

Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

8-22-2022 10:00 AM

Exploring the Effects of a Chinese Heritage Language School on the Identity Construction of its Adolescent Students

Angela Dong, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Taylor, Shelley K., *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Education

© Angela Dong 2022

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd>



Part of the [Bilingual, Multilingual, and Multicultural Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Dong, Angela, "Exploring the Effects of a Chinese Heritage Language School on the Identity Construction of its Adolescent Students" (2022). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 8747.
<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/8747>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlsadmin@uwo.ca.

Abstract

This qualitative case study examines the identities of four adolescent students in a Chinese heritage language school in Atlantic Canada using a combination of semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, and textbook analyses. Drawing from the conceptual approaches of reflexivity and translanguaging, this study explores the participants' understandings of what it means to be Chinese, how Chineseness relates to feelings of Canadianness, and the role Mandarin plays in their overall identity constructions. Existing literature (e.g. Lu, 2001; Shin, 2010) has found that maintaining fluency in a heritage language has positive effects on speakers' cultural identities. The findings of this study show that feelings of Chineseness are linked to connections with a larger Chinese community and are indeed made stronger through communication in Mandarin. The implications highlight the importance of a translanguaging approach that validates the participants' multiple identities (Chinese/Canadian) and promotes cultural activities both inside and outside of the classroom.

Keywords: heritage language, translanguaging, immigrant language maintenance, Chinese, Mandarin

Summary for Lay Audience

Heritage language speakers are individuals who grow up speaking a minority language at home but use a societally dominant language in everyday life. This study explores the importance of heritage language competence to an individual's sense of cultural identity. Four adolescent students at a weekend Chinese school in Atlantic Canada were interviewed and observed in class to understand their attitudes toward Chineseness and Chinese language. Further data was collected through textbook analysis. The findings of this study suggest that the ability to speak Mandarin helped young Chinese-Canadians form and maintain connections to their Chinese community, resulting in stronger feelings of Chineseness in themselves. The Chinese school plays an important role in promoting Mandarin and creating a space to use it, but it is also important for the students to have access to cultural events and activities outside of the classroom.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Shelley Taylor, for her wonderful guidance. Thank you for taking a chance on my study and for supporting me throughout the process. I would also like to thank my committee member, Dr. Suzanne Majhanovich, for her encouraging comments and helpful feedback. Thank you both for your interest in my research and for helping me bring it to life.

Thank you to my parents for their unwavering support and for offering translation assistance when my Mandarin skills were lacking. Thank you for involving me in the Chinese community from a young age and for giving me the opportunity to foster pride in my culture and language.

My biggest 谢谢 goes out to my four participants, without whom this study could not exist at all. Daisy, John, Kevin, and Olympia, thank you for being so willing to share your experiences with me. I am also so grateful to Ms. Li, who welcomed me into her classroom and believed wholeheartedly in the value of multilingual education.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Summary for Lay Audience.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Tables.....	vi
List of Appendices.....	vii
Chapter 1.....	1
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Purpose and research question.....	2
1.2 Theoretical framework.....	4
1.3 Organization of the thesis.....	8
Chapter 2.....	10
2 Literature review.....	10
2.1 Heritage language.....	10
2.2 Identity.....	14
2.3 Motivation.....	19
2.4 Translanguaging.....	23
2.5 Summary.....	26
Chapter 3.....	28
3 Methodology.....	28
3.1 Case study.....	28
3.2 Context of the study.....	29
3.3 Data collection.....	32
3.4 Data analysis.....	35
3.5 Ethical considerations.....	36
3.6 Researcher positionality and bias.....	37
3.7 Trustworthiness of Data.....	38
3.8 Summary.....	39
Chapter 4.....	40
4 Findings.....	40
4.1 The textbooks.....	40

4.2 Participant profiles	45
4.3 Theme 1: Sense of community	48
4.4 Theme 2: China and Chineseness	53
4.5 Theme 3: Language learning	59
4.6 Summary	65
Chapter 5	66
5 Discussion	66
5.1 Translanguaging	67
5.2 ‘Trans-identity’ and ‘transidentifying’	69
5.3 Summary	72
Chapter 6	73
6 Conclusion	73
6.1 Implications	73
6.2 Limitations	74
6.3 Future directions	75
6.4 Conclusion	76
References	78
Appendices	92
Curriculum Vitae	106

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of participant information	32
Table 2: Lessons and readings in level 7	42
Table 3: Lessons and readings in level 9	43

List of Appendices

Appendix A – Interview Schedule.....	92
Appendix B – Observation Schedule.....	93
Appendix C – Letter of Information (Teacher).....	94
Appendix D – Letter of Information (Parents) (English).....	97
Appendix E – Letter of Information (Parents) (Chinese)	100
Appendix F – Letter of Information (Students)	103
Appendix G – Ethics Approval Notice	105

Chapter 1

1 Introduction

As a heritage language (HL) speaker of Mandarin Chinese, I have had a longstanding interest in Chinese heritage language (CHL) education. My interest stems from my own experiences with the language and its relationship with my feelings of Chineseness and identity as a whole. In the present study, I am particularly interested in how Mandarin is viewed by CHL learners and how it affects their perceptions and constructions of ‘self’. CHL learners often feel pressured to study Mandarin because of their family backgrounds, as opposed to second language (L2) learners who choose to study the language out of some form of personal interest (Comanaru & Noels, 2009). Additionally, Polinsky and Kagan (2007) found that educators tended to see L2 learners in a positive light — moving toward the goal of fluency — and HL learners in a negative light — still lacking the proficiency that so-called native (L1) speakers possess. To combat these negative connotations of HL and CHL education, it is important to teach more than just language skills by incorporating culture and traditions as well, thereby introducing diverse motivations for students (Luo et al., 2018) and affirming their cultural identities.

Many researchers have stressed the importance of ethnic identity for HL learners and discussed the interconnectedness of language and culture (e.g. Anderson, 2011; Brown, 2009; Gyogi, 2020; He, 2006; Leeman et al., 2011; Li, 2011; Lu, 2001; Noels, 2005; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Shin (2010) found that proficiency in the HL provided individuals with better access to their cultural community and made them feel more connected to their ethnic heritage. The inverse is also true; Wu and Chang (2012) found that utilizing macro-approaches to incorporate history and culture that was relevant to the students’ families and lived experiences raised overall

student motivation to study Mandarin. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that HL speakers often identify themselves in ways that are distinct from L1 and L2 speakers (who have different linguistic foundations, motivations, and expectations). HL classrooms should reflect HL learners' unique situations by adopting a translanguaging ideology, which allows individuals to fluidly draw from their entire linguistic repertoire (García & Kleifgen, 2019) rather than treating them as “two monolinguals in one” (Grosjean, 1982, as cited in García & Otheguy, 2020). Teachers who celebrate the multilingualism/multiculturalism of their students and use curriculum that allows students to utilize all their combined linguistic knowledge would allow students to see themselves reflected in their studies and raise the likelihood of becoming engaged and motivated.

1.1 Purpose and research question

The purpose of this thesis is to examine adolescent students in a CHL school in Atlantic Canada, focusing on their attitudes toward Mandarin and how those perceptions relate to the constructions of their self-identities. The participants were all Chinese-Canadian – who were either born in Canada with Chinese heritage, or who had immigrated to Canada from China at an early age – and had their own perspectives of what it means to identify as “Chinese” and “Canadian”. The research questions are:

- 1) From the participants' viewpoints, what dimensions represent and constitute *Chineseness* (what it means to be Chinese), and how does that relate to their feelings of *Canadianness* (what it means to be Canadian)?
- 2) In relation to the larger discourses of *Chineseness* and *Canadianness*, in what ways do students enrolled in the CHL school construct their identities?

- a. Do they consider learning Mandarin meaningful and valuable to their identity constructions? Do they consider it meaningful and valuable to anything else?
- b. Do the teacher and curriculum have an influence on the students' identity constructions?

Addressing the above questions may provide a more thorough understanding of identity construction in CHL classrooms in Canada and could give insight on how CHL education can be improved to better suit student needs. By identity construction, I mean that the ways in which individuals identify themselves are not inherent or pre-given. Rather, they must be created through social interactions as people navigate their memberships to different social groups in their lives (Head, 1997). Coming to a better understanding of this specific population should be hugely beneficial in improving the resources and support that is provided to them. Essentially, I hope to better understand the role of speaking/learning Mandarin when it comes to identity among Chinese-Canadian youth, and how it may affect language maintenance in the greater Chinese-Canadian community.

I have used translanguaging theory to inform this study and to acknowledge the diverse experiences of multilingual individuals. I have also drawn from some aspects of plurilingualism that complement translanguaging. Recognizing the importance of positioning myself within the research, I have utilized strategies of reflexivity throughout the research process. Drawing from Stake (1995), a social constructivist case study was chosen as the most appropriate method to address the research questions as it helps to highlight the diversity among multilinguals. Conducting a social constructivist case study allows the researcher to examine a specific case while also remaining aware that knowledge is “constructed rather than discovered” (Stake, 1995, p. 95), and that the findings are contextually bound (Freeman & Mathison, 2009).

Although this study was not originally designed with this intention, it was conducted completely online. The virtual medium provides a unique perspective on CHL education and its effect on students, as previous studies have all involved in-person classes. The teacher and students in this study all lived in the same city, and therefore belonged to the same local Chinese community. Furthermore, they had all met for in-person classes in the past. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, they have been limited to holding classes online through Zoom for the past two years (2020-2022). CHL schools rely heavily on the presence of community while simultaneously acting as a community centre (Lu, 2001), so this unusual case may result in new and diverse insights on the roles of CHL schools and the effects a virtual setting may have.

1.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framing of this study takes a postmodern, social constructivist stance, and specifically draws upon the postmodern theories of reflexivity and translanguaging. Postmodernism rejects the idea of a singular Truth, opting instead for a notion of many truths that shift over “time, space, and perspective” (Wilson, 1997). Constructivists prescribe to the idea that individuals “construct their own understanding and knowledge of the world, through experiencing things and by reflecting on those experiences” (Akpan et al., 2020, p. 50). Similarly, social constructivists also believe that reality and knowledge are ongoing constructions, but they believe that these constructions are created through interactions with others and the individual’s surroundings (Amineh & Asl, 2015). Knowledge can only be relative to individuals and contexts (Freeman & Mathison, 2009), and much of a person’s knowledge and ways of being must be situated within the society in which they live (Atwater, 1996). For instance, von Glaserfeld (1994) raised the example of a constellation that has been utilized by

navigators and astronomers for thousands of years, yet cannot be said to objectively exist; rather, it is a construction based on their societies' perspectives of the night sky.

A social constructivist worldview prioritizes the experiences of individuals and communities rather than searching for a universal understanding. While we traditionally refer to theories of knowledge, von Glaserfeld (1994) calls this a “theory of knowing” (p. 3), perhaps due to its continuous and dynamic nature. In this way, knowledge is constructed *through* the research process rather than discovered at the end, as the researcher works together with participants to build an understanding (Enosh & Ben-Ari, 2016; Probst, 2015). Social constructivists believe that each individual strives to understand the world in which they live and that “individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences” (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 8). A researcher’s construction of reality is only one possible interpretation (Cho & Trent, 2006), and social constructivist research involving children is ideally “research through the eyes of children” (Freeman & Mathison, 2009, p. 57). Social constructivists expect knowledge construction to occur from the perspectives of the participants, the researcher, and the reader – even if their knowledge constructions differ (Yazan, 2015). From this worldview, phenomena are seen as unique to their contexts; data is used only to move toward a consensus, not to be generalized (Lincoln & Guba, 1989). If a consensus cannot be reached, the data exposes different views to build “an agenda for negotiation” (Lincoln & Guba, 1989, p. 149).

1.2.1 Reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity is messy and difficult to define (Probst, 2015), as it is a “multifaceted, complex, and ongoing dialogical process that is continually evolving” (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014, p. 2). More importantly, it is a break away from positivist worldviews that strive for neutral, objective understandings (Byrd Clark, 2020) and instead asks researchers to be aware

of their own ideologies and how those ideologies influence their research (Probst, 2015). This departure from positivism, in line with the social constructivist views discussed above, enables us to accept that there are multiple ways of seeing and knowing which may even be contradictory (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014). Probst (2015) referred to reflexivity as “gazing in two directions at the same time” (p. 38) because the researcher must observe what is happening on the outside while simultaneously being aware of their own attachments and biases on the inside. Thus, reflexivity occurs in a “liminal space between the inside and outside perspectives” (Enosh & Ben-Ari, 2016, p. 579). In fact, a researcher can simultaneously be both an insider and an outsider based on their multiple positions (Day, 2012), and it can be difficult to draw the line in an insider/outsider dichotomy because a researcher’s identity is shaped by ever-changing factors (Bettez, 2015).

Through a reflexive lens, research is seen as a collaborative activity between researchers and participants (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014) and can be considered a process of “co-construction and creation” (Enosh & Ben-Ari, 2016, p. 583). This fits with a social constructivist worldview and is similar to some Indigenous and Eastern philosophies, where knowledge is shared and cannot be owned by individuals (Byrd Clark, 2020). Because of this subjectivity, it is important to reflexively think of the collected data as “what we think we see” rather than simply what we “see” (Day, 2012, p. 64). Practicing reflexivity and having a willingness to engage with potentially uncomfortable negotiations of meaning can promote integrity in research and mutual respect between participants and researchers (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014; Probst, 2015).

1.2.2 Translanguaging

The concept of translinguaging is also central to this study. In this section, I discuss its relation and significance to this study's core themes. I will elaborate further on translinguaging in my literature review in the next chapter.

An analysis of the Chinese-Canadian hybrid identity necessitates an understanding that one person can, and does, have multiple modes of self-identification that may change and contradict each other at times. A translinguaging approach allows speakers to express this hybridity through language use in a way that the more traditional concept of codeswitching does not. Codeswitching understands the use of multiple languages in one utterance as switches between language systems (Canagarajah, 2011). In the same way that a codeswitching perspective essentializes a multilingual individual as a monolingual of multiple languages (García & Otheguy, 2020), it may also unfairly categorize English/Mandarin bilingual Chinese-Canadians as individuals who are both Chinese *and* Canadian, due to the prevalent notion that one language is tied to one identity (Canagarajah, 2013a). Instead, the hyphenated "Chinese-Canadian" identity could be conceptualized as an independent, hybrid identity – whole in itself rather than two pieces coming together. Blommaert and Varis (2013) use the term *identity repertoire* to express the plurality of each individual's identity/ies, which I interpret to align well with linguistic repertoires from the theories of translinguaging and plurilingualism. This way, individuals can draw from parts of themselves without necessarily needing to commit fully to a single way of identifying, just as translinguaging focuses on the agency of the speakers rather than on the languages being used (Creese & Blackledge, 2015) and allows those speakers to draw on their entire linguistic repertoires (García & Kleifgen, 2019). Through this lens, we are able to explore ways in which speakers can also draw from their identity repertoires, and how language use may represent and facilitate that process. Ultimately, linguistic discourse and

language practices are vital to the construction and negotiation of identities, and many researchers have written about the relationship between translanguaging and identity (e.g. Abourehab & Azaz, 2020; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Li, 2011; Li & Zhu, 2013; Wu & Leung, 2020).

The term *trans-identity* was initially proposed by Nkademeng and Makalela (2015) but was not explained in detail (Nguyen, 2019). It was expanded upon by Nguyen (2019) to explore the way language use, especially translanguaging, affects speakers' identities. She expressed that trans-identity among multilingual speakers was threefold: (1) multiple identities attached to multiple languages; (2) neutral identities that bridge the multiple languages/identities together; and (3) shifting identities that are created through language mixing. Additionally, Richards and Wilson (2019) have coined the term *transidentifying* to refer to the ways in which individuals more broadly adjust and transition between roles throughout interactions with others, not only related to language, because identity is dynamic and shaped by context. For example, an individual may use transidentifying to show status, an affiliation, or a change of role. Their concept of transidentifying also stems from translanguaging and was inspired by the fluidity of language use. Both of these relatively new terms suggest that researchers are actively incorporating identity construction into translanguaging theories.

1.3 Organization of the thesis

This thesis contains six chapters. This first chapter provides some background information and introduces the research questions and theoretical framework. The next chapter, Chapter Two, will delve into relevant literature on HL speakers and education, adolescent and ethnic identity, student motivation and investment, and additional background on translanguaging and plurilingualism. Chapter Three will explain case study methodology,

provide further context on the school and participants of this study, and include ethical considerations and my (the researcher's) positionality. Chapter Four will present the data by organizing it into three major themes. Chapter Five, will revisit the research questions and further analyze the study's findings. The final chapter, Chapter Six, will discuss the implications, limitations, and potential future directions for research.

Chapter 2

2 Literature review

In this chapter, I outline some of the existing literature on the key themes of this thesis. First, I explore HL and different approaches to HL education. Then, I examine identity construction among adolescents, the concept of cultural identity, and what it means to identify as Chinese. Next, I review literature pertaining to translanguaging and plurilingualism. Finally, I discuss various categories of motivation and investment, tying it in with the topic of HL learners.

2.1 Heritage language

An HL speaker can be defined as an individual who was “raised in a home where a non-[dominant] language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and [the dominant language]” (Valdés, 2001, p. 38, as cited in Larnier Temples, 2010). HL speakers can range from “mostly receptive bilinguals to highly functioning bilinguals” (Prada, 2019, p. 307). They often exhibit native-like phonology, appropriate use of grammar, and knowledge of vocabulary related to the home/community, as well as usage of a large number of borrowings from the majority language, limited competence of social registers, and under-developed literacy skills (Kagan & Dillon, 2008). It has been suggested that HL speakers experience “incomplete acquisition” due to limited access to HL input and the relatively intensive contact with the dominant societal language (Valdés, 2005). Although researchers agree that HL grammars differ from those of standard L1 speakers, some reject the labelling of “incomplete” (e.g. Kupisch & Rothman, 2016; Pires & Rothman, 2009; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Polinsky and Kagan (2007) considered HL speakers to be on a continuum akin to a creole continuum, where there is not a specific standard to adhere to, but some speakers are closer to the socially prestigious lexifier language than others. The lexifier

language for Jamaican Creole, for example, would be English. The lexifier language for an HL continuum, however, would not as easily defined; it would not be the national standard for the language in its country of origin. Rather, it would be the language spoken by family and community members that HL speakers are most exposed to.

If the HL variety differs from the national standard, it does not indicate that an HL speaker's language abilities are inadequate or that their acquisition was incomplete, but simply different. A study by Pires and Rothman (2009) found that HL speakers of European Portuguese were able to use a specific structure at the same level as L1 speakers, yet HL speakers of Brazilian Portuguese could not. This structure, while common in European Portuguese, has been largely lost in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese and must be learned in school. They chose to use the word "divergence" rather than "incomplete", showcasing a more positive approach to describing HLs. It is imperative to accept that HLs diverge from their origin as they "[travel] across time and space" in the diaspora (Canagarajah, 2013b, p. 154). From the lens of plurilingualism, this divergence can be seen as a partial competence, in which an individual may be more proficient in certain domains over others. Having partial competence contributes to an individual's overall ability to communicate and is not viewed as negative, even if their abilities are imperfect (Council of Europe, 2001).

Within HL education, it is important to develop more positive methods based on what the students already know, rather than focusing on what they are lacking compared to L1 speakers (Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Educators must also identify what skills are useful for the students to develop in order to create reasonable goals and to maintain interest. In the case of Mandarin, many HL learners have low literacy skills but do not care for improving their reading/writing abilities because these skills do not play a large role in their lives. Instead,

they choose to focus on speaking/listening in order to orally communicate with relatives (Luo, Li, & Li, 2019). For some other CHL learners, Mandarin may not be their HL at all; students whose home language is a non-Mandarin variety of Chinese, such as Cantonese or Fujianese, may require different support from the teacher and have different goals when it comes to studying Mandarin (Wu & Leung, 2020). Ultimately, being able to productively use their HL in meaningful ways is important for these speakers as it helps to build self-identity and to strengthen connections with members of their cultural community (Brown, 2009; Gyogi, 2020; Luo et al., 2019). It is also helpful to expose HL learners to personal stories, traditional practices, and popular culture to further combat negative pressures related to language learning (Comanaru & Noels, 2009). Engaging with class materials and resources that help students in expressing their heritage identities helps HL learners to become more motivated (Wu & Chang, 2012).

For some ethnic groups, language is a key part of their identity (Rosenthal, 1987) because a shared way of speaking could symbolically represent a common background or culture (Heller, 1987). Fishman (1989) called language a “very powerful symbol” of identity (p. 32), yet some HL speakers claim strong ties to their ethnic identity without full proficiency (Canagarajah, 2013b). Mah (2005, as cited in Brown, 2009) found that HL proficiency impacted her participants’ abilities to join in cultural activities related to the HL-speaking community, but did not affect their ethnic pride. In fact, there is usually a shift from being proficient in the HL to only speaking the dominant societal language within three generations (Shin, 2010; Tse, 2001) despite the importance that many immigrant parents place on maintaining the HL (Larnier Temples, 2010; Park & Sakar, 2007; Zhang, 2010). 90% of 3rd generation (grandchildren of immigrants) Chinese-Americans and 60-70% of 3rd generation Latinx-Americans only speak English (Smith & Li, 2020). The increased retention of language among Latinxs may be

attributed, in part, to the presence of community. The 2021 U.S. census found that 18.5% of the population was of Hispanic or Latinx origin, and 5.9% of the population was of Asian origin. Furthermore, Espiritu (1992) suggested that many minority groups in the USA were socially constructed; Asian-Americans, African-Americans, Latinx-Americans, and Native Americans are all respectively ethnically diverse groups with distinct cultures, but were formed due to perceived homogeneity by outsiders. While many Latinx-Americans share the common language of Spanish, Asian-Americans must often rely on English when engaging with members of their communities because of the mutual unintelligibility between Asian languages, even within ethnic groups (such as the diversity among Chinese linguistic varieties).

There is a general trend of young HL learners becoming less motivated to learn their HL as they reach adolescence (He, 2010; Larnier Temples, 2010). One reason for this is that they are unhappy losing their free time to attend HL classes (Anderson, 2011; Tse, 2001). The parents of HL learners may also have high expectations of proficiency (Park & Sarkar, 2007), leading to HL learners feeling pressured to perform well (Comanaru & Noels, 2009). Once they had the freedom to make their own decisions, some formerly uninterested HL learners independently chose to take Chinese courses in university (Smith & Li, 2020). Additionally, some HL speakers experience a period of Ethnic Ambivalence/Evasion during their childhood and adolescence, in which they experience negative feelings toward their own ethnic group (Tse, 2000). The negative feelings are caused by a desire to conform with the dominant culture (Tse, 2000; Wu & Leung, 2014) and can manifest on a continuum with one end being a lack of interest in the HL, and the other end being active rejection of it (Tse, 2000). Some participants in Zhang's (2010) study expressed that their HL was a source of embarrassment for them because they had been teased for not being able to speak English when they first entered school. This may be a large

contributing factor to the shift toward English. In some cases, 1st generation parents (in the immigrant generation) do not wish for their children to learn their HL at all, believing that learning the dominant societal language would lead to more chances of success (Tse, 2000) due to its social and economic values, allowing speakers to fit in with the mainstream and to pursue higher education and career opportunities (Tse, 2001). Another key factor to how well an HL is maintained is the family's socioeconomic status. As is discussed by Zhang (2010), immigrant parents from working class backgrounds often do not have the opportunity to develop proficiency in English and have no choice but to communicate with their children using the HL, while children of well-educated immigrant parents have the option of using English or the HL at home.

It is important to challenge the notion that HLs are less valuable for their speakers compared to knowing the dominant societal language. HL speakers should learn to embrace and draw from their HL knowledge as a source for their multilingual communicative practices, even if they do not have or even aim for full HL proficiency (Canagarajah, 2013b; Li, 2011). This would allow them continued access to cultural activities using their HL, easier communication with relatives, and a view of their HL as equally valuable as the dominant societal language. HL maintenance is improved when speakers have positive attitudes toward the language and the ethnic group (He, 2015).

2.2 Identity

Musgrove (1964, as cited in Head, 1997) stated that “the adolescent was invented at the same time as the steam-engine”. The advent of the industrial revolution in Europe created a longer transition period between childhood and adulthood, as time spent in education increased and delayed job seeking (Head, 1997). Thus, adolescence is a social construct that can vary

between cultures in terms of length and what is considered typical behaviour during that time (van Meijl, 2012). During childhood, an individual's sense of identity is generally prescribed to them by their family and immediate surroundings; in modern Western society, adolescence is the period in which society replaces family as the most important part of a person's life (van Meijl, 2012) and they begin to place more value on relationships with their peers (Head, 1997). During this time, the task for adolescents is to "establish a reciprocal relationship with [their] society and maintain a feeling of continuity within [themselves]" (Marcia, 1996, p. 551). Thus, adolescence is a tumultuous and crucial time of identity construction as individuals develop their senses of self, though the process is never-ending and does continue through adulthood (Rosenthal, 1987). As people enter adolescence, they are not blank slates; they carry with them some existing ideologies (Meeus, 2011) and childhood experiences play a role in the process (Head, 1997). Marcia (1966) introduced four stages of adolescent identity formation: Diffusion, in which the individual has not made a commitment and may still be exploring alternatives; Foreclosure, in which the individual has made a commitment without having explored many alternatives; Moratorium, in which the individual is actively exploring options but has not made a commitment; and Achievement, in which the individual has finished exploring and has made a final commitment. While people generally attempt to move away from Diffusion and toward Achievement (Meeus, 2011), there is no roadmap for moving through these stages, and some young people may face identity crises and shift between stages multiple times (Chandler & Dunlop, 2012).

Cultural identity is "identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has shared systems of symbols and meanings as well as norms/rules for conduct" (Collier & Thomas, 1988, p. 113, as cited in Lu, 2001). This form of identity requires maintenance more so than

formation, as people already belong to some predetermined cultural and ethnic groups without explicitly seeking them out (Meeus, 2011). By identifying in certain ways, individuals engage with “a priori categories” about how they should be and how they fit in with other members of the group (Chun, 1996, p. 127). Although identity is usually based on perceived homogeneity between all group members and perceived difference with outsiders (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), it is also possible for an individual to identify with a group that does not accept them (Scollon et al., 2012). Furthermore, one’s identity can be said to be made up of a social identity based on the perception by others and a reflexive personal identity based on how individuals see themselves (Goffman, 1963). An individual’s social identity can also impact their personal identity, as membership of a group and comparing oneself with other group members can influence the way they see themselves (Head, 1997). Brown (2009) used similar terms for her Korean-American participants, who had a private identity and a public identity based on their self-identification as “American” but their common labelling as “Korean” by others. Personal identity is produced through an interaction of fixity, which is associated with essentialism, and fluidity, which challenges convention (Gyogi, 2020). Essentially, identity is a somewhat fixed social construct formed by social networks (Heller, 1987) but it is also fluid and always changing over time (Norton, 2013). It is a challenge for many HL speakers to negotiate their complex identities, sometimes preferring to identify and conform with the dominant cultural group instead (Brown, 2009; Tse, 2000).

Another factor that plays an important role in the cultural identity construction and maintenance of immigrant populations is food and the practices that surround it. Food can help communities maintain social relationships and build meaningful communities. Some foods may take on symbolic significance, representing certain occasions or acting as a reminder of a

nostalgic homeland (Janowski, 2012). “Limbo migrants”, a term used by Janowski (2012) to describe individuals who left their homeland at a young age or who were descended from migrants, may rely on traditional foods to “inherit” memories of the homeland from their elders. At the same time, these limbo migrants usually have a broader palate, and are more open to eating foods from the new country and creating new ways of identifying. Some community members may use foods with symbolic meaning to strengthen their cultural identity and to emphasize the differences between themselves and other groups (Tookes, 2015). One Barbadian participant from Tookes’ (2015) study said “you’re not Bajan if you don’t cook Bajan” (p. 70). Members of the Cuban diaspora in Darias Alfonso’s (2012) study also “acknowledged the role of Cuban food in the manifestation of their own identity” (p. 193), and felt that the food at home was more authentic than the food served in Cuban restaurants. They considered the social practices surrounding food, such as hosting friends for home-cooked meals, to be an important part of their cultural identity. According to Janowski (2012), food is fuel, not only for our physical bodies, but also for us to socialize and find ways of belonging.

The Herderian triad is a concept that considers language, identity, and location to be intrinsically linked together. Essentially, it perpetuates the monolingual orientation by saying that one language is necessarily tied to one identity and located in a specific place (Canagarajah, 2013a). Examining a few narratives about Chinese identity in the diaspora shows that this is not true. Identity is complex and not always reflected in the language(s) spoken or geographical location. Tse (2001) found that there were positive effects when HL learners were able to identify with their HL, but it was not essential for them to identify with L1 speakers of that language: “It is not essential that they identify with native-speaker peers in other countries where the language is spoken. As long as they are able to feel allegiance with a group that deems the

language important [...] then the positive effects are similar” (p. 69). Likewise, Baldassar et al.’s (2017) study about Vietnamese-Australians found that their participants had strong Vietnamese identities but weak feelings of closeness to Vietnam, showing that an identity can be maintained separately from its source of origin.

In writing about her Chinese identity as a Chinese-Indonesian-Dutch-Australian who does not speak a Chinese language, Ang (1993) expressed that ““Chineseness” is a category whose meanings are not fixed and pregiven, but constantly renegotiated and rearticulated, both inside and outside China” (p. 5). The British-Chinese participants in Li’s (2011) study, who often switched between English and Mandarin, expressed fluid identity by saying “[w]e are not Chinese from China. We belong to the world” (p. 1233). In a later publication with the same British-Chinese participants, one of them stated “[i]f you are Chinese, you could be from anywhere” (Li & Zhu, 2013, p. 527). In their intensive summer camp, Wu and Chang (2012) introduced a curriculum that focused on the history and culture of Chinese immigrants in the USA rather than that of Chinese people in Mainland China. All of these highlight that a “Chinese” identity is not a static identity that can be easily defined, but something that can differ from place to place, or even from person to person. “Chineseness” had traditionally been defined by regions with a majority Chinese population (i.e. “Greater China”, comprised of Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, and Singapore) but diverse perspectives from the global diaspora have contributed to “decentering the essentialism and hegemony of culture” (Chun, 1996, p. 126). In other words, the traditional notion of Chineseness is being challenged by a shift that incorporates otherwise unconventional ways of being Chinese.

Identity is multiple, with no authentic vs. inauthentic dichotomy (Ang, 1998), and the previously prevailing notion that identity is singular and static is “no longer sustainable”

(Blommaert & Varis, 2013, p. 148). This means that not all ways of identifying as “Chinese” are mutually compatible across different contexts (Chun, 1996), and each individual can also have multiple conceptions of self that co-exist simultaneously (Byrd Clark, 2009). That is, for example, an Asian-American individual may feel that being “Asian-American” does not mean being neatly categorized into both “Asian” and “American” boxes; “Asian-American” is instead a unique “racially based, albeit hybridized and reconstructed, identity and culture” (Chong, 2017, p. 56) of its own. This form of hybridity is a “third space” that cannot be traced back to its original parts, but is “a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation” (Bhabha, 1990, p. 211, as cited in van Meijl, 2012). Because of this multiplicity, an individual’s conception of self can include unrelated or even contradictory memberships (Rampton, 2018; Scollon et al., 2012) – for instance, a person who drives a diesel car may still be an environmental activist (Blommaert & Varis, 2013). This also allows for the possibility of choice, if we are to think of identity as an ongoing process rather than static; an individual can choose to develop certain ways of being by initiating/maintaining social interactions with member groups (He, 2010), or they may conversely reject aspects of their identity by refraining from social interactions.

2.3 Motivation

Self-determination theory suggests that people are innately motivated to do and learn things out of interest and enjoyment (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Feelings of competence enhance intrinsic motivation, but must be accompanied by a sense of autonomy – that is, we must feel as if we are free from control when making decisions (Ryan & Deci, 2020). Furthermore, not all choices feel autonomous – for example, a choice between two bad options does not give the individual making the decision a full sense of freedom (Ryan & Deci, 2020). As children, we must be socialized into behaviours that are crucial to successful interactions in society, but may

not come naturally to us (Deci & Ryan, 1985). When successfully socialized, these behaviours become internalized; this allows us to be “more competently self-determining in the social world, even though the goals of the specific behaviors are extrinsic” (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 131). For example, a young child needs to be told, or even incentivised, to clean their room, but may begin keeping their room clean of their own accord as they grow older. Each individual is motivated differently, but motivation in general does not remain constant and can be influenced by society and the context of the situation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

Ryan and Deci (2000) identified the importance of autonomy when it comes to linguistic motivation, finding that students who felt in control of their learning had higher intrinsic motivation. They also proposed that extrinsic motivation could vary greatly – for example, a student who studies hard to someday attain a prestigious job compared to a student who studies hard because they fear discipline from their parents. They broke extrinsic motivation down into four subsections: *external regulation*, which necessitates external rewards or punishments; *introjection*, in which the focus is on approval from oneself and others; *identification*, where the individual is conscious of the activity’s value and is highly willing to participate; and *integration*, during which the activity becomes congruent with the individual’s other core values and interests (Ryan & Deci, 2020). While intrinsic motivation is based on interest and enjoyment, identified and integrated extrinsic motivations are based on a sense of value, even if the people performing the tasks do not find them necessarily enjoyable. Motivation in the HL learning context can often be considered a form of extrinsic motivation called identity regulation, which ties language learning to identity construction (Noels, 2005). This could be placed into either the *identification* or *integration* category, as individuals may not experience pure

enjoyment from learning their HL, but they may be aware of the value it holds for them and have a strong desire to learn more.

Self-determination theory has not gone without criticism. Gardner and McIntyre (1993) deemed the characterizations of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to be “too static and restricted” (p. 4), introducing *integrativeness* and *instrumentality* instead. The former consists of a positive disposition toward and a desire to become a part of the target language community. The latter relates to “potential pragmatic gains” such as employment opportunities (Dörnyei, 1994, p. 274). Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) propose that integrativeness has become less popular in recent research because it is not always fundamental to L2 motivation, such as in the case of World English learners, who learn English as a tool to communicate rather than a means to integrate into a specific community. However, integrativeness is still applicable in the HL context; identity regulation can be considered a form of integrativeness, where identity and becoming accepted into the community is important to many HL learners (Brown, 2009; He, 2006; Noels, 2005). At the same time, instrumentality is also important to some HL learners who wish to utilize fluency in their HL for future pursuits (Park & Sarkar, 2007).

Integrativeness is especially important to marginalized speakers within the HL community, such as speakers with mixed heritage. These individuals face more challenges with maintaining the HL due to having fewer opportunities and facing more stigma, but HL proficiency often grants them access to a larger cultural community (Shin, 2010). A second marginalized group of HL speakers is those who come from families that speak a non-standard linguistic variety. Some teachers hold the view that only the standard language should be taught in HL schools and home varieties should be kept separate (Abourehab & Azaz, 2020). This view leads to linguistic insecurity and unwillingness to participate from students who speak non-

standard varieties. Encouraging students to view themselves as experts in their HL and allowing them to use and share their knowledge of different language varieties increases confidence and classroom participation (Abourehab & Azaz, 2020; Leeman et al., 2011; Wu & Leung, 2020). Mandarin specifically is the official language of Mainland China and Taiwan, and is thus treated as the standard in many CHL schools – however, students may find other varieties more useful in their diaspora contexts, such as Cantonese and Fujianese, which are commonly used in American Chinatowns (Wu & Leung, 2014). Therefore, motivation is also partially affected by the environment of the students and not necessarily the prestige placed upon certain language varieties.

Apart from motivation, some researchers prefer the term *investment* when discussing individuals' learning experiences. Popularized by Norton Peirce (1995), investment when it comes to language learning is not only about the language itself, but also involves the related ideologies and culture (Byrd Clark, 2009). This is similar to the way integrativeness signifies a desire for community. Therefore, having investments in learning a language also means investing in one's own social identity as interacting with others results in reorganizing one's own understandings of the social world (Norton Peirce, 1995). In discussing investment, Norton Peirce (2000) called language learners "ambivalent" (p. 10, as cited in Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011) to learning and practicing. Investments can indeed be contradictory. For example, an individual may have an investment in practicing their oral production skills, but this may be overpowered by their fear of appearing uneducated due to mistakes – i.e. their investment in other aspects of their self-identity (Norton Peirce, 1995). Thus, what we might call "motivation" is actually an oversimplification of an abstract and dynamic concept that cannot be directly observed (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

2.4 Translanguaging

To engage students and to affirm their multilingual identities, a Mandarin teacher in Wu and Leung's (2020) study incorporated Teochew, Cantonese, and Fujianese into a classroom activity in which students compared the varieties and guessed the meanings of words based on their existing knowledge. When it comes to the strong Mandarin-only policies in many classrooms, one student in that study asked: "Why can't they co-exist?" (p. 9). Indeed, monolingual approaches are very common in schools (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), but translanguaging is "naturally occurring" and "cannot be completely restrained by monolingual education policies" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 402). In fact, the monolingual orientation is a construct of the West, and multilingualism is, and has been, the norm for many societies (Canagarajah, 2013a).

Coined by Cen Williams in 1994, translanguaging (translated from Welsh *trawsieithu*) was originally used to describe bilingual classrooms where students were able to alternate between English and Welsh without the enforcement of only one language to be used in the classroom (Li, 2011). The term later developed to refer to more general multilingual practices both inside and outside of the classroom (Kim, 2017). García and Otheguy (2022) interpreted translanguaging as a rejection of the idea that different named languages are compartmentalized in speakers' minds and they instead see them as having "a unitary linguistic system" (p. 25). That is, language learning gives us new modes of expression rather than making us into monolinguals of multiple languages. Furthermore, it is not only going *between* languages, but going *beyond* them (Li, 2018). This can help us recognize that named languages (e.g. English, Mandarin, Cantonese, etc.), although useful categories, are socially constructed throughout history for

political reasons, and each person has an idiolect – their own unique way of using language (Otheguy et al., 2015).

Language education scholars from minoritized communities have claimed that not only was the monolingual approach not helping bilingual students, it was actually having a negative effect (García & Otheguy, 2020). Asking students to only use one named language at a time is asking them to only ever use a fraction of their idiolect (Otheguy et al., 2015) while allowing them to translanguage can support the development of their entire linguistic repertoire (Song, 2016). Translanguaging has been found to promote not only positive language attitudes, but also “positive linguistic identities” for students (Prada, 2019). Furthermore, Tse (2001) found that “having literacy in one language makes it easier to learn literacy in another” (p. 26).

Translanguaging is applicable and observable in transnational contexts, where speakers have affiliations with multiple cultural and linguistic communities (Kim, 2017). Moreover, having started with the oppressed Welsh language, translanguaging is inherently a political, decolonizing act that “[liberates] the language practices of bilingual minoritized populations” (García & Kleifgen, 2019, p. 556) and aids in removing the hierarchy of certain languages being considered more valuable than others (Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Pennycook (2010) posited that language is not just a tool for communication, but a social activity that is located in the speakers’ histories and contexts. Furthermore, knowledge and learning are transferred and mediated through language (Akpan et al., 2020). Therefore, translanguaging is a transformative act, both at the level of the individual (Li, 2011) and at a structural level in society (García & Kleifgen, 2019).

A similar concept to translanguaging is plurilingualism. Although the two approaches may at times appear oppositional (Vallejo & Dooly, 2020), the pedagogical practices are often

alike and have the same practical goals of moving beyond monolingual named languages (García & Otheguy, 2020). The traditional concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism have the learner aiming for full proficiency in multiple languages based on the ideal native speaker.

Plurilingualism challenges this; instead, the goal of a plurilingual is to develop a linguistic repertoire that consists of multiple linguistic varieties and does not necessitate fluency in each one (Council of Europe, 2001). This brings to mind the ideas of incomplete acquisition and divergence among HL speakers, as mentioned in section 2.1 above. From a plurilingual lens, HL knowledge is valuable even if it is limited or otherwise different from the knowledge of L1 speakers because it becomes a part of an entire linguistic repertoire. With plurilingual competence, ideally even those with minimal knowledge of a language can use their repertoires, as well as paralinguistic features, to help them communicate when there is no common language (Council of Europe 2001). The ultimate goal of both plurilingualism and translanguaging is to overcome the boundaries between named languages; however, plurilingualism aims to move between languages, while translanguaging questions the existence of those boundaries at all (Vallejo & Dooly, 2020).

According to García and Otheguy (2020), one difference between the two notions is that plurilingualism focuses on turning monolinguals into multilinguals, and translanguaging focuses on allowing bilingual students to fully utilize their multilingualism. However, as translanguaging refers to utilizing one's full linguistic repertoire, even monolinguals can translanguage between different registers (Otheguy et al., 2015). The same is true of plurilingualism; even monolinguals should be considered plurilingual, because each named language is made up of constantly changing parts that must be meshed together to create individual idiolects (Taylor & Snoddon,

2013). Thus, despite choosing a translanguaging lens for this thesis, I recognize the value of plurilingualism and the large overlap it has with the translanguaging approach.

Plurilingualism is upheld by the Council of Europe as a standard for linguistic and cultural tolerance (García & Otheguy, 2020), but has been criticized for focusing on colonial European languages such as English (Vallejo & Dooly, 2020) and for marginalizing migrant youth who are still expected to learn to speak national standard languages fluently (García & Otheguy, 2020). Like plurilingualism, translanguaging has also faced criticisms of focusing on Western society/languages (Vallejo & Dooly, 2020). It has also been criticized for its lack of empirical evidence, clear definition, and pedagogical steps to be followed (Abourehab & Azaz, 2020). Furthermore, researchers have questioned whether translanguaging is an opportunity or a threat to the vitality of minority languages, as minority language speakers may use translanguaging to shift toward the majority language (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Nguyen, 2019). Cenoz and Gorter (2017) asserted that most translanguaging research focused on speakers of high-status languages in English-majority countries, and that additional precautions must be taken for vulnerable minority languages like Basque and Welsh. They advocated for the importance of “breathing spaces” – areas reserved only for the minority language to be spoken – to protect minority languages from disappearing. So, although translanguaging is a helpful lens through which to view language education and research, we must be aware that it is not without flaws and is still subject to future changes and improvements.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has presented a review of literature on HL, identity, motivation, and translanguaging. Additionally, I have attempted to reference concepts of Chineseness and

Chinese languages in each literature review subsection. The following section will outline this study's methodology.

Chapter 3

3 Methodology

I conducted this study using qualitative case study methodology. My theoretical framework prioritizes individual and community experiences rather than universal truths and is therefore well-suited to qualitative research. Quantitative researchers focus on measuring or manipulating particular variables to address specific hypotheses and aim to find an objectively “correct” answer (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In contrast, qualitative researchers strive to develop a more holistic understanding of a complex issue (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) and treat uniqueness in data as important to the greater picture rather than as an error or outlier (Stake, 1995). Case study methodology complements my social constructivist worldview by allowing me to study the CHL school context using multiple data collection methods with several participants from different backgrounds – this is important because social constructivists see knowledge and meaning as created through interaction with others (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). By conducting a case study, I was able to use and combine individual perspectives from the participants to come to a better overall understanding.

In this chapter, I will discuss case study methodology more thoroughly. Then, I will explain the context of the study and my data collection methods (semi-structured interview and non-participant observation). Next, I will describe my data analysis methods and ethical considerations. Finally, I will discuss my personal positioning and potential bias as well as the trustworthiness of the data.

3.1 Case study

A case can be defined as an integrated system that is bounded by time, space, and activity (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Yazan, 2015). Case studies explore one or more cases by collecting

data from multiple sources of information and reporting detailed descriptions and common themes (Creswell & Poth, 2017). I have conducted a single instrumental case study, in which I selected one case in order to focus on a specific issue – as opposed to focusing on the case itself or studying multiple cases as a collective (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Because each case is unique, case studies are not easily generalizable to other contexts, but they can be used to “illuminate similar situations in other places” (Atkins & Wallace, 2012, p. 112) or to “increase the confidence that readers have in their [...] generalization” (Stake, 1995, p. 8). Social constructivism is beneficial to this study because the participating students and teachers were all a part of the same bounded case (the HL classroom) but undoubtedly had different perspectives on the same situations. However, in my own experience, the teacher is often the main authority of the classroom and so the teacher’s understanding is then presented to the students, but the students do not necessarily get a turn to share their own thoughts. This study focused on the students in order to highlight their experiences and feelings, which may often go overlooked in favour of other perspectives such as teachers, administrators, and parents. The experiences of students in this particular case in combination with findings from other case studies can help us come to a more holistic understanding of CHL education. By examining many cases with multiple perspectives, we can begin to see a larger picture.

3.2 Context of the study

This study took place at a CHL school in a medium-sized city in Atlantic Canada. The Chinese community in this city was large enough to have an established CHL school, but the population was still limited enough that CHL classes may have been some students’ only interaction with Mandarin language and Chinese culture outside of their homes. The 2016 census indicated that 72% of native Chinese language speakers in the city were Mandarin speakers and

17% were Cantonese speakers. The remaining 11% were split between Hakka, Minnan, and unspecified Chinese varieties. Roughly 66% of the local ethnic Chinese population was born outside of China, and not all who identified as ethnic Chinese considered themselves native speakers of a Chinese linguistic variety (Statistics Canada, 2017). These statistics indicate potentially complex ways of self-identifying and diverse connections with China/Chineseness among the local Chinese population.

I had originally planned for the study to take place physically at the school, but it was instead done completely online due to the COVID-19 pandemic. I have given the school the pseudonym “Fengye Chinese School” – “fengye” (枫叶) is the Mandarin word for “maple leaf”. They offer classes in mathematics and Mandarin at varying levels, as well as one general art class. Each class normally takes place once a week on weekday evenings or weekends at a local university campus. However, Fengye Chinese School rents the space and is unaffiliated with the university. All students enrolled at Fengye Chinese School are school-aged (5-17 years old), but a majority are in elementary and junior high school (5-14 years old). The Mandarin classes are divided roughly into age groups, with the oldest class being the highest level, although there is some overlap in age between levels. At the time of this study, there were five levels of Mandarin-as-subject (i.e., Mandarin language instruction) being offered, and eight total Mandarin classes (because a few levels had multiple classes). A majority of the students were second generation Chinese-Canadians from Mandarin speaking family backgrounds, although the school also accepts L2 learners regardless of their ethnic heritage, as long as their ability aligns with an available class level. This study focuses on two of the highest level Mandarin classes at Fengye Chinese School. The classes were studying the 9th and 7th levels of the textbook series respectively (out of 12 levels in total), and there was no class working on the

level 8 text at the time of this study. I discuss the content and structure of the textbooks in Chapter 4. The class studying the level 9 textbook (hereinafter the level 9 class) consisted of six students and the class studying the level 7 textbook (hereinafter the level 7 class) consisted of eight students. Both classes were taught by the same teacher every Sunday and each class lasted two hours with a 15-minute break in the middle.

3.2.1 Participants

For my recruitment, I “visited” the online class meetings to introduce myself and my study to the students. Then, I sent digital PDF files of the letters of information and consent/assent forms in the Zoom chat box. The teacher also sent the same files to the students’ parents via the Chinese messaging application, WeChat, to ensure that everyone received them. The selection criteria were that participants must be 10-14 years old (inclusive) at the time of the study and must all be CHL speakers – that is, they had Chinese heritage and had some exposure to a Chinese language at home, but they were most confident expressing themselves in English. Being “fully” ethnically Chinese (i.e., not of mixed heritage) and being fluent in Mandarin were not requirements for selection.

I recruited participants from two separate classes for this study, with six and eight students respectively. I had originally hoped for four to six participants, as this would have provided more insight into my chosen case, given the small class sizes. Creswell and Creswell (2018) suggest that large amounts of data may not be valuable or “[spark] new insights” (p. 186). I ended up with four participants: two boys from the level 9 class, and two girls from the level 7 class. These four students and their parents gave consent to take part in the study. None of the participants were of mixed heritage and all of them were fluent in Mandarin, although one participant cited Cantonese as his home language. See Table 1 for a brief introduction to the

participants, and I will provide more in-depth participant profiles in Chapter 4. Note that I have intentionally created and displayed two pseudonyms for each student. All of the participants are referred to by their Chinese names in Chinese class, but most go by their English names in their everyday lives elsewhere, so I felt that it was important to represent both.

Table 1: Summary of participant information

English name	Chinese name	Gender	Age	Class
Kevin Lau	刘凯文 (<i>Liu Kaiwen</i>)	Male	14	Level 9
John Sun	孙刚 (<i>Sun Gang</i>)	Male	12	Level 9
Olympia Lu	鹿思静 (<i>Lu Sijing</i>)	Female	12	Level 7
Daisy Wang	王淇琪 (<i>Wang Qiqi</i>)	Female	11	Level 7

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

In semi-structured interviews, the researcher prepares open-ended questions about the topic, but the exact wording and sequence do not have to be followed. The researcher may also add prompts and probes to further clarify the interviewees' responses (Cohen et al., 2007). This way, the interview can be seen as a conversation or collaboration between two participants who construct a narrative and negotiate meaning together (Freeman & Mathison, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Structured interviews with closed questions, especially with younger participants, may result in single answer responses or attempts to please the researcher with specific responses. Therefore, the semi-structured interview method can help to obtain more comprehensive responses (Cohen et al., 2007). The interview questions (Appendix A) were centered around student ideologies about the class, their own language use, and their identities. Having the ability to follow up on interesting responses was beneficial to understanding each student's personal experiences, which were not always predictable at the time of writing the

questions; being able to tailor each interview to each participant allowed me to produce data “in rich and individualistic terms” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 11).

The interviews were conducted one-on-one via Zoom and were audio recorded – however, field notes were also taken throughout the interviews. Participants were also given the choice to opt out of being recorded if they were not comfortable. One participant (Daisy) asked not to be recorded, so all of the data related to her comes from my field notes. Immediately after completing each interview, I wrote down impressions and my initial understanding of what the participant had shared in a research journal. This was to help me reflect on my “preconceived notions” and on how the “participants contribute to or alter those perceptions” (Freeman & Mathison, 2009, p. 43). The research journal also allowed me to record my initial impressions of the interviews, as well as make note of any details that might not translate well in audio or transcript form (such as metalinguistic expressions and gestures), as transcriptions do not always convey exactly what was intended (Stake, 1995). I then transcribed the recorded audio to be coded and analysed for emerging themes.

3.3.2 Classroom observation

I was a (virtual) participant observer, sitting in with the students in their weekly online classes for four weeks. Because they were divided between two class levels, I ended up attending eight classes in total. The classes all took place over Zoom. Throughout the observations, I was interested in how the teacher presented each lesson to the students (how did she speak about the lesson content? Did she draw parallels to the students’ lived experiences?) and the students’ engagement with the class material (did they seem interested in what they were learning?) Because of the virtual setting, I was also interested in whether the status of the students’

camera/mic settings played a role in their classroom engagement. My observation schedule can be found in Appendix B.

Interviews allow participants to express their own understandings of events and contexts. On the other hand, observations can be useful for the researcher to further understand aspects that the participants may not be fully aware of (Freeman & Mathison, 2009) and to corroborate participant claims about their classes. I only observed the four students who had been chosen for the interviews. For the privacy of non-participating students, I did not record audio or video during classroom observations. This portion of data collection relied solely on written notes. Because it is impossible to note every single thing that occurs in the field, I had to choose what to write down based on which actions/events appeared to be interesting or especially relevant (Emerson et al., 2011). Such interesting actions/events can include things that invoke a reaction from the researcher, things that invoke a reaction from a participant, and how routine actions are organized. Field notes are more of a “filter than a mirror reflecting the “reality” of events” (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 46); that is, a "reflection" would uncritically disclose every detail of the events, while a “filter” would pick out only the most relevant points of discussion.

By attending multiple consecutive classes, my goal was to make students familiar with my presence in the hopes that they would act more naturally in their regular classroom interactions and to feel comfortable in this phase of my data collection. Immediately after each observation session, I wrote down my ideas and impressions in my research journal. Along with reflections, as I have already mentioned above, keeping a research journal also helps keep track of “tacit knowledge” gleaned from the data collection process (Lincoln & Guba, 1989, p. 176) – that is, things that the participants may not have explicitly expressed but that the researcher

might be able to intuit. This allowed me to observe not only the participants, but also observe *myself* as a researcher (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

3.4 Data analysis

Case studies rely on both direct interpretation of the collected data and categorical aggregation (Stake, 1995); that is, searching for themes in the data to establish patterns and meaning. To do this, I went through my transcribed interviews to create codes based on recurring topics. Codes are words or short phrases that summarize a section of data (Saldaña, 2014). The code categories for this thesis were not determined prior to data collection; they were defined during the analysis process as “issue-relevant meanings [...] emerge[d]” (Stake, 1995, p. 75). During the data analysis, I developed 38 codes. Upon reviewing them, I later collapsed a few similar codes together for a more cohesive sense of the data and ended up with a total of 23 codes including: family, “I’m from China”, mixing languages, awkward, and Chinese community. Related codes were then grouped together and combined to form three overarching themes. After this, I reviewed the themes to reflect on whether they accurately represented the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I explore the final themes in Chapter 4, keeping in mind that the themes may influence each other as they do not exist in isolation (Saldaña, 2014).

I also chose to analyze the class textbooks to contribute to my methodological triangulation (as discussed later in this section). Issitt (2004) stated that textbooks assist researchers in “revealing the patterns of the construction of knowledge” (p. 683). That is, they are not neutral in their presentation of information, but participate in hegemonies of what knowledge is valued or considered standard. Weninger (2020) suggested some questions to consider while examining language textbooks. Two that I kept in mind throughout my analysis of the textbooks were: “What/who is represented in the textbooks and how?” (p. 137) and “How

does the language textbook engage the learner with the knowledge represented?” (p. 140). I chose these two questions in particular because of their relevance to my research questions. When asking what/who is represented, I was interested in whether the students see their own conceptions of Chineseness reflected in the textbooks they used. The second question, involving engagement with the learner, helped me when considering the effect of the curriculum on the students’ identity constructions.

3.5 Ethical considerations

I had distributed letters of information to the class to make sure the students and their parents/guardians were fully aware of the situation. I had also distributed consent/assent forms that were to be signed by participating students and one of their guardians. Keeping in mind that these CHL learners often have first-generation immigrant parents, the documents intended for parents/guardians were provided in both English and Chinese. This way, the students and their families all had the option to inform themselves in their respective dominant languages. Because one of the main purposes of my research is ultimately to give back to the community being studied, it was of the utmost importance that all participants were treated with respect by being made aware of how their words/actions were being used (i.e. not being taken out of context or having their words twisted to fit a narrative). One of the final questions in the interview was “Do you feel comfortable with everything you’ve told me in this interview?”, giving the interviewees the freedom to retract or amend any statements. Participation was completely voluntary and the participants had the option to withdraw from the study at any point (before, during, or after data collection) prior to the finalization of this thesis. Additionally, participants were given pseudonyms for purposes of confidentiality.

3.6 Researcher positionality and bias

The topic of this thesis is very dear to me, as I grew up heavily involved in my local Chinese community, also in Atlantic Canada. I am a Canadian of Han Chinese descent (the majority ethnic group of China), and I have spoken Mandarin with my family throughout my life, but I feel more comfortable expressing myself in English. Apart from some exposure to the Guanzhong topolect spoken by some of my relatives, I am not very familiar with other Chinese linguistic varieties. I attended a CHL school for a few years during my childhood, where I learned Mandarin and traditional Chinese dance. I have also studied Mandarin as a part of my undergraduate program, including completing a minor in Asian Studies and participating in a semester abroad in Zhuhai, China. I feel that my personal journey of grappling with my Chinese/Canadian/Chinese-Canadian identity has been deeply intertwined with my experiences with Mandarin/Chinese language. My shared (“insider”) background with the participants may have affected my interpretation and selection of data. My descriptions of what I observed were “shaped by the mood, the experience, [and] the intention” (Stake, 1995, p. 95) that I had while doing the observing and describing. My *insider* view may have allowed participants to feel more comfortable when sharing their perspectives with me, but there is also the possibility that participants withheld information that they had assumed to be obvious to community insiders (Berger, 2015); similarly, they may not have wanted to be perceived as offensive if they shared different ideas. In the interest of practicing reflexivity throughout this thesis, I have noted some pre-existing ideologies I held, and how data from the participants reflected or refuted them.

It is also important to acknowledge my role as a researcher, and more generally as an adult, working with adolescent student participants. According to Stake (1995), researchers “try to see what would have happened had they not been there” (p. 44) when doing observational

work; however, the reality is that I *was* there, and my presence might very well have affected the participants' behaviours in class. It is possible that the participants considered me to have been in a more socially powerful position than themselves, especially as they may not have fully understood the nature of qualitative research. Thus, I did my best to remain aware that the adolescents I worked with were the experts; they knew their own knowledge constructions and ways of identifying better than I did. Having the child "teach" the adult in our interviews (Lahman, 2008) is the inverse of what we are traditionally familiar with. I also tried to minimize the power dynamics by not interfering with their regular classes, allowing the students to choose a convenient interview time/date to meet, and opening myself up to questions at the end of our interviews (Simpson & Quigley, 2016).

3.7 Trustworthiness of Data

According to Cohen et al. (2000), it is impossible for any research to be 100% valid, as researchers are all humans with flaws and subjective views. I have attempted to utilise thick descriptions in my data analysis, detailing the data in clear ways so that readers may develop their own conclusions that could differ from mine. Introduced by Clifford Geertz in 1973, thick descriptions aim to describe not only the immediate events/actions that occur, but also the context and circumstances behind them (Mills et al., 2010). For example, a thin description of a wink might only describe the physical action of shutting one eye, while a thick description would go on further to explain the interpreted significance behind the wink based on the social context (Mills et al., 2010). Thick descriptions are presentations of "details, emotions, and textures of social relationships" that were observed in the data (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 195). They are important in terms of transferability; that is, whether researchers in other contexts can draw on a different study's findings to inform their own research (see Schofield (1992) as cited in Cohen et

al. (2000). While Stake (1995) suggests that the specific results of particular case studies may not immediately inform another because each case is unique, researchers may see links between broad findings (e.g., relations of language and power, HL loss in minority language settings, the identity construction that goes on in such settings, etc.).

I have also employed methodological triangulation, meaning I have collected data using multiple different methods in order to cross-check my findings (Atkins & Wallace, 2012). Along with collecting data from interviews and classroom observations, I have also conducted an analysis of the class textbooks. Using more than one method of data collection aids in the trustworthiness of the study (Atkins & Wallace, 2012), and coming to the same results while using different methods (i.e., after having triangulated the findings) allows the researcher to be more confident in their findings (Cohen et al., 2000).

3.8 Summary

This chapter has elaborated on the context of the study and my rationale for conducting a qualitative case study. It presented details on data collection, data analysis, ethical considerations, researcher positionality, and trustworthiness of the data. The next chapter will present the study's findings.

Chapter 4

4 Findings

This chapter begins with an overview of the two textbooks used by their respective classes. Then, I provide a brief profile of each participant (Kevin, John, Olympia, and Daisy). After that, I present the study's main findings based on the three major themes that emerged from the way I coded the data, and combined related codes to create the themes. Drawing from Stake (1995), I used both my direct interpretation of the data and my codes to ensure that the themes were an accurate representation of what I found. The three themes that emerged from the data were: sense of community, China and Chineseness, and language learning. Each theme was then broken down further into three subsections to fully illustrate the data collected from the interviews, observations, and textbook analysis in a cohesive manner.

4.1 The textbooks

Fengye Chinese School use a textbook series called 中文 (修订版) (*Chinese (revised edition)*)¹ in its Mandarin classes. The two classes in this study used the level 7 and level 9 textbooks respectively, which were the highest levels of Mandarin classes offered at the school at the time; no classes were studying level 8. In total, there are twelve levels of the textbook written by the College of Chinese Language and Culture at Jinan University and commissioned by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council of P.R. China. These textbooks were designed for ethnic Chinese learners of Mandarin outside of China. Although they were originally written in 1996, these revised versions were published in 2007. Both the level 9 and

¹ All translations are my own

level 7 textbooks follow a near identical format. They begin with the same preface, which is provided in both simplified Chinese and English. On page 3, they state in the English version:

This revised edition reflects actual needs and characteristics of overseas Chinese language and education and takes in constructive advice from many sides and research findings on language teaching and textbook studies.

Following the preface, the greater part of the textbooks are written in simplified Chinese script.

The only other instance of English in the textbook is at the end, where they provide a list of vocabulary learned in the series before the given level. This section is titled and subtitled in both English and simplified Chinese and, interestingly, the vocabulary items are provided in simplified and traditional Chinese script, despite the books only teaching simplified Chinese. The textbooks also utilize pinyin (a system of Mandarin romanization used in Mainland China) to present the pronunciation of new vocabulary items throughout the chapters. The pinyin is a useful guide for CHL learners who are not exposed to much written Chinese and helps to familiarize them with more Chinese characters in a straightforward way. Because the textbooks are created by the Chinese government and use simplified Chinese script and pinyin (both standard in Mainland China), they are best suited for CHL learners with roots in Mainland China (as opposed to Taiwan, or other places with significant Chinese populations that use different scripts/romanization systems).

Each textbook consists of four units with three chapters. Every of the 12 chapters is comprised of two major sections: 课文 (*lesson*) and 阅读 (*reading*). Thus, there are 12 *lessons* and 12 *readings*², which I present in Table 2 and Table 3. Instead of listing them in order as they appear, I decided that the 24 main components of each book could be divided into four major

² I consistently use italics to refer to *lessons*, *readings*, and their individual titles to remind the reader that these words have been translated from their original Chinese into English. Because the textbooks are written in Chinese and this thesis is written in English, my analysis inherently necessitates translanguaging.

categories: familiar Chinese culture, Chinese landmarks and history, Chinese fables and literature, and topics unrelated to China. I came to this decision because it appears as though the textbooks attempt to connect the students with the culture of Mainland China in a few different ways. The topics related to famous Chinese landmarks and historical events/figures, such as *Lesson 10 Confucius asks for advice* in level 9, inform students about important aspects of Mainland China, but may feel far away from the students' current reality. Likewise, topics related to Chinese fables and poems, such as *Lesson 6 Idiom story* in both levels, engage students in China's rich literary tradition, may be initially unfamiliar to them. The category of topics that the students can relate to contains stories that touch on experiences and cultural practices that they may have personally participated in, such as *Lesson 2 mid-autumn night* in level 9, which is about the mid-autumn festival, a holiday that is celebrated by both Chinese people in China and in the diaspora. This is not to say that this is a strict categorization, as every CHL speaker has different experiences with Chinese culture; rather, this is my own interpretation of the themes in the textbooks.

Finally, the last category is for topics that are unrelated to China and Chinese culture. The creators of these textbooks have included lessons about landmarks, history, and fables from other cultures as well. Some of them may be familiar to the students, such as *Reading 8 The Louvre* in level 7, and some may be original stories, such as *Reading 1 My little creation* in level 9.

Table 2: Lessons and readings in level 7

Familiar Chinese culture	<i>Lesson 1</i> 在飞机场 (<i>At the airport</i>) <i>Reading 1</i> 在飞机上 (<i>On the plane</i>)
	<i>Lesson 2</i> 游香港 (<i>Touring Hong Kong</i>) <i>Reading 2</i> 历史性的时刻 (<i>A historic moment</i>) <i>Lesson 3</i> 逛外滩 (<i>Visiting the Bund</i>) <i>Reading 3</i> 杭州西湖 (<i>Hangzhou's West Lake</i>)

<p>Chinese landmarks and history</p>	<p>Lesson 7 万里长城 (<i>The Great Wall of China</i>) Reading 8 人民大会堂 (<i>The Great Hall of the People</i>) Lesson 10 孙中山的故事 (<i>Story of Sun Yat-Sen</i>) Lesson 11 虎门销烟 (<i>Destruction of opium at Humen</i>) Reading 11 关天培英勇杀敌 (<i>Guan Tianpei bravely kills the enemy</i>)</p>
<p>Chinese fables and literature</p>	<p>Lesson 5 东郭先生和狼 (<i>Mr. Dong Guo and the wolf</i>) Reading 5 狮子和蚊子 (<i>The lion and the mosquito</i>) Lesson 6 成语故事 (<i>Idiom story</i>) Reading 6 马虎先生 (<i>Mr. Sloppy</i>) Lesson 9 古诗二首 (<i>Two ancient poems</i>) Reading 9 每逢佳节倍思亲 少小离家老大回 (<i>Thinking of relatives every holiday / The youth leave home and the old return</i>)</p>
<p>Topics unrelated to China</p>	<p>Lesson 4 乌鸦喝水 (<i>The crow and the pitcher</i>) Reading 4 杀鸡取蛋 (<i>Killing the goose that lays the golden eggs</i>) Reading 7 万里长城 (<i>Hadrian's Wall</i>) Lesson 8 卢浮宫 (<i>The Louvre</i>) Reading 10 罗斯福 (<i>Roosevelt</i>) Lesson 12 月光奏鸣曲 (<i>Moonlight Sonata</i>) Reading 12 贝多芬的成长故事 (<i>Story of Beethoven growing up</i>)</p>

Table 3: Lessons and readings in level 9

<p>Familiar Chinese culture</p>	<p>Lesson 1 剪纸 (<i>Paper cutting</i>) Lesson 2 中秋之夜 (<i>Mid-autumn night</i>) Reading 2 丰富多彩的中秋习俗 (<i>Colourful mid-autumn festival customs</i>) Lesson 3 家庭音乐会 (<i>Family concert</i>)</p>
<p>Chinese landmarks and history</p>	<p>Lesson 7 桂林山水 (<i>Guilin scenery</i>) Lesson 10 孔子求教 (<i>Confucius asks for advice</i>) Reading 10 闻过则喜 (<i>Accepting criticism</i>)</p>

	<p>Lesson 11 杨振宁获奖 (<i>Yang Zhenning wins the award</i>)</p> <p>Reading 11 诺贝尔 (<i>Nobel</i>)</p>
Chinese fables and literature	<p>Lesson 4 猪八戒吃西瓜 (<i>Zhubajie eats watermelon</i>)</p> <p>Reading 4 三打白骨精 (<i>Monkey subdues white skeleton demon</i>)</p> <p>Lesson 6 成语故事 (<i>Idiom story</i>)</p> <p>Reading 6 返老还童 叶公好龙 (<i>Rejuvenating the old, faking affection</i>)</p> <p>Lesson 9 古诗二首 (<i>Two ancient poems</i>)</p> <p>Reading 9 《古诗二首》 (今译) (“<i>Two ancient poems</i>” (<i>Modern translation</i>))</p>
Topics unrelated to China	<p>Reading 1 我的小制作 (<i>My little creation</i>)</p> <p>Reading 3 阅读：迎春音乐会 (<i>Concert to welcome spring</i>)</p> <p>Lesson 5 皇帝的新衣服 (<i>The emperor’s new clothes</i>)</p> <p>Reading 5 小红帽 (<i>Little red riding hood</i>)</p> <p>Reading 7 海上桂林 (<i>Guilin on the sea</i>)</p> <p>Lesson 8 神奇的机器人 (<i>Amazing robot</i>)</p> <p>Reading 8 智能机器人 (<i>Intelligent robot</i>)</p> <p>Lesson 12 总统道歉 (<i>The president apologizes</i>)</p> <p>Reading 12 拿破仑开枪救人 (<i>Napoleon shoots to rescue</i>)</p>

Each *lesson* consists of a text roughly one-page in length that tells a story related to the title of the lesson and an accompanying cartoon image. The text is written in simplified Chinese and uses pinyin above vocabulary items that are being newly introduced in the chapter. For example, the text in *Lesson 1 Paper cutting* in level 9 contains 425 Chinese characters, 32 of which have pinyin above them (including repetition) – in total, 19 unique new Chinese characters are presented. Following the text and introduction of new Chinese characters, there are exercises for students to practice writing, 组词 (*creating compound words*), sentence structure, and dialogue. Finally, each *lesson* ends with two reflection questions.

The *reading* sections usually follow the theme set up by their preceding *lesson*. For example, *Lesson 11 Destruction of opium at Humen* in level 7 describes a historical event during the Opium Wars in China. Following that, *Reading 11 Guan Tianpei bravely kills the enemy* in level 7 tells the story of a Qing dynasty admiral during the war. Each *reading* section begins with a short story that is about the same length as the *lesson* text, followed by a relevant cartoon image. Similarly, these texts are written in simplified Chinese and use pinyin to present new characters. The *readings* introduce fewer new vocabulary items than the *lessons*. *Readings* do not include any additional exercises to practice or elaborate on the topic. Both textbooks roughly correspond to an elementary school level of literacy, and the contents are clearly designed for young/adolescent learners.

4.2 Participant profiles

Kevin Lau 刘凯文 (Liu Kaiwen)

Kevin Lau was a 14-year-old student in the level 9 class. He was born in China and moved to Canada when he was one year-old. During the virtual classes I observed, he kept his camera off and used a profile picture depicting a sunset in a parking lot. His display name was his full English name, “Kevin Lau”. Although I gave him the opportunity to choose his own pseudonym, he allowed me to create one for him, and I have done my best to preserve the intricacies of his name. Notably, his surname, 刘 (Lau), reflects a Cantonese pronunciation and would be romanized as Liu using Mainland China’s pinyin system. As this suggests, Kevin came from a Cantonese-speaking family that did not speak Mandarin at home. However, by both his own account and according to my observations, he did not struggle at all in class. By the time of the interview, he had attended CHL school for 7-8 years, and he stated that his parents would put

on Mandarin TV shows when he was younger. Therefore, he had experienced ample exposure to Mandarin throughout his life and felt very familiar with the language despite not speaking it at home. Personally, I was surprised when he brought up being a Cantonese-speaker, as he had a relatively neutral accent in Mandarin that did not match my notions of what Cantonese-speakers sound like; this was a good opportunity for me to reevaluate my biases. In general, Kevin did not seem heavily invested in his Chinese identity. He seemed to consider Chineseness as more innate than performed. Nevertheless, he did consider learning Mandarin important to him personally because it would be useful when visiting China and communicating with relatives.

John Sun 孙刚 (Sun Gang)

John Sun was a 12-year-old student in the level 9 class. He was born in China and settled in Canada when he was seven years old after two years of moving back and forth between the two countries. He had been attending Chinese school for about five years. In class, he kept his camera off. He had no display photo, and his display name was his full name written in English, “John Sun”. John was a very independent student and took his education seriously; unlike the other participants, he said that he liked when the teacher called on him to answer questions in class because it helped him stay focused on the lesson. He stated that he was “doing a lot of Chinese” at home, although he made clear that “it’s not, like, necessarily studying” but “increasing my vocabulary and, like, learning how to form sentences better”. However, this behaviour was not unique to his Chinese studies, as he explained that he had a “study routine” for his regular school subjects. John’s interview responses reflected a process of ongoing assimilation as he and his family adapted to Canadian customs. Because he had spent the first half of his life in China, he felt a stronger connection to being Chinese than to being Canadian.

He considered the ability to speak Mandarin to be quite important to being Chinese and made an effort to maintain and improve his Mandarin skills.

Olympia Lu 鹿思静 (Lu Sijing)

Olympia Lu was a 12-year-old student in the level 7 class. She was born in Canada and, at the time of the interview, had been attending Chinese school for about four years. Half of her time at Chinese school had been online due to the pandemic. While I initially thought students would dislike online classes, she told me that she preferred them over in-person classes because the latter are “a little bit awkward”. During the Zoom classes, she always kept her camera and microphone off, and did not actively participate in discussions or volunteer answers. She had no display picture, and her display name was her full Chinese name, “鹿思静”. In line with this behaviour, she stated in her interview that answering questions in class was her least favourite part of Chinese school. Her favourite part was simply learning in general – she genuinely enjoyed learning Mandarin and found it useful to communicate better with her parents. Olympia did not have any conscious associations of language and identity. Like Kevin, she felt that her lineage was the most important factor of her Chineseness, not her choices or actions. Learning and using Mandarin were important to her personally because she enjoyed it and because it allowed her to communicate more easily with her parents, but she did not consider it essential to being or feeling Chinese.

Daisy Wang 王淇琪 (Wang Qiqi)

Daisy Wang was an 11-year-old student in the level 7 class. She was born in Canada and had been attending Chinese school for six years at the time of the interview. She had a generally

positive experience there and found learning Mandarin to be helpful for communication with her relatives. She especially liked the extra events associated with Chinese school outside of class, such as the annual speech competitions and talent shows. Like Olympia, her least favourite part of Chinese school was answering questions in class; however, she said she was willing to answer questions if she felt confident and none of her classmates volunteered. During the Zoom classes I observed, such an opportunity to speak in class did not come up, as some other students were always eager to speak, so Daisy kept her microphone muted and did not say a word. She sometimes had her camera on, but kept it off for a majority of the time. She used her Chinese given name, “淇琪”, as her display name and did not have a display picture. Daisy expressed an awareness of the complexity of her Chinese-Canadian identity. She stated that she would call herself Canadian when she was outside of Canada, but she would call herself Chinese when she was in Canada. She did not consider language essential to identity, but she believed that it could help connect individuals to their respective cultures.

4.3 Theme 1: Sense of community

In this first theme, I explore the importance of family and local community in the participants' lives. Chinese immigrant parents often send their children to weekend Chinese schools to maintain a connection with the local Chinese community (Wu & Chang, 2012), and this sense of community is crucial to HL learners' investment in the language and culture. Tse (2001) stated that learning Chinese would lessen the gap between HL speakers and their L1-speaker relatives, and my findings echo this sentiment. Also, just as language can be used to strengthen existing bonds, it can also help learners further integrate into heritage communities by granting them access to cultural events and practices (Shin, 2010). One important cultural aspect of overseas Chinese daily practice and self-identity is food (Cao, 2020). According to a social

constructivist view, knowledge and culture are constructed collaboratively with others through our social contexts (Amineh & Asl, 2015; Freeman & Mathison, 2009), Therefore, CHL is a social practice (He, 2006), and engagement with a larger Chinese community is crucial to each individual's understanding of Chineseness.

4.3.1 Family and relatives

For Daisy, John, and Olympia, speaking with their parents was one of their only opportunities to use Mandarin outside of Chinese school. These three all considered Mandarin to be the primary language of their homes. Once, at the end of a lesson, Ms. Li told the level 9 class that they understood the lesson content so well that they could explain it to their little siblings, signalling that the knowledge learned in Chinese class was something they could share with family members more so than with friends. While they typically tried not to use English at Chinese school, they all expressed that, at home, they would insert English words into Mandarin sentences if they could not think of the appropriate Mandarin word. Furthermore, despite calling Mandarin the “preferred language” of his household, John said that he mainly spoke English with his two younger brothers. The fourth participant, Kevin, had a similar experience of speaking Cantonese with his family and having a “habit” of mixing in English words, saying “it just comes to my mind – it’s just English. So I’m just like, you know what? I’m just gonna use English.” For all of the participants, Chinese school was a place to use and practice only Mandarin, but their homes were often locations of translanguaging practices where they were able to use Mandarin/Cantonese as well as go beyond that.

Every one of the participants mentioned having relatives in China and talked about how learning Mandarin at CHL school helped them communicate with those relatives. In these cases, translanguaging between Mandarin and English was not possible because many of their relatives

could not understand English. Daisy spoke about her difficulties conversing with relatives when visiting China: “I don’t really get to see my extended family that much, apart from WeChat calls, so it was nice to see them in person but also kinda awkward because I don’t speak Chinese that well”. Daisy’s maternal grandparents came to live with her family in Canada many years ago, but they do not speak English, and she had a very hard time communicating with them before she started attending Chinese school. She told me, one time, she even struggled to convey to them that she wanted a glass of water. Now, she said “I can understand them and they can understand me”, and she believed speaking with her grandmother was a good way to help her further improve her Mandarin. Three of the participants (all but Kevin) said that, despite initially being enrolled by their parents, they enjoyed going to Chinese school and would continue to attend even without parental pressure, because it helped them communicate with family members among other reasons. Kevin, who said his parents “force” him to stay in Chinese school, was still interested in learning and improving his Mandarin on his own. Overall, family ties appear to be a huge motivating factor for the participants to study Mandarin.

4.3.2 The local Chinese community

John, like all the other participants, started attending Chinese school because his parents signed him up. He specifically noted that his parents found out about Fengye Chinese School because “a lot of their friends worked or had children attend there.” In his case, being in contact with other Chinese people in the area provided his family with more access to Chinese resources, namely knowledge of the Chinese school. Involvement with Fengye Chinese School opens the doors to further opportunities to become involved with the local Chinese community through activities outside of class, which were cited by Daisy as something she particularly enjoyed. For example, students are encouraged to participate in an annual speech competition in which they

can compete against other CHL learners from across Canada. Fengye Chinese School also hosts an annual Chinese New Year party for students and their families, where the students are invited to showcase their talents in dancing, singing, and Chinese language. In the summer, the Fengye Chinese School offers summer camps – recently, these have been extra classes that take place in the daytime during the summer but prior to the pandemic, the school would encourage students to participate in the Root-seeking Summer Camp organized by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council of P.R. China. Adolescents that sign up for the Root-seeking Summer Camp can visit China as a group and meet ethnic Chinese youth from other countries. The connection with other Chinese people in the community brought John to Fengye Chinese School. Furthermore, the connections the school continues to facilitate in the community (and globally) play a role in the students’ socialization and, thus, also play a role in their ways of knowing. According to John, the communities that surround people have an effect on their language maintenance. He said:

Because you're sort of, like, engulfed in a community, like school – at school everyone speaks English, whether or not you're in French immersion, because outside of school, all your friends speak English, I hope. So, it's sort of difficult to keep a language fresh in your mind [...] if you're engulfed in a community full of another language, and not practicing the language that you already had.

From this quote, we can infer that John believed being surrounded by English-speaking peers could make it difficult to maintain Mandarin. Attending Chinese school and being involved in the community allows students to avoid becoming entirely “engulfed” in English communities and can give them an opportunity to keep Mandarin as an active part of their lives.

The local Chinese community, separate from Fengye Chinese School, is also instrumental in the students’ ways of constructing knowledge. Apart from the school’s annual Chinese New Year party, Daisy also mentioned her family throwing Chinese New Year parties with other

Chinese families in the area. Interactions with Chinese family friends were cited as an additional opportunity for Daisy and John to speak Mandarin. However, interacting with other Chinese families could sometimes be a source of stress. For instance; Kevin complained that Chinese parents often gossiped with each other about their children. He said:

When I go to a Chinese friend's house, I try to be more cautious, more careful. Yeah. 'cause I don't want to, like, mess things up. So I don't wanna, like, screw up some things and then have the Chinese friend's mom tell on my mom that I screwed some stuff up.

Kevin did not worry about this at his non-Chinese friends' homes but was careful to always be polite when visiting his Chinese friends by making sure to greet his elders appropriately, which is highly valued in Chinese culture. This conscious difference in behaviour emphasizes a multiplicity in the identities of Chinese-Canadians as they navigate different parts of their lives.

4.3.3 Food and holidays

Relationships with family members and a larger Chinese community provides CHL learners with access to cultural foods and holidays, which were brought up by the participants as something they felt was specifically related to being Chinese. As mentioned above in the previous subsection, Chinese New Year is celebrated by the participants' families with Fengye Chinese School and in private celebrations. Additionally, Daisy said "you really feel Chinese" around the Chinese holidays when making zongzi for the Dragon Boat Festival and eating moon cake during the Mid-Autumn Festival. On the other hand, Olympia talked about *not* celebrating some holidays that she associated with Canadian culture, such as Christmas and Easter, showing that holidays, whether they are celebrated or not, are an important consideration when it comes to identity.

Food came up a few more times in my interviews and observations. Along with making food for Chinese holidays, Daisy also felt that eating Chinese food regularly at home and sometimes helping her grandmother with cooking made her feel more Chinese. John felt that his family was undergoing a transition to become more Canadian, and part of that transition entailed cooking “Canadian or Western foods” more often. This included pasta, sausages, and foods prepared on a grill, while he considered Chinese food to usually involve rice as a staple and the frying and boiling of ingredients. Kevin expressed similar thoughts in his interview, as he expressed that a major difference between his Chinese friends and his non-Chinese friends was the foods they ate at home. Chinese foods, such as 豆浆 (*soy milk*, a very popular morning drink in China) and 麻花 (*fried dough twist*, a snack made from deep fried dough), would also sometimes come up in class. On one occasion, Ms. Li finished the class content early with the level 9 class and spent 15 minutes on a filler lesson called 中国美食 (*Chinese delicacies*). She introduced some popular regional foods, such as 臭豆腐 (*stinky tofu*), and talked about the discovery of noodles in China dating back 20,000 years. The students did not talk during the entirety of this lesson and there were no interactive components, but the lesson still indicates that the teacher placed some importance on cuisine in relation to culture.

4.4 Theme 2: China and Chineseness

Rotheram and Phinney (1987) referred to ethnic identity as a perceived commonality with a group through factors such as ancestry, language, social customs, and values. However, there is great diversity within groups that have traditionally been considered homogenous, and Chun (1996) found that amplifying Chinese voices around the world helped to shift the focus of Chineseness away from only Greater China. The participants in this study do associate

themselves with China in some ways, but they associate themselves with Canada and Canadianness as well. In this theme, I explore the participants' relationships with Mainland China, what that means in conjunction with their Canadian identities, and the importance of language to their sense of identity. Existing literature suggests that being able to speak one's HL is highly important to that individual's ethnic identity (e.g., Fishman, 1989; Heller, 1987; Park & Sarkar, 2007) but not always essential (Ang, 1993). My findings are in line with this; the participants had ambiguous, and sometimes contradictory, ideas about whether speaking Mandarin was a significant part of Chineseness.

4.4.1 Perceptions of Mainland China

In general, there is a sense that the Chinese-Canadians in this study were inherently tied to China in some way. John and Kevin, the two participants who were born in China, both referred to visiting China as going "back to China". This is reminiscent of the Chinese expression "回国" ("return to one's country") that is often used by Mandarin-speakers when talking about going to China. When speaking in this way, going to China is implied to be a return to a homeland rather than casual travel to a foreign country – even though Kevin had clarified that he did not have any plans of permanently moving back to China. Kevin said at one point "I'm from China"; Olympia, on the other hand, was born in Canada and said "my parents are from China." This is a subtle difference, but may indicate the degree of closeness they felt with Mainland China based on their birthplaces, with Olympia being one degree removed compared to Kevin. During my observations, Ms. Li prompted the students to think about their connections with China. For instance, the level 9 class was starting *Lesson 7 Guilin scenery*, which is a text that describes the natural beauty of the Li River in Guilin, China. Before beginning the textbook

content, Ms. Li presented a PowerPoint slide with a map of China on it. She circled Guilin and asked if any of the students had been there before. Then, she pointed out her own hometown on the map and asked some students where their families were from, pointing out the locations as they told her. Afterwards, she reminded the class that it was important to know where their families were from and prompted the students to ask their parents if they didn't already know themselves. This also indicates an idea that Chinese-Canadians should engage with their Chinese roots and feel connected to where they, or their parents, came from.

In addition to the chapter on Guilin, the textbooks have multiple other depictions of famous Chinese landmarks. The *lessons* and *readings* on these geographical locations are often written with strong imagery and poetic phrasing. For example, the following is an excerpt from *Reading 3 Hangzhou's West Lake* in the level 7 textbook:

太阳落山了，在晚霞的映照下，湖水变的五光十色，更加迷人。西湖既是一幅美丽的画，又是一首动人的诗。

(The sun is setting, and under the shine of the afterglow, the lake becomes brilliantly multicoloured and even more enchanting. West Lake is both a beautiful painting and a touching poem.)

The writing style in the textbooks invokes a sense of wonder and, if the readers associate themselves with China, potentially a sense of pride. During my observations, the level 7 class was studying chapter 7, which included *Lesson 7 The Great Wall of China*. Here is an excerpt from the textbook *lesson*:

我摸着古老的城墙，望着雄伟的长城，崇敬之情油然而生。万里长城是古代中国人民创造的世界奇迹，是中华民族古老文明的象征。

(I touch the ancient city wall and gaze upon the magnificent Great Wall, and a sudden feeling of reverence arises in me. The Great Wall of China is a Wonder of the World created by the ancient people of China, and it is an age-old symbol of the Chinese nation.)

On two separate occasions while reviewing this *lesson*, Ms. Li referred to the Great Wall of China as “我们的长城” (“*our Great Wall*”). The teacher’s words in combination with the text portrays an image of China, in which it is not only a beautiful and wonderful country, but also one to which the students have some claim. This, again, indicates a connection that the diaspora has with China.

4.4.2 Where Canadianness fits in

Along with their feelings of Chineseness, the participants all spoke of their relationships with Canada/Canadianness as well, although I got the sense that Canadianness was harder for them to articulate than Chineseness. For example, Olympia was comfortable identifying as both Chinese and Canadian. She brought up talking about Chinese history with her father as a part of Chinese culture that she participated in, but she struggled to name specific things she did that were related to Canadian culture. Just as having been born in China was important to John and Kevin regarding their Chineseness, Daisy and Olympia both considered being born in Canada something that made them feel more Canadian. Olympia said “there’s really not much difference” between her life and the lives of her non-Chinese friends, apart from attending Chinese school on the weekend. However, as mentioned above in section 4.3.3, Olympia also talked about not celebrating “Canadian” holidays as something that might affect her Canadianness. Drawing another parallel with discussions of Chineseness, Kevin said that having Canadian friends constituted a part of Canadianness as well – just as maintaining contact with a Chinese community was important to Chineseness. None of the participants considered language to be an important part of being Canadian. Overall, some similar ideas were brought up in regards to both Chineseness and Canadianness, such as birthright, holidays, and community.

The participants' Chinese identities and Canadian identities did not exist independently of each other. Instead, their multiple identities influenced and built upon each other. For instance, the largest factor in Daisy's feelings of Canadianness, apart from being born in Canada, was actually her Chineseness. Many of her peers at school also came from immigrant backgrounds, and she said "being Chinese makes me feel more Canadian, almost, because Canada's known for having a lot of immigrants from all over the world." She said that her differences from non-Chinese friends (e.g. speaking Mandarin at home, going to Chinese school, and celebrating Chinese holidays) were something she could be proud of and did not detract from her Canadian identity. John's experience differed from Daisy's, perhaps because she was born in Canada while he had moved to Canada during his childhood and had firsthand experience living in both countries. He said: "We're slowly transitioning to become more like the, quote unquote, typical type of household here [in Canada]." For him, that included things like the décor in his home, the food his family cooked (as mentioned in section 4.3.3 as well), and the books he liked to read. None of the participants considered language to be an important part of being Canadian. Even though John did not consider the English language important to Canadianness (because "there is no Canadian language. English is from England; French is from France"), he mentioned reading English books as a part of his transition into Canadianness. He did not elaborate on this, but it is also possible that the significance of the books are the different stories and narrative norms of different cultures. Daisy and John's distinct ways of viewing their Chinese and Canadian identities shows the multiplicity of Chinese-Canadian ways of identifying.

Although Chinese class mainly focused on the Mandarin language and Chinese culture, Ms. Li made reference to Canadian aspects of the students' lives a few times in the level 7 class. While teaching about the Great Wall of China, she asked the class if anyone knew the Chinese

national anthem. When no one answered, she sang a few lines, including one that references the Great Wall: “把我们的血肉，筑成我们新的长城” (“*Let’s use our flesh and blood to construct our new Great Wall*”). Then, she asked the class if they sang the Canadian national anthem at school every morning, and a few students (not participants of this study) sang “O Canada” for her. Here, Ms. Li showed that it was okay that the students did not necessarily know the Chinese national anthem because they knew the Canadian one instead. Later that same day, the class was reviewing the vocabulary word “雄伟” (“*magnificent*”, usually used to refer to landmarks). The textbook uses this word to describe the Great Wall of China, but Ms. Li asked the students if a site in Canada could also be considered “雄伟”. First, someone mentioned Mount Logan, the tallest mountain in Canada, which the teacher was unfamiliar with. Then, someone else guessed the answer she was looking for: Niagara Falls. Here, Ms. Li was able to remind the students that the vocabulary they learn at Chinese school is not limited to only talking about China and Chinese things but can be expanded to their Canadian surroundings as well.

4.4.3 Ambiguity of the significance of Mandarin

According to the literature, language is generally a major factor in cultural identity, yet Daisy, Kevin, and Olympia were all of the opinion that speaking Mandarin was not necessarily related to being Chinese. Kevin held the strongest stance, saying “as long as you have Chinese blood, that’s all that matters. You’re still Chinese”, and “anyone can, like, learn to speak Mandarin, so I mean you’re not automatically Chinese if you speak Mandarin.” Daisy and Olympia said that being able to speak Mandarin helped them feel more Chinese, but they both agreed that it did not make Chinese people less Chinese if they did not speak a Chinese language. However, when I asked Daisy why she attends Chinese school, she said it was because “I’m Chinese”, showing an association of language and identity after all. In other words, Daisy did not

think it was essential for Chinese people to learn Mandarin, but she personally learned Mandarin because of her own Chineseness. Throughout all my data collection, I got the sense that learning Mandarin helped the participants communicate better with their families, and their families were one of their major connections with China. Olympia said that she found the things she learned at Chinese school to be useful because they helped her talk to her parents in Mandarin, and she later also said “my parents are Chinese and so I’m, like, Chinese too.” Clearly, each of the participants had differing thoughts on the significance of Mandarin, and some of their ideologies may have been subconscious, as some of their interview responses reflected diverse ideas.

Unlike the other three participants, John considered Mandarin to absolutely be an important part of being Chinese. He said: “Language is a big part of culture,” and that the teacher of his level 3 class (also at Fengye Chinese School, but a different instructor) had told them that learning Chinese would help them to “preserve our culture.” When I asked if he agreed, he said yes and elaborated:

I remember, like, an example that I think both my teacher and my mother used. Like, if you go up to someone and say that you're Chinese, and then they ask you to prove it, and then you can't speak Chinese, they're not- they're not really going to believe you.

For John, the problem of identity did not only concern how he personally identified himself, but also how he may be perceived by others, and this something that linguistic ability has the power to influence.

4.5 Theme 3: Language learning

HL learners have unique needs when it comes to language education because they may possess limited vocabularies and have some trouble fully expressing themselves in the HL (Kagan & Dillon, 2008), but knowledge of the HL contributes to their identity-building and

feelings of belonging within the community (Brown, 2009; Gyogi, 2020; Luo et al., 2019). Because language is often (but not always) related to identity, it is important to weave lessons of Chinese culture and other contexts in with Chinese language classes. In this final theme, I discuss the relevancy of CHL school and the class materials to the students' actual lives, as well as some of their thoughts on the lesson topics. I also touch on the perceived instrumentality of Mandarin – in both the sense of instrumentality as identified by Gardner and McIntyre (1993), such as future job opportunities, and its usefulness to students elsewhere, including the prospect of mixing languages to enrich their lives.

4.5.1 Role of Chinese school

Daisy, John, and Olympia all enjoyed Chinese school and attended Chinese class voluntarily. On the other hand, Kevin said that he would probably not attend if given the choice. He said: “I don't hate it, but it's okay,” and that he thought there were better ways to learn Mandarin. In fact, he enjoyed watching Chinese TV shows and listening to Chinese music in his spare time. John, who also talked about studying Mandarin on his own outside of class, liked to read Chinese books. The two of them both sometimes found Chinese class to be too easy, or sometimes too repetitive. Despite the participants' enthusiasm to learn and improve, none of them volunteered to speak in class during my observations, and all of them kept their cameras off for a majority of the time, limiting their engagement with their teacher and classmates. In the level 9 class, the students very rarely spoke unless Ms. Li called on them by name. This resulted in everyone getting a turn to speak in class, but the teacher remained firmly in charge of the class with the students barely even asking questions. Their refusal to speak unless called upon was so extreme that no one responded when Ms. Li asked if everyone could see her screen while setting up a PowerPoint presentation. The level 7 class had a few eager students who dominated class

discussions – Ms. Li did not have to call students out by name in this class, because there were a few who were always willing to volunteer. This left the rest of the class as silent observers, including Daisy and Olympia. During my four observations, I heard Daisy speak once at the end of a class; she said “谢谢李老师。再见” (“*Thank you Ms. Li. Bye.*”). I did not hear Olympia speak at all. Both of them cited answering questions in class as their least favourite part of Chinese school, with Daisy saying: “It’s kind of stressful, ’cause you don’t want to make a mistake.” In this regard, Chinese school is largely a place for the participants to review textbook content and passively listen to instruction. They are then able to productively use the language at home, outside of class.

As mentioned above in section 4.3, Chinese school also provides a sense of community to the students and their families. However, classes have been being held online for about two years. Shortly before this study was conducted, Fengye Chinese School sent a survey out to parents about whether they would like to continue online or return to in-person classes – they voted to stay online. Daisy, Kevin, and Olympia all said that they preferred online classes as well. Olympia called the in-person classes “a little bit awkward”, and Kevin said that online classes were “so much more chill.” One major difference that Daisy and Kevin both noted was that they did significantly more writing in the in-person classes, while the online classes focused more on speaking and reading. John, the only participant who preferred in-person classes, said that the teacher could see when students were struggling in in-person classes, but it was harder online because “we don’t usually voice our problems that often.” He also said that there were no opportunities to communicate with the other students in online classes, whereas previously he could have at least asked the person next to him for the time. Based on that, and the fact that three of the participants did not care to return to the physical classroom, I got the impression that

the bonds between classmates were not particularly strong, as they did not show much enthusiasm to see each other again in real life.

4.5.2 Relevance of class materials

Out of the four categories I created to divide the textbook chapters, the smallest category was familiar Chinese culture. The bulk of the textbook material focuses on Chinese landmarks and history, and Chinese fables and literature. Rather than concentrate on topics that may be relevant to the students' lives, the textbooks introduce topics related to China that could be otherwise unfamiliar to the students. This could be attributed to the fact that the textbooks are manufactured by the Chinese government and distributed to learners around the world. John said that "language is a big part of culture" for him because "Mandarin is from China", and here it can be seen that the textbook also attempts to intertwine the language, location, and culture. The textbooks' inclusion of non-Chinese topics (in the last category: topics unrelated to China) may appeal to students as something familiar, as they are mostly about the Western world. However, Kevin did not find the lessons on Western fables useful, saying "we already understand the meaning of it. Like, I don't know why we're learning it again". His favourite part of Chinese class was the 成语故事 (*idiom stories*), which are short narratives that take place in ancient China and provide backstories for idioms in Mandarin. For example, the level 9 class was studying *Lesson 6 Idiom story* during some of my observations, which introduces the idiom "滥竽充数" ("*playing the yu [a wind instrument] to make up numbers*"). The story tells of a man who pretends to play the yu in a large orchestra but does not actually know how, and he runs away when he must play a solo. The expression itself refers to someone who fills a vacancy without possessing the right qualifications. Although this story of an ancient Chinese orchestra is not relevant or applicable to the students' everyday lives, it enriches their language learning

experience and provides deeper understanding of everyday expressions that can be used in Mandarin.

During the online classes, Ms. Li relied heavily on PowerPoint slides using text and photos from the textbook, as well as supplementary YouTube videos that were highly relevant to the lessons. For example, when the level 9 class was learning about Little Red Riding Hood, she showed two different cartoon versions of the fable voiced in Mandarin. She also sometimes inserted her own materials and commentary, such as showing the class a photo of her daughter on the Great Wall of China during the level 7 class lesson about it. John said that this was something he particularly liked about Chinese class, because he would often preview the textbook before class and found that lessons that focused solely on the textbook were boring and repetitive. John said the teacher “made up other things to enhance [our] learning experience. And that was when I started to actually learn.” The textbooks are a great resource, but Ms. Li’s use of other materials added to the lessons and allowed for classes to be more engaging.

4.5.3 Instrumentality

Learning Mandarin was important to the participants not only for reasons related to identity, but also for instrumental purposes. As already discussed, their Mandarin abilities helped them to communicate with relatives and to feel more connected with Chinese culture. Kevin said that one reason his parents made him attend Chinese school was because they hoped he would return to China, at least to visit, and Mandarin knowledge would make that trip easier. In fact, all of the participants believed that knowing Mandarin could bring them more benefits in the future. Olympia said that it was useful in general to know another language, and John said “who knows what opportunities it could give you?”. According to Kevin, Ms. Li had talked about how Chinese may join English and French as an important international language someday, and that

knowing Mandarin could be beneficial for them in the future. Kevin agreed with this, citing his knowledge of China's strong economy and military. Daisy also recalled that Ms. Li had said knowing Mandarin may help them with finding a job in the future, which she agreed seemed logical. Even though the participants were still young, they had all taken into account the value of Mandarin and believed that learning it would be advantageous for them in the future.

The skills and knowledge learned by the students in Chinese class could be applied to other parts of their lives as well. One day in the level 7 class, Ms. Li told the class that they could use what they learn in Chinese class to enhance their English language skills. She said “不是中文是中文，英文是英文，互相没有联系。不是的” (“*It's not that Chinese is Chinese, English is English, and they have nothing to do with each other. It's not like that.*”). She recounted a story of her daughter, who had impressed her English teacher by retelling a Chinese story as part of an assignment at school. Despite Ms. Li openly admitting to not being fluent in English, she clearly saw the potential for transferability between languages. This was also seen in a few instances of language mixing from her; for example, she inserted an English word in an otherwise Mandarin utterance by saying “你就被 fire 掉了” (“*you've been fired*”). The participants told me in their interviews that they never used English in class, and my observation data backs that up. However, their knowledge of multiple languages grants them the tools to expand their linguistic repertoires – something that has been modelled by their teacher.

Contrary to the hint of translanguaging mentioned above, Ms. Li also showed some attitudes of linguistic prescriptivism, discouraging the use of non-standard Mandarin. For example, she called a word used by John “土” (“*slang*”) and encouraged the class to “把语言变得高级一些” (“*make our language a bit more advanced*”) by using more sophisticated Chinese

words in their spoken Mandarin. John agreed that he wanted to improve his Mandarin, expressing in our interview that sometimes he felt like he sounded like “an English person learning Chinese” because “people know what [I’m] saying but it’s not correct”. By advancing the students’ knowledge of Mandarin, Ms. Li wanted the students to stop using “小 baby 的语言” (“*the language of little babies*”) and familiarize themselves with more complex language that they might not hear in everyday conversations with their parents. This, in a way, also contributes to the instrumentality of the language, as the students could become more accustomed to the standardized language that would be prioritized in China. Considering the benefits the participants mentioned, such as future careers and visits to China, an understanding of the national standard could be valuable.

4.6 Summary

This chapter introduced the textbooks used by Fengye Chinese School in the upper level Mandarin classes and provided an introduction to the four participants of this study. Then, I presented the findings of my interviews, observations, and textbook analyses through the creation and descriptions of three major themes. In the next chapter, Chapter 5, I will continue to explore those themes by comparing my findings with the existing literature and analyzing them further using the lens of my theoretical frameworks.

Chapter 5

5 Discussion

In this chapter, I would like to revisit my research questions and address them using a translanguaging analysis. It is also important to note that my findings and analyses are not solely my own, but a co-construction of knowledge that was jointly found/produced together with the participants (Enosh & Ben-Ari, 2016). Some of my findings were eye-opening to me, as they did not match my expectations based on the literature and on my own experiences as a CHL student. For example, previous studies found that adolescents were less likely to be motivated to study their HL because of factors such as trying to fit in with the dominant culture and becoming unwilling to lose their free time on the weekends (Anderson, 2011; He, 2010; Larnier Temples, 2010; Tse, 2001). This was the case for me; I only attended CHL school for a few years before eventually quitting, and I did not become interested in Mandarin and Chinese culture until my later teen years. Thus, I was pleasantly surprised to learn that the four participants of my study saw value in learning Mandarin and actively involved themselves in Chinese culture (e.g. through media and social events).

While reviewing the research questions, I will continue to compare my findings with existing literature to highlight data that complements and contradicts findings in previous studies as well as relating them to my theoretical framework of translanguaging. Then, I discuss the implications of this study. After that, I consider some limitations, including the online format and the small number of participants, as well as some directions for future research. The main research questions were:

- 1) From the participants' viewpoints, what dimensions represent and constitute *Chineseness* (what it means to be Chinese), and how does that relate to their feelings of *Canadianness* (what it means to be Canadian)?
- 2) In relation to the larger discourses of *Chineseness* and *Canadianness*, in what ways do students enrolled in the CHL school construct their identities?

5.1 Translanguaging

On the surface level, translanguaging was not a large theme in this study's findings. The participants all talked about mixing English and Mandarin, but did not suggest that doing so was particularly important to them. While there was no explicit Mandarin-only rule at Fengye Chinese School, the participants all believed that English had no place in the Chinese classroom; the language mixing was reserved for speaking with their families at home. None of them expressed any negative feelings toward their everyday translanguaging, but it appeared to only go one way. That is, the participants often used English words while speaking Mandarin, but they rarely used Mandarin words while speaking English. Our interviews were all conducted in English and, before beginning the interviews, I told each participant that they could use Mandarin in their responses if they wanted to, or if they believed they could better express themselves that way. Daisy was the only one to take up that offer on her own – she used Mandarin to name some Chinese foods, opting to pronounce them with the correct tones rather than using anglicized pronunciations. In contrast, when I asked Kevin about his favourite part of Chinese school, he used English to reply “the four-word analogies” rather than using the common Chinese word, 成语 (*idioms*), which is both shorter and a more well-established term. Then I asked him for an example, to which he replied “调虎离山” (“*to lure the tiger out of the mountains*,” meaning to lure an enemy away from their territory) in Mandarin. Although García

and Otheguy (2020) considered multilinguals to have a single linguistic repertoire to draw from, it seems like the participants of my study have compartmentalized their languages and were unused to drawing from them freely in formal settings (such as in the classroom and during our interviews).

The way the participants gravitated toward English is the same problem brought up by Cenoz and Gorter (2017) and Nguyen (2019) about translanguaging being a threat to the vitality of minority languages. When translanguaging, multilingual speakers may choose to use the dominant/majority language more often than the minority language, resulting in a gradual shift away from that minority language. Cenoz and Gorter (2017) said that this was a bigger problem for indigenous minority groups, like the Basque in their study and the ethnic minorities of Vietnam in Nguyen's (2019) study, rather than speakers of globally important languages who have moved to other countries. The participants in the present research fall into the latter category, with Mandarin being an important international language but considered a "minority" language in Canada. Nevertheless, the same shift is occurring, and the participants may be leaning toward more English use. In my interview with John, he told me: "If we, like, forget what a word is in Chinese, our automatic resort is to say the word in English." This linguistic shift was made possible by translanguaging and multilingual speakers' unique ways of using and changing their language practices, including drawing from their full plurilinguistic repertoires. As Canagarajah (2013b) observed: "Heritage language doesn't remain unchanged as it travels across time and space" (p. 154). It is only natural for language practices to shift along with speakers and communities, but there runs a risk for English to slowly overtake Mandarin in individuals' linguistic repertoires.

Li (2011) considered translanguaging to be a way for multilingual speakers to consolidate different dimensions of themselves, and Li and Zhu (2013) pointed to translanguaging as acts of fluid identity that “simultaneously evoke the past and point to the future” (p. 532)”. Drawing from these ideas, the prevalence of English in the participants’ language practices may represent the strong presence of Canadianness in their current realities, as they live and socialize in a Canadian context. Their connection to China is more abstract, but still present; rooted in the past (through their births or their parents’ immigration paths) and the future (through careers and the possibility of returning to China). Their translanguaging practices reflect these parts of themselves and, in accordance with many previous studies (e.g., Abourehab & Azaz, 2020; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Prada, 2019; Song, 2016; Wu & Leung, 2020), show us the inherent connection between language and identity. For instance, all of the participants said that they mainly used Chinese (Cantonese for Kevin, Mandarin for the others) to communicate with their parents, but they sometimes inserted English words as well. For them, their parents were one of the biggest links to Chineseness, but even that meshed with some aspects of Canadianness (which was also a part of them) and the English language. Furthermore, there was some indication that Chineseness was somewhat associated with the older generation; all of them noted that English was the preferred language when interacting with peers, but Daisy and John specifically mentioned preferring to speak English even with fellow CHL speakers.

5.2 ‘Trans-identity’ and ‘transidentifying’

In analysing the findings of this study, I would like to draw from the concepts of “trans-identity,” proposed by Nkademeng and Makalela (2015) and expanded upon by Nguyen (2019), and Richard and Wilson’s (2019) “transidentifying.” Both theories, as previously defined in Chapter 1, emphasize the idea of individuals possessing multiple identities and the need to move

between those identities through language use and socialization with others. I believe the participants' names are symbolic of their trans-identities. In the presentation of my data, I have used the participants' English names, but I have also noted their Chinese names and mentioned that they used their Chinese names in Chinese class. In fact, it seemed as if Ms. Li did not know all of her students' English names at all. The individuals themselves are not fundamentally changed by the different names – Olympia, for example, is the same person whether I call her Olympia or 鹿思静 (*Lu Sijing*). The names that they are referred to in a given situation shape and are shaped by the language and context and are thus emblematic of their overall shifting identities.

As previously noted in the literature review, Wu and Chang (2012) found that CHL education could benefit from curriculum that is more relevant to the students' lives in the diaspora. Contrary to their findings, the participants in my study expressed an interest in learning about Chinese topics in Chinese class. Nguyen (2019) conceptualized trans-identity to exist in three parts, with the first part (but notably not the *only* part – the others are briefly mentioned in Section 1.2.2) being an attachment of identity to language. Here, it would appear that my participants have comfortably connected Mandarin with uniquely Chinese topics and did not see a need for their classes to include a wider range of lessons. Kevin and Olympia both referenced ancient Chinese history in their interviews, but none of the participants talked about modern Chinese-Canadian (or other Chinese diaspora) culture/history in relation to Chinese language. Based on the size of the Chinese population in the city, it is possible that Chinese-Canadian culture was not that prominent in their lives outside of immediately Chinese contexts. To expand upon Cenoz and Gorter's (2017) concept of *breathing spaces* (i.e., environments where specific minority languages can be used) to trans-identity, Chinese schools can be considered breathing

spaces for Chinese culture and knowledge to be practiced and shared, especially when there is not much opportunity to do so elsewhere.

None of the participants indicated that they had experienced the period of Ethnic Ambivalence/Evasion identified by Tse (2000), and they were all happy to be learning Mandarin and participating in Chinese cultural activities. Although three of the four participants did not see an immediate connection between Mandarin and Chineseness, it was clear that Mandarin gave them access to the Chinese community which, in turn, gave them more opportunities to practice and participate in Chineseness. For example, Daisy valued learning Mandarin because it helped her communicate with her relatives in China, and Kevin used his knowledge of Chinese customs to appear polite in the presence of Chinese adults. There was some discussion of the instrumentality of Mandarin as well, as they talked about the potential advantage it could give them while looking for jobs in the future. Thus, I would not classify their motivations as intrinsic, as they were all able to articulate the value of CHL education beyond pure enjoyment. The ability to speak Mandarin allowed them to communicate with Chinese people and understand more of Chinese culture, positively influencing their senses of Chineseness and identity as a whole.

Norton Peirce's (1995) concept of investment is a good descriptor for the participants' motivations. Investment more broadly encompasses language learning and the surrounding ideologies and culture (Byrd Clark, 2009). This is fitting for the students at Fengye Chinese School, for whom investing in Mandarin also meant investing in Chineseness. Norton Peirce (1995) also believed that investments could be contradictory – all of the participants were committed to their studies at Chinese school, but were not eager to ask questions or participate in class. Viewing this through self-determination theory, the participants' might be seen as

uninterested or unmotivated. Investment theory provides more nuance and also allows us to understand that there are many factors that could influence students' actions apart from their desire to learn/improve. For example, Norton Peirce (1995) discussed the possibility of a language learner whose investment in their other identities stopped them from speaking in the target language because they did not want to make mistakes in front of others and embarrass themselves. Daisy expressed this same problem, saying in our interview that answering questions in front of the class was stressful despite her desire to improve her Mandarin skills. Therefore, in discussing trans-identity, it is important to recognize that there are many aspects of identity beyond Chineseness and Canadianness that may equally play a role in the participants' conceptions of self. The multitude of their identities affects their behaviours and interactions with the world around them.

5.3 Summary

This chapter returned to the study's research questions and provided an analysis of the findings through a translanguaging lens. I drew from the literature to discuss the ways the participants used their language(s) and what implications that may have. I also used the concepts of trans-identity and transidentifying to further explore the fluidity of identity and the role of linguistic motivation in CHL education. The next chapter will go into the implications, limitations, and possible future directions.

Chapter 6

6 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of Chinese language (especially Mandarin) in the identities of young Chinese-Canadians. In this final chapter, I will discuss the implications and limitations of this study. Then, I will make some suggestions for future directions.

6.1 Implications

This study adds to the growing literature surrounding HL speaker identities, which detail the diversity among speakers and reject a one-to-one correspondence of language and identity. CHL schools should begin adopting translanguaging and trans-identity practices to help and encourage students to use their knowledge to their full potential. They may simultaneously utilize breathing spaces to avoid the overuse of English and to promote the use of both languages. Overall, being and feeling Canadian is not a detriment to their Chineseness, and having their Canadianness as a part of their identity repertoire gives CHL students more ways of interacting and understanding their social worlds, just as their diverse linguistic repertoires do.

Furthermore, it is evident that the participants of this study found many opportunities to learn about and participate in Chinese culture outside of Chinese class. It is greatly beneficial for CHL schools to provide additional activities and resources for the students and their families outside of class, as Fengye Chinese School has been doing; however, responsibility should also fall on families and the local community to connect young CHL learners to Chinese culture and language. All of the participants of this study had opportunities to use their Mandarin in authentic communication and participate in Chinese culture in their everyday lives; this is highly important for individuals trying to maintain or improve their language skills.

6.2 Limitations

The present study was first proposed in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and, although Fengye Chinese School was holding their classes online via Zoom at the time of the proposal, I had been hopeful that they would return to in-person classes soon. Thus, the methodology was chosen and planned under the assumption that I would conduct my data collection at Fengye Chinese School's physical location. Unfortunately, the teachers and parents decided to continue with online classes for the entire 2021-2022 school year, and some aspects of my research had to be adjusted accordingly. The data collection technique that was most impacted from a lack of on-site data collection involved participant-observation. The participants (as well as most of the other non-participating students) kept their cameras off during their virtual classes, making it very difficult to gauge their engagement with the lessons and materials because I could not see any expressions or gestures, or even what they were doing while listening.

Lack of visual input was also an issue in two of my interviews; to explain, Olympia and John chose to keep their cameras off during my interviews with them. I did not pressure them to turn their cameras on, as I wanted them to be as comfortable as possible while speaking with me, but this presented an obstacle that would not have existed if the interviews had been conducted face-to-face. A few technical issues also arose during the interviews. Olympia had poor microphone quality, and I had to ask her to repeat herself multiple times in order to understand some of her responses. During my interview with Daisy, her Internet connection was unstable and she froze a couple times; at one point, Daisy had to leave the meeting and rejoin a few minutes later. Other than these setbacks, the interviews went largely according to plan.

The virtual nature of this study may have also affected participant recruitment. A few students contacted me with questions about how to return the consent forms digitally, especially if they did not have access to a printer or scanner. I showed them how to create digital signatures, but I believe this extra complication may have hindered some student and/or parent interest in participating. The classes were small to begin with (comprising six and eight students respectively) and, out of that small pool, I only ended up with four participants. This small sample size may not accurately represent the students at the school, much less a larger Canadian CHL learner population. However, as previously noted, the goal of qualitative research is transferability, not generalizability (Cohen et al. (2000). Moreover, Lincoln and Guba (1989) stated that case study research is already ‘ungeneralizable,’ as the findings can only be understood within their own contexts. With this in mind, the data may have been biased or skewed by the students who chose to participate; that is, since they showed the most enthusiasm to take part in my study, by extension, they may also have been the students who were the most enthusiastic about learning Chinese. Because participation was completely voluntary and relied on the students and their guardians to return signed consent forms, I could be missing the voices of students who were shy, forgetful, disgruntled with the course content or otherwise uninterested in this study.

6.3 Future directions

Due to the nature of case study research, this study focused on a small number of individuals at one specific Chinese school. Future research is needed to collect larger samples of data with different CHL populations to gain better understanding of the overall state of CHL education and CHL learners’ identities. Future research could include the perspectives of CHL teachers and the parents of adolescent CHL learners, alongside the adolescent students

themselves, to examine multiple points of view relating to the same case. Another possibility would be to study adults who had previously attended CHL schools when they were younger to understand the perceived long-term effects of CHL schools on their lives later on. Including adults (i.e., teachers, parents, and alumni) would provide a different set of narratives from people with more diverse life experiences and who may have had more time to reflect on certain situations.

As mentioned above while discussing the limitations, the COVID-19 pandemic had a huge impact on this study. While it could be said that these conditions provided valuable and unique insight on this case, they also presented some complications. Future researchers could have more opportunities to work with participants in-person, which may allow for easier recruitment processes and more in-depth data collection methods. Face-to-face interviews might put the participants more at ease and attending classes in-person could yield more detailed observations.

6.4 Conclusion

Working on this research has been extremely meaningful to me because of my personal connection to CHL. Throughout my work, I have occupied what Enosh and Ben-Ari (2016) called a *liminal space* as both an insider and an outsider based on some identities I have in common with my participants, and some that marked me as different. Because of this, I have tried my best to be mindful of my various positionings and to continue practicing reflexivity throughout the entire research process. Being aware of my own worldviews allowed me to open myself up to the participants' perspectives. As an HL speaker of Mandarin myself, it was very important for me to accurately represent the participants' experiences in order to contribute to our overall knowledge of CHL education. My findings were strengthened by using three methods

of data collection (interview, observation, and textbook analysis) for triangulation purposes, By continuing to analyse many case studies that focus on different stakeholders (e.g. students, parents, teachers, etc.) and different CHL schools, the field can come to a better understanding of the overall state of CHL education. It is my hope that CHL education and CHL maintenance can continue to be improved based on the actual needs of the community/ies through studies like this.

This study found that feelings of Chineseness were most represented by the participants' connections with their families and other Chinese people around them, and those connections were often facilitated by language. CHL school is instrumental in helping students to improve their Mandarin abilities, but also serves as a space to assist them in constructing their Chinese identity through discussions of Chinese culture and history and by providing a space for community. However, students still need additional support to consolidate their multiple identities and to navigate the space *between* Chineseness and Canadianness. Moving forward, I would suggest that CHL schools adopt more translanguaging pedagogies or other practices that promote multilingualism, such as plurilingualism. Institutions should encourage students to explore the fluidity of language and culture in order to express their authentic selves.

References

- Abourehab, Y., & Azaz, M. (2020). Pedagogical translanguaging in community/heritage Arabic language learning. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1826496>
- Akpan, V. I., Igwe, U. A., Mpamah, I. B. I., & Okoro, C. O. (2020). Social constructivism: Implications on teaching and learning. *British Journal of Education*, 8(8), 49-56.
- Amineh, R. J. & Asl, H. D. (2015). Review of constructivism and social constructivism. *Journal of Social Sciences, Literature and Languages*, 1(1), 9-16.
- Anderson, J. (2011). Reshaping pedagogies for a plurilingual agenda. *Language Learning Journal*, 39(2), 135-147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2011.573683>
- Ang, I. (1993). To be or not to be Chinese: Diaspora, culture and postmodern ethnicity. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 21(1), 1-17.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/030382493x00017>
- Ang, I. (1998). Can one say no to Chineseness? Pushing the limits of the diasporic paradigm. *boundary 2*, 25(3), 223-242. <https://doi.org/10.2307/303595>
- Atkins, L., & Wallace, S. (2012). *Qualitative research in education*. Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957602>
- Atwater, M. M. (1996). Social constructivism: Infusion into the multicultural science education research agenda. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, 33(8), 821-837.
[http://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1098-2736\(199610\)33:8<821::AID-TEA1>3.0.CO;2-Y](http://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-2736(199610)33:8<821::AID-TEA1>3.0.CO;2-Y)
- Baldassar, L., Pyke, J., & Ben-Mosche, D. (2017). The Vietnamese in Australia: Diaspora identity, intra-group tensions, transnational ties and 'victim' status. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(6), 937-955. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1274565>

- Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research, 15*(2), 219-234.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112468475>
- Bettez, S. C. (2015). Navigating the complexity of qualitative research in postmodern contexts: Assemblage, critical reflexivity, and communion as guides. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 28*(8), 932-954.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2014.948096>
- Blommaert, J. & Varis, P. (2013). Enough is enough: The heuristics of authenticity in superdiversity. In J. Duarte & I. Gogolin (Eds.), *Linguistic superdiversity in urban areas. Research approaches* (pp. 143-159). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Braun & Clarke (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101. <http://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Brown, C. L. (2009) Heritage language and ethnic identity: A case study of Korean-American College Students. *The International Journal of Multicultural Education, 11*(1), 1-16.
<https://doi.org/10.18251/ijme.v11i1.157>
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Byrd Clark, J. S. (2020). Reflexivity and criticality for language and intercultural communication research and practice in Jackson, J. (Ed.) *The Routledge handbook of language and intercultural communication* (Vol. #2) (pp. 86-106). Routledge.
- Byrd Clark, J. S. (2009). *Multilingualism, citizenship, and identity: Voices of youth and symbolic investments in an urban, globalized world*. Continuum.
- Byrd Clark, J. S., & Dervin, F. (2014). Introduction. In J. S. Byrd Clark & F. Dervin (Eds.),

- Reflexivity in language and intercultural education: Rethinking multilingualism and interculturality* (pp. 1-42). Routledge.
- Cabo, D. P. Y., & Rothman, J. (2012). The (il)logical problem of heritage speaker bilingualism and incomplete acquisition. *Applied linguistics*, 33(4), 450-455. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/ams037>
- Canagarajah, S. (2011). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(3), 410-417. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01207.x>
- Canagarajah, S. (2013a). *Translingual Practice: Global Englishes and Cosmopolitan Relations*. Routledge.
- Canagarajah, S. (2013b). Reconstructing heritage language: Resolving dilemmas in language maintenance for Sri Lankan Tamil migrants. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 222, 131-155. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2013-0035>
- Cao, Y. (2020). The evolution and recognition of self-identity in food and foodways of the overseas Chinese. In Lu, Z. (Ed.), *Chinese National Identity in the Age of Globalisation* (pp. 333-359) Springer Singapore. http://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-4538-2_14
- Cenoz, J. & Gorter, D. (2017). Minority languages and sustainable translanguaging: Threat or opportunity? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 38(10), 901-912. <http://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2017.1284855>
- Chandler, M. J. & Dunlop, W. L. (2012) Identity development, crises, and continuity: Death-defying leaps in the lives of Indigenous and nonindigenous youth. In Hewlett, B. L. (Ed.), *Adolescent identity: Evolutionary, cultural and developmental perspectives* (pp. 203-221). Taylor & Francis Group.

- Cho, J. & Trent, A. (2006). Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative Research*, 6(3), 319-340.
- Chong, K. H. (2017). "Asianness" under Construction: The Contours and Negotiation of Panethnic Identity/Culture among Interethnically Married Asian Americans. *Sociological Perspectives*. 60(1), 52-76. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0731121415611682>
- Chun, A. (1996). Fuck Chineseness: On the ambiguities of ethnicity as culture as identity. *boundary 2*, 23(2), 111-138. <http://doi.org/10.2307/303809>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in education* (5th ed.). Routledge.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education* (6th ed.). Routledge.
- Comanaru, R., & Noels, K. A. (2009). Self-determination, motivation, and the learning of Chinese as a heritage language. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 66(1), 131-158. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.66.1.131>
- Council of Europe (2001). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Council of Europe.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103-115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00986.x>
- Creese, A. & Blackledge, A. (2015). Translanguaging and identity in educational settings. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 20-35. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190514000233>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed*

- methods approaches* (5th ed.). Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. & Poth, C. N. (2017). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage.
- Darias Alfonso (2012). We are what we *now* eat: Food and identity in the Cuban diaspora. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 37(74), 173-206.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/08263663.2012.11006007>
- Day, S. (2012). A reflexive lens: Exploring dilemmas of qualitative methodology through the concept of reflexivity. *Qualitative Sociology Review*, 81(1), 60-85.
<http://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.8.1.04>
- Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. Plenum Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (1994). Motivation and motivating in the foreign language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 78(3), 273-284. <https://doi.org/10.2307/330107>
- Dörnyei, Z. & Ushioda, E. (2011). *Teaching and researching motivation* (2nd ed.). Pearson.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* (2nd ed.). University of Chicago Press.
- Enosh, G., & Ben-Ari, A. (2016). Reflexivity: The creation of liminal spaces – researchers, participants, and research encounters. *Qualitative Health Research*, 26(4), 578-584.
- Espiritu, Y. L. (1992). *Asian American panethnicity: bridging institutions and identities*. Temple University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1989). *Language & ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Multilingual Matters.
- Freeman, M., & Mathison, S. (2009). *Researching children's experiences*. Guilford Press.

- García, O., & Kleifgen, J.A. (2019). Translanguaging and literacies. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 55(4), 553-571. <https://doi.org/10.1002/rrq.286>
- García, O., & Otheguy, R. (2020). Plurilingualism and translanguaging: Commonalities and divergences. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 23(1), 17-35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2019.1598932>
- Gardner, R.C., & MacIntyre, P. D. (1993). A student's contributions to second-language learning. Part II: Affective variables. *Language Teaching*, 26(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444800000045>
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Prentice-Hall
- Gyogi, E. (2020). Fixity and fluidity in two heritage language learners' identity narratives. *Language and Education*, 34(4), 328-344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2020.1720228>
- He, A. W. (2006). Toward an identity theory of the development of Chinese as a heritage language. *Heritage Language Journal*, 4(1), 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.46538/hlj.4.1.1>
- He, A. W. (2010). The heart of heritage: Sociocultural dimensions of heritage language learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30, 66-82. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190510000073>
- He, A. W. (2015). Chinese as a heritage language. In W. S. Wang & C. Sun (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics*. Oxford University Press. <http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199856336.013.0061>
- Head, J. (1997). *Working with adolescents: Constructing identity*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Heller, M. (1987). The role of language in the formation of ethnic identity. In M. J. Rotheram &

- J. S. Phinney (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 180-200). Sage Publications.
- Issitt, J. (2004), Reflections on the study of textbooks. *History of Education*, 33(6), 683-696.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/0046760042000277834>
- Janowski, M. (2012). Introduction: Consuming memories of home in constructing the present and imagining the future. *Food and Foodways*, 20(3-4), 175-186.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2012.715960>
- Kagan O., Dillon K. (2008) Issues in Heritage Language Learning in the United States. In N. Van Deusen-Scholl & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (2nd ed., Vol. #4) (pp. 143-156). Springer.
- Kim, S. (2017). "It was kind of a given that we were all multilingual": Transnational youth identity work in digital translanguaging. *Linguistics and Education*, 43, 39-52.
<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2017.10.008>
- Kupisch, T., & Rothman, J. (2018). Terminology matters! Why difference is not incompleteness and how early child bilinguals are heritage speakers. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 22(5), 564-582. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006916654355>
- Lahman, M. K. E. (2008). Always Othered: Ethical research with children. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 6(3), 281-300. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1476718X08094451>
- Larnier Temples, A. (2010). Heritage Motivation, Identity, and the Desire to Learn Arabic in U.S. Early Adolescents. *Journal of the National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages*, 9, 103-132. <http://www.ncolctl.org/files/heritage-motivation.pdf>
- Leeman, J., Rabin, L., & Román-Mendoza, E. (2011). Identity and activism in heritage language

- education. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(4), 481-495.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01237.x>
- Li, W. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222-1235. <https://doi.org/> <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.035>
- Li, W. (2018). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 9-30. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx039>
- Li, W. & Zhu, H. (2013). Translanguaging identities and ideologies: Creating transnational space through flexible multilingual practices amongst Chinese university students in the UK. *Applied Linguistics*, 34(5), 516-535. <http://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt022>
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Sage.
- Lu, X. (2001). Bicultural identity development and Chinese community formation: An ethnographic study of Chinese schools in Chicago. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 12(4), 203-220. <https://doi.org/10.1080/106461701753287723>
- Luo, H., Li, Y., & Li, M. Y. (2019). Heritage language education in the United States: A national survey of college-level Chinese language programs. *Foreign Language Annals*, 52(1), 101-120. <https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12378>
- Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3(5), 551-558. <http://doi.org/10.1037/h0023281>
- Meeus, W. (2011). The study of adolescent identity formation 2000-2010: A review of longitudinal research. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 21(1), 75-94.
<http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00716.x>
- Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2010). *Encyclopedia of case study research*. Sage.

<http://doi.org/10.4135/9781412957397.n347>

- Nkadimeng, S. & Makalela, L. (2015). Identity negotiation in a super-diverse community : The fuzzy languaging logic of high school students in Soweto. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2015(234), 7-26.. <http://doi.org/> <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2015-0002>
- Nguyen, T. T. T. (2019). Translanguaging as trans-identity: The case of ethnic minority students in Vietnam. *Lingua*, 222, 39-52. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2019.02.010>
- Noels, K. A. (2005). Orientations to learning German: heritage language learning and motivational substrates. *The Canadian Modern Language Review / La revue canadienne des langues vivantes*, 62(2), 285-312. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.62.2.285>
- Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation*. Multilingual Matters.
- Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29(1), 9-31. <http://doi.org/10.2307/3587803>
- Otheguy, R., García O., & Wallis, R. (2015). Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6(3), 281-307. <http://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2015-0014>
- 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>
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a local practice*. Routledge.
- Pires, A., & Rothman, J. (2009). Disentangling sources of incomplete acquisition: An

- explanation for competence divergence across heritage grammars. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 13(2), 211-238. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006909339806>
- Polinsky, M., & Kagan, O. (2007). Heritage languages: In the 'wild' and in the classroom. *Language and linguistics compass*, 1(5), 368-395. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818x.2007.00022.x>
- Prada, J. (2019). Exploring the role of translanguaging in linguistic ideological and attitudinal reconfigurations in the Spanish classroom for heritage speakers. *Classroom Discourse*, 10(3-4), 306-322. <http://doi.org/10.1080/19463014.2019.1628793>
- Probst, B. (2015). The eye regards itself: Benefits and challenges of reflexivity in qualitative social work research. *Social Work Research*, 39(1), 37-48. <https://doi.org/10.1093/swr/svu028>
- Rampton, B. (2018). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. Routledge.
- Richards, J. C. & Wilson, O. (2019). On transidentifying. *RELC Journal*, 50(1), 179-187. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0033688218824780>
- Rosenthal, D. A. (1987). Ethnic identity development in adolescents. In M. J. Rotheram & J. S. Phinney (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 156-179). Sage Publications.
- Rossmann, G. B. & Rallis, S. F. (2012). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research*. Sage.
- Rotheram, M. J. & Phinney, J. S. (1987). Introduction: Definitions and perspectives in the study of children's ethnic socialization. In M. J. Rotheram & J. S. Phinney (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 10-28). Sage Publications.
- Rubin, H. J. & Rubin, I. S. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Sage.

- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68-78.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.68>
- Ryan, R. M. & Deci, E. L. (2020). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation from a self-determination theory perspective: Definitions, theory, practices, and future directions. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 61. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2020.101860>
- Saldaña, J. (2014). Coding and analysis strategies. In P. Leavy (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of qualitative research* (1st ed.) (pp. 580-598). Oxford University Press.
<http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.013.001>
- Scollon, R., Scollon, S. W., & Jones, R. H. (2012). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Shin, S. J. (2010). “What about me? I’m not like Chinese but I’m not like American”: Heritage-language learning and identity of mixed-heritage adults. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 9(3), 203-219. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2010.486277>
- Simpson, A. & Quigley, C. F. (2016). Member checking process with adolescent students: Not just reading a transcript. *The Qualitative Report*, 21(2), 376-392.
<http://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2016.2386>
- Smith, S. A. & Li, Z. (2020). Closing the enjoyment gap: Heritage language maintenance motivation and reading attitudes among Chinese-American children. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2020.1742653>
- Song, K. (2016). “Okay, I will say in Korean and then in American”: Translanguaging practices

- in bilingual homes. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, 16(1), 84-106.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468798414566705>
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage.
- Statistics Canada. (2017). XXXX [Census subdivision], YYYY and XXXX [Census division], YYYY (table). *Census Profile. 2016 Census*. (No. 98-316-X2016001).
<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/ZZZZ>³
- Taylor, S. K. & Snoddon, K. (2013). Plurilingualism in TESOL: Promising controversies. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(3), 439-445. <http://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.127>
- Tookes, J. S. (2015). “The food represents”: Barbadian foodways in the diaspora. *Appetite*, 90, 65-73. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2015.02.011>
- Tse, L. (2000). The effects of ethnic identity formation on bilingual maintenance and development: An analysis of Asian American narratives. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 3(3), 185-200.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050008667706>
- Tse, L. (2001). “Why don’t they learn English?”: *Separating fact from fallacy in the U.S. language debate*. Teachers College Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau (2021). *QuickFacts*. Retrieved from
<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045221>
- Valdés, G. (2005). Bilingualism, heritage language learners, and SLA research: Opportunities lost or seized?. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(3), 410-426.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2005.00314.x>
- Vallejo, C. & Dooly, M. (2020). Plurilingualism and translanguaging: Emergent approaches and

³ Identifiable details redacted

- shared concerns. Introduce to the special issue. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 23(1), 1-16. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2019.1600469>
- van Meijl, T. (2012) Multiple identifications of multicultural adolescents: Dialogues between traditional and postmodernity in a global context. In Hewlett, B. L. (Ed.), *Adolescent identity: Evolutionary, cultural and developmental perspectives* (pp. 203-221). Taylor & Francis Group.
- von Glaserfeld, E. (1994). A constructivist approach to teaching. In L. P. Steffe & J. Gale (Eds.), *Constructivism in Education* (pp. 3-15). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Weninger, C. (2020). Multimodality in critical language textbook analysis. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 34(2), 133-146. <http://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2020.1797083>
- Wilson, B. G. (1997). The postmodern paradigm. In C. Dills & A. Romoszowski (Eds.), *Instructional development paradigms* (pp. 297–309). Educational Technology Publications.
- Wu, M., & Chang, T. P. (2012). Designing and implementing a macro-approaches based curriculum for heritage language learners. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 6(2), 145-155. <https://10.1080/17501229.2011.634913>
- Wu, M.-H., & Leung G. (2014). Re-envisioning heritage language education : A study of middle school students learning Mandarin Chinese. *Heritage Language Journal*, 11(3), 207-223. <https://doi.org/10.46538/hlj.11.3.2>
- Wu, M.-H., & Leung G. (2020). ‘It’s not my Chinese’: A teacher and her students disrupting and dismantling conventional notions of ‘Chinese’ through translanguaging in a heritage language classroom. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2020.1804524>

Yazan, B. (2015). Three approaches to case study methods in Education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(2), 134-152. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2015.2102>

Zhang, D. (2010). Language maintenance and language shift among Chinese immigrant parents and their second-generation children in the U.S. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 33(1), 42-60. <http://doi.org/10.1080/15235881003733258>

Appendices

Appendix A – Interview Schedule

Basic information

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Where were you born? If applicable, when did you come to Canada?
4. Where were your parents born?
5. How long have you been going to Chinese school?

Chinese school

6. Why do you go to Chinese school?
7. Do you like Chinese school? If so, what do you like about it. If not, why not?
8. Could you tell me, what is one of your favourite parts of Chinese school, if any?
9. Could you tell me, what is one of your least favourite parts of Chinese school, if any?
10. How do you feel about the knowledge or skills you learn at Chinese school? Do you think they are or will be valuable?

Language attitudes

11. How does your teacher speak about Chinese language?
12. Are you allowed to speak English in Chinese class? What do you think about that?
13. How often would you say you use Mandarin outside of Chinese school?
14. With whom and where do you think you speak Mandarin the most?
15. Are there students in the class with you who do not have Chinese parents or do not speak Mandarin at home? In your opinion, how do they do at Chinese school? How do they get on?

Identity

16. In what ways do you feel as if you are “Chinese”?
17. In your opinion, how does being able to speak Mandarin relate to being “Chinese”?
18. In what ways do you feel as if you are “Canadian”?
19. In your opinion, how does being able to speak Mandarin relate to being “Canadian”?
20. What parts of your life, if any, might be different from your non-Chinese friends?

Closing

21. Do you feel comfortable with everything you’ve shared with me in this interview? Is there anything you’d like to add or change?
22. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B – Observation Schedule

Student engagement

- Description of students' camera and microphone settings.
 - When do they turn them on/off?
- Description of students' classroom participation.
 - How often do they participate in the lesson?
 - Do they volunteer answers?
 - Do they ask questions?
- Description of interesting events that relate to the topic of Chinese identity/Chineseness.

Student language use

- Description of students' language use during classroom interactions.
 - When do they speak in English?
 - When do they speak in Mandarin?
 - Are there instances of translanguaging?
- Description of students' interactions with the teacher through speaking and the Zoom chat box.

Appendix C – Letter of Information (Teacher)

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley K. Taylor
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Additional Researcher: Angela Dong
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx⁴

Introduction

My name is Angela Dong and I am a Master of Arts student at the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario. You and your students are being invited to participate in this research study about the identity of adolescent students in Chinese language schools because they are 10-14 years old, ethnically Chinese, and attend a Chinese language school.

Purpose of the study

The aims of this study are to investigate how adolescent Chinese school students construct their Chinese-Canadian identities while learning Mandarin, as well as the relationship between language and identity.

If you agree to participate

If you agree to participate and to allow your students to participate in this study, you are providing consent for:

1. **An interview.** It will take approximately one hour of each student's time. Your students will be asked to provide an email address in order to schedule the interview. The interview will be over Zoom at an agreed upon time outside of class hours. I will be asking the students questions about their experiences at Chinese school and about their Chinese and Canadian identities. The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed into written format. The students may still participate if they or their parent/guardian refuse the audio recording, and we would proceed with real-time notetaking instead.
2. **Observations.** I will be observing the students in their Chinese class for one month (four classes total) over Zoom to better understand their experiences, including their engagement with class materials and interactions with you (the teacher). Some of your words and/or actions may be included in the study if they are relevant to student behaviours. These classes will not be video or audio recorded, and non-participating students will not be included in observation data.

Confidentiality

The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither names nor information which could identify anybody will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. All information collected for the study will be kept confidential. Pseudonyms will be used throughout the data analysis. No real names or names of locations will be used or identifiable in the report or future publications. To protect your students' privacy, all digital data will be stored on an encrypted, password protected USB. The USB will be stored in a secure location with all names removed from the data (replaced with a pseudonym). A list linking students' pseudonyms with their real names and their email addresses will be kept by the researcher in a secure place, separate from their study file. Students may be quoted directly in the

⁴ Email addresses, phone numbers, and the name of the CHL school have been redacted in all Appendix documents.

results, using their pseudonyms. Seven years after completion of the study, all data will be destroyed.

Compensation

You will not be compensated for your participation in this research.

Risks & Benefits

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. You may not benefit directly from participating in this study, but information gathered may provide benefits to society as a whole, which include an improved understanding of students in Chinese heritage language schools and their investments in Chinese culture/language.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You or your students may refuse to participate. Your students may refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on their participation in Fengye Chinese School. If for any reason you or your students would like to withdraw from participating in the study, any data collected to the point of withdrawal from the study will be removed and destroyed without any negative consequences. However, a record of participation (the consent form and assent form) will be kept. You and your students do not waive any legal right by signing the consent forms.

Because the interviews will be conducted through videoconferencing technology, it is possible that information could be intercepted by unauthorized people (hacked) or otherwise shared by accident. This risk cannot be completely eliminated. We want to make you aware of this.

Questions

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact Western University's Office of Human Research Ethics at (xxx) xxx-xxxx, xxx-xxx-xxxx, or xxx@uwo.ca. If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at xxx@uwo.ca or my thesis supervisor, Dr. Shelley Taylor, at xxx@uwo.ca.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Sincerely,

Angela Dong

CONSENT FORM

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley K. Taylor
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Additional Researcher: Angela Dong
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me, and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Please indicate with a check mark if you agree to the following:

I consent to the use of direct quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research under the premise that a pseudonym is used.

Name (please print):

Signature:

Date (DD/MM/YYYY):

My signature means that I have explained the study to the participant named above and I have answered all questions.

Name of person obtaining consent: Angela Dong

Signature:

Date (DD/MM/YYYY):

Appendix D – Letter of Information (Parents) (English)

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley K. Taylor
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Additional Researcher: Angela Dong
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Introduction

My name is Angela Dong and I am a Master of Arts student at the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario. Your child is being invited to participate in this research study about the identity of adolescent students in Chinese language schools because they are 10-14 years old, ethnically Chinese, and attend a Chinese language school.

Purpose of the study

The aims of this study are to investigate how adolescent Chinese school students construct their Chinese-Canadian identities while learning Mandarin, as well as the relationship between language and identity.

If you agree to participate

If you allow your child to participate in this study, you are providing consent for:

1. **An interview.** It will take approximately one hour of your child's time. Your child's email address will be collected in order to schedule the interview. The interview will be conducted over Zoom at an agreed upon time outside of class hours. I will be asking your child questions about their experiences at Chinese school and about their Chinese and Canadian identities. The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed into written format. Your child may still participate if you or your child refuse the audio recording, and we would proceed with real-time notetaking instead.
2. **Observations.** I will be observing your child's Chinese class for one month (four classes total) over Zoom to better understand their experiences, including their engagement with class materials and interactions with the teacher. These classes will not be video or audio recorded, and non-participating students will not be included in observation data.

Confidentiality

The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your child's name nor information which could identify them will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. All information collected for the study will be kept confidential. Pseudonyms will be used throughout the data analysis. No real names or names of locations will be used or identifiable in the report or future publications. To protect your child's privacy, all digital data will be stored on an encrypted, password protected USB. The USB will be stored in a secure location with all names removed from the data (replaced with pseudonyms). A list linking your child's pseudonym with their real name and their email address will be kept by the researcher in a secure place, separate from their study file. Your child may be quoted directly in the results, using their pseudonym. Seven years after completion of the study, all data will be destroyed.

Compensation

You will not be compensated for your child's participation in this research.

Risks & Benefits

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. You may not benefit directly from participating in this study, but information gathered may provide benefits to society as a whole, which include an improved understanding of students in Chinese heritage language schools and their investments in Chinese culture/language.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You or your child may refuse to participate. Your child may refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on their participation in Fengye Chinese School. If for any reason you or your child would like to withdraw from participating in the study, any data collected to the point of withdrawal from the study will be removed and destroyed without any negative consequences. However, a record of their participation (the consent form and assent form) will be kept. You do not waive any legal right by signing the consent form.

Because the interviews will be conducted through videoconferencing technology, it is possible that information could be intercepted by unauthorized people (hacked) or otherwise shared by accident. This risk cannot be completely eliminated. We want to make you aware of this.

Questions

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact Western University's Office of Human Research Ethics at (xxx) xxx-xxxx, xxx-xxx-xxxx, or ethics@uwo.ca. If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at xxx@uwo.ca or my thesis supervisor, Dr. Shelley Taylor, at xxx@uwo.ca.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Sincerely,

Angela Dong

CONSENT FORM

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley K. Taylor
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Additional Researcher: Angela Dong
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me, and I agree my child may participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Please indicate with a check mark if you agree to the following:

_____ I consent to the collection of my child's email address for research purposes for this study.

_____ I consent to my child being audio recorded during their interview.

_____ I consent to the use of direct quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research under the premise that a pseudonym is used.

Name (please print):

Signature:

Date (DD/MM/YYYY):

My signature means that I have explained the study to the participant named above and I have answered all questions.

Name of person obtaining consent: Angela Dong

Signature:

Date (DD/MM/YYYY):

Appendix E – Letter of Information (Parents) (Chinese)

探索华文学校对其青少年学生身份建构（认同）的影响

研究介绍（致家长）

首席研究员：Shelley K. Taylor 博士

院校：西安大略大学

电邮地址：xxx@uwo.ca

电话：xxx-xxx-xxxx

助理研究员：Angela Dong

院校：西安大略大学

电邮地址：xxx@uwo.ca

电话：xxx-xxx-xxxx

自我介绍

我叫董安琪 (Angela Dong)，是西安大略大学教育学院的硕士生。我们在进行一项关于中文学校青少年学生身份认同的研究。研究对象是读于中文学校 10-14 岁的华裔学生。您的孩子被邀请参加此项研究。

研究目的

本研究旨在调查中国青少年学生在学习普通话时如何构建他们的华裔加拿大身份，以及语言与身份之间的关系。

研究内容和方式

1. 面谈。计划将与您的孩子进行大约一小时的面谈。我们将通过电子邮件安排面谈。面谈将通过 Zoom 在课外约定的时间进行。我们将了解您的孩子在中文学校的经历以及他们的中国和加拿大身份自我认同。采访将被录音并转录成书面形式。如果您或您的孩子拒绝录音，您的孩子仍然可以参与，我们将进行实时笔记。
2. 观察。我将通过 Zoom 和您的孩子一起上一个月的中文课（共四节课），以便更好地了解他们的学习中文体验。这将包括他（们）对课堂教学的参与以及与老师的互动。这些课程不会进行视频或音频录制，非参与的学生也不会被纳入观察数据。

保密

收集的信息将仅用于研究目的，为研究收集的所有信息都将保密。您孩子的姓名或可以识别他们的信息都不会用于研究结果的任何出版物或展示。在整个数据分析过程中将使用化名。报告或未来出版物中不会使用或识别真实姓名或地点名称。为了保护您孩子的隐私，所有数字数据都将存储在一个加密的、受密码保护的 USB 上。USB 将存储在安全位置，并从数据中删除所有名称（替换为假名）。研究人员将把您孩子的假名与其真实姓名和电子邮件地址联系起来的列表保存在安全的地方，与他们的研究文件分开。研究结果可能会使用您孩子的假名在结果中被引用。研究完成七年后，所有数据将被销毁。

风险与收益

参与本研究没有已知或预期的任何风险或不适。您可能不会直接从参与这项研究中受益，但收集到的信息可能会为整个社会带来好处，特别是能提高对华裔语言学校学生的了解及激励他们对学习中国文化/语言的热情。

自愿参与

我们希望您的孩子能自愿参与本研究。您或您的孩子也可以拒绝参加。在研究过程中您的孩子可以随时拒绝回答任何问题或退出研究，这不会影响他们在枫叶中文学校的学习。如果您或您的孩子出于任何原因退出研究，退出之前收集的所有数据都将被删除销毁。中途退出不会产生任何负面后果。我们仅保留参与记录（同意书）。签署同意书并不代表您放弃任何合法权利。

由于采访将通过视频会议技术进行，因此信息可能会被未经授权的人截获（如黑客入侵）。这种风险无法完全消除。我们想让您意识到这一点。

参与这项研究人员都不会获得任何补偿。

问题

如果您对本研究的实施或您作为研究参与者的权利有任何疑问，您可以致电 (xxx) xxx-xxxx、xxx-xxx-xxxx 或 送电邮至 xxx@uwo.ca 联系西安大略大学人类研究伦理办公室。如果您对这项研究内容有任何疑问，请通过 xxx@uwo.ca 联系我本人或通过 xxx@uwo.ca 联系我的论文导师 Shelley K. Taylor 博士。

这封信供您保留以备将来参考。

祝安好，

董安琪

探索华文学校对其青少年学生身份建构的影响

知情同意书

首席研究员：Shelley K. Taylor 博士

院校：西安大略大学

电邮地址：xxx@uwo.ca

电话：xxx-xxx-xxxx

助理研究员：Angela Dong

院校：西安大略大学

电邮地址：xxx@uwo.ca

电话：xxx-xxx-xxxx

我已阅读研究介绍，了解了研究的性质。我同意我的孩子参加此项研究。

如果您同意以下内容，请用 ✓ 标记下列选项：

_____ 我同意在本研究中使用我孩子的电子邮件地址。

_____ 我同意对我的孩子在面谈录音。

_____ 在使用假名的前提下，我同意在论文中直接引用在研究期间获得的信息。

姓名（请用正体）：

签名：

日期（日/月/年）：

我已经向上述参与者解释了这项研究内容和研究方式，并且回答了所有问题。

获得知情同意书的人：Angela Dong

签名：

日期（日/月/年）：

Appendix F – Letter of Information (Students)

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley K. Taylor
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Additional Researcher: Angela Dong
Institution: Western University
Email address: xxx@uwo.ca
Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Introduction

My name is Angela Dong and I am a Master of Arts student at the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario. I am currently doing research on the identity of students in Chinese language schools and would like to invite you to participate in this study.

If you agree to participate

If you agree to participate in this study, there will be:

1. **An interview.** It will take about one hour outside of class time over Zoom. I will ask for your email address to schedule the interview. I will be asking you questions about your experiences at Chinese school and about your Chinese and Canadian identities. If you feel comfortable, the interviews will be audio recorded. If you do not wish to be recorded, you can still be interviewed and I will take notes instead.
2. **Observations.** I will be observing your Chinese class for one month (four classes total) over Zoom to better understand your experiences. These classes will not be video or audio recorded, and non-participating students will not be included in observation data.

Confidentiality

The information collected will be used for research purposes only and will be kept confidential. Fake names will be used throughout the data analysis. All digital data will be stored on a secure USB. You may be quoted directly in the results, using your fake name.

Voluntary Participation

You do not have to be in the study. It is up to you. You may refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time. If you withdraw from the study after it begins, your data will be removed and destroyed without any negative consequences.

Questions

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact Western University's Office of Human Research Ethics at (xxx) xxx-xxxx or xxx-xxx-xxxx. If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at xxx@uwo.ca or my thesis supervisor, Dr. Shelley Taylor, at xxx@uwo.ca.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Sincerely,
Angela Dong

ASSENT FORM

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me, and I wish to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Please indicate with a check mark if you agree to the following:

_____ I agree that the researcher may contact me via email for research purposes for this study.

_____ I agree to being audio recorded during my interview.

_____ I agree that the researcher may use direct quotes from me.
(Note: real names will not be used.)

Name (please print):

Signature:

Date:

Email:

My signature means that I have explained the study to the participant named above. I have answered all questions.

Name of person obtaining consent: Angela Dong

Signature:

Date:

Appendix G – Ethics Approval Notice



Date: 4 April 2022

To: Dr. Shelley Taylor

Project ID: 120029

Study Title: Exploring the effects of a Chinese heritage language school on the identity construction of adolescent students

Application Type: NMREB Amendment Form

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: May 6 2022

Date Approval Issued: 04/Apr/2022 20:43

REB Approval Expiry Date: 01/Mar/2023

Dear Dr. Shelley Taylor,

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the amendment, as of the date noted above.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Appendix A - clean	Written Consent/Assent	31/Mar/2022	3
Appendix B - clean	Written Consent/Assent	31/Mar/2022	3
Appendix C - clean	Written Consent/Assent	31/Mar/2022	3
Appendix E	Translated Documents	31/Mar/2022	3
Appendix F	Translated Documents	31/Mar/2022	3
Appendix D - clean	Written Consent/Assent	31/Mar/2022	3

Documents Acknowledged:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Attestation of Translation	Translation Certificate	31/Mar/2022	1

REB members involved in the research project do not participate in the review, discussion or decision.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Kelly Patterson, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Curriculum Vitae

Name: Angela Dong

Post-secondary Education and Degrees: Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada
2015-2019 B.A.

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2020-2022 M.A.

Honours and Awards: Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship
2020

Related Work Experience Quality Control Specialist (Contract)
Duolingo English Test
2021-Present

English Teacher
Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education
2019-2020

Writing Tutor
Saint Mary's University Writing Centre
2018-2019