Interculturality in Chinese Language Education

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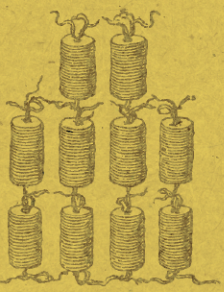

Palgrave Studies on Chinese Education in a Global Perspective

Palgrave Studies on Chinese Education in a Global Perspective

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Foreword: Complexity and challenges in teaching and learning the 'language of the future'

'Is English or Mandarin the language of the future?', asked the BBC Magazine provocatively in Feb 2012. The question is not surprising. With more native speakers than English, Mandarin is no doubt one of the most important languages in the world. And it is not just a numbers game. The symbolic, economic, political, cultural, and communicative significance of Mandarin has also grown on a global scale in recent years. In the *Language for the Future* report commissioned by British Council in 2013, Mandarin Chinese is ranked the 4th most vital language for the UK over the next 20 years after Spanish, Arabic, and French, due to a combination of factors including the needs of UK businesses, the UK's overseas trade targets, and diplomatic and security priorities, among other things.

Behind the strong claims to be the language of/for the future, Mandarin has found itself in various important positions and roles across the globe. These are:

- *Mandarin as a language of belonging and connection with 'home' culture.* As a heritage language, Mandarin is taught in complementary or community schools. Its primary learners are thousands of members of the Chinese diasporic communities worldwide whose parents or grandparents may be speakers of different varieties of Chinese. The connection could be for real or exist only in memory or imagination. The sense of belonging could come from learners themselves or is instilled by their parents or extended families back 'home'.
- *Mandarin as a language of political, cultural, or educational interest or investment.* The 'official' offering of Mandarin in schools and

universities as a modern or foreign language is no small measure thanks to subtle nudges or not-so-subtle pushes from the Confucius Institutes initiative spearheaded by *Hanban* (the Office of Chinese Language Council International), just in the same way as English is promoted by the British Council, French by Alliance Française, or German by the Goethe-Institut. Here, Mandarin is envisioned as the key to understanding Chinese culture and as 'soft power' to win alliances and influence.

- *Mandarin as a language of symbolic ties.* Mandarin, known as *Putonghua* in Mainland China, *Guoyu* in Taiwan, and *Huayu* in Southeast Asia, creates opportunities to bridge political gaps or to consolidate existing links. Dictionaries comparing different varieties of Mandarin are not just lists of characters, phrases, and pronunciations, but are guises for political manoeuvres between Mainland China and its neighbouring regions.

The changing status of Mandarin and the scale and spread of Mandarin native speakers and learners lead to unprecedented complexity and new challenges facing global Chinese language education. As this volume *Interculturality in Chinese Language Education* has unravelled these, complexities and challenges exist on a number of fronts. Who are the learners? This community includes the younger generations of Chinese immigrants who have close family ties with China, ethnic Chinese whose parents and grandparents may be speakers of different varieties of Chinese, multilingual speakers and transnationals who have travelled or lived in different parts of the world, and native English speakers on study abroad programme in China (see the chapters by Ganassin; Wang Danlu; Wang and Guo; Moloney and Xu, this volume). They differ in learning goals, motivations, experiences, and investment in learning Chinese. The innocent question 'Miss, do we have to eat dumplings on Chinese New Year?' by a learner (whose family originally came from Southern China, an area where people celebrate new year with regional cuisine) in a 'Making Chinese dumpling' lesson (Wang Danlu's chapter) opens new avenues for investigation: How useful cultural activities are in language classroom? How to account for diversity in cultural practices in teaching? How to make best use of learners' funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al. 2005, discussed in Moloney and Xu's chapter, this volume)?

Secondly, teachers themselves come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, with differing knowledge bases, skills sets, experiences, values,

attitudes, and ideologies. Many of them speak Mandarin as a second language. Their linguistic and cultural backgrounds as well as their trajectories in migration, education, and career very much shape the way they teach and interact with their students. Pan and Wang's chapter unpicked a number of some less-researched factors behind Chinese teachers' teaching styles. These include their teaching experience in China, their own children's learning experience in mainstream schools and Chinese learning experience, their own experience of learning a second language, support from other colleagues, as well as their orientation towards the Western pedagogy. With thousands of teachers being trained to teach Chinese to a highly diverse multilingual and multicultural international community, naturally there is a debate on the issues of legitimacy and competency along the divide between native vs. non-native Chinese language teachers; teachers trained in China and brought in through the Confucius Institute vs. teachers recruited from the local and with the local knowledge. Zhang and Wang's chapter in this volume offers a rare insight into non-native Chinese language teachers' identity development from learners of Chinese to teachers of Chinese in Denmark.

How do we unearth all the complexities and challenges and find a way forward? The volume does not stop at just problematizing these issues. It offers interculturality both as an analytical lens and a way forward. Interculturality, as an emerging paradigm for understanding diversity in encounters (Dervin and Risager 2015, cf. research paradigm in Zhu Hua, 2014), places a great emphasis on process of developing intercultural understanding and critical and reflexive interpretation of diversity. In the context of language education, interculturality transforms the *intercultural* language-and-culture learning pedagogy (e.g. Corbett 2003) into a thinking and analytical toolkit. As the Introduction by Jin & Dervin states, the interculturality approach problematizes basic notions such as culture, identity, and 'intercultural' as well and asks the question of how. Throughout the volume, we have seen examples (e.g. see the chapters by Wang Jiayi; Moloney and Xu, this volume) of how the very analytical lens helps learners, teachers, and researchers to demystify stereotypes abundant in textbooks and classroom discourse and to develop a critical and reflective understanding of diversity in encounters.

This volume, which takes interculturality as an overarching analytical lens for discussion, consists of nine chapters. Taken together, they highlight issues specific to Chinese language education as well as issues relevant to teaching and learning of all languages. The thought-provoking insights

generated in the volume along with rich examples and data provide a vision of how the language of/for the future could be learned and taught in an era of globalisation.

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Identifying and Contextualising the Key Issues

Tinghe Jin and Fred Dervin

Introduction

Interculturality in Chinese Language Education is located within the growing interest in learning Mandarin Chinese and the wider social contexts from which it springs around the world. An increasing number of initiatives at all levels of the curriculum of Chinese language education are taking place, promoted by Chinese authorities and/or local organisations and institutions. According to the Chinese National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, commonly referred to as Hanban, the *Confucius Institute Annual Development Report 2014* claimed that there were 1.11 million registered students in Confucius Institutes and classrooms worldwide by the end of 2014 (Hanban 2015). In addition, there has been corresponding interest in the improvement of Chinese teacher education and teachers' professional development.

Teaching the Chinese language also requires teaching about China, 'Chinese worlds' and the Chinese themselves. In spite of being described

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as a 'monochrome forest' in the 'West' (Cheng 2008), China is an extremely diverse country of approximately 1.3 billion inhabitants, comprising very different social, ethnic and linguistic groups. People from Yining (northwest of China in the Mongolian Uplands), Qiqihar (in the north-eastern part of the country) or Nanning (southern China) may have very little in common with each other, even though they share the same nationality. Indeed, one does not need to change regions to experience diversity in China: in Beijing, for instance, one can easily meet people from a wide range of provinces in a different district or even on a different street. Another example of the diverse nature of China is the pronounced variations in language and dialect. Minhong Yu, the Founder and Chairman of the renowned company New Oriental Education & Technology Group in China, one of the largest providers of private educational services in the country, does not have Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua) as his first language and many think that he speaks it 'badly'. Jin Tinghe, the co-editor of this book, is from Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province in China, whose first language is *Wenzhouhu*a 温州话 (Wenzhounese) and second language is Mandarin.

Additionally, the concept of culture – as in the phrase 'Chinese culture' – has often been the main emphasis of Chinese language education, providing students with facts about China and instructions about how to meet Chinese people and to behave like a Chinese person. This has often created a 'cultural taxidermy' of the Chinese, which leads to narrow perceptions of Chinese people. 'Chinese culture', like all cultures, is not a fixed entity and is constantly evolving. Throughout its history, the Middle Kingdom has always been influenced by the 'other'. For instance, the toggle-and-loop button, which we often call the *Chinese knot button*, came with the Mongolians and Kublai Khan (1215–1294) (Chu 2013, p. 31).

In the 2010s and beyond, Chinese language education should invest in teaching interculturality between China and the rest of the world, where the rest of the world includes 'the West' but also 'Chinese worlds' – different regions of Mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia, among others. But how does one teach interculturality in relation to Chinese, especially if one wants to move beyond limited, fixed and somewhat essentialised understandings of culture? In this volume, interculturality refers to encounters between individuals who are from different national, regional and social spheres, who are interested in questioning their views and opinions of the 'other'

and the 'self' in order to construct a space of diversity, social justice and more 'transparent' encounters. In relation to China, this means 'show[ing] that there is not one unique way of thinking in China and to recognize the fact that China did not stop thinking in Ancient times, or when Western modernity was introduced to her' (Cheng 2007, p. 164). China, just like any other country, is a rich and complex place, with very diverse people. How can one effectively include China in its entirety in Chinese language education?

In this chapter, we discuss Chinese language 'worlds', diverse contexts, identities of learners and identities of teachers in order to highlight diverse and changing elements within Chinese language education. The discussions are characterised by current research on the intercultural component of language education in relation to Chinese language. Based on this, interculturality has come to be seen as the key feature of Chinese language education. We ask the question of how one can develop interculturality in the context of Chinese language education by discussing critical concepts such as culture, identity and 'the intercultural'. A summary of how other chapters in this volume contribute to interculturality in Chinese language education is also provided.

Chinese Language 'Worlds'

In 2013 the British national daily newspaper The Guardian (5 December 2013) featured an article that listed eight of the biggest challenges for a native English speaker to learn Mandarin:

1. You'll find the writing baffling . . .
2. . . . and the tones a nightmare
3. Mistakes can be filthy
4. Progress will be glacial
5. You won't be able to text message
6. Good teachers are in short supply
7. In any case, most of the people don't speak it . . .
8. . . . and nor do their leaders.

These comments may exaggerate the challenges of learning Mandarin in order to serve their purpose of creating an entertaining and eye-catching story, but they also contribute towards reinforcing older stereotypes that propagate the 'distancing' of Chinese. Earlier, Jorden and Walton (1987) described Chinese as a 'truly foreign language' owing to the perceived

linguistic and cultural differences. However, one Chinese Studies lecturer has been reported as saying that while the script and tonal system are difficult, they hold the potential for enjoyment:

> It really appeals to kids, they find the different characters fun and grasp the different tones well, it's like singing for them. The more we demystify the language, the more people will learn it. At the moment it is still seen as exotic and a bit strange, which can put people off. But that's changing. (BBC News, 17 January 2006)

When discussing Europeans' attempts to learn Mandarin, it is almost always related to the cultural, social and political issues that arise. In this BBC News interview, 'strange', 'exotic' and 'demystify' are used to imply these socio-political-cultural dimensions.

Chinese has not been a fixed and static language from ancient times to the postmodern era. There is a substantial literature in Chinese describing the evolution of Chinese characters and calligraphy, which shows how Chinese is embedded in specific cultural, historical and global geo-political settings. For example, with regard to the word 'country' or 'state', which in Chinese is '*guo* 国' or '*guojia* 国家', in early versions the character '国' contained a radical '或', which may refer to people with weapons to protect their city. This character reveals how cultural intuition or memory may be forged defensively through a struggle to achieve safety. Thus, Chinese characters bring a different way of thinking about language. In contrast, when the same word 'country' is used in England it connotes an idyllic rural landscape and traditional way of life signified by rolling hills, attractive woodland and green fields with sheep and cattle grazing peacefully. Therefore, to understand the character '国' fully requires sensitivity to cultural and historical associations.

Chinese, like many other languages, has considerable diversity in its spoken dialect forms as well as the number of distinct languages used in provinces, districts and small clusters of villages. According to Yuan (2001), there are seven main groups of dialects in China: Beifanghua (Mandarin), Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese) and Min. For example, Cantonese, which is spoken in Guangdong Province and Hong Kong, constitutes a major language. As non-Cantonese languages increasingly move into this province, Mandarin is becoming more established and very few people are now monolingual Cantonese speakers. Within this province there are other languages too, such as Hokkien,

Teochew and Hakka. Linguistic diversity has been a political issue in Guangdong particularly since 2011 when the national and provincial government passed the Guangdong National Language Regulations (广东省国家通用语言文字规定), which made it legally mandatory for all public services, mainstream broadcasting and official activities to be conducted in *Putonghua* (People's Government of Guangdong Province 2011). The move provoked widespread public concern in Guangdong province and beyond as the regulations were perceived as an attempt to destroy Cantonese culture, as reported in some media, for example Dwnews (22 December 2011). Another Chinese language, *Wenzhouhua* 温州话**,** is spoken in Wenzhou city in Zhejiang Province. Its etymological history derives from a branch of Wu Chinese and it is in effect a distinct language that includes influences from Min Chinese. Despite the close geographical proximity of these languages, *Wenzhouhua* 温州话 and variants of Wu and Min are not mutually intelligible, either with each other or Mandarin. Zhu and Li (2014, p. 328) commented that 'Modern Chinese comprises eight mutually unintelligible varieties, based on historical connections and geographical distribution' and 'Mandarin is the English name for the northern variety of Chinese'. However, elsewhere such 'dialects' would be recognised as distinct languages in their own right albeit with significant influence from Mandarin, which itself exists with variants such as that used in Sichuan. An analogous situation would be to describe Romanian, Portuguese, Catalan and French, as 'dialects' rather than recognising them as distinct languages even though they share some commonality. Starr (2009, p. 67) described Chinese 'dialects' as 'mutually unintelligible and much further apart than languages such as Norwegian and Swedish, for example'.

Mandarin Chinese, called *Putonghua* 普通话 in Chinese meaning 'common speech', is the official national language of the People's Republic of China (PRC), which was identified by the Chinese government in 1949 when the PRC was established. The issue of what to call the language is important because throughout the post-War and post-Liberation period 'common speech' reflected the political emphasis of the founders of the People's Republic. Mandarin also includes spoken Chinese in Taiwan and Singapore. There are a variety of Chinese terms meaning Mandarin as different regional and political differences contain geographic and cultural elements, such as *huayu* 华语 (literally 'Chinese language') used in Singapore (also in Taiwan and Malaysia) referring to Chinese heritage (Duff et al. 2013, p. 4) and in Taiwan, Mandarin is called 'national

language' *Guoyu* 国语 (Newnham 1971, pp. 50–61). Two forms of Chinese characters are currently used, simplified and traditional. Simplified characters are used in mainland China and traditional characters in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The PRC published the 'Chinese Character Simplification Scheme' (汉字简化方案) in 1956 and the 'Pinyin scheme' in 1958. While Pinyin was recognised internationally in 1982, it was not until 2009 that a similar level of official recognition arose in Taiwan.

Blommaert and Rampton (2011) have discussed superdiversity within a language and argued that language is increasingly denationalised. For example, in London more than 100 languages are spoken including Mandarin, Cantonese and other Chinese languages and/or dialects. Chinese is no longer an exotic and distant language confined to a small number of specialists but it is spoken by an increasingly visible number of Chinese students, both overseas Chinese and visiting Chinese, in many university campuses across the USA, Australia, the UK and other countries in Europe. The presence of Chinese outside China is a significant context when considering interculturality within learning Mandarin. Based on these characteristics of Chinese language 'worlds', modern pedagogical methods continue to explore new approaches, such as Moloney and Xu's (2016) collection of studies exploring innovative pedagogy for teaching and learning Chinese.

Diverse Contexts of Chinese Language Education

The movement of the Chinese diaspora around the world is not a new phenomenon (Barabantseva 2011; Kuhn 2008). 'The Encyclopaedia of the Chinese Overseas' (Pan 1998) identifies this diverse development of the Chinese diaspora in history. For example, the Chinese community in Canada is the one of the largest overseas Chinese communities and the Chinese community in the UK has been expanding significantly in size and diversity. According to Office for National Statistics (2015), in 2014 the official estimate of migrants coming to Britain from China was 39,000, equivalent to 7% of all immigrants in Britain. There were 92,353 (up 8,240 or +10%, on the year of 2014) entry clearance visas granted, excluding visitor and transit visas to the UK, for people from Mainland China in the year ending September 2015 (Office for National Statistics 2015). Among these overseas Chinese communities, in order to teach the next generations who were born abroad Chinese languages and to maintain Chinese cultural traditions, Chinese complementary schools

(see chapter by Wang, Chapter 7, this volume) or Chinese community schools (see chapter by Ganassin, Chapter 6, this volume) were developed (Zhu and Li 2014) (see also community-supported out-of-school programmes in chapter by Pan and Wang, Chapter 4, this volume). In the UK, these schools are where British born Chinese children have learned Chinese language and culture supplementary to their mainstream education (Francis et al. 2009; Li and Zhu 2011) since the early twentieth century (Mau et al. 2009). The majority of immigrants in the early twentieth century were Cantonese speaking rather than Mandarin speaking. An increasing number of these schools introduced Mandarin to reflect the growing sense among British Cantonese families that their children should learn Mandarin (Li and Zhu 2011; Wang 2014).

The increasingly visible role of these schools has attracted studies on Chinese (including Cantonese) as heritage languages (e.g. Mau et al. 2009; Francis et al. 2010). Li (2014) conducted a study that focused on complex linguistic and cultural features within the learning of Chinese in British complementary schools. His study explored interactions between teachers and students in relation to their linguistic knowledge and social-cultural experiences through which they constructed their identities. He proposed that teachers and students can learn through their different sources of knowledge and their intercultural differences. Other studies, such as Li and Pu's (2010) research, have introduced intercultural competence to Chinese Heritage Language Education in Chinese complementary schools in the US context.

Added to this phenomenon is the increasing number of Chinese students studying abroad. According to China Education Online and Uxuan Education (2016), the total number of Chinese students studying abroad reached 523,700 in 2015, an increase of 63,900 on the number of students in 2014. Between 2014 and 2015, the top countries for Chinese students' overseas higher education were the USA, Australia, the UK and Canada (China Education Online and Uxuan Education 2016). For example, China is now the highest ranking non-EU country sending students to UK universities (UKCISA 2016). These students bring a variety of Chinese dialects and related languages onto campuses.

A further context for expansion within the learning of Chinese has been that of Confucius Institutes. Supported by Hanban, branches of the Confucius Institute aim to promote and support the teaching and learning of Mandarin outside China. While Confucius Institutes are

associated with universities providing both traditional language degrees and professional training for adult learners, Chinese classrooms are developed within schools to connect the university to school provision, in turn serving the needs of young students' learning of Chinese. By December 2015 the number of institutes had expanded to 500 with 1000 Confucius Classrooms in 134 countries and regions (Hanban 2017). Confucius Institutes are relevant to the context of Chinese language education, not only because of their wider development but also owing to their role in the global spread of Chinese 'soft power' (see Park 2013; Yang 2010). Similar to the British Council or Alliance Françaises, which are long-established examples, the attempt to secure influence through promoting an ideal national culture through language teaching is not new.

As China becomes increasingly established as a global superpower politically and economically, the need to learn Chinese is also increasing, for example BBC News (24 December 2009) reported that a Bolivian market trader felt learning Mandarin was necessary. This means that the rise in the number of people learning Chinese is not only the result of government initiatives but continues to expand through individual interests and needs. A recent development has been the arrival of commercially structured schools offering Chinese language in combination with cultural/recreational courses, such as the 'Meridian Chinese Studies' group (Meridian Chinese Studies 2017). Another development is of non-Chinese students who are studying Chinese in China taking part in study abroad programmes (see chapter by Wang and Guo, Chapter 3, this volume). In this way, the context of teaching and learning Chinese worldwide is becoming diverse and complex, and indeed, is changing.

Leaners of Chinese: Who Are They?

Within various contexts of Chinese language education it has become clear that learners of Chinese do not constitute a homogeneous group (see, for example, chapter by Ganassin, Chapter 6, this volume; Jin 2016). The variety of Chinese language learners across countries has been identified by Lo Bianco (2011), who raises the pedagogical issue of placing language too closely to 'foreign' places and people while students of Chinese themselves come from multilingual and multicultural societies. The learning of Chinese should benefit from the global spread of Chinese communities,

which 'provide both native-speaker settings for the language, widespread variation in spoken language forms, local communicative norms sand values and pre-existing efforts of language maintenance'; in other words, the human capital within studies of Chinese (Lo Bianco 2011, p. xvi).

In the Chinese proficiency competition for foreign college students in the UK regional final held in London in 2016, among European competitors there were two Asian participants, one from Japan and the other from Thailand. A question was raised among the audience towards the end of the event about whether these two contestants from Asian countries could take advantage of learning Chinese. This raises an issue about how learners' linguistic, ethnic and social backgrounds can positively contribute to their learning of Chinese. Studies concerning learners of Chinese can be found in Everson and Shen's (2010) collection. However, this collection is more concerned with cognitive and linguistic aspects rather than a social and cultural perspective. Indeed, teachers' lack of awareness of the value of students' multilingual repertoires contributing to pedagogical practice is not limited to the field of Chinese language education (see, for example, Faneca et al. 2016). A growing number of studies have focused on students' experiences and identities in their intercultural encounters, for example students studying abroad (e.g. Jackson 2014; Skyrme 2014). Danison (2013) has pointed out that learners' linguistic and family backgrounds influenced their study culture in their language learning. Duff et al.'s (2013) study has drawn attention on learners of Chinese studying Chinese as their additional language. In their study, the researchers themselves were the research participants and their (auto)biographical accounts of learning Chinese, and issues about identities, ideology and narrativity were discussed. Although there exists a limited number of studies focusing on the 'intercultural' approach in teaching and learning Chinese, Moloney and Xu (2016a) and Jin (2014) have shed light on the intercultural competence of university leaners. Jin (2016) argues that approaches to teaching and learning Mandarin need to be more rooted in biographical, social and cultural understandings of learners' identities.

Being and Becoming Teachers of Chinese

Being and becoming a teacher of Chinese, or any other subject, involves the development of a sense of self-belief and competence in their teaching. Cultural influences such as educational cultures play an important role in this development (Wang and Jensen 2011). This echoes theories

of 'becoming' and 'being' elaborated by Deleuze and Guattari (1994) within general socio-economic theory and by Britzman (1991) in the field of teacher education. By referring to 'learning to teach', Britzman (1991, p. 8) described a process of *becoming* as, 'a time of formation and transformation, of scrutiny into what one is doing, and who one can become' (see also Jin and Moore 2014). The lack of qualified Mandarin teachers is an active and ongoing concern in academic circles (Li 2013; Wang and Higgins 2008; Zhang and Li 2010; Liu and Dervin 2016), in public media (e.g. BBC News, 6 June 2014) and at government level in the UK for example. Similar concerns are expressed in a study based in Taiwan (Chen and Hsin 2011) and elsewhere (Orton 2011; Wang 2016). As teaching Chinese to non-native Chinese speakers is a relatively new subject, teachers of Chinese need to develop their awareness regarding who and where they teach. A growing number of teachers of Chinese are coming from China for example via Hanban programmes to teach Chinese outside China and there is also an increasing number of training opportunities for local teachers. 'Language teachers, however, are a diverse group coming from multiple linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds' (Moloney 2013, p. 214).

A number of studies have focused on native Chinese teachers' education in order to address issues around 'being' and 'becoming' Chinese language teachers abroad. For example, in Australia, Moloney (2013) has called for more support for native Chinese speaking teachers of Chinese at schools in order to help them become effectively engaged with intercultural pedagogy. Moloney (2013) has emphasised teachers' own cultural and pedagogic backgrounds. In an earlier study conducted in Montreal, Quebec, in the context of teaching Chinese heritage language, Curdt-Christiansen (2006) analysed classroom discourses and identified that learning is a negotiation of cultural practices, also referring to teachers' experiences and cultural backgrounds. Teachers' prior experiences have also been highlighted by Wang and Du (2014) whose study investigated teachers' perspectives about their professional identities and views of the teacher-student relationship in Denmark. The changing contexts of teaching have been highlighted as key factors affecting teachers' views and identities. Wang et al. (2013) conducted a comparative study of Chinese Language Teacher Education Programmes by interviewing six language educators and six pre-service teachers in Beijing, Hong Kong and Sydney. They highlighted a need to develop an internationalised curriculum of Chinese language teacher education.

At the time of writing in 2017, this need is extended to a focus on interculturality, in which teachers' own backgrounds, their senses of identity and the co-construction of these with the 'other' can play a positive role in their overseas teaching and in classroom discursive activities. Zhang and Wang's chapter (Chapter 5) in this volume has shifted emphasis to non-native Chinese teachers from a university in Denmark, observing their learning and working experiences in relation to interculturality. Although research into non-native Chinese teachers is still limited, the number of those teachers and relevant training and education opportunities are increasing. A similar focus should also be placed on the wider school context, regional and national educational system and global political and economic development, as teachers' professional identities are related to these wider contexts. Examples have been provided by Wang's (Chapter 7) and Pan and Wang's (Chapter 4) chapters in this volume who explore Chinese heritage teachers, the majority of whom are volunteers and lack professional teaching experience and relevant training and development opportunities.

Interculturality in Chinese Language Education: What We Ask

> Open a travel guide: usually you will find a brief lexicon which strangely enough concerns only certain boring and useless things: customs, mail, the hotel, the barber, the doctor, prices. Yet what is traveling? Meetings. The only lexicon that counts is the one which refers to the rendezvous. (Barthes 1982, p. 13)

As Barthes asserts in the opening quote to this section, interculturality should be more about meeting other people (what he calls 'the rendezvous') rather than accumulating 'peculiar' and 'exotic' knowledge about the 'target' culture.

Interculturality in this volume represents just this. It places emphasis on national, regional and social diversity (meaning: people) within the teaching and learning of Chinese, in which intercultural awareness, understanding and responsiveness of learners, from a critical and reflexive perspective, can be recognised and developed. This process is achieved through individuals questioning their views of the 'other' and the 'self', the wider discursive space and ideologies in their encounters. Thus, this notion of 'interculturality' stresses the importance of understanding the experiences

and viewpoints of the people one meets, rather than merely acquiring ways of responding to people that one perceives as being essentially 'different' or 'other'. As such the focus is placed on processes rather than the mere acquisition of cultural facts. Culture is viewed as fluid and dynamic, and developing a holistic appreciation of interculturality as a broad outlook and sensibility is achieved through life-long learning processes (Dervin 2010, 2011). Therefore, this requires the development of teachers' sensitivity and awareness in order to recognise learners' backgrounds and experiences, and the wider social space in which they have been involved.

By introducing the idea of 'interculturality' into Chinese language education, we ask the following questions:

- Can Chinese language education contribute to developing a form of intercultural competence which is critical and reflexive?
- Can Chinese language education help learners and users go beyond stereotypes and representations of the Chinese and the hidden ideologies behind them?
- How can one teach Chinese culture as a process rather than a product (beyond 'cultural taxidermy')?
- How can we train and educate teachers of Chinese (from China or elsewhere) to introduce work on interculturality in their lessons rather than mere cultural facts?

Thus, basic concepts such as culture, identity and the very word 'intercultural' are problematised. Systematic criticality towards these concepts and the ideologies that hide behind them is required. Furthermore, we call for an emphasis on both difference and similarity/interrelations in considering Chinese 'culture'. Finally, as hinted at several times earlier in this chapter, there is a need to recognise the 'diverse diversities' negotiated between and within groups and individuals (processes) (Dervin 2016).

Teaching and learning languages can never entirely be about language alone, but must include an awareness of social and cultural values, partly through developing communicative sensitivities and abilities. The inclusion of culture in the teaching and learning of Chinese has long been appreciated (e.g. Everson 2011; Xing 2006; Zhang and Li 2010). In Wen and Grandin's (2010) study, the discussion of culture in learning Chinese is based on cross-cultural communication skills. Although Danison (2013) identified that teachers' definition of culture is implicit, the teachers' view of culture that emerged in his study tended to be fixed and emphasising difference, such as

clearly distinguishing 'Chinese culture' from 'American culture'. However, a critical position has been taken on some interpretations of the concept of 'culture' and how 'culture' can be taught in the classroom (e.g. Kirkebæk et al. 2013). Zhu and Li's (2014, p. 334) study identified, in the context of Confucius Institutes and classrooms, that some teachers had only 'superficial' ideas about culture. Wang (Chapter 2) in this volume discusses 'culture' in language classrooms in the following three interconnected approaches by referring to Zhu (2014) (a) teaching culture as content, (b) teaching language-and-culture and (c) teaching culture through language (an intercultural approach). Moving towards an interculturality approach is a process of critically understanding the notion of culture in order to establish a non-essentialist view of culture. By using 'intercultural*ity*' rather than 'intercultural', the focus is placed on the processual dimension rather than on meetings between defined cultures (Lavanchy et al. 2011). Thus, an interculturality approach in teaching and learning Chinese means we move away from an information approach (Kirkebæk et al. 2013; Kumaravadivelu 2008) towards the more process-based approach to teaching 'culture', through which the learner can develop their understanding and question their thoughts and assumptions.

Within this cultural process of learning, the emphasis is very much on learners' identity and on that of those they encounter face-to-face or through learning material, which at one level may be related to the language the individual speaks in communication (Zhu 2014). For example, '[f]luency in a heritage language is often used as a marker of the strength of one's orientation towards ethnicity of the community' (Zhu 2014, p. 205). At another level, this identity may be influenced by perceptions of parents and the wider public about which Chinese language should be preferably taught and learned (Zhu and Li 2014), as shown in the analysis of 'constructing native speakerism in a quest for the "perfect" Mandarin speaker' in Ganassin's chapter (Chapter 6) in this volume. In Zhu's (2014) words, interculturality is about 'doing' cultural identities; engaging individuals in their interaction with culture; and possessing interactional resources to forge a cultural identity. In addition, it is necessary to be aware of the power imbalance of intercultural encounters, which can stimulate intercultural dialogue and thus lead students towards critical and reflexive thinking and questioning (Shi-Xu 2001).

However, as Moloney and Xu (2016b) argue, the most prominent challenge that Chinese language education faces is its pedagogy. Teaching approaches to Chinese have shifted from teaching Chinese as a

first language to teaching it as a second/additional language, along with associated shifts from the grammar-translation approach to audio-lingual and communicative/functional approaches (Cruickshank and Tsung 2011, p. 217). Although these shifts have raised issues concerning the development of appropriate pedagogies for teaching Chinese, the traditional approach such as the grammar-translation method still remains as the main approach adopted by some teachers (Moloney and Xu 2016b). Adding to this, there are some teachers who have sought to move towards an intercultural communicative approach to the teaching of Chinese, as reflected by materials designed for a beginners' distance-learning Chinese course at the Open University in Britain (Álvarez 2011). Kirkebæk et al.'s (2013) research has invited teachers to consider their own practice critically in order to understand how culture can be taught by linking it to different dimensions and contexts of their teaching. In order to develop teaching approaches, the active role of teachers in enhancing students' intercultural learning is long appreciated (e.g. Byram 1997; Liddicoat 2005). As shown in the next section, in this volume, researchers and teachers from diverse contexts are moving towards interculturality in Chinese language education.

About the Volume

This volume presents global studies that promote intercultural awareness, dialogue and encounters – interculturality as a critical and reflexive force – in Chinese language education. Each of the chapters emphasises the research context in which the study was conducted, discusses and examines the inclusion of interculturality in Chinese language education in various dimensions. They draw attention to the processes involved in intercultural exchanges within teaching and learning Chinese across different linguistic, regional and social backgrounds.

Wang Jiayi's chapter (Chapter 2) discuss how teachers can help university students to question cultural stereotypes, move beyond essentialist views and develop critical intercultural understanding through designed classroom activities. Her chapter reports an initiative of designing lessons by using textbooks and videos highlighting the value of students' own conflicting views and experiences in classroom teaching. The case study of teaching practice and the teacher's reflections on this exploratory pedagogical design provide insights on how to include interculturality into teaching of Chinese.

Wang Jiayi and Guo Zhiyan's chapter (Chapter 3) focuses on students' development of intercultural competence during their periods of study abroad. They feature 97 students from two British universities. Students' reflective reports across six years were collected and analysed. This study suggests that the development of intercultural competence is not a linear process; 'setbacks can occur'. The chapter further identifies factors that influence students' development of intercultural competence and argues that guidance about questioning stereotypes needs to be provided to students before their departure as well as during their stays in China. The same requirement is applied to teachers in order to help them to support students' development of intercultural competence through structured *critical* reflection.

Pan Mengting and Wang Shujiao's chapter (Chapter 4) explores how the teaching backgrounds of heritage language teachers influence their teaching Chinese in community-supported out-of-school programmes in Canada. By investigating six teachers' perspectives towards their teaching practices through questionnaires and interviews, this chapter identifies teachers' intercultural awareness and understating of different teaching approaches based on different educational contexts. They argue that teachers' prior teaching experience is an asset rather than an obstacle to their adaptation to their new teaching environment and the development of their teaching approaches. However, they call for greater community support, for instance from school management teams.

Zhang Chun and Wang Danping's chapter (Chapter 5) addresses the issue of non-native Chinese teachers who are Danish nationals teaching Chinese. They explore how two teachers changed their role as learners of Chinese to teachers of Chinese in Denmark. Drawing data from interviews, they state that identities are fluid and not fixed. Thus they highlight how the process of moving from a learner of Chinese to teacher of Chinese contributes to teachers' intercultural understanding of teaching Chinese.

Sara Ganassin's chapter (Chapter 6) explores the diversity of learners of Chinese and constructions of Chinese language within Mandarin community schooling in England. The chapter contrasts perspectives from teachers, pupils and parents, and questions the simplified idea of 'Chinese culture' and the assumption of a homogeneous group of leaners. She argues that learners' identities are not only tied to Mandarin; for example, many of her participants are native Cantonese speakers. This fact challenges the fixed idea of Chinese heritage language and native-speakerism.

Wang Danlu's chapter (Chapter 7) also focuses on the context of Chinese heritage language education and examines how cultural activities have been used in London Chinese complementary schools and learners' attitudes towards these activities. She identifies that one of the biggest challenges when teaching Chinese is the requirement to meet the needs of learners who have a variety of linguistic abilities, motivations and learning objectives. Learners' attitudes towards cultural activities suggest that cultural activities should reflect the changing nature of 'Chinese culture' and recognise the complexity of young students' identities.

Xu Huiling and Robyn Moloney's chapter (Chapter 8) also concern learners of Chinese heritage language. They draw on data from the perceptions of Chinese heritage language learners while undertaking a designed intercultural learning task. They argue that the voices of such learners need to be heard, and this can happen during their course through intercultural activities. The development of student identities becomes part of the activities as well as one of the outcomes. This development is an ongoing and critical process and is an emerging issue in the context of Chinese heritage language education for those learners whose Chinese language study has been effectively formed by their family backgrounds. They identify the positive possibilities of innovative and personally engaging pedagogy for interculturality in Chinese language education.

Conclusions

We believe that the studies in this volume demonstrate a critical dimension towards teaching and learning Chinese. Interculturality is the complex and changing nature of Chinese language education as well as a critical pathway through which we consistently challenge our beliefs and assumptions. Without understanding this basis of the teaching and learning of Chinese, it can be difficult to see progress in the development of pedagogical approaches. We also emphasise that it is the people who are involved in the process of teaching and learning who can have an active impact on this development. Therefore, the call for developing the understanding of learners and teachers, as well as how the wider social context influences their participation in learning and teaching, is prominent. Indeed, there is also a need to have greater support at the institutional level, such as from schools and universities, national level, for instance through educational policy, and from the international community, for example some organisations for teaching Chinese could develop teaching and learning materials in

collaboration with teachers and educators internationally. From an interculturality perspective, these various elements are interconnected and the development of learning and teaching is a long-term and evolving process.

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Bringing Interculturality into the Chinese-as-a-Foreign-Language Classroom

Jiayi Wang

The concept of culture has been widely problematized in intercultural studies. Recently, there has been an increasing call to examine how people use the term "culture" in discourse (e.g., Dervin 2011, 2012, forthcoming). Dervin, for example, explains that by concentrating on *interculturality*, we can shift our focus from regarding culture as a blanket explanation of everything to examining "how culture is used in discourse and actions to explain and justify" people's "actions and thoughts" (Dervin 2012, p. 187). In a similar vein, Sarangi adopted a discursive approach to analyzing intercultural interaction, questioning the "cultural" emphasis in miscommunication analysis and proposing to move from "what is culture" to "what we do with culture" (Sarangi 1994, p. 415). For this study, *interculturality* is defined as the promotion of a critical understanding of culture discourses.

Intercultural language education, which advances critical intercultural language teaching and learning, has begun to draw increasing attention from scholars (Dervin and Liddicoat 2013; Nugent and Catalano 2015).

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For example, Cole and Meadows's (2013) study used critical discourse analysis to demonstrate how a teacher's switching between standard and other-than-standard Indonesian in a language workshop helped deconstruct the nationalist essentializing in the language classroom.

In Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) contexts, Wang and Rendle-Short (2013) used conversation analysis in the teaching of the Chinese conversational opening *ni hao ma* (lit. how are you) in the Chinese Mandarin language classroom. They found that students were more likely to use *ni hao ma* appropriately in their telephone openings with their CFL teacher if they were guided to examine the differences between *ni hao ma* and the English conversational opening *how are you*, especially through an analysis of the respective adjacency pairs of these phrases. This study demonstrates the value of taking an "interculturality" approach to teaching and learning Chinese. I will further address this approach in the section below.

Nevertheless, to my knowledge, fostering critical intercultural understanding (referred to as interculturality in this study) in the CFL classroom has rarely been explored in the literature. The present research thus addresses this lacuna of research by reporting on a case study on how to foster interculturality in CFL classes. Specifically, it explores the ways in which a teacher can help students develop criticality and reflexivity (Dervin 2013), move beyond over-simplistic categorization (Riitaoja and Dervin 2014), and deconstruct essentialism in a classroom setting.

Culture in Teaching and Learning Chinese as a Foreign Language

Teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL) at universities in English-speaking countries began over a century ago. It was introduced at Yale in 1871 and in London at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in 1917 (Tsung and Cruickshank 2012, p. 1). However, until recently, issues of "culture" in Chinese language education have not been specifically explored. With increasing attention being directed toward culture in foreign language education in general (e.g., Byram 2009; Kramsch 1995; Nugent and Catalano 2015), a few researchers have begun to address it in the CFL context (Chen 2008; Jin 2014; Xing 2006).

Before narrowing the focus to culture in the teaching and learning of CFL, it is useful to briefly summarize the main ways in which culture is handled in

language classrooms. Overall, there are three interrelated yet distinct approaches: (a) *teaching culture as content*, (b) *teaching language-and-culture*, and (c) *teaching culture through language* (see, e.g., Zhu 2014, pp. 3–10 for a summary).

The first approach, also called as the "additive model" (Chen 2008), is widely adopted in TCFL practice at the *degree* level in the UK. In this approach, explicit information about Chinese culture is added to a language programme. For example, students study Chinese language in conjunction with content-based modules, such as Chinese society, history, and economics, which are often taught in English. In doing so, culture tends to be treated as more or less explicit knowledge that can be taught *independently* of language. While it provides background information for CFL learners, given the subtleties involved in the explicit and implicit aspects of culture (Chen 2008), this approach may lead to essentialist thinking about Chineseness.

Regarding culture and language as *inseparable*, the second approach, "teaching language-and-culture," is often conceptualized as an integrated approach (e.g., Chen 2008; Zhu 2014). While it has been studied from numerous perspectives in terms of what to integrate and how, many language teachers have called for such an approach since the 1980s. Viewing cultural awareness as an integral part of communicative competence, Byram and colleagues' works ushered in the *cultural turn* in foreign language teaching in the 1990s. Examples of the use of this approach can be found in some non-award-bearing CFL courses in the UK and short-term intensive study abroad programmes in China. The key feature of the integrated approach is, by definition, the integration of language and culture. Culture is handled implicitly, and the focus is on language use in communication (Chen 2008).

More recently, there is an emerging call for an "intercultural" approach (Zhu 2014), that is, teaching culture *through* language. To a certain degree, this resonates with the call to move to interculturality (Dervin 2012) that we discussed earlier in that this perspective advocates "teaching methods and techniques that de-emphasise 'norms' and favour learner-oriented approaches" and draw students' attention to heterogeneity and change within culture (Zhu 2014, p. 7). However, if we integrate the *interculturality* perspective (e.g., Dervin 2011, 2012; Sarangi 1994) into teaching, we may go a step further. Teachers may, for example, help students to see how culture is constructed in discourse. A critical analysis of students' own and others' use of discourses of Chineseness (Skyrme 2014) may better prepare them to avoid the essentialist pitfalls in the future.

It is worth pointing out that although the underlying ideas that have motivated these three approaches to handling culture in language classrooms seemingly contradict one another, they are not mutually exclusive in practice, and may be used in combination. For example, at an early stage of CFL teaching, some background information on China and the Chinese language can help CFL learners to obtain an overview, but teachers may need to be cautioned against labeling information such as concise country profiles as "culture." Throughout the process of CFL teaching and learning, teaching and learning certain norms will be unavoidable (e.g., how to greet someone politely in Chinese), yet students should be made aware that the universality of such "normative knowledge" is heavily dependent on the situational context and that norms are inherently ambiguous (see, e.g., Pan and Kádár 2011 for a book-length discussion of the ambiguity of Chinese politeness). At a more advanced stage, teachers may guide learners to critically analyze their own and others' discourses of Chineseness (see Xu and Moloney's chapter in this volume for an example of an intercultural learning task, which calls for intercultural critical thinking), and by doing so, the essentialist trap can be avoided (Cole and Meadows 2013).

Most CFL learners in British universities are European students. Some of them have never learned the Chinese language and have never been to a Chinese-speaking country before they went to university.[1] For them, the myth of the *other* surrounding Chinese culture and language alone may be a major motivation to choose Chinese as a degree course. The aim of this study, therefore, is to explore how a teacher may help students move beyond essentialist views of Chineseness and develop a critical understanding of culture discourses in a CFL classroom.

Bringing Interculturality into the Classroom: A Case of CFL Teaching

This case study aims to demonstrate the use and value of the "interculturality approach" by describing teaching and learning events in detail. I report on the ways in which a teacher can bring interculturality into classroom settings. Multiple sources of information were gathered, and these ranged from teaching materials to student reflections and discussions. The author was the teacher. The CFL learners in this case were 14 final-year undergraduate students enrolled in a degree programme in Chinese at a British university.

All of these students were given aliases. Interpreting was taught as a part of the core language modules, partly because of the overall emphasis on employment skills in the final year of the degree. While the students did not necessarily become professional interpreters after graduation, considering their Mandarin language skills, their potential employers might ask them, for example, to facilitate a business meeting more or less as an interpreter. Moreover, with the third-party perspective taken, that is, the interpreter's perspective, studying problematic intercultural communication in class is likely to be rewarding. By no means does this imply that the third-party perspective represents a neutral view. Rather, this may prevent students from simply taking sides with either of the conflicting parties.

The teaching materials were prepared by the teacher, drawing on both simulated examples from textbooks and authentic examples of intercultural interaction that took place between Chinese and British, as well as Chinese and American, professionals in a variety of settings. Given the overall "lack of adequate teaching materials in Chinese language teaching" in the UK (Zhang and Li 2010, p. 93), these materials were specifically compiled with the aim of shedding light on interculturality. Specifically, they were used to help the students to first unearth cultural assumptions in authoritative discourse and then to understand the process of othering, discovering the ambivalence and complexity inherent in the constructions of the Chinese Other.

With respect to classroom interactions, two weekly CFL lessons that explicitly addressed the issues related to culture were audio-recorded. The discussions relevant to the topic of this chapter, both in Chinese and in English, were transcribed. The transcripts of the classroom interactions were coded and analyzed in the qualitative research software NVivo around the theme of critical intercultural understanding. These lessons were taught in the middle of the final year of the CFL students' degree study. The first lesson was about cultural awareness, and the second lesson focused on intercultural mediation. Cultural awareness is the in-depth exploration of one's own and others' cultural background. This process involves the recognition of biases, prejudices, and assumptions about individuals who are different. Intercultural mediation is loosely defined as bridging the gaps of understanding in an intercultural conflict. Culture is often used as an explanation of difference, so in this chapter, following Finch and Nynas (2011, p. 2), intercultural mediation is specifically understood as being able to "avoid 'ethnicizing' or 'culturalizing' of an intercultural conflict."

Raising Critical Cultural Awareness: Unearthing Cultural Assumptions in Authoritative Discourse

The first week on cultural awareness aimed to help the CFL learners unearth cultural assumptions in authoritative discourses, such as textbooks. The teacher encouraged the students to write a short pre-class reflection on the broad topic of cultural awareness, in either Chinese or English, as a part of their preparation for this week. One of the students' reflections which is quoted below was shared in class:

> The process of becoming culturally aware, which is outlined by Bennett's "Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity", includes 6 stages of awareness: ethnocentrism, defensiveness, minimization of the perceived differences, acceptance, adaption and adoption and integration. I was able to develop my cultural awareness during the time I spent studying the Chinese language. While learning the language, I have been given valuable insights into various cultural perceptions, behaviours, customs, beliefs, values and social customs. Furthermore, my personal study of China, such as by consuming popular culture via watching television or by reading about history, and my time spent in China continued to help in solidifying my understanding and awareness of the culture. Although I do not believe that I have adopted and integrated the Chinese culture into my own cultural identity, I do feel that I have been able to adapt my own behaviour and that with time, my cultural awareness will continue to improve.

As an advanced Mandarin learner, Peter, like his classmates, had spent a year abroad in China during the third year of his degree. However, unlike most of his classmates, Peter had chosen the intercultural business communication course offered by the Business School as an elective module, so he already knew some intercultural communication theories. Sharing his reflection with the class served as a warm-up exercise leading into the main learning activity: unearthing cultural assumptions in authoritative discourse.

In particular, the first video episode from "Unit 6: Cultural Awareness" of a very popular textbook (Lonergan 2006) was played for the students. It contained a short introduction (which explicitly stressed the need to be aware of cross-cultural differences) and a studio drama. In this drama, a European businessman and his Chinese host are concluding their meeting.

Everything has gone very well, but "a cultural misunderstanding" occurs (Lonergan 2006, p. 71).

1	Host:	我很高兴, 您此次行程很顺利。
2	Interpreter:	I'm very pleased that your trip has been so successful.
3	Guest:	Well, without your help it would have been impossible.
4	Interpreter:	多亏了您的帮助。太感谢了。
5	Host:	这没什么, 是我的荣幸。
6	Interpreter:	Not at all. It has been a pleasure.
7	Guest:	You have been very kind, and your hospitality was wonderful.
8	Interpreter:	您还非常的热情好客。 ((As guest stands up to leave, he makes an off-hand comment on the picture on the wall.))
9	Guest:	That's an interesting picture!
10	Interpreter:	那幅画很有意思。
11	Host:	您喜欢吗?
12	Interpreter:	Do you like it?
13	Guest:	I like the style. Is it contemporary?
14	Interpreter:	我喜欢它的风格。是现代作品吗?
15	Host:	有三四十年了, 这位画家刚去世不久。生前是中国美术界挺知名的人物。
16	Interpreter:	It was 30 or 40 years old. The artist died recently. He was quite well known in the Chinese art circle.
17	Guest:	We don't have anything to compare with it in the west. My wife likes that type of painting. Anyway, I must go back to the hotel and pack.
18	Interpreter:	我们西方就没有这一类风格的作品。我妻子一定会很喜欢的。我现在要回酒店收拾行李。
19	Host:	请收下吧, 不成敬意。我派人送到您酒店去。
20	Interpreter:	Please, it is my gift to you. I will have it sent to your hotel. ((The guest is surprised at the offer. He doesn't want to take the painting.))
21	Guest:	I couldn't possibly accept such a gift.
22	Interpreter:	我实在不敢收。
23	Host:	不行, 你一定要收下。
24	Interpreter:	No. Please. I insist. ((The guest appeals to the interpreter.))
25	Guest:	I feel awkward about taking the painting. (Adapted from Lonergan 2006, pp. 69–71)

After watching this video clip, the students were asked to discuss, in groups of three or four, what went wrong and why. Most of them noted that the host interpreted the ritual compliment as an implicit request (Can you give it to me?), while the guest was "simply trying to be polite" (Andrew, Lily, and Rachel).

The second video episode of this unit was then played. It consisted of the guest's telephone conversation with his wife in his hotel room sometime later and an *authoritative* explanation provided by the textbook, which was uttered by the presenter in the video.

> *Guest*: Well, I was just trying to be polite, you know. They wrapped it up and sent it to the hotel. I have to get it to the airport somehow, and then try to get it through Customs, I suppose. But, you know, I just wonder whether I'll leave it to the hotel.
>
> *Presenter*: . . . what a terrible misunderstanding! The Chinese host has lost his precious painting, and the European businessman has ended up with an unwanted present. It is quite natural in western culture to compliment the host on their home and possessions . . .
>
> (Lonergan 2006, pp. 71–72)

As can be seen from the extract above, the European businessman has ended up with an unwanted gift, while the Chinese host has lost his expensive painting. A "cultural" explanation was provided by the textbook. After playing this episode, the teacher let the students work in the same groups to *critically* analyze the explanation. Interestingly, some of them began to identify the "cultural" assumptions underlying the claim that "It is quite natural in western culture to compliment the host on their home and possessions" and questioned it. One group (Stephanie, Richard, and Alex) even provided the following counterargument, at which the whole class laughed in approval:

> 我觉得中国人也 compliment, 你还要谦虚, 回答"哪里哪里"。
>
> [I think Chinese people also compliment, and you need to be modest, replying "*nali nali*".]

The response *nali nali* may be translated as "it is nothing," literally meaning "where where." This can be seen as one of the ritual ways to respond to others' compliments in Chinese, which embodies the "norms" of modesty and self-denigration (Tang and Zhang 2009). Clearly, the CFL learners in this case study began to realize that even authoritative discourses, such as textbook descriptions, can be problematic. They challenged the assumed opposition between Western and Chinese culture in this particular discourse. This, in fact, can be seen as a good example of the "minimization of the perceived differences" (see Peter's pre-class

reflection mentioned earlier). The notion of cultural norms will be further explored in the following section.

Demystifying *Othering*: Cultural Norms Constructed and Deconstructed

In this case, the advanced CFL learners had already acquired some "normative knowledge" about Chinese language and culture. The following week on intercultural mediation aimed to examine more closely the construction of cultural norms in real interactions in the real world. Role play was used again in the form of asking the students to work in groups of three or four to experience *alternative behaviors, emotions, and thoughts.* The extracts were selected from a dataset of authentic intercultural interactions.

The following scenario was described to the students: A Chinese official delegation of a government ministry is visiting the USA for three weeks. On Day 6, the Chinese delegation starts a one-and-a-half day visit to a federally funded NGO. They have several meetings with its director-in-chief (Professional 2, P2) and the directors of two departments (Professionals 1 and 3, P1 and P3). During the question and answer period in the meetings, the Chinese group discusses, increasingly loudly and in Chinese, some of the American speaker's answers while the speaker is still talking. The interpreter does not step in until she cannot hear a question from one of the Chinese delegates (Delegate 10, D10). Although D10 is actually next to the interpreter, his voice is completely drowned out by the group's animated discussion. The interpreter then says "Be quiet" [安静] in Chinese very loudly to stop the *side* discussion. Her shout successfully stops the "chaos," yet because the American speakers do not speak Chinese, they appear rather baffled about what the interpreter has shouted and what the group was discussing in Chinese in such a lively manner. A few minutes after the interpreter's interruption, the Chinese officials restart their heated discussion. This occurs several times during the meetings. What happens during the afternoon meeting, in which all three American professionals are present, seems to have worsened the situation. At the end of the day, the interpreter goes a step further to add her own explanation, asking the Americans to 'forgive' the group's loud background conversation, as shown by the extract that was handed out all the students at the beginning of the lesson.

1	HOD: [2]	使我们对(X)的大体状况有了一个了解, 非常感谢。 [enabled us to get an understanding of the general situation of X. Thanks very much.]
2	Interpreter:	Thank you very much for your wonderful introduction. You just gave them numerous useful information. They are very very interested. That's the reason why they had very enthusiastic and passionate discussion. They hope you can FORGIVE our discussion. Of course, we respect you very much. Just BECAUSE of your wonderful lecture, we had such an enthusiastic discussion. Thank you very much.
3	P3:	You are very kind. ((P3 bows his head to the Chinese leader.)) ((P1 and P2 nod their heads.))
4	Interpreter:	对, 他说你们非常好。 ((All the delegates applaud.)) 对, 刚才我已经顺便把你们讲的话全翻译了。说你们正是因为讲得好, 所以我们才讨论得那么热烈, 绝对不是不尊重。我们太尊重你了, 太喜欢你了。 [Yeah, just now I have already translated what you've said. (I) said that it was because the speech was wonderful that we discussed so heatedly. It does not mean not respecting (you) at all. We respect you very much. We like you very much.]
5	HOD:	嗯。[hum]

As can be seen from the extract above, the interpreter made a relatively long addition in the second turn. Perhaps, she wanted to turn the situation around, to clear up the possible misunderstanding that the American side might have. This clarification was made in a diplomatic way. She attributed the group's heated debates to the speakers' stimulating talks, which pleased the American professionals. P3 even bowed to the head of the delegation (HOD) to show his gratitude for the added comments.

The teacher gave the students a hard copy of the transcript of the video excerpt, and the detailed contextual information was presented to the students on two PowerPoint slides. They were made aware that this excerpt was taken from authentic intercultural interaction. The students in the same group took turns playing different roles. No new Chinese words were introduced. The dynamics of the activity created a positive class atmosphere. The students seemed to enjoy the exercise and participated enthusiastically. They all noted the interpreter's addition, and many of them laughed about it during the role play. At this point, they were told to *withhold* their interpretations, so they can see how the event actually unfolded in real life.

Next, they were given follow-up evaluations from both the Chinese and American interactants in the original interaction. The Chinese delegates were upset by the interpreter's interruption and clarification. Although they concealed their emotions in the presence of the Americans, they were actually annoyed, and they decided at the private meeting, or evening meeting (EM), not to complain due to relational concerns.

> EM Comment by the HOD
> She also explained to the Americans in the end, which was pointless. She seemed condescending by doing that, yet since she is not our colleague and actually belongs to the American side, we'd better not ask her why. This may embarrass her and us and may affect our relations with the American side. Just let it go. Do not mention it any more. (Author's translation)

In sharp contrast, one of the American speakers, P1, revealed her initially uncomfortable feelings and expressed her appreciation for the "*cultural* clarification":

> I did feel slightly uncomfortable when the group began talking, rather loudly and in an animated manner, after some of my answers. It was explained to me that this was not meant as disrespectful so I was fine with it. I think it was just a situation where *cultural norms may be different in China versus in the U.S.* I do not feel the visitors need to change their behavior, it just helps to explain to the speaker that this may happen and why so they do not take it offensively. I take it as a compliment, now that I know, that my comments sparked debate and conversation amongst them and am not offended at all . . . I think the job the interpreter I worked with was ideal. She not only translated everything but was able to explain to me the meaning behind some of the questions and let me know that the things . . . were *a normal part of Chinese culture.* That was very helpful and made me feel better. Otherwise, I would have thought I said something offensive or was, perhaps, misunderstood [italics added].

After being presented with the contrasting interpretations of the same interaction, the students were asked to identify how cultural norms were constructed in the authentic discourse and evaluate the *applicability of the norms* to their personal experience and knowledge. This exercise was designed to

move the students to deliberate on one of the most important factors that has been generally neglected in such situations: the situational context.

While the CFL learners were able to identify the construction of the cultural norms in the discourse very quickly, probably thanks to the interactants' explicitly mentioning the phrase, there was a heated debate over the "loudness" norms claimed by the American interactants. For example, a few students upheld the point by citing their experience and knowledge. One student even mentioned that during his year abroad in China, his tutor for the module "Chinese History and Culture" explained the cultural stereotype of why Chinese people speak so loudly from a "historical" point of view:

> 我在A大上文化课的老师教我们，这要从古代历史说起。中国一直是个农业国家，所以在耕田的时候，如果你想让一个人听到你的话，就必须要大声喊出来。老师还告诉我们，在北京说话最大声的是劳动者，他们是从农村来到大城市工作。现在我能理解他们大声地说话。
>
> [My culture module tutor at A University (in China) taught us that this could be traced back to ancient history. China has long been an agricultural country, so while working in the farm fields, if you want a person to hear what you say, you must shout loudly. The tutor also told us that those who speak the most loudly in Beijing are migrant workers. They came from the countryside to work in the big cities. Now, I can understand why they speak loudly.]

As can be seen from the in-class comment above, the Chineseness behind the assumption that Chinese people tend to speak loudly was slightly challenged, though perhaps unwittingly, by the tutor in China, who made a finer distinction between the rural and urban portions of the Chinese population. The answer itself is a very essentialist account. The prejudices involved are beyond the scope of this study. What is important to note is that a teacher's superficial understanding of culture could result in her students' taking on substantive bias. Students may heavily rely on the "normative knowledge" they have acquired from classroom instruction, reinforcing cultural assumptions. Therefore, teachers should be careful not to make sweeping statements (see Pan and Wang's chapter in this volume for more on teachers' intercultural awareness).

In this class, somewhat unsurprisingly, quite a few students questioned the applicability of the norms by reporting their *counter-experiences*. For instance, a student described the *competing* "norms" that she learned when she was an intern working in China. In the second

semester of her year abroad, she accompanied her American boss and other colleagues to a series of meetings with Chinese government officials to discuss a project. Out of courtesy, her boss repeatedly told her British and American colleagues not to speak loudly at the meetings while the other side was talking. She threw the *Chineseness* of these claimed norms into question.

Lisa: 我在中国的时候经历正好相反。我在中国实习的时候……我的美国老板反复告诉我的美国和英国的同事，和中国官员开会的时候不要大声讨论,当对方讲话的时候，因为开会的时候,我们有的外国同事曾经大声用英语讨论，让中国人留下了不好的印象。
[My experience was the opposite when I was in China. When I did my work placement in China . . . my American boss repeatedly told my American and British colleagues not to discuss loudly during our meetings with Chinese government officials when the other side was talking because some of my non-Chinese colleagues discussed loudly in English during such meetings before and gave the Chinese a bad impression.]

Daniel: 我在意大利国公司实习的时候我也有相似的经历……我觉得大声讨论这不一定是中国的问题,不是美国的问题,也不是意大利的问题……可能要看具体讨论的内容。
[I had a similar experience when I worked for an Italian company as an intern . . . I think loud discussion is not necessarily a Chinese problem, not an American problem, nor an Italian problem . . . maybe we need to look at the specific content of the discussion.]

Thomas: 对,还是要看具体情况吧!
[Yes, (we) still need to look at the specific situations!]

Clearly, the discussion moved into a more reflective mode. Remarks, such as the last line of the extract above, " . . . still need to look at the specific situations," began to emerge.

Given the time constraints of this lecture, the teacher provided a follow-up assignment to the CFL learners to enable them to informally interview their Chinese and non-Chinese friends and thus explore the possible reasons behind the loudness of the "Chinese" discussions in the extract and reflect on how to be more sensitive to their own and others' use of discourses of Chineseness in the future. In the summary

of this part of the session, the teacher once again drew the students' attention to the complexity and diversity inherent in Chineseness and the ambiguity of cultural norms. This was then related to the notion of intercultural mediation. The students were made aware of the significance of avoiding "culturalizing" an intercultural conflict in intercultural mediation.

Discussion and Conclusion

These two lessons provided the students with an opportunity to deconstruct essentialism in authoritative discourse and develop a sophisticated understanding of cultural norms. Criticality and reflexivity (Dervin 2013), which are essential to intercultural language education, were promoted. The first example in this case study showed that guiding the students to have *a critical reading of their textbooks* could be beneficial. They were able to see that even authoritative discourse, such as textbooks, contained essentialist views.

While the students' responses to the "loudness norms" in the second example tended to be contradictory, it was the very *exposure to the conflicting views and experiences* in the classroom dialogue that made the students aware of the significant role played by the situational context. The students seemed to be able to move beyond a static understanding of claimed cultural norms and develop a sophisticated understanding of the dynamic, discursive (also see Wang Danlu's chapter in this volume), and constructed nature of culture.

The findings of the present study have significant pedagogical implications. The results show that foreign language teachers and students should be made aware that their textbooks are not a collection of golden rules for learners to follow (Wang and Rendle-Short 2013). The textbooks themselves can actually be used strategically as objects of analysis (Escudero 2013) to foster critical intercultural understanding among learners. Furthermore, learners' conflicting views and experiences, if tapped in classroom interaction (Markee 2015), can be a valuable resource for critical language learning and teaching. This case study has shed light on the pedagogical value of deconstructing culture discourses in the classroom setting.

In this chapter, I have reported on an exploratory case that brought interculturality into the CFL classroom. I present this case to illustrate ways of applying recent ideas about interculturality to teaching practice,

particularly ways of enabling students to take a discursive approach and thus revisit culture with the use of situated intercultural data. Valuable insights into fostering students' critical awareness in class were obtained through an analysis of students' spontaneous comments and reflections, particularly in relation to their evaluations of others' use of discourses of Chineseness. Arguably, while learners "principally develop intercultural competence through their own experiences and reflections" (Jin 2014, p. 23), drawing students' attention to the ambiguity and complexity inherent in "Chinese" culture can still possibly open up students' thinking in a classroom setting.

This study suggests the complexity involved in dealing with culture in CFL teaching and learning. Exploring how CFL learners enact "othering," which can be understood as a "process of differentiation and demarcation by which a line is drawn between "us" and "them"' as well as a "discursive practice" (Lister 2008, p. 7), would be particularly illuminating. In consideration of the dearth of empirical studies about bringing interculturality into language education, a significant amount of research will undoubtedly continue to enrich our understanding of this issue while disentangling the factors that contribute to essentialism. All of these are possible lines of inquiry for further research.

As a language teacher and researcher, I constantly find myself balancing a variety of tensions. The main one that concerns language teachers and researchers here is that on the one hand, we are tied to the nitty-gritty of language as we teach it, whereas on the other hand, we must keep the bigger picture in mind. Significantly, the theoretical notion of interculturality (one of the main themes of this book) and the intercultural approaches to teaching culture through language may allow us to revisit the term culture and rethink it both as an analytic concept and an object of analysis. The dialectic relationship between theory and practice enables the former to extend the boundaries of the latter. Therefore, translating the theoretical notions described above into practice is opportune.

Notes

1. According to a survey of 97 degree students of Chinese at two British universities, which the author conducted in 2014, more than 60% of the respondents have never been to a Chinese-speaking country and have never

learned the Chinese language(s) before they went to university, although many of them reported having vicarious experience. For example, some reported parents who had travelled to China, and some have read travel books about China. The situation might be different for university students of Mandarin (including non-degree CFL learners) in general. For instance, in Jin's (2016) study of 26 students of Mandarin, many of them have prior experiences of visiting China and interacting with Chinese people and languages.

2. HOD refers to the head of the Chinese delegation.

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Developing Intercultural Competence Through Study Abroad Programmes in China: An Analysis of Student Experience at Two British Universities

Jiayi Wang and Zhiyan Guo

'Study Abroad' has become a major attraction of undergraduate courses in a growing number of British universities. With the rise of its status in the world, China has become a popular destination for this purpose. As a growing number of British universities offer Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) as part of a degree or an optional module in their language departments or centres, more CFL students are encouraged or even required to spend some time abroad in China to enrich cultural experience and enhance intercultural competence. A number of studies on study abroad in European countries (e.g. Carlson 1990; Dwyer and Courtney 2004) have demonstrated that study abroad experience can have a huge impact on students. However, much is yet to be known about how study abroad

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in China affects CFL learners. In this study, we explore how the CFL students at two British universities developed their intercultural competence during their stay in China and what the main obstacles to their development of intercultural competence could be.

The chapter starts with an overview of the theoretical models of intercultural competence that are particularly relevant to our focus (Byram et al. 2001; Deardorff 2006; Bennett 2009; Bennett and Bennett 2004), as they all highlight the close yet complicated relationships between different components of intercultural competence, for example, knowledge, skills, and attitudes which inform the stages of cultural learning. This is followed by the qualitative analysis of 97 student reflective reports that we collected over the past six years. We focus on the aspects of intercultural competence development which the students mentioned most frequently, and then relate the findings to the competence models in our discussion. Finally, the implications are drawn for how we can make better use of study abroad to contribute to students' development of intercultural competence.

Models of Intercultural Competence

It is broadly agreed that intercultural competence is defined as the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in an intercultural situation, and its growth is a dynamic process mainly reflected by the development of the three major interrelated yet distinct components: knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Bickley et al. 2014; Byram et al. 2001; Deardorff 2006, 2009; Freeman et al. 2009). The knowledge component of intercultural competence refers to the cognitive information we need in order to communicate effectively and appropriately. It includes both culture-specific information and more general cultural awareness such as knowledge of stylistic differences (e.g. Spencer-Oatey and Wang 2016; Gudykunst 2004) and alternative interpretations (Deardorff 2006). Byram et al. (2001, p. 6) give a detailed definition:

> Knowledge (savoirs): of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction. So knowledge can be defined as having two major components: knowledge of social processes, and knowledge of illustrations of those processes and products; the latter includes knowledge about how other people are likely to perceive you, as well as some knowledge about other people.

In comparison, the skills component has been studied from numerous perspectives. Byram et al.'s (2001) model includes the skills of interpreting and relating, and skills of discovery and interaction.

> Skills of interpreting and relating (*savoir comprendre*): ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents or events from one's own…
>
> Skills of discovery and interaction (*savoir apprendre/faire*): ability to acquire to operate knowledge, attitudes, and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction (Byram et al. 2001, p. 6).

The third component of intercultural competence is attitudes. Byram et al. (2001), for example, emphasise that the basis of developing intercultural competence lies in fostering the attitudes of the intercultural speaker and mediator and provide the following definition:

> Intercultural attitudes (savoir être): curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own. This means a willingness to relativise one's own values, beliefs and behaviours, not to assume that they are the only possible and naturally correct ones, and to be able to see how they might look from an outsider's perspective who has a different set of values, beliefs and behaviours. This can be called the ability to 'decentre' (Byram et al. 2001, p. 5).

Similarly, Deardorff (2006) lists respect (valuing other cultures), openness (being open to cultural learning, to people from other cultures and withholding judgment), and curiosity and discovery (tolerating ambiguity) as the requisite attitudes in her pyramid model of intercultural competence. According to this model, an individual's attitudes, including respect, openness, curiosity, and discovery, can help him/her to develop knowledge and skills, which in turn can facilitate the achievement of the desired internal outcome, that is, a shift of internal frame of reference. This, through interaction, can result in the desired external outcome, that is, behaving effectively and appropriately in an intercultural situation, which then may feed back into attitudes.

Bennett (2009) also suggests that, in order to develop our intercultural competence, first and foremost we need to foster attitudes that motivate us. For example, it is critical to keep an open mind, that is, 'suspending assumptions and judgments, leaving our minds open to multiple

perspectives' (p. 128). In Bennett and Bennett's (2004) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), they identify acceptance, adaptation, and integration as the essential stages to become fully intercultural. Acceptance of differences seems to be an indispensable first step along the way. It means that one organises one's behaviours and values into different cultural categories, recognising the same complexity and differences between one's own and other cultures. Nevertheless, acceptance 'does not necessarily mean agreement or liking' (Bennett and Bennett 2004, p. 155). In other words, in spite of dislike or disagreement, different behaviours are accepted as being equally valid ways of handling situations. The next stage, adaptation to difference, is demonstrated by the effective use of communicative skills in the new cultural situations, while the most advanced stage, integration of difference, means absorbing different frames of references and flexibly shifting between them (Bennett and Bennett 2004).

While these models have been widely used, they are much less critiqued. The criticisms that they have attracted concentrate on their focus on national culture and their generalised orientations. First, Byram was said to have taken a national culture as the basis of intercultural competence, which leads to essentialism and reductionism (Matsuo 2012, 2014). Byram (2009) provided counterarguments that 'the focus on national cultures is a conscious strategy, not an effect of banal nationalism . . . It is a consequence of writing for a particular audience of language teachers working within a tradition that focuses on national cultures' (p. 330). For all the models, the underlying assumptions about culture still need further clarification (Rathje 2007). Second, more empirical investigations into how intercultural competence actually develops in real life are needed to flesh out the notion.

Our empirical study aims to examine how CFL students at two British universities developed their intercultural competence through their experience of study abroad in China programmes and analyse the obstacles to their development of intercultural competence.

Methodology

The data that we have collected came from the Study China programmes organised mainly for undergraduates by the two British universities concerned. With the aims to study the language intensively and experience the culture first hand, the programmes varied in the duration of the time

spent in China, from four weeks to one year. Specifically, there were three types of placement: (1) a four-week intensive study placement in Beijing during summer vacation, (2) a full-year study placement in a Chinese university, and (3) a six-month study placement in a Chinese university and a six-month work placement in a company in China. The students were asked to write a report, either in Mandarin or in English, on their stay-abroad experience and personal development during that time. While no specific instructions were given regarding the report, they could reflect *freely* on their stay in China without any restraint. In doing so, we could allow the students to focus on issues salient to them. With respect to reports written in Chinese, it is noteworthy that we did not correct any grammatical and character errors made by these CFL learners. We present the quotations as they are and provided an English translation in square brackets to focus on the evidence of their intercultural competence development.

The participants were made clear that their reports would be kept confidentially and might be used for research purposes. They expressed their verbal consents to using their reports for possible research at the briefing meeting prior to their departure to China. All the names used for participants are pseudonyms.

The reports were analysed from three interrelated yet distinct aspects, that is, knowledge, skills, and attitudes, in the qualitative research software NVivo 10. Although the participants' durations of stay varied, common themes emerged regarding their development, especially obstacles to developing intercultural competence. In presenting the findings, we quoted the extracts from the participants' reports to illustrate how they developed their intercultural competence in line with the components of knowledge, skills, and attitudes listed in the theoretical frameworks above.

Developing Intercultural Competence: Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes

Knowledge

Studying abroad was usually an exciting experience for our participants. What the students reported most frequently fell into the category of *knowledge*. The knowledge they amassed during their periods abroad was

diverse, ranging from food varieties to transport services, from recreational activity to regional differences. Before moving onto the recurring themes, it is particularly illuminating to look at their first image of China when they arrived, because most of them had never been to China before.

Image of China at First Sight

First and foremost, what struck the participants most on their arrival in China tended to be difference. They experienced a *different* China, different from what they had been imbued with through media or what they had learned from other people: '在英国我看过一些电视节目BBC新闻还有书面。当然在A大学我跟我的老师和同学说关于他们的阅历但是不一样。[In Britain, I've seen some TV programmes, BBC News and texts. Of course, at University A, my teachers and fellow students talked about their experiences, but mine is different.]' (Sue). Clearly, by living in the country, they could go beyond media representation and hearsay. This enabled them to learn new things and contextualise the information such as textbook knowledge that they have acquired about the Cultural Other.

Food and Transport

Almost all participants wrote about food in China. What they reported largely centred on factual information about food, for example, Sichuan cuisine is spicy (Sue) and Guangzhou cuisine is blander (Lily). They got to know how to eat certain types of food in a particular way. For example, Mark reported that he has learned the 'right' way to eat Shanghai *Xiaolongbao* or soup dumplings:

> 我的中国朋友告诉我吃这个菜的正确方法。你先在包子边上咬一小口，把汤倒到一个勺子里，你先喝汤，然后把馒头蘸到辣椒和酱油里一起吃，这样才好吃。
>
> [My Chinese friend(s) told me the right way to eat it. You first bite a small piece off the skin. Get the soup out into a spoon. You first drink the soup, and then eat the dumpling after dipping it in the chilli and soy sauce. By eating this way, it is delicious.]

Some of students liked the food in China after tasting it. For example, Hong said, 'before I went to the program I was afraid of Chinese food but actually food was amazing'. Others felt quite ambivalent about what they

saw and ate in China. Tania, for example, still doubted how certain food could be eaten and she could not accept it, but she still regarded the whole study abroad experience as interesting and positive. She wrote 'The busy street of "Wang Fu Jing" and its unmatchable "bizarre food" road was one of the best things I have ever seen. Grilled scorpions and starfish are not my usual meal and the fear of eating them struck me, giving a sensation of uneasiness deep in my stomach'.

There were, however, participants who opened their minds to taste the 'bizarre' food and discovered something for themselves. Rob, for example, reported that 'When living in Beijing, I was also able to experience the food that was traditionally eaten. The food was very nice, and hugely different to what is served by Chinese takeaways in the UK! I found that the Chinese don't have much of a sweet tooth, and a lot of their food was based around vegetables, something that is so foreign for me, but it was surprisingly nice and satisfying. I did get to eat some bugs and an arachnid, but *I don't think that is in the usual Chinese diet*!' (emphasis added). He related what he had in China to the Chinese food in his home country and took an open and curious attitude towards the differences. He had also discovered by tasting it himself that the Chinese diet was based on vegetables and that it was satisfying. Being open and curious about the 'strange' food, he even realised that insects such as scorpions were not typical Chinese food at all and became aware of the difference between Chinese food in China and that in England.

Apart from food, public transportation was the most often mentioned.

> 我在云南丽江的时候我得买一张火车票但是宾馆不帮助我所以我一个人去火车票办公室买到一张票。业务员说什么我就听得懂。中国的火车比英国的不一样的, 比如中国的火车有四个种类的票反之英国只有两个种类的票, 所以我觉得买到一张票是很复杂的。我坐火车上的时候, 我度过一个很奇怪的经历因为在英国每辆火车没有床, 在中国大部分的火车有床因为中国的铁道非常长。中国的火车比英国的长得多, 可是还有人太多了。(Jane)
>
> [When I was in Lijiang, Yunnan Province, I had to buy a train ticket, but the hotel didn't help me, so I went to the train ticket office to buy one. I understood what the ticket officer said. The Chinese railway is different from British railway. For example, there are four types of tickets in China whereas there are only two types in the UK. So I think it's very complicated to buy a ticket. When I took the train, I had a very strange experience, because there are no beds on British trains. Most of the Chinese trains have beds, because Chinese train routes are very long. Chinese trains are much longer than British ones, but still too many people.]

In the example above, the student acquired some knowledge about trains in China. She recognised the differences in public transport services through her personal experience of buying a train ticket. In fact, there are sleeper trains in the UK running from London to Scottish cities. Nevertheless, they are much less common in general. Overall, most of the participants focused on the knowledge of daily products and practices in China in comparison to those in their own country, resonating with previous studies (e.g. Byram et al. 2001, p. 6).

Varieties of Chineseness

Another major aspect of knowledge that emerged from the data was the students' awareness of *regional* differences within China. They reported, for instance, various encounters with different regional dialects. Interestingly, some of them were delighted to find out that even native Chinese speakers in Sichuan could not distinguish between *si* 四 (four) and *shi* 十 (ten), which had been a real difficulty for them as CFL learners (e.g. Mike and Smith).

In addition to linguistic illustrations, they also commented on other manifestations, mainly thanks to their travelling across China: '旅行不仅能提高我的中文，还能让我感受到中国不同的地域文化 [travelling can not only improve my Chinese, but also enable me to feel different regional cultures of China]' (George). For those who did a work placement in a different city, this became the most pronounced feature of their reflection.

For example, Steve first did his study placement in Kunming and then his work placement in Shanghai. He described that he was 'shocked' by the widespread presence of foreign brands when he moved from more traditional Kunming to the metropolis Shanghai:

> 我到了上海以后最大的印象就是这里外国牌子的数量，我很震惊。不管是咖啡馆，健身房或者饭店上海都有西方人所有喜欢的牌子，因此总的来说我在上海的生活过得很舒服。这个方面差不多跟我在昆明生活的相反。
>
> [When I arrived in Shanghai, my biggest impression was the number of foreign brands here. I was very shocked. No matter whether it is a café, a gym or a restaurant, Shanghai has all the brands that Westerners like, so overall my life in Shanghai was very comfortable. This aspect was almost the opposite of my life in Kunming.]

This brings in the issue of Westernisation, which tended to be overlooked in the students' expectations of the overseas experience. A few students slightly lamented that when they looked out of the dormitory window, there was no difference from Europe (e.g. Mary commented, '. . . looking out my dormitory window, I did not feel like being outside Europe'). Nevertheless, they also noted that, for example, in Shanghai, apart from foreigners from different countries, there were many Chinese people from other parts of China:

> 上海的文化也很丰富，上海不仅有很多来自不同国家的外国人，但是也有很多中国所有地方的人在这里发展，我每天遇到好多不同的口音，不同的文化，对我来说真的很有趣。因此我每天可以学到很多的东西，我这里的朋友生活也很丰富多彩，有来自上海的，北京的，西安的，厦门的，等都有!
>
> [Shanghai's culture is rich. It does not only have many foreigners from different countries, but also Chinese people from all over China who work here. Every day I encountered a lot of different accents, different cultures. For me, this was really interesting. So every day I can learn a lot of things. My friends here have colourful lives. Some of them were from Shanghai, some from Beijing, some from Xi'an, some from Xiamen and other places, literally from all over (China).]

In a similar vein, David believed that in order to gain a better understanding of Chinese culture and China, he should visit different cities and rural areas as well as see various famous places and ethnic minorities, because 'China is very large, and cultures and customs (of different places) are hugely different' within China ('因为中国很大，文化和习惯大大不同，所以我想更理解中国就要去看不同的城市、农村、名地和小数民族'). Significantly, statements like this highlighted the participants' growing awareness of the diversity inherent in the 'Chineseness'.

Recreational Activities

While recreational activities have been less frequently mentioned than food, transport, and varieties of Chineseness, they still seemed to be another good window for the participants to discover knowledge and make comparisons. Julie reported that:

> Most days, I was able to go and jog around the BeiDa (Peking University) running track at 5:30am with all the other people doing walking, *kong zhu* (a Chinese coordination game), exercise, shuttlecock games and just chatting. I really admired this communal approach to life

> and I think the westerners should learn a lot. I could never have had these experiences as a tourist.

This suggested that compared to simply travelling in China, the experience of the study in China had a different or greater impact on how she perceived her own cultural practices. For our participants, the classroom for intercultural learning was almost *everywhere*. Due to space constraint, we have selected only the examples of food, transport, varieties of Chineseness, and recreational activities to demonstrate the diversity of the knowledge that they had acquired.

Skills

With respect to skills, the development of the ability to discover and relate an event from another culture to one's own (Byram *et al.*, p. 6) was clearly evident in our data. Laura, for example, discovered that unlike the people in her home country, some Chinese women often use umbrella on sunny days.

> At first I could not understand why the Chinese would hide themselves from the sun, and would not use, say, hats instead of umbrellas to avoid getting a heat stroke. I asked a Chinese friend of mine, and she told me that in China and in some other parts of Asia, people, particularly women, like having a lighter skin, and so they would use umbrellas and sun cream when going outside. I myself did not use an umbrella on sunny days, however, when I come to China again, I would definitely consider doing that. The summer in Beijing is extremely hot, and the sun is very bright, so having a 'sun-umbrella' does seem to be a reasonable way of protecting one's skin in the summer.

In this case, the student also illustrated a positive attitude towards differences. She asked one of her Chinese friends for the reasons, and actually accepted the idea of using umbrellas to protect themselves from the sun.

Interestingly, the students increasingly related not only to their own culture but also to other cultures as well. For example, Sue also spent some time abroad in Spain. She often explored the gaps and links between British, Spanish, and Chinese cultural positions and

discovered knowledge about everyday practices, for example, many people in Spain go to bed very late at night.

Some participants also related what they had read about China to their actual experience in China. Julie, for instance, had learned from reading before going to China that Chinese parents tend to put especial value on their children's education. She commented that 'Talking to parents casually, they were all very keen for their child to learn and do well at school . . . , (while relatively speaking, parents in the West may not push their children as much as Chinese parents do), it is one thing to read about the Confucian influence and quite another to talk to parents and children who are living it'. Clearly, she was relating what she had read before (e.g. in Chinese culture family commitment to education is particularly strong) to what she was seeing and experiencing to discover. It seems that what she experienced here further confirmed her previous reading.

It was also intriguing to note that the skills to relate did not always lead to a complete change in behaviour. For instance, Laura first found it strange to ask a waiter for the name of the dish on another table at restaurants:

> it is common for guests in Chinese restaurants to look at what people sitting at another table are eating, and ask the waiter what the name of that dish is and order it. Even though there were a couple of times when a dish on another table looked really delicious, I could not make myself ask a waiter what the name of the dish was, because in Russia pointing at other people's food in a restaurant would be considered quite rude. Instead, I asked for a menu and try to figure out myself what that dish could be.

Clearly, despite being able to discover a pattern of behaviour, Laura would not point at others' food in a restaurant in order to get what she wanted to eat. Relating to her home culture, she did not feel polite to do that. Instead, she would take half of what Chinese people would do, that is, glancing at others' food, but then trying to identify it from the menu. This *compromised* way seemed to enable her to achieve confidently and comfortably her goal of ordering suitable food for herself. This suggests that she was aware of the differences and after her own evaluation she adopted an appropriate approach to managing her situation successfully.

Attitudes

As an implicit component of intercultural competence, attitudes are related to the first two components, that is, knowledge and skills. For example, open-mindedness can facilitate the accumulation of knowledge and the development of skills. The participants' comments illustrated this point. They reported how their spirit of curiosity and discovery helped them to acquire knowledge on many occasions. Sam, for instance, described how he learned a culture-specific word and discovered a cultural gap:

> 刚来的时候，我根本不明白许多在英国没有的事情，比如说在马路的两边有许多得人推着一辆辆的三轮车，我不知道他们是在干什么，于是我就去问中国朋友那些三轮车是怎么回事，后来我知道了，那些三轮车被中国当地的人们称为'路边摊'，这对我们来说是一个新词汇，而且是用英语无法准确说出来的，但是我去吃过以后觉得那些尝起来非常美味，在英国是体验不到的而且都很便宜。用我刚学到的一个成语来说就是物美价廉。
>
> [When I just arrived, I didn't understand at all many things that did not exist in the UK. For example, there were many people pushing (Chinese-style) tricycles. I didn't know what they were doing, so I went to ask my Chinese friends what the tricycles were about. Then I knew those tricycles were called as *lubiantan* (literally meaning street stalls) by local Chinese people, which was a new word to us, and it was impossible to express it precisely in English. But after I ate the street food, I think it was delicious. One cannot experience this in Britain, and the food was all very cheap. To put it in a four-character idiom that I've just learned: *wumei jialian* (literally meaning good product low price)].

This is a good example of how attitudes of being open-minded helped the acquisition of new knowledge. Nevertheless, admittedly, the affective aspect of attitudes can be very complex. For instance, when encountered with something negative from his own perspective, William's attitudes were rather passive:

> 作为一个外国人在北京我遇到了不少的困难和不愉快的事情。刚开始的时候我发现有很多中国人的习惯我却不能了解。最让我纳闷儿的事就是在很多地方的服务态度特别不好。来自一个服务国家，因为这一点我跟别人吵过不少的架。但是过了一段时间我发现我并没有像我刚到来北京的时候这么在乎这样的服务态度，我已经学会了，在中国有些事情是你自己不能改变的，最好是只眼开只眼闭。
>
> [As a foreigner in Beijing, I've encountered many difficulties and unpleasant things. At the very beginning, I found I couldn't understand a lot of

> habits of the Chinese people. What made me wonder the most is that in many places, the customer service attitude was extremely bad. I'm from a service country. I've had quite a few quarrels because of this, but after a while, I found that I didn't care about such customer service attitude as much as I did when I first came to Beijing. I've learned in China many things cannot be changed by yourself, and you'd better *keep one eye open and close the other*.]

In the extract above, the phrase in italics – keep one eye open and close the other – is an idiomatic expression in Chinese which means turning a blind eye to something. As can be seen, William had experienced a subtle change in attitudes. When he first arrived, he had strong feelings towards the 'rude' customer service viewed through his own 'lens', yet as time passed, the negative feelings seemed to diminish, and he gradually became a little bit more tolerant. Indeed, it might be unavoidable to have biases or even prejudices, but the subjective natural reaction towards something negative from our own perspectives might be controlled so as to understand different points of view.

Nevertheless, our participants' attitudes or changes of attitudes were positive on the whole. Most of them believed that their study abroad experience had had a major influence on their life. They felt that 'it was great to hear about the different ways of life' and to be 'submerged in the country itself . . . great to feel part of it, rather than just a tourist' (Richard).

Some participants reported *the development of respect*: '[H]aving interacted with the people, I feel that I have developed a high amount of respect for the people of China. They are like hard working bees working hard toward their goal' (Isabel). Some commented on the development of understanding through this study abroad experience:

> My time on this programme has greatly influenced my future career direction. The skills and knowledge accrued through this programme will be integral to my future . . . I recognise that the root of effective communication and active cooperation comes through having a degree of cultural understanding. This understanding allows you to gain the most out of interaction with those from other countries. (Ray)

In fact, like Ray, almost all the participants appreciated their experience of spending time in China, and the majority of them reported, either explicitly or implicitly, a change in attitudes thanks to this experience.

Obstacles to Developing Intercultural Competence: What Is in the Way?

The development of critical analytic skills was not easy, and unexpected hindrances could arise. Overall, our dataset revealed three major obstacles to developing intercultural competence: being judgemental, overgeneralisation, and self-contradictions. They were the most frequently observed in the CFL learners' reports. For instance, David reported how the assumptions about Chinese people speaking loudly in public was explained and justified by his Chinese tutor in China:

> 我认为学习汉语要先理解中国历史和文化渊源才会了解现代中国的社会和中国人的思想。比如说: 外国人把中国人等同于大声, 但是为什么中国人一般说话很大声呢? 老师教我们, 那要从古代历史说起。中国一直以来是个农业国家, 所以在耕田的时候想让一个人听到你的话一定要大声喊出来。在北京说话最大声的是劳动者, 从他们农村来到大城市工作, 我能理解到他们粗手粗脚和大声地说话。所以这节课值得所有学汉语的人去先理解。
>
> [I think in order to learn Chinese language, we first need to understand Chinese history and cultural origins. Then we can understand modern Chinese society and Chinese people's thoughts. For example, foreigners equated Chinese people with loudness, but why do Chinese people always speak so loudly? The teacher taught us that this had to be traced back to ancient history. China has been an agricultural country, so whilst working in the farm field, one must shout loudly if he wants to let the other person hear him. In Beijing, those who speak the most loudly are migrant workers. They came from the countryside to work in big cities. I can understand why they talk so loudly. So all CFL leaners should learn the lesson to understand it first.]

This extract is clearly prejudice-loaded and judgmental. The tutor provided an analysis of the cultural myth around the Chinese loudness which in itself is very controversial, and she attributed it to the practical needs of peasants working in the fields, implying a prejudice about the bad manners of migrant workers. Apparently, the tutor did nothing to help the student to suspend assumptions and judgments (Bennett 2009; Byram et al. 2001; Deardorff 2006) and to understand the deep culture (Shaule 2010). On the contrary, her superficial analysis reinforced the student's assumptions, and it actually constituted an obstacle to his development of critical analytic skills. In fact, a major obstacle to the development of intercultural competence in the data had to do with teaching. In this case, it was the teacher's essentialist prejudice-loaded analysis that reinforced the student's

stereotypes and undermined his critical analytic skills. This clearly alerted us to the critical role of a CFL teacher (see Pan and Wang's chapter in this volume for more on teachers' intercultural competence) in his/her students' intercultural learning.

In similar cases, the students tended to jump to conclusion about Chinese culture and Chinese people as a whole, and then they seemed implicitly to *deny the claims* that they made themselves by their own experience, implying instability in their culturalist discourses.

> 很多中国人想认识外国人的原因是为了练习他们的英语或者得面子，所以有时候我怀疑他们想交朋友的起见。然而我有了一些很好的中国朋友，所以很高兴! (Emily)
>
> [Many Chinese people want to make friends with foreigners because they want to practice their English or because of face, so sometimes I doubt their intention to make friends. But I have made some really good Chinese friends, so I'm very happy!]

In the example above, Emily first constructed a negative image of the Chinese people who wanted to make friends with foreigners: they had rather utilitarian motivations – to practice English or to have face [*you mianzi*]. In the second sentence, she seemed to provide a counter example of her own personal experience. She thought she did have really good Chinese friends who were not driven by such utilitarian needs. It seems that the participant was 'working through confusion' (Holmes and O'Neill 2012, p. 713) in developing her intercultural competence. The pattern is similar to Dervin's (2016) findings of the instability and ambiguity inherent in culturalist discourses. So, it would be helpful for the students to be given an opportunity to revisit their and others' use of culturalist discourses in order to transcend 'the culturalist impasse in stays abroad' (Dervin 2009).

Attitudes turned out to be the most difficult things to change. The affective aspect could play a very large role. In the previous section, we have seen accepting attitudes towards a different food, but the resistance to food has also been found. For example, Pete had already been to China several times before his year abroad, yet in the latter half of his year-abroad when he worked at a Chinese company, he was still disgusted by local food:

> 如果我说她们吃的菜非常奇怪等等.其实有的时候真的,她们在办公室里面什么鸡爪都可以吃.我害怕死了.我都想吐了.第一,就是因为有很奇怪的那

种味道,第二因为我从小时候没吃过那些东西.所以如果我想想放在我的口里面就自己觉得很恶心.很佩服她们能吃的.

[If I say, the dishes they (my colleagues) ate were really weird. Actually, sometimes they even ate things like chicken feet in the office. I was so scared. I even wanted to throw up. First, it was because they had a very strange smell; second since I was a child, I have never eaten such things, so if I think of putting them into my mouth, I feel very sick. I really admire that they can eat them.]

Pete called it weird from his point of view, because this was not something that he was used to. It seems natural to react to something different, but Pete could have monitored and controlled his negative reactions (Holmes and O'Neill 2012). When we talk about openness in conceptualising intercultural competence, the affective or emotional aspect tends to be underestimated. The findings showed that negative affective reaction could be another major hurdle to the development of the attitude component of intercultural competence.

Additionally, similar to the findings of Ganassin's study in this volume, stereotypical discourses were also salient in our data. As can be seen from above, although the CFL students have shown some forms of critical reflection, especially in relation to the diversities within Chineseness, this tended to be mediated by their stereotypes of Chineseness as a monolithic entity, creating contradictory, and ambiguous responses, which could in turn *militate against* intercultural competence.

Discussion

In this section, we look further into how participants developed their intercultural competence from the three aspects and how the aspects were part of an interactive process.

The ways in which the students acquired knowledge could be through either direct or vicarious experience. The findings suggest that the development of the knowledge aspect of their intercultural competence could be closely intertwined with the skills of discovery and relating, echoing the interconnection between different components of intercultural competence which has been identified by most prior research (e.g. Deardorff 2006).

The skills component, however, was much less frequently commented on among the participants, perhaps because it was much subtler than the accumulation of cultural knowledge. In the example about recreational activities above, it seems that in terms of knowledge, Julie learned about

the communal approach in China to recreational activities. But at a deeper level, she claimed that her home country should learn the communal approach from Chinese to recreational activities. She has not just spotted the differences between England and China in terms of how people do exercises and sports together but also reflected upon her own culture. By comparing two or three cultures, participants seemed to be connecting cultures in multiple dimensions, teasing out the differences and similarities in their mind, during the process of which, their skills of interpreting and relating have developed. Though implicitly, an internal framework which contains the two or three sets of cultural knowledge may have been established without the students themselves realising it.

With respect to attitudes, the students' development of respect and understanding towards differences were observed. Curiosity and openness seemed to be crucial to our participants' development of skills. Their openness towards a bizarre food helped them discover more varieties of food and become critical about the localisation of Chinese food in England. The curiosity over a 'strange' practice, for example, women using an umbrella in the sun, caused Laura to ask the reason behind this special use and decide to apply it to herself in her future stay in China.

It seems that most of the participants did not judge even what they did not like. Rather, they seemed to recognise the differences between their own and the new culture and start to understand them. Even in the case of rejecting local food, we can at least argue that one gets to know the difference in food. In other words, they seemed to have acquired a large amount knowledge of 'surface culture', that is, cultural products and practices that are obvious and visible, but they did not seem to make such a shift that they wanted to adapt to the new culture and integrate into it. The participants were yet to go deeper to understand the 'deep culture', that is, hidden assumptions in everyday life (Shaules 2010).

It could also be seen that in some cases, participants were not simply embracing what they had just acquired from observation. Rather, they could adopt a 'mid-way' approach to justifying their own behaviour. For example, Laura compromised her way of ordering suitable food for herself at restaurants in China, which also seems to suggest that a cognitive flexibility has been fostered in the process of her intercultural development, and that she seemed to have withheld her judgements on a common way of ordering food in China and respected the difference. The findings imply that openness, respect, and tolerance could be key to fostering the skills of discovery and relating.

The participants' experience also suggests that getting to know a culture itself is a dynamic process in which one relates the new/different culture to the one's own or to others that one has already known, and then negotiates between them in order to figure out what is the most acceptable for oneself. It is during this interaction that one can develop one's intercultural competence (Deardorff 2006). The findings once again support the conceptualisation of the development of intercultural competence as a dynamic, ongoing, interactive process (Freeman et al. 2009).

Significantly, the findings show that the students' reflections could be *contradictory* and *ambiguous* and that the development of their intercultural competence is not a linear process. While they have made some critical reflections, these critical reflections tended to be mediated by stereotypes of Chineseness, which in turn hindered the development of their intercultural competence. These findings highlight the importance of promoting interculturality and critical cultural awareness (see the chapter by Jin and Dervin in this volume), especially fostering ongoing criticality and reflexivity (Baker 2015; Dervin 2013; Riitaoja and Dervin 2014), not only among students but also among teachers.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the CFL learners at two British universities developed intercultural competence during their stay abroad in China and explored the major obstacles to their development of intercultural competence. As one of the participants noted in her reflective report, 'cultural' issues could be more difficult to handle than language issues because they have to be experienced. Indeed, it has been generally agreed that intercultural competence can only be developed through students' *own* reflection and experience, but there are ways to facilitate them making better use of the study abroad programmes.

Overall, there were various factors that affected the participants' competence development, ranging from their teachers' lack of deep understanding to their own self-contradiction and overgeneralisation. In order to facilitate CFL students' development of intercultural competence, study in China programmes may consider guiding *both* students and *teachers* (in both the home and host countries) to have more structured *critical* reflection (an essential part of this can be examining culturalist discourses), making both groups aware of the potential pitfalls to intercultural competence development, such as overgeneralisation and negative

affective reactions. The students' awareness of their own and others' use of culturalist discourses can actually be raised before the trip. As a result, the students might be able to make a more critical analysis of issues, events, and interpretations. This may help the students to be continually cautioned against overgeneralisation and stereotypes throughout the whole process.

Study abroad in China can be a wholly novel experience for many CFL learners. Most of our participants believed that it had a positive impact on their life. While it seems that many of them were able to begin to appreciate diversities within China during their stay broad, the belief in the idea of Chinese culture as a monolithic entity appeared to be solidified, implicitly and explicitly, in their learning of Chinese language, which hindered their development of intercultural competence. Therefore, it is necessary that such belief be shaken by means such as longitudinal structured critical reflection. This clearly warrants further research.

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The Construction of Interculturality: A Study of Chinese as Heritage Language Teachers in Canada

Mengting Pan and Shujiao Wang

Introduction

Interculturality is the interaction of people from different backgrounds, which emphasizes the socio-affective capacity to see oneself through the eyes of others (Dervin 2011; Dervin and Machart 2015; Holliday 2013). Within the context of promoting Chinese internationally, teaching Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) is a critical component of Chinese language education (Duff and Li 2013). In a country of immigrants like Canada, multiculturalism has long been an official Canadian policy and a recognized societal value. In turn, heritage languages (HLs) in Canada, which is defined as languages immigrants "speak at home with their families" (Arnett and Mady 2013, p. 199) or their "usual language[s] of communication" (Cummins 2001, p. 15), attract

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widespread attention. As a result of this research interest, studies have been conducted. Their findings have emphasized the importance of maintaining immigrant children's HL (Cummins 2001). A strong foundation in children's HL can not only benefit their second language learning but also aid in their overall academic success (Wong-Fillmore 1991). Additionally, HL learning helps these children develop a stronger sense of identity and emotional stability (Tse 2001). Thus, CHL education plays an active role in language maintenance for Chinese immigrants and their descendants in Canada.

In the context of Canada, Duff and Li (2013) stated that most HL teachers are first-generation immigrants who were educated in their home countries. Nevertheless, their former experiences might conflict with mainstream teaching norms and values in these new settings, which might confuse learners and bring in a negative influence on their teaching. While most literature focuses on students' experience of interculturality (e g., Curdt-Christiansen 2006; Duff and Li 2013), very few empirical studies related to CHL teachers have been conducted, especially from the perspective of teachers' intercultural competence and teaching practices. Thus, it is critical to explore the nature of CHL teachers' intercultural experiences in order to promote their intercultural awareness and competence and to contribute to construction of interculturality in the CHL field.

Context: Heritage Language Education in Canada and Quebec

A multitude of languages are used in Canada. English, and French hold official federal status throughout Canada, and Chinese is spoken by approximately a million Canadians as their home language and has become Canada's third most widely spoken language after the two official languages (Statistics Canada 2011). In some provinces, for example, British Columbia, Chinese represents the largest ethnic minority group. Quebec, the largest province (by area), is the only one whose majority is francophone and French is the only official language. Reflecting the immigration laws and policies (Liew and Galloway 2015), the Chinese-speaking population has expanded in Montreal, the biggest city in Quebec and the second-largest city in Canada. The profile

of the Chinese population in Montreal indicates that the Chinese are now the fourth-largest ethnic minority group in Montreal (Statistics Canada 2011). It also shows that Mandarin has seen a far greater increase than Cantonese in the years from 1990 to now, primarily reflecting the growing importance of mainland China as a major source of immigrants. As mainland China gradually achieves political and economic importance as a major world power, the status of Mandarin is likely to be further enhanced in the future.

Nowadays, "heritage language teaching for school-aged students in Canada is carried out within three major educational contexts: public schools, private or independent schools, and in community-supported out-of-school programmes" (Cummins 2014, p. 3). In Montreal, limited CHL education is provided in public or private schools. Thus, community-supported out-of-school programmes have long been an option for Chinese-background learners in major cosmopolitan areas (Duff and Li 2013). With the increasing number of immigrants, there are more than 10 CHL schools in the Greater Montreal Area. The primary goal of these schools is to ensure the maintenance of the Chinese language and culture through the study of subjects like language, literature, painting, dance, and martial arts. Most of these schools are independent, receive no government grants, and have no connection to Quebec government school boards. These schools are generally well organized and are usually comprised of a school board, a principal, and administrative staff. For HL teachers, HL teaching is only a secondary job or a personal mission for disseminating HL and culture (Wu et al. 2011). Due to the limited working time offered by HL schools, HL teachers generally cannot support themselves by relying on HL teaching alone. As a result, many of them have full-time non-language teaching positions on weekdays. As there is limited funding to employ long-term teachers, most of the HL teachers are parents who volunteer to teach because their own children are enrolled in the programme. Although the majority received tertiary education, few of them have language teaching backgrounds or language teaching educational experience in their new countries (Feuerverger 1997; Liu 2006; Majhanovich and Richards 1995). In this way, as they have limited knowledge about the local education environment, they might keep using Chinese teaching style in their classes in Montreal (see below).

Intercultural Competence in Language Education

Deardorff (2006) defines intercultural competence as "the ability of an individual to interact effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations, based on specific attitudes, intercultural knowledge, skills and reflection" (p. 254). In the field of language education, "intercultural competence" always implies "communicative competence" (Sercu 2010). Fantini (2009) shows an agreement with Deardorff's key concepts (i.e., multiculturalism, cross-cultural adaptation, intercultural sensitivity, cultural intelligence, international communication, transcultural communication, global competence, cross-cultural awareness, and global citizenship) and points out that intercultural competence is a complex ability that is required to perform effectively and appropriately when interacting with others who are linguistically and culturally different from oneself. To be specific, from the perspective of language education, *effective* reflects the view of one's own performance in the target language-culture (i.e., an outsider's or "etic" view), and *appropriate* reflects how natives perceive such performance (i.e., an insider's or "emic" view) (Fantini 2009).

Adopting Deardorff's model of intercultural competence, which is one of the most recent conceptualization of intercultural competence, this study concentrates on the components of language and communicative competence in language teaching and learning. In the process model of intercultural competence (see Fig. 1), intercultural attitudes, knowledge, and skills lay the foundation for an individual to progress toward effective and appropriate behavior in intercultural situations. The construction of intercultural competence begins with the attitudes of respect, openness, and curiosity. An intercultural mindset is then developed through increasing awareness, knowledge of one's culture, and one's affective, cognitive skills. Then these attitudes, knowledge, and skills ideally lead to an internal outcome that consists of flexibility, adaptability, ethnorelative perspective, and empathy. Through interacting with others, the interaction becomes effective and appropriate communication and behavior. This model of intercultural competence illustrates the cyclic and complex nature of acquiring intercultural competence. In order to achieve intercultural competence, Deardorff suggests that individuals need to develop: (1) an understanding and knowledge of culture, cultural self-awareness, and sociolinguistic awareness; (2) skills to observe, listen, interpret, analyze, evaluate, and relate; and (3) attitudes to respect cultural diversity, learn from other cultures, withholding judgment, and tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty.

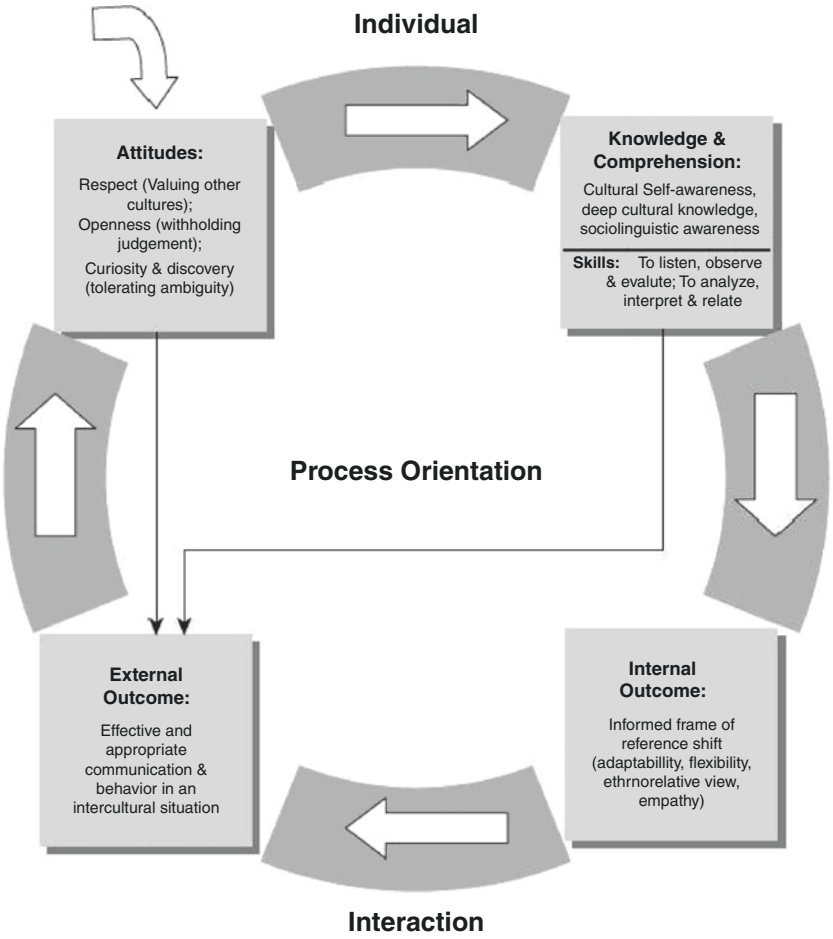

Fig. 1 The process model of intercultural competence (Deardorff 2004, 2006, 2009)

Differences Between Chinese and Canadian Cultures of Teaching

Literature on the Chinese culture of teaching often contrasts Confucian-oriented teaching in China with Socratic-oriented teaching in North America (Zhao 2007). We present these ways of teaching in what follows,

bearing in mind that the way these elements are described can sometimes be very generalizing and even stereotypical.

Confucian-oriented culture influences the teaching and learning norms in China greatly (Carless 2012). Drawing from the existing literature on Chinese education, Biggs (1996) describes typical Chinese classes as follows: "Confucian-heritage culture classes . . . appear to Western observers as highly authoritarian: teaching methods are mostly expository" (p. 46). However, in western Chinese classes (e.g., CHL programmes), the authority of the Chinese teachers results in conflicts in teaching and class management (Curdt-Christiansen 2006).

This unequal power relationship is reflected in the teacher-centered educational methods. Many researchers have commented on the centrality of lecturing in the Chinese classroom. For example, Huang (2009) argued that Chinese teachers are very serious and tend to use lecture as a teaching style. In addition, the "education-as-stuffing-a-duck" metaphor describes most Chinese teachers' instilling knowledge in students and students receiving knowledge passively (Turner and Acker 2002). One participant in Turner and Acker's (2002) study thought that the Chinese teaching style "is a disadvantage of the Chinese school. This is not a good way to lead students to think their own way" (p. 111). Teachers in China are more concerned with students' test scores than with their interest in learning. Test scores are used to evaluate the performance of both students and teachers. As Biggs (1996) summarizes, teachers in China "are sharply focused on preparation for external examinations. Examinations themselves address low-level cognitive goals, are highly competitive, and exert excessive pressure on teachers and exam stress on students" (p. 46).

In Canadian classes influenced by Socratic-oriented culture, however, teachers are viewed as facilitators of learning rather than authorities of knowledge (Huang 2009). Coleman (2001) states that a teacher as a facilitator means that the teacher assists the students' learning by encouraging them to express their opinions. Teachers stress students' thinking and discussion, encourage students to be active in classroom discussions, and praise critical and daring ideas (Upton 1989). Zhao (2007) thinks that "Western" teachers demand more individual identity in class, not expecting their students to be as obedient as the Chinese students are. Therefore, in Western classrooms, the atmosphere is often said to be more relaxed.

Facing the potential difference in pedagogical cultures between China and Canada, HL students who were born and grew up in a Canadian educational environment might have difficulty getting used to the Chinese pedagogical norms used by their HL teachers.

A study conducted by Curdt-Christiansen (2006) further aroused our interest in HL classes. In this study, a learner expressed her perspective about CHL classes that she attended in Montreal:

> I don't like the Chinese [heritage language] school... there is no action in the class... I like action. But in the Chinese school, we are not allowed to do anything. We are not allowed to talk or to write except dictations.... In my French [mainstream/regular] school, we are allowed to make up stories, we can talk about our stories in front of the whole class, and the teachers are nice. (p. 204)

In this particular study, the learner compared the learning in a CHL class with the learning of French in a mainstream class. She viewed the learning in Chinese school as a rigid and low-motivation process, while the learning of French as an engaging experience. As teachers' instructional practices are largely determined by their cultural, educational, and/or teaching backgrounds, they might transfer their former learning and/or teaching experiences to HL classes.

Method

CHL teachers have experienced different pedagogical conceptions. However, Mahoney and Schamber (2004) argue that simply being exposed to different cultures does not make a person interculturally competent. Aiming to develop a framework of CHL interculturality development, this study explores three questions:

(1) To what extent and in what form do CHL teachers adjust their teaching practices?
(2) What are the factors that contribute to CHL teachers' professional development in terms of intercultural competence?
(3) In what way can we help CHL teachers to improve their intercultural competence?

In order to investigate the research questions thoroughly, this study adopts a multi-phased mixed-methods approach (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011), which combines interviews and observational data of six CHL teachers with qualitative (e.g., open coding) and quantitative analyses (e.g., descriptive statistics, frequency counts). Phase 1 used purposeful sampling to choose the participants, taking each participants' educational and teaching background into consideration. The criteria for the chosen participants were age (ranged from 20s–40s), former teaching experiences, and former Chinese residency. We contacted every potential participant from three schools in Montreal who was willing to participate in this study and obtained her or his biographical information. Among them, we chose six participants. We will introduce all the participants in Table 1.

Two teachers with little teaching experience were recruited because individuals with less experience account for the majority of HL teachers (Liu 2006; Wang 1996). This study also focuses on experienced HL teachers' teaching practices, interviewing and observing inexperienced teachers as well can give us a general view of the normal conditions of HL teaching.

In Phase 2, semi-structured interviews were conducted with guiding interview questions. As some teachers were willing to share more of their teaching stories than others, the running time of the interviews varied from forty minutes to four and a half hours, with an average of two hours. After interviewing the participants, one to two of their classes (45 minutes each) were observed and audio recorded with an observation guide. Then all the audio-recordings were transcribed into Chinese, the language used by the participants. In terms of the classroom observation, all the field-notes with the authors' reflections and feelings were typed up the day after each class observation.

Using the coding strategies provided by Saldaña (2013), the initial data were coded manually and independently by the authors over multiple iterative readings, concentrating on identifying categories and themes. As coding is a cyclical act, rarely is the first cycle of coding data perfectly accomplished (Saldaña 2013, p. 8). Thus, the authors applied the Second Cycle methods together, which repeated the First Cycle methods. During the Second Cycle coding, the coded data were rearranged and some new categories and themes were found. In the end, Phase 3, both types of data sources were cross-examined and synthesized.

Table 1 Summary of participants' profile

		Ha	*Wong*	*Lan*	*Mei*	*Zhan*	*De*
Educational background	**Major**	Chinese language and literature	English language and literature	Preschool education	Preschool education	Chinese language and literature	Finance
	Level	Tertiary level	Tertiary level	Teacher's college	Tertiary level	Tertiary level	Tertiary level
	Place	China	China	China	China	China	China
Teaching experience		Chinese as first language	English as a foreign language &Chinese as a second language	Chinese as first language	Teacher training	Chinese as second language	N/A
Length of teaching in China		10 years	10 years	7 years	5 years	few weeks	N/A
Length of teaching in Montreal		3 years	2 years	1 year	6 years	2 years	1 year
Status		Immigrant	Immigrant	Immigrant	Immigrant	Immigrant	Immigrant
Length of arrival in Canada		10 years	4 years	2 years	6 years	2 years	2 years
Place of birth		Mainland China	Mainland China	Mainland China	Mainland China	Mainland China	Mainland China
Native languages		Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin, Cantonese	Mandarin, Cantonese	Mandarin	Mandarin, Cantonese
Other languages spoken		English	English, French	French, English	English	English, French	English, French
Age		40s	40s	30s	30s	20s	20s

Results and Discussion

The Adjustment of Teaching Practices in CHL Class

All the teachers who participated in this study hold the opinion that they need to change their former teaching practices in the new teaching environment. They specified that, due to the cultural difference, their effective teaching practices in China might lose their efficacy in Montreal, so it is necessary to adjust their teaching practices according to the change of circumstances. For example, Li stated:

> After all, it is not a Chinese environment that I think every teacher needs to change . . . Although I am teaching in a Chinese school [in Montreal], I cannot just use my teaching practices from China to teach here in Montreal. (Interview: Li)

The majority of teachers think that the main reason that they need to change their teaching practices is the different teaching priorities in Montreal and in China. Exam-directed education in China leads teachers to focus more on helping learners perform better in examinations, while teaching HL as an out of regular school programme in Montreal makes teachers focus more on inspiring students' interest in learning.

Li identified the different teaching priorities in China and in Montreal.

> When I am teaching in China, my aim as a teacher is to try to help the largest percentage of students to achieve more than 90 (out of 100). However, here in Montreal, my aim is to arouse my students' interest in learning Chinese and help them know the language as well as Chinese culture. (Interview: Li)

Due to historical reasons and the current educational policies, teachers in China are more concerned with students' test scores than with their interest in learning. Test scores are used to evaluate the performance of both students and teachers. However, most teachers in this study do not support the exam-oriented education in China. Ms. Zhan described the negative influence of this type of education on students.

> When we are in that environment [China], the whole society, parents, and teachers all focus on test scores. Children have no other choice. They have to adapt to this system. Over time, some students might get used to accepting knowledge passively for exam preparation instead of learning out of their own interest. (Interview: Zhan)

Table 2 Assessment standard in Zhan's CHL school

Items	*Percentage*
Daily performance (including attendance, in-class performance, and assignments)	60
Tests (including the mid-term)	20
Final test (including the oral and written)	20
Total	100

In HL schools, however, teachers no longer emphasize students' grades, as the test score is not the only way to assess students' performance. Zhan showed us the grading scale (see Table 2) that teachers use in her HL school during the interview:

This grading scale shows that students' test scores are not the decisive factor when assessing their performance, as tests only account for 40% of their final grades. Instead, the daily performance (which includes attendance, in-class performance, and assignments) constitutes a major part of the students' final grade. Instead of emphasizing students' scores, teachers care more about the students' individual development and their engagement in learning.

Student-Centered Teaching, Students' Interests, and Differentiated Instruction

Although all the teachers mentioned arousing students' interest as a top priority in teaching CHL in Montreal, the findings show that they applied different instructional strategies in their teaching. On the one hand, some teachers (e.g., Li, Wong, Mei, and Lan) know how to adapt their teaching practices to the educational expectations by applying different teaching strategies in Montreal, while other teachers, especially those with less teaching experience (e.g., Zhan and De), feel less prepared.

In this research, Li, Wong, Mei, and Lan treated students as the center of their teaching. They applied Differentiated Instruction[1] toward students with heterogeneous backgrounds and Chinese language proficiencies. Facing such a situation, for example, Li tried to balance every student's needs. Rather than approach her class as a homogeneous unit, she took into account individual variations by applying different teaching strategies to different students, and developing her teaching approach on the basis of students' language proficiency and needs.

Wong also has her own perception of how to make a lesson more approachable in the Canadian context. At the time of the interview, Mrs. Wong was teaching a fourth-grade HL class in Montreal. She suggested that:

> Language teachers in Montreal differ from those in China. If you want your students to like you, you need to emulate the teachers here. Although you are teaching Chinese, you have to teach as the local teacher does. (Interview: Wong)

She mentioned how she altered the textbook to fit her students' needs.

> These textbooks are prepared for the children who learn Chinese as a first language in China; they are not suitable for the heritage language learners at all. (Interview: Wong)

Teachers at HL schools are not provided with any curriculum or teaching guidance other than textbooks. If teachers find the textbooks are not suitable for their students, they need to devise a more appropriate teaching plan. It is a widespread concern among teachers that there is a lack of professionally produced material to be used in the classroom that reflects the reality of HL students (Carstens et al. 2013; Majhanovich and Richards 1995). Consequently, producing supplementary materials to make textbooks more relevant to students' needs requires teachers to have a better understanding of their students' language learning needs and have the competence to address students' needs. Also, it demands that teachers devote their personal time to produce these materials.

Mrs. Wong possessed the attitude that HL teaching should be in accordance with local teaching. That is, HL teachers need to adjust their teaching in the new teaching environment. In order to achieve her goal, she varied the activities in her class. She frequently used puzzles, group work, and storytelling in her class. Facing the heterogeneous proficiencies and learning styles that students bring to the classroom, Wong allocated different activities to different students based on their interests. For example, Wong assigned different kinds of homework to each student. She stated that in China she would not do that because teachers treat the whole class as a unit. Students receive the same lectures and assignments from their teachers. Yet, in a CHL class, she needs to use the so-called Western pedagogical methods to nurture students' enthusiasm and advance their skills in Chinese language and

culture. She contends that using old-fashioned traditional methods (e.g., rote learning, teacher-centered instruction) might diminish students' learning interest.

Both Mei and Lan teach CHL at the kindergarten level. They stated that their adjustments in teaching practices depended mainly on parents' expectations. Mei mentioned that in China, parents expect their children to learn as much as they can at the kindergarten level in order to build a good foundation for the competition that will follow in elementary school. Thus, teachers need to focus on passing on knowledge and skills to their students rather than catering to their desire to play. However, she stated that in Montreal parents focus less on how much knowledge their children have learned in kindergarten. They paid more attention to how teachers nurture their children's interest in learning. Thus, more experienced teachers, Mei and Lan, were able to select and apply multiple methods to achieve their instructional goals.

In contrast, the aforementioned teachers who had limited teaching experience were looking for an effective way to survive in the new and complicated teaching environment. Although both Zhan and De considered students' learning interest as their teaching priority, they struggled to identify the way to achieve their goal. Zhan admitted "Arousing students' interest is really extremely hard."

At the very beginning of their teaching careers in Montreal, Zhan and De had similar conceptions about what kind of teacher they wanted to be. Their assumptions were based on their former negative educational experiences received in China. Students in China have an impression of teachers as strict taskmasters, and teachers are the authority in school. The class discipline they experienced in China was too strict so that students always feel scared of teachers. Therefore, when Zhan started teaching, she decided not to be as strict as most of her teachers in China were; instead, she tried to befriend her students.

> I didn't have much experience in the first year. I tried not to be the authority. And to be honest, students who are brought up here wouldn't buy it. Thus I tried to be their friend. (Interview: Zhan)

In Zhan's mind, not being an authority equates to giving freedom to the students. She did not impose any rules to restrict her students' class behavior. She thought that the "Western" classroom environment is friendlier and better supports students' development. However, she eventually found that she indulged her students too much and her classes were

unruly. She did not even know how to handle the "problem" students. One student always hid under the desk, and everybody's attention was diverted by his doing that. Some students talked loudly among themselves. After these problems arose, she began to wonder whether her idea of being friendly to her students was suitable, or if she should be a stricter teacher instead.

Factors that Influence CHL Teachers' Construction of Intercultural Competence

When teaching in a foreign context using different teaching norms, teachers make their adjustments according to a multitude of factors. Taking Deardorff's model into consideration, we identify the following factors that influence a CHL teacher's teaching adjustment and development of intercultural competence: their previous teaching experiences in China, preference for "Western" education, and educational experiences (their own and/or their children's) in Canada.

Teaching Experiences in China

It is commonly reported that HL teachers tend to maintain the teaching practices used in their home country (Majhanovich and Richards 1995; Wang 1996). However, HL learners who are raised in a different context and educated according to different pedagogical norms do not welcome these teaching practices (Curdt-Christiansen 2006; Feuerverger 1997; Weng and Lin 2013). These studies imply that HL teachers' previous teaching experiences might be an obstacle to their adaptation to the new teaching environment. In this study, Li, Wong, Mei, and Lan received their pre-service training in China and taught Chinese in China for many years. They were accustomed to the Chinese teaching environment and formed their own teaching style to fit Chinese educational standards. When they began to teach in Canada, they had difficulty changing their former teaching practices, especially when they were still teaching Chinese, albeit now in a CHL school. As Tse et al. (2012) indicate, persuading teachers to change their practice is a difficult task, especially when the teaching of Chinese literacy is involved. Approaches to teaching Chinese are centuries old, and schools and parents usually feel obliged to uphold "cherished" traditions. Thus, there is a concern that HL teachers' previous teaching experience could hinder their adaptation to new contexts.

This particular study, however, shows that there is a difference among teachers in terms of their ability to adapt to a new teaching environment. As seen in the previous section, Li, Wong, Lan, and Mei, who had teaching experience in China, were more competent in adapting to the new teaching environment and adjusting their former instructional strategies. They were more efficient in organizing their courses, managing their classes, and developing appropriate curricula based on their students' needs. They were more attuned to teaching possibilities within their contextual constraints. However, De and Zhan, who lacked teaching experience in China, were still struggling. Although they had a specific teaching goal in mind, they had difficulty in achieving their objectives and transcending their contextual constraints. This suggests that teachers' previous teaching experiences provide a solid foundation for their adaptation to the new teaching context.

In most cases, HL teachers start to teach without having any kind of pre-service training. In the absence of professional training in CHL instruction, teachers' previous teaching experiences become vital to their teaching career. Previous professional development in non-HL teaching has proven beneficial to Li, Wong, Lan, and Mei. Therefore, this study suggests that HL teachers' prior teaching experience in their native country is an asset rather than an obstacle to their adaptation to their new environment.

Preference for "Western" Education

HL teachers' preference for "Western" education is another factor that contributes to their willingness to change their teaching practices. All of the participants in this study are immigrants. In the interviews our participants expressed that one of the most significant reasons for their immigration was their appreciation of the quality of education in Canada. In this study, all the teachers expressed discontent with the learning and teaching environment in China. From their point of view, the fierce competition and the exam-oriented education system inhibit students' advancement of their individual interests. All the participants whose children are studying in Canada are proponents of the Canadian education system. Wong stated that the Chinese education system does not give enough opportunity for students to discover their own interests. However, in Canada, the system encourages and helps students to find their interests by joining different clubs or interest groups and participating in various social activities and

volunteer jobs. Wong thought her daughter, who is studying in a CEGEP,[2] was benefiting from this support system.

Wong commented that it is important to provide the resources to support students' interests. She recalled that when she needed to choose her university major, she did not know what she was interested in and just chose a major randomly. She believed that many high school students in China still do not know their interest when they graduate, since Chinese compulsory education overemphasizes the ability to pass exams.

All the participants believed that "Western" education focuses more on helping students discover learning interests, forming their critical thinking, and developing their creativity, while Chinese teaching focuses on transmitting knowledge to the students for exam preparation. Teachers' preference for "Western" education made them apt to change their previous teaching practices.

Educational Experiences in Canada

The capability of HL teachers to adjust their teaching practices was also influenced by their educational experiences in Canada, which was experienced primarily through their own children's mainstream school learning experiences, educational training, and collaboration and interaction with CHL colleagues.

Half of the participants have children who are receiving public education in Montreal. Their children's education is one of the key channels that help them to become familiar with the local education system. For example, Li, Wong, and Lan always ask their children about their daily activities at school. By helping their children with their homework, they get to know the teaching materials, and teaching approaches in mainstream schools. Wong stated: "After you have your own child, you get to know the teaching in their mainstream school, including the teaching methods and student-teacher relationships." Knowing about the teaching in mainstream schools provides them with a direction to adjust their own teaching. From their own children's learning experiences, they also receive more information about what the local students' interests are. Thus, they can make their teaching more accessible to HL learners.

Teachers also benefit from knowing about their children's Chinese language learning problems. These problems help them reflect on and improve their HL teaching. Li mentioned that her children's Chinese learning experiences enlightened her HL teaching. Her daughter was

seven years old when they moved to Montreal. In the first two years, she found that her daughter started to prefer to speak English instead of Chinese to them. She worried that her daughter might lose her mother tongue, so she began to seek ways to help her daughter maintain her first language. An effective way she found was watching Chinese TV dramas. One comedy called Wu Lin Wai Zhuan (武林外传) awoke her daughter's interest in learning Chinese. Finally, her daughter achieved a high level of proficiency in Chinese. She commented that:

> My daughter's Chinese learning process reminds me that in my class, I have to seize the children's learning interests. Once their learning interest is seized, they will learn without feeling bored. (Interview: Li)

In addition to drawing on their own children's education, cooperation and interaction with their colleagues is another channel that helps HL teachers adjust their teaching practices. Many of our participants reported that learning from their colleagues is vital for their professional growth, as educators constantly construct and reconstruct their understanding of their work with people in their work contexts (Tsui 2003).

Mei and Lan noted that teachers in their kindergarten group always collaborate. They often discuss their teaching practices during break and exchange teaching materials. It can be seen that spontaneous communication helps teachers to exchange ideas. Although they have limited time, this communication also shows their mutual supportiveness and facilitates their professional development. Collegial support gradually contributed to a sense of community among teachers, providing a platform for the resolution of difficulties in their teaching and class management.

Furthermore, although the participants did not have the chance to observe mainstream education, one of the teachers indicated that her own language learning experiences at local language schools have revealed to them the various methods that teachers use in the Western context. Local language teachers are their models, especially when these local teachers are using efficient means of teaching. Wong mentioned that she learned a lot from her French teacher. She was willing to take the same course twice, not because she did not have a good command of the course content, but because she wanted to observe the local classroom and learn from the local teacher. She liked to emulate the language teacher's teaching methods, and expressed clearly that she would like to be that kind of teacher who illustrates the best practices in the new context.

Last but not the least, the expectations of students' parents are also an influential factor for teachers' adjustment of their teaching practices. As most of the students are forced or at least strongly encouraged by their parents to receive HL education, parents' views have the potential to influence teachers' pedagogical goals and practices a great deal. Positive feedback from parents reinforces teachers' confidence. However, negative feedback can prompt teachers to adjust their teaching practices.

In sum, the teachers in this study went through a process of negotiating their role as educators in a new teaching context. Each teacher's adaptation was influenced by different factors which are summarized in Table 3.

As the table shows, teachers who appeared to be more effective in their teaching (Li, Wong, Lan, and Mei) were influenced by more factors than

Table 3 Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit

Participants / Influential factors		Li	Wong	Lan	Mei	Zhan	De
Teaching experience in China		√	√	√	√		
Preference for Western education		√	√	√	√	√	√
Educational Experiences in Canada	Own children's mainstream school learning experiences	√	√	√			
	Own children's HL learning experiences	√					
	Cooperation and interaction with HL colleagues			√	√	√	
	Own Second Language learning experience in local school		√				
	Parental expectations			√	√		
Total influential factors		4	4	5	4	2	1

teachers who were less confident and perhaps less effective (Zhan and De). An analysis of these factors shows that HL teachers' prior teaching experience in their native country is an asset rather than an obstacle to their adaptation to their new environment. However, their teaching experience in China can only be an asset when accompanied by other factors (e.g., a recognition of the value of the new teaching approach and educational experiences in Canada) that familiarize teachers with the local pedagogical environment. These findings suggest that both teaching experiences and experiences that familiarize teachers with the local pedagogical environment are essential for teachers' adaptation to the new environment. However, developing understanding of the new pedagogical environment and becoming more confident in this environment are not easy processes for teachers. In this study, HL teachers are seen as having to fulfil this process by themselves.

Discussion: Construction of Intercultural Competence in CHL Education

The results indicate that both teachers' former teaching experiences in China and their resources that familiarize them with CHL teaching norms help them adapt to the new environment effectively. It is problematic that their adaptation to the new environment depends on their personal resources, such as their former teaching experience and their own children's learning experience in mainstream school. For teachers who do not have these resources, their adaption process might slow down or stagnate. Thus, we suggest the following framework need to be constructed to enhance HL teachers' intercultural competence.

Facing students with heterogeneous backgrounds in CHL classroom, the multiple teaching strategies applied by the participants indicated that CHL teaching needs to place students at its center. The next step is to try to nurture the students' interest by applying multiple resources, especially multimedia resources. As Tomlinson and McTighe (2006) claim: "Few teachers find their work effective or satisfying when they simply 'serve up' a curriculum – even an elegant one – to their students with no regard for their varied learning needs. For many educators, Differentiated Instruction offers a framework for addressing learner variance as a critical component of instructional planning" (pp. 1–2).

As it is difficult and time-consuming for teachers to update their teaching strategies, a stable support system is needed for HL teachers' construction of their intercultural competence. The implication of this

study indicates that a professional development program, a collegial support network, and a teacher evaluation system should be put in place to benefit both HL teachers and their students.

Professional development aims to provide "systematic efforts to bring about change in the classroom practices of teachers, in their attitudes and beliefs, and in the learning outcomes of students" (Guskey 2002, p. 381). Liu (2012) points out that constantly advancing teachers' professional knowledge is important to the development of teacher efficacy. No matter whether a teacher has previous (non-HL teaching) experience or not, acquiring HL teaching professional knowledge and skills is important for their own development as HL teachers. The knowledge and skills include, but are not limited to teaching strategies and activities that cater to a number of challenges, such as: HL learners' characteristics and needs, familiarity with local cultural norms and familiarity with education system for Chinese immigrant teachers, the incongruity between their native understanding of educational theories and practices and what is considered as the suitable way of thinking and acting as teachers (Wang 2002, p. 38). Professional development opportunities need to be provided for teachers to explore the different learning styles indifferent pedagogical contexts. Helping teachers identify the different roles teachers play in different cultural context and helping them form a view that seeing teachers as facilitators instead of authorities would benefit teachers/educators in changing their way of teaching. It is also important to help HL teachers to discover HL learners' characteristics and expectations. Professional development opportunities need to equip teachers with the teaching methods and strategies they need to meet HL learners' specific needs.

Teacher training, workshops, and accreditations are all useful techniques for HL teachers to enhance their intercultural ability. Unfortunately, nowadays, few teacher development opportunities are provided to HL educators. Even when there is a training opportunity, HL schools can scarcely afford to support teachers financially. Additionally, as most CHL teachers have full-time positions on weekdays, their limited time could prevent them from receiving training (Wu et al. 2011). Thus, when designing professional development programmes, HL teachers' circumstances need to be taken into account.

In addition, teacher evaluation is an important mechanism for improving teaching and learning (Danielson and McGreal 2000). With evaluation feedback, teachers have concrete guidance about their teaching strengths and what they need to improve. All of the participants reported that there is not any formal evaluation process conducted by their schools, such as

evaluation forms for students or parents to assess teachers' performance. On the one hand, it seems schools trust teachers a great deal and believe that they are teaching effectively. On the other hand, it seems that the schools do not care about the quality of teaching. Danielson and McGreal (2000) claim that the two principal purposes of teacher evaluation are quality assurance and professional development. However, CHL schools do not formally evaluate teachers. This means there is no quality control of teachers' performance. An irresponsible and ineffective teacher could keep his/her job indefinitely without any pressure to improve. By discovering the gap between teaching practices and the students' expectations, schools could identify teachers' problems and offer them help immediately. The implementation of a teacher evaluation system in CHL schools in Montreal will also promote their education efficacy and extend their influence.

Conclusion

This study explored six CHL teachers' teaching practices and investigated the factors that influence their development of intercultural competence in CHL teaching in Montreal, Canada. The results show that the CHL teachers in this study thought that their teaching practices and approaches needed to be adjusted for the local HL context. The participants in this research all identified and compared the different teaching priorities in China and Montreal. In China, teaching is directed by examinations, and teachers focus primarily on imparting knowledge to students. However, in Montreal, teachers' instructional priority is arousing students' interest in HL learning. The fact that the CHL teachers in this study no longer used examinations as the only way to evaluate students' performance demonstrates their changing attitudes in the new teaching environment. An analysis of the factors that influence teachers' adaptation to the new environment shows that HL teachers' prior teaching experience in their native country is an asset rather than an obstacle to their adaptation to their new environment. However, their teaching experience in China can only be an asset when accompanied by other factors (e.g., a recognition of the value of the new teaching approach, and educational experience in Canada) that familiarize teachers with the local pedagogical environment. These findings suggest that both teaching experiences and experiences that familiarize teachers with the local pedagogical environment are important for teachers' adaptation to the new environment.

The importance of HL teaching is undermined by many factors. In a classroom setting, HL teachers endeavor to help learners maintain their HLs;

however, the limited support they obtain from HL schools does not facilitate their professional development, which also prevents them from providing a better learning experience for the HL learners. Changes in the teaching context demand that HL teachers develop a greater capacity to respond effectively to a range of changing conditions. The framework of intercultural competence construction guides HL teachers to better adapt to the new environment and develop their teaching ability. Support from the broader educational community is called for the CHL teachers' continuing improvement.

Notes

1. Differentiated Instruction is a framework or philosophy for effective teaching that involves providing different students with different avenues to learning (often in the same classroom) in terms of: acquiring content; developing teaching materials and assessment measures so that all students within a classroom can learn effectively, regardless of differences in ability.
2. CEGEP is a publicly funded preuniversity college in the province of Quebec's education system.

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Becoming Professional: Exploring Identity Construction of Non-native CFL Teachers

Chun Zhang and Danping Wang

Introduction

The demand for qualified teachers of Chinese who are able to work professionally and interculturally in specific educational and cultural contexts has become high (Moloney 2013; Wang and Kirkepatrick 2012). However, some researchers argue that many native Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) teachers trained in China's CFL teacher education programmes often lack intercultural background and linguistic knowledge to manage classroom learning effectively, consequently discouraging students (Orton 2011; Starr 2009). As a result, universities outside of China have begun resorting to recruit non-native CFL teachers from local supply in order to meet the demands of CFL courses. In the case of Denmark, many recently employed non-native CFL teachers are young graduates from universities holding a degree in Chinese studies. Understanding how non-native CFL teachers construct their professional

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identities as Chinese teachers is an urgent issue in that the demand for qualified non-native CFL teachers is increasing (Zhang and Jensen 2013), and their supply is rather limited (Wang et al. 2013). Therefore, it is crucial to understand the new, non-native, CFL teacher's path of becoming a teacher, particularly during the initial year of their teaching career. Situated in a Danish educational and cultural setting, this case study seeks to answer the following research question: How do non-native CFL teachers construct their professional identities in Danish higher education?

This chapter is original in three ways. First, this study calls for the voices of non-native CFL teachers to be heard through research endeavours. Second, the study offers some insights for young, non-native CFL teachers, who struggle to develop professional identity, to become qualified Chinese teachers. Third, this chapter calls for recognising the special merits of non-native CFL teachers through empirical data.

The chapter begins with a literature review on foreign language teacher identity, with a focus on Wenger's (1998) identity theory as the conceptual framework. Then, it outlines important background knowledge of non-native CFL teachers in the context of Danish higher education. Next, the chapter introduces information on research setting, participants, and methods of data collection and analysis. The main body of the chapter is organised under two thematic headings. The paper discusses and concludes with a discussion of findings. Finally, the chapter identifies some limitations and provides some suggestions for future research.

Literature Review

Research on the professional development of language teachers has recently attached great importance to professional identity. Some researchers claim that 'developing an identity as a teacher is an important part of securing teachers' commitment to their work' (Hammerness et al. 2005, p. 383). New teachers undergo a transition in personal and professional identity, as they change from the role of student to that of teacher (Gu and Day 2013). Varghese et al. (2005) state that 'identities are not stable or fixed, but dynamic, multifaceted, and conflicted' (p. 22). The dynamic and multiple qualities of teacher identity construction are explained in Britzman's (2003) view of learning to teach as 'a process of becoming'. In view of research on identity among foreign language teachers, Clarke (2008) points out that novice teachers are constantly involved in the construction and reconstruction of their identities. As

the concept of 'becoming a teacher' highlights the dynamic nature of identity (re)construction, it is reported that some new teachers' thinking may also be largely influenced by what they have experienced as language learners (Tsui 2007). In addition, Trend's (2013) study pays attention to understand new teachers by looking at their 'language learning trajectory', claiming that 'identity as a trajectory' focuses on the multiple boundaries that each teacher crosses as they are in a journey of being a teacher to becoming a teacher. This attention is important when conducting CFL teacher identity research from intercultural perspectives in that foreign language teachers' learning trajectory is associated with the interaction of different cultural values. Wang and Jensen's (2013) study further reveals that local CFL teachers' beliefs are the 'products of the collision between Chinese and Danish educational cultures' (p. 109). Yet, while insightful, there has been much less studies focusing on how new local non-native CFL teachers understand themselves and develop their professions in their home country. This is an area deserving research attention, which has been unfortunately under-researched from a teacher identity point of view.

In order to gain a better understanding of non-native teachers' identity construction, we used Wenger's (1998) framework of social identity theory as the theoretical framework. Wenger (1998) proposes, 'one's identity lies not only in the way one talks or thinks about oneself, or only in the way others talk or think about one, but in the way one's identity is lived day-to-day' (p. 99). Wenger (1998) explores identity construction as an experience, in terms of three modes of belonging: engagement, imagination, and alignment. Engagement allows us to invest in what we do, and in our relations with others, gaining 'a lived sense of who we are' (p. 192). Imagination refers to 'the creation of images of the world, and our place within it across time and space, by extrapolating beyond our own experience' (ibid. p. 177). Alignment coordinates 'an individual's activities within broader structures and enterprises, allowing the identity of a larger group to become part of the identity of its members' (ibid. p. 179).

Research Design

Narrative inquiry was used for exploring the identity construction of non-native CFL teachers. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) refer to teachers' professional identities in terms of 'stories to live by' (p. 4). According to them, stories provide a narrative thread that teachers draw on, to make

sense of their experience and of themselves. Although some critics raised doubts about the validity of narrative inquiry using verbatim quotations from the participants (Beijaard et al. 2004), it should be noted that 'life stories' do not only tell the researchers about their participants' personal experiences but also most importantly 'they can help researchers to understand the experiences of participants and cultures, and contribute to the structuring of identity' (Gibbs 2007, p. 60). Therefore, the narrative approach was justifiably adopted to carry out this study on teachers' professional identities.

Setting

The study was undertaken at the Department of Chinese Studies at University A in Denmark. The first degree in Chinese Studies was established in the late 1960s, now it offers Bachelor, Master, and PhD programmes. During the 2012 and 2014 academic years, there were 92 students in these programmes, and four language teachers – two native and two non-native CFL teachers.

Participants

The study followed a purposive sampling method in recruiting participants. In this study, we need participants who (1) had experience of teaching and learning in Chinese and Danish cultures; (2) were teaching Chinese in Danish context at the time of the data collection; and (3) were willing to share personal and professional experience with the researchers. As non-Chinese CFL teachers remained a very small group of community, only a handful of Chinese teachers from them were suitable for this study. Due to the limited space of this chapter, we focused on the two participants' identity construction process with in-depth analysis of the narrative data. Agnes obtained her MA degrees in Chinese Studies in 2011, and Frank obtained his MA degree in 2014. The two participants were very reflective of their experiences of learning and teaching Chinese. They both had been to China to study Chinese before they took the current teaching position. To protect their privacy, we have assigned each participant a pseudonym. Participants' names and personal information have been changed or otherwise anonymised to protect their privacy.

Agnes was in her early 30s when the research was conducted. She was born and educated in Denmark. Agnes holds a BA and a MA in Chinese studies

from University A, and is currently doing a PhD degree. Apart from learning Chinese at University A, she studied Chinese at various Chinese universities as formal part of her studies for two years while pursuing her degrees.

Frank was born in the mid-1980s to an American-Danish family in Denmark. Growing up in a bilingual family, Frank developed a strong interest in foreign languages and cultures in his early childhood. He completed his BA and MA in Chinese Studies at University A. While pursuing his degrees, Frank went to study Chinese in a Chinese university for six months.

Data Collection

We started with an individual questionnaire to gain basic personal information, including the subjects they taught, experiences of learning and teaching CFL, and reflection on the experiences. The questionnaire was in English. One participant responded in English, the other in Danish. A series of semi-structured interviews were then conducted. We interviewed Agnes three times, but due to time limit, we interviewed Frank twice. Each interview lasted about 30 minutes. The interviews took place at the office of the first-author, and were audio-recorded and transcribed for data analysis. We posed open questions to Agnes and Frank about the decision to study Chinese, experiences as CFL learners in Denmark and in China, and reflections on their learning and teaching relating to identity of CFL teachers. Interviews were done mainly in English, and occasionally a mixture of both Danish and Chinese was used to express certain notions, such as Danish idioms and fixed Chinese phrases.

Data Analysis

The data were analysed according to Wenger's (1998) framework, to demonstrate their professional identities as non-native CFL teachers. Descriptive and narrative data were first sorted chronologically, beginning with Agnes's and Frank's decision to study Chinese as their major, to their first year of teaching Chinese to Danish students. Following this, the data were sorted according to the identity formation and different life experiences in the Danish University A as well as in Chinese universities. This process also involved 'reorganizing their recollections' (Strauss and Corbin 1990) because it was important to understand the unrest and uneasiness they experienced when they were the learners of Chinese in two different countries.

Findings

This study presents the three key aspects of the research findings: establishing CFL learner identities, exploring CFL teacher identities, and becoming CFL teachers. To understand the journey that Agnes and Frank took to become Chinese language teachers, we start by looking at their motivations for choosing to learn Chinese.

Establishing CFL Learner Identities

Setting Out on an Unknown Journey

At the beginning of their interviews, Agnes and Frank explained their reasons for studying Chinese, and their families' and friends' attitudes towards that choice. From a young age, Agnes was fascinated by Chinese culture, reading magazines about China. It was not until her high school classmate introduced her to a programme of Chinese studies that she decided to study Chinese at the university.

> My parents and my friends thought it was weird. My father was unhappy about my choice. He was very sceptical about it, and worried that I could not find a job after graduation. But my mother supported my choice, and advised me to study hard, if this was what I really wanted to do. (Agnes)

Clearly, in the eyes of Agnes's parents, about 10 years ago, choosing to read Chinese might not be a good way to secure a well-paid job. Therefore, her parents were a bit 'unhappy' and 'sceptical'. However, Agnes found herself 'fascinated' by Chinese culture, and her mother was supportive of Agnes's decision regarding her studies. Agnes also indicated her low level of interest in learning the Chinese language. Unlike Agnes, Frank's parents' attitudes were liberal, and they were 'delighted' when Frank decided to learn an 'exotic' language simply because he was interested in foreign cultures and languages. Frank stated:

> My parents were delighted with my decision to learn an 'exotic' language.... But in general, my parents warmly supported my choice. They thought China would become a big economy in the future. And they were right! [Laughter]

For the two participants, their early motivation to study Chinese language was largely integrative (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009), which

might be a key impetus for successful language learning. However, the two participants did not have a definite idea of becoming Chinese language teachers. With little prior knowledge of what Chinese learning and teaching could be, their courage to set the foot on an unknown journey deserves respect and research attention. Yet, it is also expected that the construction of their professional identities as non-native Chinese teachers would carry a sense of uncertainty and uneasiness. Their parents' attitudes towards their decision to learn Chinese were a little more instrumental and practical, as choosing what to study was regarded as closely associated with future jobs.

Learning About the Language Not Learning to Use the Language

In our study of understanding how Agnes and Frank relate others' response to construct their own identity, we take account of their experience of establishing CFL learner identities. One important aspect is to look at how they compare different teaching methods they encountered while they were CFL learners in Denmark and in China. Agnes recalled some of her experiences as a CFL learner in Denmark.

> Chinese teachers here are very strict with tests and classroom attendance. The atmosphere was formal and teachers look serious. (Agnes)

One important experience while studying abroad further shaped Agnes' CFL learner identities. Agnes went to Beijing to learn Chinese in her second year. Her arrival at university B in Beijing in the early 2000s added another identity as a learner of the Chinese language in China. 'liú xuéshēng' (留学生), foreign/international students, with a very clearly defined role in Chinese culture, marked the beginning of her first experience of language immersion as a CFL learner in a Chinese-speaking context. She stayed at a small teacher's college in the outskirts of Beijing. In contrast to the majority of foreign students, who were taking the elementary language classes together, Agnes went to an advanced language class right from the beginning. During these classes, Agnes had to cope not only with the different accents of her teachers but also with various teaching methods. In the beginning, Agnes found almost impossible to follow the class. Agnes said:

> The teaching method used by the Chinese teachers there was VERY different from that of my Chinese teacher in Denmark... Some of the teachers

> there [China] were just repeating. . . . We would just write down where the word would be in the sentence, but we did not use them. It was the same method over and over again . . . We've learned a lot of vocabulary, but we never had any chance to actually use it outside of class. (Agnes)

Like Agnes, after a year and a half of learning Chinese in Denmark, Frank went to Zhejiang to study Chinese. His arrival in Hángzhōu (University C) as a 'liú xuéshēng' gave him a new experience in a Chinese-speaking context. Already in his mid-20s, Frank had to learn to build new networks of friends and to live in a new country, operating in a foreign language, though perhaps more in the anticipation than the reality. Being born into a bilingual/bicultural family, Frank had learned to live quite confidently in Germany and America. But learning to cope with China seemed much more daunting. The following excerpts illustrate Frank's early experience of Chinese learning and his observation of what motivated international students, and what did not.

> It is a different way of teaching Chinese in China. . . . I remembered the first time we had a 'jīngdú' (精读, intensive reading) teacher . . . she was always smiling. She encouraged the students to talk a lot. In her class, everyone was talkative, feeling nice and loose. . . . Then I had 'kǒuyǔ' (口语, conversation) class with a different type of teacher, a little bit stricter. She corrected every mistake we made. People seemed less willing to participate. (Frank)

As stated above, for non-native language teachers, it is of crucial importance to examine their learning experience, as their professional beliefs may be profoundly influenced by the teachers who taught them to speak the language. Recalling the good and bad memories helps to reconstruct their learner identity, this in turn provides direct references for them to construct their professional identities as teachers. During the interviews, the two participants consciously juxtaposed the learning experience they had as language learners with the teaching experience they hope to give their students. Frank concluded his learning experience by saying that:

> I want to be a teacher or the kind of teacher good at engaging students in class. So I noticed it, as I felt comfortable in the class, and so did everyone. When we are relaxed and are not afraid of making mistakes, we become eager to attend the class and work harder. It's an interesting experience. You can see how different the teachers are and how we are willing to learn. (Frank)

Constructing CFL Teacher Identities

Avoiding Practicing 'Chinese' Way in a Danish Context

Aside from establishing learner identities, the study findings also point to a fact that the past CFL learning experience played a significant role in influencing their current views in becoming teachers. As non-native CFL teachers, Agnes and Frank are fully aware of the applicability of the 'Chinese way' of teaching languages. Their intercultural understanding of Danish teaching culture and Chinese teaching culture tells them that this 'strict' teaching approach would not be acceptable in a Danish context and therefore it would not be applicable in the local classroom. Agnes started to teach Chinese to first- and second-year students in the 2011/2012 academic year. After she came back from China, Agnes began to teach a Chinese class to first-year students at a Danish university. She recalled:

> I introduced newspaper-reading class to my students. In this class, students are free to choose the texts by themselves. I had a similar class while I was in Beijing. I liked my teacher for the newspaper-reading class [in China]. In her class, we actually used a lot of new words learned from the text. (Agnes)
>
> The way I teach is inspired by what I've been through. This works and this does not work, and combine… I never had any experience as a teacher before, but an experience as a student. (Agnes)

Frank started to teach Chinese grammar to second-year students in the 2013/2014 academic year. His teaching method has also been largely influenced by what he had experienced, keeping the methods that he thinks useful, and discarding the ones that he found ineffective. The following excerpt should make it clear.

> I don't want to be too strict like my 'kǒuyǔ' teacher there.… To give the students a positive experience, maybe not so afraid of making mistakes… It is hard to say my teaching method is a Danish way, I think it is sort of combination, something in between. (Frank)

In recounting the experiences that gave rise to their professional identities as teachers, both Agnes and Frank placed emphasis on comparing the teaching they had experienced in China and the methods they adopted when they taught Chinese. Looking at these issues from a broader point of

view, it is not hard to see that they were trying to relate their personal learning experience to their professional identities. In Frank's case, the question is about building a friendly learning atmosphere. He believes in the importance of being a friendly teacher in order to learn the language; so his pedagogical approach is to 'give a positive experience to the students'. Yet, how might their personal identities as learners and teachers affect or contribute to the shaping of their professional identities? The third key findings may illustrate this point.

Having Good Relationship with Students and Building Up Safe Learning Environment

As outlined in Wenger's (1998) framework, identity construction is related to alignment. It can be understood as a sense of positioning in relation to what standpoint they hold. Therefore, in this study, we take account of how Agnes and Frank position themselves in relation to their students. The following excerpts illustrate how they manage their sense of positioning. Agnes put it:

> Well, I think it is still a teacher and student relationship . . . but there is another aspect. We are more or the less same age. So, some of the students are only a couple of years younger than me . . . But I hope they don't see me as a fellow student. (Agnes)

For Agnes, becoming a CFL teacher is a further step on a journey of constructing professional identities in which she is able to prove her choice and hear herself being recognised by the students. Her intercultural experience as a learner in China plays an important role in constructing her professional identities. She gained new teaching methods and developed new pedagogical approach. For Agnes, becoming a CFL teacher is to gain recognition from the students not due to the teacher position, but due to teachers' ability to communicating with the students. This sense of communication is further reinforced by Frank's excerpt.

> It is also an obstacle, trying it out and seeing how I am as a 'lǎoshī' (老师 teacher). Am I a teacher yet? So far, I feel like something between. I feel like a student, but [also] like their teacher. I am not good at spoken Chinese as my native Chinese colleagues. But I hope that they feel they are sort of equal to me, so that they'd ask me questions . . . I've been in their shoes . . . But at the same time, I hope they regard me a little bit as their teacher. (Frank)

As Frank explains, such a dilemma of language-related profession in the case of CFL teacher can be imposing a burden on him, who see a need in their personal and professional path for acceptance and recognition. From this point of view, someone born 'Agnes' or 'Frank', who would normally be classified as 'Danish' (however tenuous this may be, in Frank's case), should surely feel uncertain about teaching Chinese, unless they have a good command of the language they teach, and gained an acknowledgement from the local. Living many years with the identities of CFL learners, in their personal contexts, the learner identities 'liú xuéshēng' had become almost exclusive labels when they were operating in Chinese settings, both in China and in their Chinese-learning settings outside of China. In their professional contexts, their learner identities seemed to get less salient. They hope, though have not explicitly said, that their students regard them as teachers, and that they would recognise the special merits that non-native CFL teachers possessed in that they had been 'in students' shoes' quoted by Frank.

Discussion and Conclusion

A Lived Experience of Identity Construction

For Wenger (1998), identity is 'an experience and display of competence' (p. 152). Engagement in practice is crucial to identity construction, because 'our definition of competence shape our identities through our very engagement in activities and social interactions' (p. 193). When Agnes chose to study Chinese, although she did not receive support from her parents, she studied hard to prove that her choice was right. At University A, both Agnes and Frank not only experienced a new learning environment but also encountered a different teaching method. The new learner identity seems to have had an effect on their sense of self and identity. Studying CFL in China was an eye-opening experience for them. Owing to the different context and different teaching approach, Agnes and Frank felt learning Chinese in China was different from what they encountered before. Agnes emphasised that the teaching method in China was very different from what she was used to. Frank recounted that his teachers in China were 'too strict'. The identity conflicts were triggered by their later observation of Chinese teaching pedagogy while they were in China. The changing views of Chinese teaching philosophy caused a conflict in their identity construction as a Chinese teacher. For example,

Agnes and Frank believed that developing a high level of Chinese proficiency meant gaining communicative skills. They considered the intensive teaching of language structures, texts, and vocabulary by their Chinese teachers 'monotonous' and 'boring'.

Wenger's (1998) second mode of belonging is imagination. It refers to 'transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves' (p. 176). For example, through teaching, Agnes and Frank created a broader sense of self. Frank captured the gist of this in his anticipation of not wanting to '*be too strict like my "kǒuyǔ" teacher*'. He wanted to become a teacher like his '*jīngdú*' teacher, who was engaging in her teaching, and encouraging. Agnes anticipated becoming a teacher like her 'newspaper teacher', who introduced plenty of extracurricular activities. The effort of anticipation and imagination was important in allowing the teachers to situate their engagement in the here and now of teaching, within the ongoing construction of their teacher identity. Thus, Agnes and Frank linked the images of themselves as '*jīngdú*' teacher and 'newspaper' teacher to the past. At the same time, imagination connected their identity construction in the here and now of teaching classes to the ongoing construction of their teacher identities. This presented a future-oriented picture of the 'world of teaching', and their place within it situated identity formation 'as a work in progress' (Wenger 1998, p. 158).

The third mode of identification is alignment. Alignment allows us to see the effectiveness of our actions beyond our own engagement. The ability to align with something entails knowing how to engage with others, and understanding the actions in which others are engaged. When they taught at University A, Agnes and Frank were formally reified as teachers through a teaching practicum, but they felt they were not fully accepted as teachers by their students. To be fully recognised as teachers, Agnes and Frank aligned themselves with the methods used by their favourite teachers. Among other things, this included being able to introduce extracurricular activities, creating a friendly learning environment; and, most important of all, being regarded as 'lǎoshī'. This mode of address was particularly interesting in that it reflected the ability of alignment to help the new non-native CFL teachers situate themselves, and teach to what they experienced CFL teaching in China.

Identity Construction Intermingled with Intercultural Growth

The lived experiences of having oneself accepted are important aspects of identification. For beginner teachers, the fresh memories and experiences as learners influence their ways of teaching, as well as their understanding of working as teachers. Firstly, guided by Wenger's (1998) framework, the research reveals that identification involves not just engagement, imagination, and alignment, but also, negotiation of meaning. Although they succeed in combining or finding an appropriate approach to teaching Chinese, they have to negotiate pedagogical and intercultural predicament. As native Danes, they are accustomed to the teaching and learning behaviour manifested in their home culture. The CFL learner identity, that is, 'liú xuéshēng' (foreign language student) collapses into the identity of Danish, which makes it difficult for them to understand the teaching behaviour of their teachers from a different culture. Yet, the position taken by Agnes and Frank seem to be problematic: On the one hand, they find it hard to adapt to the environment with serious discipline in learning CFL, and on the other, they increasingly appreciate the effectiveness of some of CFL teaching approach. When they become teachers, they do not forge new meanings of teaching Chinese out of nothing, rather they create a professional identity that bears relation to meanings of teachers and teaching in wider educational and social contexts, that is, 'Chinese' and/or 'Danish' context, and beyond. Further, as Deardorff (2004) proposed in the 'Process Model' of intercultural competence, the ability to specify the interrelationship among different cultures is also essential to developing intercultural competence with each stage facilitating the next one. In the case of Frank's teaching method, identifying his teaching method as 'Danish' or 'Chinese' is no longer so important; instead, finding a suitable and applicable way to make a sense of what he did is of great importance. Secondly, identity is fundamentally contingent, not fixed for all time according to where you come from, but fluid, in light of changing circumstances, according to where you are heading for in your professional path. Also, our study pointed to the importance of personal intercultural experience in constructing a professional identity. In an egalitarian society such as Denmark, the starting point is not to impose authority on the students, rather to create an environment where students enjoy themselves in CFL learning. In a professional context, they expect that it is their empathetic ability to understand students' learning difficulty and communicating their

knowledge deserve students' recognition. In a personal context, even though they come from Denmark, by a certain point they have been operating in a Chinese context for years. Being regarded as 'foreign students' in China suggests that their learner identities lock them into a particular category. Living with the way in which their Danish students regard them and how they actually understand the path of Danish students set on, suggests that multiple identities do them good in that they leave space for the kinds of shifting identities associated with being part of more than one linguistic and cultural grouping.

Recognising the Merits of Non-native CFL Teachers

Non-native teachers need to recognise their special merits; which native teachers may not have. A shared mother tongue between non-native CFL teachers and their students is a useful pedagogical tool, in terms of teacher-student interaction, which may help make the Chinese language more approachable. They have gained knowledge of 'learning trajectory' in student–teacher interaction. It is vital that non-native CFL teachers understand the difference between 'native speaker identity' and 'professional teacher identity' (Moussu and Llurda 2008). The former was found more desirable for non-native speakers to obtain acceptance by the Chinese-speaking community. Nevertheless, native proficiency does not necessarily transfer to effective Chinese language-teaching practice. Evidence reveals that Agnes and Frank continue to experience improved pedagogical and intercultural knowledge, which enable them to construct teacher identities within home country. Despite the fact that native speakers are often seen as, or presented as a reliable source of linguistic data, non-native teachers may demonstrate an equally successful model of intercultural learning and communication, teaching, or sharing students' foreign language learning skills and attitudes, based on their personal experiences as language learners. The current findings reinforce the dynamic and multiple nature of foreign language teacher's identity (Varghese et al. 2005). More importantly, as Agnes and Frank initially disagree the 'Chinese' way of teaching CFL and avoid using it. They later succeed in combining or finding compromises between Danish and Chinese approaches to teaching Chinese. In other words, they create a new teaching approach different from 'Chinese' and 'Danish' ways. The meaning of this teaching approach is context (Danish setting) as well as discipline (Chinese

language teaching) sensitive. In the end, we begin to see how a non-native CFL teacher as an active agent to develop a 'trajectory' appropriate to the settings and cultures. The competence of creating a new teaching way was born out of the lived experience of understanding both classroom cultures embedded in a home and host university (Zhu 2014). This is what we called an intercultural awareness. Thus, for Agnes and Frank, teaching CFL in their home country is a further step on a journey of self-discovery in which they are able to fulfil personal and professional satisfaction, and they had achieved success despite various linguistic, pedagogical, and cultural challenges.

Implications and Future Study

The educational implications of our findings to CFL teacher educators and CFL teacher programme are listed. Our findings suggest it is potentially important for future empirical work in CFL teacher education to explicitly consider the impact of teachers' experiences as a language learners and the experience of intercultural education. In practice, educating non-native CFL teachers should pay more attention to teachers' past learning experience, especially listening to their motives of choosing the subject, recognise their effort in securing their commitment to CFL teaching, and leave space for them to develop their ways of language teaching. As a non-native CFL teacher, born and educated outside China, the first step for CFL teacher programmers is to strengthen intercultural education in the teacher programme in their teaching practicum within home country. Strengthening intercultural education should not only centre on imparting teachers to cultural facts or cultural knowledge. Rather, it should focus on encouraging them to be reflective upon their learning and teaching experience, and to be critical of the content they teach and of context they are situated in. Secondly, sharing a similar learning experience with the local students is a pedagogical plus in language teaching. Yet, lacking pedagogical content training in teaching CFL poses a problem. When we heard from Agnes making comments like, 'we were never taught how to teach [TCFL] to Danes [while I was a student]', education in the pedagogical content knowledge of TCFL is needed while they were the language learners at home and at host universities. Lacking a solid knowledge backup, it is hard for non-native teachers to develop professional identity.

Inevitably, there are certain limitations that have been imposed on the current study that should be acknowledged at this point. Given the limited number of teacher participants, readers should interpret the research results with caution. The study presented has only dealt with two non-native CFL teachers within a limited period of time. For this reason, future studies on non-native teachers may look at the development of their profession by following them over a number of years. Secondly, we have to acknowledge the inherent limitation of the narrative approach as a research inquiry adopted in this study. Although we strive to be distanced and be objective, the influence of our own experience and interpretation can hardly be ignored. Nevertheless, it is hoped that our study will shed light on the significance of CFL teachers' professional identity study and call for more research, so as to allow more solid conclusion to be drawn.

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Chinese Community Schools in England as Intercultural Educational Spaces: Pupils', Parents' and Teachers' Constructions of the Chinese Language

Sara Ganassin

Introduction

Chinese migrant communities often constitute sites for discussion on Chinese culture and identity, providing alternative positions to nation-state related constructions, challenging an ontologically stable and homogenised construction of Chineseness and fostering their own claim for 'authenticity' (Ang 1998; Archer et al. 2010).

In the UK, like in many other countries, some Chinese migrants have established community language schools to promote heritage language (HL) and culture to the new generations (Li and Wu 2008). As community language schools offer an alternative to the monolingual and monocultural orientation of the mainstream education system, they represent ideal spaces for intercultural encounters—places where people, infused with different cultures and world-views, negotiate cultural and social identifications and representations (Kramsch 1998). As sites for

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intercultural encounters the schools are also sites for intercultural learning and critical self-awareness development, where individuals negotiate their own identity positions and representations (Holmes and O'Neill 2012). Parents, teachers and pupils bring together their different experiences of life, migration and different understandings of Chinese language and culture. As discussed by Pan and Wang chapter's in this volume, teachers have also experienced different pedagogical conceptions and cross-cultural boundaries which shape their teaching practices.

In contrast with the intercultural dimension of language community education, Chinese community schools often have an explicit agenda focused on maintenance and transmission of 'traditional' cultures and languages. At the same time, the schools—and in particular the teachers—face the challenge to cater for the needs of learners with a variety of linguistic abilities, motivations and learning objectives (see Wang's chapter in this volume).

Drawing on the focus of two schools (Apple Valley School and Deer River School) on cultural-linguistic maintenance and promotion, this chapter explores how pupils understand the focus and importance of community schooling.

As argued by Blackledge and Creese (2010), languages and identities are socially constructed. Although it is an oversimplification to consider certain languages as symbols of identities, researchers need to take into account how people might believe that languages can function as a salient feature in their perception of identity.

Therefore, this chapter centres the focus on the discussion of the role and value of Chinese language learning in the context of community schooling (e.g. Francis et al. 2009; Mau et al. 2009) to explore how the schools provide a context for pupils, parents and school staff to '(re) construct' understandings of Chinese language. By listening to and analysing participants' narratives their 'real voices' emerge in relation to Chinese language education (Dervin 2013).

Chinese Community Schools in the UK, Chinese Heritage Language Learning and Native Speakerism

Chinese community schools in the UK have been established since the arrival of migrants from Hong Kong in the 1950s and the 1960s (Li and Wu 2008). Chinese community schools were traditionally focused on the transmission of Cantonese. However, in the past decade the raising

economic power of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the related opportunities together with the arrival of new groups of Mandarin-speaker migrants contributed towards a major shift from Cantonese schooling to Mandarin schooling (Mau et al. 2009). Although not all Chinese mainlanders have Mandarin as first language and other languages and dialects are spoken in China, Mandarin is the official language of the PRC and as such it retains a strong political dimension. As argued by Archer et al. (2010): 'particular critical concern has been directed at the role that the Chinese state continues to play within the construction and defence of dominant notions of contemporary Chineseness' (p. 409). As Chinese community schools are often charged with agendas aimed at promoting a sense of Chinese identity through language teaching, language teaching itself becomes a political act.

Mapping population and practices of Chinese community schooling in the UK, Mau et al. (2009) describe how some of the Cantonese-based schools have added Mandarin classes to address the demands of enthusiastic parents foreseeing the opportunities available to Mandarin speakers. This enthusiasm for Mandarin also turned into debates amongst parents and educators on which of the two languages should be prioritised within community schooling (Mau et al. 2009). Arguments towards the use of Mandarin and related simplified characters include a wish coming from the parents to foster stronger links with 'homeland China' and 'Chinese identity' with all the related benefits especially in terms of employment perspectives. However, the British-Chinese community (英国华侨 *yīngguó huáqiáo*) has a diverse origin which includes a large representation of Cantonese and Hakka speakers (including migrants from Hong Kong and Macau) and the presence of migrants from Taiwan and Singapore (Benton and Gomez 2008). Controversies involve not only the spoken dimension of the language but also literacy as fostering the usage of traditional characters (繁体字 *fántǐzì*) used in Taiwan, Macau and Hong Kong over the usage of simplified ones (简体字 *jiǎntizì*) introduced extensively in the PRC by the Maoist regime in the mid-50s. As Mau et al. (2009) point out, controversies on languages (e.g. Mandarin and Cantonese) and writing systems (simplified and traditional) embroil issues beyond mere practicalities with cultural, social and political implications, including issues of political affiliation with the PRC and Taiwan, attached to any choices and unavoidable polemics.

Both Cantonese and Mandarin schools design their agendas on the transmission of Chinese language and Chinese culture mainly for HL

learners (Li and Wu 2008). In contrast, this study demonstrates that pupils schooled in Mandarin community schools are not necessarily Mandarin HL learners. It also argues how the schools design their agendas assuming particular language repertoires and family backgrounds of their pupils.

In order to critique the construction of Chinese heritage language (CHL) in the schools, I draw on the definition of HL learner suggested by Valdés (2001, p. 38) as a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English target language is spoken. HL learners speak or at least understand the language and they have some degree of multilingualism. Furthermore, learners see their HL as bearing a 'particular family relevance' (Fishman 2001, p. 169).

Although Mandarin community schools generally target HL learners, the language backgrounds of their pupils are more complicated. He (2008) suggests the existence of different scenarios in CHL classrooms: Mandarin is the learner's home language, it is comprehensible to the home language or is unintelligible to the learner's home language. Classroom and home script (use of traditional or simplified characters) can be different, or the learner might not have any home literacy in Chinese. Such a variety of learning scenarios contrasts with the idea of Mandarin community schools for a homogeneous group of HL learners (He 2008).

Furthermore, CHL has its own specificities (He 2008). Jin and Dervin (in this volume) discuss how Chinese language has evolved from ancient times to the postmodern era. At the same time it has remained embedded in specific cultural, historical and global geo-political settings. Although Mandarin (also defined 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà*, common language) is the official language of the People's Republic of China there are seven major varieties of Chinese: Mandarin and six *fāngyán* dialects or varieties classified on geographical and linguistic-structural characteristics *Wu, Gan, Xiang, Min, Kejia* (Hakka), *Yue* (Cantonese) (Abbiati 1996). Therefore, 'Chinese' as HL does not refer to one specific language but it is an umbrella term subsuming at least seven different languages (He 2008). Failing to acknowledge linguistic diversity within Chinese communities and assuming the centrality of Mandarin represents, instead, a superimposition based on the political and cultural significance that Mandarin has enjoyed for centuries as associated with the speech of Beijing and its region (He 2008).

Considering the complexity of the scenario of CHL learning and the dominance of Mandarin in the context of Mandarin community

schooling, this study aims at exploring how the language is understood both by the official discourses of the schools and in the views of pupils, parents and teachers. Li and Wu (2008) discuss how the schools implement what is termed a 'speak Mandarin-Chinese only' in the classrooms. Such policy is also often enforced in the teachers' practices.

In relation to the school policies and classroom practices, this study firstly critiques the construction of Mandarin as a monolithic entity and its implementation as one standard language in the schools. In fact, Mandarin used in the PRC (普通话 *pǔtōnghuà*), Taiwan (國語*guóyǔ*) and Singapore (华语 *huáyǔ*) varies for instance in terms of phonetics and discourse norms (He 2008). Secondly, the findings explore how native speakerism and the label of 'native speaker teacher' in community language education are understood by participants and used to legitimate the language focus of the schools.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the different positions of Chinese language in the schools, it is necessary to consider the theorisations of native speakerism in relation to language teaching and acquisition. Holliday (2006) describes how the ideological construction of authentic native speaker teacher, as authentic and therefore legitimate language teacher, is persistent and uncontested in education studies. Authenticity and legitimacy of language use confers to its speakers a certain authority (Kramsch 1998). Furthermore, benchmarks of authenticity and legitimacy are traditionally important in language teaching as 'they define the native speaker teacher as the possessor of the right cultural and linguistic attributes to represent the target speech community' (Creese et al. 2014, p. 938). Finally, as suggested by Doerr (2009) there are three ideological premises of the 'native speaker' concept: its links to nation-states, an assumption of a homogeneous linguistic group and an assumption of a complete competence of the 'native speaker' in their 'native language'.

Although in the context of language teaching the notion of native speaker retains a strong hold, sociolinguistic research has challenged the notion of 'idealised native speaker'. Rampton (1995) contests how for instance the definition of 'native speaker expertise' is abstracted and problematic, not taking into account how language and membership to social groups change overtime. Further, Creese et al. (2014) defined a multiplicity of positions as native speaker teacher in the context of community schooling as negotiated by both teachers and pupils determining 'what counts as the authenticity and legitimacy of the "native speaker" teacher' (p. 2).

Drawing on the discussed literature, this chapter explores how pupils, parents and teachers in the context of their community schools construct Chinese language.

Focus of the Study and Methodology

This study draws on the experiences of community schooling of a sample of pupils, parents and teachers attending two Mandarin community schools in England to discuss representations of Chinese languages in Chinese language education. Participants' perspectives are discussed vis-à-vis the aims of the schools and their focus on CHL language. I have undertaken ethnographic observations in the schools, particularly in Apple Valley School where I have been involved in various capacities (observer, activity organiser and facilitator) over 14 months.

Participants

This study considers the perspectives of three groups of pupils (23 children), 2 head teachers, 8 parents and 8 teachers (18 adults) in two Mandarin Chinese community schools (Apple Valley and Deer River). The identification of research participants was purposive, based upon criteria such as the interest and willingness of participants to be part of the study and their ability to communicate in English. While there are Chinese-speaking communities in many parts of the world, participants in the study came from Mainland China, Taiwan, Malaysia and Hong Kong. By involving them I also intended to represent the ethnic, linguistic and geographical diversity of the schools' population.

A further criterion for the sampling of pupils was their age group so that all the age groups present in the schools could be represented. Thus, children were interviewed in three focus group sessions which throughout the analysis are referred to as FG1, FG2 and FG3:

FG1 took place at Apple Valley School. Five boys and one girl aged between 15 and 17 years old participated; they were all preparing for their Chinese GCSE. All the pupils were born in the People's Republic of China (PRC). All the participants stated that Mandarin was their mother tongue.

FG2 also took place at Apple Valley School. Participants (5 girls and 4 boys) were aged between 5 and 11 years old. They were at different points of their studies but they were part of the same Chinese art class. All of them were second generation migrants from the PRC or Hong Kong or

from mixed heritage families. The children had different levels of command of Mandarin, and all had English as their preferred language.

FG3 took place in the second research site, Deer River School. Three girls and five boys aged between 12 and 14 years old participated. They were all attending year 7. Four of them started attending a Cantonese community school and moved to their present school in the previous year. All the children were born in the UK, five of them from Hong Kong families and three from Mainland China and mixed heritage families. They all stated that English was their preferred language, although children from Hong Kong heritage also considered Cantonese as their mother tongue.

Six parents were Mandarin speakers from Mainland China, one was from Hong Kong and spoke fluently Cantonese, Hakka and Mandarin and one was from Malaysia and she had a very good command of Mandarin, Cantonese and Hokkien. Both principals came from Mainland China, they both spoke Mandarin fluently although only one considered it their HL. Seven teachers were Mandarin speakers from Mainland China, one was from Taiwan and identified herself as speaker of Taiwanese-Mandarin (國語 *guóyǔ*). All adult participants were first-generation migrants.

Data Collection and Analysis

The research design of the study included two phases. The first one was aimed at familiarising with the context and building up relationships participants. It involved participant observation sessions and co-production with teachers and pupils in extra-curricular activities. The second one involved a multimodal data collection including: pupils' drawing of Venn diagrams and cartoon storyboards of their experiences of community schooling; focus groups with pupils and interviews with adults.

The verbal data (interviews) were recorded, transcribed and coded by following Braun and Clarke's (2006) principles of thematic analysis. Research field notes recording observation of formal classroom teaching with teachers and pupils and informal conversations with parents and teachers, have been used to complement the data from the interviews and also included in the data analysis process.

In the analysis of pupils' accounts perspectives from the visual and verbal data are compared and contrasted. When visual data are presented in the chapter the full original artefact is included.

Languages and Language Conventions

The interviews both with adults and children were primarily conducted in English. However, Mandarin was occasionally used according to participants' choices and language skills. In order to respond to the need for presenting participants' 'real voices' (Dervin 2013) the data are presented in the original languages used during the data collection in the research site. Although all the data are presented and translated into English, the data analysis was undertaken considering the languages used in the interviews and in the visual artefacts, English and/or Chinese. Such a choice enabled me to consider meanings and linguistic choices as made by the participants. When during the analysis I grappled with representing meaning though translation, for instance where no precise English equivalent existed, the original Chinese word was used in the English text, and its etymology explained.

Finally, the research sites and all participants were given fictional names.

Accessing the Research Sites

This study received ethical approval from the university where the study was based, and their guidelines underpin the ethics of this study. In order to gain access to the research sites, I contacted the head teachers and obtained their permission to carry out observation sessions in the schools and to engage with adults in the first stage. Adults' and pupils' participation was voluntary. Consent forms and briefing statements were designed for the school administration, parents, teachers and pupils. Pupils received suitable consent forms they could keep and show to their parents.

Constructions of Chinese Language: Pupils, Parents and School Staff

Perspectives of pupils, parents and school staff on Chinese language are illustrated in the context of teaching and learning taking place in the classrooms and in the broader social context of the Chinese community schools.

One or Many Chinese Heritage Languages

Mandarin is taught in the schools as HL with the assumption that pupils have some level of exposure to the language within their families. Such perspective on Chinese schooling as focused on HL learners was endorsed

by a number of teachers. Shuchung, a teacher at Apple Valley School, explained how parents enrol their children into a community school for them to engage with the language and culture of their families:

> Parents want the children to come here and learn Chinese. Because the parents are native speakers. They want the kids to understand the language and through it Chinese culture.

Shuchung defined a relationship between (Mandarin) Chinese and what she loosely termed as 'Chinese culture' where language becomes a vehicle to gain cultural affiliation. As suggested by Blackledge and Creese (2010), Shuchung perceived language as a salient feature of Chinese identity, glossing over the implications of simplifying concepts of language and culture. Instead, she defined a relationship between one Chinese language (Mandarin as taught in the school) and the existence of an overarching Chinese culture. Moreover, she confirms the position of the school assuming that pupils' parents are 'native speakers' and as such they enrol their children to learn a language with family relevance.

The analysis of the cartoon storyboard of Emily, a pupil attending Shuchung's class, challenges the idea of Mandarin Chinese taught in the school as HL. Coming from a background where Cantonese, Hakka and English are used for daily communication Emily started to learn Mandarin at Apple Valley School.

In her cartoon-storyboard Emily described a lesson at her community school, explaining in box 2 Fig. 1 that:

> The teacher starts writing at the board on characters we will learn. She always speaks Chinese so I do not understand. Sometimes she explains in English.

Emily illustrated how a 'speak Mandarin-Chinese only' policy (Li and Wu 2008) is implemented in her teacher's practice ('she always speaks Chinese'). Although Emily had a good literacy in simplified characters and she used them in her cartoon-storyboard, verbal communication in Mandarin was problematic for her ('I do not understand'). Her lack of exposure to Mandarin at home and her limited ability to speak and understand the language contrast with the definition of HL learner presented by Valdés (2001). Nevertheless, Emily had language competencies in other *fāngyán* (Hakka and Cantonese) and familiarity with Chinese simplified

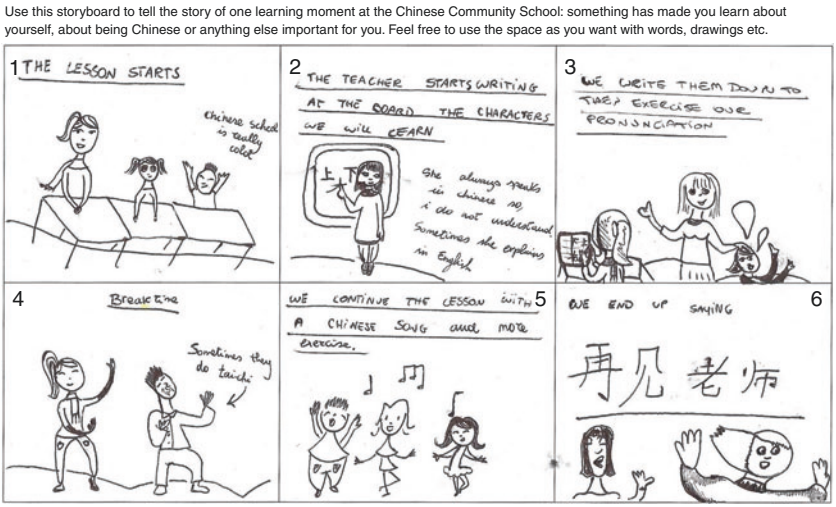

Fig. 1 Cartoon storyboard created by Emily

characters which He (2008) considers as characteristics of CHL learners. However, the actual teaching practices and the dominance of Mandarin in her classroom somehow failed to acknowledge her status of HL learner.

As demonstrated by the positions of Shuchung and Emily, although the research sites focused on Mandarin-Chinese for HL learners, to some pupils Mandarin did not have family relevance nor affective value. Nevertheless, they had different language skills in other *fāngyán* (e.g. Hakka and Cantonese) which they considered as their own CHL.

The majority of pupil participants in FG3 at Deer River School came from Cantonese-speaking families. They were confident Cantonese speakers themselves and explained how their parents wanted them to learn Mandarin at the school as an asset for the future despite the lack of family relevance. As explained by Roy who was transferred by his parents from a Cantonese to a Mandarin school:

> Mandarin, it's going to be an important language because of the business that China is getting at the minute. They [parents] think that it will be useful if say you apply for a job for some companies on international business. They [companies] might want people with Mandarin that can do business in China.

A purely instrumental understanding of Mandarin ('useful say if you apply for a job') was confirmed by Roy's classmates in their discussion about Chinese language in relation to their preferences and practices:

Violet:	I like Cantonese.
Lily:	I like Cantonese.
Roy:	I like Cantonese.
Julian:	Cantonese, it's my first language.
Roy:	English and Cantonese are my first languages. We all [refers to Lily, Violet and Julian] went to Cantonese school for few years and then we came here. I can't speak Mandarin but when I speak Cantonese [in Hong Kong] people would think I am just local.

Pupils sharing an understanding of Cantonese as CHL articulated their responses by stressing its emotional value (Violet, Lily and Roy: 'I like Cantonese'), by pointing at the family relevance of the language and their proficiency ('first language', 'I can't speak Mandarin'). In particular Roy discussed how his ability to speak Cantonese allows him to gain a sense of affiliation so that when he visits Hong Kong people would think he is 'just local'. By stressing how language proficiency allowed him to feel connected to a particular group, Roy defined how Cantonese is important in relation to his cultural identity. As discussed by Kramsch (1998), there is a 'natural connection between the languages spoken by member of a social group and that group's identity' (p. 65). Furthermore, she defines how 'although there is no one-to-one relationship between anyone's language and his or her cultural identity, language is *the* most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group' (p. 77). Acknowledging his status of non-Mandarin HL speaker as he 'can't speak Mandarin' although his parents wanted him to study at Deer River School, Roy highlighted instead the significance of Cantonese as his own CHL.

Other pupils supported the idea that, although they do not attend the school as Mandarin HL learners they still consider themselves CHL speakers. Coming from a family still largely living in Hong Kong, Kitty and Yvonne, who attended Apple Valley School, also gave a strong emotional value to Cantonese:

Sara:	So do you speak Chinese when you are not in the school?
Kitty and Yvonne:	Yes, we speak Cantonese a lot. Hakka and quite a lot of English.

Sara:	Do you speak quite a lot of Cantonese?
Yvonne:	I speak Cantonese when I don't want anybody to understand what I say to her.
Kitty:	Cantonese is important to speak secrets and to speak with our grandparents.

Yvonne and Kitty were confident Cantonese speakers who took great pride in their language skills, Kitty explained that 'you might as well say that I speak Cantonese really well'. When they were asked if they speak Chinese at home they gave an affirmative response, but to them 'Chinese' was Cantonese and not Mandarin. As suggested by Dai and Zhang (2008) in their theorisation of habitus of the CHL learners, 'acquisition and maintenance of CHL often occurs in a vertical and reciprocal intimate relation between grandparents/and their CHL learner grandchildren/children' (p. 41). Kitty and Yvonne emphasised the family value and intimate dimension (Fishman 2001) of Cantonese as important 'to speak with our grandparents' and also to 'speak secrets' as opposed to Mandarin which Kitty reported to speak only at the Chinese school. Describing her cartoon storyboard, she illustrated box 4 Fig. 2 saying that:

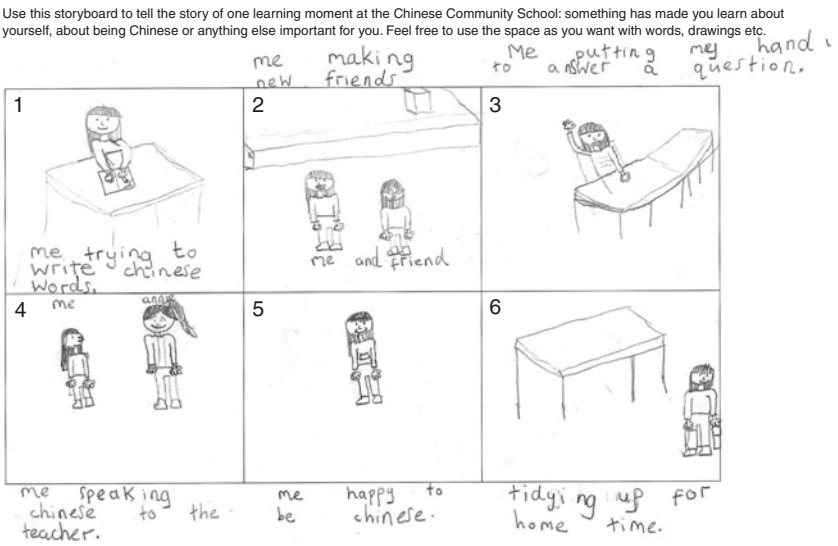

Fig. 2 Cartoon storyboard created by Kitty

> You need to use Chinese only. I speak Mandarin to the teacher. Only the words that I know.

On the one hand, she admitted how using Mandarin to communicate with her teacher requires an effort. On the other hand, she enthusiastically described how Cantonese as HL has family relevance for her and how she is a confident bilingual speaker able to use Cantonese and English exhibiting varying expertise and allegiance (He 2008). Furthermore, not being a Mandarin HL learner did not seem to impact on Kitty's identification with a Chinese-self. In box 5 she portrayed 'Me happy to be Chinese', suggesting how proficiency in Mandarin is not necessarily a requisite to bond up with a Chinese sense of identity.

A further issue that emerged during the research is how some pupil participants in FG2 did not seem to have a clear sense of the difference between Mandarin and other varieties of Chinese. A possible reason was their age as some of them were 5 and 6 years old. Before the focus group Alice, their teacher, explained that a number of pupils speak fluently other *fāngyán* at home (such as Hokkien, Cantonese or Hakka) but were not necessarily fluent in Mandarin. In this excerpt Alice and some of the pupils discuss what *fāngyán* they speak at home:

Sara:	有没有人说广东话? <Is there anyone who speaks Cantonese?>
Danny:	我知道广东话! <I know Cantonese!>
Bella:	我爸爸妈妈说普通话! <My parents speak Mandarin!>
Eva:	我只说中文! <I just speak Chinese.>
Grace:	什么是广东话? 什么是广东话? <What's Cantonese? What's Cantonese?>
Alice:	广东话是广东人说的语言,Cantonese! <Cantonese is the language spoken by people from Guangdong.>
Sara:	Does anyone speak Cantonese at home? 广东话?
Bella:	Ah, yes yes me.

In the data it is evident that children did not necessarily recognise what *fāngyán* they speak at home and seemed confused about the question. Bella initially stated that she speaks 'just Chinese at home', but once Alice clarified that Cantonese is the language spoken by people from Guangdong–region of origin of Bella's family–she realised that she actually speaks Cantonese. During the focus group Alice also tried to understand the pupils' language background by tracking their family origin.

However, she did not seem to succeed as her pupils struggled to show a clear understanding of their Chinese language practice at home:

Alice: 你是福建人吗? 你的老家 your hometown 是福建? 还是哪里? No, 你爸爸妈妈是哪里人? 在中国 <Are you Fujianese? Is your hometown Fujian? Or where? No, where are your dad and mum from? In China.> Maybe, when do you go to China, where do you go?
[Pupil whispers]
Sara: What did she say?
Alice: She says she doesn't know. Just her mum brings her back to China. [She looks at another student] Hey, there you go, new student. 说吧。你 在家里是说广东话还是普通? 你爸爸妈妈说英语吗? 还是说中文? 没关系,没关系! 你说中文还是说英文? <Speak. At home do you speak Cantonese or Mandarin? Do your parents speak English? Or Chinese? Never mind, never mind! Do you speak English or Chinese?>

The excerpt shows how Alice assumed the existence of particular language repertoires based on the provenience of the pupils' families. By limiting the pupils' options and simplifying their language repertoires (Cantonese or Mandarin/English or Chinese) she superimposed particular language labels on the pupils. The attribution of such labels somehow failed to capture the complexity of the pupils' language repertoires rather assuming a correspondence between their family regional origin (Alice presumed that a number of pupils were from Fujian and therefore speakers of a local dialect) and their language practices.

The child participants in FG2 were together at the pre-school club taught by Alice, but studied language in different classes. A number of them were taught by Rose, who participated in this study as a teacher. Rose's interview shows how some children have difficulties in distinguishing the different *fāngyán* that they all identify as Chinese:

Rose: It depends on the parents, some parents speak Cantonese. If they got parents from Malaysia they might speak the Malaysian language. So there is a problem because we learn Mandarin, not Cantonese or other languages. So they speak different tones and even different meanings.
Sara: Are there quite few children from Cantonese backgrounds in the school?
Rose: Yes, quite a few or [they have] different mothers from different part of China so they speak the local languages. Even the children

> sometimes confuse them [languages]. Sometimes I talk to them and they answer back but on their mother tongue so I have to guess what they mean because I don't quite understand.

Rose suggested that children at home often speak *fāngyán* constituting their CHL. Some of her pupils were from Chinese-Malaysian families and she argued how a number of them were confused in the classroom as at home 'they speak the Malaysian language' (referring to Hokkien). Her perspective confirms Dai and Zhang's (2008) theorisation of the importance of different *fāngyán* in the daily language practices of CHL speakers. Different *fāngyán* are not necessarily mutually intelligible ('I have to guess what they mean because I don't quite understand') and the same *fāngyán* can have local variations (Dai and Zhang 2008) that contrast the idea of one Chinese language.

Rose reinforced the idea that there is no univocal construction of CHL suggesting how learners have diverse language repertoires. However, the existence of such repertoires was seen as problematic and confusing 'because we learn Mandarin'. Similarly to Alice, Rose was aware of the diverse language repertoires ('they speak the local language'). However, she somehow failed to acknowledge the value of the children's repertoires rather considering them a barrier to proper Mandarin learning.

In conclusion, the positions of Rose, Alice and Shuchung demonstrated how Mandarin is central in the discourses of the schools and in the teaching practices. Pupils instead performed a variety of language repertoires (including Hakka and Cantonese) with family relevance challenging the idea of Mandarin as HL common to all learners in the schools. Their understanding of CHL accounting a diversity of *fāngyán* (especially Cantonese and Hakka) also contrasted with a standardisation of Mandarin where, as discussed by Rose, regional accents and vocabulary choices are problematic and represent barriers to learning.

Constructing Native Speakerism in a Quest for the 'Perfect' Mandarin Speaker

Concerned about pupils speaking 'the proper Chinese language' a number of parents and school staff advocated a standardisation of Mandarin taught by native speakers in the schools. However, the data show how their opinions were contested and conflicting and how the notion of native speaker within community schooling is problematic and politically charged.

Standardised constructions of Chinese language emerged both from the positions of parents and school staff and in the official discourses of the two schools. The mission statement of Deer River School refers to the transmission of 'the official Chinese language' as:

> The School teaches Mandarin Chinese language in simplified characters, pupils can learn to speak, read and write the official Chinese language.

No further explicit references are made in the document to the meaning of 'official'. However, as 'simplified characters' are used in the PRC, a potential assumption of legitimacy related to the concept of Chinese nation-state emerges (Doerr 2009).

The constitution of Apple Valley School refers to Chinese language as 'Mandarin in modern simplified form'. The governing documents also explain how 'Mandarin is the official language in Mainland China, Taiwan and Singapore, and used by ethnic Chinese worldwide'.

The status of Mandarin as official language of three countries and 'used by ethnic Chinese worldwide' is used to legitimate the linguistic focus of the school. Thus, Mandarin is assumed as a monolithic entity glossing over differences of lexis, phonetics and discourse norms and not acknowledging how Mandarin speakers are a heterogeneous group (He 2008).

The official positions of the two schools both defining 'official' Mandarin with script in simplified characters as language of HL education were supported and extended by the narratives of parents and school staff.

Chloe, one of the parents from Deer River School, was born in Malaysia from a Chinese family. She had a very good command of English, Malay, Mandarin and of a number of *fāngyán* including Cantonese and Hakka. Although she was brought up in a Hokkien-speaking family during her interview, she somehow diminished the value of her own HL as:

> There is no need to learn Hokkien, Mandarin is the proper language that's what she [daughter] should learn.

Chloe did not see Hokkien in the UK as relevant for daily communication as it is in her town in Malaysia. Instead, she diminished the importance of Hokkien in favour of Mandarin as 'proper language'. By comparing Hokkien and Mandarin she subscribed to the idea that Chinese *fāngyán* and therefore speaker groups are in a hierarchical relationship (Li and Wu 2008). As Mandarin retains an official status and a possible wider currency

than Hokkien (during her interview Chloe mentioned the professional opportunities offered to Mandarin speakers), she prioritised it as language of education for her daughter.

Although other parents used they own *fāngyán* at home with their children, they had similar concerns to Chloe about 'proper' Mandarin learning at school. Albert, a Cantonese-speaking parent from Apple Valley School, was a confident multilingual speaker with an excellent command of Mandarin. Nevertheless, he enrolled his children into the school to learn tones and pronunciation from a native speaker teacher:

> I speak better than other people, I could have taught them Mandarin myself. However as I wasn't brought up in a Mandarin speaking family my tones are not perfect so they need the schools.
>
> The teacher is good. She is from Beijing. She can speak properly.

Albert seemed to endorse Kramsch's (1998) position that authenticity (a teacher from the capital city speaking Mandarin with a particular accent perceived as standardised) and legitimacy of language use confers to native speakers a certain authority which translates into competences as language teacher.

The idea of hierarchies of languages emerged in this study with both parents and school staff having opinions about what makes a good Chinese, and particularly Mandarin, speaker. The observation sessions and contact hours with the parents revealed concerns about language proficiency particularly in terms of accent amongst parents coming from different areas. In one of the research sites I suggested to encourage parents to support learning in the classrooms. I was surprised when my suggestion was declined by some parents and teachers though:

> Made with good intentions is not going to work in our schools. A lot of parents don't speak Chinese properly with a proper accent; they come from villages in [region of China] or other places. You cannot have them teaching in the classrooms. (from research field notes)

It was not only some parents who were concerned about their children learning Mandarin in a particular environment where the language is spoken in a standardised way. As demonstrated by the excerpt, such concern was also reflected into the organisation of the school (e.g. role of parents in supporting the teaching). The existence of regional accents was

problematised together with assumptions on speakers' geographical provenience and education resulting in creation of hierarchies of Chinese speakers reflected in the internal dynamics of the school (Li and Wu 2008).

Within the schools a number of participants made arguments in favour of a standardisation of the Chinese language focusing on Mandarin as spoken in the region of Beijing rather than other *fāngyán*. Other arguments also focused on accent (demonstrated by the above excerpt from the field notes 'parents don't speak Chinese properly with a proper accent') and vocabulary.

An analysis of the classroom observations demonstrates how some teachers tried to implement ideas of standardisation in their own teaching practice. The following excerpt from the field notes illustrates the importance of a standardised vocabulary modelled on the northern dialects in the quest for the perfect Mandarin speaker:

> The teacher discusses about vocabulary choices and family members with pupils asking them if they know how to say 'wife' in Chinese. When one of the pupils suggests 老婆 *laopo* she replies saying that 老婆 *laopo* is more a Cantonese word, remember this is not a Cantonese class, now people use it but is not proper Chinese, if you want to speak Chinese properly you need to choose something more standard. Then, another child suggests to use太太 taitai, (and makes the sentence): '我介绍给你我的太太'. Teacher: '我给你介绍我太太' <I introduce you my wife>. 太太 *taitai* also requires you use your married surname, women in China don't do that anymore, only Taiwan and Hong Kong, beside that it's mostly used by Taiwanese, China moved on from the 40's. (from research field notes, Apple Valley School).

In the episode presented in the field note excerpt the teacher, a native speaker from northern China, corrected the structure of the sentence made by one of their pupils. She also focused on polishing their vocabulary by discouraging the word choices 老婆 *laopo* and 太太 *taitai* in favour of something more standard. Whilst 老婆 *laopo* was seen as not entirely suitable as too recent, colloquial and more of a 'Cantonese word', on the contrary 太太 *taitai* was problematised as supposedly out of fashion ('China moved on from the 40s') and used in Taiwan rather than in Mainland China. By augmenting the superiority of standard Mandarin as spoken in Mainland China, the teacher defined herself as vehicle of knowledge and standardisation. First, she used as an argument a supposed lack of status of Cantonese ('now people use it but is not proper Chinese').

Then, she discussed how an idea of progress made by the PRC in opposition to Taiwan is reflected in the development of a standard Mandarin language. In fact, in her opinion Mandarin speakers in the PRC often make different and more modern vocabulary choices than Chinese speakers in China and Taiwan.

The importance of a standardised and polished Mandarin was not only reflected into the classroom teaching practices. Teachers also had opinions about the language proficiency of the parents in relation to the school's focus on Mandarin. During her interview, Nala, a northern Chinese teacher at Apple Valley, expressed her concerns about language exposure that children get in their families, Mandarin not being necessarily their HL:

Nala: Well you learn Chinese yourself before. China is a very vast country. Even in the Chinese school you notice that parents and children from the same area like Cantonese speakers sit together.
Sara: They don't really speak Mandarin you mean?
Nala: Exactly, that's very important some people don't have the language skills to communicate with others. If you speak with them in Mandarin they wouldn't understand. They wouldn't be able to take part into a conversation. So of course people would talk with somebody else that they understand and that can be part of the conversation. People want to talk to each other effectively.

Similarly to the previously discussed perspective of Rose on children mixing different dialects in the classrooms, Nala discussed communication issues in the schools where people not speaking Mandarin cannot understand each other effectively. The classroom practices seemed to respond to such issues by encouraging the use of standard Mandarin and the presence of native teachers. The importance of having native speaker teachers was defined in the mission statement of Deer River School that defines how all the teachers are 'native Mandarin speakers who have undergone through a strict recruitment process'.

By empathising how all teachers were Mandarin native speakers, the school uses a 'native speaker' label as a marketing tool conferring authority and legitimacy to the language focus on the school itself (Holliday 2006).

Furthermore, the positions of parents and school staff confirmed how the conceptualisation of native speakerism often assumes a strong correspondence between being a citizen of a nation state and being a native

speaker of the national language (Doerr 2009). Concerned about pupils becoming perfect Mandarin speakers, teachers and parents defined the importance for native speaker teachers to use and teach a standardised accent and vocabulary modelled on the northern dialects of Mainland China. Hence, a quest for the perfect Mandarin speaker not only confirms the correspondence between citizenship of Mainland China and the status of Mandarin native speaker, but it also suggests that within a nation state particular places and their speech might retain a particular status.

However, in the context of Chinese community schooling, notions of nation state and native speakerism are controversial and problematic. In the following excerpt Juliet (Deer River School), a teacher from Taiwan, expressed her frustration about the school focus on Mandarin as spoken in Beijing:

Juliet: As a teacher I am unhappy about different things. First, I am not Chinese, I am Taiwanese and they say that they want teachers mainly from Beijing who can speak a proper Chinese.
Sara: But Taiwanese people speak Chinese, right?
Juliet: I would say we speak proper form Chinese, yes, but they don't. Some people have a much worse accent. Taiwan is good because it is very traditional. Actually we speak Mandarin much better than them.
Sara: So why do they want people from Beijing?
Juliet: It's all about the accent. They want people to speak like that. The families say that. The school thinks they should provide proper Chinese language, proper characters which should be from China not the other Chinese speaking countries. Everybody would have their accent. Parents want their kids speak Mandarin even if they are not from the North. They want their children to speak an accurate Chinese even if they don't have it themselves. Children in this country will never speak with a proper Chinese accent anyway. I am a parent myself. However I would take pride in my kids speaking proper Mandarin. It means that they are clever.

Juliet summarised a diversity of issues ongoing in the context of Chinese community schooling. First, she problematised her own status as Mandarin speaker explaining how not being a citizen of the PRC does not impact on her own status of native speaker. Then, by attributing to herself what Creese et al. (2014) define as the right linguistic ('we speak better than them') and cultural attributes ('Taiwan is good because it is

very traditional') she grounded her own authenticity and legitimacy as a Mandarin speaker. In particular she used tradition in Taiwan as a marker for language and cultural purity, resisting the surrounding discourses ('they say that they want teachers mainly from Beijing who can speak a proper Chinese'). Not only Juliet challenged and (de)constructed the assumption of a correspondence between being a citizen of the PRC and being a Mandarin native speaker. She also constructed an alternative correspondence between citizenship and native speakerism replacing the PRC with Taiwan and using tradition as marker for language legitimacy.

Finally, she used the parents' supposed language inadequacy ('even if they are not from the North they want their children to speak an accurate Chinese even if they don't have it themselves') to contrast the school's quest for perfect Mandarin speakers and reinstate her own legitimacy as 'native speaker'.

In summary, the narratives of a number of both parents and teachers reinforced the idea that legitimacy and authority, often represented in the parents' ideas on what constitutes native speakerism, play a strong role in the internal dynamics of the school. Hierarchies of languages, dialects and speaker groups contrasted with the monolingual focus of the schools on Chinese language and culture. They also contrasted with the pupils' construction of Chinese HL as constituted by other *fāngyán,* especially Cantonese, as no less important to them than Mandarin.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored how pupils, parents and school staff who took part in a study of Mandarin community schooling in the North of England understood Chinese language. Their perspectives have been illustrated vis-à-vis the institutional foci of the schools, that is, the importance of teaching of Mandarin Chinese, and in relation to theorisations of CHL and of native speakerism in the context of language teaching.

Where the construction of Chinese language is concerned this study reveals two themes: pupils' constructions of CHL were complex and did not necessarily focused on Mandarin; in contrast, schools and parents were mostly concerned about the transmission of a standard Mandarin as taught by native speakers.

Regarding the first theme, this study demonstrates how—despite the focus of Chinese community schooling on CHL—Mandarin did not have particular family relevance nor emotional value for a number of pupils.

Instead, pupils constructed a more complex vision of CHL, attaching emotional value and family relevance to other *fāngyán* and in particular Hakka and Cantonese (which were the languages that they spoke in their homes with either one or both parents). Such articulated understanding of CHL contrasted with the classroom practices where a 'speak Mandarin-Chinese only' policy as taught by 'native speakers' is mostly implemented by the teachers.

From their perspectives, teachers acknowledged the language resources of their pupils and the linguistic complexity displayed in the classrooms. However, there was a tension between what they believed their role to be (i.e. a teacher of a 'good' and preferably Beijing accent) and the fact that many of the children could not understand or speak Mandarin.

Thus, the study highlighted a conflict between pupils' and teachers' constructions of Chinese as HL. Although the role of Mandarin is explicitly enforced by the teaching practices its status as CHL is implicitly challenged by the diversity of the pupils' language repertoires in other *fāngyán* and the affective value that these *fāngyán* retain (e.g. Cantonese speaker pupils considering themselves Chinese speakers).

Concerning the second theme, parents and school staff constructed a multi-faceted and sometimes conflicting value of Chinese language and language education. Discourses around native speakerism and the importance of educating standard Mandarin speakers emerged in the narratives of a number of parents and teachers in what could be defined as a quest for the 'perfect' Mandarin speaker.

On the one hand, a number of adults—both parents and teachers—agreed on the importance of transmitting a standardised variety of Mandarin with concerns around accent, vocabulary and structures. Central in this sense was the status of teachers as native speakers, status that conferred them authority and legitimacy (Holliday 2006). On the other hand, participants had contrasting views of what constitutes a native Mandarin speaker, bringing up issues of legitimacy and purity where the status of native speaker implies a political affiliation with a nation state (Taiwan or the PRC).

In conclusion this study unfolds levels of linguistic and ideological complexity in the construction of CHL in the community schools contrasting with the idea of community schools as monolingual and monocultural learning sites. Issues of language status and power between speakers of Mandarin and other *fāngyán* and between Mandarin speakers (mainland Chinese and Taiwanese) emerged from the data analysis

suggesting the existence of hierarchies between different Chinese languages and speaker groups (Li and Wu 2008).

The outcomes of this study suggest a number of new lines of research. First, this chapter has highlighted the need for studies that account for the intercultural dimensions of Chinese community schooling. Chinese community schools are linguistically and culturally varied educational spaces and such complexity needs to be dealt with in research. Future studies could investigate the root of language hierarchies and of the ideologies underlying the dominance of Mandarin in the context Chinese community schooling at the expenses of other *fāngyán*. Research could also explore the effects that a transition towards a focus on Mandarin might entail, and whether the notion of CHL does have any currency for pupils whose HL is not Mandarin. By exploring these themes researchers could contribute not only towards the literature on language community schooling, but also towards the broader literature on Chinese language education.

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Developing Intercultural Competence Through Cultural Activities in London Chinese Complementary Schools

Danlu Wang

As a sub-discipline within the field of foreign language education, community/heritage languages (CHLs) are used to describe those languages other than English that are associated with the cultural background of minority groups or communities, whether these are indigenous, immigrant, colonial, second, or foreign languages in any given context (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003). In the UK, appropriate pedagogies for CHL education are underdeveloped owing to their voluntary nature, the limited resources of community language schools, and inadequate scholarly and governmental attention to engage these learners.

The importance of interculturality and intercultural competence has long been appreciated in the research and practice of second-language learning. But such discussions have not been fully recognized in teaching CHL languages. This study aims to fill this gap in existing research by investigating the learning experiences of British Chinese pupils (aged 13 to 18) in Chinese complementary schools (also called Chinese CHL schools) in London. The specific focus is to examine firstly the use of cultural activities in teaching Chinese language and culture in Chinese

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complementary schools; secondly pupils' responses to different kinds of cultural activities. Pedagogically, it aims to provide some directions for how best to use cultural activities to enhance CHL learning and develop the intercultural competence of CHL pupils. This chapter begins with an overview of the current provision, characteristics, and challenges of teaching Chinese as a CHL in UK Chinese complementary schools. Then it highlights the importance of developing intercultural competence in the CHL education. The methodology section emphasizes the reflexivity of educational researchers working in intercultural classrooms. This chapter then presents the use of Chinese cultural activities in Chinese complementary schools. Drawing on accounts from pupils, together with the author's participant observations and work experience as a CHL teacher in Chinese complementary schools, this study reveals CHL pupils' contrasting opinions about different kinds of Chinese cultural activities. These opinions lead to a further discussion of how different kinds of cultural activities may benefit or hinder language learning and development of intercultural competence in CHLs education. The final section summarizes the findings of this chapter and discusses relevant pedagogical implications.

Background and Literature Review

Teaching Chinese as a CHL in Chinese Complementary Schools

Chinese complementary schooling in the UK can be traced back to the early twentieth century (Francis et al. 2009). Yet it was not until recently that researchers started to examine the population and practice of Chinese complementary schooling in England (e.g. Francis et al. 2009; W. Li and Zhu 2010; Mau et al. 2009). A substantial number of Chinese complementary schools in England were established in the 1970s, when an urgent need was created by the wave of post-war Chinese migration from Hong Kong. The majority of Chinese complementary schools established in these decades focused principally on teaching Cantonese and traditional characters rather than Mandarin and simplified characters (Francis et al. 2009). Since the late 1980s, a series of newer Chinese complementary schools have been formed to cater for the growing population of young British-born Chinese and new Chinese immigrant children. In 2011, it was suggested that there were more than 130 Chinese schools in the UK catering for 25,000 students (China News 2011).

Chinese schools are largely voluntary and part-time charities. Being under-funded and under-resourced is a common problem for Chinese schools (Mau et al. 2009). Most school classrooms are rented from mainstream schools or colleges, with limited access to teaching facilities such as computers, electronic whiteboards, and projectors (Francis et al. 2008). Although different schools have different policies, textbooks, and pedagogical approaches, a common goal in their mission statement is to teach Chinese language and transmit Chinese culture to school-aged Chinese children in the UK. The main classes in Chinese schools are dedicated to teaching the Chinese language. The majority of schools mainly teach Cantonese, although learning Mandarin is increasingly popular (W. Li and Zhu 2010). The curriculum is mainly delivered in Chinese although English is also employed. All schools also provide pre- or after-school classes related to Chinese cultural heritage, such as Chinese dance, calligraphy, Kung Fu, and traditional Chinese painting.

Most teachers are parents of school students or volunteers. Few of them have received formal teacher training education either in the UK or abroad. Teaching practices vary across schools and often depend on individual teachers (Mau et al. 2009). The student population is overwhelmingly comprised of second generation British Chinese children (Mau et al. 2009). But these schools also attract newly migrated Chinese children, third generation BC and non-Chinese children (Wang 2014). CHL pupils in these Chinese schools comprise a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may feel culturally connected to the Chinese language. One of the most pressing pedagogical challenges for teaching Chinese as a CHL in these schools is to cater for CHL pupils with a wide range of linguistic abilities, motivations, and learning objectives (Wang 2014). Moreover, the majority of these pupils and their parents see Chinese language as more than just a tool for communication; it is part of their heritage and cultural identities, too (Francis et al. 2009; D. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009; G. X. Zhang and Li 2010). Chapter 5 by Zhang and Wang in this book presents the roles of these Chinese schools in (re)constructing the Chinese heritage language and identities.

Intercultural Competence and CHL Education

The definition of intercultural competence is contested in various fields of research and practice. The key to achieve a critical conception of intercultural competence is through a reinvigorated understanding of key concept culture

(or inter-cultural). The concept of culture was thought as a self-producing ahistorical entity that exist within its own territorial space and forming a closed system (Brightman 1995). This conception of culture implies an 'Us and Them' dichotomy, which underpinned the research and educational framework whereby teachers tend to represent a culture by summarizing the sharing patterns of society and overemphasize differences between cultures in intercultural classrooms. This homogeneous conceptualization of culture largely neglects the power of individual agents, intercultural contacts, and cultural changes; and the power relations and hegemonic agencies. The concept of culture needed to be understood discursively as unbounded, changing, hybrid, and situated in power relations (Shi 2001). Thus in educational settings, to develop intercultural competence does not only mean the ability to communicate effectively, appreciate cultural artefacts and perform cultural customs appropriately, but also the 'critical ability to question the implicit and explicit assumptions behind cultural claims and the power dynamics that they may be concealing' (Briedenbach and Nyíri 2009, pp. 343–345; Dervin and Hahl 2014, p. 98).

Many teachers in Chinese complementary schools saw 'preserving' or 'maintaining' Chinese culture as one of the main aims of teaching Chinese language and culture (Francis et al. 2010). These schools and teachers tended to accentuate certain aspects of 'traditional Chinese culture' and downplay the changing and hybrid nature of 'culture'. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, CHL teachers have varied intercultural experiences and awareness. Many of them (see Chapter 8 by Xu and Moloney, this volume) employed intercultural learning tasks to enhance CHL learners' language learning and construction of identities. Integrating cultural activities into CHL teaching is one of the most effective ways to cater for the diverse linguistic and cultural needs and enhance the intercultural competence of CHL pupils. But the discussion about the use of cultural activities in CHL classrooms is largely absent.

The young CHL leaners in Chinese complementary schools, just like any adolescents, have a strong need to belong to a group. They may go through a difficult process of maintaining their CHLs and constructing their cultural identities. It is important for them growing up in the UK to feel comfortable and proud of their linguistic and cultural background (Anderson 2008). In this sense, developing intercultural competence is equally if not more important for CHL pupils because they may go through a difficult process in maintaining their heritage language and culture as well as integrating into mainstream society. Chinese complementary schools and teachers not only play an important role in improving CHL pupils' language proficiency but also in helping

them develop intercultural competence that helps them make connections to both the society they live in and their ethnic and cultural origins.

Methodology

This research is mainly based in four Chinese complementary schools located in the north (School N), south (School S), east (School E), and west (School W) of London. I conducted my fieldwork in Schools S, E, and W as a researcher for one year. I worked in School N as a teacher in the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) Chinese class for four years. These four schools were founded between 1978 and 1997. During term time, Schools S, E, and W operate every Saturday for two hours; School N runs every Sunday for three hours. All four schools are based in rented classrooms in local mainstream schools or community colleges. Each school has over 250 school-aged pupils spanning ages 4 to 18, over 15 volunteer teachers and a parents' committee. All schools offer classes from nursery to A-level Chinese, plus one or two adult classes. Typically, most students graduate from these schools by completing their GCSE or A level Chinese examinations.

The data this chapter draws on mainly originates from semi-structured in-depth interviews with pupils, participant observations in four Chinese complementary schools, and my own teaching experiences at one such school. My participant observation in School S, E, and W is in an unobtrusive manner, I did not participate in any activities in these settings and only sit at the back of classrooms to observe and take notes. In school N, I carried out my participant observation when I was appointed as a teacher of the Chinese A-level class (8 pupils) for one year and the GCSE class for two years (15 pupils and 20 pupils). Having fulfilled my teaching responsibility, I often encouraged my pupils to express their opinions in classroom discussions, debates and writings when lessons touched upon topics relevant to my research. It is important to recognize that my background as a native Chinese, and my role as a researcher and a teacher may prohibit students give negative or challenging answers to my questions. It required deliberate adjustment of the positioning, either verbal or in action, to ensure the collected data reflect participants' real opinions and behaviours. Meanwhile, a critical and self-reflective note-making reference system is used to track and assess the direction of the research and potential bias.

After establishing good rapport with interviewees through participant observation and volunteering teaching in classes, in total 29 BC young people (18 girls and 11 boys) were recruited for the in-depth interviews.

All of the pupil respondents were in secondary education age from 13 to 18 years old. Twenty of them had attended Chinese schools for more than five years. All of them were living in and around the Greater London area. Nearly half of my respondents (13) were born in China, and 10 of them moved to the UK before age 6; the other 3 settled in Britain before they were nine years old.

All participants were given the chances to choose the language in which they want to be interviewed with 25 interviews are in English and three in Chinese. Using the language they were most familiar with probably helped them to relax during the interview and express their opinions more freely. The length of interviews lasted from 30 to 60 minutes. I conducted the interviews in a quiet and private classroom after lessons at Chinese schools. I always stressed that I would not judge their opinions and the conversation is confidential. Students were firstly asked how often they participate in different kinds of cultural activities in Chinese complementary schools. Then, they were asked to nominate their most and least favourite activities and provide reasons for their choices. The answers varied and reflected teachers' specific choices of cultural activities in the classroom, but some general similarities among the various attitudes are identified.

Ethical considerations permeate the entire research process, especially with the main research participants as young people. To safeguard the confidentiality of participants, informed consent was actively sought before the research. The informed consent to work with children was obtained from three parties: schools, parents/guardians, and young people themselves. Before they gave the informed consent, participants were ensured to gain full knowledge of the purpose, process, and consequences of the overall research including potential benefits and risks. To maintain confidentiality of the participants, names of all participants were given pseudonyms to ensure that it is not possible to identify anyone from the study. Any names or personal contact details were deleted or changed from the recording and transcript.

Cultural Activities at Chinese Complementary Schools

National Intercultural Activities in Chinese Complementary Schools

At a national level, intercultural activities are often initiated by national Chinese complementary schools' organizations such as the UK Association for the Promotion of Chinese Education (UKAPCE) and

the UK Federation of Chinese Schools (UKFCS) and implemented by their member schools. UKAPCE and UKFCS are the two most influential national associations that organize different Chinese cultural activities for Chinese schools. According to the activity table on the UKAPCE website (UKAPCE 2014), they organized up to 12 national cultural activities for pupils in their member Chinese schools in 2014–2015 academic year. These annual cultural activities included a cultural knowledge contest, a Mandarin recitation contest, a calligraphy contest, a writing contest, a Chinese idioms contest, Chinese New Year performances, and several 'root-seeking' holiday camps in China. National cultural activities organized by UKFCS included a New Year card competition, a story writing competition, a calligraphy competition, and New Year performances. Among these activities, the most prevalent category is literacy and oral (the use of spoken language) activities with a cultural emphasis, such as writing and recitation competitions on topics related to China and Chinese idiom contests, among others. The second most popular category features those activities that promote the learning of Culture with a 'big C' (Seelye 1993) – culture as a heritage product such as literature, art, calligraphy, folk dance, and so on. This category includes activities such as calligraphy contests, cultural knowledge contests that test one's knowledge of Chinese literature/art/history, traditional Chinese dancing and singing, Kung Fu, and drama performances for Chinese New Year. The third category includes activities designed to help students learn about culture with a 'little c' (Seelye 1993) – culture as a community practice that provides the knowledge of 'what we do, when, and where'. The activities include cultural exchange sessions in holiday camps to China and cultural knowledge contests that test cultural customs. The winners of the cultural knowledge contests are invited to travel to China and join an international competition with overseas Chinese children from all over the world.

Many Chinese schools have registered with both associations in order to enhance their network, gain training opportunities, and obtain other forms of support. They all willingly prepare and participate in these national activities. But the execution of the preparation is down to individual teachers in these schools. During my fieldwork in Chinese schools I heard many teachers express their mixed feelings about these national cultural activities. On the one hand, these activities enriched the teaching and learning experiences, allowing pupils and teachers alike to connect with other CHL Chinese pupils and teachers nationally and even

internationally. On the other hand, some activities organized by these two associations are very similar and they often clash in their schedules. Moreover, the majority of the cultural activities organized by these associations were carried out in the form of competitions and contests among Chinese schools, which puts pressure and extra workload on the already tight teaching schedule for both member schools and individual teachers. Working full-time during weekdays and teaching in a Chinese school at weekends, most teachers were struggling to achieve their teaching objectives while also having to prepare for these cultural activities. Aside from the demands of taking part in cultural activities at a national level, teachers also face the challenge of having to design and integrate cultural activities with little curricular support in CHL classrooms.

Cultural Activities in CHL Classrooms

The Chinese schools I visited employed two sets of syllabi for their GCSE/A-level pupils. Originally, the official textbooks used by these Chinese schools were a series of 12 books called 中文 [*Chinese*] (Jia 2007), published in China. This series of books was designed for the children of overseas Chinese. Each lesson consists of a short story, an essay or a classic poem, new vocabulary and grammar to learn, and some further reading materials. The two student exercise books focus mainly on consolidating literacy skills such as memorization of characters, grammatical drills, and reading comprehension. Chinese cultural knowledge, values, and customs are instilled through the texts as information to be learnt. However, there are limited learner-centred communicative cultural activities. In order to prepare for GCSE/A-level Chinese, the schools adopted teaching materials that were specifically intended for the preparation for GCSE/A-level exams published in the UK, such as *Edexcel GCSE Chinese* (Yan et al. 2009), *Edexcel Chinese for AS* (X. Li et al. 2008), and *Edexcel Chinese for A2* (Burch et al. 2009). These textbooks and materials are designed for pupils who are learning Chinese as a second/foreign language and often used in mainstream English schools. To develop intercultural awareness, understanding and competence have been identified as key learning outcomes for language learners. However, the level of the national GCSE syllabus does not meet the needs of the majority of CHL pupils in Chinese school. Since the Chinese school textbooks fail to provide appropriate resources for developing cultural activities, there are often no guidelines to control the time and quality of cultural activities carried out in lessons. Based on my

participant observations in four schools, there are generally three categories of cultural activities carried out in classroom teaching.

The first category is literacy or oral practice with an emphasis on Chinese culture, such as writing essays about Spring Festivals or retelling Chinese folklore. The second category is activities for learning Culture with a 'big C' (Seelye 1993), when lessons are about poems, classic literature, and artefacts. In this category, arts and making food/craft and creating dramas adapted from classic literature are also very popular among pupils. The third category is activities for learning culture with a 'small c' (Seelye 1993), such as introducing knowledge about origins and customs of traditional festivals. Many teachers would normally present a series of 'to do' lists for festivals, such as food, rituals, and code for dressing. Some teachers also use photos and online videos to demonstrate the target cultural knowledge.

Teachers in Chinese complementary schools generally dedicated limited time to cultural activities in lessons. The main focus of teaching was still on basic communication, literacy, and translation. The majority of cultural activities in CHL classrooms focused either on the practice of language skills or specific cultural symbolic artefacts and rules. These activities are in danger of essentializing Chinese culture as a distant, static, and fixed entity because they did not fully represent the fast-changing social and cultural environment of China. More importantly, the majority of these activities failed to connect with CHL pupils living in the UK and develop their intercultural competence. Nevertheless, cultural activities such as yearly performances and holiday camps give schools, teachers, and pupils more room to explore, connect, and represent their own understanding of Chinese culture.

Pupils' Attitudes Towards Cultural Activities in Chinese Schools

Cultural Activities Are Fun

In general, the positive feedback about cultural activities reported by pupils includes: broadening cultural knowledge; putting learnt language into practice; developing a deeper understanding of Chinese language and culture; and enhancing confidence in communication with native Chinese speakers. However, the execution of these activities affected their attitudes. Learner-orientated communicative activities were favoured far more than teacher-centred lecturing. Their most

favourite cultural activities were those that provided them with a sense of participation and brought them closer to each other. Dramas, Kung Fu, singing, or dancing for school and inter-school performances are ranked as the most favourable activities by those who had opportunities to participate:

> I'm having great fun in the drama with my friends . . . I am very proud that we've won [the performances] this year.
>
> (Zhengyi, boy, aged 15)

> I don't like my role in the drama, but I still asked my Mum to help me read the whole story. The story is fun.
>
> (Johanna aged 14)

> You remember more in a performance than when you read it, reading it from a book . . . It is a good way to teach the younger children about our culture in an interesting way.'
>
> (Kuan, boy, aged 17)

In order to win a prize in the inter-school performances, these performances were carefully designed, supervised, and rehearsed by appointed teachers. Participating pupils described these activities as 'fun' and 'interesting', even though they were required to spend more time and effort preparing for them. The students felt motivated to learn the scripts, lyrics, and dancing/Kung Fu movements in order to best represent the Chinese language and culture they had learnt. Thus, it was more memorable than 'reading a book'. Apart from benefits for language learning, these activities helped CHL pupils develop a sense of connection and even belonging to their familial ethnic and cultural origin. Kuan's use of 'our culture' demonstrated that he identified himself as Chinese and submitted to the linguistic and cultural heritage he learnt and represented. Moreover, as Kuan said, through the performances they changed from being language learners to become promoters of their community language and culture for younger pupils. But it is also worth noting that only a limited number of students were chosen to perform in these inter-school performances. These selected students normally had higher language proficiency and more interest in learning Chinese language and culture. Hence, the majority of pupils, especially those with lower language proficiency, were left out of the most interesting activities.

In classroom teaching, the cultural activities that engaged all levels of pupils were highly valued, for example, the lesson devoted to traditional Chinese paper-cuttings used as window decorations (剪窗花). Before lecturing on the topic, the teacher gave instructions to pupils about to make their own paper-cut decorations. The craft-making activity not only provided a sense of active participation among students but also integrated language use for different levels of pupils. Pupils with lower language proficiency were asked to give out simple instructions in Chinese for the paper cutting. Pupils with higher language proficiency were asked to explain the history and cultural meanings of traditional paper-cut decorations. Moreover, the teacher taught pupils how to cut a snowflake pattern, which could also be used for Christmas decorations. This cultivated a sense of relevance and intimacy of both Chinese language and culture among pupils by contextualizing the traditional Chinese artefact in modern Britain. Later, when the teacher returned to the textbook, pupils were much more motivated to learn the text about how to introduce and describe the process of paper-cut decorations.

However, teachers' explanations and contextualization of these activities are key factors in developing pupils' intercultural competence and further enhancing their language learning. For example, in my GCSE class, after the activity of 'making Chinese dumplings', the most popular food for the Chinese New Year festival, Jia (boy, aged 14) asked me, 'Miss, do we have to eat dumplings in Chinese New Year? 'cause my family's never had dumplings at Chinese New Year'. He asked me the question because according to the text read aloud in the lesson, dumplings were described as a symbolic food of the Chinese New Year festivities in China. But in many parts of southern China dumplings are not normally consumed on Chinese New Year. Jia's family was originally from a village in Guangdong province in southeast China. They often prepared their own regional cuisine to celebrate Chinese New Year rather than eating the 'symbolic' dumplings. It was a minor incident, but it reminded me that there was no such thing as a monolithic Chinese culture. People in China are registered to different cultural groupings based on their age, gender, regional origin, work, social class, religion, and ethnic background. But since teachers and schools mostly concentrate on the symbolic or representative cultural objects and rules, there is a danger of leading to the perpetuation of stereotypes.

The third kind of activities that gained popularity in my GCSE class was discussions and debates about cultural topics. It was for the purpose of my research that I started to encourage my pupils to talk and write about their experiences as Chinese young people living in Britain. Surprisingly, this

turned out to be one of the most enjoyable cultural activities for pupils and also an eye-opening experience for me as a teacher and researcher. The key idea was to listen to how these CHL pupils interpreted Chinese culture and their own experiences of being Chinese in Britain. The discussion topics depended on the theme of the lessons in the textbook, such as food and dietary culture, parenting style, ethics and moral values, touring in China, schooling, popular culture, and so on. Each discussion was situated within a carefully designed scenario that would encourage pupils to reflect on the meaning of 'Chinese culture' in their lives. Multimedia materials such as news reports, videos, and photos were used to prompt the discussion. The following are some topics we discussed in the classroom:

- Tiger mothers and Eagle fathers: Media representations of Chinese-style parenting
- Filial piety and respect for authority: Would you challenge teachers/parents?
- Model pupils or lonely geeks: British Chinese pupils at school
- Little 'emperors and princesses' and Study machines: Media representations of Pupils in China
- Chinese popular music: Can Chinese rap?
- The Chinese are coming: The BBC documentary about the impact of the rise of China
- The Taste of home: Fish and chips or rice and dumplings?
- Festival: Chinese Spring festival and Christmas
- Classic Literature: Xi You Ji (Journey to the West) and Harry Potter

For example, when Amy Chua's book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (Chua 2011) was at the centre of a media debate, I conducted the activity concerning Chinese parenting with my pupils in a GCSE class in School N. Before the discussion I presented a short video clip of an interview with Amy Chua (in English) from the BBC. Then, I handed out a piece of reading material in Chinese extracted and translated from Chua's book. The reading material was written in a suitable form for the average level of my pupils. Then, every pupil was encouraged to express their opinions about Chinese parenting. In order to engage pupils of different levels in the discussion, pupils were permitted to speak in the language of their own choosing. After the discussion, pupils were required to write an essay in Chinese about their experiences of and opinions about Chinese parenting.

Since the topics were carefully chosen to relate to their current lives in Britain, most pupils were motivated to complete the reading materials, engage in the discussion, and use the target language to express their opinions. These activities were very popular among many pupils. As one of my students put it, 'no one has asked these questions, no one cares what we think . . . I like these discussions' (Fan, aged 15). Sharing similar experiences living in the UK, these discussions provided pupils with a sense of participation and brought them closer to each other. Eager to participate in the discussion, many pupils engaged in the group communication and debates by collaborating with group members, actively using translation tools and online background research. Last but not least, these activities encouraged them to reflect on their opinions and behaviours at the conjuncture of their cultural heritage, public discourses, and real life experiences. The debates and discussions enhanced their awareness and reflections, or their intercultural competence, in dealing with cultural claims and stereotypes.

Cultural Activities Are Unnecessary

The 'cultural knowledge contest' organized by UKAPCE for each of its member schools was almost all of my respondents' least favourite cultural activity. My GCSE class was required to participate in this yearly contest. The content of the assessment encompassed a wide range of topics including Chinese history, geography, literature, music, art, architecture, and artefacts, among others. The preparation materials for this contest provided useful cultural information and references for teachers, but the linguistic ability and background knowledge required to understand these topics far surpasses the level of CHL pupils in Chinese schools. It required a huge amount of effort and time from teachers to transform the cultural reading material into learner-suitable teaching content and activities. With a tight teaching schedule to meet, many teachers would simply read the cultural knowledge material to pupils or skipped the preparation for the contest altogether. Furthermore, the annual cultural knowledge contest was carried out in the form of an exam paper with 30 yes or no questions and 70 multiple-choice questions. To a certain extent, it was more of a literacy test than a knowledge test, since the characters and written language used in the exam paper were difficult to understand for the majority of CHL pupils in Chinese schools. These questions were designed to check facts rather than one's individual understanding of

Chinese culture. As Namjyu said, 'the cultural knowledge test is useless for me; I can't even understand the question . . . I'm still struggling with my GCSE – they won't test your cultural knowledge'. The main reason for this problem is the disconnection between the syllabi used in Chinese schools and appropriate assessment for learning Chinese as a CHL. This disconnection creates not just the specific difficulty of integrating cultural activities but also a prevalent problem for teaching in many Chinese complementary schools.

Similar to previous research studies (Francis et al. 2008; D. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009), this study found that a substantial number of pupils were not learning Chinese willingly but were just obeying their parents' request. Therefore, it was not surprising to receive the following responses from pupils:

> To be honest, I'm really **not bothered** about what we do.
>
> (Jake, aged 16)

> I don't speak Chinese with my friends . . . **None of my friends are interested** in Chinese stuff.
>
> (Wendy, aged 14)

Pupils like Jake and Wendy went to Chinese complementary schools to learn Chinese for two or three hours a week. They spent most of their time in mainstream schools learning different subjects and socializing with their peers in English. They would only use Chinese at home with their parents. Although Chinese parents valued Chinese language as a significant representation of their Chineseness, young Chinese CHL learners often failed to see the relevance of CHL learning in their lives and resisted their parents' efforts in CHL maintenance (D. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009). Similar to any other adolescents in British schools, they were more involved with the educational and socializing agenda in mainstream schools. Chinese cultural activities would probably be the least of their concerns if they could not see the relevance of these activities to their lives.

This indifferent attitude also corresponds to the general trend of fading passion for learning Chinese in Chinese complementary schools. Young children in lower grades tended to have more enthusiasm for learning Chinese and were more likely to participate in cultural performances than

older adolescents. The number of pupils also decreases significantly from lower grades to higher grades in almost every Chinese school. Many factors contributed to the fading passion of these adolescents: most of their friends do not share their interest in, or obligation towards, learning Chinese; they refuse to have their weekend leisure time taken up by Chinese schooling; academic pressure in mainstream schools increases with age and learning in Chinese school becomes more difficult to manage as a result.

Cultural Activities and Negotiations of Cultural Identities

Cultural activities are highly valuable for strengthening pupils' connections with the surrounding Chinese community, especially for those who had fewer opportunities to interact with native speakers in home settings. Aiming to transmit cultural heritage values and products, these cultural activities played an important part in the formation of British Chinese pupils' cultural identities. I present the following two incidents I encountered during my teaching to show the negotiations of the cultural identities of these CHL pupils during their participation in Chinese cultural activities.

The below interview extract with Kuan demonstrated his conflicting response participating Chinese cultural activities:

Interviewer: I saw you participated in many performances in Chinese school.
Kuan: That's my Mum, that's my Mum, **that's not me**.
Interviewer: But I think you did very well on stage.
Kuan: **Well, I don't have a choice**, so I might as well put some effort in it.
Interviewer: So do you think the performance is interesting?
Kuan: Err, yeah.
Interviewer: I like the one you performed last year, singing the song adapted from Beijing opera.
Kuan: Oh, well, **I've lost my last shred of dignity**.
Interviewer: Why do you say that? I thought you found it interesting.
Kuan: It's just, the performance, it's so **dated**, I would never agree to do that at my English school.

Field notes, extracted from my teaching in a GCSE classroom, detail my impressions of a comparable example of cultural conflict:

> I asked my pupils to choose a song for the whole class to sing in the annual school performance. I suggested a few traditional Chinese folk songs. They were unhappy about my suggestions because they had sung those songs many times. They also complained that the choice of songs was always very limited. Zhiming, who migrated to Britain 6 months ago, suggested that we sang a Chinese song containing Chinese rap, which was very popular among young people in China at that time. Johanna, who was British born, immediately vetoed the idea, '*what? Chinese people can't rap*', Johanna said. '*Yeah, Chinese rap is crap*' Nick added. Zhiming and four other newly migrated students obviously felt very offended by the negative remarks. They started to attack the school performances as being old-fashioned and boring. They strongly requested me to play the song on the computer. So I did. The five newly migrated pupils must have loved that song because they knew the lyrics by heart and sang along with the music. The rest of the pupils had never heard of this song before. But many of them liked it immediately. Nick was still not convinced, '*It is so not rapping, you were supposed to swear and stuff, not just talk.*' Nevertheless, they chose that song for their yearly performance. In the next two weeks, surprisingly, all pupils, even those less motivated leaners, made an effort to learn the lyrics and the rapping elements. I guess being able to rap in Chinese is something they would feel proud of and would make them feel 'cool'.

The interview with Kuan showed that he felt somehow embarrassed about his performance even though his team won a prize in the UKAPCE annual Spring Festival show. As an active participant in various cultural activities, Kuan gave very positive feedback about how drama performances helped language learning and promoted Chinese culture. But in this instance, he repeatedly emphasized that his Chinese opera singing performance was 'not him' and 'he'd never agree to do it' in front of his friends at his English school. He was determined to disconnect himself from his own 'dated' cultural representations on stage. Such feelings revealed the difficulties he had with identifying himself with the cultural activities that were chosen and prepared against his wishes. But he had 'no choice' because he was the most suitable candidate for the singing performance. He did not want to disappoint his teacher and his mother. Cultural activities are designed to make CHL pupils feel comfortable and proud of their own language and cultural background, especially under the pressure of linguistic and cultural conformity in mainstream school. But the fact that he

wanted to hide his performance from his school friends showed that this cultural activity failed to give him the confirmation he needed most, that from his peer group.

In the second example, schools and teachers provide limited choices for cultural performances. They tend to fixate on the traditional and static heritage of Chinese culture and lose sight of the undergoing changes in contemporary Chinese culture, especially youth culture. In this regard, those newly migrated pupils have certainly refreshed their understanding of the lives of Chinese young people in contemporary China. The 'Chinese can't rap' debate showed that the majority of British born and raised children have preconceived views about Chinese art forms as dated and static; furthermore, they have stereotypical identifications of what Chinese 'can or cannot' do. But the recently arrived young people challenged these preconceptions and connected them to contemporary Chinese youth culture. The popular element of youth culture, rap in this case, surpassed the language and ethnic differences and appealed to most young people living in the metropolitan city. Although the popular rap song is by no means a good example of Chinese cultural heritage, it is nevertheless a product of cultural hybridity in China, which is an undeniable process in a global era. These young learners may identify with the hybrid forms of cultural products (or activities) more easily and generate more interest in learning their CHLs and culture as a result.

It is important to recognize that pupils in Chinese complementary schools are not just ethnic Chinese who naturally have strong attachments to China. The majority of their education and socialization were completed in British school settings where they may feel under pressure when their linguistic and cultural backgrounds were unrecognized. Meanwhile, they are also under the influence of global youth culture. Therefore, cultural activities that instil a static and stereotypical image of Chinese culture may cause antipathy among these young learners. Alternatively, cultural activities that reflect both the hybridity of popular youth culture and traditional culture in modern China may stimulate more interest in learning among these young learners.

Pedagogical Implications and Conclusion

This chapter outlines the development and challenges in teaching Chinese as a CHL in Chinese complementary schools. With the increasing number of CHL pupils from diverse background joining Chinese complementary

schools, neither the current Chinese as foreign language syllabus (GCSE/A-level curriculum) nor the existing Chinese as CHL syllabus used in these Chinese schools have been adapted to address the needs of the heterogeneous group of pupils. In addition, teachers in these schools have not been prepared or trained to deal with the changing and diverse population in the intercultural classrooms. Therefore, the professional development of CHL teachers needs to reflect the challenges posed by the diverse linguistic and cultural demands of pupils. Networking opportunities among CHL teachers as well as with modern languages teachers would be beneficial for exchanging expertise and enhancing mutual learning. In moving forward, the need for responsive and flexible pedagogical approaches that respond to the needs of pupils is evident. Furthermore, educational researchers need to explore a wide range of research topics in the emerging field of CHL education in order to improve teaching Chinese as a CHL.

This study investigates pupils' attitudes towards Chinese cultural activities in Chinese complementary schools in order to find specific pedagogical implications for using cultural activities in CHL teaching. The findings disclose the benefits and problems of existing cultural activities in Chinese complementary schools. Pupils' rich and complex accounts reflect the multifaceted cultural identities of these CHL pupils: They are not only ethnic Chinese but also British and adolescents. As valuable recourses for teaching Chinese as a CHL, this chapter suggests Chinese community, Chinese schools, educators, and CHL teachers to carefully design and fully utilize a series of cultural activities that not only transmit Chinese heritage but also closely relate to young people's lives in a multicultural society. More specifically, this chapter recommends the Chinese complementary schools and teaching staff to consider:

- The potential limitation of textbooks, curriculum, and pedagogy used in Chinese schools.
- Professional development of CHL teachers needs to reflect the challenges posed by the diverse linguistic and cultural demands of pupils.
- Networking opportunities among CHL teachers as well as with modern language teachers would be beneficial for exchanging expertise and enhancing mutual learning.
- Both teachers and pupils need to be encouraged to reflect on their notions of 'Chinese culture', the British and Chinese public discourses of 'Chinese and Chinese culture', and the living experiences of Chinese in Britain in order to avoid stereotyping and exclusion.

- It will be beneficial for CHL teachers to involve in action research in order to explore a wide range of research topics in the emerging field of CHL education.

After all, the goal of CHL education is not only to 'maintain' a fixed memory of Chinese culture but also to enable CHL pupils to better understand aspects of their linguistic and cultural heritage in relation to their lives and identities in Britain. In this sense, the intercultural competence is very important for CHL pupils in their language acquisition, cultural integration, and self-identifications. Developing intercultural competence can help CHL education can achieve its ultimate goal to motivate CHLs pupils, enable them to better understand aspects of their linguistic and cultural heritage in relation to their lives and identities, and finally realize the full potential of their bilingual and bicultural background for their future prospects.

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Moving Between Diverse Cultural Contexts: How Important is Intercultural Learning to Chinese Heritage Language Learners?

Hui Ling Xu and Robyn Moloney

Introduction

The development of intercultural competence has become an increasingly important component in educational curriculum at all levels and recognised as an important capability for graduates (e.g. The Graduate Capabilities Framework, Macquarie University, 2015). Foreign language education offers an opportunity to integrate interculturality for the development of critical and reflexive thinking about cultures and languages. As such, there is a growing body of studies that have tracked the development of pedagogy to elicit intercultural development in learners in foreign language classrooms (Moloney and Xu 2015a; Liddicoat et al. 2003; Diaz 2015; Kramsch 2014; Jin 2014).

In the context of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) in Australia, the classroom has witnessed a change in its make-up, with an increasingly bigger presence of Chinese heritage language learners (Xu and Moloney

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2014a, 2014b). For example, the number of students who can be defined as heritage language (HL) learners now makes up more than half of the student population in many Chinese programmes, based on the first author's own teaching experience. This group of students differs from typical foreign language learners in various ways such as in the goals and specific motivation for learning the target language, in their acquisition of the target language, and in their prior target language proficiency. HL learners are most typically born of one or two Chinese-background parents, but raised in an English-speaking country. They may move between English and their other language(s) as well as between their home and other social cultural settings on a daily basis in their lives, and negotiate a hybrid identity space (Kanno 2003). As pointed out by Kagan (2012, p. 72), for HL speakers, moving between languages and cultures 'happens at the threshold of their homes, not at the border between two countries'. It might be assumed, or even expected, by teachers, that because of this constant interaction with the two cultural settings, HL learners have intercultural competence to move between the different cultural settings smoothly, with sound knowledge of both. How much truth does this hold in reality? In becoming learners of the language of their heritage culture, how will students perceive the relevance and effectiveness of an intercultural approach to learning Chinese? As a teaching intervention, this was the research question of the study, to collect and analyse the perceptions of a group of tertiary Chinese heritage learners involved with a learning task intended to elicit intercultural enquiry. The broader pedagogic goal of the intervention was to identify how to support heritage learner students in activating independent enquiry into their views and opinions of the 'other' and the self, in relation to their personal knowledge of China and Australia, as part of enhancing and motivating their language learning as well as developing skills in supporting effective and appropriate interaction with the HL community. Using data from the students' reflective journal entries and post-project writing, the study maps a number of strong themes in the responses of the heritage learners, which deliver us useful insight as to appropriate pedagogy and curriculum.

Literature Review

Who Are Our HL Learners?

The term 'heritage language' is commonly used to refer to languages spoken by diaspora immigrant communities and their children, and thus typically minority languages within a majority language environment (see

Valdes 2001; Kondo-Brown 2006; Hornberger and Wang 2008; Li and Duff 2008; Montrul 2010; Xu and Moloney 2014a, 2014b; among others). Analogous terms such as those used in Australia include 'ethnic languages', 'community languages', or 'languages other than English' (LOTE). To define who is a HL learner, various descriptions have been used in the literature but as Hornberger and Wang (2008, p. 3) point out, there has not yet been a general consensus. This is due to diverse national, social, or linguistic contexts where a particular research study takes place, which gives rise to either a broader or a narrower scope of reference.

In the case of Mandarin Chinese, in particular, it is not straightforward to define a Chinese heritage speaker. As pointed out by Xu and Moloney (2014a, 2014b), in other HL groups such as Japanese, or Korean, the HL is associated historically with a more homogeneous population, a more precise geographical area, or nation-state, and has only one shared standard language variety. Mandarin Chinese is the official language of China, but both within and beyond the vast ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity of China, it exists alongside many other mutually unintelligible distinct languages. Together with this linguistic and ethnic diversity, it has been argued by researchers that Chinese culture is also diverse and dynamic (see Chapter 1 by Jin and Dervin, this volume; Chapter 2 by Wang, this volume; Chapter 7 by Wang, this volume). Thus, to define Mandarin Chinese as a HL in respect to dialect speakers seems problematic (see Wong and Xiao 2010). However, Cho et al.'s (1997) definition of HL seems to offer some legitimacy to regard Chinese as a HL: they regard HL as those that are associated with one's cultural background. Applied to the Mandarin learning situation, this definition acknowledges the fact that while the home language or first language may not be Mandarin Chinese, children or learners of dialect backgrounds may be nevertheless intimately linked to the traditional Chinese cultural heritage by which we meant the core or principle cultural values passed down from ancient times such as Confucius teachings, such as the respect for elderly, modesty, etc. Considering this cultural connection and linguistic perspective, in examining the make-up of Chinese language learner body in the Australian educational context, we have described Chinese heritage learners as those who have contact with or exposure to some form of the HL, be it Mandarin Chinese or other Chinese language varieties, through family, community, ancestral, and cultural connection but have been educated primarily through English. They are fluent in English but with varying degrees of proficiency in their HL. This may include students of

Chinese speaking families born in Australia or who migrated here at a young age from Mainland China, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, or Indonesia.

HL Learners With Hybrid Identities

HL learners are members of the diasporas created by migration in various parts of the world, most notably, North America, Europe, and Australia. They may frequently be contacting and visiting extended families overseas, moving between different cultural and linguistic environments, engaging with the media and literacies of multiple environments. Such globalised individuals may negotiate languages and identities in home, school, and university, in entertainment situations and in workplaces (Hall 1992). In the case of the rapidly expanding number of Chinese HL learners in Australia, this situation may be even more linguistically challenging. The HL learners grow up in an English dominant society, and thus learn English well in order to succeed in schools and society. They may be maintaining their use of particular Chinese dialects or languages to various degrees at home, in a local community and with relatives overseas. Thirdly, they are studying Mandarin at school or university. They may also adopt multiple identities, given different and sometimes conflicting practices and values between countries, bearing in mind also that within Chinese society, there also exist many differences among regional cultural practices and customs. Faced with such complexity, Chinese HL learners have to construct different identities in different cultural contexts of interaction. They, however, are aware of their intercultural space as most of them self-identify themselves as either Chinese Australian or Australian Chinese depending on how they consider their first language is (Xu and Moloney 2014b). In fact, almost half of the student survey sample in this 2014 study stated that their first language is English, suggesting that the dominant language, through its role in almost every aspect of their lives, receives higher recognition and social value. This linguistic dominance of English in their Australian milieu may be the basis of their social identity. However, when in-depth interviews with the students were conducted, their answers revealed a different intercultural affective perspective which was closely connected to their Chinese heritage. Many said that they felt they are 'Chinese' and cited communicating with their Chinese-speaking families

and connecting to their Chinese family background as one of their major motivational factors to study Chinese, supporting findings that HL learning is a way for students to fulfill not just linguistic but also identity needs (Carreira 2004). It also supports the views that identity is a social cultural construct and is closely linked to second language learning (Norton 2006). Research attention to identity in Chinese HL learners is breaking new ground in the field (He 2006, 2010; Jia 2008; Wong and Xiao 2010) with the recognition of strong connections between identity, heritage, and language practice (Wong and Xiao, ibid).

Curriculum designers and language teachers may assume that HL learners would be familiar with two cultures, as noted above. For example, in the State of New South Wales, a senior secondary course provided especially for heritage Chinese learners states that it is designed for students 'who have been brought up in a home where *the Chinese language* is used and who have a connection to *Chinese culture*.... They have some degree of understanding and knowledge of *Chinese*' (authors' italics) (Board of Studies NSW 2010). We note both the assumption of knowledge, and the mistaken understanding of one monolithic language and culture.

In reality, does such an assumption hold truth? How well equipped are they with knowledge and cultural practice of the HL they are studying? We hypothesise that these students, although growing up in a Chinese immigrant family, are more likely to lack deep knowledge of their heritage culture or their knowledge may be quite fragmented, even similar to the level of many non-Chinese background learners of Chinese. As such, would they make a particular response to, and benefit from, a task which hopes to elicit intercultural enquiry and communication skills between English and Chinese? How would they view an intercultural approach in conjunction with their Chinese language learning? In the next section, we briefly outline the emergence of an intercultural approach to teaching and learning in today's foreign language study.

Problematising the Nature of Intercultural Learning

Developing intercultural competence is a vital competence in foreign language education in our contemporary world as high levels of criticality and reflexivity are expected from university students (Dervin 2010). However, as Dervin points out, even though there is a great deal of intercultural 'talk' in research and foreign language teaching and learning,

how to define intercultural competence remains problematic and unsystematic (Dervin 2010, 2011). This problem is closely related to how culture is understood and viewed. Culture has been most often understood as being about visible cultural facts such as festivals and artefacts. Today it is acknowledged to be multilayered, often invisible, dynamic, unfixed, and fluid (Dervin 2009). According to Kirkebæk et al. (2013), culture includes 'high culture' (film, theatre, poetry, and more), 'lived' culture (cultures-within-cultures), and 'national' culture. Jin (2014) draws on Yin's study (2009) and regards culture as consisting of 'formal culture' and 'deep culture'. The former is about cultural knowledge and information such as geography, history, literature, art, music, politics, economy, education, philosophy, religion, and moral concepts, while 'deep culture' is more related to everyday life including beliefs, social customs and practices, social norms, and conversions and patterns of behaving, etc. (p 24). Jin believes that exploring 'deep culture' as cultural content in foreign language education is essential for intercultural communication. We agree with this view and adopted this complex approach to culture in the embedding of interculturality in the teaching of Chinese in the context of this study. In implementing our intercultural intervention task, not only were we concerned with background culture knowledge but also, and more importantly, with individual student making individual meaning from their own particular prior knowledge, interacting with deep culture.

Culture has also come to be seen as a set of open structures, lacking clear borders, and constantly changing (Kirkebæk et al. 2013), an approach which aligns well with the fluid nature of HL learners' lives and diverse memberships (Moloney and Oguro 2015b). Understanding culture in this way sees culture as more complex and diverse (Dervin 2011; Jin 2014, the chapter by Jin and Dervin, this volume), individualised, emergent, dynamic (Holliday 2011), and is constantly created and negotiated between individuals and between individuals and contexts (Kirkebæk et al. 2013). Dervin (2011) thus argues that a 'liquid' approach to intercultural discourses needs to be adopted. A 'liquid' approach is based on the idea that knowledge, society, and subjectivity are all dynamic and contextual phenomena which can be theorised in terms of dialogues between different (real and imagined) perspectives' (Dervin 2011, p. 38). Intercultural competence therefore becomes 'a process of a person learning appropriate ways of entering into discourse fields in order to be able to function within the social group that arises from that field' (Jin 2014, p. 21).

Deardorff (2006) found that internationally the term of intercultural competence was understood to include component skills of analysis and interpretation, and cognitive skills that included comparative thinking skills and cognitive flexibility. In the language learning context, scholars have maintained that it includes knowledge skills and attitudes (Byram 1997), abilities to de-centre from and question one's own cultural practice, and ability to investigate why the speaker of the other language acts as he/she does (Dervin and Dirba 2006). This volume focuses on interculturality which is in investigating encounters between the self and the 'other', and in particular, disrupting stereotypes and the idea that there is one unique way of thinking in China. Thus, this study, drawing from a study of the literature, defines the principal characteristics of intercultural learning as ability to: (a) critically reflect about relationships between learner's cultures, (b) investigate practices in the interlocutor and the self, and (c) be self-aware of an individual intercultural identity and perspective. These three capabilities inform the chosen methodology and data analysis of this study, in which intercultural learning is observed in student response to a writing task, conducted alongside their language learning. While this approach places the student at some distance from an immediate contact with an interlocutor, it asks them to imaginatively consider their response to and understanding of some aspects of life in Mainland China. The activities in this study were considered a first step, in introducing the notion of interculturality to students. An intercultural approach more embedded in language use has followed in a later study.

An Intercultural Approach to Language Teaching and Learning

Tertiary language learning in Australia has undergone pedagogic change in the past 10 years, due in part to the concern about addressing the dropping participation rates in languages education. Pedagogy which focuses on linguistic communicative skills alone has been critiqued as failing to stimulate critical cultural understanding and to meet deeper student needs and expectations of constructivist contemporary education. Kramsch (2006) has written that tertiary language students 'need a much more sophisticated competence in the manipulation of symbolic systems . . . (what) word choices reveal about the minds of speakers.' (p. 249).

Chinese culture has been frequently taught as discrete items of exotic interest, from an essentialist and ethnocentric standpoint, leading to a focus on stereotypes, without examining underlying values. As this

volume's editors have noted, this has often created a 'cultural taxidermy' of the Chinese people, which leads to limiting how Chinese people are perceived. Educationally, this approach is seen as weak in development of critical thinking and self-knowledge (Moran 2001). In common with other languages, many teachers of Chinese are struggling to find ways to facilitate student abilities in critical cultural awareness, involving challenge to personal beliefs and assumptions (Moloney 2013; Moloney and Xu 2015a). The concepts and discourse of intercultural language learning have challenged many teachers (Sercu 2006) and it is still common for some language teachers to misunderstand the difference between teaching informational 'culture' and the type of intercultural enquiry required to teach critically and to elicit critical thinking (Moloney 2013). There has been critical observation that some practice intending to be 'intercultural' has been counter-productive and perpetuated stereotyping and essentialisation of cultures (Dervin 2011). More training needs to be designed to build the necessary skills and habits in teachers, in cultural critical thinking, to benefit learners and the society more broadly.

This study finds relevant the notion of 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzalez et al. 2005). This notion refers to the body of knowledge and skills which HL learners may have developed, essential for their home and social well-being. The term is used in studies of English language learners, to describe the knowledge which culturally and linguistically diverse children bring to the dominant-language classroom. When teachers respect and elicit learner 'funds', they see that students possess cultural and cognitive resources that can and should be used in their classroom, in order to support alignment of learning with students' prior knowledge. This is true also in the situation of HL learners' linguistic and cultural knowledge. The question remains, however, whether they have the capability to critically examine and extend their HL funds of knowledge.

'Observing' Intercultural Learning

The shift in pedagogy detailed above has demanded that language research needs to be informed by the discourses of sociocultural theory (Armour 2004; Liddicoat et al. 2003) and to be investigated using qualitative research methodologies. Linear models and the quantitative 'measurement' of intercultural competence are highly contested (Deardorff 2009). Such instruments and models oversimplify a complex notion, and fail to account for multiple voices, individuality of experience, and multiple identities

within any group of learners. Fantini (2009, p. 464) notes the rise of qualitative strategies such as oral and written activities, dialogues, and interviews, in the investigation of intercultural learning. The analysis of student reflective journals and narratives, written during exchange programmes or in unfamiliar settings (e.g. Bagnall 2005; Moloney and Oguro 2015a) has become a popular methodology in studies of intercultural development in students. Cowan (2014) has provided a critique of practice in such methodology, in the context of a classroom intervention. We believe that the strategies used are compatible with the objectives, are based on theoretical foundation, and are appropriate for the age of participants (Fantini 2009). The results are intended to inform the teaching/learning process at the university, and to enrich the broader development of innovative pedagogy in CFL. A description of the methodology of this study follows. In our analysis of reflective writing data, we look for Schön's (1987, 1991) proposal that reflection is a 'conversation' with the self, and Mezirow's (1990) notion that reflection must involve critique of one's assumptions.

Methodology

This study represents the analysis of a teaching intervention in an undergraduate intermediate level Chinese language learning class, at a university in the Sydney region, across two semesters. The study used a qualitative approach to the data analysis. The participants were members of the intermediate Chinese classes taught by the first author.

The teaching intervention was delivered to all students in the two parallel intermediate (Year 2) classes, which included both heritage and non-heritage learners. Students were given the option to participate in this study on a voluntary basis with their reflective journals and post-task reflective writing submitted used as research data. The data for this current study, related to only HL learners, were drawn from the qualitative data collected over eight months in 2013, from the total intermediate Chinese student population.

In semester 1, a 60-minute workshop was designed and held with both classes, to explain the concepts and the task. The task was to write reflective journal entries, on the cultural practices mentioned in each chapter of the language textbook used in class weekly. Students were to consider either a particular Chinese practice (e.g. tea house, the use of traditional medicine, use of terms of address) or attitude (e.g. not borrowing money; asking personal questions) drawn from the chapter dialogues

and/or culture information provided. The workshop included exercises in exploring diversity within both Australia and China, and the visible and invisible behaviours and values which may be held by some, within China and Australia. There was direction to individualise perceptions (Dervin and Dirba 2006) rather than to generalise, and to be critically aware of stereotypes. Our aim was to see whether and how the heritage learners could use prior knowledge or experience, to make an individualised response to the essentialised cultural materials in the textbook, to go beyond the textbook information, and to engage in a reflective conversation with the self, to question their relationship with the materials.

At the end of semester 1, students submitted journal entries, volunteered as research data. The purpose of this data was to examine student intercultural learning as displayed in their ability to develop an intercultural position, in their personal individualised analysis of the particular cultural practice, as defined above. In semester 2, following feedback on semester 1 journal entries, the project continued with a further round of journal entry writing, again, on the cultural practices mentioned in the language textbook used in class. Journal entries were submitted, and volunteered as research data. Finally, students volunteered to answer a number of post-task enquiry questions, in writing, and for these to be used also as research data. The purpose of these post-task questions was to elicit and capture some reflective review of whether and how the teaching intervention may have shifted student perceptions. Throughout the data analysis, all participants are de-identified and are represented in the data analysis below as P1, P2, and so on. Ethics permission was granted by the university authorities.

All the 15 HL students, aged between 19–25, representing about 50% of the total mixed (HL and non-HL) class group, volunteered to participate in the study. The HL learner group of this study, like any group of CFL heritage learners, is diverse in terms of family language (Included Mandarin, Cantonese, and a number of dialects), area of ancestry (Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia), amount of linguistic and cultural knowledge, and also diverse in their motivation and application. Furthermore, we acknowledge an 'uncontrolled variable' is HL students' diverse levels of prior knowledge from family contact, travel, or exchange experience. The individuality of development in HL learners has been noted in a number of studies (Valdes 2001; Carreira 2004).

As mentioned previously, two sets of data were used as triangulation and corroboration for trustworthy findings. These were students' two journal

entries for both semester 1 and 2 respectively, and students' answers to post-task enquiry questions undertaken at the end of semester 2. The two authors read and re-read these data to examine for emergent themes (Ryan and Bernard 2000).

Findings

As noted above, the purpose and function of the different data sources was to construct a synthesised picture of student perceptions and learning from the task. Three themes were apparent across the data sources (journal entries, and final post-task reflection questions). In our analysis, as noted, intercultural ability may be seen to occur in three capacities: to (a) critically reflect about relationships between learner's cultures, (b) investigate practices in the interlocutor and the self, and (c) be self-aware of an individual intercultural identity and perspective.

From an exhaustive examination of the data sources, three themes emerged as recurrent and consistent in each data source. These were:

- Participants draw from their family cultural practice and childhood learning, as cultural points of reference.
- In the heightening of critical self-awareness, there is some apparent tension and ambivalence for participants, in reconciling the ambiguous relationships involved, in the balance between identities, and in negotiating others' perceptions of them.
- The intervention learning task represented to participants is a welcome and relevant learning opportunity for them to examine and make meaning, often for the first time, of their own intercultural experience.

While the three themes were strongly consistent across the participant cohort, we stress the diversity apparent within the group, evident in their different family circumstances, the opportunities they have had, and the resulting differences in their funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al. 2005). We also noted the students' variable use of first-person and third-person pronouns (we/our, they/their) to denote their relationships and memberships of communities. In quoting from the journal task responses, we have noted the topic from the textbook on which the participants were reflecting. Post-task reflection data are also drawn.

Theme 1: Family as Frame of Reference

The textbook used for the intermediate Chinese offered some potential for this intercultural enquiry, as each chapter featured two dialogues which focused on a custom or feature of life in Mainland China, such as the practices of gift giving, public behaviour such as in a teahouse and how to show modesty. The dialogues typically take place between a Chinese student (or a group of Chinese students) and an overseas student (or a group of overseas students) who are involved somehow in the different practices. The reflective journals show that the participants used the dialogues to recall and reflect on their own experiences related to the topics. They also drew from their own funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al. 2005), usually within family practice, in relation to a particular practice represented in the textbook. Thus, they talked about their own upbringing, and how sometimes they have been they have been positioned in regard to their Australian social context.

The following extracts show different aspects of how this family knowledge have been acquired and processed by the learners.

> P5 (topic: Chinese medicine): *Chinese medicine was usually used in our day-to-day lives . . . one thing my family would always talk about was the notions of 'coolness' and 'heatiness'.*
>
> P7 (topic: Chinese teahouse): *The example of Chinese people speaking in loud voices can be seen very clearly in my own family . . . when we are out in public they like to communicate with each other in loud voices, even if they are sitting right next to each other.*
>
> P4 (topic: gift giving): *Mannerisms of not opening presents after receiving, has been passed on to me by my parents. I had always been given strange looks when I did open my presents, but I didn't think about it. This new knowledge makes me more aware and understanding.*
>
> P10 (topic: eating customs): *Whenever I give my grandma a call, the first thing she will ask is not 'how are you?' but 'have you eaten yet?' Such a common greeting highlights the central role of food in Chinese culture . . . Growing up I was constantly reminded of rules such as not to spear my food or wave the chopsticks around.*

From these extracts we see that some students, perhaps due to the perceived common practice portrayed in the textbook, offered stereotyped descriptions of what 'the Chinese people' do. They follow the model, to extrapolate their family practice as also representative. However, even

when participant journal entries strayed into use of generalised stereotypes, some participants showed a mediating ability, through giving their own personal observations of behaviour and language, as examples. For example, P8 used her local knowledge to construct a critical observation, as shown in the following extract:

> P8 (topic: Chinese medicine): *Chinese people have a way of caring for people by sort of fussing over them. For example, if it were cold, Chinese people would suggest that they should wear a jacket, more clothes.… I have found that Western people would be more independent and take care of themselves, but show a lot more verbal affection, like my friends' parents saying 'sweetheart, honey, dear.*

While most of the HL students were successful overall in bringing an individual and personal response to their journal entries, for some, their personal experience also gives them a feeling of privileged understanding, an insider perspective, in the class:

> P9 (topic: personal questions in social conversation)*: To many foreigners, this may be considered as rather intrusive… but as I come from a Chinese background, I can understand that this is very common for Chinese people. It is so that they can generate an understanding of the politeness levels required to continue the conversation.*

Indeed, P5 underlines his 'ownership' of his particular relationship with Chinese, not as 'foreign', but as personal: '*I do not see Chinese as a foreign language, but in a much more meaningful way, as I have a direct personal relationship with it'.*

For some students, as noted in the Literature Review, where they feel their 'fund of knowledge' is weak, they have been motivated to study Chinese to re-engage with their heritage background and extend their knowledge. P10 positions this learning as part of his identity development:

> P10 (topic: Traditional Chinese medicine TCM): *Throughout my travels in Hong Kong, and even Chatswood (a suburb of Sydney,) I have walked past Tongren Tang (a well-known Chinese medicine pharmacy) which I used to think was a tea-house chain store. I was intrigued by the glass jars of assorted dried plant and animal parts… Having only been exposed to TCM recently, I have been reminded of ways to better understand my cultural background and reconnect with my heritage. It is through exploring such an age-old tradition such as TCM that makes me proud to say that I am Australian and Chinese.*

Theme 2: Ambiguities and Tensions

Our analysis of data indicates that the task, in contributing to self-awareness and critical analysis of their own situation as HL learners, raised some tension and ambiguities in their negotiation of multiple identities. In responses, students described a range of processes and responses: ambivalence, discomfort, or embarrassment in particular situations, a selective appreciation of the best of both cultures, awareness of others' perceptions, and movement between two communities, negotiating their own position. Our understanding of identity draws on the work of Hall (1990) and Bhabha (1990), where identity is regarded as unfixed, multiple, fluid, and constantly emerging, derived from and maintained through the fluid nature of social interactions. We observe also that some components of identity (such as language, social participation) may vary in their importance to an individual at different times of their life (Omoniyi 2006). Some participants seem to distance themselves from the strong parental influence of their childhood, others retain their alignment with it, into young adulthood.

In the following two contrasting excerpts, P10 appears to express some ambivalence in his relationship with China. He has a keen personal self-awareness of differentiated levels of 'comfort' with aspects of life in China, and communicates that he has developed a new and selective position independent from his ancestors and relatives.

> P10: *As an Australian-born Chinese, and having lived here my whole life, – especially on the Central Coast (an area north of Sydney), I have a rather strange way of seeing China. There are aspects of Chinese culture which I completely understand, some that are alien, and others that I prefer to distance myself from; it's somewhere my ancestors and relatives call 'home' but a place I myself consider a 'home away from home'.*

P6 appears to experience some tension in defending herself against others' critical perceptions of her strong alignment with her family background:

> P6 (topic: Family): *I see myself as someone quite in touch with the Chinese cultural background and I see family as something very important in my life. Some may say that this limits the choices I make in life, because my decisions are based on family, but I don't see it in that way. My choices are based on family because I personally want to. Cultural habits as such are not rules by which we have to follow but more ways of thinking in which we are born with.*

Just as I respect the differences... I hope that others can also respect the difference in viewing factors by the Chinese culture.

We also see differently reflected in these two participants the notion of group membership and 'belonging' (Weeks 1990), important factors in shaping identities (Kanno 2003). P7 appears to enjoy the balance and synthesis she is achieving in her multiple membership.

P7: *I am very glad to be of Chinese heritage and also living in western society. This means I can learn practices and cultures of both societies and really put the phrase (入乡随俗-'Do as the Romans do') into use. It means to conform to local customs.*

Many students asserted that this task was the first opportunity they had had to engage in explicit intercultural reflection, as a formal part of their education. Others recognised that the process of de-centring and critically reflecting was not new to them, as they have been exposed to it experientially. While P7 above claimed she is embarrassed about her relatives' loud voices in public, she also presents her Chinese relatives' perception of Sydney, which delivers her intercultural insight about her own home environment:

P7: *Sometimes it is quite embarrassing for me and my cousins of the younger generation because western people on the street often think that our parents are arguing in public.... my relatives from China often say that the Australian streets are very empty and quiet, boring at times.*

P12 observes that she has 'clash of two cultures', or double standards, when she admits she would rather open gifts herself in private (using Chinese gift protocol), but wants her friends to open gifts from her, immediately (using Australian protocol), so she can see their reaction. P9 (on gift-giving) reaches an interesting understanding of core commonality in this gift giving area:

P9: *In the end, I feel as though both cultures have in fact the same mindset, in that they believe in respecting the person giving the gift, they just approach the method for doing this, differently 'The most important to both cultures, is that people appreciate their gifts, and, in so doing, they forge a stronger bond and relationship.*

In writing about the value of modesty, P12 again appears to oscillate between competing values, first what she has been taught in 'our' Australian cultural

environment, and second what she has been taught by her family. Interestingly, she appears to decide in the end on the parental values:

> P12: *In western culture, it is a part of our culture to be good at what we do. I believe it is not necessarily bad to brag about oneself, it demonstrates confidence and capability..... I find a balance is needed. I personally believe in modesty, as it is part of my perception and my cultural upbringing to do so amongst others, as my parents taught me, one must not be too proud of one's self, but to be modest.*

P4 reflects on how her life in Australia has shaped her social responses, and admits feeling tension about the perceived 'intrusion' of being asked personal questions in the Chinese community:

> P4: *Despite being of Chinese heritage, I believe that I am very influenced by western culture, so I don't like when people intrude my personal space, and rather than seeing their personal questions and comments as being caring, I sometimes find it a bit rude...*

It is to be hoped that a more nuanced understanding of heritage speakers, within their families, communities, and in formal learning situations, will lead to respectful valuing of their multiple abilities and identities. The development of complex identities beyond linguistic borders, through family heritage, consumption of media and study, opens up new and more ambiguous notions of identity. These students represent emergent and transitional identities, both invested in Chinese language, and shaped by their education and life in Australia.

Theme 3: A New Learning Opportunity

In the first semester of the task, student opinion was somewhat divided as to the benefit of the task. A small number of students perceived it, at that stage, as not necessary. They expressed some familiarity with the intercultural nature of their lives, enjoying their perceived advantage of having insider knowledge, or as the 'local expert' on interculturality: '*I live between cultures all the time, don't need to think about it*' (P8). But the majority of the Chinese HL learners have grown up in Australia, and many have acknowledged that they have a limited knowledge of life in China, which, in most cases, has been limited to family

input. This family input of selective knowledge may or may not have been explicitly taught, but largely absorbed in childhood development and modelling from parents as noted by participants. From the data, it appears it has largely been unexamined or taken-for-granted knowledge. At the end of the project, however, the majority of the students commented on their new awareness of their 'funds of knowledge' and on the new learning stimulated by having these taken-for-granted understandings examined, with many using the phrase 'never thought about it before', as shown in some of their post-task reflection writing:,

> P9: *Through the weeks of studying Chinese this semester, I feel as though there has been a strong emphasis on cross-cultural relations..... coming from my background, I think that I have a stronger comprehension of the customs we have seen in the dialogues this semester, but I feel as though I have never had to think about it in such an in-depth manner until now, and the whole experience has been really worthwhile.*
>
> P3: *... there were cultural differences that I have long noticed but not given too much thought to... the discussions and reflection have improved my understanding of these customs.*
>
> P12: *From this work I have learnt about my personal situation and how it affects me.*

Like P12, many commented on the personal satisfaction and benefit, through the focus on the intercultural learning, of having their understanding extended. We are encouraged that this work may meet the earlier identified thirst for knowledge about heritage, and contribute to student motivation for language study (Xu and Moloney 2014a).

For P4, the task has played a role in her ongoing reconciliation of her own identity. In this revealing portrait of identity development, she can identify that there are influences that shape what she feels she 'should be', but she is deciding what she 'actually' is:

> P4: *These cultural reflections have made me think about it more... in a good way... because I'm Chinese as well, but I've been raised in Australia,... these cultural reflections are really good because it helps me to reconcile the two halves of what I think I should be, and what I actually am, how I actually behave.*

Similarly, aspects of student life in Australia may be also equally unexamined. Two students claimed that the most difficult aspect of the task was uncovering 'invisible' Australian culture and their own beliefs:

> P7: *I actually found it quite a challenge to put in a reflection of the Australian side of it. It was actually much easier to analyse China in itself, but not so much Australia, because this is where I've been raised, and everything was so natural I've never thought about it before.*

By the end of the project reflection, however, many acknowledged how much they still did not know, and to what extent the project had extended them. Students were asked what they understood by the word 'intercultural'. Interestingly, most tended to define the term in line with their perception of their own life experience, supporting what Holliday (2010, 2011) and others have stressed that intercultural understanding is constructed in individual everyday lives. For example, P13 offers that it means for her '*a fusion of two cultures, and the exchange of those cultures between one another'*.

Finally, some particular outcomes in intercultural learning can be highlighted. The three characteristics (critical thinking, deeper investigation, individual identity) appear to be displayed in different ways by participants. A number of students appear to have engaged with deeper investigation, in the task, and perceived the shallowness of more simplistic cultural comparisons and polarisations:

> P3: *I take away from this reflection a deeper sense of the significance of language, in bringing to life aspects of Chinese culture that I have always taken for granted, but are in fact more complex than I first thought when simply contrasting them to the practices of western culture.*

P4 is self-aware that his interpretation of the topic is a product of his perspective or lens:

> P4: *I view, for example, the Chinese education system through the perspective of an Australian student – this affects how I see the demands on a Chinese child.*

And P5 appears to achieve the goal of the project, in going beyond the textbook, and emerging with a sense of his individual response and relationship with life in China:

> P5*: the project allowed me to look further beyond what is contained in the textbook dialogues and consider how some of these aspects relate to my own life.*

I think that being able to establish this personal connection is important in helping me achieve a deeper understanding.

We recognise that there will be different levels of dispositional readiness within any diverse group of participants, to engage personally with concepts of interculturality. Moloney and Oguro (2015a) have noted a range of abilities in participants engaging with the critical awareness needed for reflective narrative writing.

Discussion

This project, as an examination of a teaching intervention, wished to observe two things. That is, in regard to the task, whether and how the heritage students perceived it as relevant to their lives, and whether they perceived it as effective learning. In answering the research questions, we comment in this section on some aspects of the findings, related to determining relevance and effectiveness.

We have noted in the Literature Review that many studies have established the diversity of background within any class of heritage learners. Thus the answer to the question of relevance must be diversified, complex, and nuanced. In this study, the results clearly showed that the students enjoyed this opportunity to reflect and assess their intercultural experience, and in activating their own enquiry into their views and opinions of the 'other' and the 'self'. The task enabled many students to tap into and apply their funds of knowledge gained from their family life, as a point of reference for their intercultural enquiry, either in relation to, or going beyond, the textbook scenarios. It can thus be said that the intercultural learning approach has appeared to be relevant and to play a positive role in enhancing students' affective domain.

At the same time, however, as their family is a benchmark 'sample' of one, it appears that to use the family as a point of reference also represents an unwitting trap, for some students, to essentialise that family knowledge into 'what Chinese people do'. They are keen to project and explain their personal understanding of one family's practice in diaspora Australia, as indicative of an imagined generalised life in China (similarly, see Chapter 6 by Ganassin, this volume; Chapter 7 by Wang, this volume). While we can be critical of the intellectual limitation of this, we perceive that their funds of knowledge, from extended family and community, remain emotionally important to their identity and sense of belonging, and which should be

respected and utilised. We have noted the diversity in students' responses; however, due to many different factors in their late adolescent development, and their degree of alignment with family and community, on a spectrum of belongingness. We are encouraged by the number of students for whom the enquiry represented an opportunity to examine their situation for the first time. Some students pushed beyond the limits of their apparent cultural knowledge, to examine the intercultural process involved. That is, their recognition of their cultural lens, their response to values and behaviours, involving both their life in Australia and their unfixed fluid position as heritage speakers. This process involved for some, a degree of tension, maybe even anxiety, in recognising that the task pushes them towards an independent critical position, and supports their trajectory towards informed hybrid cosmopolitan (Guilherme 2007) identities. Thus, in sum, their diverse experience as HL learners makes student perception of relevance individually negotiated. We see reflected, in the HL learners of this study, Holliday's (2011, p. 61) assertion that 'cultural realities are individually constructed around individual circumstances, and can transcend national culture descriptions and boundaries'.

In answering the question of effectiveness, our response has to be similarly nuanced and inclusive of individual difference. We are however encouraged that the students, like those in a previous study (Moloney and Xu 2015b), confirm their appetite for this type of task, and can identify learning outcomes in themselves. Our findings showed that students enjoyed the academic opportunity to not just learn cultural information, but to move towards reflection on cultural values, the relationship between language use and culture and most importantly, their experience, and to activate their own enquiry into their intercultural outlook. The task elicited critical thinking in self-knowledge, involving both their life in Australia and their unfixed fluid position as heritage speakers and has thus fulfilled the intended goal of an intercultural learning approach. We have noted some limitations in the task design, though, which we have amended in ongoing iterations. We acknowledge the potential pitfalls associated with the over-simplification and use of comparison inherent in many intercultural approaches (Holliday et al. 2010). However, we believe the data indicate that this task represents an effective introduction to intercultural enquiry, encouraging learners to engage with a process that goes beyond 'cultural information', from the 'what' to the 'why' and 'how'. In other words, it appears to have afforded an opportunity to extend the three capacities of intercultural competence: to critically reflect on relationships between cultures, to investigate practices in the interlocutor and

the self, and to be self-aware of an independent perspective. This study shows that heritage Chinese learner 'funds of knowledge' can be activated and contribute to the process of critical intercultural enquiry.

Concluding Remarks

This volume is concerned with Chinese language education, investing in teaching interculturality between China and the rest of the world. This chapter represents such an enquiry, and reports the findings of one task in tertiary Chinese learning. It has focused on the particular role of intercultural enquiry learning for Chinese heritage speakers in the Australian diaspora context.

We believe that the study opens up new possibilities for HL pedagogy in CFL. While it is a case study of a particular cohort, in one context, we believe that the heritage learners' reflections represent a qualitative enquiry with 'generative power' rather than transferability or generalisability (Wardekker 2000). The students' reflections cannot be generalised into the experiences of all Chinese heritage learners globally, yet may be seen to contribute to the construction of a complex, 'multiple' picture of Chinese heritage learner needs and abilities.

There are pedagogical and curriculum implications from the findings of this study. We have seen that learners respond to opportunities to be recognised in learning and teaching design which relates to critical examination of their lives. While other HL studies have highlighted the role of familial and community support, this study indicates that learners of Chinese as a HL can be positively supported by strong classroom practice, to have the opportunity to embrace their learning experiences and possible ongoing identity construction processes.

In further iterations of this project, following student feedback, we have used an online forum for their written reflections, where they can see other students' responses. While the role of individual reflection is recognised, the construction of intercultural understanding is in fact rarely about the isolated individual, and it is enriched by social interaction. It is ideally a co-constructed and interactive process rather than an individual experience. It is within discourse about individual experience that relationships with learning Chinese must be negotiated and where individualised learning must be constructed, for change and transformation to occur.

This study contributes not only to CFL studies but to a diverse international field of HL research. The search for innovative pedagogy

in Chinese is being driven in the bigger picture by the global economic rationale for the production of graduates competent in Chinese language. But deep sustained learner satisfaction must be about offering new personal interactions for learners. This is particularly cogent for heritage learners, for whom language learning may represent, in addition to career outlook, an investment in identity exploration. This study offers a moving illustration of the value of this investment to the heritage learners. While these learners are shaped by their education and life in Australia, they are hungry to develop an informed and critical position in their relationship with their Chinese language study.

This study highlights what heritage learners bring to intercultural discourse, and the role that an intercultural learning process can play, not only in their study but in their capacity for critical reflection and identity development.

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Commentary

Prue Holmes

Interest in the teaching and learning of Chinese has spread dramatically in the past decade. This interest has been fomented by the spread of Confucius Institutes in universities in the developed and developing world and through Chinese and non-Chinese students and teachers alike pursuing further education and research in the area. The chapters in this volume draw on empirical research to explore the intercultural dimensions of this teaching/learning experience from the perspectives of Chinese and non-Chinese teachers and learners. The studies make an important and ground-breaking contribution, taking an interculturality perspective, to understand the experiences of teachers and learners of Chinese from different educational, cultural, contextual, and geopolitical horizons. They expose the language practices, intercultural experiences, and identities of speakers of Chinese: whether children, parents, and adults of diaspora and newly formed Chinese immigrant communities, international students studying abroad, or teachers and learners of Chinese. In doing so, they offer insights into the teaching-learning experience and process, and challenge essentialist notions concerning the Chinese language and culture and how to teach and learn it.

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T. Jin, F. Dervin (eds.), *Interculturality in Chinese Language Education*, Palgrave Studies on Chinese Education in a Global Perspective, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-58322-2_9

The volume is important for several reasons. First, the research underpinning each of the chapters is recent, informed by critical intercultural theory, and undertaken by researchers researching in the field of the teaching and learning of Chinese. The two editors, who each bring complementary theoretical perspectives and researcher identities, have engaged with these theoretical perspectives. Tinghe Jin's research focuses on Chinese language education. Her recently completed doctoral research highlights the challenges that many teachers of Chinese are now facing in moving from traditional Chinese methods of teaching and learning to intercultural, communicative, dialogic approaches that invite teacher reflexivity and acknowledge learners' multiple identities. Fred Dervin's research on interculturality and intercultural teacher education invites contributors to focus on diverse diversities in Chinese language education, and the instability of identities (of both teachers and learners) in intercultural learning contexts.

This focus leads to the second reason for the volume's importance. The collection of research papers is non-essentialist in understanding that language learning takes place in transnational and transcultural spaces. Thus, the portrayal of the Chinese language (including other monikers such as 'Standard Chinese', 'Mandarin', and/or 'Putonghua') as an essential, uniform, *monolangue* is critiqued. Many of the chapters explore the complexity of Chinese language in use: the influences of speakers' dialects and non-standard forms of Chinese (e.g. non-standard Chinese, Cantonese, and other regional dialects), and the ways in which learner and teacher identities and contextual factors challenge essentialist notions of 'Chinese'. Similarly, the research explores and critiques essentialist notions of Chinese culture, often presented in Chinese language textbooks (e.g. as traditional practices around food, festivals, customs, and beliefs) that are challenged by the influences of globalisation, communication technologies, and fashions of all types in everyday urban and rural Chinese living. These critiques reveal the limitations and contentions of culturalist approaches to language learning and teaching in Chinese language learning contexts around the world – contexts that are unique, hybrid, and localised. The studies show that a one-size-fits-all approach is not appropriate for Chinese (or any) language learners. Language and culture learning is a lifelong process. Teachers – of any language – much be cognizant of these issues and adopt appropriate pedagogies and practices in their language teaching.

Third, concepts such as interculturality and intercultural competence are the hallmarks of contemporary approaches to language education and to understanding intercultural engagement. Researchers who understand these concepts and draw on them in their research are able to demonstrate the nuances and contradictions inherent in human interaction and communication – no matter what the language. Where 'Chinese' is concerned, these matters become all the more complex: China is a multilingual nation state that is home to a quarter of the world's population, and is characterised by diaspora representing multiple dialects and idiolects; and cultural, political, regional, historical, and religious positionalities. This situation defies any standardisation of Chinese language and culture. The essays in this collection demonstrate this complexity.

Fourth, the chapters critically analyse the complexity of language learners' and teachers' identities. Learners of Chinese cannot be categorised into one group. The studies highlight the variety of learner identities, for example, British-born Chinese, Chinese immigrants, Chinese heritage language learners, students, and adults in further education, all interested – for different reasons – in learning something about Chinese language and culture. The research demonstrates how these various learner identities, profiles, and perspectives create intercultural complexity for teachers in the Chinese language classroom. Similarly, teacher identities vary. In the Australian context, research by Singh and Han (2014) has shown that learners of Chinese in Australian secondary schools, for example, challenge the traditional approaches to language teaching enacted by Chinese language teachers from China, resulting in the teachers reflecting on their professional identities. Similarly, the chapters in this collection explore how teachers and learners negotiate the complex interplay of linguistic, cultural, and intercultural identities in the Chinese language teaching-learning process.

Finally, the studies highlight the importance of more recent understandings of languages in communities. Theories of linguacultures (Risager 2016), translanguaging (Canagarajah 2013), and metrolingualism (Pennycook 2015) show how languages and their users adapt, adjust, (re)negotiate, and (re)construct their language and communicative practices to accommodate multilingual speakers and contexts. Chinese and its variants are no longer 'foreign', and these languages can be heard in many communities; and Chinese characters are in wide circulation via the Internet. Many learners of Chinese already have multilingual repertoires, have experienced diverse educational systems, and lived in multilingual and

multicultural communities (as is the case with Chinese heritage learners). The studies in this volume problematize the language methodologies and pedagogies that embody a 'one language-one country-one culture' approach. The usefulness and transferability of this approach to Chinese and other language learning contexts must be questioned in the context of globalisation.

Together, these studies open up a new terrain and agenda for Chinese language education research: the role of intercultural communication and interculturality, the multilingual repertoires of learners (and teachers), teacher/learner identities, the global/local and multilingual/multicultural contexts where Chinese is taught and learned, and the appropriate methodologies and pedagogies for intercultural Chinese language learning. At the same time, more traditional forms of Chinese education in contexts that are characterised by a dominant language and culture, and where traditional methodologies and pedagogies are applied, should not be neglected in this research agenda but critically evaluated in ever-evolving social contexts. Nor should the presence of minority languages and cultures within these contexts be overlooked. Further, as China increases its political, social, and educational influence within the developed world, and as it lends economic and developmental support in countries emerging economically, further opportunities arise for uncovering the complexity and diversity of approaches for and experiences of teaching and learning Chinese around the world.

This collection initiates that research agenda with its focus on interculturality and identity. The studies offer theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical insights that will be useful to future researchers, to emerging and practicing teachers who are frustrated by out-dated and essentialist methods, to learners who are seeking reassurance about Chinese diversities, and to parents who may be feeling unsettled by a realisation that, for their children, learning Chinese is not simply the acquisition of one Chinese language, characters, and traditional customs in traditional classroom settings. Further research on the teaching of Chinese might explore teacher identities and reflexive positionings vis-à-vis the language, the context, and the pedagogy, and how these understandings are conveyed to learners in classrooms – whether 'traditional' or non-traditional. Further exploration is also needed of the ways in which learners, teachers, and parents adopt and enact multiple and complex representations of Chineseness (and other identities) and the implications of these multiple identities for intercultural communication. A final agenda, less explored in this volume, concerns the

roles of institutions and organisations in supporting and promoting the intercultural dimensions of Chinese language learning and teaching, and their recognition of complex political, social, and educational implications associated with Chinese and all its varieties, not only in multilingual China but also among Chinese linguacultures worldwide.

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