curdt-Christiansen (2018), "A language policy is a political decision and a deliberate attempt to change/influence/affect the various aspects of language practices" (p. 15). While deliberate, language policies can be either explicitly stated, or they can be implicitly practiced (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). From a societal perspective, the formation of language policies is a "complex sociocultural process" (McCarty, 2011, p. 8), consisting of "modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power" (McCarty, 2004, p. 72). In other words, social forces not only influence language policies, but language policies also help shape social forces.

Earlier researchers of language policy sought to examine, in language contact situations with multiple languages, "Why do members of some immigrant groups maintain their languages, while members of other groups lose their language?" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). From an ethnographic perspective, King et al. (2008), presents the question thusly: "Which *caretakers* attempt to influence what *behaviors* of which *family members* for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision-making process* with what *effect*?" These questions inquire about who the parents are, what linguistic choices they make, and what the effects of their decisions are.

Yet, while ample research has shown that family has a direct impact on children's language outcomes (Cheung, 1981; Fishman, 1968), less research is known about how the

families maintain their language. Branching off from prior institutional studies of language policy, FLP offers an avenue to examine language choice and use in a more intimate setting: within the realm of the home (King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry, 2008). Studies in FLP have been popular not only in the U.S. but in Canada, England, Scotland, Netherlands, Norway, Singapore, and Australia (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Kopeliovich, 2010; Schwartz & Moin, 2011). The draw to FLP has gained traction especially since home languages have been popularized as a way for parents to provide future socioeconomic opportunities for their children (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Liu, 2018).

The study of FLP draws in both sociocultural forces and parents' linguistic goals for their children; it takes the social structures of language policies and reexamines them through the lens of an individual family. An investigation of language in such an intimate environment as the home may come with triumphs or tensions of language maintenance. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2013),

> "*The study of FLP can make visible the relationships between private domains and public spheres and reveal the conflicts that family members must negotiate between the realities of social pressure, political impositions, and public education demands on one hand, and the desire for cultural loyalty and linguistic continuity on the other*" (p. 1)

For parents, and especially many immigrant parents, these tensions between whether to speak societal languages or home languages may become a source of these conflicts. The study of FLP seeks to investigate the complex web of interaction that engages the question of how languages shift and change based on how an individual family perceives languages, how they practice their native tongue, and what they envision for their children's future.

2.3 Understanding the Triumphs and Tensions: A Model for FLP

To investigate the complexities of the various factors that affect FLP, I use the model outlined by Curdt-Christiansen (2014) in Figure 1 to illustrate the intersection among the factors that contribute to language ideology, which in turn motivates language intervention strategies and informs language practices.

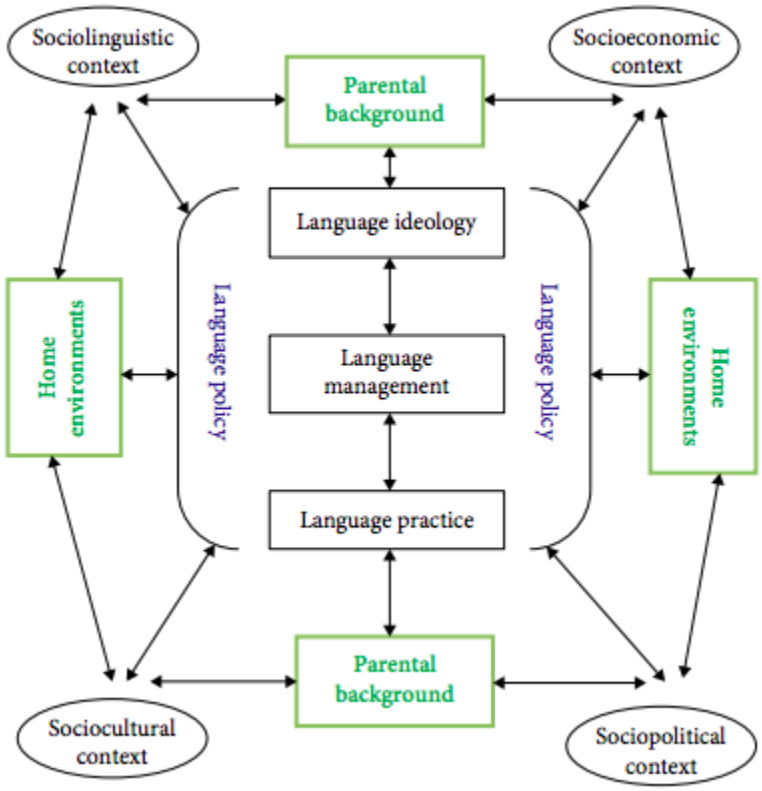

Figure 2. *Curdt-Christiansen's interactive model of Family Language Policy (2014).*

Curdt-Christiansen's model of Family Language Policy illustrates the complex ways in which language policy relates to both internal and external factors. At the center of the model is the author's replication of Spolsky's (2004) three components of the "Language Policy of any

speech community": (1) *Language ideology*, or the "beliefs about language and language use"; (2) *Language management*, or the planning or the management of which languages to learn; and (3), *Language practices*, or the "habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 5). Surrounding the linguistic factors that influence FLP are social factors and parents' personal agencies that play into FLP: Parental Background and Home Environment. Curdt-Christiansen's model also notes four social contexts that co-exist with FLP sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical forces. These contexts, because they continue to affect the language choice used in the household, will be discussed in detail in the section on Language Ideologies.

Curdt-Christiansen's model demonstrates how intricate macro and micro factors play into FLP and illustrates the complex relationship between social factors and parents' personal agencies. The framework recognizes that the decisions that parents make are often a consequence of overarching political, cultural, economic, sociological, and linguistic factors that guide their decision making. At the same time, Curdt-Christiansen's paradigm recognizes that parents and families can make their own linguistic choices, and can comply or resist societal notions of language policy. The model also represents the relationship between linguistic and nonlinguistic forces in constructing FLP as interactive and dynamic, as families construct their own wants and needs over time.

In line with Curdt-Christiansen's model, I conceptualize family language policy in terms of parents' linguistic backgrounds. In the next section, I describe how their identities influence their motivations to enroll their children in dual language schools. I explore "who" are the parents: how they identify, what experiences they have with the language in shaping their roles as caretakers, their knowledge of bilingualism, the role of language loss and subsequent

reclamation of linguistic agency through school choice, and parents' expectations for their children's linguistic trajectories.

2.4 Parental Background: Language Experiences in Shaping Identity

When parents decide which language to have their child speak at home, the decisions are often made deliberately, based on their own experiences with a language. These personal experiences can be influenced by parents' cultural attitudes toward the language or education, their immigration status, what they have personally witnessed, and likewise, what opportunities they may have missed but would like their children to experience. Parents' linguistic experiences also have the power to transform parents' identities and self-conceptualizations as parents. Under Curdt-Christiansen's framework of FLP, the field of family language policy incorporates both the parents' goals and motivations within existing educational and cultural structures.

Because the family is so crucial to language planning, parents' beliefs about language and their language ideologies affect not only the languages they choose to speak in the home but how they make their linguistic decisions. Their language policies may be impacted by "parents' expectations, parent's education and language experience, or parental knowledge of bilingualism" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 355). How parents, especially immigrant parents, perceive language ultimately reflects on their identity.

Parental perspectives regarding language are salient to the child's upbringing and family bonding. For parents, a sense of identity is also deeply tied to language and culture and is shaped by their own experiences, all of which can then translate into the choices they make for their children. Studies looking at parental linguistic attitudes and ideologies have shown that children's language attitudes have been shown to reflect those of their parents (Feenstra, 1969; Potowski,

2004). As Norton and Toohey (2001) argue, “the language choices available to children and their parents, as well as the discursive practices that are encouraged and supported in school, have an important impact on children's identity” (p. 310). Parents’ experiences with language can serve as a guide to the kinds of linguistic choices that are made readily available for their children.

Studies of FLP feature heavily the stories of immigrant parents, whose views on and experiences with language may also be influenced by their own background and experiences with immigration. Norton (2013) describes the experiences of five immigrant Canadian parents in the 1990s and their experiences with how language impacted their own identity. One parent, Eva from Poland, had her status physically changed from an immigrant to a multicultural citizen, but her self-conception remained a “site of struggle” (p. 166) Eva remarked, “Because of my distinguishable pronunciation, I am viewed as an immigrant by others and therefore I still feel like one.” Another participant, Martina, preferred to speak English because it was the preferred language of her children, even though Spanish was her first language and was more natural to her. Because many of the home and public life tasks relied upon English, Martina arranged to learn the language to provide a “better life for [her] children” (p. 21). For Martina, the identity of a parent is equated with “refus[al] to be silenced”. For this parent, her language use was tied to her role as a caretaker. A third parent, Felicia, who, although technically an immigrant, did not identify with the image of a poor immigrant. Instead, she was a wealthy Peruvian residing in the United States. In this manner, social class was more of a marker of Felicia’s identity than immigrant status. Because she came from a privileged background in her home country, Felicia was well-versed in English. However, Felicia identified more with her Peruvian nationality than her Canadian citizenship, and she used Spanish as the language of the home.

As Norton's study demonstrates, parents may have to negotiate multiple languages in different domains. Parents undergo a process by which they accept and reject labels such as country of origin, immigrant status, and social class—all of which factor in the linguistic and cultural transmission to their children. Norton's interviews with immigrant parents reveal these parents are heavily influenced by their own backgrounds with language. Additionally, not only are their identities changed by their role as a parent and caretaker, but also that these roles may lead them to make different language choices than they might otherwise make on their own.

2.4.1 Reconciling Language Shift through School Choice

A noticeable theme in the literature on parents' linguistic experiences is the notion of language shift, or parents shift to the societal language rather than speak their ethnic or cultural language, often due to very understandable and practical or pragmatic choices on the part of the parents. However, the impact of a parent forgoing one language for another plays a noticeable role in their child's linguistic development. For example, Yeong Kim (2011) investigates how Korean immigrant parents' linguistic ideologies impact their children's identities. The author witnesses one instance in which a father decides to use English in an attempt to improve his daughter's English because he had been discriminated against for his accented English. As a result, the child could only understand simple Korean but not long or complex sentences. Kim details the lack of cultural and social capital that a child faces when they lose their ability to communicate with their parents in their native language. Relatedly, Ochs (2010) notes that there is often a sense of sadness that immigrant parents witness when they see their children's adoption of another language.

Language shift may be a growing trend, as according to Rumbaut (2007), Mandarin, in particular, one of the most common languages that experiences a generational shift, spoken by

only the first two generations and faces a complete drop off by the third generation. Furthermore, Francis, Mau, and Archer (2014) notes that the effect of language shift could provide a deep impact on Chinese identities. The researchers state that for Chinese students, "language appears to be a key-- or perhaps the key--delineator of Chinese identity" (p. 210). If language maintains an essential key to identity, a shift of language could contribute to severed ties to an individual's ethnic heritage. Especially in the context of immigration, language shifts can add to the distress of physical distance by creating emotional distance between a child and their heritage culture (Tannenbaum, 2005; Okita, 2002). For parents, children experiencing language shift could not only present conflicts in their identity, but bring about tensions within the family dynamic.

For parents who have lost some of their own access to a language they used to speak, they may choose to take a more active linguistic role in their children's education as a means of preventing their own children from losing the ancestral or heritage tongue. Through school choice, parents can change their children's linguistic trajectories through decisions about where they enroll their child in school. Some parents may decide to reconcile their own experiences with learning languages through enrolling their child in an immersion or dual language program. Weise (2014) calls these parents "Heritage Families", as many of them are second-, third- or even older generation families of Chinese American descent but they perhaps no longer speak the language. According to Weise and Alexander (2018), "immersion is a way to reconnect their children with a language and culture they may have lost" (p. 8).

Previous studies of parents of dual language students have demonstrated that parents' own past experiences with a language, or lack thereof, may contribute to schooling decisions for their children. Garcia (2009) found that some parents who sent their children to bilingual Spanish-English schools had been affected by their own poor experiences with second language

learning in high schools. Potowski (2007) studied parents who enrolled their children in a Spanish dual language school who had witnessed first-hand language loss from other relatives; they stated that one of their motivations was that they did not want that situation to happen to their children. In some cases, parents can choose to give their children the linguistic agency that had not been granted to themselves. In Craig (1996)'s study, Spanish speaking parents in the United States chose to enroll their students in a dual language school because they were motivated by the fear their child would "lose or abandon their ethnolinguistic roots" (p. 400). Craig further noted that even native English-speaking parents pointed to their non-Anglo ethnic heritage as a reason for their child's enrollment in a dual language program. As one parent responded, "I want my children to know the language of their grandparents. I want them to have the benefits of being bilingual and the pride in their ancestry that comes from a better understanding of the language and culture" (p. 398). For reasons that the author did not address, the parents themselves did not learn Spanish, their ancestral language, but they did make a deliberate effort to change their own child's linguistic and educational futures.

The prospect of one's child adopting the majority language in lieu of a native or heritage language can be a real concern for many immigrant parents, especially for those caretakers who have lost their own native tongue or do not believe they have the skills necessary to pass it on to their children. For these parents, the decision to enroll in a specific school can help alleviate the burden of teaching the heritage language (Bougie, Wright, & Taylor, 2003). The idea of schools, in particular dual language schools, as a form of FLP will serve as the foundation of my study, as will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

2.5 The Home Environment: A Community Network of FLP

While FLP has traditionally investigated private encounters with children's language within the context of the family domicile, the field of study has expanded beyond the definition of a nuclear family, consisting of a mother and father and their children. Families today may consist of a single-parent; same-sex parents; an extended family to include aunts, uncles, grandparents, or other adults who may take on a parenting role; or families with no blood relation, such as stepparents or stepchildren, and adopted children (Parke, 2013). With the changing dynamic of families in mind, this section addresses the dynamic of the home environment that slowly shifts away from the parents as the harbingers of language and moves toward examining the role of grandparents, siblings, and even the child as a participating agent in their language policy. I also turn to the role of the community in developing a child's language, domestic helpers or private tutors. These research studies suggest that language does not occur in a vacuum but requires a community of speakers, often with multilingual voices, in shaping a child's language policy.

For immigrant families, it is not uncommon for grandparents to aid in the raising of a child, and as a result, in contributing to their linguistic input. Curdt-Christiansen's (2012) study evaluated the role that grandparents bring to enhancing the culture, language, and literacy environment for the grandchildren in their families. In many immigrant households, grandparents may take on additional child care responsibilities, such as babysitting for children while their parents are at work (Gupta & Yeok, 1995), which has led to linguistic transmission of the heritage language. Winter and Pauwels (2005) found that German-heritage parents would supplement their child's learning in the culture and heritage language through the grandparents, even when they (the parents) would not necessarily use German themselves. Mehler & Gleim

(2015) similarly found that "even if the offspring fail to learn sufficient linguistic knowledge from their parents, offspring can still obtain some shared linguistic knowledge from their grandparents" (p. 245). For many families, the grandparents cannot not speak the societal language well, and so, communicating the heritage language may be more out of necessity as their only common language between grandparents and their grandchildren (Braun, 2012; Gupta & Yeok, 1995; Luo & Wiseman, 2000). As Braun (2012) states, “grandparents provide access to a minority language in a natural manner,” (p. 433) contributing to a family’s language policy in salient ways.

Like grandparents, the role of siblings is also important to consider when taking an expanded take on FLP. As found in many studies on the role of multiple children in a bilingual household, as the older siblings tend to acquire English and then introduce it to the later-born siblings, the nature of the family language practices and ideologies in the household go through a linguistic shift, which can have a negative effect the maintenance of the minority or heritage language (Hoffman, 1985; Luykx, 2005; Obied, 2009). However, other studies suggest that older siblings who have an environment steeped in the heritage language can utilize it with the younger siblings, which may play a positive role in language maintenance (Kopeliovich, 2013; Yates and Terraschke, 2008). For example, in their interviews with Australian immigrant parents in exogamous relationships, Yates and Terraschke note that with one parent in particular, her prolific use of Mandarin with her daughters “may also encourage them to use it with each other, thereby establishing it as a fully valid and important family language” (p. 121). Yates and Terraschke (2013) suggest that parental success in establishing the minority language early on with the eldest-born can be carried to the other siblings as a form of emotional bond. Whether despite or because of parental influences, the home environment with siblings as active agents

play a role in language maintenance. Furthermore, van Lier (2000) contends that a child's learning is not a passive process but rather a series of events that depends greatly on the learner's interactions throughout their environments.

It is also worth noting that not all family language policies necessarily involve family members. Not only does family play a key role in maintaining the language, but other voices from the community, such as caretakers, teachers, and members of the community can have a direct effect on a speaker's language (King et al., 2008). Lanza (2007), for example, evaluates how language practices are transmitted not only through parents, but through interactions with all family and community members. In constructing the home environment for FLP, it is worth noting that not all family language policies necessarily involve family members. King and Logan-Terry (2008) discovered that Spanish-speaking Latina domestic helpers in English-speaking families would correct children's utterances, adding an additional component to children's linguistic interactions. Additionally, parents may seek the help of "external professional help" (Curdt-Christiansen & Hancock, 2014) to manipulate the language situation at home. Families can hire external help in the form of private tutors or homework coaching (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Ren & Hu, 2013). Hiring outside help to provide academic and domestic assistance, whether it directly or indirectly affects language contact, contributes to the home environment.

While FLP studies focus on how family members can have an effect on a child's language, it can be easy to forget or ignore the fact that children can have control of the language they choose to use. Cassie Smith-Christmas (2016), while investigating the FLP of a family in Scotland, laments how FLP scholars focus primarily on social processes of language shift, rather than the child's decision in their own language maintenance. Luykx (2005) revisits the idea of

parents as language agents for their family and posits the opposite, that children play an active role in the language socialization of their adult family members. The author looks at children as "active and creative social agents who produce their own unique children's cultures, all the while contributing to the production of adult society" (p. 47). Research also maintains that children, especially those from language-majority backgrounds, may play a special role in their own family language policy – for instance, by serving as family language “brokers" (Parada, 2013, p. 302), or as a resource that bridges two cultures. Similarly, King and Fogle (2013) agree that child agents are a part of the dynamism of FLP, in which children "play an active role of influencing code choice and shaping family language ideologies" (pp. 196-97). Finally, a child’s own agency can directly contradict parental wishes as the child may give up their own interest in dual language schooling. As Weise and Alexander (2018) remind parents of children enrolled in Chinese immersion, “your dream of raising a bilingual child is just that -- your dream” (p. 9). The authors reveal that it is common for children to want to give up Mandarin immersion or to drop the language component after middle school. Further, a child’s agency can have a direct role in their sustained interest in dual language schooling.

As the dynamic of families continues to change, it is important to incorporate more insights from various marginalized and understudied linguistic, cultural, gendered, classed perspectives, and proceeds from more fluid definitions of FLP (Hornberger, 1988). Future scholars should consider, for example, non-traditional families, such as LGBT parents, who may be missing from FLP narratives. From grandparents to siblings, caretakers, to the child themselves, it is clear that the environment of a child’s home can foster language learning just as in the home. In other words, it takes a village to shape a family language policy.

2.6 Language Ideology: The Driving Force of FLP

Within Curdt-Christiansen's model of FLP, she integrates the framework with the lens of the family. With this perspective, language ideology is "context specific and related to and interwoven with economic, political, socio-cultural and linguistic factors as well as parental educational experiences and expectations" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 355). I describe below the three language policy components as separate, with the understanding that they co-exist within a "structural, flexible, and expandable framework" (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013, p. 4).

Language ideology includes but is not limited to the "values, practices and beliefs associated with language" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 123). The field of FLP recognizes that ideological factors are important to implementation of the heritage language, including language attitudes and beliefs, and issues of identity. Language ideologies are not simply only isolated beliefs about language and their usage, but parental beliefs have been shown to influence children's linguistic development (De Houwer, 1998; King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry, 2008). As Curdt-Christiansen (2009) explains, "Language ideologies are often seen as the driving force of language policy as language ideologies are based on the perceived value, power and utility of various languages" (p. 354). In applying Christiansen's statement to the family context, how parents perceive of, or their attitudes toward, a language is instrumental to whether speakers in the family will choose to speak the language. She writes, "The study of FLP not only contributes to our understanding of the processes of language shift and change, it also sheds light on broader language policy issues at societal levels." (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 1)

Essential to FLP studies are what King and Fogle (2013) describe as the "functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life" (p. 172). Parental choice and ideologies

toward language pose a critical role in how language is maintained in everyday activities. However, language ideologies formed by the parents are not completely separate from the impact of social forces. Van Dijk (1998) describes language ideology as the "shared framework(s) of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations of groups and their members" (p. 8). In order words, a group's social beliefs shape how they perceive language, and serve as a mediating factor for decisions made in FLP. For example, in a study of three multilingual families in Singapore, Curdt-Christiansen (2016) found that English, as the medium of education, was considered socially more desirable than the heritage languages (Chinese or Malay). The dichotomous relationship between the societal language and the heritage language "reveals that language choices and practices in family domains are value-laden in everyday interactions and explicitly negotiated and established through FLP" (p. 1).

While a family's language policy is influenced by who the parents are and the environments in which they live, Curdt-Christiansen and Hancock (2014) explain that FLP is "connected with broader political, educational and economic forces" (p. 35). Rarely is language policy created without social influences, even outside of the family domain. FLP is not only related to what languages are spoken in the household, but also how those languages are shaped by society. The decisions that parents make are often a consequence of overarching political, cultural, economic, and linguistic factors that guide their decision making. The following section details the various social factors that form the outer edge of Curdt-Christiansen's model for FLP. These factors (sociopolitical, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociolinguistic) affect parents' language ideologies, thereby motivating their choice for their children's Mandarin language learning.

2.6.1 Sociopolitical Context:

In the context of multilingualism in the United States, there exists a power differential that leads the language minority group to either maintain or abandon their home languages, due to social, economic, or political pressures to learn English (Canagarajah, 2008; Paulston, 1988). As McCarty (2011) states, there are “unspoken, unwritten, unofficial, but powerful language mechanisms that are used in our everyday life” (p. 43) and that continue to seek into our collective consciousness. For many immigrants to the U.S., the use of English is the language that continues to wield power over the minority language in subtle, but salient ways. As Yates and Terraschke (2013) assert, "maintaining a minority language in the face of a dominant global language like English is not an easy task and the successful maintenance and transmission of a heritage language requires careful planning within the family" (p. 108). Therefore, choosing to maintain a language other than English in the U.S. can be perceived as a political decision, even if the parents themselves did not specifically intend their choice to be so.

While much of FLP focuses on the agentive actions of the family to preserve language, even issues of family policy, which is often seen as intimate and localized, cannot be divorced from issues of power. As noted by Canagarajah (2008), who examined the family and social dynamics that led to language shift among Tamil-speaking families in the U.S., U.K., and Canada, "We find that the family is not self-contained, closed off to other social institutions and economic conditions... the family is shaped by history and power, at times reproducing ideological values and power inequities established from colonial times" (p. 173). Family use of language is deeply connected to ideologies in society, both past and present.

Language hierarchies, too, in the home also often mirror the social positioning of languages in society. As seen in Li Wei's (2010) study of Chinese immigrants in a small city in

England, speakers belonging to an immigrant group are not afforded the same recognition in their native language as those language varieties spoken by citizens. Indeed, many immigrants feel their language is not valued in their host country (Anzaldúa, 1987), and many language minority speakers may feel pressure from school officials or teachers not to speak their home language out of fear it will stifle the child's social or academic growth (Smith-Christmas, 2016; Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

Sociopolitical decisions may factor into how a state may decide what language should be maintained in domains such as public schools. Cummins (2000) relates FLP to education, stating that school language policies and practices are very much tied to the production and challenge of power in a school environment. Garcia (2009) echoes Cummins' statement in asserting that language policies adopted by schools reflect not only linguistic ideologies, but also socio-political ones as well. As Garcia (2009) proclaims, "school is the most important agent in [language] acquisition planning" (p. 83). Where parents intend to invest their children's futures is paramount to concerns of FLP.

Curdt-Christiansen (2014) investigated parental family language choice within multilingual Singapore. In her study, while the parents recognized cultural and pragmatic utility of learning Chinese, they expressed some doubt not only in retaining their heritage language but also being bilingual. Feeling the effects from the top-down sociopolitical hierarchy of languages, parents communicated “concerns about losing out to English in a competitive society and meritocratic educational system” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, p. 47). Curdt-Christiansen echoes the struggle that many parents have, who may desire to maintain linguistic and cultural roots while thriving in the language of the mainstream society. Many parents, like my own, do not want their child to lose their ethnic culture, but at the same time they realize that English

development will aid in their child's academic and social success. Therefore, tension often surrounds parents' goals of maintaining both the L1 and the L2, which can powerfully influence FLP.

2.6.2 Sociocultural Context

Easily the most cited context for their linguistic ideologies, parents' sociocultural contexts can impact parents' language ideologies, from a range of different cultures. In this section, I examine the link between language and ethnic identity in parents' formation of their language ideologies. What's more, parents who are immigrants may find themselves as the keeper of customs and traditions from their nation of origin. I describe the link between Chinese heritage and identity. Additionally, I discuss caretakers of bilingual children may believe their beliefs about being a "good" parent are formed from cultural notions of bilingualism.

Language as Ethnic and Cultural Identity

Parents' sociocultural contexts can impact parents' language ideologies, from a range of different cultures. Especially for immigrant parents, language is the most often-cited contributor to ethnic identity (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1990; Hurtado and Gurin, 1995; Miller and Hoogstra, 1992). Ethnic and linguistic identity both play a role in individuals' sense of self, which may motivate and impact parental choices about linguistic and cultural transmission. There may also be positive family relationships and academic connections and psychological factors that may accompany an enduring ethnic identity (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Yip & Fuligni, 2002; Phinney, 1992). Linguistic access provides an individual with opportunities to engage with their own sense of self and membership within certain groups, which can include identity or ethnic groups (Erikson, 1968; Tajfel, 1981).

Studies of immigrants and linguistic ties have varied by ethnicity and country of origin. For example, Pauwels, Winter, and Bianco (2007) found that some Greek men and women felt strongly about maintaining the home language, where Germans witnessed "disengagement with the community language and ethnolinguistic histories" (p. 166). Costigan and Dokis (2006), in studying Chinese Canadian families, found that their participants who were immigrants wanted to instill a strong sense of ethnic identity in their children. Yet, immigrant parents may face a particular dilemma when confronted with raising their children in the host culture. The language choices of bilingual speakers may be motivated by their loyalties to the language group and by a sense of the utility of the language in the host country (Fishman, 2001). Their ethnic identities may connect to their sense of belonging and attitudes that accompany their membership in an ethnic group (Phinney, 1990).

Immigrant parents face a particular dilemma when confronted with raising their children in the host culture. The language choices that bilingual speakers may make are motivated by their loyalties to the language group and the utility of the language in the host country (Fishman, 2001). Their ethnic identities connect to their sense of belonging and attitudes that accompany their membership in an ethnic group (Phinney, 1990).

Parents as Keepers of Culture

While it is clear that parents play a pivotal role in language learning, many immigrant parents see themselves as guardians of another culture and language. These guardians see language as a means of passing down one's culture, as "the main vehicle for the replication, construction, and transmission of culture itself" (Schiffman, 1996, p. 276). Craig (1996), in examining Spanish speaking parents' motivations for enrolling their children in a bilingual school, found that ethnic pride is a major factor for maintaining cultural and linguistic roots.

These findings dovetail with Schwartz and Verschik (2013), who note that "parents often view the children's socialization into their culture through use of the home language as a positive symbol of cultural pride and a tool that strengthens family cohesion" (p. 6).

Cultural factors provide a connection to one's heritage or a particular way of life. As Curdt-Christiansen (2009) states, “Languages contain not only culturally defined human communication, but also a wealth of organized human knowledge including art, poetry, music, and science” (p. 356). Chinese writing, or hanzi, is considered to serve a role as a bearer of Chinese culture. Not only can it "enrich one's understanding of the spoken language" but it can serve other purposes of cultural transmission, such as "opening the gateway to the rich treasure of the Chinese world" (Shouhui & Dongbo, 2014, p. 163).

When parents transfer language to their children, they are also transmitting cultures and identities. Parents’ identities are thus crucial to language transference. Although the literature overwhelmingly presents examples of immigrant parents being harbingers of the customs and language from their countries of origins (McCoy, 1992), these perspectives may nevertheless be limited. They may obscure instances in which immigrant parents’ experiences vary and are diverse, and may be susceptible to change, especially as parents become integrated into their host countries. Within a more dynamic cultural framework, what does it mean to be a parent in a Chinese American context?

Culture as a Link for Chinese Heritage and Identity

Within the U.S., a majority of the Chinese American population is first (63%) or second generation (27%). Thus, immigration is tied to the identities of many Chinese heritage individuals (Pew Research Center, 2018). In other words, parents of Chinese heritage may

consider their ethnic identities and language to be more prominent, and likely more important to pass onto their children, because they are more recent immigrants, compared to other ethnicities.

Curdt-Christiansen (2009), in studying Chinese families in Quebec, explored how "parents impede and prevent or support and promote Chinese language acquisition or bilingual development" (p. 3). She found that Chinese parents heavily lean on the importance of culture as the reason for maintaining their language. In fact, fostering the Chinese language was viewed as the ability to transfer Chinese culture and values, and therefore as an integral part of identity formation. Similarly, Hancock (2006) interviewed Chinese parents to investigate their Chinese family literacy practices in the home in relation to language maintenance and cultural transmission. As one of Hancock's parent participants mentioned, "It is important to learn Chinese. When they have their own family, they need to teach their children the language: they need to pass it on to the next generation. It is important for our heritage" (p. 67). In FLP, the parents not only plan for the present, but also for their child's future and generations to come.

In a later study, Curdt-Christiansen (2014) examined Chinese enactment of FLP in Singapore and connects language shift, or lack of maintenance, with values of ethnic identity. She discovered that Chinese heritage learners, in particular, harshly judged those who lack proficiency in the language. As one of the parents in her study responded, "Mandarin is very important for us as it is our roots. If we cannot speak our language, that would be very shameful!" (p. 46). These feelings of shame in losing one's language may be internalized by learners themselves, as seen in He (2008)'s study in which she asked one language learner to discuss his motivation for learning Chinese. "I am Chinese," he says, "I feel stupid for not knowing the language" (p. 110). For Chinese Americans, the pressure to retain one's linguistic identity is underscored by the reality that they will be perceived as Asian, even if they do not

speak the language (Mu, 2016). In a similar vein, Lu and Li (2008) investigated both the instrumental and integrative motivations for learning Chinese for both Chinese heritage, Asian non-Chinese heritage, and non-Asian, non-Chinese heritage students. They found that Chinese heritage students report the desire to understand their own cultural heritage. The students' longing to reconnect with a past identity relates to Norton's assertions of identity and how "identity relates to desire--the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (1997, p. 410).

For some caretakers, learning Mandarin can hold cultural significance even for those parents who do not have ties to Chinese heritage: In cases of adoptive parents and their children who do not speak the heritage language, the longing to connect to one's cultural heritage can provide the basis for learning the language. Jacobson (2008) writes that parents of transnational adoptees often engage in a process called "culture keeping," or maintaining the cultural heritage of the children despite raising the child in a new land.

Cultural Contexts of a Bilingual Parent

Turning to a different type of culture, another often overlooked but important cultural perspective are beliefs of being a "good" parent within societal conceptions of bilingualism. A parent's language ideologies are complicated by the notion that each parent brings to the family particular identities that are being negotiated within the family and in relation to parenting issues. As individuals, mothers and fathers may construct differently their own ways of being and parenting. For example, Okita (2002) describes how Japanese parents living in the U.K. with English husbands perceived that the social identity of a "good parent" brought with it a stream of advice from others, based on the lack of understanding on how much work is involved in raising bilingual children in Japanese and English.

The cultural belief of a “good parent” as one who raises their child as bilingual is not new. In fact, bilingualism may be a growing trend. King and Fogle (2006) found that caretakers auspiciously value bilingual education as an act of "good parenting," and they may believe they are serving their roles as "good parents" by sending their child to a bilingual school (p. 697). Bilingualism for children is considered to be a social trend, a means for upwardly mobile and highly educated parents to invest their child’s futures in. Piller (2005) notes that “bilingualism has definitely joined the markers of parental success. Childhood bilingualism is hip, a potential that must be tapped – no questions asked” (p. 614). Other scholars characterize bilingualism as a "gift" (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Piller, 2001).

Similarly, Winter and Pauwels (2005) found that the discourses of “parenting” opened up a new avenue for agency regarding language maintenance and activism (p. 164). In their study, both Greek and German-heritage women discussed their progress in taking agency. As parents, the immigrant women brought it upon themselves to introduce their heritage to their children in a myriad of ways. Some studies of parents have also found that parents play a key role in making language related decisions. Costigan and Dokis (2006) found that parents were more oriented toward maintaining the ethnic Chinese culture, while the men were more oriented toward acculturation and the host culture. However, the family dynamic may be complicated by factors surrounding networks and mobility, as men may have more access outside the home than women. Nevertheless, these findings are consistent with research that finds that cross culturally, women are more likely to be responsible for ethnic cultural maintenance than men (Davey, et al., 2003; Phinney, et al., 2001).

2.6.3 Socioeconomic Context

The socioeconomic factors in parents' language ideologies examine how languages are affected by the monetary value attached to the language. The socioeconomic context "seeks to address whether and to what degree language variables affect economic variables, such as earnings and salaries" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 356). As noted earlier in discussing the sociopolitical context, many parents believe that English serves as a key language for economic and political advancement. The economic power of the English language cannot be ignored, as its power manifests itself through negotiating business and finance deals, conducting research, sharing knowledge, and to manage public relations, among many other functions (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Some studies in FLP have included parents who believe that maintaining the heritage language also brings advantages in future economic opportunities. For example, Park and Sarkar (2007) found that Korean immigrant parents in Canada maintained the Korean language for their children partly to "ensure them better future economic opportunities" (p. 232). Schwartz, Moin, and Leikin (2011) interviewed Russian-speaking parents who immigrated to Israel and enrolled their children in a Hebrew-Russian bilingual school. The researchers found that the parents "believed that English proficiency and bilingualism were keys to social and economic advancement" (p. 163). In other words, some parents believe that bilingualism, or child's learning of both the majority *and* the minority language, would contribute to their child's future success.

In Ren and Hu's (2013b) study of a Chinese parent's FLP, the participant felt that learning the Chinese language was a value-add, especially taking into consideration China's growing globalization. The parent remarked, "There is a big market in China. If Wendy [her

daughter] can speak Chinese well, there'll be more opportunities for her in the future" (p. 71). With China's influence as the world's second largest economy and the global leader in purchasing power parity (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), learning and speaking the Chinese language may have considerable influence for both immigrant and non-immigrant families.

According to Curdt-Christiansen (2009), for Chinese parents, instilling the language poses a specific role, as "a typical form of economic capital which can create financial opportunities and material wealth and bring economic advantages" (p. 363). In Lu and Li (2008)'s study of Chinese learners from a spectrum of language backgrounds, speakers from non-Chinese heritage backgrounds were found to be more instrumentally focused; that is, they focused more on the social or economic rewards that the language offers (Gardner, 1966) rather than studying the language for personal means.

Similarly, in Andersen's (2014) investigation of parental motivations for enrollment in one Chinese dual language school in Utah, most of the parents were from non-Chinese backgrounds and believed in more "practical" reasons for enrollment, such as the utility of the language in gaining access to a prestigious university, or as a path to a promising career. As one parent remarked, "I will be disappointed if, as an adult, my child does not use Chinese in his/her career" (p. 44). These examples of the types of dreams that parents would like to attain for their child contribute to what Piller (2001) refers to as "investment"—implying that putting down the groundwork for bilingual education now, specifically in learning Chinese, will yield a high return in future years.

2.6.4 Sociolinguistic Context: Chinese as a 'Beautiful Yet Challenging' Language

Sociolinguistic factors, similar to political and economic factors, are related to how people perceive a language and may include "sources for beliefs about what language is good/acceptable or bad/unacceptable" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, p. 37). As Padilla, Fan, Xu, and Silva (2013) write, children learning Chinese have an additional challenge compared to those in Spanish or French immersion contexts, in that the Mandarin language has a different set of phonological (tones) and orthography (strokes), which poses a difficulty for native English-speaking students.

In investigating non-Chinese parents' motivations for placing their child in immersion schools, Andersen (2014) cited the reputation of Chinese as being a difficult language. Some parents thought of the language as posing a "challenge" (p. 38) to their child, compared to other languages. One interesting finding in Andersen's study was the consensus that Chinese immersion programs were more challenging than immersion programs featuring romance languages, which was believed more strongly by parents who did not speak another language, compared to those parents who were bilingual in any language. While focusing on the Chinese language itself, one of the parents Curdt-Christiansen (2014) interviewed remarked on the "beauty" of the Chinese language as possessing intrinsic value:

> "Chinese proverbs and idioms, this is the beauty of the Chinese language. I think no other language in the world can match this beauty. In terms of Chinese, you can describe the whole story in just four characters. Which other language can do that? …I myself appreciate the beauty of the Chinese language, even though I am English-educated…" (p.

46)

The linguistic uniqueness of Chinese has also been cited in other studies as being a primary motivator for learning the language (Lin, 2013; Weger-Guntharp, 2006). As Lin (2013) notes in relation to perceptions of learning Mandarin, some learners felt that writing Chinese characters was similar to a "painting-like experience" (p. 153), echoing the parents in Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) study who compared the language to an art-like form. Learners revel in the fact that learning Mandarin is not like learning any other language. Law (2014) reveals, "For me, Chinese is such a beautifully poetic language with a rich history that it would be a shame to have it lost to the next generations" (p. 9). It would not be farfetched to say that many parents who enroll their children into Mandarin dual language immersion programs would also agree with Law's statement.

2.6.5 Interacting Social Factors

Harking back to Curdt-Christiansen's model of FLP, one must consider the political, cultural, societal ecology that affect and shape parental ideologies. Even though these factors are described separately, it is important to note that multiple social factors may contribute to parents' decisions, and these social factors may change in line with a more fluid approach to FLP. For example, a parent may place their child in a Chinese dual language school due to the belief that learning Chinese will set their child apart for economic success later in life; but they may decide to stay in the program because of the support and fellowship that the Chinese-speaking community affords. In this example, parents may enroll their child for socioeconomic reasons, and then later add sociolinguistic or other factors to their motivations for school enrollment.

As witnessed in Curdt-Christiansen's model, language ideologies of parents affect language maintenance, which Fishman (1968) describes as "the relationship between change (or stability) in language usage patterns… in populations that utilize more than one speech variety for intra-group or inter-group purposes" (p. 76). Whether a language is maintained or shifts from the minoritized language to a dominant variety (i.e. from Chinese to English) is due to both the language agents and the ways they interact with societal groups or institutions. For example, Pérez Báez (2013) found from a longitudinal study of bilingual speakers in Mexico and California showed that parents' belief that they could not control their child's language resulted in their child's language shift. The relationship between language ideologies and language maintenance as manifested in the FLP model demonstrates the close relationship between how parents view themselves in relation to their child's language learning abilities and the way the languages are manifested in the home. The next section addresses the second part of Spolsky's (2004) three-tiered language policy language intervention, or how speakers utilize language within the community, whether through management or planning. In the same spirit, I note the home literacy methods used in the domicile in describing the ways in which parents try to manipulate and achieve the "desired" linguistic behaviors.

2.7 Language Maintenance: Without Planning, There Is No Heritage Language

For many language minority communities, planning is an essential part of language shift and maintenance. Fishman (1991) writes, "Without intergenerational parent tongue transmission... no language maintenance is possible"; he continues, "That which is not

transmitted cannot be maintained" (p. 81). He adds that maintaining the heritage language throughout generations is relevant to the social wellbeing and health of the language in society.

In describing how families intervene in methods to speak or preserve the heritage language, Spolsky (2004) describes language maintenance as “direct efforts to manipulate the language situation” (p. 8). While Curdt-Christiansen (2014) relies heavily on Spolsky’s (2009) theoretical framework of language maintenance, she critiques the model for the lack of specific measures in measuring language policy. Instead, FLP scholars have integrated research from studies of home literacy environment and parental involvement of home-based literacy practices. Within an FLP context, language maintenance refers to the act of intervention in parents’ use of cultural or community resources to shape or form their children’s linguistic futures.

Piller (2001) notes a gap in the literature revolving around how parents organize language planning activities. She writes, “There is comparatively little consideration of [parents’] language planning activities.” (p. 65). Palviainen and Boyd (2013) mirror Piller’s statement and explain that “further work is needed regarding how parents shape family language policies” (p. 245). Much of the research revolving around Chinese parents focuses on providing tutors to supplement their child’s education (Ren & Hu, 2013a) and sending them to Chinese heritage schools on weekends or summers (Chen & Zhang, 2010; Wang, 2010; Zhou, 2009). The next section provides background as to what language practices look like within the domestic realm.

2.7.1 Home Literacy: Language Maintenance in the Domicile

Research on how parents engage with their child’s literacy learning reveals that Chinese parents are more likely to provide children with supplementary literacy practices at home, and are more likely to engage in daily literacy rich resources at home than Anglo-American parents (Chao, 1997; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). In the context of literacy learning in diverse,

multicultural settings, Au (1993) writes that literacy learning is a purposive effort that begins not in schools, but in the home. When it comes to literacy education, scholars cannot ignore the impact of at-home literacy education, especially since studies show that children's access to print-rich environment allows them to develop literacy in reading and writing (Neuman & Celano, 2001). Studies have shown that children's literacy is made richer when caretakers or other adult members of the family read books to their children or fill a home with print-rich materials (Burgess et al., 2002; Weigel et al., 2006).

The literacy outcomes are also prevalent for learning of the heritage language as well. FLP scholars, in mirroring these studies, "highlight the essential role that cultural artifacts and literacy activities play to provide continuity for intergenerational transmission and resistance to language shift" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 3). Within the home environment, parents practice various strategies for navigating their children's literacies. For a family, providing literacy-rich environments can involve the use of storybook readings, or coloring and drawing (Neuman, 1999). Curdt-Christiansen (2014) noted that half of her families interviewed engaged in "reading practices at home and visit libraries as part of the fabric of daily life" (p. 49). In this example, literacy in the heritage language becomes an immersive family experience.

Often, parents supplement home literacy by direct teaching of the language. Kopeliovich (2013) describes her own FLP strategies that she uses for her own children in the learning of Russian and Hebrew. Part of Kopeliovich's activities included the creative translation of literary texts in both languages and incorporated exercises that promoted their child's metalinguistic awareness. In strengthening their child's literacy skills, parents and family members can take direct measures to mentor their child personally, especially in homework help. Curdt-Christiansen (2012) details a grandparent who, convinced her granddaughter was not receiving

enough Chinese literacy, procured "commercially produced assessment workbooks" (p. 364) so her grandchild could practice extra Chinese exercises.

In studies evaluating parents' direct role in language maintenance, the unconscious daily activities parents do every day not only affect the input of the child's language learning but also shape their cultural and moral values. Liu (2018)'s ethnography of a Chinese American family integrated Chinese language through routine activities such as nighttime reading of the Bible. Even though the parents wanted to shape their children through a good Christian upbringing, the use of Chinese in a nightly Bible reading helped the child to form both a "bilingual and bicultural context and construct an identity of being a Christian Chinese American" (p. 29). Similarly, in Ren and Hu's (2013a) study, Chinese parents not only utilized storybook reading as a form of maintaining the heritage language, but also imbued those stories with moral values not found in Western fairytales.

Even though caretakers' intentions to improve their child's literacy may be planned, it does not preclude the heritage or minority language from being fun and engaging for the entire family. Doyle (2013) reported on the use of literacy games to aid Estonian-born youth in the learning of what the authors referred to as the "non-societal language" (p. 159). In Curdt-Christiansen's (2012) account of shared literacy among multiple generations, the grandparent turned reading of a Chinese book to her granddaughter into a game involving wordplay. The granddaughter not only actively participated but also initiated the riddle game with her grandparent, contributing to a shared literacy between them. In another example of language maintenance through shared intergenerational bonding, Ren and Hu (2013a) detailed an instance of a grandparent using television and radio to teach her daughter Hokkien, a Chinese dialect.

The use of media and technology have afforded parents more variety in maintaining the heritage language. Caretakers have sources of heritage language at their disposal, including language learning books and software, online dictionaries, websites, films, television, music, and video games (Doyle, 2013). The use of online social media, such as Facebook or WeChat, allows not only people to network in a shared language but also parents to share ideas and resources to maintain the language at home (Alexander & Weise, 2018). Parents have enormous agency in exercising control of languages through their choice in media, such as Kopeliovich's (2013) personal account of searching for movies such as *Harry Potter* or *Home Alone* in the parent's heritage language, Russian, rather than the societal language of Hebrew.

Often instead of relying on texts to supplement the minority language, families would create their own. Kopeliovich (2013) details her own family develop creative family projects in the Russian language: "simple Russian literary texts or on our family experiences: wallpapers and albums about our family travels, crafts or drawings illustrating the books, short home movies and puppet shows" (p. 11). The task of providing literacy materials gives parents an opportunity to be creative and inventive with their language maintenance strategies. For example, Kopeliovich (2013), approaching the heritage language as a social tongue, arranged a Russian-writing pen pal residing in Germany for her daughter in Israel. The author was able to use her connections with other friends operating with similar FLP at home to create a global network of support for both families. In the same vein, Alexander and Weise (2018) listed a personal example of how one of the authors "set up playdates and even arranged soccer pick-up schedules in Chinese, using Google Translate and texting" (p. 9). Given the context that FLP can be a huge undertaking, it is not highly unusual for parents to exercise flexibility and draw from their resources in order to provide meaningful language support for their children.

In a 2018 Chinese Early Language and Immersion Network (CELIN) briefing by Maquita Alexander, the Executive Director of Washington Yu Ying Public Charter School, a Chinese-English dual language school in Washington D.C., and Elizabeth Weise, author of *A Parent's Guide to Mandarin Immersion*, the authors recommend several suggestions for parents to maintain the language at home, especially if the parents do not speak the language. The authors recommend activities that guardians, regardless of language background, are familiar with, such as making sure their child completes their homework. The parents do not need to be fluent in Chinese; however, they could equip themselves with basic understanding or knowledge of Chinese and immerse their household with language-rich materials, such as songs sung in the classroom, and watching familiar cartoons or movies, but in Mandarin. Alexander and Weise's (2018) guide for parents brings up an interesting question about the ways in which non-Chinese heritage parents seek to incorporate the target language at home. Given the growing availability of Chinese materials, how often the parents utilize the resources, if at all, and what role does it play in their FLP? The role of non-Chinese speakers in maintaining Mandarin at home will manifest a more salient role in the chapters ahead.

Kopeliovich (2013) reminds readers that the work of parents in intervening in their child's language maintenance takes work and perseverance. The author writes that the child's maintenance of the heritage language should "not to be taken for granted: it has been carefully monitored and promoted by the parents" (p. 11). Parents' role in their children's language maintenance cannot be understated. Harking back to Fishman's assertion that without language link between generations, "no language maintenance is possible" (p. 113). I assert, similarly, without planning, there is no heritage language.

2.8 Language Practices: Language Policies in Real Life

Leading to the final linguistic factor in Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) model of FLP: while language maintenance refers to what is planned, language practices refers to what actually occurs. Spolsky (2004) describes the third component of language policy as its language practices as "what actually happens, the 'real' language policy of the community" (p. 5). Parental linguistic practices range from "the highly planned and orchestrated, to the invisible, laissez-faire practices" (Caldas, 2012, p. 352). For example, some parents choose strategies such as having one parent speak one language (the namesake of the popular One Parent One Language movement), only allowing the heritage or minority language to be spoken at home.

Curdt-Christiansen (2013), examined three families' language through actual utterances with examples of Chinese-ethnic parents in Singapore assisting in their child's homework help. While two parents made their language policies explicit, they both enacted language practices in different ways. One parent, Mrs. A, adopted a strict language policy in only using Mandarin in monitoring homework help, with a few points in English for making requests or to supplement a lesson. This parent used Mandarin at a high level of sophistication, providing "complex sentence structures, organizational ideas and decontextualized academic vocabularies" (p. 292). In contrast, Mrs. B. used more of a "move on strategy" (Lanza, 2004), providing Mandarin input but more often defaulting to English for clarification or requests. Curdt-Christiansen notes that the parent, unbeknownst to her, regularly accommodates to her daughter's language choice of English, "leading the family to establish a habitual mixed-code mode for communication" (p. 292). With Mrs. C, even though the homework revolved around Mandarin, the main language used was English, with Mandarin mostly used for names of characters or objects. This

observation revealed the parents adopted a more laissez-faire FLP at home, clearly preferring English over Mandarin as the default language at home.

In relation to Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) model of intervening factors contributing to FLP, parental background can have a direct role in influencing their language practices. Mrs. A, because of her awareness on bilingualism, made sure to instate a more regimented language policy at home that focused not only on the social but also academic vocabularies in both Chinese and in English. In comparison, Mrs. C, who bears an "English only" attitude (p. 292-93) transferred her language ideologies through practices, as she always allowed her child to code-switch to English as a marked choice (c.f. Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Language practices are very much a reflection of parental attempts to intervene in their child's language learning, while simultaneously serving as "manifestations of values, attitudes, and understandings of those who use them" (Cross, 2009, p. 30). Spolsky (2008) states that language behaviors and choices that make up social interactions and can vary from what varieties they use on a daily basis to "for expressing or concealing identity" (p. 5). In other words, a speaker's language practices evaluate how and to whom they use language. As demonstrated in the FLP model, the interactions of linguistic practices showcase not only the discourse strategies parents use with their children, but also how children accept or reject the FLP, which reflects their linguistic ideologies and their identity.

As a tie-in to earlier conceptions of children as socializing agents in FLP, Curdt-Christiansen's (2013) study showed how children can effectively negotiate language policies and whether consciously or not, can even influence their parents' language usage. Similarly, Gafaranga (2010) found that Kinyarwanda-French bilingual children in Belgium made "medium requests" (p. 241), a discourse interaction strategy whereby "children demonstrably push for the

adoption" of a language, in Gafaranga's case, the societal dominant language of French (p. 243). Such interactions show that children have an influence in their family's FLP and can be the key marker of whether it succeeds, or as the next section will detail, whether it fails.

2.9 When FLP Fails: Tensions with Language Maintenance versus Actual Language Usage

Parental language policies do not often go as planned. Curdt-Christiansen (2013) remarks that looking at actual language policies allows for "shedding light on the implicit and unreflective parental inputs that take place in families with 'undesirable' FLP" (p. 292). By "undesirable", Curdt-Christiansen refers to the language that is used, which may be dissimilar or aberrant to the kinds of policies that are set forth by parents. For example, she noted some tensions between a parent and a daughter who deviated from each other in their language use, which prompted the parent to explicitly recall the family's FLP:

> "When I talk to you in Mandarin, you should answer me in Mandarin. If other people talk to you in English, you need to answer him in English. Should use Mandarin only, or English only. In your sentence, half is Mandarin, half is English. I don't even understand what you are saying. If I don't understand English, what should we do?" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 289).

The author commented that because the parent did not use metalinguistic strategies or provide the child with enough Chinese linguistic input, her child's maintenance of Chinese appears stagnant.

Curdt-Christiansen's example, however, brings up another good point about the anxieties parents may feel about being the enforcer of FLP at home. With the parents placing so much

time and effort into language maintenance, a child's deviance from the heritage or minority language can feel like a personal affront. This instance of a parent showing disappointment and sometimes anger at a child, while considered a form of "destructive FLP" (Kopeliovich, 2009), is nevertheless understandable. Okita (2002) writes that the costs of raising a child to be bilingual can cause emotional damage for the parents, especially when parents feel they have failed.

When parents discuss their discourse interactions with their children, the ways in which they talk about their language can reveal internal struggles with maintaining additive bilingualism in a largely monolinguistic society. Curdt-Christiansen (2014) analyzed parent's evaluations of their children's Chinese language learning and discovered "the discourse choices related to Chinese language… reveal their concerns about and voice their struggle with the balance between Chinese and English in reality" (p. 49). The reality, unfortunately, is that despite parental beliefs and efforts to control language at home, they are not always sufficient enough to lead to the FLP that the parent desires or intends.

2.10 Moving Forward: Dual Language Schools as Family Language Policy

Given its already varied and prolific background for a new field of research, FLP becomes a robust lens for examining parental choice and motivations. The question of why parents want their children to learn the heritage language must account for parental choices and decision-making processes. My study seeks to understand how parents seek to maintain their language ideologies; their motivations behind school and language choice; their interventions, or the investments they make to maintain the language; and their practices, or the day-to-day linguistic habits and how they play out within their choice of a Mandarin-English dual language school.

In my study, I focus on parents and uncover their linguistic motivations and how their decisions are enacted through their FLP. Taking into account Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) model for interrelated components of both micro (parental background, home environment) as well as the macro (social, political, economic, and linguistic) forces of FLP, I contend that parent's choice of choosing dual language schools can serve as a form of family language policy.

This exploration will also tackle a gap in the research regarding the methods that non-Chinese speaking parents undertake for their child's language learning. I highlight the ways in which my study can reveal the traditionally "hidden areas of family life" (Kopeliovich, 2013, p. 250). More insight into FLP in the home can explore these triumphs and tensions, as well as elucidate other resources both native and non-native Chinese speaking families may have to support their child's language learning. As Palviainen and Boyd (2013) describe, FLP is "by its very nature dynamic and fluctuating and subject to renegotiation during the ongoing life of a family" (p. 225). Immigration issues feature prominently in the current political climate, undeniably affecting the ways in which families shape the languages they use. The U.S.'s current relations with China, has evolved from "tense standoffs to a complex mix of intensifying diplomacy," according to the Council on Foreign Relations (2018). Within this contentious time, examining bilingualism within the domestic realm provides an insight into how theoretical policies translate into everyday practical lives of individuals, families, and the community.

Chapter 3
Methodology and Research Design

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 presents the basic design for my research study. In following Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter, I investigate parental motivations for placing their children in dual language schools as a form of Family Language Policy (FLP). I start with my research questions that investigate the strategies parents use to support the target language at home. I outline my focus on how parents utilize their FLP through the use of a Mandarin Chinese-English dual language school. Then, I present how I recruited my participants, parents of children enrolled in a Chinese dual language school, and describe the location of my research, the Mid-Atlantic United States. Next, I outline my methodology of in-depth interviewing, introduce thematic coding and discourse analysis, and review how past FLP scholars have used these data analysis methods to make sense of the data. Relatedly, I explain how I analyze my data in accordance with reliability and validity measures and discuss my own personal subjectivities in working on this research topic. This chapter also presents an overview of the participants interviewed in my study.

3.2 Research Questions

As prefaced in Chapter 1 and 2, the growing popularity of Chinese dual language schools and families using Mandarin Chinese as a home language opens a new avenue of exploration: dual language schools as a form of FLP. Because parents' choice of dual language school is pivotal to the actual realization of language used at home, this type of bilingual education is an important mechanism that can contribute to a child's linguistic development. In light of the

connections between school choice and FLP, this study investigates the following two research questions:

QUESTION 1: What are the linguistic and educational beliefs, motivations, ideologies, and experiences of the parents whose children attend a Mandarin Chinese-English bilingual school? How do caretakers discuss their decisions regarding their experiences with their children's schooling and with respect to such factors as linguistic background and cultural heritage?

QUESTION 2: How do parents of a child enrolled in a Chinese dual language school discuss how they engage with Mandarin in the home? What are their types and levels of engagement? What do their insights reveal about explicit and implicit family language policies and practices and about their identities as parents of Chinese language learners?

To address these questions, I conducted a study that captures how parents become aware of the role that language plays in parenting beliefs and practices through their experience of enrolling their children in dual language schools. Within the backdrop of two Chinese dual language programs, the purpose of this study is to better understand the parental motivations that lead to parents' decisions to enroll their children in Chinese language learning and to determine their awareness of language policies. My qualitative study explores how parents discuss their strategies, whether or not parents actively use them at home. Further, I aim to illustrate the successes and failures of the family's language policy and how their school choice plays out in daily life. By interviewing parents, I uncover some of the visible and invisible language planning that takes place, in this case, among families living in the Mid-Atlantic United States.

3.3 Methodology

Scholars have employed a variety of data collection methods in order to uncover parent's FLP, including participant observation, interviews, ethnography, case studies, surveys, focus groups, and both researcher-based and parent-initiated recordings (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Among these data collection techniques, ethnography is common, especially when the researcher studies his or her own children (Fantini, 1985; Kopeliovich, 2010; Smith-Christmas, 2016). Interviews with caregivers are also popular (Norton, 2000; Schwartz et al., 2011; Yates & Terraschke, 2013) as are surveys about language use (Andersen, 2014; Ó hIfearnáin, 2009; Schwartz, 2008). A vast number of studies combine methods, such as Curdt-Christiansen's (2004) study of Chinese families in Montreal, where the researcher triangulated her methods with weekly visits, observations within the community, interviews with the parents, and recordings of parent-child interaction.

In my study, I used interviews to examine how parents discuss and reveal their knowledge of their child's language learning in Mandarin Chinese. The advantage of an interview, as opposed to other methods, is that it allows the researcher "to capture participants' lived experiences of raising multilingual children" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 434). In the vein of Curdt-Christiansen, interviews are a means of capturing those experiences, while being aware that they may not fully reveal the reality but formed or modified reality by the interviewee. Further, because interviews have been a verified tool in unpacking language ideologies (Laihonen, 2008; Young, 2013), I used interviews as a tool to encapsulate socio-cultural elements (such as the parents' background or the environment in which their children go to school) and how they influence the day-to-day decisions parents may make regarding their child's language learning.

3.3.1 The Focus of my Study

The central point of my study focuses on the ways that parents come to their decisions regarding school choice. Curdt-Christiansen's model (2014) as described in Chapter 2 informs my research in investigating parents' motivations, their awareness of policies, their experience in raising bilingual children, and the role of Mandarin in their children's futures. I also look at how parents explain their choice to their children and what rationales are behind their decision. Pivotal to their decision-making is what Moin et al. (2013) refers to as "cultural ideologies" or the ways parents "ground and explain their choice of bilingual education for their children" (p. 65). Part of these ideologies are their beliefs about their children learning in two languages, factors behind their school choice, and reconciliations between desired and actual output in both the societal and the home language.

While many studies in FLP conduct ethnographies and observations in examining home life, my study takes a slightly different approach in investigating those parental ideologies. I explored parents' knowledge of their child's FLP through how they discuss their motivations, as well as their strategies of enacting some of these language practices at home. Through interviews, I focused on the ways in which parents discuss their FLP. In discussions with parents, I evaluated how conscious parents are of their language strategies, as well as how they "jointly negotiate and create family/language values and beliefs through family discourse strategies" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 281). I examined how parents maintain Chinese in dual language schools and at home, and how they actively create values and beliefs regarding language at home. I referred to the discourses used to describe how parents refer to both the Chinese immersion school as their FLP and the strategies used in teaching or maintaining Chinese at home. I sought to examine how parents describe their level of involvement in their child's

language learning, how active are they in maintaining the language (what Schwartz et al. [2011] refer to as how parents "ground their strategies"), and how they envisioned their role in their child's bilingual development.

As found in the literature, my study looked at both motivations and "strategies" parents use to support their children's language development. Schwartz et al. (2011) refer to "strategies" in lieu of "policy" (in Family Language Policy) because the term "strategies" "denotes long-term plans of action and genuine efforts designed to achieve a particular goal" and furthermore "denotes long-term plans of action and genuine efforts designed to achieve a particular goal" (p. 150). Relatedly, parental discourses have been used to refer to "parents' extended verbal representations of their language strategies to promote children's bilingual development" (p. 152). In light of Schwartz et al. (2011)'s framing, the ways parents construct their FLP may be less of a "policy" and more centered around the "strategies" they use to support their children's language development.

3.4 Data Collection

In order to engage with the community, I reached out to the principal and teachers at both institutions to introduce my study and role as a researcher. My plan was to engage with administrators of the school, so they might serve as advocates for my study. Then, through a school listserv, I sent an email invitation to the Parent Teacher Association, asking parents to participate. From the pool of volunteers, I recruited via snowball sampling, where participants nominated other individuals in their social network.

My study consists of purposive sampling of 21 parents, which aligns with Hennink et al.'s (2017) findings on the range of participants needed to develop "a richly textured

understanding of issues" (p. 591) until researchers reach saturation. I included both parents in my study, also including parents interviewed together and some parents interviewed separately, depending on the parents' preference.

The criteria for participation in my study was that participants identify as a "parent" of a child attending a Mandarin dual language program. My study featured one Mandarin language strand and one dual Mandarin-English language elementary school (kindergarten through fifth grade). The reason for focusing on the elementary level was twofold: first, the availability of dual language programs extending into middle grades and high school is rare. Second, the younger the children, the more recent the parents have made their decisions regarding school choice, adding to the accuracy of the information they share during interviews with me.

In my study, I drew from a diverse pool of perspectives, in line with the current trends in FLP of a "broader sociopolitical concern that emphasizes sociocultural values and power relationships among speakers of different language varieties" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 436). As revealed in Chapter 2, recent studies on FLP have moved beyond traditionally Western and privileged backgrounds to include various perspectives from "non-Western, non-middle class, socioculturally and socioeconomically marginalized, and understudied transnational families, as well as those in indigenous and endangered language communities" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 425). The types of parents have extended beyond traditional nuclear families to examine non-traditional families, such as single parents or LBGT parents. While I attempted to include more diverse perspectives from these families, my study consisted of families that had one mother and one father. However, my study did feature one parent of a Chinese adoptee, in consideration of studies of parents intentionally enrolling their adopted children in community language programs

in order to provide a linguistic connection to their biological heritage (Jacobson, 2008; Shin, 2014).

Because the decision for enrollment in a Chinese dual language school serves as a form of FLP, the parents themselves do not need to speak Mandarin Chinese, and they may possess different language backgrounds. For example, Curdt-Christiansen's (2016) study of three Singaporean families featured three language heritage backgrounds, Tamil, Malay, and Hokkien, and conflicting language ideologies; but all families shared in their selection of a Mandarin-English preschool. Similarly, in my study I refrained from setting any requirements for or restrictions on parents' native language so as to allow for a variety of insights. My goal was to interview parents from different racial, ethnic, class, linguistic backgrounds to investigate the many varied motivations and experiences parents may have for enrolling their child in a dual language school.

I interviewed each parent individually for close to 90 minutes, in line with research that suggests that an hour and a half is the "optimum length for a qualitative research interview" (Elliott, 2005, p. 32). I conducted the interviews as long as parents allowed, while still being respectful of the parents' time. I recorded the interview on an audio recorder and jotted down major points as necessary during the interview. I took notes immediately following the interview, when my memory was fresh, so I could pay more attention to my interviewee. For the parents who chose to partake in my study, I presented them with a $20 gift card and Mandarin children's books to thank them for their participation.

3.4.1 Location: The Mid-Atlantic

As addressed in Chapter 1, the majority of Mandarin-English dual language schools in the United States are located on the West Coast, owing to the long history of Chinese settlement

in the region. The East Coast has had a more recent history of Chinese settlement, especially in the Mid-Atlantic, the region that stretches from New York to Virginia. Over the recent decades, the Chinese population in the Mid-Atlantic has witnessed displacement and migration. While Washington D.C. used to have a sprawling Chinatown, most of the local Chinese residents have relocated to the suburbs, as a result of gentrification (Wang, 2015). A similar story also exists in Baltimore, which historically hosted a sprawling Chinese community—one now completely gone, save for a block featuring a dilapidated dragon mural (Scharper, 2008). The surrounding areas of Baltimore and Washington D.C. feature pockets of Chinese communities, however, and the region itself is growing; the Baltimore–Washington metropolitan area boasts one of the most highly educated resident populations that also has one of the largest incomes in the country ("Economic Alliance of Greater Baltimore", 2019). In line with these trends, the study participants all had high educations and incomes.

3.4.2 Participant Recruitment

In order to engage with the community, I sent invitations for my research to the school PTA listserv, asking parents to participate in my study. Going through the school connected me closer to the network of parents and also legitimized my study for recruitment. From my pool of willing volunteers, I recruited via snowball sampling, where participants nominate other individuals in their social network until the selection of participants builds up like a snowball. At the end of every interview, I asked my participants if they know anyone who would be willing to also partake in an interview. This method has been proven to be effective in other studies, such as that of Gates and Guo (2014) who examined British-Chinese parents' perspectives on the choice of secondary school and utilized snowball sampling in order to garner a mix of both professional and nonprofessional working parents.

Using multiple pathways for recruitment allowed me to gain a variety of different perspectives. In accordance with Institutional Review Board procedures and the policies mandated by UMBC, I sought approval and consent from the school and from each parent participant in anticipation of data collection, in addition to the policies mandated by UMBC.

3.5 Using Interviews as a Tool of Inquiry

Because I was interested in learning how parents "discuss" their planning decisions and at-home policies, I relied on in-depth, semi-structured interviews ranging from 60-90 minutes to guide my research. Interviews are vetted means of investigating identity construction and group affiliation (Widdicombe, 1998). Similarly, Li (2000) writes that interviews are a popular instrument to analyze language attitudes and ideologies. Further, as Schwartz (2010) underscores, "the importance of interviews cannot be over-emphasized because they provide a sensitive method for understanding the processes taking place within the family" (p. 185).

I started my meeting with parents by completing a survey located in Appendix B, featuring demographic questions about their child. From this survey, I sought information on the child such as grade level and age. The reason for inquiring about the amount of time the child spent in the school is influenced by longitudinal studies that reveal that children enrolled in dual language program tend to make more language gains the longer they are enrolled (Ramirez, 1992; Thomas & Collier, 2012); this factor would account for parent satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a school.

In adopting Andersen (2014)'s survey, I also asked questions about the parent's language background and ethnicity. I investigated the fluency the parent has with the Chinese language, the typical settings in which Chinese is spoken, and the parents' familiarity with the Chinese dual

language school. These questions helped to assess the parents' level of interest in and motivation toward their child learning Mandarin. However, it is worth noting that many of the parents did not have any familiarity with (or may have limited knowledge of) Chinese or Chinese-speaking regions, as noted in Andersen's (2014) study.

The next part of my interview protocol were questions adapted from Curdt-Christiansen (2014). I investigated parents' perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes toward Mandarin Chinese by asking questions about how parents' language backgrounds affect their school choice, and how much the actual language of Chinese factors into the parents' decisions. I also allowed the parents to envision their child as a Mandarin speaker in the future and where they believe their child's language will take them.

My interview examined language maintenance and how Chinese is maintained through FLP, the dual language school. One theme that Curdt-Christiansen (2014) discovered through her interviews with Singaporean families is that "the parents' perception of languages is the linguistic instrumentalism revealed in their conviction of the bilingual policy" (p. 45). That is, how useful parents believe the language is due in large part to the policy set by the institution; in her case, the government of Singapore. Additionally, what Curdt-Christiansen found particularly enlightening during her (2014) study is how some tensions parents had with raising their child bilingually were revealed, including the tussle between cultural intentions and pragmatism. My study looked at a different aspect of language policy, through the institution of the dual language school—how parents interacted with the school's teaching of the two languages—in order to examine parental linguistic discourses in their maintenance of different languages in light of their FLP.

In order to focus less on the specifics of one school, my questions were focused more about dual language schools as a whole. Some scholars may caution against asking questions that

are too general. Mason (2002) notes that when asking general questions, interviewees usually ask the interviewer to clarify or to contextualize the question. In these cases, it may be helpful for the researcher to offer a vignette to "help ground interviewees' views and accounts of behaviour in particular situations" (Bryman, 2012, p. 479). In particular, I asked parents to offer advice to another parent who may be struggling with helping their child because they do not understand the target language. Further, in presenting what might be a difficult topic, the researcher can illustrate realistic scenarios to elicit responses to participants' perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes, especially regarding sensitive topics (Hughes, 1998). Along this line, I presented what may be a controversial topic regarding a real-life tension among parents to learn Chinese (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Weise, 2014), and asked parents to comment.

My interview also examined language practices in the home. In this section, I teased out parents' experiences and any challenges families may face regarding language maintenance in the home. To do so, I asked general questions about what practices parents use to guide their child's language choice and clarify instances where there may be multiple codes spoken in the home. As Elliott (2005) emphasizes, "the need to ask open-ended questions in everyday language that address the interests of the interviewee rather than the sociological interests of the researcher" (p. 35). For example, while I was familiar with terms endemic to FLP, such as "language maintenance" or "codemeshing", many of my participants may not understand their meaning.

The next part of my demographic questions investigated the parents' background including marital status, income, and level of education, and interactions with Mandarin and travel to Chinese-speaking countries, their child's enrollment, and a basic history of their decision to apply to a Chinese-English bilingual school. These demographic questions were

adapted from Andersen (2014)'s survey for parents and used to gauge parental motivation and decision making for a Spanish dual language school. Asking demographic questions provided insight into parental background, especially themes related to ethnic and racial backgrounds of the parents.

In the last section of my interview protocol, I addressed language practices used in the home, which are also adapted from Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) model, examining how children choose to comply with or resist the FLP in the household. I also incorporated questions from Doyle's (2013) study, which investigated multilingual families' FLP in Estonia. Through the use of in-depth interviews, Doyle's protocol delved deeper into the rationale and ideologies behind the participants' FLP. Among Doyle's questions were those investigating the challenges parents encounter, the place and status of the home and the societal language, and the future outlook for the language for the children after they graduate from their school. My study investigated what constitutes FLP in the home and how Mandarin Chinese, the non-societal language, is encouraged or promoted. My goal was to examine how parents discuss their FLP used at home, and how a dual language school fits into their scope of FLP. In line with my research questions, I aimed to discover what FLP looks like for parents of students who attend a dual language school in the Mid-Atlantic region and their language practices at home.

To facilitate my interviews, I opted for a semi-structured interview style, which allowed me the support of a set of prepared questions to use as a guide, but also the flexibility for the interviewer to deviate from the guide if the conversation steers in another direction. Because the focus was on the participants' responses, this type of interviewing allowed for more freedom in the procedure, allowing the space for new themes or exploration of old ones to emerge. This type

of interviewing was used in Schwartz et al's (2011) interview with parents of a bilingual preschool.

3.6 Data Analysis: Thematic Content Analysis & Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section, I describe my methods for coding and analysis, thematic content analysis, a top-down approach to analyzing themes, and Critical Discourse Analysis, a method for examining how language is used in sociopolitical contexts. For transcribing and analysis, I will detail the use of NVIVO, the software data used in coding themes. Lastly, I describe how the combination of these methods is used to triangulate the data.

3.6.1 Thematic Content Analysis

To understand the FLP, I utilized a thematic content analysis to code through the semi-structured in-depth interview. Although analyzing data for themes has been a staple for qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2006), few scholars have provided a comprehensive definition of this method. Hatch (2002) describes thematic content analysis as the following:

> "organising and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories. It often involves synthesis, evaluation, interpretation, categorisation, hypothesising, comparison, and pattern finding" (p. 148).

By segmenting the data by predetermined themes, researchers can organize the data in order to "make sense" of the research. Maseko (2016) puts it another way. She writes, thematic data analysis is the "retelling of the story through meaning making" (p. 127). By sifting through the themes, a researcher is able to spin a shared common thread amid the abundance of data.

FLP scholars have also used thematic coding as a method of collecting and analyzing data. For example, Piller and Gerber (2018), in a corpus of online discussion board posts by 15 parents posting in an online bilingual forum, focused their analysis on themes related to beliefs and practices regarding bilingual parenting. By using the deductive method with already established codes, the researchers could more accurately "account for themes not explicitly stated in the data" (p. 5).

In my study, I utilized a top-down thematic analytic approach, which is used to describe, categorize, and analyze interview data according to the conceptual framework informed by Curdt-Christiansen's underlying factors of FLP (2014) model (as noted in Chapter 2, Figure 1). For data analysis, I utilized Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) conceptual model as a framework for thematic coding. In my data, I coded responses for themes such as the political, cultural and economic and linguistic factors that underlie parental language ideologies, their expectations and aspirations for their children's language use, and their thoughts toward their child's dual language school.

Interviews were transcribed and then analyzed through multiple rounds of coding and categorization through NVIVO, the software data used in coding themes. These themes focused on parents' linguistic background, attitudes and ideologies, motivations regarding schooling, and how they conceptualized themselves as parents of Mandarin learners. Then, coded data were re-grouped to examine the specific family language policies for their children. The re-organized data were inductively analyzed for themes or recurring patterns that indicated connections between parents' backgrounds and parenting styles and their language practices at home.

3.6.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a popular tool used by FLP scholars to describe the processes by which FLP is co-constructed and used to describe everyday life within families (Cashman, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Li, 2005; Gafaranga; 2010). In FLP studies, discourse analysis is frequently used as an instrument to capture the construction of FLP in everyday life. Discourse analysis can uncover deeper elements than just a person's speech, and "how such things as identity, attitudes and relationships are presented, understood, accepted, rejected or changed in the process of interaction" (Li, 2005, p. 382).

In linking discourse analysis to FLP, Curdt-Christiansen (2013) evaluated three families' interactions with the heritage language and divided the parental policies into three types of FLP: 1) highly organized, when parents actively dictate and structure rules regulating which languages to speak at home; 2) unreflective parental adaptation, where parents may have some linguistic strategies but unconsciously, in the author's case, adapts to the societal language; and, 3) laissez faire, in which there are no set strategies and the communicator can choose whichever language they want to communicate in.

Harking back to the political context of dual language schools described in Chapter 2, I used Van Dijk's (2008) framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which looks at how discourse is tied to social power, especially how power is "enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions" (p. 84). In connecting CDA to parents, especially parents' understanding of their school's bilingual education, certain issues of power come alight. As Curdt-Christiansen (2014) asks in relation to Singapore's bilingual policy favoring English, "What are the consequences of the 'English-knowing bilingual policy?' And how effective is the bilingual policy with regard to developing bilinguals for socioeconomic and

sociopolitical participation?" (p. 52). Similarly, in the growing tensions between the United States and China, how do parents reconcile their children learning Mandarin? And on the other hand, how do Chinese parents view a dual immersion program featuring both Mandarin and English with the power of English in both socioeconomic and sociopolitical circles? Studies of parents' intentions and decisions regarding language choice are not only relevant to the family and nature of FLP but also to factors that affect social systems and institutions, such as the government and school structures. To answer the questions Curdt-Christiansen provided, she remarks, necessitates participation from "policymakers at all levels...to understand the power of languages in society" (p. 53).

As Van Dijk describes, "the most obvious and therefore most widely studied form of ideological expression in discourse may be found in the words being chosen to express a concept" (p. 270). Speakers' lexicalization, or the choice of words, is a common instrument used by scholars to reflect their desires. For example, in Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) study of Chinese-speaking parents of children enrolled in Singaporean bilingual schools, the author noted that the lexical choices that parents use to describe Mandarin, "advantages, communicate, easily, asset and opportunities" (p. 45) describe the language as a commodity. At the same time, other parents' discourse choices in describing Chinese as "fail, ha-ha, at the expense, in favor of, and don't mind" (p. 49) reveal parents' concerns of their children's language learning. As shown in the study, the way that parents discussed the value of learning Chinese reveals their linguistic attitudes and beliefs.

Examining the parents' projected histories for their children is also valid, in light of Holland and Lave's (2001) assertion that "futures, like histories, are constrained and shaped by lived experience that must be taken into account. Perceived realities of school as a projection of

their children's futures and where bilingualism will take them" (p. 328). In other words, a discourse analysis of how parents talk about their child's language learning revealed the differing values they may hold for those languages, the tensions that come with placing their child in a bilingual school, and where they envision the role of these languages in their children's futures.

Lastly, by having parents discuss their interactions with a given language, they framed their own beliefs and interactions rather than my serving as the "expert" on the topic. For my study, I was particularly interested in how the parents describe the value of the Chinese language, especially in relation to the competing value of learning English. For this reason, I used CDA to examine the power relations among languages in the intersection of race, gender, class, especially how these intersections fare in educational decisions revolving around school choice.

3.7 Study Reliability and Validity

One way I maintained the reliability of my study is to triangulate my data analysis with the use of both thematic coding and discourse analysis. According to Johnson (1992), triangulation "reduces observer or interviewer bias and enhances the validity and reliability of the information" (p. 146). Having dual methods of analysis— discourse analysis and thematic coding— allows complementary tools to examine the criteria. In line with the research, I reviewed my code multiple times: first, through a systematic review of the discourse through pre-set themes; the second, from a Critical Discourse Analysis lens, which is crucial to my study because it moves the relevance of the research beyond just the shared themes among parents and explores the social implications of their motivations.

The second way I maintained reliability in my study is through multiple rounds of cross-checking. In a study on bilingual parenting featuring 24 parents, King and Fogle (2006) utilized 30 conceptual categories, which were later "created, expanded and refined throughout the multiple rounds of coding so that they emically 'fit' the data" (p. 700). King and Fogle's study demonstrates the need to continually revisit the predetermined themes as a type of quality checking. As Creswell (2009) reminds researchers, data analysis should be an "ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study" (Creswell, 2009). Throughout my study, I regularly checked the themes to see if predetermined nodes still fit the data and kept a journal to take notes on these changes.

To maintain validity of my study, I followed the advice of Schultze and Avital (2011) in "grounding the interview in participants' own experiences" (p. 5), asking questions that only the interviewee would know the answer to. Schultze and Avital (2011) recommends researchers define "an explicit framework for guiding the participants to articulate and interpret their experiences" (p. 5). To uphold transparency, I shared my interview protocol with the study participants before the interview, so they had time to think over their responses. Having access to the questions prior to my interview not only puts the interviewee more at ease but makes the responses richer and the interview more valid.

Regardless of these measures, the main objective of my research is to examine how parents discuss their choices and motivations. Rather than harping on the factual reality of the statements from my interviews, "these narratives cannot be dismissed as one-off fabrications constructed to satisfy the interviewer; instead, they are variations on the socially constructed accounts that people give every day as they make sense of their world" (p. 5). The larger goal of

my interviews was to acknowledge and give credence to participants' retelling of their stories, and to affirm the experiences of parents in my study.

3.7.1 Researcher Positionality

A researcher's positionality plays into the types of research questions that are asked and how the researchers interpret their findings (Kleinsasser, 2000). Valdez, et al. (2016) state, "research bias does not come from having a position, but rather from not acknowledging one" (p. 608). Thus, revealing positionality allows the researcher to "unmask any bias that is implicit in those views" and "provide a way of responding critically and sensitively to research" (Griffiths, 1998, p. 133).

One of my principal subjectivities as a Chinese-heritage individual is that I truly want dual language schools to succeed. As a former ESL student and a current ESL teacher, I have observed how language minority students learn early on that their native languages do not matter in the classroom or in society. As a TESOL scholar, I know that the rate of assimilation to English is occurring at a rapid rate in the U.S., resulting in many minority language speakers not being able to speak their heritage language (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2001; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2005).

Another subjectivity I have as a researcher is that though I am ethnically Chinese, I do not speak Mandarin. However, this did not prevent me from being able to conduct interviews, as many of the parents in my study also did not speak Mandarin. Additionally, I saw my native language, Cantonese, and cultural background as an asset in my research. Not only did this connect me with other Chinese-heritage individuals, but I believed my positionality as a heritage-speaker of a non-official Chinese language provided me with an interesting perspective. Li Wei (2000) in his study of Chinese-speaking residents of Tyneside, U.K. reminds researchers, there is

"no ideal candidate for carrying out bilingualism research" (2000, p. 439), regardless of linguistic expertise or background. Being culturally Chinese, I can be both an “outsider” as someone who does not speak the language and an insider as someone who is culturally Chinese. Moreover, studies in intercultural communication and discourse reiterate that mastery of the language is not needed to elicit good data. Instead, it may be more appropriate to underscore that effective communication does not rely on mastering fluency of language but rather communicative pragmatics (Canagarajah, 2008). Further, Trudgill (1974) writes that within research on language varieties, it helps to be a member of the nonstandard linguistic group to reveal details that might be overlooked. Put another way, Zentella (1997) contends that the closer the researcher is to the group, the more they may take everyday actions to be significant. Relatedly, being a member of the Chinese diaspora lent me cultural, if not linguistic, insights, allowing me to be both an insider and an outsider.

3.8 Participant Profiles

In this section, I provide an overview of all the participants of the research. Appendix A provides a full list of parents, including demographic information and language abilities. This study features 21 parents from two schools: three parents who enroll their children in a partial Mandarin immersion program located in a traditional school, Panda Elementary, and 19 parents whose children currently attend or recently attended a dual immersion Mandarin-English immersion program for a charter school, Dragon Academy. The names of both schools are pseudonyms. Dragon Academy is an elementary school that serves two levels of Pre-Kindergarten (Pre-K3 for students aged three years old and Pre-K4 for students aged four years old) to fifth-grade students. Panda Elementary is a public school where parents "opt-in" to the

Mandarin Chinese program. The students spend half the day in Mandarin and half the day in English; further, math and science subjects are taught in Mandarin, while reading, writing, and social studies are taught in English. Dragon Academy is a public charter school with a lottery (those implications of which are discussed later in this chapter).

I included parents whose children have recently matriculated into the local middle school for two reasons: the first is that these parents can accurately speak about the dual language elementary school as a more holistic experience; the second is that they could feel freer to discuss the school now that their children do not attend it. This also gave me the opportunity to include perspectives from parents who have or who were considering withdrawing from the school to describe their educational experience. Table X demonstrates a quick overview of the parents' ages and education in my study.

Participants' Demographics			
		Mothers	*Fathers*
Age	Mean	44.8	46.9
	Range	39-52	42-57
Education*	Four-year college / undergraduate	4	3
	Post-graduate degree	11	3
Mandarin ability	No ability	8	5
	Can speak the language somewhat	4	1
	In the middle	3	0
Traveled to a Mandarin speaking country		9	5

Table 1. *An overview of participants' mean ages, education levels, Mandarin ability and experience*

Twenty-one parents participated in audio-recorded in-depth interviews for the study, consisting of 15 mothers and six fathers. The limited number of fathers was in line with

historical trends where "mothers are generally more available to researchers than fathers" (Tamis-LeMonda, Baumwell, and Cabrera, 2013), although fathers have been shown to impact children's linguistic trajectories (Costigan & Su, 2004). In most cases, parents were interviewed individually, although, in three instances, I interviewed participants alongside their partners. In these cases, the interviewees felt that their partners, who were all of Chinese descent (two fathers, one mother), should be included because they would provide more insight into their school choice motivations. All participants were currently married at the time of recording, except for one in a domestic partnership. Sixteen interviews took place in person, with five interviews that shifted to online via Webex or Zoom video conferencing due to the COVID-19 pandemic. All names are pseudonyms.

All 21 participating parents lived in a Mid-Atlantic metropolitan area, and all had household incomes of over $90,000; this income level is not surprising given the regional statistics regarding residents with post-graduate education and high earning incomes, as stated earlier. All participants had at least a 4-year undergraduate degree, with 14 possessing an advanced graduate degree. As shown in Table 1, more mothers attained an advanced graduate degree than did not, while the fathers were split 50/50, half having pursued a four-year-degree and the other half having obtained advanced degrees.

The mean age of fathers was slightly higher than the mothers. By comparison, the parents in this study were a decade older than the parents in King and Fogle's (2006) study of parents who enrolled their children in a Spanish-English DLS. The parents' ages were consistent with the study because, while they had younger children enrolled in an immersion school or program, these parents also had older children who had matriculated out of elementary school and were

enrolled in immersion middle school and high schools. Participants' children's time spent at immersion schools ranged from less than one year to 12 years.

The participants represented a myriad of ethnic identities. Ten parents identified as non-Hispanic white/Caucasian, two parents identified as African American or Black (one of whom also self-identified as Latina), three identified as Asian American, three identified as Hispanic or Latino/a, and four were of mixed-race ethnicity (three of whom had one Chinese parent). Three participants also claimed Chinese ethnic or Asian spouses who were not interviewed for this study.

The parents represented a range of language and cultural backgrounds. Even though most parents spoke English as their native or first language, three spoke Spanish (one of whom also listed French), two spoke French, one spoke German, and one spoke the Taishanese dialect of Cantonese Chinese. As seen in Table 1, over a majority of the parents, 13, cited they had "no ability in understanding or speaking Mandarin at all," five mentioned that they "Can understand and speak the language somewhat," and three noted that they were in the middle of the two categories. No parent answered that they were a "native speaker" or had a "native-like ability in the language." Most of the participants (n = 14) have had experience in visiting a country or region where Mandarin was widely spoken (China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore), either visiting family, through business or personal trips, study abroad, or on an annual school-sponsored visit to China. For a full description of the participants, including age, race/ethnicity, language background, as well as the grade level and school of the focal children, see Appendix A.

3.9 Conclusion

This research project investigates the FLP of parents who choose a Chinese-English dual language school for their children. My study seeks to understand how parents seek to maintain their language ideologies, interventions, and practices within their choice of a Chinese-English dual language school and in the domicile. By making family language practices more explicit, the data from my study can be used to inform educational stakeholders on ways to integrate school policies with home language practices. I intend for my study to influence educational policy and encourage such a growth of dual language schools in multiple languages. By studying themes in parents' linguistic attitudes, I demonstrate how parents can influence the recruitment, maintenance, and advocacy for students in bilingual schools.

Due to changing forces in migration and the tensions between English and languages spoken by immigrants, "interdisciplinary research into how family members continue or discontinue their family language practices in relation to the broader social and educational policy will continue to be welcome" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 436). In thinking about future goals, my research could inform policy regarding dual language education in the United States and further the goals of language revitalization pioneered by bilingual scholars before me. With the increasing interest in bilingual schools and Chinese as a global language, cultural identities will continue to remain an important language to study in its multifaceted, varied contexts. My study seeks to understand the real concerns of parents who may be nervous about enrolling their child and offer practical tips for language maintenance in the home. Overall, I hope my findings will shed light on parents' linguistic goals and hopes for their children, their motivations for wanting bilingual education, their sense of their own reasons for supporting the bilingual schools, and their role as parents of a bilingual child. Using tools vetted by FLP scholars, it is my

hope that these approaches to inquiry into parental motivation will enrich the dynamic field of FLP. The next chapter features a more in-depth look at who the parents in my study are, their linguistic and educational experiences, as well as motivations for enrollment in a Mandarin-English dual language immersion school.

Chapter 4
Parents' Linguistic and Educational Ideologies, Motivations, and Experiences

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents key findings and associated discoveries that emerged as a result of the in-depth interviews conducted for this study. I discuss the themes along with the analysis and synthesis of relevant literature. This chapter will address Part 1 of my research questions:

What are the linguistic and educational beliefs, motivations, ideologies, and experiences of the parents whose children attend a Mandarin Chinese-English bilingual school? How do parents discuss their decisions regarding their experiences with their children's schooling and with respect to such factors as linguistic background and cultural heritage? How do parents discuss their decisions regarding their experiences with their children's schooling and with respect to such factors as linguistic background and cultural heritage?

Guided by these overarching themes, this chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 discusses the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the parents themselves and how their identities as monolingual English speakers, bilingual non-Chinese speakers, or Chinese heritage speakers affect their identities and ideologies as parents of Mandarin learners—and how their FLP has intensified or altered their self-conceptions. Section 2 examines parents' linguistic beliefs regarding both Mandarin and English, drawing from and informing Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) model of the various contexts that shape ideologies—which explores how parents perceive bilingualism, language acquisition, and the impact of learning a language on their children's futures and describes how parents accept and reject aspects of Chinese language and culture. Section 3 delves into the motivations that underlie parents' educational beliefs, focusing

primarily on how parents negotiate their school choice in a highly competitive academic environment. Finally, Section 4 explores parents' experiences with and impressions of their child's Mandarin learning, examining both triumphs and struggles with their chosen FLP.

4.2 "I Call Them My Little Chinese Kids": Parents' Linguistic Identities

Central to exploring parents' varied and multidimensional ideologies and motivations regarding their children's linguistic and educational experiences and opportunities are who they are as individuals. Parents' identities shape their experiences of raising a bilingual child, whether the child does or does not speak a language they themselves also understand. As noted in Curdt-Christiansen's model discussed in Chapter 2, parents come from many different journeys and home backgrounds, which influence their linguistic trajectories. For the participants in this study, three categories emerged: monolingual English-speaking parents, multilingual non-Chinese parents, and Chinese heritage-speaking parents, as displayed in Figure 3.

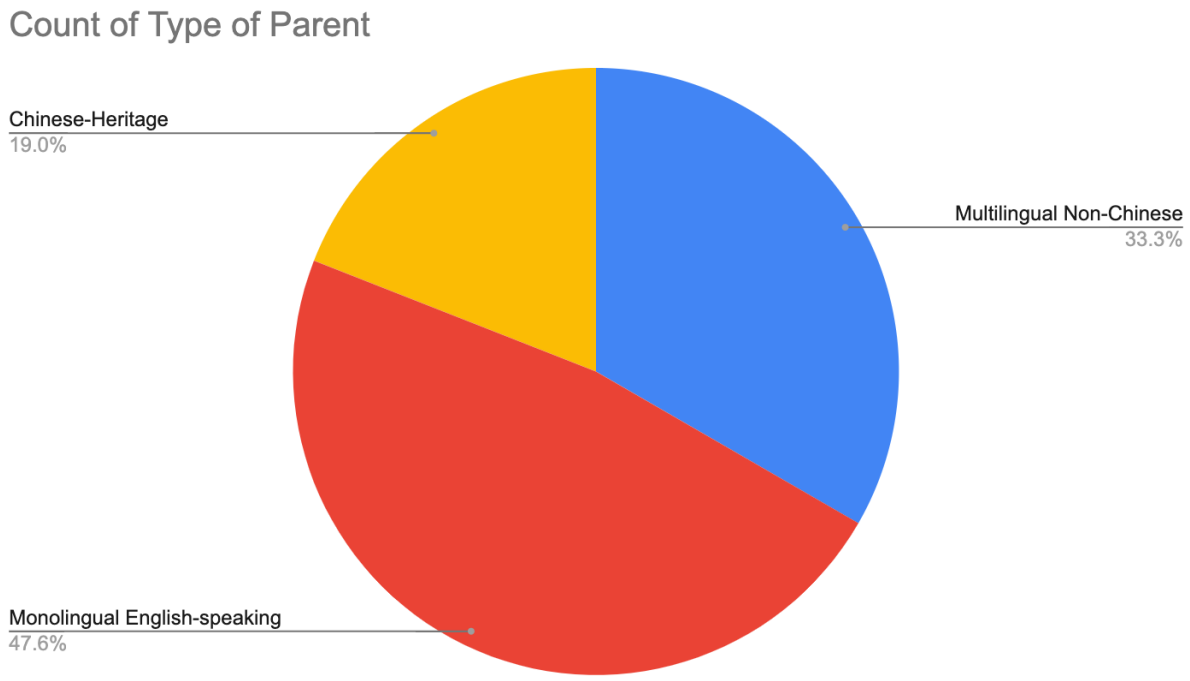

Figure 3. *Parent groups according to linguistic background*

As will be explored in subsequent sections, I discuss parents' own linguistic identities and experiences with language learning in relation to their own linguistic background. First are the monolingual English-speaking parents: they grew up not being able to speak another language and felt at a disadvantage as a result. Second are the multilingual non-Chinese parents (those who self-identified as fluent in two or more languages, but not including Chinese): they wanted their children to have the same opportunity to become bilingual or, in most cases, multilingual. Third are the Chinese-heritage parents: they had varying fluency levels in a Chinese language, and some of them claimed they no longer spoke the language. I separated these parents into their own category because those who have a Chinese ethnic connection may have a particular desire to maintain their cultural and heritage language. In the following section, I describe how each group of parents reflect upon their own language learning experiences in ways that inform their language beliefs and identities as parents of language learners.

4.2.1. Monolingual English-speaking Parents: Making up for a Lost Opportunity

About half of participants in this study—10 parents out of 21 (48%)—described themselves as not speaking another language fluently besides English and were also not heritage Chinese speakers. These parents speak at length about their background and lack of language learning and claimed this as a deficiency when entering the workplace or traveling worldwide. As Carol states, “I went to a very poor school in upstate New York, I barely learned any English. And it was a deficiency I felt as an adult in the workplace. I didn't have the extra language skills.” Carol reflects upon her monolingual English-speaking identity and wants to give her child employment opportunities and a chance to escape poverty; she sees learning another language as central to that prospect.

Like Carol, other parents are motivated to enroll their child in a dual language school to have more options than they themselves had had. For example, Mara discusses her linguistic background during her enrollment decisions. She expresses, “So, I felt strongly about wanting the kids to learn a second language. I did not want them to be English only because I am, and I wish I wasn't.” Mara reconciles her own linguistic failures through her children.

Some of the monolingual English-speaking parents also express guilt and regret about having not kept up with learning another language that they had been exposed to when they were younger. As Nina bemoans, “when I was younger, my mom was teaching me French. But you know, I complained about going to French school so often that she just stopped doing it. Now, man, I really wish she would have, you know, kept at it.” Perhaps one of the reasons Monolingual English-speaking parents like Nina stay on top of their children’s language learning is because they know they or their children may regret it later.

Jennifer, too, expresses regret, but reasoned that monolingualism was the norm during her upbringing:

> Jennifer: "When I was growing up, there was no Mandarin immersion school in South Florida and nor would my parents be sending me there. I think we live in a different world now. It's a more global world because you see people from everywhere, particularly if you're living in our city. But we were exposed to Spanish. I probably should have kept up my Spanish and I didn't. That's on me. Oh, I wish I could speak another language. So my children are not allowed to quit anything."

Reflecting upon her childhood, Jennifer recalls that the opportunities that she received as a child were scant, compared to the "global world" her children are exposed to. In her narrative, Jennifer may be referring to the changing demographics of immigrants in the United States, who bring with them diverse languages and cultures. She blames herself for her inability to maintain Spanish ("that's on me") but resolves that her children will not follow in her footsteps. Echoing Nina, Mara, and Carol, Jennifer's parenting choices are directly connected to their regrets, but for these monolingual English parents, their children could continue to carry out the futures they never had.

4.2.2 Multilingual Non-Chinese Parents: Citizens of the World

Seven out of 21 participants (33%), whom I call Multilingual Non-Chinese Parents, self-identified as speaking one or more non-Chinese languages with varying levels of fluency. Among these parents, four speak one other language that was not English natively.

Magaly, a speaker of Spanish, French, and Arabic, reflects upon her own experiences with schooling and recalls, "I grew up in international schools, and it was not unusual for kids to speak two or three or four languages, and they were fine." Magaly grew up in Spain, where being

multilingual was a natural occurrence. She comments that in other countries, it is “not unusual” for children to speak multiple languages, drawing attention to the context of language learning outside of the United States.

Another multilingual parent, Vero, had to count all the languages she had learned in order to remember how many she spoke. In addition to all the languages she speaks, Vero is starting to learn Mandarin as well, in order to supplement her children’s education. As she recalls:

> Vero: “French, Italian, oh well, [Mandarin] is my fifth now. And I know it is hard like I don't speak Italian, because I don't have anyone to speak Italian with. So I know you lose it. I also have been both inspired and a little bit disappointed by other kids that I have met, whose parents were who came from another country and spoke another language at home, but the kids didn't speak the language because the parents gave up. So I don't want that to happen.”

Similar to Potowski’s (2007) study of parents who enrolled their children in a Spanish dual language school who had witnessed first-hand language loss from other relatives, Vero bases her knowledge about losing a language on her own experiences with language learning. As an immigrant herself, Vero is “disappointed” by her children’s language erosion and as a result, includes their home language in their FLP. “I speak to my kids 100% in Spanish,” she remarks on her home FLP, while the children’s Mandarin learning at Dragon Academy serves as an additional opportunity for language learning.

Vero and Malagy are both parents who acquired additional languages and thought speaking different tongues was a normal phenomenon. In contrast, Bear, a father of a 9th and 10th grader and speaker of German, Czech, Spanish, and English, recalls how his multicultural background made him an online sensation. When asked about his linguistic background, he

beams, “So, there’s an article on the internet out there calling me ‘the citizen of the world’.” When asked what the article addresses, Bear describes the story of his unique immersion experience.

> Bear: “So one day I came home, I was 13, and my dad said, ‘So how’s your Spanish class going?’ I said, ‘I don’t have Spanish class.’ He went, ‘Oh, I forgot to tell you. I signed you up for Spanish class.’ And I was like, ‘Okay.’ So I went to Spanish class. And then three months later, he said, ‘So have you packed your bag? Your suitcase yet?’ I said, ‘Why? It’s the middle of the school year. Are we going on vacation?’ He said, ‘Did I forget to tell you that on Saturday you’re going to Peru, South America, to spend the rest of the school year in a high school in Peru?’ And I went, ‘Oh my God.’ And I hated him. But you know, he threw me into the cold water like this. And it turned out to be absolutely a life-changing positive experience for me. So this kind of radical immersion, I fully subscribe to it. You have to just jump.”

While Bear resented his father’s unusual plan to immerse him in Spanish, he eventually subscribed to the “radical immersion.” As a “citizen of the world,” Bear believes in immersion so much that he enrolled both of his children into DLS, albeit in different languages: his daughter attended Dragon Academy while his son was enrolled in the nearby German immersion school. Even though he did not speak Mandarin himself, Bear’s decision to enroll his daughter was partly influenced by his own experiences in which he had to “just jump.”

Nyikos (2014) writes that parents who sojourn to the United States for their children’s academic enrichment believe that “language learning for their children will be best achieved in an immersion environment, but also to invest in their children’s future global competence” (p. 20). Similarly, Bear's experience of his father moving him from Germany to Peru allowed him to

interact with a culture other than his own. Like the monolingual English-speaking parents, Bear expresses resentment toward his father but appreciates his unusual parenting for having resulted in expanding Bear's multilingualism.

Many of the multilingual parents reflect on how bilingualism opened doors to become a global citizen. For example, Frieda, a native of France, grew up speaking French as well as German, the language in which she conversed with her neighbor. She describes the utility of learning multiple languages: "Because it opens their brain to be more sensitive to a culture, to be communicated with another culture, another person, your neighbor, depending on the language... I feel like as a child, when I learned different languages, I loved just being able to understand what my neighbor John was saying." Freida learned to understand and relate to her neighbor by learning his language. As Curdt-Christiansen's model suggests, Frieda's language choice is influenced by connections to another culture and another person, which resulted in shortening the distance between her and her neighbors.

Similarly, Vero describes her goal of raising global citizens while discussing the fear many parents have when their child learns a language they do not speak.

> Vero: "I also think it's good because I think when you don't know something, you're afraid of it. I think Americans have a little bit of a problem with that, with understanding particularly Chinese [people], and I think my kids might one day help with that because they talk to Chinese people every day, they know that they are not from Mars. And I appreciate that."

In suggesting the perception that Mandarin speakers are "from Mars," Vero hints at the stereotype of Chinese Americans as "forever foreigners," or the notion that Asian Americans are "foreign" to the United States even if they or their family have resided in the country for

generations. She also suggests that their foreignness is possibly tied to the language, stating that "Americans have a little bit of a problem with that, with understanding particularly Chinese [people]." However, Vero believes that children like hers are key to reversing this trend, as learning languages could be the key to unlocking greater understanding between groups of people. As a result, Vero values raising global ambassadors who can interact with other people who may be different from them.

In particular, Vero happily accepts her children learning Mandarin. When asked how learning Mandarin influenced her family's life, Vero explains, "I call them my little Chinese kids. I don't worry that these are eroding either their American-ness or their Panamanian-ness; I think they have one more thing to appreciate." She has embraced that her children's language learning has become a part of who they are. The act of learning Mandarin has seeped into their identity so much that she gave them an affectionate moniker "my little Chinese kids," even though her children are not ethnically Chinese. Nevertheless, Vero believes her children are able to claim to be "Chinese" through the act of learning Mandarin, which does not take away from their other parts of their identity. Her children can also adopt the tongues of their nationality, American; their ethnic heritage, Panamanian; and now their language of their FLP, Mandarin.

Similarly, June, an African American mother who spoke Spanish, believes that learning Chinese becomes a value-add to her children's identity, rather than taking away from their African American culture. She explains, "Because we go to a Black church, so they're very rooted in African American culture. Their school actually has a lot of Chinese kids. And they have a lot of Asian friends. So I think for them it's just normal." June believes her children were "rooted" in their African American culture by their membership in a black church. At the same time, she believes it is "normal" for her children to be surrounded by Asian culture and thereby

possess a myriad of identities, just as it was natural for individuals to speak more than one language.

In summary, multilingual parents trust in their bilingual or multilingual experiences. While they do not think language learning is a unique experience globally, they recognize that their childhood may be different from what is often the case for children growing up in the United States, where the sociolinguistic and sociopolitical context is primarily English-centric. Multilingual parents may also be motivated by sociocultural decisions such as the desire to be global citizens or have their child understand people who are different from them. Whether they grew up learning different languages or were labeled a citizen of the world on the Internet, multilingual parents also value their child's adoption of Mandarin as a part of their own identity.

4.2.3 Chinese-Heritage Parents: Reconciling Language Shift through School Choice

The third group of parents, which numbered four out of 21 participants (19%), claimed Chinese ethnic heritage but were from various diasporic backgrounds. Lance's mother spoke Cantonese, Lin's father spoke both Cantonese and Mandarin, Kumquat's parents spoke Taiwanese dialect of Mandarin, and Yeow's father spoke Singaporean variety of Mandarin. Despite their varied heritage and home language varieties, these Chinese heritage parents chose a Mandarin DLS so that Mandarin could become a "surrogate language" for their children and provide a connection to Chinese culture (Wiley, 2005, p. 22). These parents also viewed their Chinese DLS as a form of language reclamation.

Lin grew up in the southern United States to a Chinese father and a Japanese mother. Growing up, her language of communication at home was English, but she was raised by her grandparents, who spoke to her in Cantonese. Part of Lin's reasoning for enrolling her children was so they could have an ethnic Chinese connection. She explains,

Lin: “I was super proud of him. Actually, it was so funny, because it was such a role reversal because my mom didn’t speak Mandarin. So I was the translator since I was four years old, between herself and my grandparents. And now, I find my kids doing that for me. It was kind of funny, like very ironic that that would be the situation now, even though I’m Chinese.”

Whereas Lin once served as an English language broker between her grandparents and her mother, her children can now speak to their grandfather, Lin's father, in Mandarin. Lin sees a value in Mandarin, once a forgotten language in her family, as a newly shared tongue across generations.

Other Chinese-heritage parents also discuss how language was central to forming positive social interactions with their family, thereby fostering their ethnic identity. Curdt-Christiansen’s model of sociocultural factors impacting FLP notes that parents may be motivated by ethnic and cultural ties to a language, even if they do not speak the language themselves. Other scholars also have drawn the connection to the maintenance of speakers’ native language with their ethnic identity (Baker, 2011; Gumperz et all, 1981; Tajfel, 1981). That is, identity is deeply tied to language and culture and is shaped by personal experiences, all of which can then translate into the choices that parents make for their children.

Lance, a father of a sixth-grader, discusses that one of his motivations for enrolling his child in Chinese was that he was "deprived" as a child at a young age. Lance reflects on his background of being a Chinese heritage speaker whose family spoke English at home.

Lance: "I remember as a kid asking my mom, you know, how can we learn Chinese? And she was like, well, we want to become more Americanized, we want to have an [American] accent. You know, we want to be able to fit in better. So, that's why we never

> learn Chinese. And especially because, like I said, you know, as a child, I was deprived of a second language, and I never thought about picking up, and was never pushed to learn a second language."

Lance's encounter with his mother choosing English over Mandarin parallels Ballinger et al.'s (2020) study in which he notes that immigrants to the U.S. must negotiate their own "individual FLPs compete with, interact with, or accommodate existing language policies" (p. 10) of their host countries. From these interactions with his mother, Lance learned at an early age that being an American and being able to "fit in" meant speaking English. Like the story of many families, Lance lost his native Chinese language based on his parents' desire for him to fully assimilate into the dominant American culture (see Fillmore, 1999).

Later, reflecting on his daughter's ability to learn Mandarin, Lance shares, "We're like, no, I don't speak Chinese, but my daughter does… And because I think as a parent, you want your child to be better than you. And so, in some ways, I try to encourage her, and I'm very proud that she's learning it." Lance notes how language can transform not only his daughter's life but his as well. In his case, he could reclaim his heritage language through his children. His deprivation from earlier is still evident ("I don't speak Chinese"), but he could reconcile with his language erosion through the language learning of his offspring ("but my daughter does"). Lance's FLP is where his own past and future come to meet.

As mentioned earlier, Yeow had a cathartic experience of his children meeting his family members in Singapore for the first time and conversing in the same language.

> Yeow: "You know, it wasn't sort of validating, it wasn't like I wanted them to be who I wasn't, but it was just neat to see that we brought these kids back from the U.S. I'm the

> only cousin who doesn't really speak Chinese, but my kids are, so it felt good to pass that on. It skipped me, so I can't say pass that on, but it felt good to give them that."

As an expatriate from Singapore to the U.S. as a young child, Yeow's separation from his close relatives also meant estrangement from his ethnic language. The trip to Singapore gave Yeow an opportunity to reintegrate his children with his family culture and involve the older generation as community support for the FLP. Like Lance, Yeow is not looking to replicate his childhood, stating, "it wasn't like, I wanted them to be who I wasn't." Rather, Yeow chose his FLP not in order to validate their own identity but to be a pathway for their children to formulate their own linguistic and cultural identities. He wants his children to develop their own agency and identity in relation to their new linguistic, social, political, and social worlds.

As a father, this moment of seeing his children interacting with his family in a language he could not speak is an experience that brings Yeow joy. Even though his original desire to enroll his children in a dual language school had more to do with the school's reputation and performance than language, he nevertheless feels rewarded by his experience with his family reunion in Singapore. As Palviainen and Boyd (2013) describe, FLP is "by its very nature dynamic and fluctuating and subject to renegotiation during the ongoing life of a family" (p. 225). Yeow, while originally drawn to the Mandarin immersion program because it was a "good school" came to appreciate the linguistic rewards that the program afforded his children. As the only cousin who did not speak Mandarin growing up, Yeow reconciles with his language loss through his chosen FLP. This narrative suggests that parental motivations are susceptible to change and that having the experience of Mandarin immersion as FLP itself can shape parental choice.

4.3 "When You Need to Access It, It's There": Parents' Linguistic Beliefs

Curdt-Christiansen (2009) defines language ideologies as "context specific and related to and interwoven with economic, political, socio-cultural and linguistic factors as well as parental educational experiences and expectations" (p. 355). These factors are illustrated in Curdt-Christiansen (2014)'s model featured below:

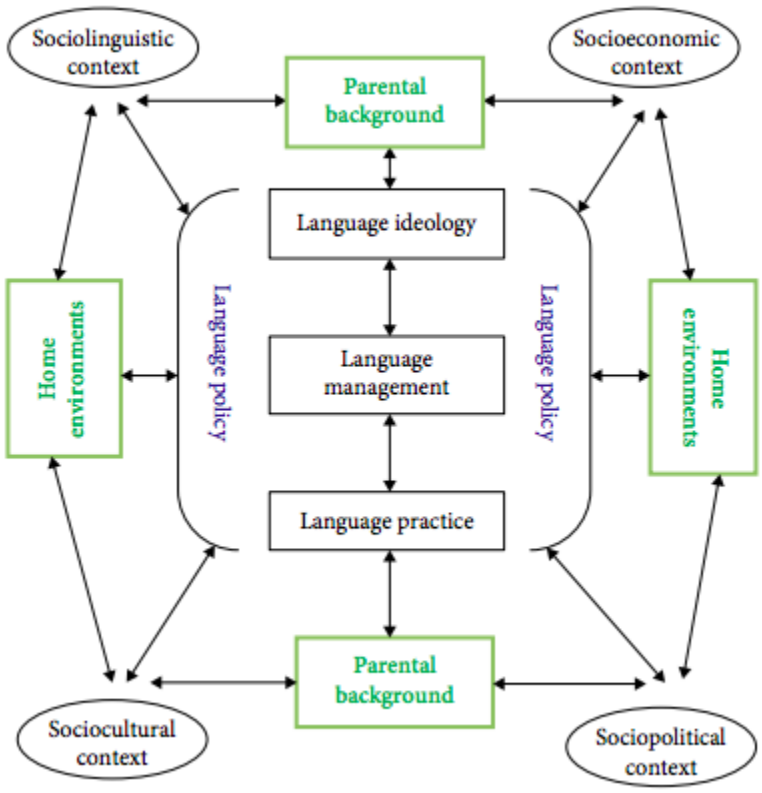

Figure 2. *Curdt-Christiansen's model (2014) of interacting factors or contexts that affect Family Language policy.*

As presented in Chapter 2, Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) model of FLP consists of four environmental factors that influence language policy: sociolinguistic, socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and sociocultural factors. *Sociolinguistic factors* are related to how speakers perceive a language, including language beliefs and attitudes regarding bilingualism, language

acquisition, and Mandarin as a language. *Socioeconomic factors* refers to the investments parents make for their child, especially in economic opportunities such as future employment prospects. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2014), "[the] Chinese language, as a result of China's growing role in world trade, has gained considerable power in providing access to economical advantageous job possibilities" (p. 38). *Sociopolitical factors* refers to "political decisions on language policies" (Curdt-Cristiansen, 2014, p. 38). In this case, I delve into how the political tensions between the U.S. and China may influence parents' decisions. *Sociocultural factors* "links to the richness and wealth of a shared past and to shared meanings, beliefs, values and understandings (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 339). Specifically, I look at how parents perceive Chinese culture, and how it may clash with their own parental identities. Taken together, these factors underpin parents' ideologies and beliefs, which influence their school decision making. In the next section, I unpack how these forces may play in parents' motivations for enrolling their children in a Mandarin immersion school.

4.3.1 "Chinese is a Very Difficult Language"

In this section, I outline parents' perceptions of bilingualism, especially focusing on the cognitive benefits. I describe how parents laud the advantages of learning another language. However, while some of these linguistic beliefs are grounded in research, others are inaccurate or exaggerated. While parents describe Mandarin as a challenging language, I explain how parents are also able to mitigate the perceived difficulty of the language. I detail parents' perceptions of the role of pronunciation in acquiring linguistic proficiency. While the parents' beliefs and attitudes reveal their motivations behind their enrollment, the participants' discussions also show how the parents' experiences of enrolling their child can influence their language ideologies.

Discussions with parents revealed their sociolinguistic ideologies, including parents' knowledge as well as misconceptions regarding language learning theories. Studies dating back to the 1960s indicate a period in age development when it is more opportune to learn a language with native-like fluency, following a Critical Period Hypothesis (Lenneberg, 1967). This theory, supported by a variety of linguistic and cognitive scientists, suggests that there is a "critical period" or a learning curve associated with learning a language with young children having more facility to learn a language up to puberty (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994; Birdsong & Molis, 2001). While there are instances of adults who are able to master a language, their acquisition of pronunciation and grammar is less likely to match that of a native speaker. In the present study, 10 of the 21 participants (47.6%) believed that children are better suited to learning a second language than adults. As Keri reasons, "we knew that learning languages was best done in childhood." The younger their children learn the language, parents feel the better they would be able to retain the language.

Expanding on parental beliefs about cognitive impacts of language learning on the brain, parents who are not bilingual speakers themselves are keenly aware of the literature that demonstrates that learning a language is cognitively beneficial for their children. Thirteen out of 21 participants (62%) mention how bilingualism impacts their child's "brain" in their interviews, referencing literature they have read or studied to deepen their understanding and also information from community members about bilingualism. For example, Lena discusses the role of learning languages in rewiring the brain. She states, "You know, from the different things I've read, learning a foreign language helps your brain to work and understand other aspects of life and academics as well." Lena drew on her knowledge from literature to form a positive perception of bilingualism, which motivated her to enroll her children in a Mandarin immersion

school. Similarly, Mara, a mother of two fifth graders, relies on her background as a child psychologist and provides a more specific explanation of bilingualism's cognitive benefits. She states, “being exposed to a second language is just really good for the synapses and the connections in the brain. And it's just really good for cognitive development.” Both Lena and Mara use the qualifier “good” to describe the linguistic impact of the brain (“good brain training,” “good in general,” “good for the synapses,” “good for cognitive development”) and speak effusively about the benefits. Curdt-Christiansen (2014) describes sociolinguistic factors that impact how people perceive a language, which may include “sources for beliefs about what language is good/acceptable or bad/unacceptable” (p. 37). From the perspective of these mothers, bilingualism is overwhelmingly positive.

Margaret, a mother of a second and third grader, also mentions the benefits but framed bilingualism in terms of child development. She maintains, “I think it’s like the building blocks of your brain when you learn two languages when you’re growing up.” Although not a second language speaker herself, Margaret is well-versed in bilingualism theories and consulted with friends on her school decision. As a result, Margaret is convinced that bilingual exposure (the “building blocks”) helps with cognitive development. Margaret’s concept of building blocks holds weight in research studies that show early language exposure establishes patterns that are stored in a child’s memory (Flege, 1991; Kuhl, 2010). Further, while comparing the differences between English and Mandarin, she adds, “And other people have also said that, like, [Mandarin] is pictorial and tonal is very right-brained, where English is so confusing.” In comparison to English, Margaret privileges Mandarin's more organized structure. Margaret’s perception of Mandarin is partially accurate in that studies analyzing cross-language differences in the brain network shows more activation in the right hemisphere for Mandarin speakers than for English

speakers, due to more processing in pitch in a tonal language (Ge, et al., 2015). However, the finding does not specify Mandarin as being "very right-brained." Further, many linguists reject the "myth that Chinese languages were predominantly processed by the right hemisphere" and challenge the notion that a pictorial language would be connected to cerebral image processing (Mair, 2016).

Some parents are so satisfied with bilingualism's cognitive advantages that they would be pleased even if their child decided not to use Mandarin in the future. Magaly explains that she viewed the act of learning a language as still enriching for cognitive development, even if the learner does not plan to travel to a country where the language is spoken or use it later. When asks if her child would continue to use Mandarin after school, she responds, "[learning Mandarin] is like riding a bike that even if you haven't done it in a long time, that it's easier to get up or like get that switch turned on in your brain, and hopefully, the Chinese is more connected." Magaly believes that her daughter is forming the cognitive "building blocks"—just as Margaret envisioned—even if she does not use the language later in life. Similarly, under this model, Lance, father of a 6th grader, believes that even if his child does not use her Mandarin, the language will remain imprinted. He states, "You might not use it again later on, but it's still there. And then when you need to access that, it's there." Like Magaly, Lance also believes that his child's youth lend her resiliency in learning a language and ease in retrieving the language after it is lost.

Magaly and Lance's theories on their children picking up the language after attrition may be oversimplified. While research on the re-acquisition of a heritage language is limited, Park's (2016) study of Korean-heritage adoptees shows that they had phonetic perception in their native language even when their speaking experience was interrupted for two decades. However, the

adoptees' retention consists of "phonetic and phonological features rather than more complex, higher order grammatical features" (p. 791). Further, comparisons to riding a bicycle may be exaggerated, as numerous studies show that maintenance of a language requires sustained attention. As Nyikos (2019) states, "The expansion of the child's cognitive capabilities requires a continuous and commensurate expansion in their vocabulary and complex linguistic structures used to encode increasingly complex and abstract thoughts" (p. 21). The lasting benefits of early language exposure may be more complex than either Magaly or Lance envision.

According to King and Fogle's (2006) interviews with parents whose children attend a Spanish-English bilingual school, "parents draw selectively from expert advice and popular literature, using it to bolster their decisions in some cases while rejecting it in others" (p. 695). In their descriptions of the cognitive underpinnings of bilingualism, parents in the present study not only draw from expert advice but also position themselves as experts, playing a direct hand in molding their young children's minds. Lena, Mara, and Margaret showcase their high levels of education by citing research-based academic studies or referencing neurological terminology in describing brain development. In particular, Mara refers to her career as a child psychologist as justification for her authoritative knowledge. Yet, in describing theories of bilingualism, parents also reveal some misconceptions regarding language acquisition. Margaret's theory of Mandarin's preponderance in the brain's right hemisphere and Magaly's and Lance's beliefs of their children's linguistic resilience after language loss both reveal that parents have internalized inaccurate information from popular media or their networks. These media and community sources, just as King and Fogle (2006) describe, help bolster parents' "reasons for raising their children bilingual" but provide "relatively little information about the processes and challenges of raising bilingual children" (p. 707). Thus, parents may be receiving information that is

inaccurate, oversimplified, or cherry-picked to portray a more glamorous view of bilingual education. The parents' responses to the cognitive benefits correspond to this perspective, as they were overwhelmingly positive. In fact, not a single parent mentioned any negatives when it came to the connections between the language and the brain, showing that the parents fully trust in the cognitive benefits of bilingualism.

Based on the belief that their child's language learning at a young age benefits the brain, a dual language immersion education presents parents with a chance to provide their children with a cognitively demanding education, regardless of the language. Moreover, parents are satisfied with their school choice because they view Mandarin as serving a crucial role—not only as an additional language to learn, but also as a particularly "difficult" one. Indeed, a common theme that emerged from how parents discussed their motivations was how "difficult" Mandarin is or what a "challenge" it is to learn. The same finding was reported by Andersen (2014), who cites non-Chinese parents' perceptions of Mandarin as being a "challenge" for their children (p. 38), compared to other languages. Parents may hold these beliefs because of the perception that the language poses difficulty to native English speakers. Phonological (tones) and orthographic (strokes) differences between Mandarin and English may pose a challenge for English speakers learning Mandarin (Hao, 2017). This may lead many parents to believe that Mandarin is more academically "rigorous" than English.

Of the 21 parents who participated in this study, seven (33%) refer to learning Mandarin as "difficult" and a "challenge" for their children.

> "Chinese was the most difficult, so he learned early on, and hopefully, that's going to stick with him." (Frieda)

> "And it's such a difficult language to learn that secondly, if she were to pick up anything else, like Spanish or French, a second or third or fourth language might come easier." (Keri)
>
> "And then I also, my thought process was that Chinese is a very difficult language to pick up as an adult. Most, many languages are always harder as an adult, but I think Chinese is particularly harder." (Maria)

All three mothers revere and value Mandarin over other languages because of its complexity. Maria and Frieda are both speakers of Spanish and French, respectively, and opted out of sending their children to either Spanish or French immersion schools because they reason that they could teach their children those languages at home; Mandarin would provide a different language learning opportunity, and a "difficult" one at that. Keri picked Mandarin because she believes that learning a rigorous language would set the groundwork for "easier" language learning later on, explicitly mentioning Spanish and French. These mothers contextualize Mandarin as a more advanced language, a gold standard for language immersion.

On the other hand, while some parents believe Mandarin was difficult, many also believe their children were gifted language learners who could meet the demanding challenges of learning another language. Carol describes her daughter's intellectual proclivities toward language learning: "So, our oldest daughter was very clearly extremely intelligent from day one. And we could tell right away that she needed to be challenged in school. And I felt that the extra language would keep her mind busy." Carol's reasoning reflects the high expectations she had for her child's learning. She bases her daughter's intellect not on school test scores but on her personal assessment. Sensing her daughter's need to be "challenged," Carol actively took control

of both her child's education and language development, determining that Mandarin would fit the bill.

Vero echoes Carol's same claims that her eldest child was an academically advanced student; according to Vero, her daughter was ready to read at nine months old. Vero recounts that while she spoke Spanish at home with her children, she decided to enroll her daughter in an English speaking Montesorri preschool. Not having had much English input until then, Vero's daughter experienced significant difficulty adjusting to an English-speaking environment and cried often. Vero recalls, "So after four months, even when she was crying, she was learning in English. So that made me really happy, and then I went like, 'Okay, these kids are going to learn Chinese. We're going to make this happen."' Through her daughter's tears, Vero could sense her daughter's precociousness and aptitude for learning Mandarin. Vero spins the narrative of her child's struggle and frustration into a moment of her child's resilience. Later in her interview, Vero also tells the story of how a child psychologist recommended she withdraw her daughter from the Mandarin school because of the difficulties of learning a third language (Spanish, English, and Mandarin). However, Vero decided to go against the wishes of her daughter's psychologist and keep her child enrolled. Like Carol's perception of her daughter, Vero establishes herself as an authority figure who knows what is best for her child. Personal interaction and maternal understanding of their child's unique characteristics lead these mothers to view themselves as experts in their child's educational trajectories. The attitudes often serve to critique the lack of challenging school curriculum and negate other adult authority figures in favor of parental control. The parents' views mirror Auerbach's (2002) study which showcases narratives from Latino and Black parents as powerful stakeholders in their children's education. When they were rebuffed by school administrators, the parents interceded with counselors on

their children's behalf. Far from being silent, parents serve as negotiators, sometimes in spite of their child's interests.

Circling back to the perception of Mandarin being difficult, some parents feel that there were ways in which the challenge gave a further advantage to their children. Jennifer, a mother of four, touts how she feels that learning Mandarin aids her children's musical ability:

> Jennifer: "I also think, you know, my sister was saying if your kids are musical at all, which our kids are, but Patrick takes guitar lessons and the other kids are taking piano lessons. But you know, having that helps them with both pieces. It helps with the language; it helps with the music because Chinese Mandarin is a tonal language. So, you know, if they have any musical ability, they can pick that up, and they understand the nuance."

Jennifer believes that learning a tonal language could carry over to their perception of different musical abilities. Jennifer may be basing her claim on Pitch Generalization Hypothesis, the belief that learning tonal languages draws attention to pitch and aids in music perception (Creel et al., 2018). Similar to the benefits of pitch awareness, parents also perceive that learning Mandarin would aid in other abstract concepts, such as understanding math. Lin, a mother of a Pre-K4 and a middle schooler, believes that her eldest's learning of Mandarin also improves his "match concepts, because of the way Chinese sort of reverses the way that you think and speak of things." When probed a little further to discuss her son's performance in math, she explains, "Since he's been in seventh grade, we had him evaluated, and he is off the charts in math, which kind of makes sense why his language skills would be off the charts." Lin sees high scores in math and language skills for her son and suggests the two are causally related: the acquired Mandarin language skills have led, in her view, to her son's higher math scores. Thus, in

describing their children's abilities, both Lin and Jennifer associate Mandarin with being a bridge to learning advanced concepts, such as music or math.

Parental depictions of Mandarin as challenging yet special, and as a stepping stone for future success, aligns with how China or Chinese culture are often represented as foreign, shrouded in mysticism and hard to understand (Hubbert, 2019). In this study, the mothers' assertions closely align with Hubbert's (2019) analysis that Mandarin language learning is viewed as "cool" for its "ability to define the speaker as 'different' and thus special" (p. 51). For non-Chinese speakers, learning Mandarin becomes an "exoticized source of cosmopolitanism and difference" (p. 56); in other words, parents believe that their children will be set apart from others by their language ability. Further, taking Edward Saïd's *Orientalist* (1978) perspective, Hubbert (2019) posits that the West constructs a certain image of the Orient in a way that is palatable to Western culture. This view aligns with Prado Fonts' (2008) treatise on Orientalism, which summarizes, "Saïd explains to us that our visions of the Orient are nothing more than re-presentations, ideological constructions anchored in a specific perspective–in our case, Eurocentric–and with an inherent agenda" (p. 2). In this ideological context, parents construct Mandarin as a means beyond a language, as a highly coveted skill. While parents' agenda may not be fully manifested, they believe that high musical or math abilities are enhanced or that their children may be rewarded by future college admissions or other pathways to success by having learned Mandarin.

While the parents remark on their child's language acquisition, they also note the importance of teaching a child a language early so they may develop a native pronunciation. Frieda describes the cognitive effects of language learning, "I feel like there is an age at which you need to learn a language in order to be blending in." Her experience of "blending in" was

based on having no marked accent in a language. In other words, Freida was motivated by her desire to ensure her child sounded like a native speaker. Being both an immigrant from France to the United States and a non-native English speaker, Frieda remarks that she will always have an "accent" in English, her third language because she learned it later in life. By enrolling her son in a bilingual school early, Frieda feels relieved that her son will acquire an additional language, Mandarin, but with the advantage of a native-like pronunciation.

Another immigrant mother, Vero, offers a similar perspective of being a bilingual speaker who also struggled with English pronunciation. She laments her struggle of "understanding and being able to pronounce a word because as a language learner, I know that the devil is in the pronunciation." Vero believes that her children learning Mandarin while they were young helped with their understanding and pronunciation. As she describes, "So I think that those who are giving their kids those two advantages, the fact that they can understand another language and the fact that they can pronounce it better. Like, I would never be able to pronounce 'th' in English properly or many other things because yeah, if I had learned them earlier, I think I could have mastered them."

Both Vero and Frieda's life experiences with learning languages impact their perceptions of language acquisition. The parents seem resigned to their fate of not being able to acquire native-like speech as an adult, supported by studies that suggest difficulty in acquiring a native accent is correlated with age (Flege, Munro, and Mackay, 1995; Olson & Samuels, 1973). But while they both had struggled with and were alienated by the process of learning English, the immigrant mothers discuss how they wanted their child to attain fluency—not in English or in their home language, but in a third language—Mandarin.

While Vero and Frieda are just two instances of immigrant mothers who believe that their child's native accent is paramount to their success, many native English-speaking parents also cite their child's accent in Mandarin pronunciation as vital to learning a language. Jennifer argues that to "speak really well," her children have to "have a good accent." It was not enough to learn Mandarin, but her children had to speak it well. In other words, a good pronunciation is an indicator of proficiency in the language.

In summary, discussions with parents reveal both their knowledge and misconceptions regarding language learning theories. Despite Mandarin's designation of a "difficult" language, parents are able to mitigate their children's difficulty by underscoring their child's precociousness or aptitude for learning languages. Parents believe that Mandarin ability brought about other abilities as well, such as an understanding for math or a heightened awareness of musical tones. Lastly, discussions reveal that it is not enough for their children to learn Mandarin, but they must do so with a flawless accent. These perceptions, whether they were grounded in research or not, show the extent of parents' sociolinguistic knowledge regarding the chosen language for their children, Mandarin.

4.3.2 Mandarin as a Language of Opportunity

Curdt-Christiansen (2009) refers to the socioeconomic context of FLP in terms of "whether and to what degree language variables affect economic variables, such as earnings and salaries" (p. 356). In this section, I relay how parents base their schooling decisions on the perceived economic opportunities of learning Mandarin. Parents paint the utility of Mandarin, especially in relation to China's rise as an economic power, and they conceptualize language learning as an investment in their children's futures, especially as potential diplomats or business professionals. However, contrary to parents' invested interests, their children may deny their

parents' imagined career choices. I present how the parents reconcile Mandarin learning even if their children's economic dreams are not realized.

Nine out of 21 participants (43%) admit that their motivation to enroll their students in a Mandarin language school was influenced by China's rising power, especially as an economic competitor. Bill, Magaly, and Maria qualified the language as "useful" and "important" with respect to China's economic advantage:

> "It's also just an increasingly useful language. You know, China's a bigger part of the world economy than ever." (Bill)
>
> "I think it's a language, it's really important and it will continue to be important. You know, I think China as a country as an economic model, as a cultural model is only going to go up." (Magaly)
>
> "French, in my opinion, is just not as useful a language, to be honest… German, I really love the language. It's just not as useful as Chinese in terms of the opportunities that you can have later on in life if you speak Chinese. I see China as a big economic power." (Maria)

Their descriptions suggest that the parents may have observed current economic trends of China as the second largest economy in the world (Silver, 2020), and determined Mandarin had the most utility out of other languages. The participants also speak of China's economic worth increasing in the future, fueling the value of Mandarin in the linguistic marketplace. For example, Maria, a fluent speaker of Spanish, French, German, and English, decided two of the languages she spoke, French and German, were not as "useful" as Mandarin, even though both France and Germany are in the top 10 competitors of the global market (Silver, 2020).

Given the economic backdrop, many of the parents feel compelled to imagine futures for their children, especially regarding their careers. Parents explain the career pathways that Mandarin could facilitate for their child, such as in diplomacy or other economic opportunities. As Eleanor explains,

> Eleanor: "You look at the U.S./China relationship and the economic part of that and the future of these two biggest economies in the world working hand-in-hand for the foreseeable future. One, I thought it would give her a head-start in, maybe… It's crazy to predict or impose or say you want your child to learn Chinese because she's gonna do business with China one day or be a diplomat or something. But you know, I think that it doesn't hurt, you never know."

While Eleanor dismisses the idea of picking a language for her child strictly because of its utility for future careers, she also reasoned that it remains a great opportunity. In an evaluation of students in Confucius Institutes, Hubbert (2019) finds that students said they learned Mandarin for the sake of "constituting a future self in the face of the exigencies of competitive college admissions or an unpredictable job market" (p. 46). From a parental perspective, these caretakers may be just as wary that their children will be exposed to a competitive working environment and feel the need to carve out future careers—even starting when their children are as young as three years old.

June's imagined futures for her children similarly directed her to Mandarin:

> June: "I really wanted her to do something with economics, for sure, when she gets older. So I was thinking that China is such a big world power, so that's why I chose Chinese… I was thinking more like diplomacy or economics or a bank, things like that, when they get older. But those kinds of things related more to the world economy, and that's why I

leaned more towards Chinese. And we're big on math and STEM for them. So also, Chinese I felt like I was better with that, versus some other international career fields."

In her decision making, June relates Mandarin as the language of STEM—science, technology, engineering and mathematics. Her reasoning could be impacted by the fact that in the United States, STEM majors are the most popular among Chinese international students (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2015b); thus, learning Mandarin may, in June's vision, enable her daughter to stay competitive with other STEM careers or, in an era of economic competition, help her to equalize the playing field.

However, parents' dreams of their children becoming business professionals may be just be that: their dreams. In one instance, Lance recalls a conversation he had with his daughter, who rejected business for another career:

> Lance: "But yeah, I think in the long term, it could work in—if she's getting a job in a business. You know, she says she wants to kind of like, be like, a marine biologist and stuff. And I'm like, well, you know, there's a lot of different cultures, because, think 'marine', if you're doing anything about ocean life, it expands the globe. You never know who you're going to work with."

Lance's example shows that while parents can guide their children to learn a language, it is ultimately their child's decision to continue with the language. As King and Fogle (2013) propose, children can influence their own FLP and "play an active role of influencing code choice and shaping family language ideologies" (pp. 196-97). Like Lance, in spite of their pushback, June also coaches her children about the utility of Mandarin in careers other than economics:

June: "I have told them, 'You know, you can always use it in a career.' But the oldest one likes to sing. So I've tried to encourage her… Of course, I would want her to do economics or engineering, but I was saying, 'Even if you think about singing on the side in Chinese, that would still be a way to utilize that.'"

Both Lance and June still believe Mandarin is "useful" even if their children are not going to be economists or work in business. While they originally selected Mandarin for pure economic reasons, they expand their view to include its utility as an international language. The economic vitality of Mandarin thus extends to all careers, even to marine biologists and singers.

The rise of China's financial power motivates parents to select Mandarin as the language with high economic capital. Piller (2001) argues that parents use bilingualism as an investment, the profits of which will yield a high return. Drawing upon Bourdieu's (1991) notions of capital, Norton (2000) contends that learners invest in learning a language because it will provide them with resources, symbolic and material. Similarly, parents believe that the Mandarin their children are learning now will become "useful" in the future, and open doors to their financial and economic success. Even when their children reject their desired outcomes, parents still seek to validate Mandarin's utility as an international language.

4.3.3 The U.S. versus China

In discussing parents' ideologies, I describe how parental ideologies of Mandarin are often directly tied to the perception of Chinese culture and China as a country. While White parents approve of some of the Chinese parenting practice of being a "tiger mom", they disapprove of being called a mother in Mandarin. Further, despite its role as the national language of China, many parents accept and value the learning of Mandarin while also admonishing the Chinese government. Next, I cover how parents discuss the effect of the

COVID-19 pandemic on decisions to learn Mandarin. Finally, I provide some political context of recent U.S. policies, such as closing down sites of Chinese culture and language learning such as Confucius Institutes, to illustrate tensions between the U.S. and China and how learning Mandarin may be caught in the middle of the political brawl.

It is not surprising that highly motivated parents are up-to-date on the latest parenting trends. In their interviews, many of the participants reference the ideology of "tiger parenting" or being a "tiger mom," popularized by the 2011 book by Amy Chua, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother.* The term refers to a usually ethnically Chinese mother who practices traditional strict child-rearing practices. In her book, Chua details strict disciplinarian practices such as name-calling, making threats, and having high expectations. While the book and subsequent term came under criticism, it has nevertheless permeated into U.S. parenting discourse. In this study, Jennifer perceives "tiger mom" as a humorous term. When describing her husband's insistence in sticking through Mandarin school, Jennifer states, "I always joke that my husband is a tiger mom because he wants them involved in everything." Her depiction of tiger mothers is encouraging, labeling a father who strives for his children to succeed, in contrast to the critical portrayal of a strict disciplinarian. She also implicitly jokes about her husband traversing gender norms to assume the role of a typical tiger mom, focusing on her children's educational attainment above all else.

While Jennifer relishes the tiger mother (or tiger father) trope, she also expresses her unease at her child's traditional Chinese cultural learning practices. Jennifer describes an interaction with her young son, where he accidentally code-switches into Mandarin: "Sometimes I'll say something to my youngest son, he will answer me in Mandarin. And I'll say, what did you just say to mommy? He's like, 'oh, wait.'" In this mother-son exchange, Jennifer confirms

that her son clearly understands that the home language was English. By invoking “mommy,” she reminds her son who he was addressing, delineating her maternal identity as an English speaking parent. Keri, a white mother who studied abroad for two semesters in Taiwan and China, told a similar story. Despite her knowledge of Mandarin, she expresses some displeasure at being called “mama” instead of “mommy.” She recalls her displeasure, “there are certain words that they use that I don't love. Like I like to be called ‘mommy.’ And when they say ‘mama,’ I don't like that." Even though Keri did speak Mandarin, she rejects being called “mama,” which she associates with being a Chinese mother, as the word for “mother” in Mandarin is also “mama.” Even though Jennifer and Keri are mothers of Chinese language learners, they are still rooted in their self-conceptualizations of who they are as a parent. Although their children were learning Mandarin, these White mothers are anxious about being spoken to in Chinese, especially regarding their child’s maternal forms of address. In formulating their identities, in other words, they do not mind being a “tiger mother,” as long as they are also “mommy.”

When asked how parents envision their child using Mandarin in the future, eight out of 21 participants (38%) mention the possibility of their children traveling or studying abroad in China. For example, Jennifer references a conversation with her husband with their choice of Mandarin as their FLP. She explains, “He likes to joke with me and say, well, you're the one sending them to this Chinese school. You know, they're all going to move away and live in China, and then we're going to be stuck here by ourselves.” In sharing this jest, Jennifer positions her children as living in a faraway land and speaking in a foreign language, while she and her husband are “stuck here” in the U.S. In her discourse, Jennifer connects the learning of Mandarin to abandoning one’s home country, positioning it not as an opportunity for simply

traveling to China as other parents have described, but as an eventual means of departure and separation between parent and child.

Views of the competitiveness of Mandarin language learning also seemed to rise and fall with the perception of China. As mentioned above, parents cite China's economic power as an attraction for enrolling their child in a Mandarin dual language school. However, Yeow, a father of two children, believes the lure of learning Mandarin may be declining.

> Yeow: "If you'd asked me, I know, 10 or 15 years ago or even before that, right when, so in China was really booming, all you heard was, okay, your kid needs to learn Mandarin. That's the way we're going to be a global superpower, and the way to advance in business is to learn that there was a big rush. I felt like when we had kids, that started to taper off a bit, right, there was a big rush, and then it started to taper off even. But I don't know if some of that still exists. It's probably going to die off now with the virus."

Yeow discusses the trend of learning Mandarin because China was once hailed as a "global superpower" and learning Mandarin was "the way to advance in business," but reasons that now the motivation for learning Mandarin will "die off now with the virus," referencing the COVID-19 novel coronavirus that began to spread in late 2019 and early 2020. During the time of this interview, the virus was not yet at a pandemic level and had not fully reached the United States. Still, Yeow may be forecasting the declining views of Mandarin, as American views favoring China are indeed waning (Silver, Devlin, and Huang, 2020). Before the misperception of the coronavirus as a "Chinese virus," the trade war between the U.S. and China that began in 2018 added further tensions to the two nations (Cerutti, Gopinath, and Mohommad, 2019). Given the close association of Mandarin with China, the degree to which parents desire their children to learn it rises and falls with the current condition of Chinese-U.S. relations.

Other parents can show that they can laud the Chinese language while simultaneously rejecting elements of Chinese culture. Recall Margaret who discusses how learning Mandarin will yield future opportunities for their children, including to "get them into a college" and "separate them from the other kids." However, later in the interview, she states frankly, "I would not ever let them live in China, because I am not a fan of the government there." In other words, Margaret's choice for her children to learn Mandarin arises from not appreciation of China itself, but from a belief that learning the language will delineate them from other children as well as yield future rewards like university admission. In this example, Margaret can separate the learning of Mandarin from China's politics.

Margaret's criticisms about the Chinese government coincide with U.S. Secretary of State Pompeo and lawmakers' recent decisions to close down Confucius Institutes, centers of learning Chinese language and culture nestled within universities across the country. In early 2020, Pompeo criticized these centers for spreading "well-funded propaganda efforts and influence operations" on behalf of the Chinese government (Wong, 2020). Further, in June 2020, then-President Trump signed an order that suspended entry into the United States by "aliens who present a risk to the U.S. labor market following the Coronavirus outbreak" (The White House, 2020). The order suspended work visas used to hire Mandarin teachers from China to work in Mandarin immersion programs (Weise, 2020). While states like Utah granted exemptions to the executive order precisely for their dual language immersion programs, the fate of other programs across the country that depend on foreign teachers for Mandarin instruction remains uncertain. In this regard, tensions arise within "an educational landscape that 'needs' but continues to fear China" (Hubbert, 2019, p 53); this situation may have continued repercussions, both educational and political, if the relationship between the U.S. and China continues to devolve.

Referencing Norton (2000), Curdt-Christiansen (2009) defines language as "cultural tools [that] convey our social experiences, origins, history, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality and race, and thus express our identities" (p. 356). These parents' examples demonstrate how despite their school choice, parents may not fully embrace Mandarin because of its association with China. Their rejections of Mandarin also form their parental identities and continue to shape interactions with their children.

4.4 "It Was a Matter of the Best School"

When I shared the purpose of my study with Yeow, the father of eleven year-old twins, he revealed that he had also been reflecting upon the same research questions. He asked me, "Who is going to make a very conscious decision…. to send your kid to a Chinese language program?" Yeow's reasoning is that a parent's decision to enroll their children in a Mandarin immersion program was likely a "conscious" or purposeful choice, especially for parents who have limited experience with the language and no community support.

In referring back to Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) FLP model, parents' educational beliefs also play a role in their school choice. In this section, I explore parents' reasons for why and how parents chose the Mandarin immersion school. I focus on the following topics: how parents search for their desired school; what they want in a school system, including test scores, administrative support, and teachers; what parents feel to be inadequate aspects of a school, including non-school factors; how parents navigate the challenges associated with the options available; and how the language immersion program play into their decision making, if at all.

4.4.1 The Search for a "Good School"

Choosing a school often involves selecting a neighborhood in which to live and, accordingly, a school district. In the U.S., public school districts are zoned, which means the address of residence determines the school the child will attend (Catsambis & Beveridge, 2012). The competition for good schools can be incredibly high since studies have shown that a student's address can impact their probability of attending university (Gardner, 2001; Parker, 2012). Therefore, as Liang (2015) states, "it is critical for their families to choose a high-performing school district if parents want their children to excel" (p. 136).

In the interviews with parents, a common thread among participants was that they want the best schooling for their child, regardless of whether it is a language immersion school. Parents exercise their networks to determine the best school in the area, including speaking to their friends and neighbors and visiting open-house sessions at the schools. Keri even utilized a popular online message board forum to learn about the neighborhood schools. As she explains,

> Keri: "it's basically parents talking about every aspect. But there's a special school forum thread and people are so like, typically mean to each other, really catty but incredibly informative at the same time. So, I learned a lot more, [laughs] probably not the best way of learning information, but that was another way that I learned that Dragon Academy is good and desirable."

Keri crowdsources information to determine, based on other parents' insights, that Dragon Academy was a "good and desirable" school. Despite not having met these parents in person, Keri trusts their judgment of the school. Nine other parents also stake Dragon Academy's reputation as a "good school" and cited it as a significant decision point for their child's school enrollment. Parents reveal that they ranked Dragon Academy as their top choice because of the

“academics” and the “quality of instruction.” Like Chinese immigrant parents in Liang’s (2015) study on school choice, parents judge a school based on its academic merits.

Seven out of 21 participants (33%) also discuss Dragon Academy’s “reputation” among the schools in the local area in that the school had a “proven track record of success” (Carol). According to Great Schools, an aggregate for school ratings and performance evaluations, the school ranks 9 out of 10. Test scores at this school are far above the state average, suggesting that most students at this school perform “at or above grade level.” Dragon Academy’s math and reading test scores are considerably higher at 56% and 57%, respectively, compared to the district’s math test scores, which are at 36%, and the reading test scores are at 38%.

Apart from test scores, many parents praise other aspects of the school, such as the devoted teachers and the reputable administration. Yeow explains, “Unrelated to Dragon Academy, but related to education, we both had that experience of having such a supportive administration. It was something that when we both moved in, I think we looked for ever since.” To a lesser extent, some parents remark on other aspects of the school—ancillary to academics—that motivated their school choice. Eleanor comments that her husband was more attracted to the facilities, and "Mandarin was more of a plus" or an add-on. Lin admires that her child gets to do “yoga things during the day.” Although this may seem like a strange criterion, Dragon Academy features sun-lit rooms for art, yoga, musical performances, and performing arts; in addition to a one-acre recess (the students receive two recesses a day) and an outdoor nature space. Parents seem more driven by the holistic environment of the school, rather than the language immersion program.

Among the parents who participated in this study, those whose children attended Dragon Academy thought immersion is a plus, but schooling was the most important factor. As many

parents shared, the type of school was not as important as long as the school is known as “a good school.” Vero explains her choice between Dragon Academy and a Spanish immersion school: “It was not a matter of Spanish. It was a matter of the best school, and I don’t mind any language, as long as the quality of education is high. So that’s why we went with that school over Spanish, even when that’s my kid’s native language”. If Dragon Academy was not a top-performing school, Vero admits, she would not enroll her children. Jennifer also agrees that the language was not the most important decision factor in her school choice process. She states, “I hate to say it didn't have to be Mandarin; I'm really glad that it is.” Similarly, Lin wants Spanish immersion for her child, but in the end, she is grateful she enrolled in a Mandarin immersion school. Yeow, a Chinese heritage father, explains that he even considered the language as secondary to the quality of the school. He reveals frankly, “If they didn't have a quality education, but they had the Mandarin, I don't think they [his children] would have gone there.”

Even for parents of Chinese descent like Lin and Yeow, the participants reveal that they prefer a “good school” over one that teaches their heritage language. If the school had not had the same high quality academic reputation, they would not have enrolled their child, regardless of Mandarin instruction. This raises the question of what would happen if Dragon Academy was an average or lower-performing institution? Would there be less interest from parents? How would the demographics of the school change? In this regard, the fact that Dragon Academy offers Mandarin appears to be perceived as a welcome add-on, but that the real selling point for parents is its strong academic reputation.

4.4.2 "It Was Part of Our Family Heritage"

One exception to the Dragon Academy parents who focus on school quality was Carol, who had another added motivation for enrolling her children as a mother of a Chinese adoptee. She explains,

> Carol: "Because my daughter is adopted, I felt committed to leaving her at Dragon Academy until at least, you know, in their program until the end of fifth grade because I wanted her to have the, you know, half of her teachers are from China. So I wanted her to have the mirrors that are afforded culturally, and racially, and linguistically. And so I was very reluctant to pull her from the program for those reasons. I had other compelling reasons outside of the language."

Even though Carol is a white mother with two biological daughters and an adopted Chinese daughter, she recognizes the need to provide cultural and linguistic accommodations for her Chinese-born daughter as part of her family's FLP. Carol's motivations are also found in Shin's (2013)'s study of white English-speaking American mothers who enroll their adopted Korean-born children into community language schools. As Shin writes, these mothers are active in "promoting cultural identification for the child but also reinterpreting racial and cultural identity for the family" (p. 175). Carol, whose eldest daughter attended a Spanish dual language school, decided to switch schools and enrolled both her adopted middle daughter and her youngest daughter in Dragon Academy. She explains, "We've been very happy with the experiences we've had at both [the Spanish and Mandarin immersion] schools and we wanted to support our middle daughter's educational experience and her place in the family by having our youngest daughter follow that same track, so she went into the Chinese immersion program rather than following her oldest sister's path." Carol makes a conscious decision to not only

maintain and support her adopted daughter's native language, Mandarin, but also solidify the adoptee's role in the family. Recall earlier that Carol, as a monolingual English-speaking parent, institutes both Spanish and Mandarin as the FLP, while inculcating Mandarin as a shared language between her two youngest daughters.

Although the 19 featured parents whose children attend Dragon Academy far outnumbered the three parents in my study who enrolled in Panda Elementary, their discussions regarding school choice decisions differed vastly. These parents did not comment on the school's quality, even though the quality was quite high (63% in math and 68% in English language arts, compared to 47% and 53% in the school district, respectively), but mostly focused on the Mandarin immersion program, indicating that their focus was more on the language rather than the school.

In contrast to discussions on "good schools," Panda Elementary parents explicitly mention they sought out Mandarin immersion program because of the language component. Both mother June and couple Lance and Nina had moved within the area so their child could enroll and stay within the Mandarin strand. Nina explains this sacrifice to her daughter, "I was like, 'well, the only reason that you can go to this school is because you're there for the Chinese program.'" In comparison to the parents of Dragon Academy, the Panda Elementary parents seem more invested in Mandarin language learning for their school choice decision.

For parents Nina and Lance, Mandarin language immersion fits into the puzzle of their family, both with Nina's work and Lance's cultural heritage. As Nina explains, "So, at the time, I was working for a Chinese owned television company and I was taking Mandarin classes at work. And of course, Lance is part Chinese. And so, I felt like [I enrolled] because it was part of

our family culture." For Lance and Nina, Panda Elementary's Mandarin program became a natural added component to their family language policy.

However, June does not have the benefit of being from Chinese heritage or working with a Chinese company. She was so motivated for her child to learn Mandarin that she began to enroll her child in weekend programs. She reminisces, "When my youngest daughter was two or three, I put her in a program called Language Start. And it was a Saturday program, and we put her in there. And the Chinese [immersion] program, I was interested in even before she was born." Having been a student of immersion herself, June knows that the best way to learn a language was to surround herself with native speakers.

It is also worth noting that the demographics of Panda Elementary also features 30.8% Asian-identified students, or three times as many students compared to the 10.8% Asian-identified (not including mixed race students) at Dragon Academy. June comments on the demographics of her child's classroom, "it's sort of normalized, they do have a lot of Chinese people in their classes and in their schools. So, my daughter's school, I think it's about 40% Asian. And then kindergarten and first grade, their class is about 80-85% Chinese." June feels that it was natural for her child attending a school where she would be among the minority of non-Chinese ethnic speakers. Perhaps as an African American parent, the idea of being part of a minority racial group in the classroom does not pose a threat to her as it would other parents. Additionally, along with all the benefits of immersion, learning Mandarin offers another advantage for her child to learn a language that is not Standard American English.

Contrary to studies that show parents choose language schools to maintain heritage language (He, 2008; Lee, 2002; Mu, 2014), for some parents, a Chinese background was not an indicator for their school preference. For example, Yeow and Lance are both fathers with

Chinese-speaking parents, but differ in their own parenting desires. For Lance, Mandarin immersion was an important part of his identity, whereas for Yeow, language immersion was not his initial choice. The differences in motivations showcase that even with shared linguistic backgrounds, parents may have different and often complex reasons for enrollment.

4.4.3 Parents Demand Better Education: Public Schools versus Charter Schools

A shared perception among parents is that the neighborhood public schools were inadequate. Many of the parents were concerned that local schools were limited, in resources and especially in quality. The participants griped that there were "not many options" and "so few schools to choose from" that it was "difficult to find a good school" in the city. As parent Vero explains, "We live [in the city], and it's a very un— not friendly environment, when choosing public school—the public school system because it's hard to find a good school. So I started learning about schools since my daughter was three months old." In a competitive environment with a perceived lack of options, parents took steps to ensure their children have access to the top tier schools. Many of the parents drew upon their social networks for determining school choice. Parents' idea of a desirable school relied on the academic rankings, good quality teachers, and a "friendly environment."

However, the parents' perceptions of a quality school differ widely from what the traditional public schools in the local area have to offer. The struggling district schools have been the subject of many education documentaries. As a result, parents commonly uproot or change their residence to have access to better schools for their children (Holme, 2002; Sattin-Bajaj, 2011). Parents who do not want their children to attend a low-performing school, and who are faced with limited school options, respond by taking charge of their own children's futures, such

as starting their school research as early as three months in Vero's case. As Jennifer similarly expounds, "I think more families are staying in [in the city]. They're demanding better education for their kids."

Equipped with knowledge and resources, wealthier and highly motivated parents may be expected to cover private tuition costs or relocate to a better school district. The reality is that the benefits do not necessarily cover the costs—in this case, an exorbitant price tag. Carol reveals her decision-making process when choosing among local area schools: "The second option was Ostra School, which is bilingual Spanish public school, but you would have to live, you have to buy real estate in the school zone, which was, you know, would involve moving and was very expensive." Like Carol, Margaret weighs the cost of moving versus the cost of private education, saying: "What was interesting, we even looked into moving to a better school district, which is in some ways like a half-mile to the south over on Castle Hill. And I was like, 'You move and spend $200k on the house, or you stay and spend the $200k on private tuition over the course of however long.'"

Within the confines of a metropolitan city with many competitive families, the availability of choices is limited. As Nathan (1998) argues, "The price of admission to many 'public' suburban schools is the ability to purchase a home with hundreds of thousands or even millions of dollars and to pay real estate taxes" (p. 502). The lack of options leaves many families caught between buying real estate in a desirable school zone or moving, both of which are costly options.

4.4.4 Charter Schools: A Third Space

As a result of the poor neighborhood public schools, the strain of moving, and private tuition costs, many parents resort to charter schools for their children. As father Winston contextualizes, "I didn't really realize that if I wanted our kid to really have an education, we had

to win a lottery. Because schools were terrible in [the city] at the time." Charter schools are known as "schools of choice," and enrolling in them is also a two-step process: parents must first "choose to choose" to rank their choices in the lottery from a list of charter schools; second, if accepted for one or multiple schools, parents may select from their charter choices or defer to their neighborhood public school (Buckley & Schneider, 2006). In the end, many parents decide on a dual language school as a third space (Bhabha, 1994; Gutiérrez, 2008), where families could save both money and still receive a quality education for their children.

When it came to applying to the school lottery, seven out of 21 participants (33%) refer to their enrollment as "luck" or "chance." Parents like Keri only know how lucky they are because other families were rejected. She reveals, "We are, we tell people all the time we are extremely lucky to have gotten to Dragon Academy when we did because now I think the waitlist is in the thousands to get in." Keri's prediction of the competition to enroll at Dragon Academy is correct. At an open house in January 2020, Dragon Academy school administrators revealed that there were 1800 applicants in the past academic year for fewer than 40 available seats.

Perhaps in part due to the high competition, parents express their incredulity about how difficult it would be to enroll their child and how they did not expect to get in. Still, others talk about how certain chance events like seeing a listserv email or noticing a bumper sticker in a grocery store parking lot led to their discovery of the school. Margaret claims that her daughter's acceptance felt like a real lottery, like gambling for the prize of school admission. She equates the school to actual money saved from alternative schooling options, musing, "It was like the lottery. You feel like a lottery when you enter the school because it's like, "Oh, it just saved us

all this money." According to Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) FLP model, school investment itself can serve as a socioeconomic choice.

For some of the parents, at the time of enrollment, Dragon Academy was not part of the district lottery but had a separate application system where families could apply and be considered on a first-come-first-serve basis. There were two options in turning in an application: online or in person. The night before the application was due, Margaret and her family noticed a line forming outside of the school, and she wanted her family to be among the first to be considered.

> Margaret: "So we basically slept outside all night long. And that got you a timestamp application."
>
> May: "You said you slept outside for your kids' education."
>
> Margaret: "Yeah, I think it was not sleeping. But we got there around 9 o'clock at night, and then they opened the gates at 8 [AM] "
>
> May: "What number in line were you?"
>
> Margaret: "We were the second people for pre K3 because I went with my neighbors, whose daughter is also in the same grade. So we were number two in line, and people were doing online also. So whatever— however that worked. It was about the timestamp."

Margaret shows that she exercised her strategy of being the first to receive a timestamp in getting her child into Dragon Academy by eschewing the online application and being the first to turn in her application in person. Her admission, "it was all about the timestamp," shows her knowledge of surpassing the separate lottery system, and she was able to beat other parents by turning in her application before anyone else.

When asked why she wanted to camp out for a chance to submit her child's application early, she stated, "there's just so little control you have in the lottery process, that it felt like a little more control you could have of at least being there in person." For Margaret, the charter school lottery system is an isolating process, and it gave her a sense of "control" to have a direct hand in her child's education. Even if they did not camp outside the school for a spot at the lottery, many parents feel the need to be proactive in using strategies to negotiate their child's admission into Dragon Academy. For example, some parents drive their children hours a day to school or move within the district so their child can continue to attend Dragon Academy. Two of the parents cite instances in which they withdrew their child from daycare or disrupted their ongoing enrollment in another elementary school to attend the dual language school.

However, winning the lottery is not always the best outcome for the parents. Both mothers Cara and Kumquat expressed that they would like to move out of the city, but their child's education is what keeps them restrained to living in this particular area. Keri discusses how she weighed her children's school over relocating, "it's a big struggle because we want to move and live somewhere else and it's the biggest thing that's holding us back from moving is that we know we won a—literally won a lottery—and it's like almost impossible to recreate what Dragon Academy has." Parents value and commit to their choice, but their decision may constrain them. In speaking highly of their experiences at Dragon Academy, parents reveal some underlying tensions regarding their school choice. The following section explores these experiences more in-depth by featuring both parents' successes and their struggles.

4.5 Parent's Experiences: Triumphs and Successes

This next section explores some of the success stories parents discussed that justified their school and language choice. Because they could not assess their children's language learning, the parents rely on moments that reflected their children's learning and led to them feeling justified in their school choice. For parents who do not know the target language fluently, it is not uncommon to be unaware of their children's linguistic progress or lean heavily on native speakers to assess their language skills. While many of the parents spoke openly about their triumphs regarding their decision for enrollment, three cases stood out: parents Mara and Yeow's trip to Singapore, Lin's conversation with a classroom teacher in China, and Carol's experience observing her daughter take part in diplomatic visits between China and the United States.

Mara and Yeow: A trip to Singapore

While parents Mara and Yeow had initially enrolled their child in Dragon Academy because of its reputation, they reinforced their decision when they observed how well their children were able to sustain the heritage language. The couple discuss how, via interactions with relatives on a trip to Singapore, they were able to discern that their children's language learning experiment was a success:

> Mara: "So, Ethan came over, and my mother-in-law was sitting with Auntie Kim, and we had asked Auntie Kim only to speak to the kids in Chinese because she was a teacher and we're like, 'Pretend you don't even speak English. If they're going to talk to you, they have to talk Chinese'. We did that with Uncle Chua. So, Auntie Kim said something to Ethan, and then there was this long pause. And she was thinking, 'no, I guess he didn't understand what I said,' and she was about to say something in English. And then Ethan piped up with a full answer, you know, good Mandarin, like, grammatically correct, and

she was like, 'okay.' So, it just took him a while to process what was said, what he wanted to say, and how to say it in Chinese. But bam! and Uncle Eli did writing. I remember him writing with the two of them."

Yeow: "So, that was a nice reinforcement, that after three, three and a half years, their Mandarin is coming, well, nicely."

According to Curdt-Christiansen's FLP model, Mara and Yeow both engage in the sociocultural context of their children learning Mandarin to connect with Yeow's relatives back in Singapore. The interaction not only validates the children's learning but provides an opportunity to strengthen family bonds. Their children are able to communicate in written and spoken Chinese, compensating for the parents' lack of linguistic capital. They tap into their Mandarin knowledge to not only activate their biliteracy but also their social capital, or "the social relations between people" (Ren & Hu, 2013), in facilitating intergenerational bonds.

Lin: An interaction with Chinese classroom teachers

Similar to Mara and Yeow, Lin's trip to a Mandarin-speaking country allowed her to see the fruits of her son's language learning. Lin and her son embarked on a school-sponsored trip to mainland China, where her son took part in a Mandarin classroom for one week. Lin noticed that her child was having "a tough time" with the traditional Chinese teaching methods and spoke with the classroom teacher. In the interaction with the teacher, Lin described how she first learned of the impact of the learning her child is receiving.

Lin: "And the teachers there actually told us afterwards like a lightbulb went off for them because they realized the kids wanted interaction in the language and not just to be taught to. And I don't think that they realized that our kids would be able to interact in Chinese about the subjects they were teaching them as opposed to just talking to them about it. So

> they're like, 'The kids that you guys bring over, they have a much more fundamental way of doing creative problem solving and thinking outside the box than any of our kids do here.' So I was like, 'Oh, well, there you go. That totally makes sense.'"

In this interaction with the teachers' feedback from China, she received praise for her child not only learning Mandarin but also interacting with the language in more complex ways than native Chinese students. In comparison to the children in Chinese classrooms, Lin's child possesses "creative problem solving and thinking outside the box," something Lin admires as a parent. Lin also values how her son and his classmates "wanted interaction in the language and not just to be taught to" in a traditional Chinese curriculum, demonstrating their engagement and agency. Lin sees the competing classroom cultures as evidence that her son was learning under "the Western model," which Li (2005) refers to as "understanding the essentials of a given topic or developing expertise in a field, as well as to personal insights and creative problem solving" (p. 191). This model of learning contrasts with the Chinese perspective of learning, which often focuses on rote memorization of the subject material (Li, 2005). Likewise, Shin's (2013) study of American mothers of Korean adoptees observes similar sentiments. While the mothers want their children to learn Korean, they object to the largely rote-learning approach taken by the Korean teachers in the Heritage Language school. Not only did Lin witness the effect that Dragon Academy's curriculum had on her child, she was also proud of the global curriculum: "Like, he's able to see things so differently that I'm like, 'Okay, he's gonna go out there into the world and be a really good citizen as opposed to just like a really book-smart kid,'" she beams. In this moment, Lin observes and values the blending of both worlds: Mandarin language with American style learning.

Carol: The Coming Together of Two Nations

While seven parents explicitly talk about the “future opportunities” their children will receive in learning Mandarin, Carol tells the story of an unforgettable experience: her daughters meeting the First Ladies of the United States and China.

Carol: “You know, and even the White House. When Mrs. Obama was traveling to China, they went to my daughters’ school to make the announcements, and so we have a lovely photo of my daughter sitting on Mrs. Obama's lap. They gave a little Chinese lesson to Mrs. Obama.”

May: “Really?”

Carol: “Yeah. And the school was present when Mrs. Obama and the Chinese President's wife went to the zoo to name the panda.”

May: “Oh, they did?”

Carol: “They did. Some students from their school were chosen to go sing in Chinese and help with the naming ceremony.”

May: “Were your daughters a part of that as well?”

Carol: “They were part of some of it. And seeing that it's part of the politics and the coming together of two nations. I mean, that's a pretty powerful lesson for language.”

In the last example, Carol refers to the visit in which President Xi Jinping's wife, Madame Peng Li Yuan, accompanied then-U.S. First Lady, Michelle Obama, to visit Dragon Academy on a state-sponsored tour. The school showcased President Obama and President Xi's commitment to the One Million Strong Initiative, a program that encouraged one million students in the U.S. to speak Mandarin Chinese by the year 2020 (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2015). Carol is proud to have not only her school but also her daughters featured prominently, teaching the First Lady of the United States "a little Chinese lesson.” For parents, Mandarin learning

serves as an opportunity to display their acquired language skills—in this case, on the national stage with foreign dignitaries, starring the First Lady of the United States and the First Lady of the People's Republic of China. Carol talks proudly about taking part in the "coming together of two nations" and is especially proud that her daughters played a role in diplomatic visits between the U.S. and China. Carol's suggestion that it is "part of the politics" suggests that it is not a coincidence that her daughters were selected: one daughter, like Carol, is of European-American descent; the other daughter was adopted from mainland China. The sociopolitical context of her two American daughters united in singing a song in Mandarin embodies a shared understanding between the two nations.

For Panda Elementary parents, their moments of realizing their child's success with the language are not as grandiose on a scale of speaking Mandarin to diplomats, but small moments where their children can showcase their linguistic prowess. For example, Nina tells the story of how her mostly white-passing daughter conversed with Chinese waiters at a restaurant:

> Nina: "I guess I know the vocabulary that she uses and so we can try to encourage her to, you know, ask the waitstaff. Then what happens is, then the waitstaff will say, 'oh, is she learning Chinese?' I was like, 'yes, she is'. And I think like that they're somewhat impressed by that, especially, like I think when they see her with me, because she does not look Chinese. She's a very Caucasian looking girl. The waitstaff is really impressed, [they say] 'wow, here's this Caucasian learning our language'. And, I think she kind of enjoys that kind of attention."

While the ability to order food from a menu seems a simple activity, Nina is able to put her child's Mandarin speaking ability to the test, impressing not only the waitstaff but also instilling confidence within her daughter. Because her daughter is white-passing and she herself

is Caucasian, Nina also notes that the perception of Caucasians speaking someone's language elicits admiration. She does not mention that her partner is half-Chinese--making her daughter a quarter Chinese-- or the fact that their family's heritage language is Mandarin. However, in this transaction, Nina felt more secure in her role as a language learning parent that her child is not only learning the vocabulary but is able to engage with the language with native speakers in meaningful contexts.

In describing opportunities that Mandarin learning afforded their families, parents justify their school choice. The impact of parents' FLP ranges from small intimate moments in family life to a very public and crafted scene between the U.S. and China. In each case, parents describe the moments in which they realized that their FLP was the right decision, whether it be opportunities to connect with family members, showcasing one's Mandarin skills at a Chinese restaurant, a chance to share with teachers in China about American ways of learning, or a once-in-a-lifetime moment to sing to foreign dignitaries. In their narratives of pride and success, the motivations that parents had intentionally set for their children pivoted to new justifications to support their decision making. For parents in the beginning stages of making their school choice, their justifications centered on their child's cognitive development or how language learning was part of a framework for academic and economic success. For parents whose children had spent many years at a dual language school, they talk about how, over time, they had acquired additional cultural and political motivations during the process of their children attending the dual language school. These interacting social factors show that parents' motivations are not only susceptible to change over time, but that the experience of raising emergent bilingual children also shaped parental choice, their own identities and sense of self worth.

4.5.1 Parents' Experiences: Struggles and Tensions

In the face of social, emotional, linguistic, and academic challenges, not all experiences are positive. Parents can reach junctures that cause a rift in their attitudes and motivations. In this section, I identify some key struggles that parents expressed regarding their children's language learning, including adjusting to an immersion model of education, perceived difficulties in reading and writing English, Dragon Academy's social justice-centered curriculum, and Panda Elementary's status as a strand program in comparison to a full Mandarin immersion.

Any entry into a new education experience can be daunting. As Tan (2011) describes, "entering the school system is a life-changing experience for children and families, dramatically expanding the social world of the child and injecting a broad range of cognitive, social, and cultural influences on his or her development" (p. 310). This is especially true for parents whose first foray into their child's school system takes place within a Mandarin immersion program. Indeed, the majority of Dragon Academy and Panda Elementary parents were not able to speak Mandarin. As Yeow notes, "there are very few kids in Dragon Academy and in the Chinese program that actually have native [Mandarin] speaking parents." Similarly, Lin explains the anxiety parents felt, even on the first day of school, "I look back and think how nervous we were when we dropped our kids off that first day in pre-K-4, and like the minute they walk in the door, it's nothing but Chinese. And to a lot of the parents that aren't Asian, that's super shocking to them." Parents naturally worry over separation from their children on the first day of school; when compounded with the added component of learning a language, some parents find it too difficult to handle. Lin specifically mentions how "shocking" it is for non-Asian parents to enter an immersion environment where the language of instruction is foreign. Yet, this experience is the norm for many children of immigrants, like Lin, who relayed her experience growing up as

one of the few Asian Americans in rural Georgia and who entered public schools where neither their language nor culture are observed in the classroom (Tan, 2011).

Nina, a parent of a student in Panda Elementary's Mandarin immersion strand, also describes her internal struggles as a parent when she dropped her child at the school-sponsored camp.

> Nina: "While they were in camp, they spoke Mandarin the whole entire day, except for when they could go out at recess or during lunch. And I was working a night shift and so she would call me when she got done with her day. And she called me, I think like on the second day and was just in tears. She said, 'Mom, I don't understand anything, I don't want to do this. Please don't send me back.' Like just, it was really heartbreaking to have that phone call. And so, I got off the phone and I was seriously thinking like, this was a really bad idea. Like, I... maybe we should not have just thrown her into the situation like that."

Hearing her daughter's emotional response, Nina began to reevaluate her decision of immersing her child in Mandarin. Her feelings of regret and anxiety about enrolling her child in an immersion camp coupled with her recollection of her daughter calling her in tears invokes Whelehan's (2012) description of the tensions mothers experience in their childrearing practices. As Whelehan states, "the intense feelings of inadequacy and guilt suffered by many mothers who regard themselves as perpetually on the threshold of bad motherhood – not because they actively harm or neglect their children, but because of their conflicted responses to their offspring, exacerbated by the volume of advice available to new moms, which implies that there is a single model of 'good' motherhood" (p. 148). As a result, Nina's experience of worrying that immersion camp was a "really bad idea" conflicts with bilingualism as a societally coveted

“good” parenting practice. In the end, Nina decided to forge ahead and enroll her daughter in the Mandarin immersion program, despite her worries.

Parents espouse concerns about an all-Mandarin curriculum, primarily about how they would support their child at home if they themselves lacked Mandarin-speaking skills and social networks to help guide their children. For example, Keri brings up her concern over how to maintain the language when the parents are not fluent or do not know it. She explains, "The real question is how are they going to keep their Chinese when they haven't— if you don't speak it at home and, and there's, and you don't have a social network of Chinese, then like, I mean that's the real sad thing. And the more frequent credible [laughs] concern, I think." Keri, a White mother who had experience learning Mandarin in two countries, is worried about keeping up Mandarin despite English influences. In other words, it is not just the monolingual or English-dominant parents who are worried that their children are not learning Mandarin; Chinese speaking parents are too.

By the same token, parents worry about whether their children would lose their skills in English. Indeed, studies have shown that students in dual language programs may fall behind in English when learning another language, but those who do tend to catch up and excel to their peers by fifth grade (Thomas & Collier, 2003). Parents’ reservations about losing English is what Weise (2014) refers to as “First Grade Freak-Out” (p. 146), the fear that their child is not on par with kids their age in language skills. While students’ performance in dual language schools is well-documented in many studies (Thomas & Collier, 2003), less attention is focused on how parents mitigate the concern of their child falling behind in English.

The parents in my study did express concerns that their child's English skills will falter as a result of having more time devoted to Mandarin and less time to English. For example, Jennifer compared her child's reading in English progress with her counterparts at traditional schools:

> Jennifer: "They don't start English until kindergarten. They won't start in Pre-K4, which is what most schools are starting, right? So kids are reading really well in kindergarten, well, my kids aren't reading really well till first grade and beyond because they only get half of the amount of English that all of their peers and single language school are getting. So that's been a little bit challenging."

Jennifer question whether the students are picking up essential linguistic skills in English with such a limited time. Eleanor, too, echoes this sentiment, sharing worries that her son will not have a strong English reading and writing foundation. She reasons, "So in a way, is spending two and a half days a week of your five-day week, in a different language entirely, holding you back from really learning to read in English and to write in English? And reading and writing are very critical." Even though their children attend a Mandarin school, parents like Eleanor and Jennifer are grounded in the reality that they live in the broader social context of the United States, where the de facto language spoken is English, and want to feel confident that their children would not fall behind in their academic facility with English as a result.

Some parents are also worried about writing in English, with specific concerns about penmanship, letter formation, and spelling. Margaret opines about how her children's "penmanship is horrible" while Mara, the child school psychologist, observes that the children attending Dragon Academy are "doing wonky ways of writing letters." Mara recalls a time when she notices her son struggled with writing his letters in English:

> Mara: “Because I know what I know, at the end of third grade, we're at the conference and I basically said, ‘I see a lot of reversals still with the letters and numbers. And I know that that's normal up to a certain point. By eight, you really shouldn't see many reversals. I'm just curious if you guys see that too’, and they said, ‘yeah, we see that too.’ And the Chinese teacher said, ‘oh, yeah, and I've seen him reverse some Chinese characters, I've never seen that before’. So, it's like well, to say something, *I* brought it up.”

Mara uses her background in working with children as her guide (“knowing what I know”). However, Mara underscores that she had to bring up her concern with the teacher during the conference. Even for a parent who does not know Mandarin, Mara feels confident to challenge the Chinese teacher on her son’s writing ability but is disappointed that she had to be proactive in addressing her son’s writing concerns. Finally, also related to English writing, two parents explicitly mention that their concerns were the inability of the children to write in cursive. Lin attributes the anxieties to a generational divide. She remarks, "It’s a hard thing for folks from our generation to flip their thinking and being like, “So the kids aren’t learning their American history, and they’re not learning to write cursive."

While parents like Jennifer, Eleanor, and Margaret, who were native English speakers, express their reservations about their children potentially falling behind in their English language skills, two parents who were bilingual in another language had a different reaction. Frieda, a French-speaking mother, points to her son acquiring English despite not teaching it at home. She noted, “We can tell all those parents that our son didn't learn English from us and he picked it up right there on the streets or just being with his friends. So I'm not concerned about them not learning English.” Freida believes living in the dominant-English environment as the United States would be enough for her son to learn English.

Similarly, when asked if she was worried about her children's English abilities, Vero reveals that she was "not worried at all." She continues, "otherwise, I wouldn't even speak Spanish to my kids," explaining that she is more worried about her children's Spanish abilities than their English development. Vero is confident that her children "will have exposure in English" because she trusts in the process of bilingual immersion. She clarifies,

> Vero: "It is not that they are not learning English; they are learning less vocabulary in English. But I think that eventually, they catch up because the school is good. So, the proof that it's not true is that the test results compared to all the schools in [the city] are higher in Dragon Academy in English, even when they spend half of the time learning another language."

Vero does not worry about her child's acquisition of English because she trusts in the research and the quality of the school. As bilingual speakers, perhaps both Vero and Frieda are more confident in their child's acquisition of languages because of their multilingual backgrounds.

However, Vero does note that other parents had voiced their concerns to her about the school neglecting certain aspects of teaching English. She explains,

> Vero: "What is interesting is that they are telling that to me because I'm not a native English speaker, and I think I have a quite… not a perfect vocabulary in English, but I am able to express myself. I studied [for] a master's degree in the States. So, I think you can acquire vocabulary, and that's going to happen. But anyways, I think they don't think about that, that they are telling that to *me*."

Vero notes the parents' irony in voicing their English concerns to her since she is a bilingual non-native English speaker. In fact, Vero sees her own experience of acquiring English proficiency as contradicting the parents' concerns. She also explains that other parents do not consider her

identity as a non-native English speaker, which felt like an erasure to Vero—as Allahar (2005) defines, "the act of neglecting, looking past, minimizing, ignoring, or rendering invisible an other" (p. 125). When other parents discuss their concerns about their child's declining English abilities, they neglect to see Vero as a successful language learner and render her linguistic experience invisible.

Vero's account also reveals the ways in which a dual immersion school may ignore the contributions of language minority families, especially bilingual parents. Valdés (1997) echoes these negatives of dual language immersion in her article, "A Cautionary Note Concerning the Education of Language-Minority Students," in which she raises questions about the quality of education, especially for language-minority students. In her account, she describes how Mexican-origin community members feel disenfranchised in supporting native English students to acquire Spanish, thereby highlighting the "power and powerless in wider society" (p. 17). When other parents express to Vero their fears of their children not being able to acquire English, they inherently dismiss her bilingual identity.

However, what the Dragon Academy parents feel is lacking in the English curriculum are featured as points of contention for Panda Elementary parents. Lance comments on how the Mandarin immersion their school featured was not enough:

> Lance: "Our program is a partial immersion program. If I had my way, I would say it should be a full immersion program."
>
> May: "Why?"
>
> Lance: "Because I think, especially at that age and I'm a little old school in the sense that I feel like you got to push them all the way into it full. I don't believe in softly pushing them in [the language] a little bit. Is it helpful? Yes. But the way our program works, she'd learn

Chinese and math, but she could learn social studies in English, also utilizing Chinese as well."

Recall that Lance had described his experience of being "deprived of a second language", an experience that undoubtedly guided his thoughts about immersion. Lance expresses disdain about his daughter only receiving two subjects in Mandarin, and wishes she received more. Earlier in the interview, Lance hints that despite the Mandarin his daughter was receiving, it did not deter her from reverting to English outside the classroom. He explains, "The funny thing about trying to keep kids on track for stuff like that, is that once they leave that classroom setting, right to play time, they're all speaking English." Seeing the effects of the proliferation of English, Lance feels as if Panda Elementary's Mandarin strand was just the tip of the immersion iceberg. Perhaps because of their diverse linguistic upbringing, Lance, Frieda, and Vero marshal the act of learning a second language often in spite of English. As a result, their experiences and opinions regarding immersion vastly contrast from English monolingual backgrounds.

Apart from English, some of the parents express other concerns about the curriculum taught at Dragon Academy. Describing some of the parents' backlash against the teachers and administrators, Lin explains how the Dragon Academy curriculum differed from that of a more traditional school: "So our kids are so much more aware of global issues and cultural issues. Like, they talk about social justice all the time. They have open conversations about racism, sexism, inequality. And those are things that are very extracurricular in other schools, whereas it's a main focal point at Dragon Academy." Similarly, Yeow, the father of two sixth-graders, discloses that initially, he was "surprised" that the school would so heavily "focus on social justice and the environment and taking an active role and in sort of shaping your world." Later,

Yeow expresses his appreciation for the racially diverse student body of Dragon Academy, which is even more multicultural than his own schooling experience in Singapore.

Some aspects of this curriculum give parents pause. While Lin personally embraces the curriculum, she shares that some parents disagree with the school's world-centric curriculum: "That's like their [Dragon Academy's] unit of thought is like, 'How do you fit into the world?' So I think for some parents, it's very hard for them to be like, 'what are you learning about? You're learning about how you fit into the world? What about learning like the capital of Nebraska?' type of thing." As Lin describes, the school privileges global and cultural knowledge over memorizing capitals of states. This shows a disconnect among parents who are comfortable with their children learning a foreign language but find discomfort in the shift in perspective to a more global worldview, which affects traditional or nationalistic concepts being taught.

Winston describes how his older daughter, who attended Dragon Academy three years ago and is now enrolled in the feeder Mandarin program at the high school, echoes his dissatisfaction with the lack of a traditional U.S. history curriculum. Winston critiques, "I think it's unfortunate that my 8th grader doesn't know anything about the Constitution. Like, I think that's the time. That's really the time I started learning civics and sort of, you know, world history as a global thing." Like many parents, Winston bases his reasoning about what his children should learn on his own educational experiences. By "world history as a global thing," Winston delineates learning about the world as an ancillary topic rather than as an American practice, separating global studies from civics education. Lin's and Winston's testimonies show how parents' expectations conflict with their ideologies regarding the curriculum.

Other parents also feel that their expectations for a quality bilingual educational experience were undermined by topics not related to language. Jennifer expresses that she was often "worrying that the school is sometimes too focused on social justice." As she explains,

> Jennifer: "They do some projects around social justice, and the kids are allowed to choose things like abortion, LGBTQ. And I'm not trying to say like, I don't appreciate my kids understanding this and recognize the world that we live in today. However, I think in fifth grade, it's kind of young. And if my kids wanted to do something that was considered more conservative, like pro-life, they would not allow that."

Like Yeow, Jennifer is surprised by the curriculum; in this case, she deems it too mature for her children. As a "pioneer parent" (Weise, 2014) who enrolled her children in the DLS for the sake of immersion, Jennifer is thrown off guard by the social justice curriculum. She recalls, "I was hearing from other parents what their kids were doing, we were like, oh my gosh. So if our daughter is going to leave anyway, we don't want her exposed to all of that." Jennifer believes that heavy topics such as diversity and inclusion should be reserved for the family, revealing tensions between education taught at school and instruction provided at home. At the time of the interview, Jennifer had decided to withdraw her eldest child from his middle school and was also considering taking her youngest children out of Dragon Academy. Jennifer's worries reflect the impact of parental concerns about their child's education, especially if the school's curriculum does not fit with a parent's view of a dual language immersion school.

4.6 Conclusion

While the parents interviewed in this study fit the economic and academic profile of "designer" or "elite bilingualism" parents (De Costa, 2010), this study offers a more nuanced analysis in uncovering the language ideologies and complex identities of parents who choose

Mandarin immersion for their child. In summary, parents have multifaceted and often complex approaches to and motivations for enrolling their children in a Mandarin-English dual language school. This chapter explores parents' beliefs and ideologies about language learning and educational opportunities, which are often tied to sociolinguistic, economic, political, or sociocultural factors (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016), as well as their own linguistic, cultural, and educational experiences that inform their FLP.

First, parents converge on the benefits of bilingualism but differ in their understanding of Mandarin. Like parents in King & Fogle (2006), parents rely on their knowledge of the academic literature and "expert advice" regarding bilingualism. Findings show that the parents in this study are largely knowledgeable about academic research regarding bilingualism— not surprisingly, due to their high economic and academic achievements. Many of the parents in this study are aware of the linguistic flexibility of young children to acquire a second native language and wanted a bilingual immersion experience for their children, regardless of language. As a result, parents balance the perceived difficulty of Mandarin with their child's language resiliency. They also converge on the belief that learning a language is infused in the brain, and even heritage language loss is repairable and re-immerse in the native language. At the same time, their views about China and the Chinese language often reflect conflicting and often contradictory ideologies—such as praising the economic ability of China while admonishing the Chinese government or accepting "tiger mother parenting" but rejecting Chinese maternal forms of address.

While parents perceive Mandarin as a valued, exoticized, and othered language, they still recognize the primacy of English. Parents want their child to acquire Mandarin insofar that it did not interfere with their English acquisition, and at times they worried that it would. Under Curdt-

Christiansen's (2016) model of factors influencing FLP, English's sociopolitical context in the United States explains why many families give precedence to English as the dominant or majority language, even for families who enroll their children in Mandarin immersion programs. Despite research that shows their children will eventually surpass their non-immersion peers in English, parents worry that their children's reading and writing skills may suffer. Even for parents who are well-read on the benefits of bilingualism, they may not necessarily be comfortable with the prospect of their children's language learning having unintended consequences on their academic performance in English.

Parents of Mandarin immersion learners show high expectations and interest in their educational futures. This chapter addresses the stories of real parents that use their means and community resources to chart the direction of their child's education. Despite most of them not speaking the language and often in the absence of a linguistic support network, the parents in this study advocate actively for their child's education, developing strategies to enroll their children in their desired school. As highly educated, well-resourced, and motivated parents, they took proactive steps to research and plan for their child's education, including scouring message boards, touring schools, and even camping outside for a chance to be first on the application list. This study adds insight into how parents make decisions or enact various strategies to garner a spot at one of the city's most prestigious or sought-after schools. The data also speaks to how parents form their own "third space" for schooling, looking at DLS as a suitable substitute in the face of perceived lack of quality schools in the area and the rising costs of private institutions. Third spaces can be a confluence of "school and home when the traditional academic space transforms, becoming a more humanizing and equitable space that blends home and school experiences and where knowledge learned at home is valued and drawn upon in the classroom"

(Turner, 2016, p. 109). In applying Turner's definition, the school choice is not a fixed entity, but a dynamic one in which the parents, teachers, and school administrators work together to continually reshape. Parents speak of their child's experience learning the Chinese language with an American style of questioning, creating a third space for language learning. Parents are expressive in their concerns and negotiate with the teachers and school administrators about best practices. Instead of being passive recipients, parents become active agents in negotiating their own home and schooling experiences.

Finally, as evidenced in the data, parents' own personal experiences shape their child's language learning and, in turn, are shaped by their child's linguistic experiences. For example, a multilingual speaker herself, Vero calls her children "Chinese kids" because of their ability to serve as cultural and linguistic ambassadors. In another example, Yeow, as the only member of his family who did not speak Chinese growing up, saw his own children interacting with his relatives in his native language. De Houwer (1999) writes that a parent's beliefs and attitudes can influence their child's language use, but the opposite is also true: the child's language behavior also affects parents' perception and decisions regarding language. Parents exert their identities as parents of emerging bilinguals in complex, context-driven ways. Via language learning, monolingual English-speaking parents express how they gave their child opportunities they never had but wished they did. As bilingual and multilingual parents reflect upon their linguistic journeys, many note how Mandarin has added to, rather than subtracted from or replaced, their own ethnic identity or native language. These parents view themselves as raising global citizens or ambassadors for a greater understanding, not only of the Chinese language but also Chinese people. Meanwhile, parents who are ethnically Chinese indicate a stronger affiliation with their ethnic identity and familial association due to their enrollment in Mandarin immersion programs.

Regardless of parental views, however, the parents in this study indicate that they grant greater agency to their children in guiding their educational futures. While they have set the linguistic foundation, it is ultimately up to their children whether they will maintain the language. While this chapter presents some of the beliefs of attitudes parents hold in, the next chapter will investigate how these ideologies translate into actual practices. Pertinent to this discussion is how language policies match or conflict with their individual home policies. The next chapter will continue to explore in depth how their FLPs contribute to the parental identities of Mandarin language learners.

Chapter 5
Parents' Family Language Policies and Practices

5.1 Introduction

Parental ideologies regarding language may heavily influence parents' decision making. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2013), "At the home front, some parents make conscious decisions and plans to enrich their children's linguistic repertoire or to maintain their home language" (p. 277). In this chapter, I turn to a closer look at how parents actively incorporate Mandarin in their day-to-day lives.

I analyze the participants' language choices and practices at home that are, according to Curdt-Christiansen (2016), "value-laden in everyday interactions and explicitly negotiated and established through FLP" (p. 1). In exploring these values, I examine Part 2 of my research questions:

> *How do parents of a child enrolled in a Mandarin dual language school discuss how they engage with Mandarin in the home? What are their types and levels of engagement? What do their insights reveal about explicit and implicit family language policies and practices and about their identities as parents of Mandarin language learners?*

To aid in my analysis, I refer once again to Curdt-Christiansen's model of interacting factors of Family Language Policy to explore parents' language maintenance and their practices.

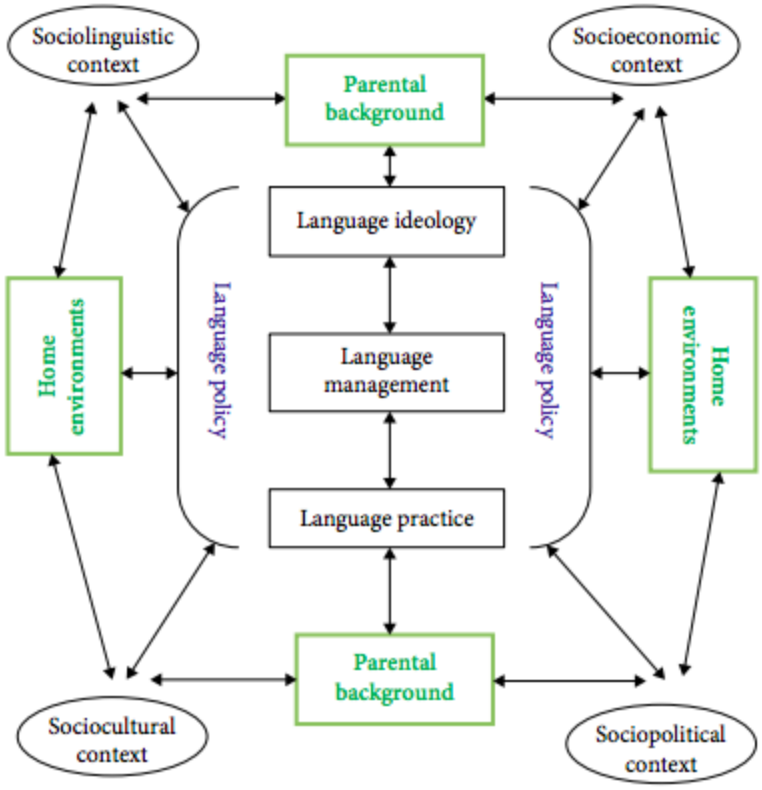

Figure 2. *Curdt-Christiansen's model (2014) of interacting factors or contexts that affect Family Language policy.*

This chapter dives into how parents' ideologies interact with Language Management, how parents negotiate their children's language use, and Language Practices, how their children actively use or resist the parents' policies. Regarding Language Management, I first examine parents' expectations for their child's learning of Mandarin. Next, I look at how parents interact with(in) four main domains: the school, family members, community partners, and literacy and media resources. I primarily consider how parents who have no knowledge of the language facilitate opportunities for their child to learn Mandarin. Within each domain, I also address the various Language Practices and policies parents set for their children's language use and how they enforce these rules. These parental linguistic practices range from "the highly planned and orchestrated, to the invisible, laissez-faire practices" (Caldas, 2012, p. 352). In this intersection

of beliefs and practices, I unpack the ways in which parents' rules may overlap or contradict one another, including language policies that may affect their family values or thoughts about media and technology consumption. Finally, I explore how Language Management and Language Practices both impact parental beliefs and shape parental identities.

5.2 "I'm a Little Bit of a Nazi": Parents' Language Expectations

In diving into an exploration of family language policies, it is crucial first to highlight parental expectations with language acquisition. Learning Mandarin in a dual language school or program may differ from learning the language in other situations, especially since students may only receive the target language instruction 50% of the time, as is the case for Dragon Academy students, or in two subject areas (math and science), as is the case for Panda Elementary students. Due to the constraints on instruction, parents may have different expectations regarding their child's fluency. Discussions with parents revealed how parents were able to manage their expectations with language learning. The language learning process requires planning, as Keri described: "Learning Chinese, your kid is probably not going to get fluent unless you have a whole plan for getting them fluent because I don't think that the school even necessarily bills itself that way. I think that they are like, we're giving you an incredible grounding in Mandarin." Keri points out that the dual language school is not guaranteeing fluency in the language but rather a solid educational foundation. Keri is realistic about her children's learning of Mandarin and knows that enrolling in a school as their main FLP is not enough to become fluent.

Carol also believed that the school was not the only important factor in their children becoming bilingual. She recommended, "I think [parents] need to be educated about the process of learning new languages and what to expect and how to support it at home... they should be

thinking about the educational plan for supporting bilingualism after the elementary level." Both mothers referred to having a "plan" for language learning, emphasizing that parents need to take both informed and deliberate steps to achieve bilingualism, if that is their intended desire.

However, for some parents, the ability to receive *some* Mandarin instruction may be the goal of their FLP. This expectation was often the case for the bilingual or multilingual parents in my study, who privileged their native tongues over Mandarin. As a native Spanish speaker, Maria explains:

> Maria: "My standard for Chinese is, I'm happy if they have some level of fluency that they can work on when they're older. I don't expect them, because we don't speak Chinese at home, to have that… I am not unrealistic that way in what my expectations are. I just want them to at least be able to express themselves and do well enough in writing and reading. But my expectations are lower than what I expect in Spanish."

Maria's lowered expectations for her children using Mandarin are a direct result of the fact that she is not a Mandarin speaker. Her low expectations may also represent a lowered belief in her ability to facilitate Mandarin learning, compensated by her high expectations for Spanish. Maria continued, "Because I think that the Spanish-- I'm a little bit of a Nazi with this. You know, there are different ways in which people speak a language proficiently. For me, my standard for Spanish is that my children must be able to speak like a native speaker, i.e., like me." In comparison to Mandarin, with which she is presumably more lax, when it comes to Spanish Maria self-proclaims herself as a "Nazi" or a strict enforcer of her native language. So, these parents who value multilingualism do not treat all of the languages equally. In this case, Maria, who is a heritage Spanish speaker, is much stricter about using Spanish in the home than Chinese.

To enforce Spanish language use at home, Maria adopted One Parent One Language (OPOL), a century-old strategy of managing bilingual acquisition and an early Family Language Policy theory (Grammont, 1902). Maria described how it works in her household: "So my kids, they grew up bilingual Spanish/English. They only speak Spanish to me, and they only speak English to their dad. And I am also very strict at home." Under OPOL, called the "The Holy Grail of Language Planning" (Wilson, 2020, p. 9), each parent speaks a different language as part of the home FLP. In turn, Maria's children must talk to her and her partner in these assigned languages, which Maria reveals that she enforces through "strict" authoritarian rule. Maria also undertook speaking the minority language, common in mixed language households (Lanza, 2004). All three native Spanish-speaking parents (including Maria) implemented plans to teach their children in Spanish. The other two mothers, Vero and Magaly, describe their multilingual FLPs:

> Vero: "Our house is a little crazy. That's to put it in simple words. I speak to my kids 100% in Spanish. My husband, who is also from Panama, speaks to them in 85% Spanish, and the rest is French because he's a French native speaker."
>
> Magaly: "I have a rule that at bedtime— If it's my turn to do bedtime, I will always read one book in Spanish. Like it's always one daughter picks one book and the other daughter picks one book. One book always has to be in Spanish. They can pick a book in English, but they always have to pick a book in Spanish. And it's always understood. I don't think my husband has that rule. I think he can read books in English, but I always read in Spanish."

For the Spanish-speaking mothers, using Spanish was non-negotiable, emphasized through words such as "100%," "only," and "always" to describe their unequivocal commitment to teaching their heritage language. These descriptions contrasted with their partners' linguistic practices, who

spoke another language natively, or in the case of Magaly's husband, who also spoke Spanish, but who had more flexibility to use other languages.

However, it was not only Spanish mothers that chose to speak their native languages to their children deliberately. The data revealed that all immigrant parents, including Frieda, a French-speaking mother, and Bear, a German-speaking father, all had deliberate conversations with their children to speak their native language at home. Frieda described how she negotiates her son's language use in both French and English:

> Frieda: "I would say in the house, we require that he speaks French. And when we do have French families over, I asked him that they do speak French among them. Although the French-speaking parents-- we are all the same-- we want to hear them communicate in their native or like our native language, I guess. But I also asked him to respect that when there is a person who doesn't speak the language he wants to communicate with me, which would be French in some instances, that he does respect and change into English so everybody can communicate."

In Frieda's household, the prescribed language is French unless there is an interlocutor who does not speak French, in which case she asks her son to communicate in English out of "respect." Through her explanation of language policies, Frieda inherently incorporates morality in teaching her children to switch to English to include rather than exclude others. This finding was consistent with Reay's (2020) study that showed families' FLP not only underscored the link between family and culture but also "the morals and value systems that underpin them" (p. 125).

Multilingual non-Chinese families may have complex policies that reflect their varied language situations. In Bear's case, his FLP to send his son to a German immersion school and his

daughter to a Mandarin immersion school, mirroring Bear's native German and his wife Mary's native Mandarin, reflected a more modern day OPOL. As he describes,

> Bear: "So when the entire family is together: Mary, Molly, Brian and me, it's English. But then, when Brian and I, for instance, want to coordinate something without the girls knowing it, it's German. And the same is true for them. When they want to play a trick on us, their default language is Mandarin. Or when they want to prepare, when they're in a social setting, and Molly wants to get some hints from Mary on how to appear better or what to do better, then the default language is Mandarin. It's almost like the secret code between everyone."

Bear lovingly referred to his varied FLP as a "broken phone," or Telephone, a game in which a messenger conveys their message to another, who says what they heard to another—until the last player reveals the message, usually to humorous effect. Bear characterizes the languages used in his household in a way that focuses less on enforcement and more on jovial social situations, such as playing "tricks" or using "secret codes" among various family members. Like Frieda, Bear teaches his child to code-switch "in terms of the suitability of each language in a particular interaction" (Wilson, 2020, p. 9). In other words, their FLP includes teaching their children to use certain languages not only for particular addressees but for various social situations. While Bear is optimistic about his global family using various codes, his FLP decision to split his mixed heritage family for his two children to be enrolled in separate immersion schools seems like he is pursuing a 'multilingual ideal'— not so much only Mandarin as a language of opportunity in a globalized world.

The non-ethnic Chinese participants in my study were more outwardly spoken about their heritage language planning, with many of these parents revealing that they had little or no

engagement with Mandarin, at least not explicitly. One parent, Margaret, expressed that she did "literally nothing to aid the Chinese, whatsoever" to incorporate the language into their daily lives. As revealed in the previous chapter, many parents did not speak Mandarin fluently and relied on the dual language school for their language use as their primary FLP. They were confident in their child's learning of Mandarin so much so that they did not feel the need to facilitate the language at home. In addressing the needs of parents, school officials need to consider that some parents prefer to be more hands-off.

5.3 Family Language Policy Domains

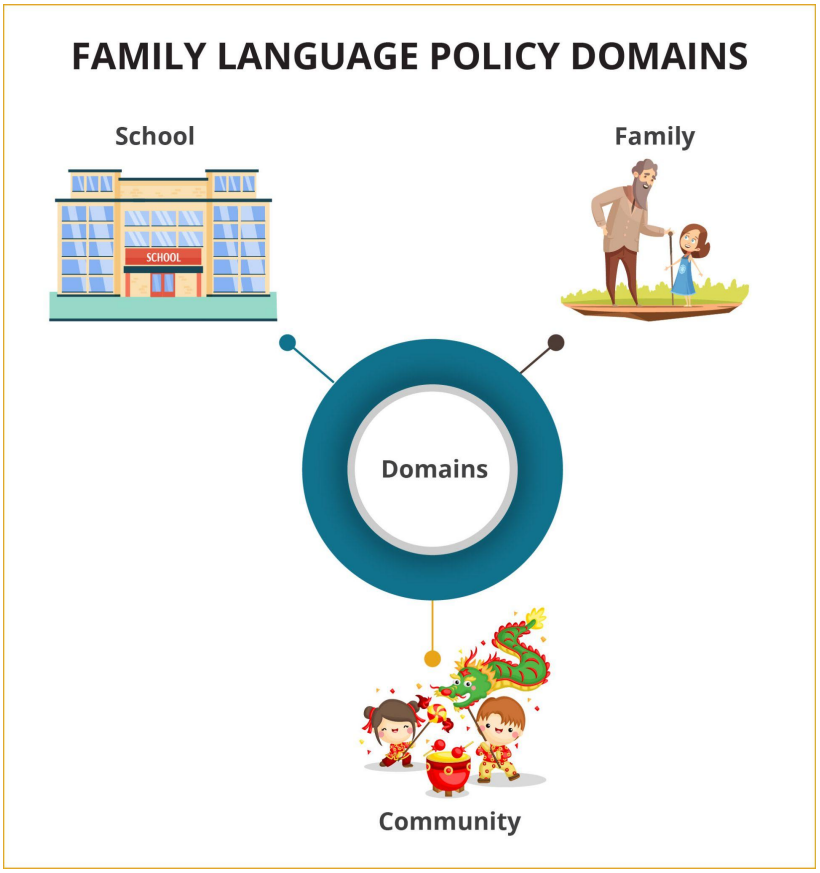

Illustration 1. *An illustration of Family Language Policy Domains*

Spolsky (2012) argued for an examination of language through the use of "domains",

which consists of a participant of a speech community whereby "each participant may have their own beliefs about language choice" (p. 4). Spolsky explores how language is constructed through domains such as religion, business, military, and health, examining the pockets in which language is spoken. In other words, each domain has its own unique ecology with complex systems of linguistic exchange. From the data, there emerged four specific areas in which parents incorporated Mandarin, what I refer to as the three domains for language learning: the dual language school, family members, and community support. In the following sections, I address how families seek out language support for their children, how parents discuss their children's reaction to the intervention strategies and parental concerns regarding these resources.

In describing the school domain, I evaluate how the DLS, including school officials and administrators, teachers, and support staff can influence family decisions. I unpack what parents expect from their child's school in not only a form of immersion education but also a source of language learning. In the next domain, the family, I discuss how different members of the household contribute to the FLP. I detail three types of parenting styles, giving examples of how parents include Mandarin in their at-home learning. In this section, I also discuss the role of grandparents, siblings, and other extended family members in providing language support. In the last domain, I describe the role of the community resources in facilitating language, including visiting the museum, touring local Chinatowns, or attending events at the embassy. I investigate how parents turn to tutors, au pairs, and live-in teachers to provide more direct linguistic support. In these domains, parents reveal the many ways in which they facilitate at-home linguistic support.

5.3.1 The First Domain: Dual Language School

As Spolsky (2012) states, "the school has turned out to be one of the most powerful institutions attempting to influence the family domain by proclaiming the need for everyone to speak the language chosen as the instructional medium" (p. 5). Research on parental involvement in school is a crucial factor for student success, and the same is true for dual language schools (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008; Craig, 1996; Peña, 1998). Parents in this study revealed how the school aided their facilitation with Mandarin at home, from teachers sending consistent messages informing them of their child's progress to recommendations for movies in Mandarin to watch, language learning apps to download, or local cultural events to attend. Historically, schools plan outreach events for parents to help them feel more connected to the school (Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Henderson et al., 2007), and dual language immersion schools are no exception. Dragon Academy also offers optional Mandarin language classes for parents, although only three parents admitted to taking the classes. Mara enrolled in the school-sponsored language classes simultaneously with her children until she realized that her children were outperforming her in Mandarin.

> Mara: "I [took classes] when the kids… I think when they were four when they started school. And I took a class, and I came out of it. I have a mental block counting to 10; I think I always skip nine, I can't remember nine. And one day, I was like saying 'shuāyá.' Kids were like, 'why are you telling me to brush my teeth right now?' I said, 'but you understood what I said!'"

While Mara only took one class, she retained specific phrases. At this moment, she realized her self-efficacy in being "understood" in speaking Mandarin. For parents who may not know the target language, taking language classes at their children's school can serve as a means to assess

their children's language comprehension. Mara and her children can discuss and negotiate meanings behind words, building the familial bonds between mother and child.

In addition to teaching the language, schools can provide a social connection to the culture, including a "teaching of folk arts and traditional cultural practices from students' communities" (Wu, 2013, p. 41). As Carol describes, Dragon Academy also provides a ripe opportunity for families to engage with Chinese culture through holiday celebrations or events. She reiterates, "So we might go to events at the Chinese embassy, or we'll go to Chinese opera. We just went to a Lunar New Year festival. The school itself has a Lunar New Year event where, you know, the whole event is just in Chinese. The parents can come to it. We do a lot through the school, a lot of events." Despite the lack of linguistic maintenance at home, Carol provides her children with social connections to Chinese culture through the school. While Kung (2013) showed that Chinese-speaking parents believe it is their responsibility to pass on their heritage language and culture to their children, for non-Chinese monolingual English parents like Carol, the school becomes the foundation for introducing cultural events and nurturing cross-cultural understanding.

As far as providing a linguistic connection between home and school, four out of 21 parents (19%) did note that their school provided "packets" of Mandarin worksheets. However, one parent mentioned that she had to "ask for them," implying that it was not readily available. However, during the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic, the interviewees discussed how they picked up packets from the school when the school was closed.

Aside from a packet of Mandarin worksheets or a list of promising phone applications, Dragon Academy does not give out homework until fifth grade, releasing parents from any expectations regarding helping their child with homework in a language they likely do not

understand. In Curdt-Christiansen's (2013) study on Chinese-diaspora families in Singapore, "mothers communicate with their children during routine homework support and by this realize their FLP" (p. 8-9). Homework serves a vital role for parents to socialize their children in the language and as an opportunity for linguistic input. Therefore, the absence of homework would also indicate a diminished opportunity for Mandarin connection. As Magaly describes, "I mean, I wish I could help them [with Mandarin], but the school doesn't require homework... It doesn't expect us to be able to help them." The message Magaly received from the school's lack of homework requirements meant lowered parental expectations for language management.

This minimal approach to homework hasn't always been the case at Dragon Academy, however. One parent, Lena, discussed the school's change in policy since the time she enrolled her eldest daughter:

> Lena: "So when she started in kindergarten, first grade, they would send home homework packets. And during those first parent-teacher conferences, I spoke with the teachers, and I said, 'Look, I love that you guys are so invested in helping the kid learn, but I send my daughter to school for… Like, she's gone for six hours out of the day. And when she comes home, there are just other things that are more important, like the time she spends with our family and her siblings. We're not going to be doing the homework. Is that a problem?' And they were all really supportive and understanding. And within a couple of years, they just stopped. Like, I think it became a school, just a school-wide thing, that they pretty much stopped sending home homework packets."

Perhaps one of the first voices in Dragon Academy's no homework movement, Lena actively pushed back against the school's homework practices because she felt they constrained her family values. For Lena, her FLP of sending her daughter to the school for six hours was enough.

Nine out of the 19 Dragon Academy parents (47%) spoke positively about the fact that there was no expectation for homework help. Recall Mara, who cited her expertise as a child psychologist in the last chapter in discussing bilingualism's cognitive benefits. She supported the claim of forgoing homework as pedagogically sound. Mara reasoned, "There's so much research that shows that no homework is, you know, beneficial. Like the only thing you want your kids to do is read outside of school. But other than that, doing homework in elementary school, there's no research showing a benefit." In lieu of homework, the school shifted its home literacy focus (perhaps due to the research, as Mara suggested) to have parents read to their children in English and their children read to their parents in Mandarin. However, as Jennifer notes, even the expectation for reading can be unrealistic for busy families. She explains,

> Jennifer: "Well, they're not, you know they don't do a lot of homework there, which is good and bad. I mean, I kind of love it. What they really focus on is they say, 'Read. You read to the kid and have them read, and that's the most important thing.' So, read in Mandarin, read in English. They don't do a ton of Mandarin because when you're like 20 minutes, four kids, that's a lot of time, right?"

Further, the participants revealed the message from the school administrators relayed was that if the parents actively engaged with Mandarin at home, it would contradict or be counterproductive to their children's learning. When asked about the 'no homework' policy, Margaret responded, "I think that's why they [the school administrators] said, "Don't enforce Chinese at home because then Chinese becomes a chore." Margaret was explicitly told not to engage with Mandarin as a home FLP because her children would perceive the language as anything other than fun or engaging. Shohamy (2006) writes that schools also represent a form of "authority imposing rules about what is 'allowed' to be used in language and what is not" (p. 11). For the school

administrators to recommend Margaret forgo Mandarin as instruction at home suggests there may be variation in what parents believed in what support looks like for their children. Some parents did not want their children to resent Mandarin by requiring them to speak it at home and so, kept the language learning at school only. This separation of languages also strengthens the school as a knowledge-bearing institution and source of language expertise. In comparison, studies of Spanish immersion schools feature workshops with parents that specifically focus on at-home intervention strategies (Garcia, 2017; Maldonado-Higle, 2014), while there was a dearth in literature for similar workshops serving parents attending Mandarin dual language schools. It could be that the perception of Mandarin as a “difficult” language as revealed in Chapter 4 may lead schools to relax expectations for non-Mandarin-speaking parents so as to not intimidate them from participating in the program.

While Dragon Academy recommends against *enforcing* the language, some parents try their hand at supplementing at-home learning. For example, Panda Elementary parent, Lance, asks his daughter what she learned in school every day to reinforce the subject material. Lance explains his strategy, "The minimum that'll do is even if you're not learning Chinese and you're trying to get them to teach you a little bit, they are saying and maybe pointing out the characters and saying the language. And so by repeating what they've learned that day, it's like homework without you telling them to do homework." Lance enacts a role reversal FLP where his daughter serves as the language expert who teaches her father the lessons she’s learned. Lance does not let his lack of Mandarin proficiency hinder him from providing his daughter with supplemental home instruction.

Another father, Winston, does not let either his lack of Mandarin knowledge or lack of school-based homework deter him from helping his daughter. He dismisses homework as a task

with which non-Mandarin-speaking parents cannot engage, citing, "It's just homework. I can't do algebra anymore either. But I can be there, and I can help. I mean, I can search the web for them and find stuff. Once you understand what the specific problem is, what the expectation is, then I think that you can support it."

Despite not knowing Mandarin, Winston is still engaged and present in his children's education. He remarks,

> Winston: "I make sure that they do the work. I ask if they need help. And most of the time, they say they don't. Then I see the report card, and it's like, 'Oops!' I mean, I drill into it. 'Why is this grade lower than the other grades? How can I help?' And usually, she won't tell me, but the teacher will. I mean, I don't know. Dragon Academy is super supportive."

Winston stays informed about his daughters' progress through report cards and conversing with the teachers. As the other parents have alluded, the school remains a stronghold not only for linguistic maintenance but also for parental support and reassurance. The reliance on teachers and school administrators shows the need for variability for parents, between offering strong home support to a more hands-off approach, in order to sustain a child's language learning.

In summary, interviews with parents revealed that for some parents, especially for non-ethnic Chinese families, the DLS is the major source of their FLP. Parents revealed how they were informed by school administrators not to maintain the language and negotiated with teachers regarding homework so that it would not become a chore. Other parents, however, took on the role of maintaining the language at home, even if they had no Mandarin proficiency. The DLS provides parents with connections to Chinese culture and language, especially for parents

who would not otherwise have these connections. These insights prove that strong school partnerships are viable to families in their child's learning of Mandarin.

5.3.2 The Second Domain: Family Members

While the school is a primary resource for many families regarding language maintenance, parents also provide opportunities for their children to learn Mandarin in often subtle ways. I begin by describing how parents engage with Mandarin at home via different approaches, either through direct or indirect reinforcement. Next, I explain how other family members, including grandparents and other extended family members as well as siblings, are important to negotiating children's language use within the domicile.

Parents: Authoritarian, Authoritative, and Permissive

In her groundbreaking work on parenting styles, Diana Baumrind (1971) examines three different typologies: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. Authoritarian parents expect discipline and set clear goals for which their children must achieve. The parent is the absolute power authority who expects obedience and little questioning or pushback. In comparison, authoritative parents maintain firm discipline for their children but are also willing to consider their child's perspectives. These parents strike a balance between authoritarian and permissive styles. Lastly, permissive parents give their children autonomy and put few restrictions into place as part of their child-rearing.

In the context of Baumrind's work, I adopt these three parenting styles as a framework in determining three subsets of parents' engagement with Mandarin based on their home FLP. In Figure 4, I label each parent by category. It is also worth noting that these styles relate specifically to their use of Mandarin at home and may or may not be indicative of their overall

child-rearing practices. I describe each type of parent before delving into examples from the participants in this study.

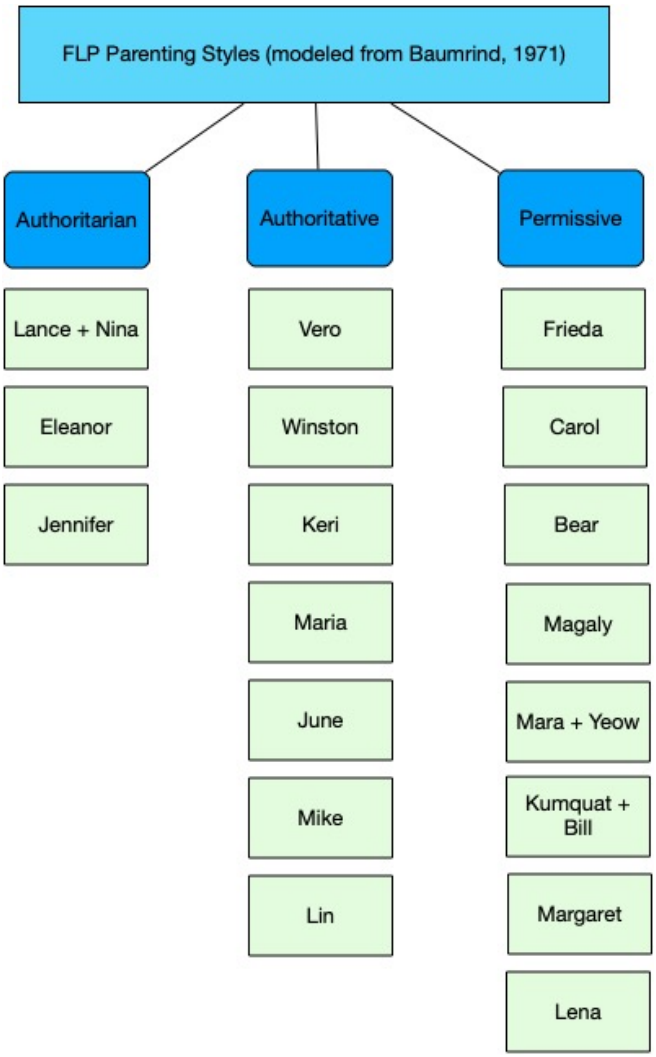

Figure 4. *Grouping of Parents by FLP Parenting Styles.*

The first category consists of Authoritarian parents who explicitly enforce Mandarin at home. These parents will often respond how they will 'push' their children to learn Mandarin, reference how they used reverse psychology, or "forced" their children into at-home immersion regardless of their children's sentiments. They exhibit high levels of control in enacting their FLP, often disregarding their childrens' reactions. This category featured two Asian-American

parents, Eleanor and Lance, both of whom referenced their linguistic background as motivation for maintaining Mandarin.

The second grouping of parents are Authoritative parents who play an active role in their child's language learning but who are not as aggressive in their policies as the Authoritarians. Like Authoritarians, these parents exercise high levels of control over their children's language learning, but they exhibit high levels of warmth. Authoritative parents have set rules for language at home such as "speak only Chinese" Sundays or maintain rules for speaking Mandarin with relatives but were less stringent about enforcing them. They often have discussions with their children regarding their language learning process and are both responsive and demanding when it comes to maintaining the FLP. This category consisted of a majority of Multilingual parents, who empathized with their children about their bilingual skills and often were more restrictive in their own heritage languages than they were with Mandarin.

The third category consisted of Permissive parents, permissive guardians who believe that their children learn a language passively or through play. These parents revealed that they did not have any fixed or definite rules, were mostly "hands off" when it came to their children's FLP, or they mostly relied on the DLS for language maintenance. Half of the parents who fell into this category were Monolingual English parents, citing their lack of Mandarin ability as the main impetus for their laissez-faire approach. The other parents were confident in their children being able to acquire Mandarin through passive means, using words like "fun" or "play". The next section details of how they exemplify these styles:

Authoritarians: Pushers of FLP

Kim and Wong (2002) summarize Baumrind and Black's (1967) authoritarian parenting as attempting to "control their children through a set of standards, emphasize respect for

authority and order, and discourage democratic exchanges between the parent and child" (p. 186). In this context, Authoritarian parents will strictly enforce Mandarin education at home, despite their child's protestations. All four parents used the word "push" to describe how they encouraged their children to use Mandarin.

Recall from the last chapter how Lance, a Chinese-heritage parent, admitted he was "deprived" of a language. Cognizant of the fact that languages can be lost if they are not used, Lance consequently believes he should "push" his child to learn Mandarin. He reasoned, "I think if we don't push her, she'll easily say, 'okay, I don't have to [learn Mandarin]. Now, I can, you know, do whatever I feel like or do something different.' I think, though, as long as we keep her on track and pushing her toward it."

As an Authoritarian parent, Lance believes it is his responsibility to encourage his daughter to practice the language. He also believes that if he exerts pressure on his child, she will appreciate it over time. He reasons, "You just force them into it and say, you got to do it all the time no matter what. And then you super immerse them. Now, can they hate it? Sure. But you hope that in the long run, like us as adults, always look back at, like, 'Oh, I'm glad mom gave me piano lessons or taught me this or that.'" Although he recognizes that his daughter may end up disliking language learning, Lance rejects that possibility in favor of what he believes is best for his child, continuing his FLP at the risk of his child rejecting the language and potentially himself.

Another Authoritarian parent, Eleanor, explained how she compelled her child to speak Mandarin by preparing her daughter to converse with strangers,

Eleanor: "She's shy by nature, and so she's not like super… like, she's just kind of shy. Like even if in any situation, Chinese or not, she is a little hesitant when people start

speaking to her. But then I'm like pushing it out, like, 'Show me. Speak Chinese.' And then she does it. When she's in a right frame for it, she'll do it. She'll speak. But she's shy, and she's soft-spoken. And I'm like, 'Speak loudly and clearly so they can understand what you're saying.' Then, I'll have her practice a couple of times, and then she'll go talk to them."

Even if speaking in public seemed antithetical to her child's timid personality, Eleanor trains her child to articulate so others can understand her. She uses a series of imperative commands to her daughter to "speak" and "show" her the language, emphasizing her parental control. In doing so, Eleanor establishes her FLP of Mandarin not as a language just to be used by the daughter individually, or only in the context of school, but as a performative speech act that must be "practiced" before she can engage with strangers.

In another example, Eleanor discusses how she encourages her child to reaffirm her Mandarin through reviewing her baby books,

Eleanor: "When I had her the other day looking at Chinese books, and we were going over words, she couldn't remember them. I was like, 'No, you're gonna have to.' Because I had these baby books, they're meant for babies. And I'm like, 'Here's the tiger,' like the word for tiger. And then 'rabbit,' and then the colors. We can't give these away for another kid because you keep forgetting them. So, I reincorporated Chinese time too."

In this exchange, Eleanor explains how she refused to accept her daughter's forgetfulness of words in her Mandarin baby books. She also reminds her child, who was nine years old at the time of recording, that the books are meant "for babies," which shows that Eleanor has set higher expectations for her daughter's linguistic ability. In doing so, Eleanor also places the burden on

her daughter by telling that she is possibly depriving another child of a book because the daughter continues to forget Mandarin words. Eleanor positions herself as an authority figure, wielding "Chinese time" as somewhat of a punishment for her daughter's memory lapses.

Both Lance and Eleanor's identities as Asian American parents present another lens through which to examine their Authoritarian Parent strategies. As Ang (2006) states, "the ways in which family members relate to each other are primarily a reflection of culture" (p. 504). Studies on Asian and Asian American parenting practices show that strict and disciplinarian child-rearing practices, which were often seen as controlling, were actually signs of care and concern for their children (Chao, 1994, Chao & Sue, 1996). Further, parents of Asian heritage may value intense scrutiny over their children as a means of bestowing filial attention (Chao, 2000). Asian cultures also place a greater emphasis on education than Western cultures, according to Confucian teachings (Ang, 2006), which could lead to more parental devotion to their child's academic activities (Coleman, 1987; Waite, Rindfuss, and Detray, 1986). As Authoritarian Parents, Lance and Eleanor may be enacting strict disciplinarian practices, centered in Asian cultural values, intended to help their children succeed in learning the language rather than as a means of being malicious or punitive.

Authoritative Parents - Supporters of FLP

Lance and Eleanor are not the only parents who create or engineer opportunities for their children to speak Mandarin. Vero reveals the lengths that other non-Chinese speaking Dragon Academy parents will go to inhabit or experience authentic language-speaking environments. As Vero asserts, "Look, I know a parent who used to take her daughter to Chinatown to speak with Chinese tourists, so her daughter will practice Chinese. So, what I do is nothing." Parents like

Vero may believe that they are not doing enough to facilitate their children's language learning compared to other parents.

However, when I probed Vero further to explain what she does to encourage Mandarin, she explained her strict FLP. She states, the "The rules are like, if you don't do your homework like writing, you cannot watch TV at all. And if you watch TV, you have to be either in French or in Chinese. Just half an hour every day." In Vero's household, Mandarin becomes a transactional reward after completing their homework. As an Authoritative parent, she gives her children agency in their choices and is highly responsive to their needs. As Darling and Steinberg (1993) describe, Authoritative parents "were warm, established clear, rational guidelines while allowing the child autonomy within those boundaries, and clearly communicated both their expectations and the reasons behind them" (p. 489) Vero also addressed conversations she had with her children about the importance of learning languages, as well as the reasoning why they may experience difficulties in becoming multilingual:

> Vero: "I also talked to them and said, 'This is good for your future and for your brain, your brain structure and how you might have less vocabulary now' because they noticed that they have limitations in English. They know that and I said, 'But you have the ability to understand things that other people don't and that's super cool.' And they like science so they have accepted this as true, as a good thing."

Wary of the kids' emotions, Vero serves as a language mediator who encourages her child to learn Mandarin but does not "push" them as hard as perhaps Lance or Eleanor. In contrast to the Authoritarian parents, Authoritative parents exercise high expectations but with less control. Vero holds out the idea of taking one's children to Chinatown for conversation practice with tourists as an extreme example—but, she still does promote her daughter's language learning

through enforcement of their writing homework but does so with seemingly less overt pressure. By allowing her children the choice of whether to complete their homework, Vero allows her children some autonomy in their learning, but not all. The discussions Vero has with her children also underscores that she appreciates the verbal give and take in a "reciprocity of communication and use of explanations and reasoning" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 492).

While Authoritative from Authoritarian parents both have high expectations for their children, what separates Authoritative parents is the knowledge of their children's progress, awareness of their children's feelings toward language learning, and the ability to mold their expectations to feedback. Maria, who exhibits an Authoritative FLP explains that her parenting style when it comes to her FLP is to be "ready to be supportive of your child. Also to 'enforce' when they need to go the extra mile." As Baumrind (1968) states, "The authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct" (p. 261). Parents in this category had clearly delineated rules for language maintenance at home, but were flexible in carrying them out. Instead, they used words like "support" and "understand" their child's struggles, while still maintaining high expectations.

Authoritative Winston also admitted that although he has no competence in teaching the language and does not do much other work to guide his daughter at home, he has in the past used drills to help her with writing characters. As he described,

> Winston: "Long story short, we do almost no home support. For a while, Katy was having trouble with stroke order. And so, like in the first grade or something, when they first started doing Chinese characters, first or second grade, she was having a lot of trouble; she was doing really badly with it. So, we sat down together every afternoon, and we did and

wrote three characters ten times and went through the stroke order. And learned it, just on paper. And that was very helpful. And she's never had problems with Chinese since then."

Though Winston does not specifically "push" their children to learn, he informally works with his daughter through writing practice and other writing drills. Winston noted that he used a website, Yellowbridge, an online Mandarin-English translator, and would follow along in learning the tutorials on character strokes. As an Authoritative parent, Winston is "warm, democratic, and firm with their children" (Kim & Wong, 2002, p. 186). Winston reveals that he sits with his child to go over the stroke order, using the plural pronoun "we" in describing sitting alongside his child. Similar to Berger (2012), who wrote that Authoritative parents "consider themselves guides, not authorities" (p. 299). These parents, like Winston, also talk about how they would sit with their child to go over concepts. Military spouse, Mike, would explain that in the early years of his daughter's schooling: "There were a lot of tears, it was frustrating for her to feel it out." Nevertheless, Mike explained how he not only drove his daughter to school and "would sit in the class with her." While the Authoritative parents will reference that they are not experts in Mandarin, they will nevertheless accompany their children in their language learning journey.

Winston's style of learning facilitation is reminiscent of Fung and Cheng's (2012) study with Hong Kong parents who, in home-based literacy instruction, "preferred traditional academic drills and rote learning," including dictation (p. 24). When asked about using more modern learning applications such as phone applications to help his child write in stroke order, Winston rejected its usage in favor of more traditional learning. He reflected,

Winston: "There's just… A lot of stuff that's worth doing isn't *fun*. It's not *fun* to study or write a term paper or do research. It can be interesting, and it can be challenging, and there

> could be moments of fun, but a lot of it is just frickin' hard work. And you just have to buckle down and do the hard work. And, playing a bunch of games and jumping up and down, that's not what it's gonna be like when you get a job."

Winston believes that language learning requires diligence and behavioral control, rejecting the "fun" or the game-fied nature of some language learning applications. Although a white parent, Winston's perspective dovetails with Confucian principles, which emphasize "effort and willpower as the essence of successful learning" (Fung & Cheng, 2012, p. 27). He believes the effort put into learning a language can translate into other life skills such as acquiring an occupation.

Permissive Parents: Players of FLP

Included in Winston's quote is an implicit reference to the third category of parenting that I identified in this study, Permissive parents, who believed that language acquisition was best through passive means or play. As Magaly explains, language is learned through "Permissive":

> Magaly: "My older daughter in kindergarten does Mandarin one day, and then English the other, and then Mandarin and English, and Mandarin and English. So, they both, I think, are learning really good English and good Mandarin… They learned from osmosis, you know from watching Daniel Tiger or Library Hour or Music Time or like other activities in the world."

In the previous chapter, Magaly believed that bilingualism was a natural process. Here, she uses the term "osmosis" signifying that media consumption and other activities can lead to language knowledge without the child's awareness.

Unlike Authoritarian parents and Authoritative parents, Permissive parents do not enact disciplined strategies or explicit language policies. As Magaly points out, they let children learn

language by virtue of doing regular activities that happen to take place in Chinese—for example, they often let their children watch Chinese television without time constraints as a means of learning the language. Other parents will incorporate their interests in play, which scholars converge on as "an effective form of pedagogy to promote learning in the early years" (Fung & Cheng, 2012, p. 17). For example, Chinese-heritage mother Kumquat described how during the summer when Dragon Academy was out of session, she would implement Mandarin learning at home in ways that included forms of play. Here is how she described a typical day of instruction:

> Kumquat: "Every morning, he has a 'morning challenge.' Some part of which is in Chinese. It's like, "Here's a puzzle. Here's a math question.' And then, "Here's some Chinese thing as well. Or a Pokemon thing.' Because in PreK-3, they were doing morning messages. But it would be his name, and then he gets to practice, and then we try to go over some Chinese. My Mandarin isn't very good. Then we do some math. And then he gets to do a maze. And then he gets to do Pokemon, which is this buddy [holds up Pokemon card]. But then, the Pokemon names are in Chinese. So, like, yeah. It makes it fun because he really likes Pokemon."

Kumquat replicated her child's school activities in implementing morning exercise into her home sessions, although she notes that her own Chinese language abilities are limited. Nevertheless, she mixed into her at-home FLP instruction various learning exercises, including puzzles and mazes, which were in marked contrast from the exercises and set rules that Authoritative introduced at home. Although she has some elements of writing instruction, Kumquat designed a play-based curriculum, where the parent adapted to the child's interest in Pokemon, a popular cartoon card game, to create a joyful language learning experience.

While Winston rejected activities marketed as “fun” because he felt it took away from the ways that effort on routine tasks and daily practice is necessary for achievement, Kumquat valued her son’s enjoyment in the activity and its use in Mandarin transmission. In her description, she presents both Mandarin instruction (“some Chinese thing”) and the card game (“or a Pokemon thing”) as viable options. Kumquat’s indirect Mandarin instruction would fit the typology of an Permissive Parent: indulgent, giving into their children’s interests, while placing low demands on their children’s language learning. The Permissive parents used words like “fun” and “play” to describe how they facilitated their children’s Mandarin usage at home, which contrasted with the high demands set by the Authoritative Parents or the highly restrictions of the Authoritarian Parents.

Kumquat was not the only parent who valued the “fun” aspect of language learning. Mara also described how she retains Mandarin as a light-hearted activity in her household:

> Mara: “If you want to expose your kids beyond what they're getting at school, find fun ways to do that, like with shows or because we did do some fun things when they were little. But we didn't sit down like I bought the flashcards, I bought them, but we didn't sit down with them and make them…Yeah, I mean, every so often we busted out the flashcards and very rarely, but we tried to make more of a game out of it when we did, you know or things like that. Or if they were looking for a word, but they couldn't think of it, I’ll be like, well, let's get the flashcards out, see if that helps, you know, stuff like that. So again, yeah, just to keep it anything you do outside, just keep that fun because they are getting a lot of Chinese.”

Moreover, Mara only encouraged the use of flashcards if they were a game or jumpstarted her children’s memory on other Mandarin words. Flashcards were not compulsory and were used as

supplemental materials rather than direct learning instruments. As a result, Mara's description would make her a Permissive Parent who believed in learning by unconscious assimilation. Mara's advice to keep Mandarin "fun" shows a clear separation of the language expectations between home and school, perhaps influenced by the school official's recommendation not to enforce Mandarin at home, as described earlier in this chapter.

Despite both their limited Mandarin abilities and the lack of parental expectation to maintain the language, these parents are far from uninvolved in their child's learning. Even parents who claimed that they had no home support revealed methods of support at home. Whether they were Authoritarian, Authoritative, or Permissive Parents, they sought out opportunities for their children to practice the target language, underscoring the home domain as an essential aspect for language maintenance.

However, parenting styles may change over time. For example, Lin admits that at the beginning of her eldest son's enrollment into Dragon Academy, she believed she had to be more active in her child's language learning. As she states, "We really didn't know what we were getting into, so I was more stringent with him because we had the workbooks that they could bring home." However, over time, Lin trusted in the school's teaching and no longer relied on at-home intervention. "I realized that it wasn't necessary," she adds. Similar to how parents' identities are not static, parents' commitments and practices can shift over time, especially as parents adapt to and deepen their trust in their children's school.

Further, my research speaks to how different parenting styles were influenced by but were not necessarily determined by parental background. For example, while Chinese heritage parent Lance exhibited authoritarian practices, Kumquat, who was also ethnically Chinese, opted for a more permissive role. This study suggests that parents even from the same cultural or

linguistic background can display varied strategies. In each case, each parent found what worked for their family. Thus, the typologies, while a useful snapshot in a moment in time, may not fall so neatly in categories of native or nonnative, or heritage and non-heritage designations. My research adds to the breaking down of such divides in presenting a more complex portrait of parental engagement with language maintenance. Next, I turn my discussion to shed light on other family members, specifically grandparents and siblings, who add to the 'family' in family language policy.

Grandparents and other Extended Family Members

As outlined in Chapter 2, grandparents not only serve as caretakers in the absence of parents, but they also contribute to their grandchildren's literacy learning through sharing books, workbooks, television, and radio (Curdt-Christiansen 2012, Ren & Hu, 2013). While early studies in at-home language education focused exclusively on parents' work with children in the domicile (Gregory, 2001), more recent studies have pointed to the role of extended family members in influencing linguistic development. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2020), "Besides the parent-child dyads, members of the extended family, such as grandparents, aunts and uncles, as well as siblings, can also influence family language maintenance/shift" (p. 5). Many learners are motivated to learn their native or heritage languages to communicate with grandparents and relatives. In turn, grandparents serve an essential role in facilitating linguistic connections across generations (Braun, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2012; Winter & Pauwels, 2005). This may be especially true in cases where grandparents tend to their grandchildren while the parents are working.

Grandparents provide their grandchildren with a rich immersion in language learning outside of school, even if the parents no longer speak the language. Lin describes how her Chinese-heritage father and stepparents integrate Mandarin at home:

> Lin: “My father travels back and forth these days with us a lot. So he speaks to them [her children] in English and a little bit in Chinese. So when my stepmom and all of my stepparents, it’s all Chinese. So Chinese TV, Chinese movies, like all of that. And when my dad’s there, it’s a lot of Chinese speaking to his friends or whoever, and watching the Chinese movies, songs, shows.”

Lin’s relatives continue to be a strong force in creating an environment where her family can speak Mandarin authentically. Even Lin’s mother, who is of Japanese heritage, contributes to her grandchildren’s Mandarin learning through pointing out the similarities between Chinese characters and the Japanese writing system, Kanji.

> Lin: "So my mom and my oldest do that a lot. So she’s like cooking and doing something, or she’s doing something Japanese— she has a ton of Japanese books— sometimes he’ll pick it up, and he’ll recognize the words, and they’ll talk about the similarities in writing and the differences of what it sounds like. So, she can actually recognize a lot of things, and then he can kind of read some of the stuff that she has. There’s definitely a connection."

With few exceptions, Kanji is derived from the Chinese system, Hanzi, incorporated in Japan from the 5th to 9th century when they did have their own writing system (Fan, 2014). The Kanji words share similarities with their retained Chinese meaning; consequently, Lin’s mother and son share in pointing out the similarities and differences between the orthographic system and pronunciation. Not only is this a moment to share in their metalinguistic awareness, but it also

provided a chance to form a solid intergenerational connection made possible by a common writing system between Chinese and Japanese.

Lin's son's ability to speak Mandarin also opens doors to other opportunities. Lin mentioned how her father wanted to advance his grandson's language abilities, "So, my dad's adamant about bringing my sons to Taiwan with him whenever he and my stepmom go next. I think the kids are supposed to go on another trip with him next year to China." As Lin demonstrates, a popular form of language support among Chinese-heritage parents will be taking trips to visit relatives in China, Taiwan, or Singapore. As referenced in the last chapter, Yeow's trip to Singapore where his children spoke Mandarin with his relatives helped reinforce the language and his family's assurance in attending the Mandarin dual language program.

Likewise, Bear referenced sending his daughter home to live with her maternal grandparents to improve her fluency. He recalled, "There were times where she was also all by herself in China at one point with her grandparents. So she's been exposed to the language and the culture so intensively that to her, it's probably very easy to switch from one to the other." For decades, a popular trend for Chinese parents has been to send their often minor children to North America for education or for an increased opportunity to matriculate through an American or Canadian university (Wu, 2016). These children are called "parachute kids," for how they are sent alone or unaccompanied to descend upon another land (Chen, 1991; Tsong & Liu, 2009). However, Bear is enacting a reverse-parachute, sending his children to live alone with grandparents to practice the heritage language. Sending his child to live with grandparents was a transnational vessel by which Bear's daughter could be safe and protected, be exposed to the culture of her maternal heritage, and be immersed in the language by native speakers.

In addition to nurturing the language, grandparents also reinforce the culture. Ruby (2012) looked at intergenerational connections in the Bangladeshi community in East London and claimed that grandparents facilitated their grandchildren's language skills and cultural identities. Similarly, Margaret, a white monolingual English speaker, describes how her husband's Chinese American stepmother imparts part of her cultural heritage to her step-grandchildren.

> Margaret: "And their family is like in Los Angeles, an American and really tight Chinese American family. So, she sends us the red envelope. We used to be out there for Chinese New Year, most years. Because it was also his [her son's] grandmother's birthday right around then. We haven't been in a couple of years. But then she came, and we went to like the same thing: a restaurant and we did the big banquet. So yeah, that was really fun. So, she's very much like making sure that it's a part of their cultural upbringing as well."

Margaret expresses how her husband's step-grandmother introduced the celebration of Chinese New Year, also referred to as Lunar New Year in other Asian countries. During this holiday, family members will give red envelopes full of money to children, which represents "the giving and receiving of luck" (Robinson, 2012, p. 29). Another critical aspect of the holiday includes throwing a lavish banquet, as Margaret describes, where the family can sit around a round table and share in many cultural dishes. What is striking about Margaret's celebration of Chinese New Year is that it is a holiday typically when families can come together. In Margaret's case and the context of many modern blended families—even if they are on opposite coasts and not related by blood—grandparents can exhibit cultural transmission to younger generations.

In sum, grandparents yield a strong influence on FLP. While the literature delves into intergenerational transmission of grandparents to their grandchildren through their role as

caregivers (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Li, 1994), this study reveals the important role that grandparents serve—even if they are not direct caretakers. Grandparents actively contributed to creating a stimulating learning environment for their grandchildren in maintaining Chinese language and culture. I echo Ren and Hu (2013a)'s urging that "it is necessary for future studies to examine the role of grandparents as key agents of FLP" (p. 80).

Siblings

The literature on language and literacy development shows that siblings can contribute to social, cognitive, and emotional development within the family unit. (Bryant, 1989; Dunn, 1989). Apart from grandparents, siblings can also form an essential link to language maintenance, but according to Schwartz (2010), "we lack detailed studies and have few clear indications regarding actual language interactions between siblings at home" (p. 174). Seventeen out of the 21 focal children (81%) in the study had siblings, although not all had enrolled in Mandarin immersion. Many dual language schools such as Dragon Academy had a "sibling preference" whereby if parents had an older child enrolled in the school, their younger child was also given an opportunity for a seat before the school opened up to a lottery available to everyone. This system allowed parents to secure their child and their siblings to attend a highly coveted school and provide additional language support.

For families with no connection to Chinese-heritage individuals, having another Mandarin speaker can be beneficial to a child's learning. Recall Carol, who in the last chapter, explained how she enrolled her youngest daughter into Mandarin immersion to maintain linguistic continuity for her adopted daughter. As she reiterates, "With our middle daughter again, that was very easy. We wanted to do what we could to preserve her connection to her country and her culture." In Yates and Terraschke's (2013) study on multiethnic families in

Australia, the researchers noted that one parent's support in Mandarin with her daughters "may also encourage them to use it with each other, thereby establishing it as a fully valid and important family language" (p. 121). Thereby, parents can support their children in sharing the language with one another.

For many families, the presence of other siblings in the Mandarin immersion school gave the children an additional opportunity to practice the target language. Carol also mentioned how her children spoke Mandarin almost as a secret language to one another. "But the kids now speak Chinese well enough that they speak Chinese to each other. We have a lot of children's books at home. And I try to encourage the older children to read the baby books to the four-year-olds, which forces them to practice reading because I want them to be literate as well as conversational." In examining Bangladeshi and Anglo brother and sister dyads in East London, Gregory (2001) found that "siblings act as adjuvants, stimulating and fostering each others' development" (p. 301). In Carol's family, her daughters serve as discussion partners, reinforcing literacy in the target language. Carol also mentions that it is her eldest child who imparts knowledge to the younger siblings. Ironically, older children often serve as language brokers in many immigrant families, where parents do not speak the language of the host country (Blackledge, 2000; Perez et al., 1994; Volk, 1999).

Especially in monolingual English families, parents will try to facilitate their children speaking to each other in Mandarin, often in clever ways. One strategy Mara has in encouraging her kids to speak Chinese is to have them argue in Mandarin. She suggests,

> Mara: "Every so often, if the kids are bickering, I'll say, 'do it in Chinese because I don't want to hear it.' And then they do. They start kind of trash talking to each other in

Chinese and then coming up with how they can insult each other and makes me—you know, they're laughing."

Mara has her children engage in a shared language that she does not participate in herself. Mara's children's bickering harks back to Gregory's (2001) study that reanalyzed the notion of parents and other adult figures serving as models of "superior knowledge, status, and authority," and instead found that "siblings are able to play out their anxieties and practice newly acquired knowledge on an equal footing" (p. 319). In this instance, Mara maintains her status as an authority figure but revels in her ignorance of Mandarin, which allows her to not understand and engage with her children arguing. Their shared language allows the children to insult each other, engaging in a co-constructed joyful experience, as demonstrated by their laughter.

Similarly, Malagy enjoys that her children can have a secret language to speak when they do not want their parents to understand. She explains, "I've heard that some parents, but, like, the kids as they grew old, they'll just speak to each other in Mandarin when they don't want their parents to understand it. It's kind of cool." Instead of being frustrated that she cannot understand her children's shared language, Magaly remains proud to foster a part of their identity.

Siblings offer an opportunity for children to practice the language with a peer. Far from passive learners, siblings can provide relief for adults from being the sole experts on language learning. Lastly, findings revealed how parents often use creative and festive ways to encourage or facilitate their children to practice their language.

5.3.3: The Third Domain: Community Support

I now turn to language maintenance outside of the family, focusing on the community. King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry (2008) point out that "the community context plays a crucial role in determining the success of bilingual family language policies" (p. 10). Outside of school and

home, support from the community often influences whether or not the focal child speaks the target language. In this section, I discuss how parents will seek out public spaces and cultural events, and other means of language support in the form of tutors, nannies, and other neighborhood partners.

In the absence of language support, many parents partner up with other Mandarin speaking parents for playdates or group outings so that their children have interactions with native-speaking peers. When asked how Magaly felt about raising her children in a language she did not understand, she reasoned that she had a community of Mandarin speakers she could use as a resource instead. In one instance, she sought out the help of an old college roommate, who was a native Mandarin speaker, to investigate the meaning behind her child's singing:

> Magaly: "So, there was one time that my three-year-old was singing, she sang for like 20 minutes in Mandarin. And I was like, what are you singing? What song is this long? And why is your older sister joining in? It must be a song that everybody knows, because otherwise you wouldn't be joining in the middle of a 20 minute song. And you know, she was singing with it like tonality and rhythmic awareness you wouldn't expect of a three-year-old. So, I finally recorded a segment and I sent it to a friend. And the friend said, 'she's counting.'"

With the accessibility of phones, parents have more access to connect to other parents to set up gatherings or to share video recordings in Magaly's case. Liu (2018) writes that Chinese community also provides caretakers with not only linguistic and cultural connections but also "social and emotional support" (p. 28). For Magaly and other non-ethnic Chinese parents, Mandarin-speaking friends and members of the community can supplement their understanding of their children in the absence of the target language.

As mentioned earlier in the parental connection between school and family, school officials provide opportunities for community support, including opera shows and embassy events. Many parents try to find opportunities within their community to facilitate interest in Chinese culture. For example, Mara takes her children to the local Asian art museum of their own volition. She explains, "Dragon Academy got out of school every Friday at one o'clock, and I would take them to the museums, and I would let them pick. Most of the time, they didn't pick the [The Asian Art Museum] but sometimes we did, and whenever we did, they liked it." As Hogan-Brun (2012) writes, museums, art centers, and libraries can serve as "safe and shared urban spaces" for languages, especially minority languages, to be displayed publicly. For Mara, these community spaces also serve as a bridge of linguistic continuity after school ends.

Similar to Mara, Carol scouts out neighborhood support, including events for her children to attend. She recalls, "So we might go to a performance at the Chinese embassy or at the [art center]. We went to the Chinese acrobatic show that was at one of the universities. You know, they're performing there, but it was all in Chinese when they were speaking. There have been some Confucius Institute performances that we've been to." Carol's role as an adoptive parent also reflects Shin's (2013) study, which found that parents of transnational adoptees often sought authentic and natural ways to expose children to their heritage language. Moreover, Carol provides methods for her child to connect to her heritage by using cultural artifacts such as Chinese acrobatics and Confucius Institutes or Chinese government-sponsored language and cultural centers (see Chapter 1).

However, parents may feel uncomfortable attending cultural events with their children, especially as Carol noted if the entire performance is "all in Chinese." Vero reports that parents who do not speak Mandarin may have their latent anxieties emerge during such performances.

As he explains, "I have heard many times like when we have performances in Chinese some parents say, ‘Oh that lasted one hour, and they were just speaking Chinese, and I don't have any idea what they were saying.’” Vero’s account shows that realistically, parents may have limits in their quest for opportunities for exposure to Chinese in the community.

Further, not all parents may be so keen on Confucius Institutes, as Carol mentions. The previous chapter discussed how then-Secretary of State Pompeo had accused Confucius Institutes of covert propaganda operations (Wong, 2020). As Winston reveals, “I read someplace, a long time ago, that they actually… Anybody who has any contact with the Confucian Society [sic], ends up in a database, and they kind of track them throughout their trajectory to see where they are. It’s sort of like soft espionage.” Winston’s concerns on these organizations reflect recent criticism that accuses Chinese embassies abroad of using Confucius Institutes “to carry out political surveillance, covert propaganda and inhibit research on sensitive area” (Starr, 2009, p. 79). However, Yang (forthcoming, 2021) illustrates that anxieties over Confucius Institutes reflect a perceived “weakening of the US State” (p. 220). Winston’s hesitance about Confucius Institutes may reflect fears about the Chinese government's interference, even within the promise of community support.

In sum, while parents discuss the many opportunities for language maintenance in the neighboring area, not all mothers and fathers interviewed may approve or even like the types of language support available. The findings indicate that the FLP is dynamic and influenced by current international politics. Economic conditions might restrict parental time and family access to relevant cultural and educational activities.

Tutors, au pairs, and live-in teachers

Next, I turn to the community's role in developing a child's language, domestic helpers, or private tutors. Families may hire private tutors if they perceive their children struggling with schoolwork. Parents can also seek language support to supplement their children's heritage language or to resolve their guilt or limitations surrounding not being able to directly provide linguistic support. These show that parents may have more complex reasons for hiring language support from outside the family.

Parents who believe their children may need extra language support but cannot provide it may feel that hiring a tutor is best for their child. Carol describes that a Mandarin immersion experience is different from traditional schooling and that parental teaching can only go so far. She explains, "if there are challenges and you don't feel like your kid is getting to the level you think they need to be, you may have to hire tutors, so you have to be prepared for and open-minded about that."

The ability to provide tutoring for children is often a marker of upper-middle or high economic social class. Gu and Tong (2019) show in their study of families in Hong Kong that the families who could afford tutors hired them to have an advantage over other families. Out of the 21 parents in this study, four confirmed that they had hired or were currently employing a language tutor, although many of the parents spoke about the possibility. The biggest drawback, however, was that it was costly. Eleanor thought hiring Mandarin tutors for her children was costly, but the financial investment was worth it if an authority figure, such as a teacher, believed they would benefit their children. Eleanor reveals the conversation she had with her son's teacher in which she asked if her son needed additional language support:

Eleanor: "I'd say point blank, 'Does she need a tutor? Does she need additional help outside of school?' They're like, 'Not right now.' And we're like, my husband and I, 'Well, we're gonna have her do these things [worksheets] anyway.' But I said that if at any point she needs any additional help, please let us know because we'll get that help."

Eleanor reiterated that she does not currently have a tutor but remains poised to hire one if necessary. Her willingness to acquire linguistic assistance (if needed) adds more to her discursive positioning as a committed, dutiful parent. By recalling the parent-teacher conference, Eleanor frames her decision as a facet of "good parenting" (King & Fogle, 2006, p. 695), able to sacrifice whatever is necessary for her child's learning. On the other hand, this excerpt sheds light on how little Eleanor may be aware of her child's language skills, reflected in her anxieties around providing additional language support outside of school.

Jennifer, a parent who did pay for tutoring, also mentioned the cost, but reasons that the tuition-free education her children were receiving through the dual language school offset the cost:

Jennifer: "Yes, you have to pay for it, which is kind of a drag, but you're also getting a free school. And that's one thing that we're always pointing out to ourselves, and people point out to us, and we point out to others: we're getting a free education. So, because we don't have to spend $20,000, $30,000, $40,000 a year on private schools, we can spend a little money for an English tutor, or we can spend a little money on a Mandarin tutor."

Bourdieu (1977) noted that parents pass on to their children forms of "capital" or "all the goods, material or symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (p. 178). Capital not only referred to physical artifacts such as money or property but cultural and educational values. In the educational

marketplace where parents may covet private schools, providing their children with tutors enhances the academic experience of their dual language school. Similarly, Seo (2019) explored parenting practices in a bilingual Korean family and found that tutoring was "the source of the children's linguistic capital" (p. 210).

Despite parents' efforts, children may not be so receptive to tutoring. Jennifer explains how she hired tutors to maintain her son's Mandarin after he graduated from Dragon Academy. She recalled, "When he started his new school, there was no option to take Mandarin, so got a tutor for him. And he didn't love the tutor. And I really liked her because she's tough and that's what he didn't love about her." Unlike an opera show or a trip to the embassy, tutors pose a different, often undesirable means of community language support since it may seem like a form of forced interaction in the language or an extension of schoolwork.

Jennifer's example showed how non-Chinese families viewed tutoring. Nina and her husband Lance discussed how tutoring was viewed in their mixed family. Nina's daughter also resents tutoring, but as she explains, her motivation for hiring a tutor is irrespective of her child's academic performance:

> Nina: "I would say the most difficult thing is K—— is probably not necessarily a fan of the Chinese characters. I think since third grade, she has gone to a tutor. And oh, she kicks and screams every week. 'I don't want to go to Chinese. Why do I have to go…?' She has requested several times to get out of the program. And I keep telling her— because she's not doing so great right now— I keep telling her if you flunk and you have to change schools, I'm still sending you to a Chinese tutor once a week."

Nina uses the Chinese tutor to help support her child's performance in school. But more than just a supplement for her studies, a tutor reinforces the notion that her daughter's Mandarin learning

is an integral part of her heritage and, ultimately, her FLP. Shin's (2014) study on transnational adoptive mothers showed that parents engage in community language programs as a way of "culture keeping" or maintaining ties to the ethnic heritage of their adopted children. Despite her daughter's protests, Nina, a white mother married to a Chinese-heritage spouse, provides an avenue for "culture keeping" to facilitate her daughter's ethnic identity. In doing so, she retains a strong commitment to their family Chinese culture, even if it is not her own.

Her husband Lance shows a little more sympathy for her daughter's plight. As an Asian parent, he described some of the conflicting ideologies from his perspective:

> Lance: "[If I had] completely my way, I'd be like... 'typical Asian parents, I'd have to go to Chinese school on the weekends.' Yeah, 'I should have a tutor,' and unfortunately, it's not completely fair. Because [at the school, there are] a lot of Chinese families, but because their parents speak it, they hear it in the household all the time. She doesn't hear it in our household at all, so it makes [learning the language] difficult."

Lance mimicked the discourse of traditional Asian parents and their parenting practices, which includes sending children to a language school on weekends or hiring private language tutors (Bu, 2015; Seo, 2019). Lance can reason with his daughter's frustration with her tutor since many of her classmates come from Chinese-speaking families, and the language may come more naturally for them. His admission can also be a sign of guilt for not speaking the language and providing natural linguistic input. As a result, hiring a tutor can be a symbolic representation of his identity as a Chinese-heritage parent and perceived failure for not being able to pass down the language. Further, Lance and Nina may internalize their daughter's rejection of the language as a rejection of her Chinese culture and ultimately her parents.

Apart from tutors, other adults in the community can also serve as facilitators of language support, even if they are not directly tasked with teaching the language. Carol discusses how many Dragon Academy parents hire au pairs, foreign domestic workers to help out with home or child-rearing tasks in exchange for room and board. She states, “I know some parents at our school have Chinese au pairs. So, they will hire household help during the school year. So, you know, college students from China, and their job is to speak Chinese with the kids at home. And my kids benefit from that too when they're at a friend's house.” As shown in Shin’s (2013) study, parents hire Chinese speaking au pairs or babysitters “to increase children’s exposure to the language” (p.11). In this way, au pairs can serve as a means of providing authentic interactions in the target language.

Jennifer mentions how she changed her language preference for an au pair due to her son’s enrollment in the dual language school. As part of her FLP, Jennifer altered her reinforcement strategy to explicitly choose a Mandarin-speaking au pair over a Korean or Thai one. Jennifer makes it clear that they are invited into her household primarily because of their language skills. When I asked Jennifer if she had any specific rules for her children in speaking Mandarin, she responded, “I did ask the piano teacher when I knew that she spoke Mandarin. I said, ‘oh, Jackie, could you please only speak to the kids in Mandarin?’ And she definitely does it. So just little bits here and there, but not specific rules. It's more of the rules for the adults: please only speak to my child in this language.” While Jennifer requires the au pair and piano teacher to speak in Mandarin, she does not have the same requirements for her children. Jennifer may believe that she has more agency in requiring the au pair and piano teacher to speak Mandarin because they are paid participants; or her children may be resistant to the “speak-Mandarin” rules.

Jennifer's insistence on the adults to speak Mandarin may also raise questions about how "class advantage is played out within and through the employment of privatized in-home childcare" (Cox, 2011, p. 2). Further, the hiring of au pairs and nannies, and especially those of Asian descent, have become markers of middle or upper-class privilege in a global economy (Stubberud, 2015), often at the expense of the domestic workers.

Like Jennifer, Vero also had a native Mandarin speaker who came to live with her in the house. Unlike a nanny or an au pair, who parents hire to help out with childrearing and household chores, Vero enlists the help of a teacher from her school to help with Mandarin instruction at home. Vero describes her children's reaction to their live-in teacher:

> Vero: "Oh, they love S——. They love her. They call her 'sister,' and she lives in our house. And they know that the reason she lives in her house is for them to speak Chinese. So every now and then, I tell them, 'If you are not going to speak Chinese to her, then she might leave.' So, this is not a rule, but it works as a rule that they have to answer in Chinese to her. It doesn't always work. Sometimes, I'm just tired."

Vero's FLP regarding speaking in Mandarin is more stringent than Jennifer's in requiring her children to speak the language and threatening to evict their live-in teacher if they do not speak Chinese. This positions the children not only the responsibility but the fate to decide their own language learning. However, she reasons that it is not always possible to enforce the language, and it may be tiring to be the language police.

Parents seek opportunities for maintaining links between home and school by inviting speakers of the target language into their family life. The findings show how participants integrate Mandarin-speaking community members in variable ways. They pour financial means into tutors, au pairs, or live-in teachers to supplement their children's instruction. In facilitating

expert knowledge from communities, parents show their power and authority in structuring moments to use authentic language.

5.4 Use of Electronic Media

Given a description of how parents promote Mandarin within the domains of school, family, and community, families may seek to supplement electronic resources for their children's at-home language learning. Because these literacy resources serve a vital role in language maintenance, especially for parents who do not speak the language, they warrant a deeper exploration of how families incorporate the tools in their daily lives. The use of electronic media adds another layer of support to parental identities. Through leveraging technology, parents begin to see themselves as capable language agents.

Studies show that literacy practices in the home result in the successful development of the heritage language (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Kim & Pyun, 2014). Additionally, Palviainen (2020) reiterates that within FLP strategies, “importantly, literacy practices also then encompass digital practices” (p. 238). Within this context, I explore in-depth how families incorporate digital tools for both educational and entertainment purposes. Vital to this discussion is how families incorporate new technologies and digital interfaces in their language learning. Namely, the constant development of new technologies could coincide with and contradict parents’ media language policies. In the proliferation of electronic media resources available for language learning, parents may have reservations or latent anxieties about using the resources. This section delves in depth into the digital tools parents use to supplement their children’s Mandarin learning, expanding on both opportunities and challenges.

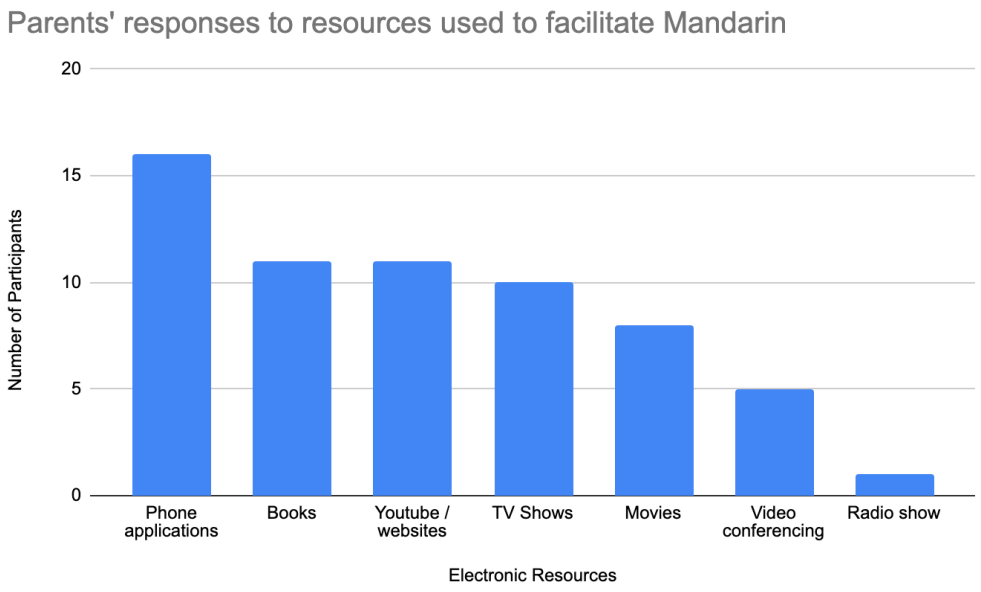

Figure 5. *Parents' Use of Electronic Resources*

Figure 5 demonstrates what resources parents used to facilitate their children's learning in Mandarin. Only one parent (Margaret) revealed that she did not use any resources whatsoever. Sixteen out of 21 (76%) of the parent participants named phone applications as the most popular resource. These included apps such as JoyReader, Skritter, Google Translate, WeChat, and Weibo. Books and websites such as YouTube were the next utilized, by over half of the participants (52%), followed by TV shows (48%) and movies (38%). A handful of parents (24%) stated they used videoconferencing software such as Skype, Zoom, or Facetime to speak to Mandarin-speaking relatives or friends, and only one parent (4%) supplemented her child's Mandarin use through a local radio program. I explore how parents utilize these literacy and media resources in the following sections.

Phone Applications

Although phone applications were the most widely utilized resource, most parents acknowledged that the application they used most often was WaWaYaYa Joy Reader, an application whereby students can access Mandarin and English chapter books. According to Lena, “I let them do Joy Reader so that they can have some access to reading Chinese. I have that sort of support for Mandarin outside of school since neither my husband nor I can help them with that.” Lena incorporated the app as a substitute for her and her husband’s lack of language skills as part of her FLP. On the other hand, parents’ usage widely varied.

As Magaly reveals, the bulk of the literacy resources for learning that her family used were suggestions from the dual language school. She explains:

> Magaly: “There's an entire list of Mandarin resources as well, like YouTube links and everything else. Every once in a while, I'll play a song, and they already know it from school, so they're singing along… I mean, we lost the iPad; it’s somewhere in the house. So, we have Skritter. And my daughter loved learning how to write characters in Mandarin or in Chinese. And it's somewhere in the house, if we can find it, well like, I'll give it to her again.”

Magaly mentions Skritter, another phone application that helps users write in Chinese and Japanese characters. However, Magaly losing her password and misplacing her iPad suggests using these phone applications is less mandatory and more ancillary to their children's learning.

While not directly recommended by the school, another phone application widely utilized among participants was Google Translate. Four parents (19%) noted that they used the machine-translation software to engage in the target language. As a non-speaker of Mandarin, Nina often worried about helping her daughter with language help if she did not speak the language.

Luckily, Nina relies on the help of Google Translate to overcome her linguistic barriers. She recalls,

> Nina: “I think when she was first starting the language, we were like, how will we know if she's learning what she's supposed to be learning? The great thing is that there are so many resources out there today to help you— to help a non-Chinese speaker. Google Translate is pretty good, not perfect. But at least you can type in the English word, and you can sort of hear what it might be in Chinese."

Nina can assuage some of her concerns by providing language help through the use of technology. Google Translate provided parents like Nina with a means to understand the language, even though its use may be flawed. While scholars have criticized Google Translate for linguistic inaccuracies and missing cultural nuances (Castro, Salas, and Benson, 2018), parents find it a valuable tool to bridge their children’s learning from school to home.

Google Translate features not only multiple languages but also has many advantages, including “voice recognition, translation of entire web pages, and an upload of entire files for instant translation” (Medvedev, 2016, p. 183). A recent feature of Google Translate is its camera translation function, which allows users to translate as if taking a photograph. Keri praised this technology, as she describes, “So, you just press the photograph option, and you put it over [the text]. Like if this was all Chinese characters and on your phone, English pops up. It's just amazing because it translates through a photograph.” This technology has made the learning of a logographic writing system much more accessible to non-Chinese parents.

Other parents use Google Translate as a reinforcement tool, preferring the phone application to other traditional literacy teaching methods. Lin explains,

> Lin: "We do a lot more of the Google Translate, and then do much more phrases and kind of reinforce those than like the flashcards and sitting down and doing homework type of stuff… He'll ask me something random, something about broccoli, whatever, and I will be like, 'Well, how do you say 'broccoli' in Chinese?' And he's like, 'I don't know,' and I'm like, 'Well, let's find out.' Or he'll say something really funny, and I'm like, 'How would you say that in Chinese?' And we would do Google Translate, and he's like, 'Oh yeah, that makes sense.'"

With the help of Google Translate, Lin and her son can share in the co-learning of Mandarin. Automated translation allows Lin to translate any word in Mandarin on demand, indulging in his curiosity. Whereas flashcards may feel like homework support, Google Translate is an accessible language game for fun, organic learning.

Apart from learning applications, parents also used the Chinese messaging application, WeChat, albeit sparingly. According to Keri, "Well, so we use WeChat, and we got on WeChat because of the school. Like, there are teachers who had WeChat just for the class to communicate with each other and share pictures and stuff. But we haven't really used it as a way to interact with Mandarin. It's been more of a way to interact with the school community." Keri's family uses the application to connect socially with teachers rather than practicing the language.

Similarly, although one parent, Nina, noted that though she had used Weibo, a Chinese social media platform similar to Twitter, in the past, her use of the app had lapsed: "I actually have a Weibo account that I used to use, I haven't been on it for like three years." Though the parents did not reference any other social media platforms to *communicate* in Mandarin, the social media platforms could serve as a means for sharing resources and maintaining the language.

Interviews with parents viewed that they used technology in different ways, sometimes for connecting with other Mandarin speakers or the Chinese community, rather than as tools for language use. Further, although the school recommended the use of phone applications for families to engage with the language at home, participants revealed that they rarely used the applications to facilitate Mandarin, and when they did, they were not a priority. Palviainen (2020) states that, in reality, families may be "saturated with social media and communication technology" (p. 242), and the expectations with utilizing technology will conflict with everyday life. However, one tool the parents did find useful was Google Translate, perhaps because it was easy to use and did not require advanced knowledge. Further, Google Translate was easily integrated into everyday life, such as when Lin and her son used the application with minimal interference. Teachers and school administrators should keep parental wants and needs in mind when recommending phone applications for parents.

Electronic Books

Instead of electronic resources, many of the parents stick to using traditional language learning methods, like books. Even Wolf, who described himself as a "technologist," advocated for the use of books. As he explains,

> Wolf: The best tools are books. I'm not a fan of apps. And of course, there are Chinese science fiction movies that they watch and things like that. But I think that the most basic appreciation of a culture and to immerse oneself is actually books… The more haptic and the more tangible tools are the best tools. The more digital tools are supplemental to the real tools, I think. And I'm a technologist. So, this is maybe a little bit strange, but that's my view.

As Jennifer reiterated earlier, Dragon Academy officials recommended at least twenty minutes of mandatory reading time, although families varied on their home literacy strategies. As a non-Mandarin speaker, Lena found it challenging to facilitate language support through reading since she had no basis in the language.

> Lena: "Mandarin books, because neither my husband nor I have any proficiency and I wasn't sure what level books to get for my kids. So, we actually found that having the Joy Reader very specifically gave us an entire list of books according to the kids' reading level. And whatever reading material that the teachers were providing at school was more than enough. We haven't felt that it was necessary to invest in anything on our own in that area. So, we don't really take advantage of those. Maybe other families do. We just haven't found a way to make it work in our home."

As Lena expounds, parents are acutely aware of what works and what does not work in their household. Instead, she relies directly on the reading application Joy Reader and the teacher's suggestions. Lena's reasoning shows that even though parents would like to implement books, their inability to speak the language may pose a hindrance.

In another example, Magaly also admits that she does not use Joy Reader often. She admits, "I have Joy Reader on my phone, and I need to get the password, and I have to write to the teacher to get the password, and I haven't." One of the features of Joy Reader is that a student's progress can be assigned to a teacher's classroom, but according to Magaly, the applications were more suggestions to promote students' learning rather than requirements.

Similarly, Keri found that she met resistance when reading to her children, even if she spoke some Mandarin. As Keri recalls, "We look over— we do, we read the books in Chinese as best we can…. And one time, I tried to read something with Jasmine, and she was bored. She

was very bored. She was like, ‘you read so slow that I have struggled through listening to you read that.’” Keri recognizes that her children have surpassed her knowledge of Mandarin. While recent studies point to the increasing trend of heavy parental involvement, including reading with one’s child in early childhood (Fischer, 2020), literacy development becomes complicated when the child’s understanding and fluency in a target language is superior to the parents’.

Carol also mentions how she cannot speak Mandarin, but she does not prevent her illiteracy from reading to her children. She remarks, “So I will read to them. Oftentimes the books are bilingual. It's English and Chinese—I can't read or speak Chinese—So I will read it to them in English, so they certainly are getting the Chinese culture and traditional tales, but it's in English.” In the absence of language, books provide cultural enrichment in Chinese culture.

While studies focus on how parents who play an important role in children’s literacy development, children also take agency of their own language. For example, Yeow and Mara reveal that their children read books independently without their parents’ intervention. As Mara recalls, “Yeah. So, they would talk about donating [books], giving them to their Chinese teacher at school, but then they decided to keep them. They'll say, ‘we'll keep them.’ And every once in a while, I'll see it on the floor in one of their rooms. And I’m like, I guess they've been looking at that.” Keeping books and language learning resources around serves a passive role, especially in households with mixed language use. Further, despite the parents' expectation to facilitate at-home literacy, it is often the children who become agentive in their at-home learning materials, especially in facilitating language learning. Similarly, Fogle and King’s (2013) study on transnational families showed that while FLP studies focused heavily on the parent's decisions, it is often the children’s behaviors and response to these strategies that have the most influence on parental language policy decisions.

When discussing literacy materials, the participants in this study discuss their desires for more materials for their children, but some parents, especially those who do not speak Mandarin, may find it difficult to find Chinese books for their children. Mandarin texts that are appropriate grade level may not be available on English language websites, and titles may be difficult to search for if they do not know how to write characters. To assuage parents' concerns, teachers share resources like Joy Reader to provide parents with delivery of grade level-specific texts, but not all parents actively use the application. Parents who do have some knowledge of Mandarin attempt to read to their children, while monolingual English parents read to their children in English. Other parents may keep Mandarin language books around so their children will passively retain the language. Because of the variability of access to written texts, this study points to the need for more accessible bilingual reading materials in both English and Mandarin.

Websites

When it comes to facilitating Mandarin, the participants discussed using online translation websites, like Yellowbridge, an online Mandarin-English website that showcases step-by-step writing in stroke order. However, the most prominent online resource the parents used was YouTube. Parents discuss how they are more supported in their language techniques and approaches than before because they could easily look up the concept on Youtube. As Lance explains, “I don't understand [Mandarin], but there's still ways you can help the child…. you go online; you can YouTube things and learn things that way too.” The use of the Internet has helped Lance seek opportunities to supplement his understanding of the language through videos.

Lance describes one of his popular Mandarin teaching videos that he enjoys:

Lance: “There was a gal who used to live here. But she was a full white American blonde girl. She went to China [and] ended up wanting to learn Chinese, so she ended up becoming self-taught. She's got a YouTube site [where] she does all these funny YouTube slang words, and she wanted to basically connect with other people from this. And she was using funny slang words like ‘booger’. And she explained, ‘what is a booger?’ And then here's what you'd say. And you try to make a translation to the Chinese and all these other things. I thought it was clever, and it was something that I'd probably try to watch again too because she did it in a fun, amusing way.”

Although he is a Chinese-heritage parent, Lance aligns with more Western parents who “value learning for fun” (Ren & Hu, 2013, p. 72). Lance appreciates having Americans with Chinese cultural knowledge help him negotiate what may seem like a very difficult language. Media becomes a type of “socializing agent” (Lyn & Fogle, 2013, p. 22) used to “connect other people" to share in the amusing cross-cultural translation. This study shows that parents used websites to supplement not only their children’s understanding but also their own knowledge of a topic. Just as Winston is able to search for a website that helped with stroke order in writing Mandarin characters, Lance is able to leverage Internet resources to find resources that both he and his daughter found interesting. Even without knowledge of the target language, these fathers are capable agents in searching for Mandarin websites and learning alongside their children.

Television

Along with YouTube, Lance revealed that he incorporates Mandarin by watching television, a strategy he picked up while he was a child:

Lance: “It's bad on us, you know, when you have multiple devices or things, whereas, [in the] older days, you had just one, maybe two TVs, so you're forced to watch whatever.

You know, so as a kid, you were forced to watch whatever dad had on there. And so, every now and then, I try to, you know, keep my daughter in the room if I'm watching a kung fu movie, and I'll even watch with subtitles and stuff, and I try to get her to watch these things. Especially, because sometimes if they're older traditional [movies], you're talking about, like, Shaolin monks and a little more philosophies behind things like that."

In replicating or simulating media practices from his childhood, Lance tries to encourage his daughter to watch a movie in Mandarin. Lance creates an opportunity to watch with his daughter by applying subtitles so he can understand the content while she watches. Lance can also sustain the linguistic connection and the cultural connection through television, incorporating the history and philosophy of Shaolin monks while enjoying watching kung fu.

While Lance mentions the availability of screens, the proliferation of on-demand streaming services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Roku also promoted opportunities to learn Mandarin through media. Parents seek out Mandarin language through controlling the media, either through watching the language-specific channel or choosing a language. Parents also mentioned how they would allow their children to watch cartoons, such as *Peppa Pig*, a popular television series about a family of swine.

Keri described her language maintenance strategy of having her children re-watch cartoons: "The cartoons that they love to watch. Like, *Story Bots*. They have a Mandarin version of *Story Bots*. So, they've watched most of these shows in English already, and then I'm making them rewatch them in Chinese." Keri reinforces Mandarin learning through rewatching television shows, a strategy which enforces learning of the target language over the content.

Like the use of websites, the use of television provides parents with a sense of ownership over their child's Mandarin learning. Rather than subscribe to a separate media channel, parents

were able to search for Mandarin language movies within their already established streaming platforms. Further, Willmorth (1997) writes that although television does not provide a substitution for language learning delivered through live means, he notes that "the visual elements of television may even serve to instill such linguistic knowledge as vocabulary by providing more easily interpreted and redundant iconic information along with the verbal message (p. 33-34). In other words, watching television programs can be used as a beneficial supplement to childrens' learning in school. For the parents in my study, especially the Permissive Parents, movies were an easy integration of resources into parents' already busy lives.

Movies

Incorporating the language with familiar stories was a popular strategy among the parents. Eleanor noted that she "found a couple of Disney movies that are dubbed over in Mandarin on YouTube." Lance also recommended movies with a "Disney theme of Mulan" and that "The [new] Mulan looks really good," referring to the live-action remake of the film released in 2020. These intervention strategies also give parents a method to control the media they consume through trusted sources. Even with dubbing, most of the movies and TV shows are still Western-themed—and Mulan, although based on a Chinese folktale, is produced by Walt Disney Pictures, an American company. One exception of a Mandarin-language produced by a Chinese film company was *Abominable*, an animated film released in 2019. Both Frieda and Maria took their children to the theatres to watch the movie in original Mandarin.

Though some parents try to provide opportunities for language learning through manipulating the language through watching movies, their media choices are often less intentional and more happenstance. As Magaly explains,

> Magaly: "I mean, we'll sometimes try to [put on a] movie like on the Disney app or on the Disney Plus or on Apple. And if there's a choice to put it in Chinese, we'll do. But sometimes, we don't. It's just whatever we have. Especially, we almost always only put on a movie if we were really tired or we just need to entertain them."

For Magaly, a Permissive Parent, the desire for a few moments of peace surpasses the need for language learning. Parents demonstrate how they value passive learning through entertainment, and sometimes the type of movies parents choose is based on the availability of media and sometimes, quite simply the parent's mood. Magaly's revelation shows that implementing an FLP can, at times, be tiring.

Research on the use of movies in language acquisition found that learners are more motivated to learn the target language by watching movies (Chapple & Curtis, 2000; King, 2010; Kahooba, 2017), and the use of films increased learners' listening comprehension (Safranja, 2014). This study offers insight into the role of parents, and how their use of movies to facilitate language learning may differ from a language instructor. Some parents' mode of selecting criteria for movies was often less judicious and had more to do with their fatigue at the end of the day. Recommendations for parents' to discuss with their children or scaffold their understanding may not be appropriate for Permissive parents, like Magaly or Frieda, who value movies for entertainment or a break from the demands of childcare. Further, parents provide carefully controlled environments for Chinese learning and seem to want their children to learn certain aspects of the Chinese language and culture but not others.

Video Communication

In comparison to movies, only a handful of parents used video communication software, such as Facetime, Zoom, or Skype. The tools were mainly used by Chinese-heritage speakers to

communicate with family in China, Taiwan, or Singapore. Even though Yeow's family is overseas in Singapore, his children can easily connect with their grandfather through Skype. Similarly, Mara's FLP also includes using video communication software to foster authentic dialogue between her children and their grandparents.

Thus, despite being dispersed, the advent of communication technologies has allowed transnational families to maintain bonds and strengthen linguistic ties (Madianou & Miller, 2013; O'Riain, 2015). This is an important area for future and continued research. Palviainen (2020) writes that the field of FLP should consist of the concept of a digital family, which includes "individual members across generations and geographical spaces" (p. 242). In transnational families, language policies are no longer contained among local communities but are also extended across time and space through technologically mediated means.

At the time of recording, the use of videoconferencing software such as Zoom was low. However, with the COVID-19 pandemic, the use of screens for instruction may be more prolific. Given parents' aversions toward screentime, many families may be forced during this time to take stock of their commitments to language and media policies. While I did not follow up with the participants in my study to discuss these changes, parents' reactions to their school's transition to video-conferencing tools in facilitating language learning would provide a rich arena for future study.

Radio Shows

One parent, Nina, mentioned an audio-based intervention strategy by listening to a local radio show broadcast in Mandarin. However, this practice was not as effective in implementation. As Nina describes, "So, when I have the scan button on the radio, we'll come to the Chinese language program, and it sits there for a minute before it switches to the next station.

And so, we'll be listening to it, and I'm like, K——, tell me what they're saying. And she's like, 'no, I'm not going to tell you. Yeah, I don't want to listen to it, go to the next station.'" In the excerpt, Nina's daughter demonstrates such reluctance to listen to Mandarin. Her child also seems reluctant to serve as a translator for her parents, which is typical for many bilingual speakers who may be forced to "speak" or translate for others. Nina's daughter's rejection of her mother's FLP strategy mirrors many studies in which language maintenance at home leads to intergenerational conflicts (Ballinger et al., 2020; Horowitz, 1999; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). Nina's story illustrates that despite parents' best intentions and the availability of community resources in the target language, it is ultimately up to the child to decide whether they want to engage with the language outside of school.

5.5 "Ok, You Can Watch a Cartoon, But It Has to Be in Chinese": Family Media Language Policies

Following the previous overview of electronic resources, in this final section I explore how parents formulate family policies regarding their children's media consumption that also intersect with their FLP, or Family Media Language Policy (FMLP). While FLP studies have incorporated media as a way of revitalizing or sustaining minority languages (Smith-Christmas, 2016), few look at how families include policies regarding both media and language--and how these policies intersect or diverge.

In this study, some of the parents had indirect rules about language, and others had explicit rules regarding media consumption. The parents had transactional rules regarding language use and media, and often, those policies changed depending on the digital media environment, which both combine and conflict with their Family Language Policies.

Eight parents enact a rule permitting their children to watch videos, but only if they are in Mandarin. While Chinese-heritage and Monolingual parents immersed their children in Mandarin-based media, Multilingual parents often gave their children more variability in language choices. For example, Maria, a Spanish speaking mother, describes her FMLP, **"**They can only watch the shows in French or in Chinese. Or if they want to play any game, they need to first do maybe Chinese reading in the app." In contrast, Eleanor, a monolingual mother, set parameters for her children to immerse her children in Mandarin at an early age. She explains, "When she was younger, when she was still in the pre K3, pre K4, I think it's because you still want them to learn. Everything that was like on TV or any kind of video had to be Chinese. So only Chinese shows. I only had Chinese shows, books, and stuff." Eleanor sets limits and polices her children's media consumption while ensuring they are learning Mandarin in the process. Mandarin-language entertainment either serves as a reward, with the children rewarded for their literacy performance or consumption of the target language.

At the time of the interviews, schools were shuttered due to the COVID-19 pandemic, leaving many non-Mandarin speaking parents like June at home to face the responsibility of teaching a language:

> June: "Since we've been at home, I said, 'Ok, you can watch a cartoon, but it has to be in Chinese.' They've watched that show before. But since we've been doing this home school thing, I've tried to let them watch at least one Chinese cartoon. I want them to make sure that they do math and science. And once they've done that, then they can watch the Chinese cartoon. So that's the only rule I've set, but that's been recent."

June indicates that though she did not always set a Mandarin FMLP strategy at home and that implementing Chinese entertainment resources has been a new rule in light of the recent

homeschooling. Thus, even after setting their FMLP, parents may find that these policies change over time or may become disrupted.

During the time of recording, a common theme among parents was concern regarding screen time, with parents often developing policies centered on limiting devices and their use. For example, Eleanor described her and her partner's choices: "So for us, my husband and I have made the conscious decision that she needs to play after school and she needs to use her imagination. And we don't really let her use a ton of devices. Like she doesn't have her own iPad. If she gets a little computer time, it's thirty minutes a day, but she has a lot of toys." In contrast to the technological advances in language learning, Eleanor also chooses to limit access to these technologies in order to reinstate "play" and "imagination" into their family policies.

Similarly, many parents restrict their children's screen time entirely because it may not fit their family values. Lena vocalizes, "Like I said, that's just one of our family values, is that we'd rather have them do more hands-on learning rather than be on a screen. In general, we don't use technology for learning at home. We discourage the use of screens during the school week. We prefer analog and in-person learning, which is why the immersion schooling is so appealing to us." Similar to Eleanor's family, the reason why Lena picked the dual language school was for the "hands-on" or "in-person" learning, rather than the reliance on technology.

Some of the reasoning behind parental concerns came from the mistrust of technology and concerns about what their children were exposed to online. Winston condemns social media:

> Winston: "And they're seeing all this stuff. What do they see on TikTok or Facebook or YouTube or whatever? It's all garbage, and it's all propaganda, and it's all B.S. A bunch of these apps are really sketchy. And I don't know where they come from. I'm a cybersecurity professional… And I also don't want my kids playing on devices all the

time. I don't want their education to be device-based. And I find that intensely frustrating."

Winston resents technology-based education, basing his skepticism on his career as a cybersecurity professional. His concerns are not unique, as a focus group study of Hispanic mothers found that the "parents cited concerns around intrusiveness, reliance on screens, and distraction" (Hammons, 2020, p. 21). However, the increasing amount of new technologies will "result in a complex, fast-changing and increasingly global media environment that poses many challenges for language policy." (Elordui, 2016, p. 161). The presence of screen time is just one of the many issues that parents have to contend with now and in the future.

Parents also share real concerns about the accessibility of technology as their children get older. As Keri speculates, "as they get older, you know, ultimately, I'm going to have to get rid of all their TV because they're getting big enough that they can distract themselves in other ways. So, yeah, that's my future plan." While this technology may serve Keri in offering language support for the time being, she recognizes that eventually, she will need to change her policies as her children age, demonstrating how FMLP is not static and subject to change.

For Margaret, bringing another language into her home also brings another set of fears. She forecasts, "So my kids basically have hardly any screen time, and they have no access to the Internet right now. But when that changes, I think it's gonna be very hard. Like, are they gonna be on social media in Mandarin?" Margaret realizes that social media may impact her control over their media language policy, but her fears are compounded, especially with the presence of another language.

Despite these concerns, parents find ways to reconcile not knowing the language. Magaly accepts that she gives her children a different way of learning and a different life than what she

experienced. She reasons, "I mean, I think we are doomed to not understand our children anyway. We're doomed to be of a different generation and a different cultural upbringing. Like I did not go to school in the US. I definitely didn't go to the [dual language] school. No one else did. So, no matter what, you're not going to understand your kids." Despite not being able to understand Mandarin or use the same technologies, Magaly, a Permissive parent, believes parents should relinquish control and accept that their children will have different linguistic identities from their parents.

In summary, parents have a complicated relationship with media resources, especially regarding language applications. Parents reveal their concerns regarding the use of digital screens, as well as using resources in a language they do not understand. What's more, in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, many parents felt the need to alter their media language policies. Finally, parents felt that despite the suggested resources for language instruction, many media offerings counteracted parental policies on screen time. These insights into parental practices and policies would prove a worthy avenue for exploration.

5.5 Conclusion

While Chapter 4 detailed the parents' linguistic ideologies toward learning Mandarin, this chapter focused on parents' policies and practices that are implemented and used at home to maintain the target language. Inherently, how parents utilize intervention strategies to instill the target language at home serves as a "manifestations of values, attitudes, and understandings of those who use them" (Cross, 2009, p. 30). Parents discussed both explicit and implicit policies, showing their high level of parental involvement in language planning. The types of language maintenance were split into three domains: through interactions with the school, discussions within the family unit, and engagement with the local community. Concerning the last point,

families also develop a type of family media language policy (FMLP), or rules regarding their children's involvement with media. Each of these domains contributed to the community's rich ecology and directly impacted parental language policies and practices. However, with the disruption of COVID-19, parents were finding that they may need to modify or disregard the FMLPs they had set, despite their best intentions. For example, some parents relaxed their family media policies in a time of seemingly endless parenting. Others experienced major disruptions to home language practice by shifting to online instruction.

The same parents who, as discussed in the last chapter, expounded on how they believed in the cognitive advantages of learning Mandarin and went to great lengths to enroll their children in a dual language school, nevertheless possessed complex notions of implementing at-home literacy. In this study, the bilingual or multilingual parents had the most explicit family language policies, and most of them revolved around their heritage languages rather than Mandarin. For example, for parents like Maria, Spanish clearly had precedence over Chinese in the home. Other parents (generally those who did not speak Mandarin) provided little to no explicit Mandarin support at home, bolstered by school officials' recommendations that they do not need to integrate the language at home. Teachers also served as a helpful liaison for parents to understand if their children are on track for language ability. These discussions also revealed the extent to how some parents may be unaware of their child's linguistic progress and how teachers can play a vital role in informing parents.

Nevertheless, many of the parents still found methods to integrate Mandarin into their everyday life. Three types of parenting styles in implementing FLP evolved: Authoritarians, Authoritative, and Permissive parents. The amount of parental integration varied from highly planned engagements, such as dictation exercises, to casual interactions, like playing games.

Many monolingual English-speaking parents came up with some ingenious methods, such as Mara having their children bicker in Mandarin. Like Carol and Margaret, other white mothers found it important to sustain Chinese culture through community events and Mandarin-speaking extended family members. The family unit included not only mothers and fathers but also grandparents and siblings to support language maintenance.

To assuage their fears of not knowing Mandarin themselves, many parents turned to community support for their at-home FLP. Many parents sought neighborhood centers such as museums and embassies and participated in Chinese cultural performances. On the other hand, participants cited their lack of Mandarin proficiency and the Chinese government's involvement as obstacles to enjoying these events. Methods of parents' linguistic input included enlisting tutors, au pairs, or live-in teachers to provide around-the-clock Mandarin support.

This study also presents how parents who are not predominantly Chinese use literacy and media resources to support their children's Mandarin development. Parents also utilized books, television shows, websites, phone applications, movies, radio shows, and video conferencing software. Sometimes, the parents integrate these resources if they are easily integrated into everyday life or simply used if they are tired. In other words, often rigorous language planning gives way to convenience. While the school offers many technological resources to interact with Mandarin, many parents felt that too many applications infringe upon their home policies on using screens. With the added element of accessing media in another language, the participants also expressed future concerns about policing the content that their children consume.

The differences between children's and parents' linguistic competence in Mandarin affected how parents interact with them and their decisions about language management in the family. Parents mentioned how they had to be secure with not being the expert in language

learning, especially as their children chastised them for their pronunciation. The study showed that despite parents' efforts, the children took agency in their learning and literacy, such as reading books. Many of them even rejected their parents' intervention, as parents recount stories of their children kicking and screaming on the way to their tutor or refusing to listen to the Mandarin radio channel. Implementing an FLP presents a unique set of challenges and can pose rifts in parent and child relationships.

In summary, parents' decisions are influenced by a combination of factors including their own language learning experiences, the availability of resources, and their attitudes toward technology. A "no homework" policy set by a dual language school and suggestions not to facilitate Mandarin at home may manage parents' expectations, but it may not be realistic to assuage all concerns. As a result, administrators and researchers should investigate other parental policies at home, such as using digital tools to evaluate what language learning tools may be helpful and what may be counterproductive. These unique parental perspectives and ideas are needed to integrate the target language regarding accessibility, convenience, and family values, especially policies regarding screen time. Teachers, school administrators, and key stakeholders should incorporate parental perspectives and insights to create opportunities to bridge school-to-home engagement. These recommendations for future synergy will be discussed in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 6
Research Contributions, Implications, and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

In early January 2020, I attended an open house for Mandarin dual language school (DLS) for parents of prospective students. The cafeteria, where the event was held, was filled with parents from diverse backgrounds eager to enroll their school-age children. During the opening presentation, school administrators showcased Powerpoint photos of multicultural children with a backdrop of a scenic school campus and a slide that featured the tagline, "Parents are Full Partners." In their explanations, the school leader explained that parental involvement is crucial to both the life of the school and the success of the dual language program. From its inception, the Mandarin immersion programs featured in this study were engineered, designed, and created by parents who dared to bring a new form of education to one of the most under-performing school districts in the United States.

Despite the large amount of research in dual language immersion schools over the last decade, little research investigates parents' motivations for enrollment (Irby, 2019). What's more, few studies discuss the intersection between dual language schools and Family Language Policy (FLP)—that is, the study of language planning within the home. This study has aimed to shed light on the linguistic and educational beliefs, motivations, ideologies, and experiences of parents whose children attend Mandarin Chinese and English dual language school (DLS). This study also has investigated what practices and policies parents set forth, if any, to maintain the target language outside of school. Inherent in these discussions are a focus on parental identities and how parents' personal linguistic experiences and backgrounds influence their decisions for

school choice. My research draws upon insights from parents to shed light on these issues related to language learning.

In this final chapter, I present key insights and research contributions from my analyses and discuss implications and further recommendations. I begin with a review of the parents' linguistic identities and how their backgrounds contributed to their knowledge of and selection of a Mandarin DLS for their children. I then discuss how parents serve as advocates for their children's education despite, for some, their lack of language ability. Within their insights are also embedded language learning strategies for parents who wish to incorporate Mandarin in their own home. In contrast, I also detail the tensions and anxieties that parents themselves face when their children undergo a DLS experience. Within the family unit, I highlight the role of children, who take active roles in their own learning, and suggest ways for parents to involve children in making FLP decisions. Apart from other parents, I discuss how school administrators, teachers, and invested members of the community can benefit from the data presented in this dissertation. Building on the current study, I close the chapter with a discussion of potential future areas of study.

Based on the analyses of parental ideologies and authentic family engagement strategies to expose their children to Mandarin, I suggest recommendations for school administrators, classroom teachers, community partners, policymakers, and other key stakeholders to integrate parental perspectives. The data may be used as foundational text outlining strengths and weaknesses in providing parental support in the DLS context. My study adds to the growing field of Family Language Policy and contributes to a range of diverse topics of study in educational linguistics, heritage languages, family studies, school choice, language policy and planning, media studies, and identity studies.

6.2 Parents' Beliefs and Ideologies

As noted in Chapter 4, parents' linguistic experiences ranged from: 1) Chinese-heritage parents, or speakers who had ethnic ties to Chinese culture and spoke some Mandarin, who spoke another non-Mandarin Chinese dialect, or whose previous Chinese abilities had receded; 2) Multilingual parents, or participants who spoke two or more languages, but who did not have any ethnic Chinese ties; and 3) Monolingual English speakers, or parents who only spoke one language fluently. The present study sheds light on the importance of studying parental identities, since they are the decision-makers for school enrollment. I start with an overview of how the parents featured in my study are differentiated by background, and how these linguistic histories impacted their identities as parents. I also present recommendations for pathways the DLS can take in incorporating these diverse parental perspectives.

6.2.1 Heritage Chinese Parents

As detailed in Chapter 1, my own journey of losing my native Cantonese language brought me to this research topic. In my current study, I met other individuals who identified as subtractive bilinguals, those who have experienced the attrition of their first language while acquiring English. I spoke with parents who no longer spoke Mandarin or a localized Chinese dialect, but nevertheless still wanted their children to learn their heritage language and culture. Parents who were of Chinese heritage often chose immersion in order to make up for their language loss. For these parents, the school provided an opportunity for them to reflect upon their own linguistic and ethnic identities. For example, half-Chinese and half-Scottish father Lance recalls a conversation with his Chinese mother who in an attempt to become more 'American' rejected speaking in Chinese and adopted English as the home language. Lance's

story is a common tale for many immigrants who disassociated themselves with their native languages in order to assimilate into their host countries (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Lance reveals that his childhood 'deprivation' motivated him to "push" his daughter to learn Mandarin even if she resisted learning the language.

Not only do parents choose to initially enroll their children in DLS due to their strong connection with the language, but some Chinese-heritage parents also indicate a stronger affiliation with their ethnic identity and familial association as a result of their ongoing enrollment in a Mandarin immersion program. In bridging distance between the past and the present, the DLS can also provide a powerful tool for cohesion among generations. This was the case for Yeow, a father of Singaporean and Japanese descent. Even though the immersion school was not Yeow's first choice, he began to appreciate the type of education his children received after witnessing his children conversing in Mandarin with his Singaporean relatives. The immersion experience helped to strengthen Yeow's family ties, even if it was not his original intention.

Future research should examine familial ties and the ways in which DLS can offer cultural enrichment to heritage language families. As reflected in the parent testimonies, Chinese Heritage parents have the most buy-in and personal significance to the school, and they can be strong advocates for learning Mandarin. It is also likely that Heritage parents could possess the most cultural knowledge and collective networks with native Mandarin-speaking communities. School officials can collaborate with these parents to cultivate cultural knowledge even in the absence of language.

6.2.2 Multilingual Parents

Parents who spoke multiple languages were not threatened by the process of immersion but instead sought to teach their children their own languages in the domestic space. Multilingual parents were found to have more explicit FLP-management approaches, designating different languages for different purposes, such as using the time-tested One Parent One Language (OPOL) approach. However, the parents who valued multilingualism did not treat all languages equally. These parents were more likely to prioritize their heritage language(s) over Mandarin, even though their children attend a Mandarin language school. For these parents, their focus was not so much on their children learning the target language but rather that their children become multilingual.

Because the participants come from highly multilingual family backgrounds, they use their diverse linguistic backgrounds to their advantage. For example, Lin's Mandarin-speaking son and her Japanese-speaking mother were able to forge an intergenerational connection made possible by a common writing system between Chinese and Japanese—even without a shared spoken tongue. The experience of their children attending a Mandarin DLS led some parents to connect with Chinese cultural identity even if they had no evident Chinese ethnic heritage. As Vero, an Afro-Panamanian mother, beams, "I call them my Chinese kids." By centering their children's language education and practices as a crucial part of their family culture in at-home activities, parents were able to construct a new family identity: not only multilingual, but also multicultural and/or globally-minded. Bilingual or multilingual parents welcomed Mandarin as an added value to their native languages, and in some cases, even valued their child's adoption of Mandarin as a part of their own linguistic, cultural, and familial identity.

While these parents had familiarity with learning a second or third language (or fifth, in the case of one father), they express that their linguistic knowledge was not appreciated or recognized for their linguistic expertise in their DLS setting. Vero, an Afro-Panamanian mother, observed in Chapter 4 that Monolingual parents voiced their concerns to her about their children's perceived stunted English skills as a result of them learning another language, unaware that they were addressing a non-native English speaker. Vero's example demonstrates that the perspectives of parents who had learned English as an additional language were not valued or even dismissed in DLS settings (Valdés, 1997) and allows the recirculation of ideologies surrounding the global prestige of English (Ricento, 2013). To silence multilingual parents is also to silence their valuable insights into the language learning process and dispel myths about multilingualism.

Because of their past experiences with language learning, monolingual parents could benefit from enlisting the help of both multilingual and heritage language speakers as a learning resource. School administrators should invite these multilingual parents as they are experienced L2 learners and can share their language learning experiences with students, even when their L2 is not the target language. For example, Spanish mother Magaly offered that Dragon Academy had a "Library Hour" where a parent could read to the children a book in whatever language the parent desired. Opportunities like the Library Hour could be an enriching opportunity for families to celebrate their multilingual heritage and send a message that their heritage languages, and not just Mandarin or English, are welcome and respected in the school.

6.2.3 Monolingual English speaking parents

Monolingual parents who spoke only English largely based their decisions for enrollment on having had an experience of missing out on speaking different languages when they were

younger. Despite their own lack of Mandarin language skills, these parents embraced language learning and often sought out various opportunities for exposure to Chinese in the community. For example, Margaret and Mara, both white, non-Chinese speaking mothers, enlisted the help of their partners' Mandarin-speaking parents or stepparents to incorporate the language and culture when they could not.

At the same time, a handful of Monolingual parents expressed conflicting and often contradictory ideologies toward Mandarin. For example, while parents touted their children's learning of Mandarin for its linguistic and educational benefits, they were also wary of China's global influences, economically and educationally. Margaret, a white mother, praised how learning Mandarin could bring rewards of college admittance and future job opportunities; yet she distrusted the Chinese Communist Party and forbade her children from living in China. Another Monolingual English parent, Winston, expressed concerns about government-sponsored Confucius Institutes, language and cultural centers, which host many Mandarin-language classes and events. As Yang (2021) describes in her upcoming book, *Disorienting Politics: Rising China and Chimerican Media*, the American public discourse, through anti-communist anxieties and propaganda, has historically painted the Chinese political state as an authoritative and manipulative "geopolitical menace" (p. 9). Similar rhetoric may be at work in these parents' distrust of the Chinese government.

For Monolingual English parents, the emergence of China as a major player in the global economy served as both an attractive feature for enrollment in a DLS and a source of anxiety about Chinese interference in education initiatives in the United States. In making their decisions, parents divorced the Chinese government from Chinese culture and language—embracing, as Wang (2011) refers to it, as "a divergence in perception between China as a polity

and China as a society" (p. 6); Mandarin, too, is "detached from the state so keen on instrumentalizing it as a means of promoting national culture globally" (Yang, 2021, p. 24). Nevertheless, in this context, recommendations for parents to attend Mandarin language events at Confucius Institutes may be met with pause and resistance by Monolingual English parents who might interpret such recommendations as thinly veiled opportunities for indoctrination by the Chinese government.

This study contributes to research that suggests that the desire to learn Mandarin is not enough to understand China, Chinese culture, or people. Lanza (2007) posits that "ideologies about language are of course not about language alone, rather they reflect issues of social and personal identity" (p. 51). Delving into Lanza's claim, it would be meaningful to explore further the negotiations of parents that take place during a time of conflict between the U.S. and China, and to see how parents' motivation and attitudes toward Mandarin change across time.

6.3 Parents as Advocates for Their Children's Education

Since the origins of dual language schools, it has been important for parents to be continued and sustained partners. In 2008, a small group of parents formed a small Mandarin-immersion classroom at a neighborhood educational incubator, and after successful local fundraising efforts, created the institution that became known as Dragon Academy. Ten years later, in 2018, perhaps due to the success of a neighboring partial immersion Mandarin program, parents fought to open another school devoted to Chinese language immersion, and Panda Elementary was born. From both programs' inception, parents not only served as interested partners, but also as advocates for their child's education.

Discussions with parents for my study revealed the ways they are committed to their child's education and were dutiful in ensuring their children received the best education possible. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Keri consulted forums on the Internet to examine what the best schools were, while Margaret found out about the school through a personal contact who was a school administrator. It is perhaps through her contact that Margaret learned she should camp outside of her children's school for a chance at admission into the DLS. The myriad ways that parents discovered their immersion school raised questions of access, as many parents from differing socioeconomic, cultural, and racial groups had varying levels of connections to school officials. A guide for parents could include tips and tricks for navigating the school lottery and spread more visibility regarding admission to parents who are mystified by the process.

As explored later in the Limitations section, my study featured a group of parents who were predominantly highly educated, with high incomes. As such, the featured parents had a wide availability of school choices and time to devote to research and attending open houses. While the parents in the current study represent only a subset of all parents, Holme (2002) contends, "If policymakers intend to grant children of low-income parents access to some approximation of the educational opportunities that children of privileged parents have, it is important to know what types of schools these parents seek, and why" (p. 179). Discussions with my participants, arguably the "privileged parents" that Holme describes, yielded insight into how parents navigated their school choices and what they believed to be a 'good school'. One such insight was the finding that Mandarin immersion was an ancillary reason for enrollment for some parents, rather than a prominent one. In recent years, some key school and community stakeholders have turned struggling schools into dual language programs as a method of reinvigorating schools with low enrollment or budgetary issues (Lü, 2019; Tompkins, 2016). In

one analysis of dual language schools in Washington, D.C., researchers suggested that "additional DLI programs should be implemented in under-enrolled and under-resourced schools" in order to mitigate high densities of at-risk students (Damari et al., 2019). To have parental buy-in, however, it is not enough for a school to feature a language program; they need to conform to a standard of a "good school". While each experience of school enrollment varies from parent to parent, policymakers can compile these stories to create more equitable and accessible neighborhood schools.

The data revealed that parents are fierce advocates for their children's learning, even in moments when they cannot provide language or content expertise. As described in Chapter 4, Mara, a mother who only spoke English, disputed whether the teacher would mention her child's reversal of Chinese characters if she was not proactive in his learning and willing to ask questions. Chapter 5 also detailed that despite both their limited Mandarin abilities and the lack of parental expectation to maintain the language, these parents were far from uninvolved in their child's learning. Parents deployed resources including tutors, and family and community members to help facilitate language learning outside of school. Parents sought opportunities to maintain links between home and school by inviting speakers of the target language into their family life. The findings show how participants integrated Mandarin-speaking tutors, caretakers, and instructors in variable ways. In facilitating expert knowledge from communities, parents showed their power and authority in structuring moments for linguistic support. Considering these findings, educators can request varying levels of parental participation depending on the parents' willingness to provide assistance.

6.4 Parental Expressions of Concerns and Misconceptions

Parents will naturally harbor worries or concerns for their child's education, especially in their first experience with immersion schools. As such, Lin (2013) recommends that "schools should prepare for the reality that there will most likely be some incomprehension and anxiety as regards learning such languages by some parents and students" (p. 225). Discussions on the global curriculum and English language teaching further revealed that though having chosen a Mandarin immersion as the FLP, some parents remained uncomfortable with the prospect, however unlikely, of their children falling behind in English. Their hesitations shed light on the fact that not all parents are on board with dual language learning, even if it is touted as a coveted school choice for parents. For example, in Chapter 4, mothers Jennifer and Eleanor both expressed worries of their children falling behind their peers who attend mainstream schools in learning to read and write in English. In particular, Jennifer espoused her thoughts on the difficulty of Mandarin and her concerns regarding her children's development of English literacy.

Many parents experience anxiety when their child's English may appear to be delayed, a phenomenon that Elizabeth Weise (2014) refers to as "First Grade Freak-Out" (p. 146). As many studies on dual immersion point out, these differences usually diminish by fifth grade, perhaps coinciding with the fact that fifth grade is also when most dual language programs end and students transition into English-only instruction. For my participants, these anxieties subsisted well beyond the first grade and more help may be needed to assuage parents on their concerns. This study showed that while learning the target language, Mandarin, is important, English is also important because mastery of the language is crucial to achieve high proficiency on state-mandated assessments (Genesee et al., 2005). Administrators can help to alleviate this concern

by providing workshops for parents to show intended learning outcomes by grade and showcase strategies for parents who want to support their child's English and Mandarin language and literacy. These suggestions and materials can be presented upon enrollment or on meet and greets with parents and teachers, such as "Back to School" nights.

Furthermore, children's codeswitching contributed to the parents' worries. As revealed in Chapter 4, white mothers Jennifer and Keri admitted how their children codeswitch to Mandarin when addressing them, much to the parents' chagrin. Jennifer reminded her child, "what did you say to mommy?" when he switched to Mandarin, while Keri admitted that she preferred being called "mommy" over the Chinese term of maternal address, "mama". While studies researching codeswitching have established the linguistic phenomenon as a natural process of learning language (Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Poplack, 1980), many parents still believe codeswitching to be harmful or a hindrance to learning the target language (Walls, 2018). More recent studies have examined the connections of codeswitching and identity, especially revolving around questions of identity and belonging (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Rampton, 1995; Zentella, 1997). Even though Keri had learned Mandarin through studying abroad in Taiwan and China, her children addressing her in another language than her native English may worry her or perhaps threaten her maternal relationship with her children. These mothers' views on Mandarin language reflected how they position themselves in terms of their roles and identities as parents of Mandarin learners. These moments of suture, especially in the emotional bonds between parent and child, are worthy of more exploration and would be valuable insight that schools can share with parents.

Examining parental decisions regarding FLP uncovered myths regarding language acquisition and bilingualism, which suggests that more work is needed to dispel misinformation.

As Spolsky (2012) notes, “language policy is commonly driven by myths” (p. 6). This study found that highly educated parents still embraced some common myths regarding language learning, despite, or perhaps because of, the time they devoted to extensive research of bilingualism. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, parents possessed many language ideologies regarding Mandarin, especially accentuating its difficulty or the perception that learning Mandarin could transfer to other skills such as the learning of math or music. Discourses of declining English abilities as a result of learning Mandarin also permeated the family milieu for several of the parents who participated in this study.

The data also revealed that both multilingual and native-English speaking parents wanted their children to have a good “accent” in Mandarin, but as Jia (2020) points out, “being in an immersion program does not mean learners will acquire the target language like native speakers. Learners will continue to be affected by the influence of their native language and make errors” (p. 126). It could be that parents are misinformed about students learning a native-like pronunciation from their immersive education. School administrators can play an important role in disseminating information and countering some of the misinformation for even the most well-educated parents.

Outside of language, some parents had mixed reactions regarding the curriculum. Dragon Academy’s global centered curriculum was met with surprise, admiration, and sometimes disdain. Often, the original expectations for a DLS did not match up with the parents’ experience at the school. For example, while Chinese-heritage Lin rejoiced in the social justice themes for the fifth-grade research project, monolingual English-speaking mother Jennifer found the topics to be “too mature” for her child. Further, monolingual English-speaking father Winston expressed surprise at how the school does not address traditional U.S. history curriculum and

civics education, adding to the growing list of anxieties that some parents experience in a DLS. Shining more light on the curriculum would help to alleviate parental concerns about the materials their children consume. Also, it is imperative to amplify parental voices and provide more visibility to parts of the curriculum that may not be apparent. As a complement to this study, researchers could conduct a similar design that explores parental perceptions of parents who discontinued or disenrolled their children from the DLS, regardless of their earlier motivations and ideologies.

6.5 Child Agency

A study of Family Language Policy is not complete without considering the role of the language learner, in this case the children, themselves. In fact, considering children as active contributors to their family, Fogle (2012) argues that "expanding the ideological component of FLP is essential for understanding the interplay between family internal and family external processes and the agentive role children play in shaping FLP in interaction" (p. 84). Interviews with parents revealed the agentive ways in which children create their own language learning. In Chapter 5, parents shared that their elder child would read in Mandarin to their younger sibling, or their children would argue with each other in the target language. Further, Mara, a mother of two, acknowledged that her children would often read the books on their own, without parental directives. Other parents expressed that their children often watched Mandarin cartoons or Youtube videos on their own accord.

While Dragon Academy recommended parents read to their children, book reading is not always an accessible or comfortable activity for parents, especially if they have low literacy in Mandarin. Instead of parents serving as the sole experts and carriers of knowledge, caretakers

can leverage children as agents in their own FLP. In their book, *Many Pathways to Literacy*, Gregory, Long, and Volk (2004) describe how children serve as literacy apprentices in their families, learning heritage languages alongside members of their family and in the community. The authors write that, "when given the opportunity to make personal choices, the developing bilinguals were able to step into the role of expert" (p. 135). These moments of children making their own choices were highlighted in interviews, such as when June created a new policy whereby her children can choose what Chinese cartoon they would like to watch after they complete their math or science homework. Parents can put plans into place that would include children in decisions about family language policy and their linguistic choices at home.

Another opportunity to involve children in their own educational pathways is to involve them in their long-term language planning. While Dragon Academy had a Mandarin-language track that continued through high school, Panda Elementary's Mandarin track ended after middle school. Language policies involve more planning that parents may not be aware of in enrolling their children in an immersion school at the age of three. A related topic that needs to be addressed is what to do if the children do not want to continue to learn the language. Some parents revealed signs of resistance from children from learning Mandarin at home. For example, Panda Elementary parent Nina admitted how her daughter became emotional after she enrolled her in a Chinese language camp and refused to listen to Mandarin language radio program. Despite their parents' intentions and best-laid plans, children often "make their own decisions about their linguistic destiny, which may or may not coincide with their parents' plans" (Piller, 2001, p. 72).

While outside the scope of the present research, it is important to note that practices around language learning may change, especially as adolescents come into their own linguistic

identities. Yang (2015) studied Australian teenagers who were enrolled in weekend Chinese schools, a popular type of local language support where some Chinese communities can teach their native languages to neighborhood, often second-generation youth in rented community centers or classrooms in a local high school. Yang found that while the teenagers resented attending the school, over time they nevertheless began to understand how learning their ethnic language contributed to an awareness of their own ethnic and cultural identity. This intrinsic understanding is what parents Lance and Nina hope for their daughter, as she comes to recognize the importance of Mandarin: "As long as we keep her on track and push her toward it, she will come to a realization," Lance assures.

To investigate language learning beyond the DLS, Doyle (2013) argues for the need to take a long-term perspective when investigating changes over the course of childhood and to be attentive to adolescents' reflections on their bilingual competence and FLP. Further, investigating language policies over a period of several years would enhance FLP research as "such an approach takes into account not only the developing child and evolving nature of family dynamics but also language learning and academic outcomes among children" (King, 2016, p. 732). Future studies on FLP could consider several avenues of exploration, including children who reject learning Mandarin, students who attend an DLS who deny the language policies set by their parents, and children who rebuff FLP in an era of media availability in Mandarin.

6.6 The Role of Dual Language Schools

Outside of the family unit, the DLS became the primary means of facilitating Mandarin, especially for those parents who did not speak Mandarin. The DLS lowered parental expectations

on facilitating their language at home, and in the case of Dragon Academy, pulled back on issuing homework after parents complained. As Curdt-Christiansen (2014) discovered through her interviews with Singaporean families is that "the parents' perception of languages is the linguistic instrumentalism revealed in their conviction of the bilingual policy" (p. 45). That is, perceived utility of a language is due in large part to the policy set by the institution; in her case, the government of Singapore. In the present study, not only was the DLS a source for language learning, but parents relied on their school for access to Mandarin speaking materials and connection to Chinese culture and community. The immersion school represented a knowledge-bearing institution, instructing parents, for example, not to force Mandarin at home.

Much to the delight and relief of many parents, Dragon Academy had a "no homework" policy, but did this policy truly appease concerns that parents have about not being able to help their children in Mandarin? This study revealed that parents have a range of policies regarding Mandarin: from laissez-faire policy to more active involvement. Some parents were satisfied with a more "hands-off the target language" approach, while other parents would have liked more parental engagement that does not contribute to their children's resentment of Mandarin. The reliance on the school for Mandarin deemphasized parental oversight and control in favor of the adequacy of the immersion environment they received at Dragon Academy.

In this role as the academic gateway, schools could present a variety of suggestions to fit the differing levels of parenting engagement. Parents discussed how they are aware that other parents supplement Mandarin instruction with tutors and live-in nannies, which are not affordable for all families. Other parents sought ways to seamlessly implement Mandarin in their everyday life. These parents seemed to prefer the use of technology that is simple and well-integrated, like the use of Google Translate, which can translate an entirely different writing

system by taking a photo. Other examples of scalable home intervention can include parents supporting their children by sharing in watching videos of Americans who can explain Chinese cultural and linguistic knowledge or by sitting with their children as they go over stroke count. Another benefit of learning Mandarin, compared to other languages, is that writing Chinese characters represent a rich history as one of the oldest written languages in the world. As Lin (2013) writes, "learning how to write Chinese characters can also be a process of learning about the Chinese culture" (p. 229). School officials could marshal these and other opportunities for easy integration of the target language with minimal parental effort.

6.7 The Role of Teachers

In addition to the role of administrators, Mandarin teachers serve an important role as a knowledge resource for parents in developing weekly literacy packets, hosting literacy sessions, and supporting opportunities for learning about Chinese culture and language. Besides serving as a facilitator of their child's learning, teachers can also communicate with parents about their child's progress. For some parents, especially those who have no background in Mandarin, communicating with teachers about their child's progress was a way to establish trust and mitigate any unforeseen consequences. Teachers could create opportunities to create more frequent and consistent indicators for parents to follow, regardless of the parents' Mandarin ability.

Parents recounted that because they do not speak the language, they often turned to other means of assessing their children's learning through friends, relatives, and even sometimes strangers. In particular, non-Mandarin speaking parents depended greatly on teachers' reviews of their children's progress. Parents reviewed report card assessments and clarification from their

child's teachers over whether they need additional home support. Regarding assessments, however, the type of feedback given to parents may be important. Lü (2019), in her study of a Mandarin immersion school, writes that "scores obtained from such a written test may be less informative for parents, especially those who did not know the language; as a result, parents still relied heavily on the teachers' judgment" (p. 74). Similarly, the implication of this study is that parents valued consistent communication from teachers, especially those that do not know the language, as the teacher may be their only source of indication of their child's performance in school.

As noted in Chapter 5, parents noted that their school offered packets of learning materials, although their reaction was mixed. When their school closed for the COVID-19 pandemic in early March 2020, these packets of Mandarin worksheets and activities became crucial to sustaining students' learning in lieu of in-person instruction. Teachers can expand on these packets to include learning objectives, tried-and-true strategies, and connections to electronic media and resources, should the parent want to familiarize themselves with the content material. Peterson and Heywood's (2007) study of minority language children's literacy showed that their "parents appreciated having textbooks or outlines of course content sent home to help them get a sense of what their children were learning and what they would be learning in the future" (p. 535). While these packets may not be useful for everyone —and certainly not for the parents who do not wish for homework help— it could give some parents a way to be active in their child's learning.

Another strategy to bridge school and home connections is the use of recorded audio files that students can take home and read along to their parents. As Lü (2019) suggests, this strategy would help Mandarin learners with distinguishing homophones and "with the absence of a

Chinese-literate parent at home who typically would serve as such a model during reading, to build immediate connections between the pronunciation and the writing of a character" (p. 116). As reinforced earlier, this recommendation would be less helpful for parents who do not wish for at-home intervention, but would benefit parents like Winston, who engaged in writing practice with his daughter.

6.8 Partnering with the PTA

The Parent Teacher Association (PTA) is critical to the success of an immersion school. As Lu (2019) writes that parents in one Mandarin DLS, Pacific Elementary School, parents united and shared lessons through "organized 'parent nights'" where caretakers "regularly shared with others their experiences at home to help their children" (p. 77). The PTA also provides a valuable social network of parents who can help navigate obstacles and raise issues and concerns with teachers and school administrators. Conversely, school staff can take this opportunity to understand parental expectations and the role they play in facilitating home - school connections. As noted in Chapter 3, through a school listserv, I sent an email invitation to the PTA, asking parents to participate. Using the same channels, the PTA could organize a parent newsletter and "Back to School" nights that would allow an avenue for parents to share novel strategies.

Through the PTA, parents could set up a form of mentorship program for parents who are not familiar with the immersion process. Though Carol, a white mother of an adopted Chinese daughter, revealed that she did mentor other parents who were also adoptive parents, a more formal process that allows for parents to share tips. At the beginning of their school choice journeys, many parents expressed that they were not sure what a dual language immersion school would look like for their child, and even those who had bilingual or multilingual backgrounds

were unaware of how to support their child in Mandarin. Parents can benefit from mentoring or support opportunities from past parents, who can facilitate both friendship bonds and sharing of knowledge and cultural resources. Further, mentorship could be particularly helpful for those families without multilingual experiences to articulate concerns, reflect on their experiences, and understand each other's perspectives (Garcia & Hasson, 1996).

However, one critique of Parent Teacher Associations is that many minority and working class parents do not attend, perhaps because they often take place on weeknights, when many parents are working or do not have childcare coverage (Place, 2013). As Hirsch (2017) suggests, "the researcher could initiate focused discussions regarding FLP-related topics in online spaces" (p. 20). Online PTA sessions could allow for more attendance for busy parents, and these sessions can also be recorded for later accessibility. In these cases, continuing to hold PTA meetings online post-pandemic could allow for a more equitable space for parents to discuss topics related to language development.

6.9 Community Outreach

Chapter 5 detailed the various ways parents mobilize resources in their community, including Mandarin-speaking tutors, nannies, and live-in teachers, to provide language support to their children. They also sought opportunities for language support through trips to the neighborhood Asian American art museum, visits to cultural events, such as the Chinese opera, and excursions to Chinatown restaurants for both linguistic and culinary explorations. These places served as sites where authentic language can be heard and spoken, which expanded children's language use in different domains for diverse purposes. Another opportunity not explored in this dissertation is a collaboration with community language schools, as shown in

Shin's (2014) study of English-speaking American mothers who enrolled in language classes at heritage community schools to support their Korean-born adoptees. Similarly, my participants can reach out to neighborhood weekend Chinese schools, which may have access to ethnic and linguistic social networks. Community leaders and local teachers often offer classes for non-ethnic Chinese individuals.

6.10 The Use of Electronic Media

Strategies parents used in the home included listening and watching Mandarin-language programs and reading electronic books that the teachers recommended. My research also speaks to the lack of high-quality bilingual reading materials in both Mandarin and English that are both at grade-level and appropriate for children's consumption. As Lü (2019) points out, parents who are non-Chinese are also at a disadvantage as they "do not necessarily have the ability nor means to select or purchase books for their children from Chinese-speaking regions for reading at home" (p. 121). Specifically, accessing materials such as books can often be difficult to navigate if one is not well-versed in Chinese characters. In such cases, the print materials offered by the school are often families' only exposure to literacy and authentic texts in Mandarin. Mandarin teachers, as both speakers of the language and pedagogy experts, can point out technological resources for non-Chinese speaking parents. Teachers can send both books and book lists as well as suggestions for electronic books on recommended applications, such as Joy Reader, which can help with delivery of material. The present study challenges school and community stakeholders to design resources especially for non-Chinese speaking parents to help their children access books and authentic reading materials.

In addition to electronic books, parents varied in their use of electronic resources to facilitate Mandarin at home. While some parents felt empowered by their ability to find Mandarin language materials, especially since they did not speak the language, others felt their children benefited from less screen time. The implication of this finding for teachers is to be careful about assigning any tasks that are too heavily reliant on technology. Modern day parents, especially the "privileged parents" featured in my study, are wary of too much screen time; and some Mandarin applications, while useful, may not be beneficial for certain families or may be used sparingly. One way to mitigate overflooding parents with information is to find some space within the media that parents consume already. For those parents who want it, the school can send small summaries of films to watch at home on platforms parents already watch, such as Amazon, Netflix, or Roku. These resources can be vetted by teachers and can also offer some control for parents over the media their families consume.

In Chapter 5, Keri noted she used WeChat to share photos with her child's teacher and participate in the school community. Integrating a messaging platform such as WeChat or WhatsApp could also be an effective tool for teachers to issue more regular feedback to parents. However, as Lim (2020) warns, some of the communication means can be easily distorted, as "parents can become too immersed in their children's lives and allow playground politics to seep into adult interactions." Nevertheless, teachers may consider using technologically mediated means to inform, support, and encourage parents. Schools will need to be attentive to issues of digital access for all families.

6.11 Future Directions for Family Language Policy

This present study provides several contributions to the field of Family Language Policy. Previous researchers in FLP have conducted interviews and observations mostly on how parents, often transnational and mostly mothers, maintain the heritage language in at-home interactions with children (De Houwer, 1998; Okita, 2002; Tuominen, 1999). While studies have expanded to include the influence of siblings and extended community family members, this research focuses on the role of the DLS in FLP ideologies, management, and practices. Adding to the literature, my study also adds perspectives from parents who do not speak the target language, but nevertheless influence their children's language learning and language maintenance efforts.

The study also showed that parental choice was a continuous and evolving process. As can be seen from the study findings, parents come to a DLS for different reasons but may develop different motivations and attitudes through the process. For example, many parents came to Dragon Academy for their reputation and bilingual opportunities, but stayed because of the supportive administration, positive experience with teachers, or the global curriculum. Parents' identities are not static but dynamic as parents gain insights into the language immersion process over time. Further, what became visible from the data were how parents reformulated their FLP and changed their practices over time within the family context. It may be the case for many parents to renege on their former policies on limited screen time and resort to using technology to allay their children in a time of seemingly ceaseless parenting. As parents share their accounts and narratives—even including negative encounters—they gain more visibility they have as active agents in their children's education.

My research also makes an important contribution to the field of FLP by adding a crucial voice often missing in studies on FLP: the perceptions, commitments, and experiences of fathers.

Research on language maintenance for bilingual children tends to focus exclusively on mothers who pass on their minority languages without the help of their spouses (Smith-Christmas, 2015; Yates and Terraschke, 2013). Additionally, while the role of fathers in child-rearing is becoming more visible, the responsibility for language development most frequently falls on mothers (Craig, 2006). My study featured a handful of fathers who provided rich detail about how they integrate Mandarin in their daily lives. For example, father Lance discussed at length how he encouraged his daughter to learn the target language. Another father, Yeow, who previously described himself as the "only cousin who doesn't really speak Chinese," reimagined his new family role and identity as a parent of a Mandarin learner. In another example, Winston, though he explicitly stated "we do almost no home support," detailed how he helped his daughter with her learning by researching characters and practicing writing with her stroke by stroke. The time for fathers as passive caretakers has passed, and as Mara says, "dads are much more involved now." Future studies should consider opportunities to add fathers to the discussion of Family Language Policy.

This study also adds another element of incorporating media into Family Language Policy. As the Chinese diaspora continues to expand, first language attrition nevertheless continues to take place, as seen in my own narrative and that of some of my participants, including Lance and Yeow. Many second-generation Chinese-heritage individuals turn to language translation applications as a way of communicating in the language they have lost. "When I speak Cantonese with my parents now, I rely on translation apps," Liao (2021) writes. These apps may not only serve as language brokers; they may also impact the relationship between parent and child itself. In the 2015 film, *Mountains May Depart* (originally titled in Chinese, *Shan he gu ren*), a Cantonese-speaking father struggles to communicate with his

English-dominant son who has grown up in Australia. While using language translation software, the son states, “It’s like Google Translate is your real son,” admitting the app’s use in playing a role in the fragmented relationship between father and son. As technological advances continue to add to and alter family dynamics, Family Media Language Policy could prove a worthy area for future research.

While my research shows that parents utilize technology such as Google Translate or watching movies to engage with their children’s learning, it also serves as a caution against the fetishization of technology as both a parenting tool and a language learning tool. Especially in the wake of COVID-19, when so much of daily life shifted online, several parents in this study and in general have expressed the desire for “screen time” and technology to not play too great a role in their children’s lives. This is an important point for educators to understand as well. For teachers, this study presents a deeper understanding of how families use media and what they desire in exerting control over their children’s consumption. It may be preferable to work within these parameters rather than “simply injecting new electronic technologies” (Hinkleman & Gruba, 2012, p. 62), as promoted in recent language learning trends.

This present study contributes to the scholarship of FLP in response to the need to include diverse family experiences, including how social and cultural beliefs influence family language policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Fogle, 2012). Still, many questions centered around equity remain, such as what DLS can do to maintain parity for families of different socioeconomic statuses. In interviews, parents mentioned how they discovered the school through family friends or by visiting open houses. For working parents, their time may be more constrained, and their access to DLS may be complicated by a highly competitive lottery system. These parents may not also have the cultural or linguistic capital to access Mandarin-speaking

resources afforded by many of the parents, such as tutors or the Dragon Academy's featured fifth grade trip to China.

My study also speaks to the various ways in which white supremacy may influence parental language ideologies and their choices for their children. As Bonilla-Silva (2003) writes, "Whiteness, in all of its manifestations, is embodied racial power" (p. 271). In this study, whiteness directly impacts how parents perceive those who are non-White, and the languages they may speak. In Delevan, Valdez, and Freire's (2016) assessment of dual language schools in Utah, the authors found that the institutions catered to the "White, world language constituency as the protagonist—the hero, the most important character—while the maintenance and non-White heritage constituencies were marginalized as minor characters" (p. 6). In my study, I found similar instances in which the needs of monolingual English-speaking parents were assuaged through policies such as Dragon Academy's "no homework" rule. Further, the voices of non-White and multilingual parents, such as Vero, were often overlooked when other parents griped about their children not being able to learn English. These comments result in upholding the privilege of White parents by appeasing and pandering to their desires.

White parents' fears about their children losing English often surfaced in the home domain. In my study, parents who were of non-White backgrounds were more likely to feel secure in their children's learning of Mandarin. June, an African American mother, believed that her children were secure in their ethnic heritage and were "very rooted in African American culture". Even Afro-Panamanian mother Vero was convinced that learning Mandarin added to her children's identities, claiming "I call them my little Chinese kids." In contrast, two White mothers, Jennifer and Keri, spoke about their hesitancy of being addressed in Mandarin. As a result, their alignments with Whiteness and thereby power "inoculate themselves with a sense of

authority, superiority, and purity" (Matias, 2013). These mothers may have felt that their children speaking Mandarin 'taints' their dominant control in the household, thereby threatening the very structure of white supremacy.

In light of a study with predominantly White participants, my research extends to address a culminating question: how can Mandarin immersion schools integrate diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives in the classroom? One answer lies in recognizing the diversity of Chinese heritage and experience. Interviews with parents reveal a greater diaspora of Mandarin-speakers, not only in China, but also in Taiwan and Singapore. These landscapes could also be further explored in the classroom. The Chinese-heritage parents in my study also represented a wealth of diverse backgrounds, including Cantonese and Taishanese, which could contribute to the classroom culture in sharing their linguistic repertoire alongside Mandarin. When I shared my own story of language loss with participants, many of the parents, especially if they were also of Chinese-heritage, opened up about their own linguistic journeys. To echo Ee, (2017), "for immigrant parents and non-English-speaking parents of students in DLI, it is of particular importance for schools with DLI to give such parents diverse opportunities to connect with others" (p. 17). Future efforts can incorporate these many diverse perspectives from across the Chinese and Chinese-heritage diaspora. Additionally, future efforts should be made to recruit more ethnically and economically diverse families into DLS, not only because they represent the demographics of a given school but also the world in which we live.

While studies in FLP have examined how families maintain heritage languages in the home environment, this study expands on the types of choices parents make by enrolling their children in a dual language immersion school. In this respect, a family's language policy includes more than the family unit but also involves outside members such as the school,

community partners, and other key stakeholders. The following section explores the limitations of this study and how future researchers can adapt this study to allow for more diverse voices.

6.12 Limitations

While this study intended to generate data that can be generalized to other parents of students who attended Chinese immersion DLS, it is important to note that there were a few limitations of the present study. The participants may not be representative of all parents, especially since participation in this study was voluntary. Many parents were either full-time caretakers and had the flexibility to meet with me in person, or they had flexible professional occupations that allowed time for a meeting during their normal work hours. These parents may have been more motivated to take part in the study. Further, parents who participated in my study were also more likely to be highly involved since my recruitment invited participants from the PTA listserv. Using the "snowball" method, I subsequently recruited more participants from these highly motivated parents who initially volunteered to participate, so that my study reflects a sampling bias of only a small subgroup of my target demographic.

In the current design, my study is contingent on parents' self-selection to participate, which may not be reflective of the school demographics. Furthermore, all of the participants had high incomes, which may not be reminiscent of the city demographics. Additionally, while Dragon Academy lists 36.9% Black or African American student population, only two out of 21 participants (9%) self-identified as such. Many questions centered around equity remain, such as what DLS can do to maintain parity for families of different socioeconomic statuses. Additionally, how can Mandarin immersion schools integrate diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives in the classroom? To address these questions, future efforts should be made to recruit

more ethnically and economically diverse families not only because they represent the demographics of the school but also because they provide a more nuanced description of parental experience.

Additionally, two months into the time I started to conduct my interviews, an unprecedented global pandemic COVID-19 swept the U.S. and closed schools, shuttered businesses, and disrupted the lives of many Americans. The participants in my study were no different. As parents, some of them had to take on additional workloads, not only as caretakers, but also as teachers. Many parents were hesitant to meet in person while the pandemic began to rage in early April 2020. When I shifted my interviews online, many of the participants withdrew from the study due to limited time restraints as a result of taking over childcare duties.

While my interviews were conducted in the incipient stages of this tumultuous time, it is very likely that parents considered their roles in enforcing Family Language Policies, especially for parents who relied on their DLS for their child's Mandarin education. As a result, June noted that her recent watching of TV was a "recent" rule that occurred since she began to home-school her children. It would have been informative to follow up with the parents who I had interviewed in person to see if their at-home language learning strategies changed with the pandemic. I would have also liked to see how those parents, like Lena and Winston, who had critiqued virtual learning and the use of screens, reacted when the DLS switched to virtual instruction. While I did not follow up with parents to see if their beliefs or at-home policies changed, it would be enlightening to see how parents' FLP fared in this extended time of schooling disruption.

Relevant to this point, this study focused specifically on examining how parents discussed their children learning Mandarin and the strategies they utilized at home, their conversations may be different from reality. For example, parents may be unaware of some of

the practices they implement at home. A future adaptation of this present study can observe these parents in their day-to-day functions to yield more insight.

While I gave interviewers the flexibility to be interviewed either alone or with their partner, joint interviews with both caretakers were just as fruitful if not more so than individual interviews. Halfway through the interview, Keri offered to solicit her husband's perspective (although he later declined), and right before I interviewed Mara, she called and urged her husband Yeow to join. As a result, the joint interviews between Mara and Yeow allowed for a richer discussion by adding details to events or correcting each other if one misremembered an event. The couple also suggested after the interview that it was a beneficial discussion for them, as the questions helped them to reflect on their parenting decisions. Not only did this produce a richer dataset, but the interview also allowed details of a story to converge on a more accurate truth-telling and provided opportunities for self-reflection for my participants. In short, two was better than one.

6.13 Conclusion

This study sheds light on the importance of conducting future research in Family Language Policy and dual language schools, a confluence of areas of education study where little literature has been established. In this study, I highlighted the varied ways in which a Mandarin DLS influences families' lives. My research could inform policy regarding dual language education in the United States and further the goals of language revitalization pioneered by bilingual scholars before me. With the increasing interest in bilingual schools and Mandarin as a global language, cultural identities in their multifaceted, varied contexts will remain an important topic of study. My study sought to understand the real concerns of parents who may be nervous

about enrolling their child and offer practical tips for language maintenance in the home. My findings shed light on parents' linguistic goals and hopes for their children, their motivations for wanting bilingual education, their sense of their own reasons for supporting the bilingual schools, and their identities as parents of Mandarin learners.

This research also provides administrators insights into parental perspectives, even if they are not able to speak to every parent. Educators can also add to their teaching repertoire by linking home practices with the classroom methods. This dissertation describes how assessment of parents' needs, concerns, and anxieties can inform schools on how to provide access to DLS. Further, my study demonstrates how parents can serve as partners in recruitment, maintenance, and advocacy for students in dual language settings. Because parents are crucial stakeholders, their concerns are not only valid but must be considered for language immersion to thrive.

My choice to also research a Mandarin English immersion school coincided with not only a global pandemic but a wave of violent and deadly attacks against Asian Americans. The first reported case of Coronavirus in Wuhan, China led to discrimination, prejudice, and violence not only toward Chinese individuals but those with East Asian descent and appearances (Addo, 2020; Ruiz, Edwards, and Lopez, 2021). These conversations with parents also took place during a period in which the US public opinion of China as an "enemy" of the US tripled from four years prior (YouGov, 2021). Further, ethnocentric and racist remarks made against Asian Americans including those describing COVID-19 as the "Chinese virus" recalled centuries of prejudice against Chinese Americans dating back to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Huang, 2020). The recent events pointed to the very real legacy of Anti-Asian sentiment that continues to persist in the present day.

As I listened to my interview with parents, I found solace in one interaction, by Vero, who explained what the dual language school meant for her family:

> Vero: "Americans have a little bit of a problem with that, with understanding particularly Chinese [people], and I think my kids might one day help with that because they talk to Chinese people every day and they know that they are not from Mars."

It is my hope that sharing parents' experiences with their children learning Mandarin will help spread more narratives of understanding of linguistic and cultural differences. I wish to add to the literature examples of people who empathize with Chinese individuals and combat the constant perception that those of Asian descent are 'foreigners' or 'don't belong' in America. I wish to create spaces where young people—like the girl who "just arrived in the U.S. a week ago" who I had observed in my first Mandarin English classroom many years ago in Chapel Hill, North Carolina—feel at home. In a time of grieving, these words brought me consolation to see the visibility of parents who structure a better world for their children; to know that Mandarin dual language schools are leading the charge for a more inclusive society; and to dream for the next generation to understand not only a common language but a shared humanity.

Appendix A. Demographic Information

Participant #	Pseudonym	Parent	Age	Ethnic Background	First Language	Other languages	Mandarin ability	Traveled to Mandarin speaking country	Grade Level of Focal Children	School
Participant 1	Frieda	Mother	45	White/Caucasian	French	German, English	No ability; learning	Yes, China	2nd grade	Dragon Academy
Participant 2	Carol	Mother	52	White/Caucasian	English	None	No ability	Yes, China	5th grade, PreK4	Dragon Academy
Participant 3	Jennifer	Mother	50	White/Caucasian	English	None	No ability	No	4th grade, 1st grade, Kindergarten	Dragon Academy
Participant 4	Lin	Mother	42	Asian American (half-Japanese, half-Chinese)	English	Cantonese, Taisanese	Can understand and speak the language somewhat	Yes, China	PreK4	Dragon Academy
Participant 5	Vero	Mother	45	Black/Latina	Spanish/English/French	Italian, Mandarin	In the middle of No ability and can understand somewhat	Yes, Singapore, China	5th grade, 3rd grade	Dragon Academy
Participant 6	Keri	Mother	39	White/Caucasian	English	Mandarin	Can understand and speak the language somewhat	Yes, Taiwan, China	1st grade, PreK4	Dragon Academy
Participant 7	Eleanor	Mother	44	Asian American (Philippines)	English	None	In the middle of No ability and can understand somewhat	Yes, China	3rd grade	Dragon Academy
Participant 8	Magaly	Mother	39	Hispanic	Spanish	English, French, Arabic	No ability	No	Kindergarten, PK3	Dragon Academy

Participant 9	Nina	Mother	48	White/Caucasian	English	None	In the middle of No ability and can understand somewhat	No		
Participant 10	Lance	Father	43	Mixed (Chinese/Scottish)	English	None	No ability	No	6th grade	Panda Elementary (former)
Participant 11	Mara	Mother	50	White/Caucasian	English	None	No ability	Yes, Singapore		
Participant 12	Yeow	Father	51	Chinese/Japanese	English	Mandarin	Can understand and speak the language somewhat	Yes, Singapore	6th grade	Dragon Academy (former)
Participant 13	Bill	Father	42	Mixed (Half Indian, half White)	English	None	No ability	Yes, China		
Participant 14	Kumquat	Mother	44	Asian American (Taishanese Chinese)	English	None	Can understand and speak the language somewhat	Yes, China	Kindergarten, PreK3	Dragon Academy
Participant 15	Margaret	Mother	44	White/Caucasian	English	None	Can understand and speak the language somewhat	Yes, China	3rd grade, 2nd grade	Dragon Academy
Participant 16	Maria	Mother	43	Hispanic (Spanish)	Spanish	German, French, English	No ability	Yes, China	3rd grade, 2nd grade	Dragon Academy
Participant 17	Lena	Mother	42	Mixed (Half Japanese, half Anglo-American)	English	None	No ability	No	1st grade, PreK4	Dragon Academy
Participant 18	June	Mother	42	African American	English	Spanish	No ability	No	Kindergarten, 2nd grade	Panda Elementary

Participant 19	Mike	Father	51	White/Caucasian	English	None	No ability; cannot understand or speak the language at all.	Singapore, Taiwan	5th grade	Dragon Academy
Participant 20	Winston	Father	57	White/Caucasian	English	None	No ability	Hong Kong, Taiwan	3rd grade	Dragon Academy
Participant 21	Bear	Father	50	White/Caucasian	German	Czech, Spanish	No ability	Hong Kong; Mainland China.	9th grade	Dragon Academy (former)

Appendix B. Participant Information Form

1. Name: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Marital status:

Married	Single	Separated/ Divorced	Widowed	Other

4. What is your annual combined household income?
   a) less than $30,000
   b) $30,001 - $60,000
   c) $60,001 - $90,000
   d) more than $90,000

5. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

   a. High school or less
   b. Post-high school vocational training or associate's degree
   c. 4-year college degree (undergraduate)
   d. Professional/graduate degree

6. Describe your ethnic/racial background:

7. What do you consider to be your "first" language(s)? (In other words, what language(s) do you feel most comfortable speaking in?)

8. Identify languages, other than English, that are spoken in your home and who speaks them:
_____
_____
_____

9. Please tell me about your ability to speak or understand Mandarin.

a) No ability; cannot understand or speak the language at all.	b) Can understand and speak the language somewhat.	c) Native speaker, or native-like ability in the language.

10. Have you ever traveled to or lived in an area where Mandarin was widely spoken?
Yes ____; No ____
If yes, please describe the nature of your visit (e.g., for work, for vacation, etc.)

11. For each child, please provide the name, age, grade, and school attended by each of your children:

Child 1: _____

(If applicable) Child 2: _____

(If applicable) Child 3:_____

12. How many years has each child spent in the dual language school?

13. Who was most responsible for the decision to enroll your child in the dual language program? And why?

a. Yourself
b. Your partner
c. Both yourself and your partner
d. Other (Please specify: _____)

14. What resources do you use to help your child learn Mandarin? Please check all that apply.

- Workbooks
- Phone apps
- Flashcards
- Tutors
- Libraries
- Confucius institutes
- Other _____

15. What kinds of Mandarin resources do you use for entertainment? Please check all that apply.

- Books
- TV shows
- Movies
- Podcasts
- Radio shows
- Youtube / Websites
- Other _____

16. What kinds of software or social media do you use for communication in Mandarin? Please check all that apply.

- Facebook
- Twitter
- Weibo
- Skype
- Renren Net
- WeChat
- Other _____

Appendix C. Interview Protocol

1. In today's multilingual households, it is common for parents to speak a mix of languages at home. For example, some parents speak English, some speak Mandarin, some use a mixture of the two, and others may speak another language (like Spanish or Cantonese) or dialect (Beijing dialect, Sichuan dialect). What kind of language(s) or mix of languages are spoken in your home?

2. Tell me how you came to pick a dual language school for your child.
   Probes if needed:
   a) How did you learn about the school?
   b) Why did you choose a Mandarin dual language school (rather than any others, like Spanish or French)?
   c) Had you been familiar with dual language schools before this?
   d) Were there any risks?
   e) Some parents who enroll their children in Mandarin-English dual language schools worry about their child learning Mandarin at the expense of English. What do you think about that?

3. How does the dual language program show up in your child's life and family experiences?
   a) Describe how your child uses Mandarin outside of school.
   b) Describe a time when you encouraged your child to use Mandarin.
   c) Has your child demonstrated confidence using Mandarin outside school? Shame or reluctance? Please elaborate.

4. What kind of rules, if any, do you have with your children about using one language or another? How did those rules come to be?

5. To what extent do you predict your child will continue to use Mandarin after he/she graduates from the dual language school? (Probe: how do you imagine your child using Mandarin in their career? Their social life?, etc.) and how did you come to make this prediction (i.e. why do you think that?).

6. How would you describe the dual language program to families that are considering dual language programs?
   a) What advice would you give to a family new to dual language programs?
   b) What might you say when they communicate concern about helping kids with Mandarin (like homework)?
   c) What would you say to a parent who is uncomfortable with their child reading/watching material in another language?

7. Can you describe in detail the resources you use to help your child learn Mandarin? [**located on Survey, questions 14-16**] (i.e. "you checked off that you watch Mandarin language TV shows. What kind of TV shows do you watch?")

a) What kind of resources do you use for entertainment?
b) What kind of resources do you use for communicating in Mandarin?

8. Do you have any additional information you would like to add? (for example, about your child's learning of Mandarin? About any specific activity you do at home? About any media your child engages with?)

9. Are there any questions I should have asked but didn't?

10. Any questions for me?

References

Addo, I. Y. (2020). Double pandemic: Racial discrimination amid coronavirus disease 2019. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, *2*(1), 100074. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2020.100074

Adoptions in America are declining. (2017). The Economist. https://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21723876-meanwhile-more-children-need-foster-care-adoptions-america-are-declining

Aguilar, H., & Moreno, C. L. (2010). *One Way Dual Language Education*. https://prezi.com/72-st3twhowb/one-way-bilingual-education/

Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and Agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *30*, 109–137.

Alanís, I., & Rodríguez, M. A. (2008). Sustaining a Dual Language Immersion Program: Features of Success. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *7*(4), 305–319. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348430802143378

Alba, R. D., Logan, J., Lutz, A., & Stults, B. (2002). Only English by the Third Generation? Loss and Preservation of the parent Tongue Among the Grandchildren of Contemporary Immigrants. *Demography*, *39*(3), 467–484. https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.2002.0023

Alexander, M., & Weise, E. (2018). *Parents as Partners in Their Children's Chinese Immersion Education: Making Decisions and Providing Support*. CELIN Briefs Series. Chinese Early Language & Immersion Network. https://asiasociety.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/2018-celin-parents-as-partners-in-their-childrens-chinese-immersion-education-making-decisions-and-providing-support-en.pdf

Allahar, A. (2005). Identity and Erasure: Finding the Elusive Caribbean. *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe / European Review of Latin American and*

Caribbean Studies, *79*, 125–134.

Allen-Ebrahimian, B. (2015a). Can 1 Million American Students Learn Mandarin? – *Foreign Policy*. https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/25/china-us-obamas-one-million-students-chinese-language-mandarin/

Allen-Ebrahimian, B. (2015b). Chinese Students in America: 300,000 and Counting. *Foreign Policy*. https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/11/16/china-us-colleges-education-chinese-students-university/

Andersen, A. W. (2014). Parent Reasons for Enrollment at One Dual-Language Chinese Immersion Elementary School Program. *All Theses and Dissertations*, *4126*. http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5125&context=etd

Ang, R. P. (2006). Effects of parenting style on personal and social variables for Asian Adolescents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *76*(4), 503–511. https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.76.4.503

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Spinsters/Aunt Lute Books.

Applied Linguistics, C. (2017). *Directory of foreign language immersion programs in U.S. schools*. http://www.cal.org/resources/immersion/

Archer-Banks, D. A. M., & Behar-Horenstein, L. S. (2008). African American Parental Involvement in Their Children's Middle School Experiences. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *77*(2), 143–156.

Au, K. H. (1993). *Literacy instruction in multicultural settings*. Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Auerbach, S. (2007). From Moral Supporters to Struggling Advocates: Reconceptualizing Parent Roles in Education Through the Experience of Working-Class Families of Color. *Urban*

Education, *42*(3), 250–283. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085907300433

Babones, S. (2020). *It's Time for Western Universities to Cut Their Ties to China. Foreign Policy*. https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/19/universities-confucius-institutes-china/

Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (3rd ed.). Multilingual Matters.

Ballinger, S., Brouillard, M., Ahooja, A., Kircher, R., Polka, L., & Byers-Heinlein, K. (2020). Intersections of official and family language policy in Quebec. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1752699

Baumrind, D., & Black, A. E. (1967). Socialization practices associated with dimensions of competence in preschool boys and girls. *Child Development*, *38*(2), 291–327.

Baumrind, D. (1968). Authoritarian vs. authoritative parental control. Adolescence, 3(11), 255–272

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology, 4*(1, Pt.2), 1–103. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0030372

Bazeley, P., & Jackson, K. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Bell, C. A. (2009). All Choices Created Equal? The Role of Choice Sets in the Selection of Schools. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *84*(2), 191–208. https://doi.org/10.1080/01619560902810146

Berger, K. S. (2012). *The developing person through childhood and adolescence* (9th ed.). Worth.

Berry, J. W., Trimble, J. E., & Olmedo, E. L. (1986). Assessment of acculturation. In W. J. Lonner & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *Cross-cultural research and methodology series* (Vol. 8, pp. 291–324). Sage Publications, Inc.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge.

Bialystok, E., & Hakuta, K. (1994). *In Other Words: The Science And Psychology Of Second-language Acquisition*. Basic Books.

Bidelman, G. M., Gandour, J. T., & Krishnan, A. (2011). Musicians and tone-language speakers share enhanced brainstem encoding but not perceptual benefits for musical pitch. *Brain and Cognition*, *77*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bandc.2011.07.006

Bin, Z. (1998). Popular family television and party ideology: The Spring Festival Eve happy gathering. *Media, Culture & Society*, *20*(1), 43–58. https://doi.org/10.1177/016344398020001004

Birdsong, D., & Molis, M. (2001). On the evidence for maturational constraints in second-language acquisition. *Journal of Memory and Language*, *44*(2), 235–249.

Blackledge, A. (2000). *Literacy, Power and Social Justice*. Trentham.

Blackledge, A., & Pavlenko, A. (2002). Ideologies of language in multilingual contexts'. *Multilingua*, *21*(2/3), 121–140.

Bougie, E., Wright, S. C., & Taylor, D. M. (2003). Early heritage-language education and the abrupt shift to a dominant-language classroom: Impact on the personal and collective esteem of Inuit children in Arctic Québec. *International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, *6*, 349–373.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power* (J. Thompson, Ed.; G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.). Polity Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, A. (2012). Language maintenance in trilingual families – a focus on grandparents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *9*(4), 423–436. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2012.714384

Brisk, M. E. (2006). *Bilingual education: From compensatory to quality schooling* (2th ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge University Press.

Bryant, F. B. (1989). A four-factor model of perceived control: Avoiding, coping, obtaining, and savouring. Journal of Personality, 57, 773-797. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1989.tb00494.x

Bryman, A. (1988). Quantity and quality in social research. London: Routledge.

Buckley, J., & Schneider, M. (2006). Are Charter School Parents More Satisfied With Schools? Evidence From Washington, DC. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *81*(1), 57–78. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327930pje8101_4

Burgess, S.R., Hecht, S. A., & Lonigan, C. J. (2002). Relations of home literacy environment to the development of reading-related abilities: A one-year longitudinal study. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *37*, 408–426.

Caldas, S. J. (2012). Language policy in the family. In B. Spolsky (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of language policy* (pp. 351–373). CUP.

California Proposition 58. Non-English Languages Allowed in Public Education. (2016). https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_58,_Non-English_Languages_Allowed_in_Public_Education_(2016)

Cambria, J. (n.d.). Chinatown USA". Chinatownology.com.

Cammarata, L., & Tedick, D. J. (2012). Balancing Content and Language in Instruction: The

Experience of Immersion Teachers. *The Modern Language Journal - Wiley Online Library*. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2012.01330.x

Canagarajah, A. S. (2008). Language shift and the family: Questions from the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *12*(2), 143 176.

Catsambis, S., & Beveridge, A. (2001). Does Neighborhood Matter? Family, Neighborhood, and School Influences on Eighth-Grade Mathematics Achievement. *Sociological Focus*, *34*, 435–457. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2001.10571212

Cashman, H. R. (2008). Conversation and interaction analysis. In L. Wei & M. G. Moyer (Eds.), *The Blackwell guide to research methods in bilingualism and multilingualism* (pp. 296–310). Blackwell.

Cenoz, J. (2009). *Towards Multilingual Education: Basque Educational Research from an International Perspective*. Multilingual Matters.

Center for Applied Linguistics. (2016). *CAL Two-Way Immersion Home Page*. https://www.cal.org/twi/

Center for Applied Linguistics. (2021). *Dual Language Directory*. Retrieved July 21, 2021, from http://webapp.cal.org/DualLanguage/DLListing.aspx

Center for Strategic and International Studies. (2016). https://chinapower.csis.org/how-is-china-shaping-the-global-economic-order/

Cerutti, E., Gopinath, G., & Mohommad, A. (2021). The Impact of US-China Trade Tensions – IMF Blog. *International Monetary Fund*. https://blogs.imf.org/2019/05/23/the-impact-of-us-china-trade-tensions/

Chao, P. K., & Sue, S. (1996). Chinese parental influence and their children's school success: A paradox in the literature on parenting styles. In S. Lau (Ed.), *Growing up the Chinese*

way: Chinese child and adolescent development (pp. 69–91). The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style: Understanding Chinese Parenting Through the Cultural Notion of Training. *Child Development*, *65*(4), 1111–1119. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131308

Chao, R. K. (2000). The parenting of immigrant Chinese and American mothers: Relations between parenting styles, socialization goals, and parenting practices. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *21*, 233–248.

Chao, T. H. (1997). *Chinese heritage community language schools in the United States*. ERIC Digest.

Chapple, L., & Curtis, A. (2000). Content-based instruction in Hong Kong: Student responses to film. *System*, *28*, 419–433. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0346-251X(00)00021-X

Chen, S., & Zhang, Y. (2010). Chinese language teaching in Australia. In X. L. Curdt-Christiansen & A. Hancock (Eds.), *Learning Chinese in Diasporic: Many Pathways to Being Chinese*.

Chen, Y. (1991). *Mom and dad a world away: Taiwan high school students in Vancouver*.

Cheung, Y.-W. (1981). Effects of Parents on Ethnic Language Retention by Children: The Case of Chinese in Urban Canada. *Sociological Focus*, *14*(1), 33–48.

China in Africa. (2021). Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved July 16, 2021, from https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-africa

Christian, D. (1996). *Two-way Immersion Education: Students Learning through Two Languages*. Mode.

Chua, A. (2011). *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*. Penguin Press Hard Cover.

Cloud, N., Genesee, F., & Hamayan, E. V. (2000). *Dual language instruction: A handbook for enriched education*. Heinle & Heinle.

Coleman, J. S. (1987). Families and Schools. *Educational Researcher*, *16*(6), 32–38. https://doi.org/10.2307/1175544

Collier, V. P., & Thomas, W. P. (2004). The astounding effectiveness of dual language education for all. *NABE Journal of Research and Practice*, *2*(1), 1–20.

Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban). (2014). http://english.hanban.org/

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Costigan, C., & Dokis, D. (2006). Relations Between Parent? Child Acculturation Differences and Adjustment Within Immigrant Chinese Families. *Child Development*, *77*, 1252–1267.

Costigan, C. L., & Su, T. F. (2004). Orthogonal versus linear models of acculturation among immigrant Chinese Canadians: A comparison of mothers, fathers, and children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *28*(6), 518–527.

Council on Foreign Relations, C. *Timeline: U.S. Relations with China 1949-2018*. https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-relations-china

Costigan, C. L., & Dokis, D. P. (2006). Similarities and Differences in Acculturation Among Mothers, Fathers, and Children in Immigrant Chinese Families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 37(6), 723–741. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022106292080

Cox, R. (2011). Competitive mothering and delegated care: Class relationships in nanny and au pair employment. *Studies in the Maternal*, *3*(2). https://doi.org/10.16995/sim.66

Craig, B. A. (1996a). Parental attitudes toward bilingualism in a local dual language immersion

program. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *20*, 383–410.

Craig, L. (2006). Does Father Care Mean Fathers Share?: A Comparison of How Mothers and Fathers in Intact Families Spend Time with Children. *Gender & Society*, *20*(2), 259–281. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205285212

Crawford, J. (1995). *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practice* (3rd ed.). Bilingual Educational Services.

Creel, S. C., Weng, M., Fu, G., Heyman, G. D., & Lee, K. (2018). Speaking a tone language enhances musical pitch perception in 3-5-year-olds. *Developmental Science*, *21*(1). https://doi.org/10.1111/desc.12503.

Creswell, J. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cross, R. (2009). A sociocultural framework for language policy and planning. *Language Problems & Language Planning*, *33*(1), 22–42.

Crozier, G., & Davies, J. (2007). Hard to Reach Parents or Hard to Reach Schools? A Discussion of Home-School Relations, with Particular Reference to Bangladeshi and Pakistani Parents. *British Educational Research Journal*, *33*(3), 295–313.

Crystal, D. (2001). *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge University Press.

Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Multilingual Matters.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2004). Growing up in three languages: Triliteracy practices of identity construction of Chinese immigrants. In *Chinese immigrant children in Quebec. Unpublished doctoral thesis*. McGill University.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2008). Reading the world through words: Culture themes in heritage

Chinese language textbooks. *Language and Education*, *22*(2), 95–113.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2009). Invisible and visible language planning: Ideological factors in the family language policy of Chinese immigrant families in Quebec. *Language Policy*, *8*(4), 351–375.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2012). Private language management in Singapore: Which language to practice and how. In A. S. Young, E. L. Brown, & C. Lee (Eds.), *Communication and language: Surmounting barriers to crosscultural understanding* (pp. 55–77). Information Age.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2013). Negotiating family language policy: Doing homework. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful family language policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction* (pp. 277–295). Springer.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2014). Family language policy: Is learning Chinese at odds with leaning English. *AILA Applied Linguistics Series*, *12*, 35–56.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2016). Conflicting language ideologies and contradictory language practices in Singaporean multilingual families. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *37*(7), 694–709.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2018). Family Language Policy. In J. Tollefson & M. Perez-Milans (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of language policy and planning*. Oxford University Press.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2020). Educating migrant children in England: Language and educational practices in home and school environments. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *14*(2), 163–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2020.1732524

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L., & Hancock, A. (2014). *Learning Chinese in Diasporic Communities: Many pathways to being Chinese*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Damari, R. R., Bertelli, V., Pulupa, C., & Silver, L. (2019). *Demographics and equity of dual language immersion programs in*. DC Language Immersion Project and National Foreign Language Center, University of Maryland.

Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin, 113*(3), 487–496. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.113.3.487

DaSilva Iddings, A. C. (2005). Linguistic Access and Participation: English Language Learners in an English-Dominant Community of Practice. *Bilingual Research Journal: The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education*, *29*(1), 165–183.

Davey, M., Fish, L., Askew, J., & Robila, M. (2003). Parenting practices and the transmission of ethnic identity. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, *29*, 195–208.

De Costa, P. I. (2010). Language ideologies and standard English language policy in Singapore: Responses of a "designer immigrant" student. *Language Policy*, *9*, 217–239.

De Houwer, A. (1999). Environmental factors in early bilingual development: The role of parental beliefs and attitudes. In G. Extra & L. Verhoeven (Eds.), *Bilingualism and migration* (p. 75 96). Mouton de Gruyter.

Dijk, T. (1998). *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Sage.

Dimmock, C., & Walker, A. (2005). *Educational Leadership: Culture and Diversity*. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446247143

Dorner, L. M. (2010). English and Spanish "para un futuro" – or just English? Immigrant family perspectives on two-way immersion. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *13*(3), 303–323.

Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2011a). *Teaching and researching motivation* (2nd ed.). Longman.

Doyle, C. (2013). To Make the Root Stronger: Language Policies and Experiences of Successful Multilingual Intermarried Families with Adolescent Children in Tallinn. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children, and Educators in Interaction* (Vol. 7, pp. 145–175). Springer.

Dunn, J. (1989) 'Siblings and the Development of Social Understanding in Early Childhood', in P.G. Zukow (ed.) Sibling Interaction Across Cultures: Theoretical and Methodological Issues, pp. 106–16.New York: Springer Verlag.

Economic Alliance of Greater Baltimore, Economic Development. (2012) https://web.archive.org/web/20121207060434/http://www.greaterbaltimore.org/tabid/534/Default.aspx

Elliott, J. (2005). *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. SAGE Publications.

Elordui, U. A. (2016). *Challenges of Language Policy in Youth Media: Minority media and language policymakers converging in goals*. https://doi.org/10.1387/zer.16420

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (Vol. 2, pp. 258–284). Sage.

Fan, L. (2014). Understanding home language use in Chinese families who are living in the United States. *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. https://doi.org/10.31274/etd-180810-3702

Fantini, A. E. (1985). *Language acquisition of a bilingual child: A sociolinguistic perspective (to age 10*. Multilingual Matters.

Farver, J. A. M., Narang, S. K., & Bhadha, B. R. (2002). East meets West: Ethnic identity,

acculturation, and conflict in Asian Indian families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *16*(3), 338–350. https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.16.3.338

Feenstra, H. J. (1969). Parents and teacher attitudes: Their role in second-language acquisition. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *26*, 5–13.

Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Continues to Reshape the United States". (2015). *Migration Policy*. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/fifty-years-1965-immigration-and-nationality-act-continues-reshape-united-states

Fischer, I. (2020). The role of gender ideology, intensive parenting, educational resources, and psychological well-being for parent-child reading frequency. *Journal of Family Studies*, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2020.1787858

Fishman, J. A. (1968). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. *Linguistics*, *9*, 3270.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of assistance to threatened languages* (Issue 76)). Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (2000). The status agenda in corpus planning. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language Policy and Pedagogy: Essays in Honor of A* (pp. 43–51). Ronald Walton.

Fishman, J. A. (2001). From theory to practice (and vice versa): Review, reconsideration and reiteration. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?* (pp. 451–483). Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (2013). Language maintenance, language shift, and reversing language shift. In T. K. Bhatia & W. C. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism* (2nd ed., pp. 466–494). Wiley-Blackwell.

Flege, J. E. (1991). Age of learning affects the authenticity of voice-onset time (VOT) in stop consonants produced in a second language. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *89*(1), 395–411.

Flege, J., Munro, M., & MacKay, I. (1995). Factors Affecting the Strength of Perceived Foreign Accent in Second Language. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *97*, 3125–3134. https://doi.org/10.1121/1.413041

Fogle, L., & King, K. A. (2013). Child agency and language policy in transnational families. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, *19*(1), 1–25.

Fogle, L. W. (2012). Parental ethnotheories and family language policy in transnational adoptive families. *Language Policy*, *12*(1), 83–102. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-012-9261-8

Fogle, L. W., & King, K. A. (2013). Child Agency and Language Policy in Transnational Families. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, *19*(0). https://escholarship.org/uc/item/39b3j3kp

Francis, B., Archer, L., & Mau, A. (2009). Language as capital, or language as identity? Chinese complementary school pupils' perspectives on the purposes and benefits of complementary schools. *British Educational Research Journal*, *35*(4), 519–538. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920802044586

Francis, B., Mau, A., & Archer, L. (2014). *Speaking of identity? British-Chinese young people's perspectives on language and ethnic identity* (X. L. Curdt-Christiansen & A. Hancock, Eds.). Benjamins.

Freeman, Y. S., Freeman, D. E., & Mercuri, S. (2005). *Dual language essentials for teachers and administrators*. Heinemann.

Friedman, D. A. (2011). How to Collect and Analyze Qualitative Data. In M. A. & G. S. M (Eds.), *Research Methods in Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 180–200). Wiley

Blackwell.

Fuligni, A. J., & Zhang, W. (2004). Attitudes Toward Family Obligation Among Adolescents in Contemporary Urban and Rural China. *Child Development*, *75*(1), 180–192. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00662.x

Fund, I. M. (2019). *The Impact of US-China Trade Tensions*. IMF Blog. https://blogs.imf.org/2019/05/23/the-impact-of-us-china-trade-tensions/

Fung, K., & Cheng, D. P. W. (2012). Consensus or dissensus? Stakeholders' views on the role of play in learning. *Early Years*, *32*, 17–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/09575146.2011.599794

Gafaranga, J. (2010). Medium request: Talking language shift into being. *Language in Society*, *39*, 241–270. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404510000047

Gallo, S., & Hornberger, N. H. (2019). Immigration Policy as Family Language Policy: Mexican Immigrant Children and Families in Search of Biliteracy. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *23*(3), 757–770.

Garcia, D. C., & Hasson, D. J. (1996). Family centered learning: An approach to empowering linguistically and culturally diverse communities in urban settings. In S. L. Woods & C. Ryan (Eds.), *Urban/multicultural education: Beyond rhetoric* (pp. 115–129). Simon & Schuster.

Garcia, L. (2017). *The Effectiveness of Parent Workshops in Literacy of First-Grade Students* [Masters Thesis, California State University San Marcos]. https://csusm-dspace.calstate.edu/bitstream/handle/10211.3/202732/GarciaLiliana_Spring2018.pdf?sequence=3

García, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. John Wiley & Sons.

Gardner, H. (2001). Paroxysms of choice. *Journal of Cognitive Education and Psychology*, *1*(3), 320–337. https://doi.org/10.1891/194589501787383525

Gardner, R. C. (1966). Motivational Variables in Second Language Learning". *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *3*(2), 24–44.

Gardner, R. C., & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation: Second language learning*. Newbury House.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. CUP.

Gates, P., & Guo, X. (2014). How British-Chinese parents support their children: A view from the regions. *Educational Review*, *66*(2), 168–191.

Ge, J., Peng, G., Lyu, B., Wang, Y., Zhuo, Y., Niu, Z., Tan, L. H., Leff, A. P., & Gao, J.-H. (2015). Cross-language differences in the brain network subserving intelligible speech. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *112*(10), 2972. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1416000112

Genesee, F. (1987). *Learning through two languages: Studies of immersion and bilingual education*. Newbury House.

Genesee, F., Lindholm-Leary, K., Saunders, W., & Christian, D. (2005). English Language Learners in U.S. Schools: An Overview of Research Findings. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR*, *10*(4), 363–385. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327671espr1004_2

Gibbons, J., & Ramirez, E. (2004). *Maintaining a minority language: A case study of Hispanic teenagers*. Multilingual Matters.

Gómez, L., Freeman, D., & Freeman, Y. (2005). Dual Language Education: A Promising 50–50 Model. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *29*(1), 145–164.

Grammont, M. (1902). Observations sur le langage des enfants. In D. Barbelent, G. Dottin, R. Gauthiot, M. Grammont, A. Laronde, M. Niedermann, & J. Vendreyes (Eds.), Mélanges linguistiques. Offerts à M. Antoine Meillet par ses élèves (pp. 61-82). Paris: Klincksieck.

Gregory, E., Long, S., & Volk, D. (2004). *Many Pathways to Literacy: Young Children Learning with Siblings, Grandparents, Peers, and Communities*. Psychology Press.

Gregory, E. (2001). Sisters and brothers as language and literacy teachers: Synergy between siblings playing and working together. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 1*(3), 301–322. https://doi.org/10.1177/14687984010013004

Griffiths, M. (1998). *Educational research for social justice: Getting off the fence*. Open University Press.

Gu, M., & Tong, H. K. (2020). Constructing classed linguistic practices across borders: Family language policy in South(east) Asian families in Hong Kong. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *41*(7), 581–599. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1622708

Gu, Y. (2015). *Chinese Heritage Language School Teachers' Pedagogical Belief and Practice of the Contextualized Language Instruction*. Dissertation, University of Toledo.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Ting-Toomey, S. (1988). *Culture and interpersonal communication*. Sage.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Ting-Toomey, S. (1990). Ethnic identity, language and communication breakdowns. In H. Giles & W. P. Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology* (pp. 309–327). John Wiley & Sons.

Gumperz, J. J., Cook-Gumperz, J., Cook-Gumperz, J., Gumperz, J., & Simons, H. D. (1981). *Beyond ethnography: Some uses of sociolinguistics for understanding classroom environments* [(Final report NIE G-78-0082).]. National Institute of Education.

Gunnoe, M. L. (2013). Associations between Parenting Style, Physical Discipline, and Adjustment in Adolescents' Reports. *Psychological Reports*, *112*(3), 933–975. https://doi.org/10.2466/15.10.49.PR0.112.3.933-975

Gupta, A. F., & Yeok, S. P. (1995). Language shift in a Singapore family. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *16*(4), 301–314. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.1995.9994609

Gutiérrez, K. D. (2008). Developing a sociocritical literacy in the third space. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *43*(2), 148–164.

Gwyn–Paquette, C., & Tochon, F. V. (2002). The role of reflective conversations and feedback in helping preservice teachers learn to use cooperative activities in their second language classrooms. *The Modern Language Journal*, *86*(2), 204–226. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-4781.00145

Hall, S. (1996). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. SAGE Publications.

Hammons, A. J., Villegas, E., Olvera, N., Greder, K., Fiese, B., Teran-Garcia, M., & Team, T. A. C. (2020). The Evolving Family Mealtime: Findings From Focus Group Interviews With Hispanic Mothers. *JMIR Pediatrics and Parenting*, *3*(2), 18292. https://doi.org/10.2196/18292

Hancock, A. (2006). *Attitudes and Approaches to Literacy in Scottish Chinese Families: Language and Education* (Vol. 20, Issue 5). https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2167/le641.0

Hao, Y.-C. (2018). Second Language Perception of Mandarin Vowels and Tones. *Language and Speech*, *61*(1), 135–152. https://doi.org/10.1177/0023830917717759

Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. State University of New

York Press.

He, A. W. (2006). Toward an identity theory of the development of Chinese as a Heritage Language. *Heritage Language Journal*, *4*(1), 1–28.

He, A. W. (2008). An identity-based model for the development of Chinese as a heritage language. In A. W. He & Y. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 1–12). University of Hawai'i, National Foreign Language Resource Center.

He, A. W. (2011). Language socialization. In J. Simpson (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 287–302). Routledge.

Heller, M. (1988). *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Henderson, A. & Mapp, K. (2002). A New Wave of Evidence: The Impact of School, Family and Community Connections on Student Achievement. Austin, TX: Southwest Educational Development Corporation (SEDL). Downloaded January 18, 2019 from http://www.sedl.org/ connections/resources/evidence.

Henderson, A. T., Mapp, K. L., Johnson, V. R., & Davies, D. (2007). *Beyond the Bake Sale: The Essential Guide to Family-school Partnerships*. The New Press.

Hennink, M. M., Kaiser, B. N., & Marconi, V. C. (2017). Code saturation versus meaning saturation: How many interviews are enough? *Qualitative Health Research*, *27*(4), 591–608. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732316665344

Hickmann, M. (2000). Linguistic relativity and linguistic determinism: Some new directions. *Linguistics*, *38*(2), 409–434. https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.38.2.409

Hill, K., & Scott, J. (2017). A Critical Look at Parental Choice. In R. A. Fox & N. K. Buchanan

(Eds.), *The Wiley Handbook of School Choice* (pp. 507–516). John Wiley & Sons.

Hirsch, T. (2017). *An Ethnographic Study of Transnational Family Language Policy in Facebook Communities Across Time*. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5g7379hk

Hoffart, N. (1991). A member check procedure to enhance rigour in naturalistic research. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, *13*(4), 522–534.

Hoffmann, C. (1985). Language acquisition in two trilingual children. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *6*, 479–495.

Hogan-Brun, G. (2012). Language planning in urban spaces. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *13*(3), 145–147. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2012.722378

Holland, D. C., & Lave, J. (2001). *History in person: Enduring struggles, contentious practice, intimate identities*. School of American Research Press.

Holme, J. J. (2002). Buying Homes, Buying Schools: School Choice and the Social Construction of School Quality. *Harvard Educational Review*, *72*(2), 177–206. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.72.2.u6272x676823788r

Holmes, J. (2012). Politeness in Intercultural Discourse and Communication". In C. B. Paulston, S. Kiesling, & E. Rangel (Eds.), *Handbook of Intercultural Discourse and Communication* (pp. 205–228). Wiley-Blackwell.

Hornberger, N. H. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language Policy*, *1*(1), 27–51. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014548611951

Houwer, A. (1998). Environmental factors in early bilingual development: The role of parental beliefs and attitudes. In G. Extra & L. Verhoeven (Eds.), *Bilingualism and migration* (p. 75 96). Mouton de Gruyter.

Howard, E. R., Sugarman, J., & Christian, D. (2003). *Trends in two-way immersion education: A review of the research*.

Howard, E. R., Sugarman, J., Christian, D., Lindholm Leary, K., & Rogers, D. (2007). *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (second). National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition. George Washington University.

Huang, P. H. (2020). Anti-Asian American Racism, COVID-19, Racism Contested, Humor, and Empathy (SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 3664356. *Social Science Research Network*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3664356

Hubbert, J. (2019). *China in the World: An Anthropology of Confucius Institutes, Soft Power, and Globalization*. University of Hawaii Press.

Hughes, R. (1998). Considering the Vignette Technique and its Application to a Study of Drug Injecting and HIV Risk and Safer Behaviour. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, *20*(3), 381–400. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.00107

Hurtado, A., & Gurin, P. (1995). Ethnic identity and bilingualism attitudes. In A. Padilla (Ed.), *Hispanic Psychology*. Sage.

Institutionen för Asien-, Mellanöstern- och Turkietstudier. (n.d.). https://www.su.se/asia/koreanska/aktuell-information/korean-adoptees-in-sweden-have-they-lost-their-first-language-completely-1.277679

Jacobson, H. (2008). *Culture Keeping: White parents, International Adoption, and the Negotiation of Family Difference*. Vanderbilt University Press.

Jia, G. (2008). Heritage language development, maintenance, and attrition among recent Chinese immigrants in New York City. In A. W. He & Y. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 185–199). University of Hawai'i,

National Foreign Language Resource Center.

Jia, H. (2017). *Chinese Immersion Language Education*. http://hdl.handle.net/10150/625885

Johnson, D. C. (2013). *Language Policy.* New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnson, R. C. (1992). *Offspring of cross-race and cross-ethnic marriages in Hawaii* (M. P. P. Root, Ed.). Sage Publications.

Jorgensen, J. N. (1998). Children's acquisition of code-switching for power-wielding. In P. Auer (Ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity* (pp. 237–258). Routledge.

Kachru, B., Kachru, Y., & Nelson, C. (2006). *The Handbook of World Englishes*. Wiley.

Kaefer, F., Roper, J., & Sinha, P. (2015). A Software-Assisted Qualitative Content Analysis of News Articles: Example and Reflections. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *16*(2). https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-16.2.2123

Kato, T. (2005). Learning strategies employed by Chinese-background learners in learning Japanese vocabulary. *Japanese Studies*, *25*(3), 271–286. https://doi.org/10.1080/10371390500342782

Kim, C. E., & Pyun, D. O. (2014). Heritage language literacy maintenance: A study of Korean-American heritage learners. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *27*(3), 294–315.

Kim, H. Y. (2011). Parents' perceptions, decisions, & influences: Korean immigrant parents look at language learning & their children's identities. *Multicultural Education*, *19*, 16–19.

Kim, S. Y. (2013). Defining Tiger Parenting in Chinese Americans. *Human Development*, *56*(4), 217–222. https://doi.org/10.1159/000353711

Kim, S. Y., & Wong, V. (2002). Assessing Asian and Asian American Parenting: A Review of the Literature. *Asian American Mental Health: Assessment Theories and Methods*.

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-0735-2_13

King, J. (2010). Using DVD feature films in the EFL classroom. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, *15*(5), 509–523.

King, K. A. (2013). Family language policy and bilingual parenting. *Language Teaching*, *46*(2), 172–194. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444812000493

King, K. A., & Fogle, L. W. (2006). Bilingual Parenting as Good Parenting: Parents' Perspectives on Family Language Policy for Additive Bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *9*(6), 695–712.

King, K. A., & Logan-Terry, A. (2008). Additive bilingualism through family language policy: Ideologies, strategies and interactional outcomes. *Calidoscopio*, *6*(1), 5–19.

King, K., E., W., & Li. (2016). *Language policy, multilingual encounters, and transnational families* (Vol. 37, Issue 7).

King, K., & Fogle, L. (2006). Bilingual parenting as good parenting: Parents' perspectives on family language policy for additive bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *9*(6), 695–712. https://doi.org/10.2167/beb362.0

King, K., Fogle, L., & Logan-Terry, A. (2008). Family Language Policy. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, *2*(5), 907–922. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-

King, K., Lanza, E., & Wei, L. (2016). Language policy, multilingual encounters, and transnational families. *In*, *37*(7), 726–733.

King, L. W. (2013). Family language policy from the children's point of view: Bilingualism in time and place. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction* (pp. 177–200).

King-O'riain, R. C. (2015). Emotional streaming and transconnectivity: Skype and emotion

practices in transnational families in Ireland. *Global Networks*, *15*(2), 256–273. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12072

Kleinsasser, A. M. (2000). Researchers, reflexivity, and good data: Writing to unlearn. *Theory into Practice*, *39*, 155–162.

Kopeliovich, S. (2009). *Reversing language shift in the immigrant family: A case-study of a Russian-speaking community in Israel*. VDM–Verlag Dr. Muller.

Kopeliovich, S. (2010). Family language policy: A case study of a Russian-Hebrew bilingual family: Toward a theoretical framework. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, *4*, 162–178.

Kopeliovich, S. (2013). Happylingual: A Family Project for Enhancing and Balancing Multilingual Development. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy* (pp. 249–276). Springer.

Krashen, S. D. (1981). *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*. Pergamon.

Kuhl, P. K. (2010). Brain Mechanisms in Early Language Acquisition. *Neuron*, *67*(5), 713–727. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuron.2010.08.038

Kuhl, P. K. (2011). Early Language Learning and Literacy: Neuroscience Implications for Education. *Mind, Brain and Education : The Official Journal of the International Mind, Brain, and Education Society*, *5*(3), 128–142. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-228X.2011.01121.x

Kung, F.-W. (2013). Bilingualism and the second generation: Investigating the effects and methods of heritage language maintenance and second language acquisition. *English Teaching & Learning*, *37*, 107–145. https://doi.org/10.6330/ETL.2013.37.3.04

Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Center for Applied Linguistics.

Laihonen, P. (2008). Language ideologies in interviews: A conversation analysis approach1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *12*(5), 668–693. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2008.00387.x

Lanza, E. (2004). *Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Oxford University Press.

Lanza, E. (2007). Multilingualism and the family. In L. Wei & P. Auer (Eds.), *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication* (pp. 45–67). Mouton de Gruyter.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge University Press.

Law, S. (2014). Children learning Chinese as a home language in an English-dominant society. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *18*(6), 735–748. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.946399

Lee, J. S. (2002). The Korean Language in America: The Role of Cultural Identity in Heritage Language Learning. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *15*(2), 117–133. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908310208666638

Leeman, J., & Modan, G. (2009). Commodified language in Chinatown: A contextualized approach to linguistic landscape". *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *13*(3), 332–362.

Lembert, M. (2012). Indirectness. In C. B. Paulston, S. Kiesling, & E. Rangel (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural discourse and communication* (pp. 180–204). Wiley-Blackwell.

Lenneberg, E. (1967). *Biological Foundations of Language*. John Wiley & Sons.

Lenneberg, E. H. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. John Wiley and Sons.

Li, B. (2017). *The new Chinese: How they are shaping Australia*. John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd.

Li, D., & Duff, P. A. (2008). Issues in Chinese Heritage Language education and research at the postsecondary level. In A. W. He & Y. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 1–12). University of Hawai'i, National Foreign Language Resource Center.

Li, J. (2005). Mind or Virtue: Western and Chinese Beliefs about Learning. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *14*(4), 190–194.

Li, W. (1994). *Three generations two languages one family: Language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain*. Multilingual Matters.

Li, W. (2000). *The bilingualism reader*. London:Routledge.

Li, W. (2005). Codeswitching. In R. Bayley, R. Cameron, & C. Lucas (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 360–379). Oxford University Press.

Liang, S. (2015). What strategies do Chinese immigrant parents use to send their children to high-performing public school districts? *The School Community Journal*, *25*(2), 135–152.

Liang, W. (2012). China's Soft Power in Africa: Is Economic Power Sufficient? *Asian Perspective*, 36(4), 667-692. Retrieved July 17, 2021, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704810

Lier, L. (2000). From Input to Affordance: Social Interactive Learning from an Ecological Perspective. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning: Recent Advances* (pp. 245–259). OUP.

Lim, S. S. (2019). *Transcendent Parenting: Raising Children in the Digital Age*. Oxford University Press.

Lin, Y. (2013). *A Sociocultural Approach to the Study of Motivation and Attitudes towards the Learning of Mandarin Chinese in the U.S.: Secondary School Students*. https://doi.org/10.7916/D8183DWV

Lindholm-Leary, K. (2016). Students' Perceptions of Bilingualism in Spanish and Mandarin Dual Language Programs. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *10*, 59–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2016.1118671

Lindholm-Leary, K. J. (2001). *Dual language education*. Multilingual Matters.

Lindholm-Leary, K. J. (2011). Student Outcomes in Chinese Two-Way Immersion Programs: Language Proficiency, Academic Achievement, and Student Attitudes. In D. Tedick, D. Christian, & T. Fortune (Eds.), *Immersion education: Practices, policies, possibilities*. Multilingual Matters.

Lindholm-Leary, K. J., & Aclan, Z. (1991). Bilingual proficiency as a bridge to academic achievement: Results from bilingual/immersion programs. *Journal of Education, Boston University School of Education*, *173*, 71–80.

Lindholm-Leary, K. J., & Howard, E. (2008). Language and academic achievement in two-way immersion programs. In T. Fortune & D. Tedick (Eds.), *Pathways to bilingualism: Evolving perspectives on immersion education*. Multilingual Matters.

Liu, J. (2002). Negotiating silence in American classrooms: Three Chinese cases. *Language & Intercultural Communication*, *2*(1), 37–54.

Liu, L. (2018). It's Just Natural": A Critical Case Study of Family Language Policy in a 1.5 Generation Chinese Immigrant Family on the West Coast of the United States. In M. Siiner, F. M. Hult, & T. Kupisch (Eds.), *Language Policy and Language Acquisition Planning(pp* (pp. 13–31). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-

3-319-75963-0_2

Lü, C. (2019). *Chinese Literacy Learning in an Immersion Program*. Springer.

Lu, X., & Li, G. (2008). Motivation and achievement in Chinese language learning: A comparative analysis. In A. W. He & Y. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 89–108). University of Hawai'i, National Foreign Language Resource Center.

Luo, S.-H., & Wiseman, R. L. (2000). Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *24*(3), 307–324. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0147-1767(00)00003-1

Luykx, A. (2005). Children as socializing agents: Family language policy in situations of language shift. In J. Cohen, K. McAlister, K. Rolstad, & J. MacSwan (Eds.), *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th international symposium on bilingualism* (pp. 1407–1414). Cascadilla Press.

Madianou, M. (2013). *Migration and New Media: Transnational Families and Polymedia*. Transnational Families and Polymedia. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203154236

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2013). Polymedia: Towards a new theory of digital media in interpersonal communication. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *16*(2), 169–187. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877912452486

Mair, V. (2016). *Language Log » Chinese characters and the left-brain vs. Right-brain hypothesis*. https://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=23381

Mair, V. H. (1991). What is a Chinese 'dialect/topolect'? Reflections on some key Sino-English linguistic terms. *Sino-Platonic Papers*, *29*, 1–31.

Maldonado-Higle, E., Henderson, A. T., & Mapp, K. L. (2014). *A Handbook for Increasing*

Parental Involvement in a Dual Immersion Program. US Dept of Education.

Maseko, B. (2016). *The impact of family language policy (FLP) on the conservation of minority languages in Zimbabwe (Thesis*. http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/22166

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.

McCann, A. (2020). *Most & Least Educated Cities in America*. https://wallethub.com/edu/most-and-least-educated-cities/6656/

McCarty, T. L. (2004). Dangerous difference: A critical-historical analysis of language education policies in the United States. In J. W. Tollefson & A. B. M. Tsui (Eds.), *Medium of instruction policies: Which agenda? Whose agenda?* (pp. 71–93). Lawrence Erlbaum.

McCarty, T. L. (2011). Introducing ethnography and language policy. In T. L. McCarty (Ed.), *Ethnography and language policy* (pp. 1–28). Routledge.

McCoy, D. (1992). The influence of structural factors on the emergent ethnicity of immigrant groups: The Vietnamese in Sydney, Australia. *Ethnic Groups*, *9*, 247–265.

Medvedev, G. (2016). Google Translate in Teaching English. *Journal of Teaching English for Specific and Academic Purposes*, *13*.

Mehler, A., & Gleim, R. (2015). Linguistic Networks—An Online Platform for Deriving Collocation Networks from Natural Language Texts. In A. Mehler, A. Lücking, S. Banisch, P. Blanchard, & B. Frank-Job (Eds.), *Towards a Theoretical Framework for Analyzing Complex Linguistic Networks*. Springer.

Miller, P. J., & Hoogstra, L. (1992). Language as tool in the socialization and apprehension of cultural meanings. In T. Schwartz, G. M. White, & C. A. Lutz (Eds.), *Publications of the Society for Psychological Anthropology, 3. New directions in psychological anthropology* (pp. 83–101). Cambridge University Press.

Moin, V., Protassova, E., Lukkari, V., & Schwartz, M. (2013). The role of family background in early bilingual education: The Finnish-Russian experience. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction* (pp. 53–82). Springer.

Moin, V., Schwartz, M., & Leikin, M. (2013). Immigrant parents' lay theories of children's preschool bilingual development and family language ideologies. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *7*(2), 99–118.

Moll, L., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory Into Practice*, *XXXI, 2*, 132–141.

Montone, C. L., & Loeb, M. (2003). Implementing Two-Way Immersion in Secondary Schools". *The Bridge, ACIE Newsletter*. http://carla.umn.edu/immersion/acie/vol6/bridge-6(3).pdf

Montrul, S. (2010). Current Issues in Heritage Language Acquisition. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *30*, 3–23. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190510000103

Mpofu, P. (2013). *Multilingualism, Localism and the Nation: Identity Politics in the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation* [PhD Thesis.]. University of South Africa.

MSDC Seats and Waitlist Offer Data. (2021). Tableau Software. https://public.tableau.com/views/MSDCSeatsandWaitlistOfferData/MSDCPublicDisplay?%3Aembed=y&%3AshowVizHome=no&%3Adisplay_count=y&%3Adisplay_static_image=y&%3AbootstrapWhenNotified=true.

Mu, G. M. (2014). Learning Chinese as a heritage language in Australia and beyond: The role of capital. *Language and Education*, *28*(5), 477–492. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2014.908905

Mu, G. M. (2016). Learning Chinese as a heritage language: An Australian perspective. *Multilingual Matters*.

Mu, G. M., & Dooley, K. (2015). Coming into an inheritance: Family support and Chinese Heritage Language learning. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *18*(4), 501–515. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.928258

Myers-Scotton, C. (1992). Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *13*(1 & 2), 19–39.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social motivations for codeswitching. Evidence from Africa*. Clarendon Press.

Nakane, I. (2012). Silence. In C. B. Paulston, S. Kiesling, & E. Rangel (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural discourse and communication* (pp. 158–179). Wiley-Blackwell.

Nathan, J. (1998). Heat and light in the charter school movement. *Phi Delta Kappa*, *79*, 499–505.

Neuman, S. B. (1999). Books make a difference: A study of access to literacy. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *34*(3), 286–311.

Neuman, S. B., & Celano, D. (2001). Access to print in low- and middle-income communities: An ecological study of 4 neighborhoods. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *36*, 8–26.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Pearson Education Limited.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2001). Changing perspectives on good language learners. *TESOL Quarterly*, *35*(2), 307–322.

Nyikos, M. (2014). *Bilingualism and Family: Parental Beliefs; Child Agency*.

https://doi.org/10.7220/2335-2027.5.1

Ó hIfearnáin, Tadhg, "Irish-speaking society and the state", in: Ball, Martin J., and Nicole Müller (eds.), The Celtic languages, Routledge Language Family Descriptions, 2nd ed. (1993), London, New York: Routledge, 2009. 539–586.

Obied, V. (2009). How do siblings shape the language environment in bilingual families? *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *12*(6), 705–720.

Ochs, E. (2010). *Language: Language and Social Life. In The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell, Eds.). The University of Chicago Press.

Ogbu, J. (1995). Cultural Problems in Minority Education: Their Interpretations and Consequences—Part One: Case Studies. *The Urban Review*, *27*(4), 271–297.

Okita, T. (2002). *Invisible work: Bilingualism, language choice and childrearing in intermarried families*. John Benjamins.

Olson, L. L., & Samuels, S. J. (1973). The Relationship between Age and Accuracy of Foreign Language Pronunciation. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *66*(6), 263–268.

Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity, and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *7*(3), 240–254.

Ovando, C. J., Collier, V. P., & Combs, M. C. (2005). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (4th ed.). McGraw-Hill.

Padilla, A. M., Fan, L., Xu, X., & Silva, D. (2013). A Mandarin/English two-way immersion program: Language proficiency and academic achievement. *Foreign Language Annals*, *46*(4), 661–679. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12060

Palviainen, Å., & Boyd, S. (2013). Unity in discourse, diversity in practice: The one person one

language policy in bilingual families. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction* (pp. 223–248). Springer.

Parada, M. (2013). Sibling Variation and Family Language Policy: The Role of Birth Order in the Spanish Proficiency and First Names of Second-Generation Latinos. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *12*(5), 299–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2013.835572

Park, H. S. (2016). *Korean adoptees in Sweden: Have they lost their first language completely?*

Park, S. M., & Sarkar, M. (2007). Parents' Attitudes Toward Heritage Language Maintenance for Their Children and Their Efforts to Help Their Children Maintain the Heritage Language: A Case Study of Korean-Canadian Immigrants. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *20*(3), 223–235. https://doi.org/10.2167/lcc337.0

Parke, R. D. (2013). *Future families: Diverse forms, rich possibilities.: Wiley-Blackwell*. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118602386

Parker, S. (2012). Zip code is "destiny" for students in New York City. *TakePart*.

Parkes, J. (2008). Who chooses dual language education for their children and why. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *11*(6), 635–660.

Parrish, T. B., Merickel, A., Perez, M., Linquanti, R., Socias, M., Spain, A., & Delancey, D. (2006). *Effects of the Implementation of Proposition 227 on the Education of English Learners, K-12: Findings from a Five-Year Evaluation. Final Report for AB 56 and AB 1116*. The American Institutes for Research. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED491617

Paulston, C. B. (1988). *International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Greenwood Press.

Pauwels, A., Winter, J., & Bianco, J. L. (Eds.). (2007). *Maintaining Minority Languages in Transnational Contexts: Australian and European Perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230206397

Peña, R. A. (1998). A case study of parental involvement in a conversion from transitional to dual language instruction. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *22*, 237–259.

Pérez Báez, G. (2013). Family language policy, transnationalism, and the diaspora community of San Lucas Quiaviní of Oaxaca, Mexico. *Language Policy*, *12*(1), 27–45.

Perez, D., Barajas, N., Dominguez, M., Goldberg, J., Juarez, R., Saab, M., Vergara, F., & Callanan, M. (1994). Siblings Providing One Another with Opportunities to Learn'. *Focus on Diversity*, *5*(1), 1–5.

Peterson, S. S., & Heywood, D. (2007). Contributions of Families' Linguistic, Social, and Cultural Capital to Minority-Language Children's Literacy: Parents'. *Teachers', and Principals' Perspectives. The Canadian Modern Language Review*, *63*(4), 517–538. https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.63.4.517

Pew Research Center (2018). *Chapter 1: Portrait of Asian Americans*. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/06/19/chapter-1-portrait-of-asian-americans/

Pew Social Trends. (2012). https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/06/19/the-rise-of-asian-americans/

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, *108*, 499–514.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *7*(2), 156–176.

Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic Identity, Immigration,

and Well-Being: An Interactional Perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(3), 493–510. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00225

Phipps, S., & Borg, S. (2009). Exploring tensions between teachers' grammar teaching beliefs and practices. *System*, *37*, 380–390.

Piller, I. (2001). Private language planning: The best of both worlds? *Estodios de Sociolinguistica*, *2*, 1 ,61-80.

Piller, I. (2005). Review of Language Strategies for Bilingual Families: The One-parent-one language Approach. By Suzanne Barron-Hauwaert. *International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, *8*(6), 614–617.

Piller, I., & Gerber, L. (2018). Family language policy between the bilingual advantage and the monolingual mindset. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2018.1503227

Podnieks, E. (2012). *Mediating Moms: Mothers in Popular Culture*. McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English Y TERMINO EN ESPANOL. *Linguistics*, *8*, 581–618.

Potowski, K. (2004). Student Spanish use and investment in a dual language classroom: Implications for second language acquisition and heritage language maintenance. *Modern Language Journal*, *88*(1), 75–101.

Potowski, K. (2007). *Language and identity in a dual immersion school*. Multilingual Matters.

Prado Fonts, C. (2008). Orientalism: 30 years later. *Digithum*. https://www.raco.cat/index.php/Digithum

Prasso, S. (2009). *The Asian Mystique: Dragon Ladies, Geisha Girls, and Our Fantasies of the*

Exotic Orient.

Qu, S., & Dumay, J. (2011). The qualitative research interview". *Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management*, *8*(3), 238–264. https://doi.org/10.1108/11766091111162070

Ramirez, D. (1992). Executive summary of the final report: Longitudinal study of structured English immersion strategy, early-exit and late-exit transitional bilingual programs for language minority students. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *16*, 1–62.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. Longman.

Reader, J. (2016). https://bsd405.org/jingmei/wp-content/uploads/sites/23/2016/09/Joy-Reader-FAQ.pdf

Reay, J. (2020). Family Language Policy: The importance of national and family context. *Josai International University Bulletin*, *28*(2), 121–133.

Ren, L., & Hu, G. (2013a). A comparative study of family social capital and literacy practices in Singapore. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, *13*, 98–130.

Ren, L., & Hu, G. (2013b). Prolepsis, syncretism, and synergy in early language and literacy practices: A case study of family language policy in Singapore. *Language Policy*, *12*, 63–82. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-012-9260-9

Richards, L. (2002). Qualitative computing–a methods revolution? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *5*(3), 263–276. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570210146302

Riches, C., & Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2010). A Tale of Two Montréal Communities: Parents' Perspectives on Their Children's Language and Literacy Development in a Multilingual Context. *Canadian Modern Language Review*. https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.66.4.525

Roberts, J. (1997). Hitting a moving target: Acquisition of sound change in progress by

Philadelphia children. *Language Variation and Change*, *9*, 249–266.

Robinson, C., & Clardy, P. (2011). It ain't what you say, it's how you say it: Linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom. *Journal of Cultural Diversity*, *18*(3), 101–110.

Robinson, F. (2012). *Celebrating Chinese New Year*. Enslow Publishing, LLC.

Rodríguez-Castro, M., Salas, S., & Benson, T. (2018). To Google Translate TM or not? Newcomer Latino communities in the middle. *Middle School Journal*, *49*(2), 3–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/00940771.2017.1413270

Ronjat, J. (1913). *Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue*. Librairie.

Ruby, M. (2012). The role of a grandmother in maintaining Bangla with her granddaughter in East London. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *33*(1), 67–83.

Ruiz, N. G., Edwards, K., & Lopez, M. H. (2021). *One-third of Asian Americans fear threats, physical attacks and most say violence against them is rising*. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/21/one-third-of-asian-americans-fear-threats-physical-attacks-and-most-say-violence-against-them-is-rising/

Rumbaut, R., Massey, D., & Bean, F. (2006). Linguistic life expectancies: Immigrant language retention in Southern California. *Population and Development Review*, *32*(2), 1–15.

Sattin-Bajaj, C. (2011). Informing immigrant families about high school choice in New York City: Challenges and possibilities. In M. Berends, M. Cannata, & E. Goldring (Eds.), *School choice and school improvement: Research in state, district, and community contexts* (pp. 147–176). Harvard Education Press.

Sattin-Bajaj, C. (2015). Unaccompanied minors: How children of Latin American immigrants negotiate high school choice. *American Journal of Education*, *121*(3), 381–415.

Schalley, A. C., & Eisenchlas, S. A. (2020). *Handbook of Home Language Maintenance and*

Development: Social and Affective Factors. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.

Scharper, J. (2008). *The 'where' of Chinatown". Baltimore Sun*. http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2008-03-02/news/0803020012_1_chinatown-chinese-restaurant-park-avenue

Schiffman, H. (1996). *Linguistic culture and language policy*. Routledge.

Schwartz, M. (2008). Exploring the Relationship between Family Language Policy and Heritage Language Knowledge Among Second Generation Russian Á Jewish Immigrants in Israel. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *29*. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434630802147916

Schwartz, M. (2010). Family language policy: Core issues of an emerging field. *Applied Linguistics Review*, *1*, 171–192.

Schwartz, M., & Moin, V. (2012). Parents' assessment of their preschool children's bilingual development in the context of family language policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *33*(1), 35–55.

Schwartz, M., Moin, V., & Klayle, M. (2013). Parent's choice of a bilingual Hebrew-Arabic Kindergarten for the children. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction* (pp. 53–82). Springer.

Schwartz, M., Moin, V., & Leikin, M. (2011). Parents' Discourses About Language Strategies for Their Children's Preschool Bilingual Development. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, *5*(3), 149–166. https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2011.583505

Schwartz, M., & Verschik, A. (2013). *Successful family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Schultze, U., & Avital, M. 2011. “Designing Interviews to Generate Rich Data for Information Systems Research,” Information and Organization (21:1), Elsevier, pp. 1–16.

Scovel, T. (1988). *A time to speak: A psycholinguistic inquiry into the critical period for human speech*. Newbury House.

Seo, Y. (2019). *& Link to external site, this link will open in a new window* [[Ph.D., Indiana University]. https://search.proquest.com/docview/2302014166/abstract/CC1E73DBD5EB4C78PQ/1

Shi, X. (2010). Intercultural language socialization of a Chinese MBA student in an American negotiation class. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *42*(9), 2475–2486.

Shin, S. J. (2005). *Developing in two languages: Korean children in America*. Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Shin, S. J. (2013). Transforming culture and identity: Transnational adoptive families and heritage language learning. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *26*(2), 161–178. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2013.809095

Shin, S. J. (2014). Language Learning as Culture Keeping: Family Language Policies of Transnational Adoptive Parents. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *8*(3), 189–207.

Shinagawa, L. H., & Kim, D. Y. (2008). *A Portrait of Chinese Americans*. Linguistic Minority Research Institute.

Shi-xu. (2009). Asian discourse studies: Foundations and directions. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *19*(4), 384–397.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*. Routledge.

Shouhui, Z., & Dongbo, Z. (2014). Conflicting goals of language-in-education planning in

Singapore. In X. L. Curdt-Christiansen & A. Hancock (Eds.), *Learning Chinese in Diasporic: Many Pathways to Being Chinese*.

Silver, C. (2020). *The Top 20 Economies in the World*. Investopedia. https://www.investopedia.com/insights/worlds-top-economies/

Silver, K., Devlin, L., & Huang, C. (2020). Pew Research Center. Americans Fault China for Its Role in the Spread of COVID-19. *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project*. https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/07/30/americans-fault-china-for-its-role-in-the-spread-of-covid-19/

Skritter—Learn to Write Chinese and Japanese Characters. (2021). https://skritter.com/

Smith-Christmas, C. (2015). *Family Language Policy: Maintaining an Endangered Language in the Home*. Springer.

Smith-Christmas, C. (2016). *Family Language Policy: Maintaining an Endangered Language in the Home*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137521811

Society, A. (2006). *Creating a Chinese Language Program in Your School*. Asia Society.

Society, A., & Board, C. (2008). *Chinese in 2008: An Expanding Field*. Asia Society.

Sofu, H. (2009). Language shift or maintenance within three generations: Examples from three Turkish-Arabic-speaking families. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *6*(3), 246–257.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy: Key topics in sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2008). Introduction: What is educational linguistics? In B. Spolsky & F. Hult (Eds.), *The Handbook of educational linguistics* (pp. 1–9). Blackwell Publishing.

Spolsky, B. (2012). Family language policy – the critical domain. *Journal of Multilingual and*

Multicultural Development, *33*(1), 3–11. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2011.638072

Stake, R. E. (2010). *Qualitative Research: Studying How Things Work*. Guilford Press.

Starr, D. (2009). Chinese Language Education in Europe: The Confucius Institutes. *European Journal of Education*, *44*(1), 65–82. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1465-3435.2008.01371.x

Stavans, A. (2012). Language policy and literacy practices in the family: The case of Ethiopian parental narrative input. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *33*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2011.638073

Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Stubberud, E. (2015). Au pairing in Norway – the production of a (non) worker. *NTNU*. https://ntnuopen.ntnu.no/ntnu-xmlui/handle/11250/300797

Sue, S., & Okazaki, S. (1991). Explanations for Asian-American achievements: A reply. *American Psychologist*, *46*(8), 878–880.

Sung, K.-Y. (2020). Parent Satisfaction and One-Way Mandarin Chinese Dual Language Programs in Utah. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2020.1825540

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge University Press.

Tamis-Lemonda, C., Baumwell, L. B., & Cabrera, N. J. (2013a). Fathers' role in children's language development. In N. J. Cabrera & C. S. Tamis-Lemonda (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives (2nd* (pp. 135–150). Taylor and Francis.

Tan, S. Y. (2011). The Bridge: A Group for Chinese Immigrant Parents Transitioning Their Children to an American Preschool. *Social Work With Groups*, *34*(3–4), 310–319. https://doi.org/10.1080/01609513.2011.558823

Tanaka M., & Park S. (2012). Parents' beliefs and children's code-switching. Language Education Research, 23, 183–214.

Tannenbaum, M. (2005). Viewing family relations through a linguistic lens: Symbolic aspects of language maintenance in immigrant families. *The Journal of Family Communication*, *5*(3), 229–252.

Taylor, B. W. (2016). *Parent motivation regarding dual language immersion programs (Doctoral dissertation*.

Taylor, D. (2019). *DC Among The Most Brainy Cities In Nation: Report*. https://patch.com/district-columbia/washingtondc/dc-among-most-brainy-cities-nation-report

Tedick, D. J., Christian, D., & Fortune, T. W. (2011). *The Future of Immersion Education: An Invitation to 'Dwell in Possibility': Practices, policies, possibilities*. Practices, Policies, Possibilities. https://experts.umn.edu/en/publications/the-future-of-immersion-education-an-invitation-to-dwell-in-possi

Terantino, J. M. (2018). Youtube for Foreign Languages: You Have to See This Video. *Emerging Technologies*, *8*.

The White House (2020). *Proclamation Suspending Entry of Aliens Who Present a Risk to the U.S. Labor Market Following the Coronavirus Outbreak*. .The White House. https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/proclamation-suspending-entry-aliens-present-risk-u-s-labor-market-following-coronavirus-outbreak/

Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2003). The multiple benefits of dual language. *Educational Leadership*, *61*(2), 61–64.

Thomas, W. P., Collier, V. P., & Abbott, M. (1993). Academic achievement through Japanese, Spanish, or French: The first two years of partial immersion. *Modern Language Journal*, *77*(2), 170–179.

Tompkins, C. (2016). *How Monrovia's Mandarin and Spanish language programs are helping ofset declining enrollment. Pasadena Star-News*. https://www.pasadenastarnews.com/2016/05/12/how-monrovias-mandarin-and-spanish-language-programs-are-helping-ofset-declining-enrollment/.

Tong, A., Sainsbury, P., & Craig, J. (2007). Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): A 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, *19*(6), 349–357.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge University Press.

Tse, S., & Ingram, D. (1987). The influence of dialectal variation on phonological acquisition: A case study on the acquisition of Cantonese. *Journal of Child Language*, *14*, 281–294.

Tsong, Y., & Liu, Y. (2009). Parachute kids and astronaut families. In N. Tewari & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 365–379). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Tuominen, A. (1999). *Who decides the home language? A look at multilingual families*. *1999*(140), 59–76. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1999.140.59

Turner, A. M. (2016). Third space openings at a two-way immersion elementary school in North Carolina: Lessons from parent language classes. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *39*(2), 107–

120. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2016.1167138

Ulloa, J. (2016). *California will bring back bilingual education as Proposition 58 cruises to victory"*. Los Angeles Times. http://www.latimes.com/nation/politics/trailguide/la-na-election-day-2016-proposition-58-bilingual-1478220414-htmlstory.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2000). *Language Use and English-Speaking Ability: 2000: Census 2000 Brief*.

U.S. Census Bureau (2010). Race Reporting for the Asian Population by Selected Categories. *Census Bureau*.

U.S. Census Bureau (2012). *ACS DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSING ESTIMATES 2012 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates New York-Newark-Bridgeport*. NY-NJ-CT-PA CSA".

U.S. Census Bureau (2013). *Language use in the United States*. https://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/acs-22.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau (2017). *Selected Population Profile in the United States. American Community Survey 1-year Estimates New York-Newark, NY-NJ-CT-PA CSA Chinese Alone"*. https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk

U.S. Department of Education (2014). *Foreign Language Assistance Program (SEAs*. https://www2.ed.gov/programs/flapsea/index.html

U.S. Health, Education, and Welfare Department. (1975). Office of the Secretary. *Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful under LAU v*. NICHOLS.

Valdés, G. (1997). Dual-Language Immersion Programs: A Cautionary Note Concerning the

Education of Language-Minority Students. *Harvard Educational Review*, *67*(3), 391–430.

Valdez, V. E., Delavan, G., & Freire, J. A. (2014). The Marketing of Dual Language Education Policy in Utah Print. *Educational Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904814556750

Valdez, V. E., Delavan, G., & Freire, J. A. (2016). *The Marketing of Dual Language Education Policy in Utah Print Media: Educational Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904814556750

Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. Houndmills.

Vanderstaay, S. L. (2005). One hundred dollars and a dead man: Ethical decision making in ethnographic fieldwork. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *34*(4), 371–409.

Volk, D. (1999). The teaching and the enjoyment of being together. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *14*, 8–34.

Von Korff, L. A., Grotevant, H. D., Koh, B. D., & Samek, D. R. (2010). Adoptive parents: Identity agents on the pathway to adoptive identity formation. *Identity*, *10*, 122–137. https://doi.org/10.1080/15283481003711767

Waite, L. J., Rindfuss, R. R., & De Tray, D. (1986). Mothers' expectations for their children's schooling in Malaysia. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *48*, 527–535.

Walls, F. (2018). *Transmitting English abroad: Transnational anglophone parents raising children in Barcelona*.

Walsh, M. (2003). Teaching qualitative analysis using QSR NVivo. *The Qualitative Report*, *8*(2), 251–256.

Wang, H. (2010). A study on the number of hanzi and Chinese language teaching in Singapore (Xinjiapo Huawen yongzi liang yu jiaoxue yanjiu. *Review of Language Teaching (Yuwen*

Jiaoxue Tongxun, *95*, 1–7.

Wang, J. (2011). Introduction: China's Search of Soft Power. In J. Wang (Ed.), *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication* (pp. 1–18). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230116375_1

Wang, W., & Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2020). Lost in translation: Parents as medium translators in intergenerational language transmission. In *Current Issues in Language Planning* (pp. 1–21). https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2020.1763022

Wang, Y. (2015). *D.C.'s Chinatown has only 300 Chinese Americans left, and they're fighting to stay. - The Washington Post*. n.d. https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/dcs-chinatown-has-only-300-chinese-americans-left–and-fighting-to-stay/2015/07/16/86d54e84-2191-11e5-bf41-c23f5d3face1_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.0dd49420637c

Weedon, C. (1997). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Second).

Weger-Guntharp, H. (2006). Voices from the margin: Developing a profile of Chinese heritage language learners in the FL classroom. *Heritage Language Journal*, *4*(1), 29–46.

Weigel, D. J., Martin, S. S., & Bennett, K. K. (2006). parents' literacy beliefs: Connections with the home literacy environment and pre-school children's literacy development. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, *6*(2), 191–211.

Weise, E. (2012, August 7). Mandarin immersion school list. *Mandarin Immersion Parents Council*. https://miparentscouncil.org/full-mandarin-immersion-school-list/

Weise, E. (2014). *A Parent's Guide to Mandarin Immersion*. Chenery Street Press.

Weise, E. (2019). *The state of Mandarin immersion in the United States*. https://miparentscouncil.org/2019/06/16/the-state-of-mandarin-immersion-in-the-united-

states-june-2019/

Weise, E. (2020). Utah gets exemption to President Trump's order suspending work visas that would have hurt Mandarin immersion programs. *Mandarin Immersion Parents Council*. https://miparentscouncil.org/2020/07/23/utah-gets-exemption-to-president-trumps-order-suspending-work-visas-that-would-have-hurt-mandarin-immersion-programs/

Weise, E. (2021). Mandarin immersion school list. *Mandarin Immersion Parents Council*. https://miparentscouncil.org/full-mandarin-immersion-school-list/

Whelehan, I. (2012). *Shit and Stringbeans, Boredom and Babies: Bad Mothers in Popular Fiction since 1968*. http://www.mqup.ca/mediating-moms-products-9780773539808.php

White, M. J. (2015). *International Handbook of Migration and Population Distribution*. Springer.

Widdicombe, S. (1998). But you don't class yourself": The interactional management of category membership and non-membership. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in talk* (pp. 52–70). Sage.

Wiley, T. G. (2005). The reemergence of heritage and community language policy in the U.S. national spotlight. *Modern Language Journal*, *89*, 594–600.

Williams, C. (2017). *The Intrusion of White Families Into Bilingual Schools*. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/12/the-middle-class-takeover-of-bilingual-schools/549278/

Willmorth, M. (1997). Television and Language Learning. In J. Flood, S. B. Heath, & D. Lapp (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teaching literacy through the communicative and visual arts* (pp. 31–39). Simon & Schuster.

Wilson, S. (2020). *Family Language Policy: Children's Perspectives*. Springer Nature.

Winter, J., & Pauwels, A. (2005). Gender in the Construction and Transmission of Ethnolinguistic Identities and Language Maintenance in Immigrant Australia. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, *25*(1), 153–168.

Wong, E. (2020). U.S. Labels Chinese Language Education Group a Diplomatic Mission. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/13/us/politics/state-department-confucius-institutes.html

Wong-Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *6*(3), 323–346. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0885-2006(05)80059-6

Wu, M.-H. (2013). Re-imagining Education for Linguistically, Culturally, and Racially Diverse Students in a Changing Era: One U.S. School's Alternative Vision. *Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations*. https://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/947

Wu, C. L. S. (2016). *Parachute Kids: Their Transnational Educational Experience and Academic Achievement* [[Ph.D., The Claremont Graduate University]. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1836061493/abstract/AD083F1AC6434DFAPQ/1

Yates, L., & Terraschke, A. (2013). Love, language and little ones: Successes and stresses for parents raising bilingual children in exogamous relationships. In M. Schwartz & A. Verschik (Eds.), *Successful family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction* (pp. 105–126). Springer.

Yip, T., & Fuligni, A. J. (2002a). Daily variation in ethnic identity, ethnic behaviors, and psychological well-being among American adolescents of Chinese descent. *Child Development*, *73*(5), 1557–1572. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00490

Yoon, K. K. (1996). A case study of fluent Korean-English bilingual speakers: Group

membership and code choices. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *25*, 395–407.

YouGov. (2021). *Friend or Enemy—China*. n.d. https://today.yougov.com/topics/travel/trackers/friend-enemy-china

Young, A. S. (2013). Unpacking teachers' language ideologies: Attitudes, beliefs, and practiced language policies in schools in Alsace, France. *Language Awareness*, *23*(1–2), 157–171. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2013.863902

Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York*. Blackwell Publishers.

Zhang, J. (2009). Mandarin maintenance among immigrant children from the People's Republic of China: An examination of individual networks of linguistic contact. *Language, Culture, and Curriculum*, *22*(3), 195–213.

Zhou, M. (2009). *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, ethnicity, and community transformation*. Temple University Press.

Zhou, M., & Kim, S. S. (2006). Community Forces, Social Capital and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76, 1-2.

Zinzius, B. (2005). *Chinese America: Stereotype and reality: History, present, and future of the Chinese Americans*. P. Lang.

Zong, J., & Batalova, J. Z. (2017). *Chinese Immigrants in the United States*. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/chinese-immigrants-united-states