

A U.S. CHINESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL'S MANAGERIAL ADAPTATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

Wei-li Wu

Department of Chinese Language and
Culture for International Students,
National Taiwan Normal University,
TAIWAN.

willywu99@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

This study explores the international impact of Chinese language learning on the management policy of a community Chinese language school in the United States. Chinese language schools in the U.S. used to teach Mandarin to Mandarin-speaking students who are highly homogeneous in their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. However, as the impact of China's recent economic development has become more international, so has the influence of Chinese language learning? This international impact of Chinese language learning is reflected in the increasingly heterogeneous student population in many Chinese language schools in the United States. These schools have to adapt their management policy to accommodate these new students, who may have a multicultural, multilingual background and do not speak Mandarin at home. This study examines one such school.

This study is a case study of a Chinese language school's adaptations in its management policy when it faces the international impact of Chinese language learning. The school, located in New York City, had one teacher, two students, two parents of these two selected students, and three administrators as participants. Data were collected through interviews and document collection. This study found that: 1. the school believed in the importance of learning Chinese and thus the necessity of well-accommodating new students of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds; and 2. the linguistic heterogeneity in the school was initiated by China's rising economy and would continue to be impacted by such an economic force in the future.

Keywords: Chinese language school, non-Mandarin-speaking, language management, language belief

INTRODUCTION

As China's role in world economy continues to rise, so does the popularity of Chinese language learning in different educational settings in many countries, ranging from community language schools to colleges, since, for example, as early as the 1990s in the U.S. (Chao, 1996; Linnell, 2001) and 2000s in Canada (Duff, 2008). In particular, in the U.S., among all education systems that offer Chinese language programs, community Chinese language schools are the most attended, accommodating students six times that of their mainstream counterparts (Everson & Xiao, 2009). As the enrollment grows, these community Chinese language schools face an increasing number of non-Mandarin-speaking students in their classrooms who speak non-Mandarin Chinese dialects or English at home (Lai, 2004; Lee, 1996). This new group of students thus brings new challenges to these schools, which medium of instruction has been Mandarin for Mandarin-speaking students in the past (Lai, 2004). The major challenge is that these new students do not speak Mandarin. Besides, they have a non-Chinese heritage background (Lee, 1996).

To respond to the challenges brought by non-Mandarin-speaking students, many Chinese language schools in the U.S. have adjusted their missions (Lee, 1996) to accommodate these new students. These adjustments include adaptations in the schools' class arrangements and their beliefs. This study examines such adjustments in one such school in the context of increasing international popularity of Chinese learning.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this case study is to explore the management efforts of a community Chinese language school in the United States under the international impact of Chinese language learning. These management efforts, in Spolsky's (2004) theoretical terms, can be defined as *language management*. This *language management*, according to Spolsky (2004), includes whether the school changes its organization, its placement processes, curriculum design and teaching philosophy. In other words, *language management* deals with intervention by the school administration. Furthermore, *language management* is influenced by *language beliefs*, which refer to how the school, parents, and students think about the role the Chinese language plays in today's world.

Studies in the past have discussed issues of language management and language beliefs in community Chinese language schools separately; however, no studies have integrated and examined the two dimensions together and looked at how the two dimensions are affected by the internationalization of Chinese language learning.

This paper examines the adaptations in the management of a community Chinese language school in the United States by investigating the following two components: the school's language management and language beliefs. More specifically, the researcher pays close attention to the international impact of Chinese language learning on the school's language management.

Based on the above description, the research question of this study is: In the context of a global trend of Chinese language learning, how does a Chinese language school adapt its language management to face the challenges created by an increasing number of non-Mandarin-speaking students in its classrooms? This overarching question can be further divided into two parts. First, how does a Chinese language school adapt its language management to deal with the increasingly heterogeneous student body in its classrooms? Second, how do a school's language beliefs shape its language management decisions when facing a linguistically and culturally heterogeneous student body?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study uses Spolsky's (2004) language policy theory as a theoretical framework to explore the language management adaptations of one Chinese language school in New York City. According to Spolsky (2004), both language management and language beliefs are parts of a speech community's language policy. As aforementioned, Spolsky (2004) sees language management as an intervention influenced by language beliefs. He further defines language beliefs as beliefs that decide the consensus a speech community will have on the individual values of the language varieties in that speech community. Based on this definition of language beliefs, he posits that language beliefs "can be a basis for language management or a management policy can be intended to confirm or modify them" (p. 14).

When looking at the Chinese language school through the lens of Spolsky's language policy theory, the language management of the Chinese language school mainly refers to the school administrators' administrative measures in dealing with their non-Mandarin speaking students. These measures include curriculum design and adjustment and student placement in the school. As for the language beliefs, they are comprised of all the beliefs in, and attitudes towards, the inclusion of the non-Mandarin-speaking students by all of the school administrators, teachers, parents, and students themselves. Therefore, the school was the focus when analyzing and illustrating the school's past and current language policies, as well as the forces involved in the processes of forming, implementing, and adjusting these language policies to meet the needs of the school's non-Mandarin-speaking learners.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will discuss the literature concerning the international impact of Chinese language learning on a community Chinese language school in the U.S. by looking at the following three areas:

1. The international impact of Chinese language learning; and
2. Spolsky's (2004) language policy theory; and
3. The Chinese language schools in the U.S., focusing on their organization.

The International Impact of Chinese Language Learning

Chinese Language Learning in the World

Chinese language learning has become more and more popular in many countries recently, mainly because of China's booming economic development (Ding, 2008; Goh, 1999; Lo Bianco, 2007). Lo Bianco (2007) indicates that Chinese language learning is most emphasized in Asian countries. For countries such as European and North American ones, they too make efforts to invest more in Chinese language teaching (Agarwal, 2002; Goh, 1999). As the Chinese language gains its international popularity, the student population learning Chinese as a foreign language grows to be more than 30 million in over 100 countries, according to Mainland China's and Taiwan's studies (Chang, 2006; Xu, 2005).

Chinese Language Promotion Initiated by the Chinese-Speaking World

The Chinese-speaking world in this study refers to Mainland China and Taiwan (Li and Lee, 2004) where Mandarin, as a lingua franca, is used by about 1.196 billion Han ethnic Chinese (92% of the Mainland Chinese population) (Li and Lee, 2004) and by "an absolutely majority" of the 23 million Taiwanese people (Li, 2006, p. 149).

Mainland China

The language policy of promoting the Chinese language to the rest of the world has been receiving support from the Mainland Chinese government since 1987, when the National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (NOCFL) was established in Beijing (Ding, 2008). Moreover, China has been recruiting, training, and sending qualified teachers to teach Chinese abroad since 1991 (Ding, 2008). Besides, NOCFL has also established Confucius Institutes overseas to provide Chinese language courses for foreign organizations and in foreign education systems (Ding, 2008; Ding and Saunders, 2006). Among these endeavors, the provision of Chinese language textbooks to overseas Chinese communities, including Chinese language schools, has been one of them (Ding, 2008).

In addition to promoting the Chinese language in overseas education settings, China also promotes the Chinese language through its overseas Chinese language test, i.e. the Chinese Proficiency Test (HSK) (Ding and Saunders, 2006). Since its inception in 1990, the HSK has seen over 400,000 examinees at its test sites in 37 countries (Ding and Saunders, 2006).

Taiwan

In the overview of the Chinese community language schools in the United States, Chao (1996, p. 10) points out that the "most frequently" used textbooks in these schools are from either Taiwan or Mainland China. Furthermore, Tang and Li (2001) indicate that Taiwan is more advanced in promoting Chinese abroad in that it has a well-established Internet Chinese language education website, a tool much more powerful than Mainland China's traditional teaching materials. From the above information, it is clear that, Taiwan is very active in promoting the Chinese language abroad through developing state-of-the-art teaching/learning materials for overseas learners as it faced competition from its counterpart—Mainland China.

Taiwan's efforts in promoting Chinese abroad can be further seen in the annual teacher training seminars held in Taiwan for Chinese teachers from the abroad (Peng, 1996). Similarly, for example, when it comes to situations in the U.S., conferences on teacher training also are available locally in different cities in the United States (Peng, 1996). A closer tie between Chinese language schools run by Taiwanese immigrants is established through the formation of the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) (Wang, 2007). According to NCACLS, about 85 percent of its member schools use textbooks published in Taiwan (P.-F. S. Wang, 1996).

This phenomenon of textbook preference may be explained from a political point of view. Politically, because the KMT had made Mandarin the only medium of instruction and the only language allowed in school, other mother tongues did not play any role in education in Taiwan until this decade (Li & Lee, 2004; Tsao, 2004). When Taiwanese immigrants came to the U.S. with their Mandarin-dominant language ability, they would choose to set up their own Chinese language schools in order to preserve

their cultural, as well as linguistic, heritage (Chen, 1992).

The Status of the Chinese Language in the U.S

The United States has increased its investment in teaching less commonly taught languages, including Chinese (Walton, 1992). According to a data from the U.S. Department of Education, there are approximately 24,000 students learning Chinese in elementary and secondary schools in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Education, 2006). Moreover, the Modern Language Association indicates in its report that 34,153 students enrolled in Chinese courses in U.S. higher education in 2002 (Welles, 2004). McGinnis also provides a similar enrollment statistics with a total number of 34,000 in higher education and another of 25,000 in K-12 schools (McGinnis, 2005).

However, the enrollment at Chinese language schools throughout the U.S. is excluded from this combined total. Both the National Council of Association of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) and The Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS) provide statistics of their student enrollments. For the time being, NCACLS (NCACLS, 2006) has about 100,000 and the CSAUS (CSAUS, 2007) about 60,000, which constitutes a total of roughly 160,000 students.

In the education field, the College Board has launched the AP Chinese test programs in 2007 (College Board, 2006). More important, mainstream schools have now noticed the critical needs of foreign language learning, including Chinese (Brecht & Walton, 1994; Crookes, 1997; Kubler, 1987; Lange, 1987; Walton, 1992; Welles, 2004). In the context of the No Child Left Behind Act, foreign language programs in schools have not received much attention (Glisan, 2005). Wang (2007) indicates that more collaboration are expected between the Chinese language communities, including Chinese language schools, and the U.S. formal schools, in order to build consortia that serve as flywheels that will not only connect language pipelines from supply to demand, but will also generate usable energy that steadily flow in one direction and feeds into continuous loops of a system (p. 47).

Spolsky's Language Policy Theory

Spolsky (2004) defines language management as intervention. He further defines language beliefs as beliefs that “designate a speech community's consensus on what value to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up its repertoire” (p. 14). Moreover, he indicates that language beliefs “can be a basis for language management or a management policy can be intended to confirm or modify them” (p. 14).

In addition, Spolsky's (2004) concept of a *domain* and two key elements, the *Context* and the *Forces*, must be examined when studying the language management and language beliefs at the Chinese language school. A *domain* in language policy is a speech community where language management and language beliefs operate. In this study, the speech community is the Chinese language school, including its classes, in the U.S. Therefore, the Chinese immigrants in the U.S. need to be examined when discussing the Chinese language schools established by these Chinese immigrants. Also, the Chinese-speaking world—Mainland China and Taiwan, need to be examined as background information because most Chinese immigrants emigrated to the U.S. from these two places.

Moreover, Spolsky (2004) emphasizes the concept of *Context*. He indicates that, when looking at language, researchers need to consider the wider (e.g. social, political, and economic) contexts in the society where a language is used. In this study, the *Context* refers to the importance of placing the Chinese language in the wider U.S. social and political contexts.

More importantly, Spolsky (2004) mentions globalization as a *Force*, or a *Condition*, which emphasizes the influence of globalization on the spread of a language, in this study, the Chinese language. This study tries to explore the globalization of the Chinese language, including the influence of a rising China, and its impact on the Chinese language schools in the United States.

The Chinese Language Schools in the U. S

The following section will discuss the organization of the Chinese language school in a U.S. context.

The organization of the Chinese language school

The organization of the Chinese language school mainly refers to the types of classes found at the Chinese language school today. Lee (1996) and P.-F. S. Wang (1996) have pointed out that there are mainly three types of classes at the Chinese language schools, responding to the student composition in the school and the wishes of the school leadership: one is a class composed of only Mandarin-speaking students, a second one is an integrated class where most of the students are from different Chinese dialects backgrounds (including Mandarin), and the third one is a separate class set up for only non-Mandarin-speaking students.

All the above types of classes at the Chinese language schools appeared in tandem with the arrival of different Chinese immigrants after 1965 in U.S. history, when new immigration laws were passed (T.H. Chao, 1997). The first group of Chinese immigrants was from Taiwan. The Chinese language schools established by these Taiwanese immigrants soon outnumbered Cantonese-dominant schools and today constitute 60 percent of Chinese language schools in the U.S. (Lai, 2001).

Similarly, the number of immigrants from Mainland China has been increasing since the 1980's and they too have established their own Chinese language schools (T. H. Chao, 1997; Lai, 2001). The number of these schools run by Mainland Chinese immigrants is still growing.

These post-1965 Chinese language schools aim to retain the Chinese immigrants' heritage culture and language (CSAUS, 2007; NCACLS, 2006), a goal which represents a major shift of focus from the earlier emphasis on a connection to the education system in China or survival in local Chinese communities in the U.S.

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

This is a case study of the language management of one Chinese language school, trying to describe how the school's language management interacts with its language beliefs. The methods used were interviews and document collection, which will be discussed below.

Interviews

Interviewing the teacher: One teacher, Mr. Liang, was interviewed once at his convenience in his workplace. The purpose of the interview was to understand the teacher's ethnic, linguistic, and professional background, teaching experience, and teaching philosophy. The researcher recorded the interview by audiotaping and note-taking. The interview lasted for three hours with timely breaks.

Interviewing the non-Mandarin-speaking students: Two non-Mandarin-speaking students were interviewed once each individually. One interview was fifteen minutes long and the other 20 minutes long. The students' schedules and their ages decided the length of the interviews; the younger the shorter. Through interviews, the researcher aimed to discover the two students' attitudes towards, and beliefs about the school's management and beliefs concerning their learning. The researcher recorded the interviews by audiotaping and note-taking.

Interviewing the parents of non-Mandarin-speaking students: Two parents of the two selected non-Mandarin-speaking students were interviewed once each individually in this study. The purpose of interviewing the parents was to understand their beliefs about their children's Chinese language learning and how well the school accommodated their children. The researcher recorded the interviews by audiotaping and note-taking.

Interviewing school administrators: Three school administrators, the principal, the director of the teaching section, and the secretary general and teacher, participated in interviews. The purpose of interviewing school administrators was to understand their background, management practices, school policies and teaching philosophy. Specifically, the researcher aimed at, through interviews, uncovering the school's past language policy before the 1990's when the school had only a homogenous Mandarin-speaking student body.

Document Collection

The researcher collected documents from the school, including school flyers, web pages, examination sheets, textbook pages, and handouts (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992)

Data Analysis

The researcher followed three steps when analyzing the collected data: data describing, type accumulating, and pattern forming (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993; Merriam, 1998).

Data Describing

The researcher first described the case (Creswell, 1998) in detail by transcribing the interviews. The transcribed data were then carefully read for accuracy, checked for redundancy, and finally organized by and labeled with topics (Merriam, 1998).

Category Accumulating

As data analysis reaches this stage, the researcher delved into the data for a group of occurrences, hoping to find their contextualized meanings (Creswell, 1998). The data belonging to the same category relating to the Chinese language school's language policy were grouped together. The category accumulation began simultaneously with data collection (Merriam, 1998) as the researcher started transcribing his first interview in order to classify data based on the particular categories they belong to.

Pattern Forming

The researcher broke down the categories into fewer patterns and searched for "a correspondence between two or more categories" (Creswell, 1998, p. 154), focusing on the analysis of the relationships between the two language policy components, i.e. language beliefs and language management, as they emerged. These patterns were given by the researcher to collected data.

The Site and Participants

The School

The researcher selected the Bai Nian Chinese Language School in New York City for this study. Bai Nian is located in a community of mixed immigrants in Queens, New York and most of the borough's Chinese residents are Mandarin-speaking (U.S. Census, 2000). It was established by Taiwanese-immigrant volunteers in the early 1990's. The school expanded from its original single class to ten classes in 1998, and later to about twenty classes in 2000. By that time, all the classes are taught in Mandarin.

In 2001, Bai Nian established its first bilingual class to accommodate a growing number of Chinese-heritage non-Mandarin-speaking students. The bilingual class is so named because the school wanted to teach Chinese to its non-Mandarin-speaking students in English, as well as in Chinese. Therefore, both languages are used in this bilingual class. In 2007, when this study was conducted, there were 24 Chinese classes with a total of 343 students at Bai Nian; one was a bilingual class with 15 students. As the researcher started the investigation in late 2007, Bai Nian was under the direction of its fourth principal, Ms. Fong, a Taiwanese immigrant elected by the school administration.

The Teacher

Mr. Liang was recommended by the principal for this study. He emigrated to the U.S. from Taiwan in his late 20s. He had seven years of experience teaching the bilingual class at Bai Nian. His teaching philosophy was that fun was the first priority when teaching the Chinese language. Speaking of his teaching ability, he loved Chinese literature, had a doctoral degree in natural science from an American university, and spoke both English and Mandarin fluently.

The Two Non-Mandarin-Speaking Students from the Bilingual Class

The researcher selected two non-Mandarin-speaking students, Berenice and Scarlett, from the bilingual class, which had the largest number of non-Mandarin-speaking students in Bai Nian. Both students were 14 years old, born in the U.S., and spoke English as their mother tongue at home.

The Parents

Two parents, Beth, Berenice's mother, and Sara, Scarlett's mother, were selected for this research. Beth was born in Hong Kong and emigrated to the U.S. when she was ten. She spoke English as her primary language at home, although she also spoke Cantonese. As for Sara, a Malaysia-born Chinese, emigrated to the U.S. in her 20's. She spoke Cantonese as the main language at home with occasional usage of English.

The School Administrators

Three school administrators were selected for interviews in this study. Ms. Fong, the school's current principal, was born in Mainland China, grew up in Taiwan, and emigrated to the U.S. in the 1970's. She was in her late 50's. As for Ms. Koo, the vice principal, she was also an immigrant from Taiwan and came to the U.S. in mid-1980's. She was in her early 50's. She had been the head of the teaching section at Bai Nian since 2002. Lastly, Mr. Hong emigrated from Taiwan to the U.S. in late 1970's. He was in his mid-50's and had been the director of general services at Bai Nian since 2006, in addition to his decade-old volunteer work there.

ANALYSIS AND FINDING: A SEGREGATED CLASS

This section analyzes and describes how the Chinese language school adjusted its management policy for its non-Mandarin-speaking students. Emergent patterns were derived from analysis of data from interview transcriptions and collected documents. When the data was analyzed, the adaptation in school organization emerged: a segregated bilingual class.

Bai Nian's Segregated Class: A Bilingual Class

Bai Nian set up a segregated class for its non-Mandarin-speaking students. By segregated the researcher means that the school separated the class for non-Mandarin-speaking students from the rest of the school; meanwhile, the school also exclusively allowed this segregated class, including its teacher and students, to use English as well as Mandarin in class. This segregated class was thus named a bilingual class.

The placement test for non-Mandarin-speaking students was explained by one of the administrator:

In the beginning, we use examinations to decide who go to the Mandarin classes and who go to the bilingual class. (Interview with the vice principal, Ms. Koo.)

From the start, our bilingual class is established for those whose families don't speak Mandarin at home. (Interview with vice principal, Ms. Koo.)

The parents also indicated that they sent their children to the school so that their children will have more opportunities to be exposed to the Chinese language and culture, when facing the rapidly changing Chinese economy development. One parent said that:

...Especially when we are doing business with China...These Chinese customs...this is the problem I worry most (about my children)...This school has what my kids need to know (about the Chinese language and culture). (Interview with one of the two parents, Beth.)

As for the structure of the bilingual class, the principal indicated that there was no moving up along the grade levels:

There is no plan for the bilingual class to move up along the grade level. There is just one bilingual class all the way through.... Once the teacher is done with the current textbook, he continues to use the textbook of the next level. The syllabus must be continued.... So far there are six sets of textbooks. Usually it takes six years for these students to graduate from the bilingual class. (Interview with the principal, Ms. Fong)

Here the school was faced with the interwoven relationship between the school's language belief in a separate bilingual class and the inevitable linguistic heterogeneity when English as well as Mandarin were needed in this bilingual class. Teaching such a class, Mr. Liang, the teacher of the bilingual class, had enjoyed much more freedom in choices of languages. He believed in the importance of

introducing the Chinese language and culture to his students in English as well as in Chinese, Mr. Liang said that:

...don't look down on China...China has made a big progress recently and it is absolutely necessary for those in the market to learn Chinese...I will introduce to my students how much progress Shanghai has made...I use English...I use Chinese also (to teach)...so students can understand me both in English and in Chinese...

Meanwhile, the class received less supervision from the school administration because the principal said that "...in the bilingual class...I don't think it is necessary to push them. If they want to learn Chinese, let them learn. If they don't, they can quit." (Interview with the principal, Ms. Fong).

Similarly, the school's stance on the use of English is relatively open, with a caution that English is used only when necessary, as one of the administrator said:

...The teacher...may...at most use some English to explain. (Interview with the director of general services, Mr. Hong.)

This school stance on the use of English when teaching Mandarin was supported by the parents as one of the parents, Sara, talked about how her daughter was treated in the bilingual class:

During their bilingual class time ...they say that there is a portion that is boring, because they cannot understand it. I don't know if this is because the teacher speaks Mandarin too fast; ...if the message is not so clear ...then...use some English. (Interview with one of the two parents, Sara.)

In fact, both of the students felt more comfortable when the teacher used English as well as Chinese in class as one of them, Berenice, said that (Interview with Berenice), "...And I feel comfortable. I like the teacher because he talks in English and Chinese." The other student, Scarlett, also expressed how she felt about the use of English in class (Interview with Scarlett) as she said that, "It's good that the teacher uses English because it is easier. Because... English...you already know."

Lastly, the school offered a transfer examination for non-Mandarin-speaking students to transfer back to the regular Mandarin classes if they so chose to. This school management endeavor was held once a year for students from the bilingual class. If they passed, they could transfer to regular classes afterwards.

To sum up the findings, Bai Nian's bilingual class for its non-Mandarin-speaking students was originally a contingency plan, which could be explained from three different angles. First, it was a short-term, segregated class exclusively for non-Mandarin-speaking students, who constituted only a very small percentage of the school's entire student body. Second, the parents of non-Mandarin-speaking students registered their children in the bilingual class with a goal of enhancing their children's proficiency in the Chinese language and culture, knowing that their children were there for advancing in Chinese learning, not for moving up along the grade level, which situation the school made clear in their curriculum design. Lastly, the teacher could teach in English as well as Mandarin without being closely watched and restricted to a tight Mandarin-only curriculum. More importantly, the students always had the chance to transfer back to a regular Mandarin-only class where they could enjoy more exposure to the Chinese language and culture, a goal that the students' parents originally hoped their children could achieve.

There was a clear relationship between Bai Nian's language belief in the importance of Mandarin and its language management—the linguistically heterogeneous, bilingual class: The school believed in the maintenance of a Mandarin-only instruction environment for most students while managing to offer a segregated Mandarin-English class to non-Mandarin-speaking students. This bilingual class was designed to pay more attention with less pressure to non-Mandarin-speaking students, who came from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

DISCUSSION

From the findings, it is obvious that the Chinese language school has a strong belief that learning the Chinese language is most important for non-Mandarin-speaking students. Such a belief, or *language*

belief, was based on the already evident economic benefit of learning Mandarin. In addition, this belief as a *Force*, in Spolsky's (2004) term, derives from Mainland China's global impact in world economy.

As for Mr. Liang, he held a belief that his non-Mandarin-speaking students' Chinese language learning at the Chinese language school would eventually pay off when they do business with China. This viewpoint was a reflection of what Ding (2008) says about the Chinese language as "a fast-developing commercial lingua franca in the Pacific basin" (p. 117). Other studies have similar statements about the importance of learning Mandarin by pointing out that a nation's business relationship with China would be greatly enhanced if people in its business circle know Mandarin well (e.g. Agarwal, 2002; Bhasin, 2007; Mathew, Krishnamurti, and Sevic, 2005; Kurlantzick, 2007; Zhang, 2006).

Bai Nian's active stance on teaching Mandarin to non-Mandarin-speaking students was supported by the school administrators and the teacher in this study in that they provided a segregated bilingual class to accommodate non-Mandarin-speaking students. In Spolsky's (2004) term, this stance, or belief, was a *Force* that influences the school's language management decision of setting up a bilingual class, different from its other monolingual Mandarin classes.

In particular, the teacher received a green light from the school administration and enjoyed freedom when using English as well as Mandarin; and so did his non-Mandarin-speaking students. All these facts pointed to the school's open language policy for enhancing Chinese learning for non-Mandarin-speaking students through a bilingual class. This administrative measure of allowing the use of both English and Chinese at the school site was a direct reflection of the fact that in the bilingual class of this study, or the *domain* in Spolsky's (2004) term, it was necessary to have a near bilingual teacher, such as Mr. Liang, to teach that class.

Lastly, parents of non-Mandarin-speaking students showed great enthusiasm in supporting their children's Mandarin language learning by registering their children at Bai Nian. For these parents, their children's learning Mandarin was most important. In return, this parental belief in the importance of knowing Mandarin further strengthened the school's determination and dedication to teach Mandarin to all, including a growing number of non-Mandarin-speaking students.

CONCLUSION

Since the 1990s, the Chinese language schools in the U.S. have witnessed an increasing number of non-Mandarin-speaking students in their classrooms. This influx of new students has been initiated by China's rapid development in the world economy. Facing such a new, growing student body in the context of China's booming economy, the Chinese language school in this study had adapted its language management policy to satisfy these new students' needs. The Chinese language school's administrative adaptations were reflected in the following two aspects.

First, the Chinese language school was enthusiastic to teach non-Mandarin-speaking students and thus came up with a segregated bilingual class exclusively for this new student body. The purpose of this bilingual class was to make sure that these newcomers could receive more attention and practice more, using both Mandarin and English in class.

Second, China's economic development has directly influenced Bai Nian's language management decisions to establish a linguistically heterogeneous classroom environment for its non-Mandarin-speaking students, who were also linguistically heterogeneous. The meaning of this influence is two-fold. On the one hand, as long as China's economy continues to develop steadily, or even rapidly, the number of non-Mandarin-speaking students in the Chinese language schools in the U.S. is expected to grow in the foreseeable future. On the other hand, the linguistic heterogeneity in the Chinese language schools will last as long as the Chinese language schools continue to accommodate more non-Mandarin-speaking students.

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