The Changing Nature of Chinese Complementary Schools in the UK

Xian Li

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2016

Abstract

Chinese complementary schools (CCS) play a significant role in transmitting the Chinese language and culture to younger British Chinese generations. Existing research are largely set in Cantonese-dominant CCS, which have characterised long-established UK Chinese communities. However, the last five to ten years have witnessed a demographic change of UK Chinese population and Mandarin is replacing Cantonese as the lingua franca of UK Chinese communities. This research aims to explore the current practices in three CCS and to understand the impacts of UK Chinese demographic change on CCS. Data was collected using ethnographic observation, document collection and semi-structured interviews with teachers, parents and pupils.

This research finds that CCS in UK are undergoing great changes, as Mandarin has been the preferred language in these schools, which has implications for the population and activities of these schools. Students' backgrounds have been extremely diverse, but current resources, materials and expertise of CCS do not address the diversity. Issues and problems arise when regarding Mandarin as the Chinese heritage language of all students attending the schools. The role of CCS in participants' identity construction is significant as CCS provide an intercultural space for them to reflect on their UK Chinese identities.

This doctoral research hopes to provide in-depth insights into Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS and implications for policy makers and practitioners.

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr. Jane Medwell and Dr. Katherine Richardson for their guidance, support and encouragement throughout my study. I am thankful for their invaluable and countless feedback through the whole process. Without their professional and moral support, I would not have finished my thesis smoothly.

I am appreciative of all participants for their contributions to my data collection. Without their participation, it would have been impossible to complete this research.

I am grateful to my parents for their patience, love and words of encouragement. They always cheer me up whenever I feel frustrated and depressed. Without their care, love, understanding, support and encouragement, I would not have completed this challenging journey.

I am thankful to my friends and colleagues who have supported and encouraged me over the last four years. Many have helped me along the journey in different ways.

I extend my gratitude to the School of Education, University of Nottingham for their helpful support throughout my study.

Thanks to all who have given support and encouragement.

Contents

Abstract ..... **i**

Acknowledgement ..... **ii**

Contents ..... **iii**

List of Figures ..... **x**

List of Tables ..... **x**

Abbreviations ..... **xi**

Chapter 1 Introduction **1**

1.1 Research background **1**

1.1.1 Chinese teaching and learning in the UK 1

1.1.2 Chinese migration to the UK 2

1.1.3 Chinese complementary schools in the UK 4

1.2 Personal interest **6**

1.3 Research questions and purpose **7**

1.4 Thesis structure **8**

Chapter 2 Review of the Literature **9**

2.1 Introduction **9**

2.2 Complementary schooling and its development **9**

2.3 Influential research on the field of complementary schooling **13**

2.4 Heritage language learning and its connection to CCS **23**

2.4.1 HL and HL learners 24

2.4.2 The importance of learning a HL 26

2.4.3 Chinese as a HL for learners 27
2.4.4 The nature of CHL learners 35
2.4.5 HL learning and complementary education 37
2.5 Shadow education as part of the expectations of complementary education 38
2.5.1 Definition of shadow education 38
2.5.2 The development of shadow education 39
2.5.3 Impacts of shadow education 40
2.5.4 Comparison to complementary education in the UK 41
2.6 The classroom environment and its effects on teaching and learning in CCS 42
2.7 Teaching in CCS 46
2.7.1 The qualifications and backgrounds of teachers in CCS 46
2.7.2 Knowledge of a good teacher in CCS 48
2.7.3 Beliefs about teaching 52
2.8 Bourdieu's concepts and their connection to this research 54
2.8.1 Bourdieu's concepts of capitals and their effects on CCS 56
2.8.2 Habitus and Chineseness 62
2.9 Chinese value of education and British Chineseness 64
2.10 British Chinese diasporic identity construction 67
2.11 Summary 72
Chapter 3 Methodology and Method 74
3.1 Introduction 74
3.2 The method 74
3.3 Research paradigm 75

3.4 Research approach....76

3.5 Case study....77

3.5.1 Rationale for case study....77

3.5.2 Strengths and limitations of the case study for this research....82

3.5.3 Multiple case studies....84

3.6 Ethnography and researcher's stance....85

3.7 Methods used for data collection....90

3.7.1 Case selection....90

3.7.2 Sampling within each case....91

3.7.3 Observation....94

3.7.4 Interviewing....96

3.7.5 Documentary collection and analysis....102

3.8 Data analysis....105

3.8.1 Rationale for qualitative data analysis....105

3.8.2 Methods of qualitative data analysis....106

3.8.3 NVivo and data analysis....109

3.8.4 Process of qualitative data analysis....110

3.8.4.1 Early data analysis....110

3.8.4.2. Intensive data analysis....112

3.8.5 Classroom observation notes....116

3.8.6 Field notes....116

3.8.7 Interview transcripts....117

3.8.9 Textbook analysis explained....118

3.8.10 Coding the qualitative data: the procedure....118

3.9 Validity and reliability....120

3.9.1 Transparency....121
3.9.2 Language considerations....122
3.10 Ethical consideration....123
3.10.1 Consent....123
3.10.2 Confidentiality and anonymity....124
3.11 Summary....124
Chapter 4 Results and Findings....126
4.1 Introduction....126
4.2 Phase 1: results and key findings of the pilot study in the West Midlands....126
4.2.1 Background and population of the case school....127
4.2.2 Key practice in the pilot school....129
4.2.3 Key problems identified by the teachers in the pilot school....138
4.2.4 New issues and challenges arose from the pilot study....139
4.2.5 A focus on Mandarin....141
4.2.6 Participants' varied constructions of the pilot school....142
4.3 Phase 2: results and emerging findings of two case schools in the East Midlands....145
4.3.1 History and background of sample schools....148
4.3.2 The population of sample schools....150
4.3.2.1 Pupils....151
4.3.2.2 Parents....152
4.3.2.3 Teachers....155
4.3.3 Practice in sample schools....157
4.3.3.1 Key practice in School A....158

4.3.3.1.1 Results of classroom observation in School A 159
4.3.3.1.2 Interview participants' perspectives of teaching and learning.... 163
4.3.3.2 Key practice in School B 169
4.3.3.2.1 Results of classroom observation in School B..... 171
4.3.3.2.2 Interview participants' perspectives of teaching and learning.... 172
4.3.4 Challenges which might have been expected from the review of the literature facing sample schools..... 175
4.3.5 New difficulties and challenges arising 183
4.3.5.1 Diverse needs 183
4.3.5.2 Parental aspirations 187
4.3.5.3 Conflicts..... 189
4.3.6 The Mandarin trend..... 190
4.3.7 Participants' varied constructions of CCS 191
4.4 Summary..... 196
Chapter 5 Discussion 198
5.1 Introduction..... 198
5.2 What CCS is like..... 199
5.2.1 Population of CCS 199
5.2.2 Provision of CCS 202
5.2.3 Practice..... 205
5.3 What challenges CCS 210
5.3.1 The big challenge of funding 210
5.3.2 The recruitment and retention of teachers 213
5.3.3 Links with mainstream schools and links with other CCS 214
5.3.4 Diversity of students and Mandarin as a HL 217

5.4 Chinese identity construction in CCS 219

5.4.1 Mandarin and HL learning 220

5.4.2 The role of Mandarin in children's identity construction in CCS 227

5.4.3 CCS as an intercultural space and its role in constructing UK Chineseness 229

5.4.4 Bourdieuian concepts and CCS 234

5.4.5 Reflections on CCS and identity construction 236

5.5 Summary 238

Chapter 6 Conclusion 239

6.1 Introduction 239

6.2 Overview of this research 239

6.3 Implications 241

6.4 Limitations 243

6.5 Recommendations for future study 244

Reference 246

Appendices 268

Appendix 1: Classroom observation checklist 268

Appendix 2: Example of classroom observation checklist with field note 270

Appendix 3: Semi-structured interview schedule with teachers 278

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview/group discussion schedule with parents . 279

Appendix 5: Semi-structured group discussion schedule with students 281

Appendix 6: Semi-structured interview schedule with head teachers 282

Appendix 7: Example of field note of open-ended observation 284

Appendix 8: Example of interview transcript with head teacher 287

Appendix 9: Example of interview transcript with teacher 293
Appendix 10: Example of interview transcript with parent 299
Appendix 11: Example of interview transcript with student 305
Appendix 12: Student work sheet 307
Appendix 13: Extract of textbook- *Zhongwen* 310
Appendix 14: Extract of textbook- *Youerhanyu* 317
Appendix 15: Extract of textbook- *Let's learn Chinese* 322
Appendix 16: Scanned copy of relevant school publicity materials 326
Appendix 17: Screenshot of NVivo for Mac 328
Appendix 18: Brief code list with examples 329
Appendix 19: Consent form 333
Appendix 20: Classroom observation summary of the pilot school 335
Appendix 21: Chapter analysis of *Zhongwen* volume 1 337
Appendix 22: A sample content analysis of textbook *Zhongwen* 2 340
Appendix 23: Sample class list in School A 342
Appendix 24: Sample class list in School B 343
Appendix 25: A short summary of classroom observation in School A 344
Appendix 26: A short summary of classroom observation in School B 346
Appendix 27: Research ethics approval form 348

List of Figures

Figure 1 Components of data analysis 108

Figure 2 Logic of data analysis 115

List of Tables

Table 1 developing a relationship with CCS in East Midlands 91

Table 2 a brief report of basic information of two case schools 147

Table 3 a list of student number – School A and School B 152

Table 4 a summary of parental backgrounds of School A and B 154

Table 5 a summary list of Mandarin teachers in School A and B 156

Table 6 a brief comparative summary of School A and B 158

Table 7 a sample record of teachers' absence –spring term (11/01/14 to 13/04/14) in School A 177

Table 8 a record of teachers' change – School A: reception group 2013-2014 academic year 177

Table 9 a sample record of teachers' absence (11/01/14 to 13/04/14) in School B 181

Table 10 a record of pause or termination of School B 182

Abbreviations

CTL: Chinese teaching and learning

CCS: Chinese complementary school(s)

HL: Heritage language

CHL: Chinese heritage language

EAL: English as an additional language

PRC: People's Republic of China

UK QTS: UK Qualified Teacher Status

UKAPCE: UK Association for the Promotion of Chinese Education

UKFCS: UK Federation of Chinese Schools

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research background

1.1.1 Chinese teaching and learning in the UK

Chinese teaching and learning (CTL) has a long history in the UK and it was originally based in Chinese communities to cater for the demands of early Chinese immigrants, largely through the Chinese community schools (Zhang and Li, 2010). Cantonese dominated the learning of Chinese in the UK for a long time, because the early Chinese immigrants to the UK were mainly from Hong Kong and Guangdong province in Mainland China, where Cantonese is widely used (Li, 2006). However, in the last ten years there has been a big change in Chinese language learning, as Mandarin has been identified as one of the ten languages that should be learnt in the UK (British Council, 2013) and has become fairly widely taught in British mainstream schools (Zhang and Li, 2010). Even primary schools now provide opportunities for their students to participate in extra-curricular Mandarin learning and Chinese cultural activities (Zhang and Li, 2010). Researchers discussing the popularity of Mandarin Chinese in CTL highlight the growing population of Mainland Chinese in the UK and the fast-developing Chinese economy as reasons for this flourishing of Mandarin teaching in the UK (Li, 2006; Wang, 2014). At the same time, Mandarin language teaching has also expanded within the Chinese communities in Britain and one of the findings of my research, which has also been picked up by other authors during the course of that research, is that Mandarin is gradually dominating in community-based schools (Wang, 2014).

1.1.2 Chinese migration to the UK

The language change in CTL in the UK reflects the demographic change of the British Chinese population. Chinese migration to the UK can be dated back to the late 1600s when Britain started maritime trade with China, mostly through The East India Company who employed Chinese sailors (Wang, 2014; British Museum, 2008). The existing literature indicates that there were three waves of Chinese migration to the UK from the mid-1800s (Luk, 2008). The first wave of Chinese movement to Britain mainly consisted of Chinese sailors from South-east China during 1850 to 1945 and some of them stayed and clustered together forming early Chinese community groups around main British port cities (e.g. Liverpool, Cardiff and London). During this period, another group of Chinese people from Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia migrated to the UK as temporarily resident students and diplomats (Wang, 1991). The subsequent wave was from 1945 to 1980, and the majority of immigrants were Cantonese or Hakka-speaking villagers from the New Territories of Hong Kong, who were poorly educated with limited English (Wang, 1991). During this period, another group of Vietnam War refugees who had Chinese backgrounds migrated to Britain, most of whom were poorly educated farmers, fishermen or craftsmen (Benton and Gomez, 2008; Chan and Chan, 1997). Many Chinese immigrants of this period were restricted to jobs in catering or laundries due to lack of qualifications and high skills (Shang, 1984 cited in Wang, 2014). The majority of today's Chinese population in Britain was from the migration wave since the 1980s (Wang, 2014). According to Luk (2008), in the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was an increase in Hong Kong Chinese immigration to the UK, attributing to the perceived political uncertainties before the change of governance of Hong Kong to China (i.e. PRC) in 1997. Some of those Hong Kong immigrants were well-educated and highly skilled, who were distinctive from those "old" poorly educated immigrants.

However, since the 1990s, there has been a decline in Hong Kong Chinese immigration in contrast with the growth of immigrants from China (Wang, 2014). Chinese migration to Britain has significantly increased since the mid-1990s because the Chinese government has encouraged Chinese students to study overseas as part of the country's economic and modernisation reforms (Luk, 2008; Li and Li, 2013). Especially in the new millennium, there is a rapid growth in the number of Chinese students studying in the UK. According to the British Council (2014), China has been the top student-sending country since 2002. The latest data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) shows the number of Chinese students (PRC) coming to study in the UK far exceeds any other nationality at 89,540, 20 per cent of the non-UK students total in 2014-15. The increase in the number of Chinese students contributes to the rise of the Chinese population in the UK. The 2001 census shows that the population of ethnic Chinese in the UK was 247,403, which made the Chinese 0.43 per cent of the British total while the latest census in 2011 indicates that the Chinese population has risen to 433,150, 0.7 per cent of the British total. Chinese people from other parts of South East Asia (e.g. Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore) also migrated to Britain during this period (Benton and Gomez, 2008). The succeeding wave since 1980s also brought a group of highly qualified and well-educated "urban professionals" (Li, 1994) who are more likely to work in the legal, accountancy, and medical professions (Archer and Francis, 2007). In addition, Benton and Gomez (2008) noticed a great number of Fujian (i.e. a southeastern province of China) Chinese were arriving and settling in Britain during the 1990s and early 2000s, who may be illegal immigrants and due to their lack of skills and qualifications, most of them tended to work for long established Chinese community groups in Britain.

Chinese migration to the UK shows the British Chinese community is very diverse in socioeconomic backgrounds, linguistic heritage and many other aspects; the population size and make-up have been changing over the last century (Mau, Francis and Archer, 2009). The last two decades have witnessed a rapid growth of UK Chinese population both in terms of numbers and the increase rate (Wang, 2014). It is noticeable that the growth of Mainland Chinese population in Britain is fast, significantly leading to a demographic change of the long-established Chinese community identified by Mau *et al*. (2009), which largely represent those Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia in the post-War years. One impact of the demographic change is the change of language used by the Chinese community as Li and Zhu (2013) argue, "the traditional community lingua franca Cantonese has been replaced by Putonghua/ Mandarin" (p.47).

1.1.3 Chinese complementary schools in the UK

Chinese community based schools include Chinese complementary schools, Chinese supplementary schools, Chinese community schools, Chinese weekend schools, Chinese schools and Chinese Saturday schools, all operating outside mainstream state education. Throughout this thesis, all these types of schools are referred to as Chinese complementary schools (CCS). CCS constitute an important sector of UK education as they are "particularly long-established in the UK" (Mau *et al*., 2009, p.17). According to the literature of the two largest British Chinese Education societies — the UK Federation of Chinese Schools (UKFCS) (http://ukfcs.info/sc/) and the UK Association for the Promotion of Chinese Education (UKAPCE) (http://www.ukapce.org.uk/), there are more than 200 CCS across the country, most of them located in major cities in England. There are also a number of CCS which are not registered members of either

of the two largest associations in Britain, so the exact number of CCS in the UK is unknown.

The presence of CCS stems from early Chinese immigrants' desires for maintaining Chinese traditions and transmitting Chinese language and customs to their UK born and/or raised Chinese children (Mau *et al*., 2009; Thorpe, 2011). The first recorded CCS was the Chung Hua Chinese School which was founded in East London in the early twentieth century (Wong, 1992 cited in Mau *et al.*, 2009). UK CCS have expanded and developed rapidly since the late 1960s and early 1970s (Mau *et al*., 2009). Most CCS are operated on a part-time basis and usually organised by "groups of individuals, or as part of an existing Chinese community or religious organisation and most receive limited or no financial support from the local authorities" (Mau *et al*., 2009, p.21). With the post-war wave of Chinese migration from Hong Kong and the New Territories in the 1950s and 1960s, a large number of CCS established teaching Cantonese rather than Mandarin (Francis, Archer and Mau, 2010). Therefore, the existing research about CCS is largely set in Cantonese CCS in England (Francis, Archer and Mau, 2008; Li, 2006). However, the global spread of Mandarin has been remarkable with the emerging status of China in the global economy since the 1990s (Seng and Lai, 2010). Li and Zhu (2013) argue that Mandarin is widely taught not only in mainstream schools but also in the community based, complementary, heritage language schools and they assume that one type of CCS is for Mandarin-speaking children from Mainland China. When I started this research (and when I finished it), the situation of Mandarin-focused CCS was under-researched. It was not known how the teaching of Mandarin in CCS took place, or even who was doing it. The challenges and difficulties CCS participants face, how they deal with the challenges, how CCS participants construct their identities and the

role of CCS in identity formation were all issues for exploration. My motivation for doing this research was to fill this gap and "open up" the closed world of the many CCS teaching Mandarin in the UK. I hope that this PhD study will present the current situation in CCS, including the challenges CCS participants face and how the changing world of Chinese languages spoken in the UK is affecting CCS.

1.2 Personal interest

My interest in this research is rooted in my own teaching experience in a CCS during my Master's course at the University of Warwick. A newly established CCS sought me out to teach Mandarin, primarily because of their urgent need for Mandarin teachers. Before I became involved in that CCS, I knew very little about CCS and took it for granted that teaching Mandarin in a CCS would be similar to teaching Mandarin to Chinese students in China. Until I had tried to teach my first Mandarin lesson to a group of five students aged five and six years old, I did not realise the complexity and difficulty of teaching Mandarin in a CCS. The five students in my class had quite different backgrounds (three Chinese students were born and raised in England, one Chinese child was born in the PRC and newly arrived in England and one student was born and raised in England with only one parent who was Chinese) and their Mandarin levels varied (two students could not understand Mandarin at all, whereas the other three could communicate with me in Mandarin). As my teaching went on, I gradually noticed more issues and problems concerning Mandarin teaching and learning in a CCS: the lack of resources and support for classroom teaching; the textbooks were unsuitable for the students; the parents' attitudes towards the students' experience (or their expectations) of CCS varied. Furthermore, many of the teachers were like me and had no work experience in British primary schools, so we found most of the children did

not seem to be like Chinese students in China, but we were not clear why, or what they expected of us. Hence, that teaching experience inspired me and motivated me to explore what happened in other CCS to find out whether they had similar issues and how they addressed them, to further inform and develop my teaching practice.

Conducting a PhD study in CCS not only provided an opportunity to find answers to the questions that were puzzling me but made me more passionate about teaching Mandarin in CCS. As my research went on, I gradually developed an understanding of the complexity of teaching Mandarin in a CCS. This research journey helped me to reflect on the distinctiveness and uniqueness of CCS and their intercultural nature. It also made me more confident and enthusiastic about being able to meet the needs of the children in the CCS.

1.3 Research questions and purpose

This research aims to explore the current situation of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS and provide a detailed picture of examples of CCS in the UK. It employed three case studies to address the following research questions:

- What is the composition of three CCS including who is teaching and what are the backgrounds of students in CCS?
- What are the goals of CCS and challenges facing CCS?
- How can the goals of the teachers, parents and students in CCS be understood and how far do their resources, training and support address the changing situation?
- How do CCS participants construct their identities and what is their connection with the role of CCS?

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis consists of six chapters – introduction, literature review, methodology, findings, discussion and conclusion. Chapter 2 provides a detailed background of CCS in England as well as the relevant literature regarding Mandarin teaching and learning, heritage language learning and identity formation. Chapter 3 sets out the design of the research and demonstrates the process of data collection and data analysis. Chapter 4 presents the results and findings of this research and relates them to the research questions. Chapter 5 discusses the issues and problems emerging from the findings in depth. Chapter 6 summarises the PhD research and further discusses the implications of this research for CCS teachers, school heads, policy makers and further researchers of this field.

Chapter 2 Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the relevant background research to my study, to establish what is known and how this leads me to ask my, particular, research questions. The study of Chinese complementary schools (CCS) (also known as supplementary schools, community schools and weekend schools) draws from a number of fields and so these will be pulled together to make the argument for my study.

The review begins by considering research into complementary schooling to identify the purposes and populations of complementary schools and, particularly, of CCS. It then seeks to establish the importance and complexities of learning heritage languages (HLs) and the role complementary schooling may play in this, as well as other possible roles. The review considers the cultural significance of HLs, in particular Chinese, for identity formation and community cohesion and, related to this, the expectations of those who participate in CCS, which may be related to cultural expectations. The review also examines the specific challenges faced by learners of Chinese, how the changing demographic of the UK Chinese heritage population has affected this and the implications for CCS. Finally, this chapter examines the research into the challenges faced by CCS internationally and in the UK, resulting from all the issues discovered in the research.

2.2 Complementary schooling and its development

Complementary schools, also known as supplementary schools, weekend schools, Saturday schools or community schools, carry out additional schooling voluntarily

organised by minority ethnic groups or communities in Britain (Strand, 2002; Li, 2006). This research adopts the term *complementary schools* to describe the community-based schools as do Francis, Mau and Archer (2008) emphasising their value of complementing mainstream schools. It is estimated that there are about 3,000 — 5,000 complementary schools in Britain (Maylor, Glass and Issa, 2010; Evans and Gillan-Thomas, 2015), which are usually open at weekends, before or after regular schools on a part-time basis. The primary aim of most complementary schools is to teach young British-born generations of ethnic minorities to be literate in their mother tongue languages as well as to understand their heritage cultures (Creese and Martin, 2006; Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani and Martin, 2006; Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani and Creese, 2006). Some complementary schools also focus on religion and faith-based instruction, core course support related to the mainstream curriculum (e.g. mathematics, science and English) and some provide other out-of-school activities such as dance, sports and music (Maylor *et al.*, 2010; Hall, Özerk, Zulfiqar and Tan, 2002; Walters, 2011)

The socio-political and educational role of complementary schools for the immigrant or minority ethnic younger generations in Britain is important, as they have a major impact on the lives of thousands of children from different ethnic backgrounds and have attracted public debates vis-à-vis the British government's involvement in educational management, and challenged the dominant ideology of uniculturalism in Britain (Li, 2006, p.76). The establishment of complementary schools is interpreted as a response to "the failure of the mainstream education system to meet the various needs of the minority ethnic children and their communities — a fact that is often deliberately ignored by UK governments" (Li, 2006, p.76), which means UK mainstream schools failed to help minority ethnic communities to preserve their languages, customs and

faith (Evans and Gillan-Thomas, 2015). Although British mainstream schools provide minority ethnic children support with their English proficiency (called learners of English as additional language), they are not able to help diverse minority ethnic children with their HL and culture (British Council, 2014).

Li (2006) provides an overall picture of the development of complementary schooling in the UK and argues that three series of events have influenced the establishment of complementary schools in the UK. The first series of events, which date back to the late 1960s arose because Afro-Caribbean families were disappointed with the mainstream education's failure to reflect the culture, beliefs and interests of their community. Complementary schools for Afro-Caribbean children were therefore established in and around the London area (Dove, 1993; Myers and Grosvenor, 2011). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a second series of events identified by Li (2006) was when the Muslim communities of South Asian and African origins followed suit to set up "separate, religious schools" (p.77) for their children. At around the same time, a number of other migrant communities followed this trend to establish their own complementary schools in order to maintain their HL and culture. The rise of Chinese complementary schooling began from this wave of development, for the growing young British-Chinese population, culminating in the third series of events.

Complementary schools provide valuable and rich learning opportunities for minority ethnic children to develop their knowledge of heritage/community languages and culture as well as raise children's attainment and boost their self-esteem, and most of those schools play a vital role in promoting community integration and cohesion (Nwulu, 2015; Evan and Gillian-Thomas, 2015; British Educational Research

Association, 2012). Complementary schools are also important for improving multilingual education in Britain as they not only help the UK to succeed in a globalised world (British Academy, 2012; Anderson, 2008) but help UK minority ethnic children's development and future (British Council, 2014; Conteh, 2015). However, complementary schools have received very little attention outside the communities they serve (Li, 2006; BERA, 2012) until some educational researchers have raised awareness of their significance in UK education in recent years. In 2007, the then British government set up the National Recourse Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE), which aims to support complementary schools across the country. However, academic attention to and governmental support of complementary schools were not effective. Recent research found most schools have a funding issue and have to survive on small grants and fees provided by community members (BERA, 2012; Maylor *et al*., 2010; Mau *et al*., 2009). Additionally, complementary schools are also facing shared challenges such as fragile partnership with mainstream schools and lack of positive government interest and engagement (Nwulu, 2015; Ramalingam and Griffith, 2015; Evans and Gillian-Thomas, 2015).

It is noticeable that scholars in the field of UK complementary education have identified one key provision of complementary schools is to support HL learning. HL, also termed as community languages in the UK, are all languages in use other than the official or dominant language (typically English) of the state (Creese, 2009). The term HL has replaced terms such as minority languages or foreign languages, referring to "nonsocietal and nonmajority languages spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities" in the United States (Valdés, 2005, p.410). However, the label of "heritage" has been challenged and regarded as extremely negative, even offensive by some

scholars (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). As Baker and Jones (1998, cited in Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003) pointed out that the term HL may point more to "the past and less to the future, to traditions, rather than to the contemporary", which means the term of HL gives people an impression of ancient rather than modern and international value of a language (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 216). The term HL has a politicalised nature. It is a term that the US governments use to control languages other than English and reflects their national English monolingual policy (García, 2005), which means it "establishes a dominance pattern between English and the heritage languages" thus HL will be seen less valuable and lower in status than English (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p.217). The importance of HL has been realised by a number of US researchers. HL maintenance contributes to the betterment of the mainstream society and a national resource in the face of globalisation (Cho, 2000; Brecht and Ingold, 2002). It is hence suggested that the US government should support and promote HL education (Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). When relating to CCS in the UK, their presence could be regarded as an attempt to preserve Chinese heritage language (CHL) and culture in Chinese second and /or third generations (Francis *et al.*, 2008). However, how CHL learning is operated within CCS and how CHL is connected with CCS participants are issues that are not fully researched. This thesis will explore CHL and its relations to UK CCS in the context that Mandarin is gradually preferred in UK Chinese communities.

2.3 Influential research on the field of complementary schooling

Although research into complementary schooling in the UK is not abundant, there have been some important studies and projects in the last 10-15 years, which are reviewed here for both their findings and methodologies. Strand (2002) conducted a quantitative

survey of complementary schools at national level, gathering students' views and attitudes of attending complementary schools in England. Funded by the Centre for British Teachers (CfBT) and the African Schools Association (ASA), a questionnaire was sent out to 63 complementary schools located in four major cities in England and completed by 772 students from age five to 16. The questionnaire covered six broad areas — "A. attitudes to mainstream school- 5 statements; B. attitudes to supplementary school-5 statements; C. attitudes to mathematics -5 statements; D. attitudes to learning-10 statements; E. The reasons pupils attended supplementary school and what they liked and disliked about supplementary school" (p.6). The respondents were asked to rate their feelings about each statement on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The findings suggest that students' attitudes to complementary schools were more positive than their attitudes to mainstream schools; students valued gaining general support for their educational improvement, a deeper understanding of their home language or culture, specific help with mainstream curriculum subjects, social activities, using ICT and computers; and students' positive attitudes to "learning and learning activities and attitudes to and evaluation of their achievement in mathematics" might be in proportion to the period they spent in complementary schools (Strand, 2002, p.6). Strand's (2002) survey is the first largest ever UK study of complementary schools and has implications for a number of projects aiming to develop complementary schools for particular groups. It helps me to gain an overall understanding of pupils' views and attitudes towards attending complementary schools from a quantitative perspective, however, Strand's (2002) research overlooked views and attitudes of parents and teachers who are also important participants in complementary schools and since this research focused on impact of complementary schools on students' educational achievement in mainstream schools, it did not pay

attention to the significance of complementary schools in preserving ethnic minority or immigrant language and culture.

A related study was conducted by John Lyon's Charity (JLC) in 2012, aiming to explore impact of complementary schools on students' educational attainment in mainstream schools. JLC has been supporting complementary schools in nine boroughs in northwest London with grants since 2003 and, with the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE), was seeking a coherent model, which could increase effectiveness and quality of services of complementary schools. To explore the impact of complementary schools and the effect of the level of attendance at complementary schools on pupil attainment, several surveys were undertaken in 67 complementary schools in eight boroughs of northwest London (2012). The findings suggest that over half of pupils' average rates of attendance in complementary schools within the charity's boroughs exceeded or were equal to their attendance rates in the boroughs' mainstream schools; a majority of students attending complementary schools achieved higher levels of attainment and outperformed the average rate of progress in their boroughs from Key Stage 1 (five to seven years old) to Key Stage 2 (seven to 11 years old); students attending complementary schools outperformed their peers from their same minority ethnic groups. This project collected a large amount of student records from eight boroughs to investigate the linkage between attendance in complementary schools and educational outcomes in mainstream schools but it ignored the significance of complementary schools in promoting ethnic minority students' identity formation and their knowledge of heritage culture and language.

An Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) project was carried out to investigate multilingualism in complementary schools in four cities from 2006 to 2007. This study was undertaken to explore the multilingual practices and identity performances of young people and their teachers in complementary schools in four British minority ethnic communities: Bengali schools in Birmingham, Chinese schools (both Cantonese and Mandarin) in Manchester, Gujarati schools in Leicester and Turkish schools in London (Creese, Baraç, Bhatt, Blackledge, Hamid, Li, Lytra, Martin, Wu and Yagcioglu-Ali, 2008). The project team spent ten weeks conducting four case studies. Ethnographic observations and semi-structured interviews with participants (teachers, children, administrators and parents) were used to collect the data. This project sought to explore the social, cultural and linguistic importance of complementary schools, both in their communities and in society at large; to investigate the range of linguistic practices used in the contexts of the different types of the complementary schools; to investigate how the linguistic practices of students and teachers in complementary schools are used to negotiate young people's multilingual and multicultural identities. They found complementary schools served as social, linguistic and cultural resources to cater for multilingual demands that mainstream schooling could not and claimed:

> "their multilingualism provides an institutional space to connect the language of the home and community and provide an alternative discourse to the minority language as a problem orientation apparent in the current UK political scene" (Creese *et al*., 2008, p.26);

The analysis also indicated multilingual young people and their teachers in complementary classrooms used linguistic resources in sophisticated and creative ways to negotiate subject positions; the students in complementary schools were said to show a flexible and adaptable attitude to their environment as they "negotiated identities

which were complex and sophisticated and showed a range of identifications to the heritage positions ascribed to them institutionally" (p.31). Students resisted the successful learner identity that complementary schools encouraged and students were able to temporarily "move away" (p.32) from these institutionally imposed learner identities and their "asymmetries of power and knowledge" (p.30) to negotiate other identity options. The project team found young students across four case schools challenged classroom interactional orders and resisted teachers' control of content and form of the language used in complementary classrooms and drawing on forms of knowledge and expertise most relevant to their own diasporic experiences and concerns, young students introduced parodic interaction into complementary classrooms (Creese *et al.*, 2008). This project focuses on the linguistic dimension of a range of complementary schools which included CCS. It provides insights into multilingual practice and identity negotiation in complementary schools however, an in-depth, thick and overall description of CCS is not reflected in this project.

Large-scale research specifically on CCS in England took place in 2006. An Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) research project *British-Chinese pupils' Identities, achievement and complementary schooling* (Francis *et al.*, 2008) was conducted across six different CCS, primarily teaching Cantonese, located in four major cities in England — London, Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham. This research aimed to present a map of the population and practices of CCS in England and attempted to answer the following three significant questions:

1. What are CCS like (how they are funded, resourced and organised)?
2. Who attends them (characteristics of the pupils' population)?
3. What is taught there? (Francis *et al*., 2008)

The case study schools were selected as representing the established British Chinese community rather than new migrants (Parker, 2000; Francis *et al.*, 2008), which no doubt had a very significant impact on the language used and findings of the research. Ethnographic observation, documentary analysis and interviews with 21 teachers, 24 parents and 60 pupils were used to generate insights into the practices and purposes of the schools. The observation involved ethnographic note-taking (Carspecken, 1996) in lessons and the playground during three visits to each of the schools. Around a quarter of the teachers working at the sample schools were interviewed, 15 women and six men. 18 of them were from Hong Kong while the other three from Cantonese-speaking areas of Mainland China and elsewhere. This finding reflects the dominance of Cantonese-speaking British Chinese people in the complementary schools at that time (Li, 2011; Mau *et al.*, 2009). The researchers reported an interesting range of details about the teachers, parents and children which gave a picture of the Chinese communities served by the CCS. 12 teachers were from middle-class backgrounds, with five small business owners and four classified as working class. 20 mothers and four fathers participated in this research, of whom 13 were Hong Kong Chinese, five were British born Chinese, four were Chinese from Mainland China, and the other two from other places. In terms of their social class, ten parents had working class backgrounds and six were small business owners with the remaining eight classified as middle-class. The pupils interviewed (36 girls and 24 boys) included 52 British-born Chinese; four born in Mainland China; two in Hong Kong, one elsewhere and one of mixed heritage. 25 of them were from working-class families, 17 pupils from families with small businesses, and 16 from middle-class backgrounds while two pupils were unassigned. This presents a very wide range of backgrounds within the Chinese community, although predominantly, the children were British born of parents from Hong Kong or China.

Interviews with teachers and parents were mainly conducted in Cantonese while the majority of pupils were interviewed in English (Francis *et al.*, 2008), reflecting the role of the CCS in teaching Cantonese to British born or UK resident children. The publications produced from this research present a rich picture not only of pupils' attitudes to CCS but also of parents' and teachers' perspectives and constructions of CCS. Francis *et al*.'s (2008) project presented an ethnographic picture of the population and practices of CCS; explored teachers', parents' and pupils' perspectives on CCS; investigated how teachers, students and parents think of goals and benefits of CCS; investigated British Chinese children's experiences in CCS and the impact of their experiences on how they construct social and learner identities and related the findings to wider issues of race, gender and class identities as well as achievements in mainstream schooling. Although this study was based on Cantonese-speaking schools, Francis *et al.* (2008) signal the possible future importance of Mandarin Chinese, although the researchers could not have predicted the massive changes to the Chinese population and status of Mandarin, which were to follow their study. This project is the largest qualitative UK research of Cantonese CCS, contributing to fill the knowledge gap of CCS in the UK, however, the last five to ten years have seen a language shift towards Mandarin in UK Chinese communities (Li and Zhu, 2013; Li, 2013) therefore, it is necessary to explore current situations of Mandarin CCS in the UK.

Research into CCS has also taken place in Scotland. A study in central Scotland was conducted to explore pupils' literacy acquisition and their participation in literacy practices in a CCS (Hancock, 2010). Observation of three Cantonese classrooms and interviews with teachers and children of school age were used to collect the data. The findings suggest "how activities around reading and writing are often not only a product

of the teacher's own experiences of education but are also influenced by the children, who draw on a range of bilingual and bi-literate resources at their disposal" (Hancock, 2012, p.1). It is also argued that "the assumption of mundane pedagogical practices frequently associated with learning Chinese needs to be examined again" (p.13). In addition to emphasis on the value of CCS, Hancock (2012) identifies issues and problems such as funding shortage, inadequate resources and regional disparity between CCS, which were already identified by Francis *et al.* (2008). This small-scale research specifically explores pupils' Cantonese literacy in CCS in the Scottish context, although Mandarin classes were provided in the sample school. They overlooked the practice and activities in Mandarin classrooms.

A series of smaller studies into particular aspects of CCS have been carried out over the last ten years. For instance, Li and Wu (2009) conducted a study on the practice of code switching of Chinese-English bilingual pupils from two CCS in Manchester, which also compromised part of a larger project investigating multilingual practices in complementary schools in a number of minority ethnic communities in the UK. Li and Wu (2009) focused on tensions and conflicts between school ideologies and policies (i.e. One Language Only or One Language at a Time that are often imposed by complementary schools) and the actual practice of teachers and students as well as the differences between the teachers' and students' language proficiencies and preferences. By examining the use of code switching by Chines-English bilingual students in CCS, Li and Wu (2009) argued that the most significant finding of the study was the students' multilingual creativity – "the ability to choose between following and flouting, the rules and norms of behaviour, and very often to do both simultaneously" (p.209). The students used code switching collectively and strategically to undermine the teachers'

authority and challenge traditional teaching methods. Li and Wu (2009) provide a specific perspective of linguistic activities (i.e. code switching) in two small CCS in Manchester, however, it is unknown if one language policy is still being promoted in current Mandarin CCS and how multilingual creativity is conducted by students in current Mandarin complementary classrooms.

Almost around the same period, Wu (2006) undertook a project to look at language choices and the culture of learning in UK CCS. Wu (2006) argues culture refers to the norms, beliefs, attitudes and values of participants in CCS. Based on the notion of the culture of learning proposed by Cortazzi and Jin (1996), whereby the culture of learning is:

> "set within taken-for-granted frameworks of expectations, attitudes, values and beliefs about what constitutes good learning, about how to teach or learn, whether or how to ask questions, what textbooks are for, and how language teaching relates to broader issues of the nature and purpose of education" (p.196)

Wu (2006) employed multiple methods to understand the culture of learning in CCS. The first stage included questionnaires sent to teachers and students in 95 CCS (63 questionnaires were returned from 52 schools) and the second stage included classroom observation and interviews with participants identified from the first stage. Wu's (2006) study started with cultural negotiation by examining the language choices in CCS and further discovered that learning community languages is not only about learning linguistic and cultural contents but also learning about the "culture of learning". This study focused on the classrooms, "which bring different languages and cultures together to create new and cross-cultural classroom contexts—a phenomenon increasingly common in this fast-moving, international society" (p.65) and suggested that "culture of learning" should be considered not only within the classroom, but also in the wider

societal and institutional context. Wu (2006) provides a new viewpoint that participants' language choice is related to the culture of learning in UK CCS, however, this study failed to further discuss the impact of different cultures and languages encountering in CCS, which is important for CCS participants' identity construction.

This review of studies about CCS in the UK is important to the current study because it is the knowledge base for this thesis, but its applicability to the current schools is not direct because, since much of the research discussed above took place, there is likely to have been a huge change in the nature of complementary schools serving the Chinese community in the UK. Archer, Francis and Mau's (2009) large scale study included only schools that primarily taught Cantonese "thus representing the established British-Chinese community rather than new migrants" (Parker 2000, p.479). In 2006, when this study took place, Cantonese was the language these schools aimed to teach because it was the language of Hong Kong, the origin of many UK Chinese immigrants before 1997 and, in 2006, it was the dominant language in CCS. However, in Chapter 5, I argue that this has now changed and Francis *et al.* (2010) noted that Cantonese was already seen by some of the children in the study as "archaic and 'under threat'; as the property of an older generation, irrelevant to younger generations in both social and economic terms" (p.533) but still important to the Chinese community as characterising the community and making a link to a Cantonese heritage.

Mandarin is the common language of 1.3 billion Chinese in the People's Republic China and is now also taught and used in Hong Kong (Sun, 2006; Zhang and Yang, 2004; Tsung and Cruickshank, 2011). Moreover, it is recognised as a language of power internationally and a desirable language to study in England and Scotland (Medwell,

Richardson and Li, 2012). At the same time, the Chinese population in the UK is changing, from a Hong Kong, Cantonese-speaking heritage to a Mandarin speaking population. According to the 2011 census, around 136,000 of the estimated population of the UK were born in China, with 82,000 born in Hong Kong; 109,000 people in the UK hold Chinese (PRC) nationality and there are also 12,000 Hong Kong nationals and 14,000 Taiwanese nationals. In 2014-2015, 89,540 Chinese students were studying in UK universities, comprising 20 percent of the non-UK students in High Education. This means that the Chinese language, experience and demands of the UK Chinese population have changed and it is very likely that this is reflected in today's CCS.

2.4 Heritage language learning and its connection to CCS

In the UK, the existing research, discussed above (Francis *et al*., 2008) suggests that CCS mainly concentrate on Chinese language teaching as well as the transmission of Chinese traditional culture. As they mention, "Complementary Chinese schools were positioned as providing a pivotal role in the transmission of the Chinese language and culture, and in their provision of an additional source of learning (Francis and Archer, 2005a). In this sense, parents and students portrayed complementary schools as contributing both to the educational achievement of British-Chinese pupils, and (relatedly) to their ethnic identity" (Martin *et al.*, 2006 cited in Francis and Archer, 2009, p.519). It is not entirely clear what the language status of those attending CCS is. However, the idea of HL seems relevant. Therefore, this section will discuss the research concerning HL education, the particular features of CHL learning and the part complementary schooling may play in HL education.

2.4.1 HL and HL learners

The term HL has broadly come into use to describe non-English languages in the United States in recent years (Valdés, 2001; Montrul, 2012; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003) and is a term, which includes a wide range of HL learners and speakers. The terms *heritage language speaker* and *heritage language learner* have been chosen for this study in preference to terms such as *native speaker*, a term used extensively in English as an Additional Language (EAL) for education with a meaning close to first language speaker, which may not be the position of many HL learners. *Native language*, sometimes also called *first language*, is one language that is acquired from "naturalistic exposure", in early childhood and in an authentic social context or speech community (Rothman and Treffers-Daller, 2014, p.95). From a linguistic perspective, a native speaker of a language means the speaker has "internalised" the language through "natural acquisition", rather than through particular language teaching (Love and Ansaldo, 2010). Most EAL learners have just arrived at the UK and do not have English as their first language thus they are supported by UK mainstream schools to improve their English proficiency (British council, 2014). However, according to established research on CCS, English was still the dominant language for most UK born and/or raised Chinese children of five-eight years ago therefore they were sent to CCS to improve their Chinese proficiency (Mau *et al*., 2009; Li and Zhu, 2010a; 2010b), which was in fact to improve a kind of HL proficiency. The terms *HL* and *HL learner* are relatively new and are closely related to immigrant language maintenance and indigenous language revitalisation in multicultural societies like the United States, Canada, Australia and the UK (Valdés, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). Interest in HLs is also concerned with the preservation of endangered minority languages in multi-

ethnic countries such as the PRC (Zuo, 2007). This section of the thesis will focus on HL education in English-speaking countries.

HL is defined as "a language of particular personal and family relevance other than English" (Clyne, 1991; Fishman, 2001) and three categories of HLs can broadly be identified: indigenous, colonial, and immigrant HLs (Fishman, 2001; Wong and Xiao, 2010). According to Fishman (2001), indigenous HL is concerned with Amerindian heritage education in the United States and it is the result of "combination of Amerindian premium mobile and mainstream guilt feelings over past injustices to Indians"(p.83); colonial HLs refer to non-indigenous language that have been established already before the United States of America came into being without support from either mainstream guilt or justification of premium mobile and some language groups are found in this category, such as Danish, Finnish, Swedish, German and Welsh but their existence in the United States is an "outgrowth immigration reinforcement"(p.84) rather than colonial roots; immigrant HLs mean languages of immigrants who came to the United States " by choice and good fortune or by force and the winds of cruel history"(p.81) and immigrant heritage education is related with "the acquisition, retention and active use of immigrant languages"(p.85) at home and in public. HL learners are generally referred to as "any learners who have acquired their cultural and linguistic competence in a non-dominant language primarily through contact at home with foreign-born parents and/or other family members" (Kondo-Brown and Brown, 2008, p.3). That means HL learners are born and/or raised in households where a language other than English is mainly spoken and they at least understand that language as well as English (Valdés, 2001). According to Chevalier (2004), HL learners share certain characteristics. First, they are bilingual "at least to

some degree" (Valdés, 1995, p.375). In other words, HL learners speak or at least understand another language in addition to English; they are not necessarily fluent in both languages but they "use two language systems, or at least parts of two language systems" (Chevalier, 2004, p.1). Second, HL learners try to find ways to maintain their skills in their HLs primarily due to concerns that their language skills are superior in the language of the host country to those of their HL (Chevalier, 2004). This concept also reflects an "intergenerational language shift" from the HL towards the language of the country of immigration. Existing research on CCS has been discussed above. Based on the theories of HL proposed by Valdés (2001) and Fishman (2001), He (2006) gives his definition of CHL learners as students who are raised in households where Chinese is spoken and who speak or at least understand Chinese and are bilingual in Chinese and English to some degree.

The term *heritage language* refers to the fact that individuals who study or speak a HL have some connections with the language in their family, background, and at the start of this study, based on the research reviewed below Francis *et al.* (2008) suggested, there was an expectation that CCS would cater to HL learners as defined above. For the purposes of this study, it is useful to consider all children in CCS as HL learners, although, the study will reveal that the existing definition (above) is not broad enough.

2.4.2 The importance of learning a HL

The importance of HL learning is part of my study, since the CCS in this study focus on this activity. He (2006) argues that one may study a HL to "re-establish similarities with members of one's heritage culture or re-establish differences from members of mainstream American culture," and the motivation is "not merely to inherit one's HL

and maintain one's heritage cultural identity but also to transform the HL (in terms of changes in dialect, script, accent, discourse norms, etc.) and recreate one identity" (p.7). In other words, HL learners learn HLs to seek a greater understanding of their culture or to connect with members of their family (Mazzocco, 1996) and to strengthen the development of their own identity as members of a group with specific cultural characteristics (Benjamin, 1997). When it comes to the Chinese language, there is plenty of evidence to indicate that CHL plays a crucial role in strengthening heritage learners' understandings of their Chineseness (culture, identity) and their career opportunities (Curdt-Christiansen, 2008; Wen, 2011; Xiao, 2006). In addition, learning a HL may also enable some graduates to become professionals in the HL (Brecht and Ingold, 2002) and, given the rising importance of Chinese (discussed below) this may be a relevant factor in the case of Chinese.

2.4.3 Chinese as a HL for learners

One immediate difficulty in discussing Chinese as a HL is the range of linguistic issues and definitions of terms. This part of the review of the literature will present a basic account of some of the key linguistic issues which are important when considering the teaching of Chinese for learners of HLs. These issues will become important in this study because the background of the learner may affect what is referred to by "Chinese language".

The term *Chinese* (中文; *Zhōng Wén)* in linguistic terms refers to a group of related, but in many cases, mutually unintelligible (in the spoken format at least) language varieties, forming a branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. More than one billion people, around one-fifth of the world's population, speak some forms of Chinese as

their first language (Sun, 2006; Kane, 2006; Chang 1987). Norman (2003) points out that modern spoken Chinese is a collection of hundreds of dialects, the majority of which are to some degree mutually unintelligible (p.82). There are between seven and 13 main regional groups of Chinese (depending on the classification system used) (Sun, 2006; Kane, 2006; Chang 1987). He (2006) identifies eight. The most spoken, by far, is Mandarin (spoken by around 960 million people), followed by Wu (spoken by around 80 million people), Yue (spoken by 60 million) and Min (spoken by 50 million). These are largely mutually unintelligible to speakers of another variety, although some, like Xiang and Southwest Mandarin dialects, may share common terms and some degree of mutual intelligibility (He, 2006; Wong and Xiao, 2010). Although the term *dialect* is used within China, outside China the varieties of Chinese are considered to be different languages. This is because, the term *dialect* in English is usually considered as "one of two or more mutually intelligible varieties of a given language distinguished by vocabulary, idiom, and pronunciation" (Mair, 1991, p.4) and English dialects may be different from each other according to lexis, grammar and phonology but speakers within the English speaking world can still generally understand them (British Library, no date). To explain Mair's (1991) argument of *dialect*, Dong (2014) presents an example that in spite of pronunciation and vocabulary, someone from London could have a conversation with a Sydney native without major problems. However, this is not true of modern Chinese. Chinese is "a vast dialectal complex containing hundreds of mutually unintelligible local varieties" (Dong, 2014, p.72) and in this sense, each local variety can be viewed as a distinct language as European linguists take mutual unintelligibility as criterion for defining *language* and *dialect* (Norman, 2003). Local varieties (e.g. Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien) are referred to as dialects in terms of

sociolinguistic status within China but they are still mother tongues of most Chinese speakers outside China.

Two spoken dialects are used extensively outside China, and will be the focus of this study: Mandarin and Cantonese. Mandarin (a term which is not used or recognised in China) is called *Putonghua* (standard language) in the People's Republic of China (He, 2006). It is the standard Chinese of the People's Republic of China, and is based on the Beijing dialect and a combination of several northern dialects (Sun, 2006; Kane, 2006; Chang, 1987; Hudson-Ross and Dong, 1990). It was mandated by the State Council of China in February 1956 as the official language spoken in China (China Education and Research Network, date unknown cited in He, 2006) and is known as *Guoyu* (National Language) in Taiwan and *Huayu* (Chinese Language) in Singapore, where it is also an official language, for historical and political reasons (Sun, 2006; Kane, 2006; Chang, 1987). Since the 1997 UK handover of Hong Kong to China, Mandarin has also been learnt and used for official purposes in Hong Kong (Zhang and Yang, 2004).

Of the other varieties of spoken Chinese, Cantonese (the prestige variety of Yue) is influential in Guangdong province and Cantonese-speaking overseas communities; it remains one of the official languages of Hong Kong (together with English) and of Macau (Kane, 2006). It is used by many overseas Chinese, especially where these communities are descended from emigrants from Hong Kong, which was a British colony until 1997(Li and Zhu, 2010a; Zhu, 2010). Because of the colonial link before 1997, there are many Hong Kong Chinese in the UK, many of whom speak Cantonese (Higgins and Sheldon, 2001). Two per cent of the population of England were British Chinese speakers, and they were most likely to speak Cantonese (Higgins and Sheldon,

2001). Today, most people in China speak Putonghua (Mandarin) for official and formal purposes, and may well also speak another dialect such as Cantonese. This means that, when discussing Chinese complementary education, assumptions should not be made about what is meant by "speaking Chinese". The children in CCS may have parents who speak Putonghua (standard Chinese, Mandarin) or Cantonese, or other languages, depending on their personal histories, where they were educated and when. However, surprisingly, a review of the existing research related to CHL in the US and Australia mainly regards Mandarin as the "heritage language" with no obvious awareness of other varieties. However, the existing research about CCS makes it clear that Cantonese was the main language of CCS as recently as 2006 (Francis *et al*., 2008) and that Cantonese was the original HL of CCS. Wong and Xiao (2010) pointed out that not only is in the case that "the difference (syntax, semantics, and phonetics) among the dialects can be sharp (Yin and Felley, 1990) …the cultures, customs, and histories of different dialect groups are also very different." (p.158). This issue will be explored in depth later in the review.

Although there are many spoken Chinese dialects, they are all written in a similar way (Hudson-Ross and Dong, 1990) using the logograms known as Chinese characters (汉字 / 漢字; *hànzi*) shared by the literate speakers of otherwise mutually unintelligible dialects (Rohsenow, 2004). In 1955, the State Council of China decided that simplified characters should be used for writing Chinese (Ministry of Education, 2006 cited in Chen, 1999) by reducing the number of strokes in order to make them easier to learn and write and spread total literacy quickly. The simplification ceased in 1986 because "continually changing the characters would be confusing for the masses" (Chen, 1999,

p.35). The popularisation of the new simplified characters was promoted by legislating that:

> "All print media, general publications, public displays of writings, advertisements and government documents were required to be written in standardised, simplified Chinese. Furthermore, all national television stations were required to broadcast in *Putonghu*a, with standardised, simplified subtitles" (Chen, 1999, p.50).

Simplified characters are now used throughout the PRC, in Hong Kong since 1997 and in Singapore. However, Taiwan still uses full form (traditional) characters and these are also used for Cantonese in Hong Kong (Higgins and Sheldon, 2001). This means that many British Chinese may have learnt full form characters in their youth, and younger British Chinese may have been taught them by their parents, who may, of course, not know simplified characters.

At the end of the 1990s, 53 per cent of people in China used Putonghua, and 95 per cent wrote using simplified Chinese characters. The government set the goal of standardising the use of Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters in China by 2010 (Zhou and Sun, 2004). However, there are overseas Chinese communities in the UK and America which rely on the Cantonese dialect and traditional characters. This situation has given rise to some confusion in the literature. Higgins and Sheldon (2001) note that "the written language of Cantonese uses different characters from Mandarin" (p.112), which is not the case. They can both be expressed in written form using the simplified Chinese characters, but because Hong Kong did not adopt simplified Chinese characters, Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong tend to write Chinese using the traditional full form characters. The result of this situation is that almost the whole of the huge population of China (1.3 billion) writes Chinese using simplified characters

but those Chinese speakers educated before the 1950s or Chinese speakers educated in non-PRC Chinese countries like Taiwan, or the Chinese diaspora (a specific term describing overseas Chinese communities, discussed on p.71), educated outside China, may still use full form or traditional characters (Kane, 2006). This means that, for this study, the written form and literacy experience of Chinese which may be part of the HL of the children coming to Chinese complementary schools, cannot be accurately predicted and is likely to be very varied, if, indeed, the children have experience of literacy at all. Moreover, the cultural importance of the full form (traditional) and simplified character divide should not be underestimated.

There is a further complication in the variants of Chinese literacy which may affect CHL learners in the UK differently, depending on their personal background and experience. This is the way Chinese is transliterated using the Roman alphabet. Chinese is tonal language, with a logographic script, so characters do not represent phonemes in a one-to-one recoding sense (Kane, 2006). There have been many systems of Romanisation throughout history and different systems are currently used in Taiwan, the PRC with variations in Hong Kong and Macau (Yin and Felley, 1990).

Hanyu Pinyin is currently the most widespread Romanisation system (Kane 2006). Hanyu pinyin (known as pinyin) represents each Chinese character as a syllable encoded as an initial, a final and a tone mark (Yin and Felley, 1990). The letters of the Roman alphabet represent a range of sounds which are not the same as the ones they represent in English, so pinyin phoneme-grapheme correspondences must be learnt again by English learners of Chinese languages (Kane 2006; Yin and Felley, 1990). Moreover, a character written in Roman letters may have five possible pronunciations

(Kane, 2006). Pinyin was officially adopted in the PRC in 1958 in order to reduce visual memory load, when the first Premier Zhou Enlai announced that:

> "In future, we shall adopt the Latin alphabet for the Chinese phonetic alphabet. Being in wide use in scientific and technological fields and in constant day-to-day usage, it will be easily remembered. The adoption of such an alphabet will, therefore, greatly facilitate the popularisation of the common speech." (Zhou, 1958, p.26)

The International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO) adopted pinyin as the international standard in 1982 and, since 2009, Taiwan has adopted it for some purposes, though not for educational or computer input purposes.

The uses of pinyin are slightly different for Chinese speakers and learners of Chinese from another language background and, as this is likely to affect HL learners, this difference will be outlined. For Chinese speakers, pinyin is widely used to identify the specific pronunciation of a character within a specific context (e.g. 行: xíng (to walk; behaviour, conduct) or háng (a store)) (Yin and Felley, 1990). In modern society, pinyin is widely used with a standard Roman keyboard to input characters, although there are other, stroke-based methods (Chen and Lee, 2000). However, pinyin has two very important uses for Chinese speaker. Firstly, young children who already speak Chinese and are learning literacy use pinyin for the first year of study in the PRC (but not Taiwan). Secondly, pinyin is used by Chinese speakers to teach spoken and written Chinese to foreigners (Bassetti, 2007).

For non-Chinese speakers or speakers of Chinese languages very different from Mandarin, pinyin has a very different, and vital, role and is why pinyin is almost universally used for teaching Chinese (as well as characters) to foreigners. Pinyin

makes the actual pronunciation conventions of spoken Chinese intelligible to non-Chinese-speaking students, especially those with no experience of a tonal language (Cai and Liu, 2011; Bassetti, 2007). Without pinyin, it is very hard for non-Chinese speakers to record or learn the pronunciation of characters, which may have a number of pronunciations or meanings and may exist in five tonal variants. Indeed, pinyin is the key to making the syntactic structure of a Chinese language intelligible to those only familiar with the grammar of alphabetical languages, particularly Indo-European languages (Bassetti, 2007; Kane, 2006). The differences between the role of pinyin for Chinese speakers and non-Mandarin speakers are important for this study, because of the variation in their spoken Chinese ability, the experiences and languages spoken by the children in complementary schools is unknown. These varied experiences of spoken Chinese and literacy, mean that some children will know pinyin, some will not and some of the children's parents will not have learnt it either. Therefore, their use of pinyin and when they learn it may be different depending on their prior language and literacy experience.

The discussion above has concerned the impact of the different varieties of Chinese for HL on learners and, by implication, on their teachers. However, the educational status of the varieties of Chinese taught as a foreign language (that is to those who do not speak Chinese) across the world is relatively clear in the literature. Internationally, Mandarin is dominant in Chinese as a foreign language (that is to those who do not speak Chinese) across the world is relatively clear in the literature and Mandarin is dominant in classrooms that Chinese as a foreign language, usually using simplified characters and pinyin as an additional system (Wong and Xiao, 2010). In England, this form of Chinese was included in a footnote to the National Curriculum (Department for

Education, 2013) which uses the term "world language" thus identifying Mandarin as a world language. It does not emphasise community languages, which would include Cantonese. Materials developed for UK schools use simplified characters and pinyin and this is the standard used by the Mandarin examination boards in England (Oxford Cambridge RSA, 2012). In summary, Mandarin (Putonghua) with simplified characters and pinyin is the type of Chinese most likely to be taught as a foreign language because of its demand in the Chinese-speaking world. However, this may not reflect the experience of HL speakers in the UK or that of their families.

2.4.4 The nature of CHL learners

Based on the characteristics of the Chinese language discussed above, He (2006), writing about HL users in the US, concluded that CHL learners covers a wide range of some, or all, of whom may attend or have attended supplementary schooling (p.3):

He's (2006) first category is of children for whom "Mandarin is the learners' home language or is comprehensible to home Chinese speakers.

1) The classroom script is the same as the home script (i.e., both use Traditional and/or Simplified scripts);
2) The classroom script is different from the home script (i.e., Traditional in class, Simplified at home, or vice versa);
3) There is no home literacy in Chinese" (He, 2006, p.3)

In addition, this researcher adds that there may be further differences, depending on whether the children (or parents) know pinyin or not.

He's (2006) second category is children for whom "Mandarin is unintelligible to home Chinese speakers.

1) The classroom script is the same as the home script (i.e., both use Traditional and/or Simplified scripts)
2) The classroom script is different from the home script (i.e. Traditional in class, Simplified at home or vice versa)" (He, 2006, p.3)

Again, in addition, He (2006) added that there might be further differences, depending on whether the children (or parents) know pinyin or not. He's (2006) final category is "no home literacy in Chinese" (p.3).

These differences in the kind of Chinese language learners can be explored to some extent in the literature available about the changing Chinese-heritage population of the UK discussed above. The changing demographics of the Chinese population of the UK strongly suggests a shift to Mandarin as the main HL or target language (Wang, 2014; Li and Zhu, 2010a; 2010b). However, a discussion of the Chinese population of the UK does not reveal who actually attends CCS. The first question the research raises in the present study, therefore, is what is the language background of the HL learners in the schools in this study. Based on the categories of HL learners He (2006) identified, Wong and Xiao (2010) doubt whether Mandarin can serve as the HL for learners whose ancestors, families and friends are non-Mandarin speakers in the US, and this argument is doubly important in the UK, with its Cantonese-speaking Chinese heritage and changing Chinese populations. Logically, based on the discussion above, therefore, neither can Cantonese serve as a HL for children who do not have a Cantonese-speaking heritage.

This diversity of HL learners has implications for both the teaching and learning of Chinese (discussed below) and Wong and Xiao (2010) call attention to the demands of non-Mandarin speakers and improvements in teaching materials, resources and

instructions in the CHL classrooms in the US, but the literature is not clear about whether that call has been answered or whether such problems exist for teachers and pupils in the UK. In addition, how teachers address the diversity discussed above, if such diversity exits.

2.4.5 HL learning and complementary education

HL education and complementary education overlap in some ways because one type of complementary schools in the UK aims to enhance minority ethnic children's confidence in their identities and, maintain their HL and culture by teaching minority ethnic languages and cultures. This can be viewed as learning HL. Similar to complementary schools, HL schools widely exist in the United States, focusing on HL learning. Both establishments originated from mainstream schools' overlooking the preservation of HLs as part of the curriculum.

HL learning constitutes a significant part of complementary education; however, learning a HL is not exactly the same as learning in complementary schools and there are bodies of research and literature about both types of learning. This is because complementary schooling may include other provision than the teaching of HLs. From a review of one previous research concerned with CHL learners, few researchers refer to mixed-heritage learners. As the appearance of this group in complementary schools has increased (Wang, 2014), it is necessary to take them into consideration when discussing HL learning in complementary schools.

2.5 Shadow education as part of the expectations of complementary education

Complementary education, also known as shadow education shares some commonalities with complementary schools in the UK and has its own body of research and writing. Shadow education is important to this study because it has a long history in Asian countries and may well be part of the educational experience of many of the teaching staff working in UK CCS and of the parents, and even children in the complementary schools, but whether this affects CCS is unknown.

2.5.1 Definition of shadow education

Shadow education, also known as private supplementary tutoring, is a common phenomenon in most Asian countries (Lee and Shouse, 2011; Bray and Lykins, 2012). Shadow education is a separate education system, parallel to the mainstream education and provides extra tutoring in some mainstream curriculum subjects such as English and mathematics as well as music, sports and arts (Bray and Lykins, 2012; De Castro and De Guzman, 2010). Shadow education aims to enhance academic achievement (Mori and Baker, 2010) and as a form of tutoring, it is usually provided for a fee and often takes place outside formal school hours (Bray and Lykins, 2012). Shadow education has different types including "one to one" tutoring, small group tutoring, after-school lessons within public schools and Internet tutoring (Bray and Lykins, 2012; Lee and Shouse, 2011). As Bray and Lykins (2012) note, "shadow education mimics the mainstream. As the curriculum of mainstream changes, so does the curriculum in the shadow. And as the mainstream expands, so does the shadow" (p.2) this may also be true of CCS, as CCS change to adapt to the changing Chinese population of the UK.

2.5.2 The development of shadow education

Shadow education has a long history in East Asian countries (Mori and Baker, 2010). It was set up primarily because of an awareness that investment in supplementary private education can generate returns from "good performance in key examinations and entrance to high-status secondary schools or universities" (Bray and Lykins, 2012, p.23). Its development is driven by prestige-oriented views, a strong desire of being admitted to a prestige college of university (Lee and Shouse, 2011). The last decades have witness a fast development of East Asian countries in economy and society, which have made it competitive to obtain higher levels and good quality of schooling when most schools regard high stake exams as one key criteria for examining the school performance or academic abilities (Lee and Shouse, 2011). The growing demands of achieving good performance in exams and getting admission to good-quality schools lead to rapid expansion of shadow education institutions (De Castro and De Guzman, 2010). According to Bray and Lykins (2012), nearly 90 % of elementary students receive shadow education in South Korea and about 85% of senior secondary students to do so in Hong Kong and the PRC. However, private tutoring is not confined to East Asian countries. Mori and Baker (2010) demonstrated that shadow education expanded dramatically across the globe by reviewing a number of studies from different countries or regions in recent years. Shadow education is occurring at a worldwide level and becoming a trend in many countries (Mori and Baker, 2010). When relating to CCS in the UK, CCS perform as a shadow education institution for some non-heritage students of Mandarin, where they could learn one additional language for their future and career purposes (Wen, 2011).

2.5.3 Impacts of shadow education

Shadow education can have positive impacts. It is beneficial for students' academic achievement, personal aesthetic and physical development as well as self-esteem (Bray and Liao, 2012). Private supplementary institutions provide students with extra tutoring on mainstream curriculum subjects and plenty of information on a variety of exams, which may be helpful for students' exam preparation. In East Asian countries, slow students, who are normally left behind in formal schooling because they are children with special needs or experiencing challenge of learning as fast as their peers in the class, may get more practice chances in private tutoring institutions. Shadow education helps to broaden students' skills and values (Bray and Lykins, 2012). It provides instruction on music, arts and sports which are beneficial for students' aesthetic and physical development which are always ignored when doing well in exams is widely pursued in East Asian countries (Liu, 2012; Bray and Lykins, 2012). Shadow education was often found to play a key role in developing students' self-esteem and sense of achievement. For instance, it enables slow learners to keep up with their peers while fast learners can stretch their learning further (Bray and Liao, 2012). It helps to develop interpersonal relations as students have chances to meet their peers outside their mainstream schools. In addition, shadow education may help to develop good studying habits (Bray and Liao, 2012).

In contrast, CCS have similarities with private supplementary tutoring in terms of positive impacts on students' attainment. The UKFCS website provides resources on GCSE/ A-level, helping students with exam preparation. Some CCS provide classes related with Chinese heritage culture (e.g. calligraphy, martial arts and Chinese traditional dance), which helps to develop students' aesthetic and physical development

(Francis and Archer, 2009). Moreover, researchers (Creese *et al.*, 2006; Francis *et al.*, 2008) argue that CCS is beneficial for improving personal self-esteem, sense of achievement and interpersonal relations as it provides safe spaces from racism as well as learning spaces within which students could "indulge their love of learning and escape from being narrowly positioned within dominant educational discourses" (Bray and Lykins, 2012, p.494).

Shadow education shows its efficiency because it is often operated in a marketplace and run by tutors as businesses that "demand careful use of resources and that serve clients who presumably want value for money" (Bray and Lykins, 2012, p.39). However, shadow education cannot always result in learning gains and tends to focus on narrow domains of achievement as well as to undermine the mainstream system with mainstream schoolteachers moving to shadow education (Bray and Lykins, 2012). Moreover, it exacerbates social inequalities (Dang and Rogers, 2008). Some wealthy families may be able to afford better supplementary private tutoring while some less wealthy cannot. This may intensify "uneasiness" of the society, which refers to students and parents' feelings of uneasiness, due to prestigious-oriented views of college entrance and the social climate in which shadow education is already a taken-for-granted practice (Bray and Liao, 2012; Lee and Shouse, 2011).

2.5.4 Comparison to complementary education in the UK

Comparing shadow education to complementary education in the UK, there are similarities and differences that raise relevant points for my study.

There is a common feature that both shadow education and complementary education are supplementary to mainstream education. They are both operated outside school hours. However, shadow education is concerned with private and for-profit education while complementary education is related to voluntary, affordable and non-profit education. Complementary schools are voluntary organisations, exclusively relying on donations and low fees and their teaching staff are always parents, community members and university students, some of whom are paid a small fee for their services. This has major implications for staffing, as shadow education can create a situation where parents compete to get the best-qualified educators. However, in complementary education, schools aim to get good teachers with very little resource.

2.6 The classroom environment and its effects on teaching and learning in CCS

The classroom is the environment where teaching and learning occurs (Doyle, 2009) and it would be useful to understand the classrooms of CCS. In order to understand teaching and learning in classrooms, it is important to understand the environment for teaching and learning. Reviewing previous research on CCS, little attention has been given to classroom environment and its effects in teaching and learning. Classrooms – the main setting where Chinese teaching and learning take place — cannot be ignored because findings from recent research have shown that the classroom environment affects the teachers' behaviour and is also a product of that behaviour. This section will focus on classroom environments in CCS and their effects on teaching and learning.

Classrooms are complex systems of "individuals and groups, curriculum and personal agendas, aspirations and affiliations" (Doyle, 2009, p.157). By reviewing Gump's

(1967, 1969 cited in Doyle, 2009) study of the third-grade classroom where as a behavioural setting, Doyle (2009) argues that the complexity of classrooms means that classrooms are not backgrounds or containers for teaching and learning or "neutral and synthetic spaces" where "teachers and students happen to be"; rather, they are "systems of interrelated activity segments that are tangible and powerful partners in constructing what happens in these environments" (Doyle, 2009, p.157). To describe complex classroom environment, Doyle (2009) further outlines typical features of classroom environments, which include "multidimensionality, simultaneity and unpredictability" (Simco, 1995, p.50). Multidimensionality means that classrooms can have the ability to provide a range of resources for people with different learning preferences and abilities through different tools (such as white boards, computers, and textbooks) and/or events in the classroom (Doyle, 1977; 1979). Simultaneity refers to the possibility of many events occurring at the same time (working in groups/ pairs). Unpredictability means that the development of certain classroom activities is difficult to anticipate in advance and there is little time for teachers to consider carefully before reacting (Doyle, 1979). This sort of complexity in classrooms signals that CCS classes are unlikely to be simple or easily understood.

Doyle's (1979) basic analysis of classroom activity features plays a crucial role for investigating classroom environment and its effects on teaching and learning (Simco, 1995). Doyle (1979) believes that the study of classroom environments should not be overlooked in teaching and teacher education research because the nature and ecology of the classroom environment determines the classroom participants' behaviours. In other words, teachers' behaviour and students' behaviour are affected by classroom environment and understanding these may be the key to understanding classes. Two

factors are considered as important in affecting teachers' behaviour from the study of classrooms — student effects and the demands generated from the distinctive features of the classroom environment — size, shape and so on (Doyle, 1979). Student effects means that students influence teachers' actions in the classroom, concerning a wide range of general teaching methods that they might choose to employ based on the student's behaviour and language pattern teachers use to communicate with the students, the type and frequency of teacher questions and feedback given to individual students (Tom, 1973 cited in Doyle, 1979). In addition to the student effects, the distinctive features of classroom environment, which Doyle (1977) identified as multidimensionality, simultaneity and unpredictability, also affect teachers' behaviour. The characteristics of classrooms eventually result from the demands of the classroom environment (Doyle, 1979). Those demands can be categorised in terms of the teacher's response or capacity for:

> "1) witness or awareness of classroom events and communication of this awareness to students; 2) overlap or the ability to handle two or more events at the same time; 3) group focus or the ability to involve as many students as possible in each activity; 4) movement management or the ability to provide pace, variety, and smooth transitions between activities." (Doyle, 2009, p.139)

Existing studies demonstrate that teachers' choices of activities and their use of time, space, and resources are influenced by these demands and their abilities to respond (Woods, 2000; Abrahamson, 1974; Doyle, 1979; Westbury, 1973).

The study of classroom effects draws attention to a neglected aspect of "teacher competence", which is knowledge and skill for managing the demands of the classroom environment (Doyle, 2006; Doyle, 2009). That means classroom teachers need special knowledge and skills to manage the environmental demands as well as the ability to

deal with subject matter. As Doyle (2009) puts it, "a teacher must use knowledge about specific classroom demands and personal management skills to make decisions, rather than simply knowing the virtues of a particular method" (p.140). Consequently, classroom behaviour as part of the classroom environment along with other features like resources, seating arrangements, all influence each other and consequently teachers' practice, and for teachers, classroom management knowledge and skills are as necessary as their subject knowledge.

In terms of how the classroom affects the learning of students, Doyle (1979) argues that environment of student learning is concerned with subject matter they learn and their mastery of content. Doyle (1979) also refers to the performance — grade exchange and academic tasks. The performance-grade exchange means students' performances in activities (e.g. tests and assignments) are labeled as records by teachers (Becker, Geer, and Hughes, 2003). It "establishes an important set of consequences for students and frames the way in which subject matter is experienced in classroom" (Doyle, 1979). Academic tasks are defined by the performance-grade exchange and then define students' learning resources using. To complete academic tasks, students need not only to acquire knowledge of subject matter but also to be capable of using resources available in the classroom environment (Doyle, 2009). Based on the analysis of students' studies, Doyle (2009) argues that students learn subject matter embedded in classroom tasks; teacher effects take place indirectly through the type and frequency of classroom tasks rather than directly through teacher actions in the classroom. This may well be important in considering how practice in "non-standard" classrooms operate. These do not seem to have been theorised in any similar way to traditional classrooms.

The classroom environment in traditional classes plays a central role in determining the classroom participants' behaviors and this may well be the case in CCS. The study of classroom effects contributes to teacher practice and teacher education. Doyle's (1979) analysis of classroom effects raises questions about "the extent to which the things teachers do in classrooms and how they think about their work are associated with specific classroom demands rather than with the personal competence and desires of teachers or the quality of their preparation" (p.142). When discussing research on CCS teachers, it is also necessary to take classroom environments into consideration. CCS teachers must have a fundamental knowledge of classroom use and a basic understanding of how classrooms work in order to enable teachers to establish and organize classroom activities, monitor classroom processes and control the timing of events (Doyle, 2009). Teachers' effective use of the classroom in its various dimensions further improves students' learning outcomes. In addition, as Curdt-Christiansen (2006) argues, teachers' prior experiences, cultural backgrounds and discursive practice have influence on children' HL learning in the classrooms therefore it is necessary to look into CCS teachers' experience and backgrounds when considering teaching and learning in CCS.

2.7 Teaching in CCS

2.7.1 The qualifications and backgrounds of teachers in CCS

The current literature suggests that complementary schools rely on teacher volunteers (Maylor *et al*., 2010). Findings from previous research have shown that teaching staff in complementary schools mainly consist of community members, enthusiastic parents or university students (Creese *et al.*, 2008; Li, 2006; Francis *et al*., 2008). Francis *et al*. (2008) found that teachers in their study usually had the same cultural or ethnical

background as the community they served and were sometimes bilingual or multilingual. Due to their part-time operating basis and voluntary organisational nature, most teachers are low-paid or unpaid in complementary schools (Francis *et al.*, 2008; Maylor *et al*., 2010). This may lead to difficulties in recruiting and retaining teachers, especially experienced or qualified teachers, in complementary schools.

Previous research also indicates that teachers in complementary schools may have a variety of overseas teaching qualifications rather than UK Qualified Teacher Status (UK QTS); they may also have teaching experience outside the UK (Minty, Maylor, Issa, Kuyok and Ross, 2008; Maylor *et al.*, 2010). In addition to overseas professional teaching qualifications, most complementary school teachers have degrees in various disciplines in the UK or overseas (Issa, Allen and Ross, 2008). Thus, overseas teaching experience and qualification sometimes may become a requirement for recruiting complementary school teachers (Minty *et al*., 2008). However, mainstream school work experience is also perceived to be crucial and the aspiration to obtain UK QTS is comparatively high among some complementary school teachers (Minty *et al*., 2008). There has been little other research into teachers' experiences and qualifications in or their aspiration for UK QTS. However, according to Francis *et al.*'s (2008) research, the majority of teacher respondents had not received any teacher training or education, either in England or abroad.

In CCS, teachers normally come from local Chinese communities or Chinese-speaking countries, including parents and student volunteers. Mandarin or Cantonese is their first language while their level of English varies individually (Francis *et al*., 2008). Like most complementary schools, CCS are non-profit making voluntary organisations,

depending on donations or tuition fees. Therefore, the recruitment and retention of teachers is affected by their funding and the payment for teachers varies (Thorpe, 2011). In order to support teacher recruitment, most CCS use personal connections (Francis *et al.*, 2008). However, there is little evidence to show whether CCS teachers are qualified or professional. Most of them have not attended any teacher training or teacher education programmes in the UK or overseas (Francis *et al.*, 2008; Thorpe, 2011). Thus, untrained or unprofessional teachers raised big concerns in previous study of CCS as lack of training may consequently affect the teaching quality in CCS.

Having established that CCS have a range of teachers, few or none of whom have conventional qualified teacher status and many of whom have themselves been educated in countries other than Britain, this thesis aims to consider ways in which this may affect their beliefs about teaching, in the review of literature, and then considers whether it does, in the rest of the study.

2.7.2 Knowledge of a good teacher in CCS

The literature gives some insight and background into what the teachers in CCS might need to know and do to be effective. This includes the literature about teacher knowledge of teaching languages, as this applies to teaching Chinese.Teacher knowledge is the total knowledge that a teacher has at a particular moment and constitutes the basis of his or her actions (Carter, 1990). Various terms have been used to describe one relevant aspect (classroom management) of teacher knowledge according to researchers' insights in the previous literature (Verloop, Van Driel and Meijer, 2001). Ben-Peretz (2011) conducted a review of the models of teacher knowledge suggested for teaching English and one of her key findings was that all the

models offered, emphasised one or more of the kinds of teacher knowledge suggested by Shulman (1986): content knowledge, general pedagogical knowledge, curriculum knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, knowledge of learners and their characteristics, knowledge of educational contexts, knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values and their philosophical and historical grounds.

The review of nine papers about teacher knowledge made by Ben-Peretz (2011) provides insights into the development and growth of teacher knowledge and a general base of being an effective teacher in CCS. Teaching normally starts with a teacher's understanding of what is to be learned and how it is to be taught (Shulman, 1986). In earlier studies, the central role of the teacher was to teach subject matter using the appropriate pedagogical principles and skills (Ben-Peretz, 2011). Subject matter, in Schwab's (1964) view, is an understanding of "the various ways a discipline can be organised or understood, as well as the knowledge of the ways by which a discipline evaluates and accepts new knowledge" (Grossman and Richert, 1988, p.54). However, an understanding of subject matter is not enough for a teacher. He or she also needs to know how to make the subject comprehensible to others, which Shulman (1986) called pedagogical content knowledge. Pedagogical content knowledge is of special interest as it represents "the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organised, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners, and presented for instruction" (Shulman 1986, p.8).

Adding to Shulman's pedagogical content knowledge, Tamir (1991) suggested successful teachers integrate their general, professional knowledge with their specific,

personal knowledge of teachers (Ben-Peretz, 2011). Teacher knowledge thus is expanded to include the personal dimension (Sun, 2012). Connelly, Clandinin and He (1997) focused on teachers' personal practical knowledge, "a term designed to capture the idea of experience in a way that allows us to talk about teachers as knowledgeable and knowing persons" (Connelly and Clandinin 1988, p.25). Individual experiences and personal histories are taken into consideration in teacher knowledge. That is to say, teachers create their personal-practical knowledge of teaching through experience rather than using subject matter knowledge alone (Ben-Peretz, 2011).

Ben-Peretz (2011) also discussed how teachers might develop their knowledge. She noted that some scholars have created their own definition of "knowledge growth of teachers" (p.8). Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002) used the term "teacher change" and suggest that changes in teacher action in practice might cause changes in teacher knowledge and beliefs. Tang's paper (2003) stresses the impact of field experiences on the development of teacher knowledge and Ben-Peretz (2011) argues that the balance between "challenge and support", "tension and equilibrium", "dissonance and resonance" have important implications for the study of teacher knowledge (p.8). Recently, wider themes have been involved in teacher knowledge research. Ben-Peretz (2011) pointed out in her review of models that Holden and Hicks (2007) extended their concept of teacher knowledge from knowledge of subject matter, curriculum and pedagogical content knowledge to encompass global issues. Furthermore, awareness of societal issues including multiculturalism is included in teacher knowledge. Gorski's (2009) view of multicultural knowledge – knowledge that includes "a basic orientation, knowledge about diverse cultures, and appropriate teaching skills" (Ben-Peretz, 2011, p.7), calls for providing multicultural education classes in teacher education

programmes. In her analysis of the final model of teacher knowledge she considers, Ben-Peretz (2011) points out Buitink' s (2009) focus is a return to practical teaching theories where teachers consider "the learning process of their students concerning subject matter" (p.8).

Ben- Peretz' s (2011) review provides a picture of the development in understanding of what has been considered to come within teacher knowledge over time and how this connects to changes in the milieu of schooling (p.4). However, when it comes to teachers in CCS, some key aspects surrounding teacher knowledge need to be specifically considered: language teaching, children learning, meta language and teaching methods.

In her review of teacher knowledge, Ben-Peretz (2011) noticed that as the models of teacher knowledge have developed, personal aspects of knowledge have come more into focus. Sun (2012) sets out to widen the scope of teacher knowledge research by investigating the personal practical knowledge of an immigrant Chinese language teacher teaching Chinese as a foreign language in a New Zealand secondary school and some of the issues from this research are relevant to the study of Chinese teachers in UK CCS, especially as one of the primary roles of the CCS is to develop or sustain a Chinese identity in children (Archer, Francis and Mau, 2010). This study found that personal practical knowledge was an extremely important idea for understanding this teacher's knowledge, very closely related to teacher's identities as "knowledge is entwined with identity, and that understanding practice in narrative terms cannot be separated from the development of self and identity" (Connelly, Clandinin and He, 1997, p.141). Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop's (2004) review of research into teachers'

professional identities observed that many studies on teachers' identity "more or less appeared to be studies on teachers' personal practical knowledge and teachers' answers to questions about identity" (p.123). Connelly and Clandinin (1985) noted that personal practical knowledge "need not be clearly articulated and logically definable in order to exert a powerful influence on teachers' lives" (Connelly and Clandinin, 1985, p.383). For this reason, I anticipate that the knowledge, beliefs and identity of Chinese teachers in CCS underpin the knowledge and approach they use in their teaching.

To understand this requires investigating the role of teacher's beliefs about language teaching and learning. It is important to consider these beliefs for a number of reasons. Firstly, because the research reviewed below points out that they are very important in affecting what teachers do. Secondly, the beliefs of teachers in CCS are intimately bound up with who they are and what their backgrounds as learners and teachers are (above). Interestingly, Ben-Peretz (2011) mentioned that the studies of teacher knowledge she analysed "share a common scholarly language and are based in Western culture" (p.3), thus Ben-Peretz (2011) suggests that views of teacher knowledge may vary in other cultures. For teachers in CCS, this is probably inevitable, making it even more important to explore their beliefs about teaching.

2.7.3 Beliefs about teaching

The discussion of identity above includes certain aspects of teachers' beliefs and experience and there were few clear definitions of beliefs, but an artificial distinction between belief and knowledge is common to most definitions: "Belief is based on evaluation and judgment; knowledge is based on objective fact" (Pajares, 1992, p.313). In discussing teachers' beliefs, a variety of conceptions has been used in the literature.

Clark (1988) referred to “preconceptions and implicit theories”; Porter and Freeman (1986) called teachers’ beliefs “orientations to teaching”. Developing the term used by Jenesick (1977 cited in Pajares, 1992), “teacher perspectives”, which were defined as:

> “a reflective, socially defined interpretation of experience that serves as a basis for subsequent action...a combination of beliefs, intentions, interpretations, and behaviour that interact continually” (Clark and Peterson, 1986, p.287).

Tabacbnick and Zeichner (1984) perceived teacher perspectives to include both the beliefs teachers have about their work and “the ways in which they [give] meaning to these beliefs by their behaviour in the classroom” (cited in Pajares, 1992, p.315). However, much of the work about beliefs emphasizes the effect of those beliefs on teachers' teaching (Nisbett and Ross, 1980; Shavelson and Stern, 1981 cited in Pajares, 1992) and note that it is common for teachers' beliefs to be shaped by their own experiences as learners (Bean and Zulich, 1992; Brousseau, Book and Byers, 1988 cited in Pajares, 1992), which then affect the ways they teach (Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Mangano and Allen, 1986 cited in Pajares, 1992; Brousseau and Freeman, 1988) and are very resistant to change (Abelson, 1979;Van Fleet 1979; Lewis 1990; Nespor, 1987; Clark, 1988), even in training situations. This is possibly significant for the teachers in CCS, discussed above. My teachers may not have had any formal training. It is possible, then, that their beliefs may be very different from those of the teachers in the studies in this area (who did have training and teaching experience), and more bound up with their identities and goals for the children.

The fact that CCS teachers are not usually qualified, according to the previous research, calls for in-depth theoretical thinking about the impacts of teacher knowledge, teachers’ beliefs and experience in teachers’ practices in CCS.

New challenges faced by teachers working in CCS have arisen regarding teaching students from different backgrounds (Wang, 2014). Wang's (2014) study of teaching Chinese in complementary schools illustrates those challenges. Wang (2014) conducted case studies in six CCS in London and the findings indicate that teachers face the additional challenge of teaching groups of pupils from diverse backgrounds and the issue of the complexity of teaching in CCS was raised.

2.8 Bourdieu's concepts and their connection to this research

CCS not only contribute to the maintenance of Chinese language in second or third British-Chinese generations but also "constitute particularly pertinent sites for explicit and formalised cultural remit to promote, instil or foster a sense of Chineseness among second or third British–Chinese generations within Chinese diasporic communities" (Mau *et al*., 2009 cited in Archer, Francis and Mau, 2010, p.408). How CCS reflects Chinese identities in Britain is not fully researched in the context of the new trend that Mandarin is becoming dominant in the global Chinese diaspora (Li and Wu, 2010; Li and Zhu, 2010b; Mau *et al.*, 2009; Wang, 2014). According to Archer *et al.* (2010), a "more critical, non-essentialised, non-hegemonic approach to theorising Chineseness (identity and culture)" is necessary (p.41). This approach evokes questions about what kind of Chinese identities and notions of culture are being constructed (and contested) within CCS, and to what extent students feel the schools do or do not achieve their mission to make them feel more Chinese (Archer *et al*., 2010).

CCS have a significant impact on the daily re/production of identity and culture within the diasporic communities but CCS are "contested spaces within which the meanings

and symbols of Chineseness are being constantly struggled over" (Archer *et al*., 2010, p.422). UK born Chinese identity is conceptualised by Archer *et al.* (2010) as a more hybridised construction which could "convey various issues related to multicultural citizenship and belonging within diasporic communities" and may have the potential to "refuse dominant notions of Chineseness which are biologically-based and essentualised popular" (p.423). When discussing the role of CCS in students' construction of Chineseness, Archer *et al*. (2010) believe that CCS aimed to encourage the feeling of being more Chinese with a specific or formal cultural agenda; however, the feeling of more Chineseness was promoted primarily because students were with other Chinese people in addition to the provision of contemporary youthful cultural forms. Hence, they argue that CCS could be considered as complex sites for producing and contesting diasporic cultural identities. However, the focus of Archer *et al.*'s (2010) project was on the Cantonese CCS and discussed the constructions of identity and culture in relation to the established British-Chinese communities representing Cantonese-speaking Chinese immigrants (Parker, 2000), which may not reflect the evolving picture of identity and culture within the changing demographic of CCS in the UK.

In order to explore how Chineseness is constructed in current CCS, I first look into key concepts of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) here to theorise the understandings of constructions of Chineseness in the sites of CCS.

The French philosopher, Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) key concepts of capital, habitus and field are helpful in providing a perspective to understand key issues within the CCS, including parents' support for children's Chinese education in CCS, Chinese people's

high valuation of education and more importantly, to understand how CCS participants construct their Chineseness in the UK. The section will first discuss capitals and their effects on CCS and then look into habitus and its connection to Chineseness. In addition, Bourdieuian concept of field will be discussed when considering British Chinese identity construction below (see p.74).

2.8.1 Bourdieu's concepts of capitals and their effects on CCS

Bourdieu (1986) considers the social world as "accumulated history" and "if it is not to be reduced into a discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents who are treated as interchangeable particles, one must re-introduce the notion of capital and with it, accumulation and all its effects" (p.241). He extends the notion of capital beyond its economic conception that concentrates solely on material exchange and argues that there are three basic forms of capital, which are:

1. **economic capital**, which is convertible into money and may "be institutionalised in the form of property rights";
2. **cultural capital**, which sometimes is transferable into economic capital on certain occasions and "might be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications";
3. **social capital**, consisting of "social obligations (connections), which could be converted into economic capital" and "may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.84).

Bourdieu (1986) argues the structure and distribution of capital also represents the inherent structure of the social world and the three forms of capital can be acquired, exchanged and converted, and understanding the multiple forms of capital helps to clarify the structure and functioning of the social world. In his view, capital has the capacity to produce material and symbolic profits and to reproduce itself in an identical or expanded form in certain situations (p.241). The reproduction of these

resources depends on the value of profits expected from the investment of the quantity and quality of capital in different forms (Bourdieu, 1986).

The concept of cultural capital is fundamentally linked to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field, which are essential for understanding CCS participants' identity formation from a Bourdieuian approach (See 2.8.1.2.). This part first looks into effects of Bourdieu's cultural capital on CCS. Cultural capital is an important resource concerned with education as it contributes to people's educational success (Bourdieu, 1977). It is a term used by Bourdieu (1984) to describe knowledge about specific cultural beliefs, traditions and standards of behaviour that promote success and accomplishment in life. Bourdieu (1977) maintains that cultural capital consists of familiarity with the dominant culture in a society and especially the ability to understand and use the educated language (Sullivan, 2002). **Cultural capital** is presented in three forms:

1. "in the embodied state" which could be "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body;
2. "in the objectified state" which means in the form of cultural artefacts (e.g. pictures, books, dictionaries etc.), being used to trace or realise theories or the critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.;
3. "in the institutionalised state" which means a form of objectification, in the case of an educational qualification that it "confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.84).

With regard to HL learning, one embodied form of cultural capital, linguistic capital, is considered as important for developing identities of HL speakers (Val and Vinogradova, 2010). Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital, which means the mastery of and relation to language, has impacts on people's choices and pursuits of different languages in a multilingual society (Mu, 2016; Mu and Dooley, 2015). Linguistic capital can be recognised when the language is valued in a specific language market (Bourdieu and

Thompson, 1991; Mu, 2016). "Language forms a kind of wealth" (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, p.39) and "legitimises the use of the majority language while devaluating the use of minority or heritage languages" (Val and Vinogradova, 2010, p. 3). It helps to understand that in an English-dominant society (e.g. US and Australia), HLs do not have as much cultural value as English does; therefore, English is valued over other HLs by not only the HL speakers but also the society in general (Val and Vinogradova, 2010; Mu, 2016). That may explain why HL is gradually lost and replaced by English within second or third immigrant generations. This kind of language attitudes and choices also extend to CHL learning in Chinese diasporic communities. In the Australian context, Mu (2016) states that Australian Chinese engage in Chinese learning when the CHL is valued and recognised in a given situation and they may invest their accessible capital on CHL learning, expecting for a return on their investments: an access to a wider range of resources in the forms of cultural, economic and social capital. In the UK context, Li and Zhu (2010a) argue that there is a hierarchical change in Chinese language education in the Chinese community that Mandarin is becoming the preferred language to learn rather than other Chinese varieties. This means Mandarin may be valued as a "more prestigious variety" (Val and Vinogradova, 2010, p, 4) of Chinese language in overseas Chinese diaspora and learning this language is beneficial for accumulating linguistic capital, but it is still under-researched if Mandarin have the same value in UK CCS.

Established research found the provision of cultural capital by CCS (Francis *et al*., 2008). Francis *et al*. (2008) noticed learning to read and write Chinese is a way of accumulating cultural capital in CCS as "the gaining of exam credentials (GCSE or sometimes A-levels) or an additional skill" might be beneficial for pupils' future careers

(p.527). In addition to provision of Chinese language, some CCS provided Chinese heritage classes including calligraphy, martial arts and other relevant activities (Francis *et al.*, 2008; Li, 2006). Attending Chinese culture-related classes can be one way of building and accumulating cultural capital as pupils have opportunities to encounter elements of Chinese culture intensively (Gates and Guo, 2014) and can add to their accumulation of capital by learning new skills (e.g. dancing, sports) as well as developing new understanding of Chinese heritage culture. Although two-hours of instruction per week may be hard for pupils to produce effective capital accumulation, the local Chinese community "is legitimating such out of school learning, focusing on young people's self-improvement" (Gates and Guo, 2014, p.185). In Francis *et al.*'s study (2008), pupils' perceptions of benefits of Mandarin as opposed to Cantonese arose primarily because the growing Chinese economy made them feel complementary education in Mandarin was "more salient" (p.528). This means the value of Mandarin is recognised in a language market and for CCS pupils; they were building their linguistic capital through learning Mandarin.

In addition to cultural capital, Bourdieu's concept of social capital is significant for the chances of success in a society. Bourdieu (1984) describes the volume of the social capital a person possesses as relying on "the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilise and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural and symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected" (p.51). He considers **social capital** as a collective of:

> "the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group –which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a

> ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various sense of the word.” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.51)

Bourdieu’s social capital emphasises the importance of membership in a group and he believes that social capital makes individuals and groups access valued resources (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993). Catts and Ozga (2005) further interpreted social capital as social glue that “holds people together and gives them a sense of belonging in an increasingly fragmented and uncertain world” (p.3). Social capital plays a vital role in bonding members of a group, building relationships with a wider and varied set of people and linking people across difference in status (Putnam, 2000). In the context of education, social capital is useful for understanding students’ educational achievements in schools and is normally presented in the forms of parental expectations, obligations and social networks that exist within the family, school and community (Board, 2017). To clarify, individual educational success could be attributed to parental expectations and obligations for educating children; connections and relationships between families, schools and communities and the social atmosphere a school provides.

When relating to British Chinese, parental aspirations and support contributed to pupils’ achievements in schools (Gates and Guo, 2014; Francis and Archer, 2005a). Social effects of CCS were identified in established research. Li and Wu (2010) highlighted the important social role that CCS plays in immigrant children’s identity development. Moreover, attendance at CCS makes it possible for Chinese pupils to accumulate social capital (Francis *et al.*, 2008; Guo, 2014). In Francis *et al.*’s study (2008), pupils were able to communicate with their relatives at home through learning Chinese (mainly Cantonese) in CCS, which is helpful for connecting with their families. Social benefits of learning Chinese for pupils is also recognised when they were in their “multi-ethnic”

peer groups because Chinese pupils were expected to perform their "Chineseness" (literacy, martial arts and so on) by their non-Chinese peers in mainstream schools, experiences described as "embarrassing and offensive" (Francis and Archer, 2009, p.528). By reviewing the literature, it is noticeable that CCS is beneficial to improve social networking for pupils, teachers and parents (Francis *et al.*, 2008; Creese *et al.*, 2006). However, Gates and Guo (2014) argue that the impact of attendance at CCS on the social network of Chinese parents is not evident in a local CCS:

> "Whilst parents do meet each other in supplementary schools, whether the two-hour meeting in the parent room means they create a tight network and bond the social capital of parents with the same ethnicity, just is not evident." (Gates and Guo, 2014, p.187)

Gates and Guo (2014) however argue social capital overall means people come together, which is about bonds, trust, networks and feelings of mutual obligation; it involves elements of social engagement, social inclusion, social confidence; local people become engaged and energised by meeting and feeling empowered through learning of something they feel relevant to them (Woolcock, 2001 cited in Gates and Guo, 2014, p.187). That means, learning Chinese bonds members of the UK Chinese community together and helps them to develop a sense of belonging, which is relevant to Chinese identities construction.

When thinking about effects of social capital, Francis and Archer (2005a) found social competition is one key aspect related with British-Chinese pupils' education achievement. It is an approach that many Chinese parent respondents in their study adopt to encourage and promote their children's studies. Social competition closely relates to the "competitive maintenance of collective Chinese family honour" and is important for fulfillment of "family expectations" (Francis and Archer, 2005a, p.36). It

functions as a source of motivation not only for high academic achievement but also for social mobility regarding school choice, university entry and further career achievement (Francis and Archer, 2005a). Social competition reflects a Chinese value of education, which is relevant to the "Chineseness" in Britain.

In discussing effects of capital in UK CCS, it is noticeable that British-Chinese families employ capitals (economic, social and cultural) together with a Chinese value of education to promote Chinese children's educational achievement and maximise their chances of success (Francis and Archer, 2005a). Here the Chinese value of education is central to the British Chinese habitus, which plays an important role in constructing British "Chineseness".

2.8.2 Habitus and Chineseness

Bourdieu's concept of habitus can help with the understanding of identity construction in ways which are relevant to CCS. Habitus refers to "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.53). It is a product of history that could "generate individual and collective practices according to the schemes from history and produce thoughts, perceptions and actions inherited in the particular conditions" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.54). Based on Bourdieu's notion of habitus, Wacquant (2005) interpreted habitus as "the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them" (p. 316). It is created through a social, rather than individual process leading to patterns that are enduring and transferrable from one context to another, but that also shift in relation to specific contexts and over time (Wacquant, 2005). That

means habitus guides individuals' actions, behaviours and thinking in particular ways (Mu, 2014a; Mu, 2013); it is created and reproduced unconsciously and is neither fixed nor permanent (Navarro, 2006), and it can change over time and across circumstances (Zevenbergen, 2006). Habitus is conceptualised by Bourdieu (1977) as "a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group" (p.86). This sameness within a group reflects Bourdieu's interpretation of ethnic identity through habitus (Mu, 2014a). When relating habitus to overseas Chinese communities, Mu (2014a) interpreted Australian Chineseness as "a set of durable and transposable tendencies to think and act in such a way that has been inculcated by their Chinese heritage, cultural history and ancestral roots" and argues that Australian Chinese habitus represents "a system of dispositions embodied in Chinese Australians' shared tastes, behaviours, values and way of life" (p. 499). Based on Bourdieu's interpretation, Mu (2014a) argues habitus is the tendency to perpetuate ascribed identities which include ethnicity, race and HL that people cannot erase. Mu (2014a) further explored the role of habitus on ethnic dimensions of Australian Chinese identities and argues that on one hand, Australian Chineseness is a unique habitus with certain dispositions deeply rooted in Chinese heritage history and culture that Australian Chinese are born with and on the other hand, their Chineseness is constantly changing in response to external conditions in Australian Chinese social lives "rather than being passively consumed or reinscribed" (Mu, 2014a, p.506). Australian Chinese habitus functions as a mechanism to generate CHL learning practices and facilitate CHL proficiency within second or third generations in Australia (Mu, 2014a). Mu's (2014a) argument provides a reference and knowledge base to UK Chineseness. UK Chineseness has similarities with Australian

Chineseness in terms of Chinese heritage, cultural history and ancestral roots but has its uniqueness since it is based in the context of the UK.

When thinking about Chineseness in the British context, a discourse of "valuing Education" which is constructed in specifically cultural racialised terms, could be central to the formation of Chineseness — "a diasporic Chinese habitus" (Francis and Archer, 2005a, p.42). How the value of education represents a specific aspect of British Chinese identity in relation to other ethnic groups is discussed below.

2.9 Chinese value of education and British Chineseness

An ESRC-funded project *British-Chinese pupils' constructions of education, gender and post-16 pathways* was conducted by Francis and Archer during 2002 to 2004, primarily aiming to examine constructions of British-Chinese children and their parents on the value of education. Francis and Archer (2005a) found British Chinese were seeking to construct a positive sense of identity by using the perception of Chinese as "diligent, conformist and self-repressed" which is usually a "racialised narrative" used by the white population to position the Chinese in a particular way (p.104). This construction is considered as a production of "diasporic habitus" (Bourdieu, 1990; Parker, 2000). Diasporic habitus is a term developed on the basis of Bourdieuian analysis of habitus by Parker (2000), which refers to specific dispositions that govern social practices of a diasporic space. The Chinese diasporic habitus consists of "mobile, portable, transformative orientations: know-how, strategies whose practical operationalisation varies between sites of transnational dispersal", forming the base of "the transmission and reinvention of distinctive culture forms and practices" (Parker, 2000, p.84).

Francis and Archer (2005a; 2005b) maintain that similarly to Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese who put a high value on education, the Chinese in Britain sought to construct a "positive, proud cultural boundary" in the British context and also to mobilise an "ethnically particular cultural capital to progress social class mobility" (p.104). According to Francis and Archer (2005a), the first members of the Chinese community in Britain researched largely consisted of Chinese immigrants who were impoverished peasants with limited education; they were too economically and culturally poor to pass on cultural capital to their children therefore they were not considered middle-class (in Francis *et al.*'s (2008) case study, most families became wealthy through working in the catering industry). First generation immigrants were poor and so not able to provide practical help or educational resources (e.g. books, educational materials, educational trips etc.) which are seen as cultural capital to British Chinese pupils with their schoolwork (Francis and Archer, 2005a; Parker, 2000). However, high value on education was consistent in Chinese pupils and parents irrespective of social class, gender or ability and as the Chinese value education exceptionally highly, this value has a positive impact both on the educational performance of British-Chinese pupils in the British education system and on their potential social class upward mobility (Francis and Archer, 2005a; 2005b). Parents' high expectations are credited with being one of the most salient family factors that contribute to children's educational success (Seginer, 1983; Hoge, Smit and Crist, 1997; Patrikakou, 1997).

Chinese high value of education is rooted in Confucianism's influence on Chinese society (Huang and Gove, 2012). Confucianism is understood as a Chinese cultural history that underlies the certain dispositions of Chineseness (Mu, 2014b), which may

comprise the durable and transposable dimension of the Chinese diasporic habitus. Confucianism is a philosophy that concentrates on people's daily conduct and practices, which has a complex set of ethical and moral rules that dictate interpersonal relations (Huang and Gove, 2012). Confucianism has shaped the social, cultural and political aspects of Chinese society for nearly 2000 years and has a significant influence on educational practices of Chinese families (Huang and Gove, 2012). According to one key Confucian belief that social status could be mobilised through education, most Chinese people believe that educational success leads to a better life such as higher social status, occupational achievement, or a better marriage and relationships (Louie, 2004; Lien, 2006). Placing a value on education and educational success continues in Chinese families in Britain. Both pupils and parents constructed "valuing education" as a specific aspect of British Chineseness (Francis and Archer, 2005a; 2005b). In addition, even if those first or second Chinese generations were impoverished and lacked resources, they had endured costs of hardship and deprivation to make the best for their children and consequently, the high value of education and parental expectation improved children's educational performance (Francis and Archer, 2005a). However, while considering the Chinese value of education, it is important to note that British Chinese families may adapt to and learn a mainstream culture and decide what educational values are to be maintained or sacrificed. This reflects Chinese habitus is not immutable but subjective to modifications (Mu, 2014a), which means British Chineseness is constantly changing according to the "cultural and material conditions of existence" (Bourdieu, 2000, p.134 cited in Mu, 2014a). However, little is known about the influence of mainstream culture and values on educational practice of British Chinese families and how people of CCS value education in current days.

2.10 British Chinese diasporic identity construction

The concept of identity is used in many disciplines. It is a term that "distinguishes you from other people" yet also "implies your relationship with a broader collective or social group of some kind" (Buckingham, 2008, p.1). Identity is important for an individual to determine his/her position or situation in a society (Jenkins, 2008) and has a major influence on how people perceive others, people's self-esteem, self-confidence, aspirations, motivations, and effort expended in various aspects of their life (Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins and Seay, 1999 cited in Browne, 2012). In this research, how CCS participants construct their identities is one of the major issues that needs to be addressed because how they feel about themselves as Chinese, British or from other ethical or cultural groups impacts on their views towards CCS, and helps to understand CHL learning and the role of CCS in UK Chinese peoples' life. When thinking about CCS participants' identity construction, one notion – *multiple identities* can be highlighted. The concept of multiple identities emerges from a growing awareness that identities do not always operate in isolation but interact with other identities in given contexts (Jones and McEwen, 2000; Burke and Stets, 2009; Benton and Gomez, 2014). Peoples' identity construction is complex and influenced by a varied range of factors such as race, culture, religion, social class, families, life experiences, education, and community influence (Myhill, 2003; Brown, 2009; Jones and McEwen, 2000). Thus, individuals' identities are multiple, shifting, contradictory and socially constructed (Mu, 2014a; 2014b). Scholars in the field of HL education and complementary education usually pay attention to one specific dimension of identities (e.g. cultural, social, linguistic, ethnic) (Francis and Archer, 2005a; Creese *et al.*, 2006; Li and Wu, 2009; Li and Wu, 2010; He, 2004; Val and Vinogradova, 2010; Shi, 2005). Drawing on multiple identity theory and previous research regarding identity construction and negotiation in

CCS, this thesis will consider British Chinese identities across multiple aspects (e.g. linguistic, cultural, social, racial, and ethnic).

Chinese immigrants have generally been sampled without taking account of their diverse origins in established research (Francis *et al.*, 2008). Chinese culture has been viewed as fixed and unchanging (Archer, Francis and Mau, 2009; Archer and Francis, 2006). However, Chinese immigrants with different origins, such as Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, may hold different parental expectations and employ different parenting strategies due to the different political, historical, and economic conditions they have experienced (Archer and Francis, 2005). In addition, Li and Zhu (2013) pointed out the changing social hierarchy in Chinese communities means that the language teacher may be teaching a group of learners with highly mixed interests, abilities, learning histories and exposure to the target language because Chinese speakers are not a homogenous group (mentioned in 2.4.3), while the language learner may be confronted with so many different models of the target language that notions of native, first, second and foreign languages become blurred (Li and Zhu, 2013). Globalisation and the politico-economic power of Mainland China accelerate the change of social hierarchy of Mandarin and Cantonese among the Chinese diaspora but Cantonese speakers bring specific cultural knowledge that has direct relevance to the daily life of the communities where CCS are located. Hence, Mandarin has higher status at the global level, whereas Cantonese has specific power and influence at the local level (Li and Zhu, 2013). The pupils' socio-cultural experience as British Chinese is a valuable resource both for the society and for themselves as individuals to understand how they construct Chineseness in the UK.

A Bourdieuian approach to social practices offers an insight into understanding the dispositions and strategies adopted by British-Chinese parents (Gates and Guo, 2014). Parker (2000) extended Bourdieu's interpretation by suggesting instead of exploring identity per se, the "diasporic habitus" can allow us to explore social practices "away from home" which maintain the sense of "being Chinese" (p.83). As Parker (2000) puts it:

> "The key concept developed here is the diasporic habitus. This refers to the generative principles which produce the mundane practices sustaining the transnational networks and social locations that define a diaspora." (p.74)

Bourdieu treats social life as "a mutually constitutive interplay of positions, dispositions and actions and the habitus plays a crucial role in linking these dimensions" (Gate and Guo, 2014, p.175) and he maintains social relations are the result of interactions between habitus and forms of capital within and across fields (Francis and Archer, 2005a; Archer and Francis, 2006; 2007). Habitus is clearly distinguished from a field by Bourdieu (Gates and Guo, 2014). A field is used to describe social space and refers to "a social and institutional arena where people express and reproduce their dispositions, and where they compete for the distribution of different kinds of capital" (Gaventa, 2003, p.6). It is a "network, structure or set of relationships which may include intellectual, religious, educational and cultural" (Navarro, 2006, p.18).

The Chinese diasporic habitus involves those dispositions that flow through and thereby constitute the transnational networks connecting the dispersed Chinese population around the globe (Parker, 2000, p.84). It helps to maintain a sense of being Chinese through global displacement, which is neither a static governing origin, nor the Confucianism-based value (Redding, 1990). Chinese diasporic habitus underlies the

proliferation of Chinese practices and institutions which "have engendered complex, shifting, and fragmented subjectivities that are not once specific yet global" and "multiple subjective senses of Chineseness that appear to be based not on the possession of some reified Chinese culture but on a propensity to seek opportunities elsewhere" (Nonini and Ong, 1997, p.26 cited in Gates and Guo, 2014).

When discussing CCS pupils' identities, Archer *et al.* (2010) consider their Chinese identities as diasporic identities with hybridity. Diaspora is a term related with migration, which reflects connections that migrants maintain with their homelands and with others of shared origin dispersal around the world (Amrith, 2011, p.57). The popularity of the term *diaspora* reflects that migrant people see themselves as members of a global community across the national boundaries (Ang, 2003, p.142). The idea of diaspora is an occasion for positive identification for many, providing a powerful sense of transnational belonging and connection with dispersed others of similar historical origins (Ang, 2003, p.142). The current world is argued as a globalised one in which "there is a gradual spectrum of mixed-up difference" (Greetz, 1988, p.148 cited in Ang, 2003, p.141). Diasporic identities are "reaching beyond ethnic status within the composite, liberal state and imparting a sense of being a 'people' with historical roots and destinies outside the time/space of the host nation" (Clifford, 1997, p.255 cited in Ang, 2003, p.142). Hybridity is a key concept in characterising diasporic identifications as it prevents "the absorption of all difference into a hegemonic plane of sameness and homogeneity" (Ang, 2003, p.141). New hybridised identities are rooted in diasporic communities and they "fuse, blend and synthesise a host of different cultural elements" (Archer *et al.*, 2010, p.408). According to Ang's (2003) notion of "transnational Chinese diasporic community", the Chinese people around the world are homogeneous

and distinctive from "non-Chinese" however dispersed Chinese people have become localised and have adapted their ethnic and cultural identities in different ways, which in a sense reflects that they are hybrid (Coppel, 2012). Based on Ang's (2003) argument, identities of CCS participants can be understood as Chinese diasporic identities which have been hybridised with the British culture, beliefs and values.

One key aspect related to HL speakers arose when thinking about CCS pupils' identity construction. As already discussed before, one provision of CCS is CHL teaching support. According to Francis *et al.* (2008), a majority of CCS participants considered the maintenance of Chinese language and culture as a key signifier of "being Chinese" (p.534). This reflects the importance of Bourdieu's cultural capital in one's identity construction and development. Culture and identity are processes which create unstable moments that are then subject to the continuous flows of history, culture, context and power and which are inter-cut by axes of race, gender, social class (Hall, 1990). In the context of Chinese diaspora, "ethnic groups are loosely bounded collectivities with porous and negotiated boundaries, based upon which, Chineseness, Chinese identity and Chinese culture are conceptualised as discursive constructs" (Archer *et al.*, 2010, p.404). CHL learning is helpful for Chinese identity construction of the CHL learner but it is noticeable that HL speakers' identity construction is a process of "constant negotiation and self-positioning within a multi-cultural environment where language fluency and choices indicate affiliation with and the level of connection to mainstream and heritage language groups" (Val and Vinogradova, 2010, p.7). That means CHL learner's identities can be understood as co-constructed and contextualised because Chinese pupils have connections and links with both or multiple languages and cultures.

As discussed in 2.4.3, it is unwise to regard Mandarin as HL for all pupils in CCS. Thus, this makes identity construction in CCS more complex and challenging.

Considering established research regarding the role of CCS on Chinese identities is scarce, this research will specifically explore CCS participants' identity construction and its connection to the role of CCS.

2.11 Summary

This review of the literature has discussed some of the existing research into the nature of CCS. There have been some influential studies (especially Francis, Archer and Mau's (2008) research on Cantonese-focused CCS), which have explored the possible roles of CCS and CHL education. In particular, the studies reviewed above have investigated and theorised the importance and role of Cantonese CCS in the UK in Chinese identity formation. These studies provide excellent models and a basis for my own research as by reviewing those studies, I formed a general understanding of CCS and developed a methodological knowledge base. However, these studies were undertaken on the cusp of a transition that was hinted at in the research (Archer *et al*., 2009). These authors recognised a possible change in the Chinese population and, therefore, in the CCS, the language of the Chinese community and the challenges facing CCS. This offers me an exciting opportunity to explore. The literature reviewed above suggests little is known about the goals, teachers, teaching approaches and perceptions of CCS in England at this time. My study aims to address this situation and conduct a number of case studies of CCS:

1 To understand the composition of three CCS including who is teaching and the backgrounds of the pupils;

2 To understand the goals and challenges facing CCS;

3 To understand the goals of the teachers, parents and pupils in CCS and how far their resources and training support them in addressing the changing situation;

4 To understand how CCS participants construct their identities and their connection with the role of CCS.

Chapter 3 Methodology and Method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with a short summary of the method I undertook to investigate these research questions. It then discusses the research paradigm, research approach, research design, ethnography and researcher's stance, the validity and reliability of the data produced, the ethical considerations and also makes it explicit how I collected the data and how I analysed the data.

3.2 The method

To investigate Mandarin-dominated CCS in England I undertook one case study of CCS in the West Midlands as a pilot study (Phase 1) and two case studies in the East Midlands of England (Phase 2). These CCS were chosen as cases and each includes:

- A report of the history and origins of the CCS;
- Examination of the literature related to the CCS (publicity, websites and policies, textbooks, school timetables, test papers, worksheets and relevant documentary material) to consider the stated goals and methods of each school;
- The views of the head teachers, teachers, parents and pupils primarily based on semi-structured interviews with head teachers, teachers and parents and group discussions with students;
- Field notes to capture the activities taking place within the CCS during ethnographic observation and classroom observation, to record my reflections on casual conversations with parents, teachers and pupils as well as group

discussions with pupils, semi-structured interviews with head teachers, teachers and parents within a CCS.

The data for each case included field notes, classroom observation notes, recorded interview transcripts and documents (mainly textbooks) collected from each school. The rationale for the choice of methods is discussed below, including the ways in which CCS were investigated.

3.3 Research paradigm

A paradigm is a belief system or theory guiding investigators' practices or actions of inquiry into educational phenomena (Morgan, 2007; Bryman, 2001). It is the basis of the methodology used in a study (Bryman, 2001) and the paradigm at the basis of this methodology is discussed here. Research paradigms have different applications according to specific disciplines. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) summarise three main paradigms in educational research — positivist, interpretive and critical theorist (p.45). A positivist paradigm is concerned with objective reality and how people describe reality using experimental and quantitative methods. An interpretive paradigm is related to individual constructions or interpretations of reality, which is grounded in people's experiences, individual perceptive of particular situations and personal behaviour and relies heavily on naturalistic methods such as interviews, observations and documentary analysis (Cohen *et al.*, 2011; Hartas, 2010). In contrast to the positivist paradigms that are often the basis of quantitative approaches, interpretive paradigms more often generate qualitative research approaches — as in the case of this study. A critical theory paradigm refers to the ideology that knowledge is not value free and bias should be articulated (Guba, 1990). In this research, an interpretive paradigm is predominant because of the nature of the research questions, which focus on

individual perceptions, understandings and experiences of a particular phenomenon. As with interpretive paradigms, qualitative methodologies focus on the way people construct the world they live in and their feelings and interpretations of the situations around them. This research aims to understand the social phenomenon of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS and explore the views and experiences of participants (teachers, parents, students) in CCS, which is consistent with the philosophical foundations of the interpretive paradigm and qualitative approach.

3.4 Research approach

My research employed a series of qualitative case studies. The choice of the qualitative approach is due to the nature of the research questions. Unlike quantitative approaches, which mainly focus on the quantity of subjects and responses including how much or how many and where results are usually presented in numerical form, qualitative research is concerned with the quality, the essence or nature of a phenomenon which people attribute a meaning to through interpreting their experiences and construction of their worlds (Merriam, 2009; Marshall and Rossman, 2016). My research questions are about the depth of a phenomenon. This research adopts a methodology that enables me to answer my research questions and really explore and understand CCS — who is involved, what goals they want to achieve, how they achieve those goals and what their lived experience are. In doing so, I aim to understand the challenges faced and the views of those involved. These questions are related to people's understandings of their experiences and their perceptions of particular phenomena, which call for a qualitative research design as the most effective way to investigate Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS for which an in-depth and detailed exploration of CCS is required.

3.5 Case study

3.5.1 Rationale for case study

Case study methodology is a qualitative approach which is mainly used to examine a specific phenomenon; as Merriam (1988) points out, the specific phenomenon can cover "a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group" (p.9) and case study research can provide a holistic, in-depth and thick description of the phenomenon. Some key factors contribute to the decision to choose case study research (Merriam, 2009), which are also related to the current research.

The nature of the research questions for this study concern "how" and "why" Mandarin teaching and learning take place in CCS, so the researcher has little control over the situation in this study. It means this research does not investigate a cause-and-effect relationship within the phenomenon and the researcher is not interested in manipulating the variables to get an experimental result; the researcher hopes to get a detailed and thick understanding of CCS.

In addition to the above features of case studies, Merriam (1988) argues the choice of a case study is dependent on when the case is an investigation focus. The case is also called the bounded system (Smith, 1978) because a case selected for study has boundaries, which are usually established by the nature of the question to be investigated (e.g. time, place and some activities). A case is sometimes selected as an instance of "some concern, issue, or hypothesis" (Merriam, 1988, p.10), as in this research, where the changing population of the UK suggests that CCS may be facing new, undocumented challenges. Alternatively, a case might interest researchers because

they want to develop an overall understanding of it as far as possible (Merriam, 1988). The case study is also viewed as "interpretation in context" (Cronbach, 1957, p.123), which means it is particularly designed for certain situations or phenomena where it is difficult to separate significant factors, elements or variables of the phenomenon from their context (Yin, 2009; Merriam, 1988). This research aims to provide a rich, detailed, thick as well as comprehensive interpretation of the situation and social phenomena of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS under the changing context mentioned in the review of the literature.

Merriam (1988) provides some other researchers' definitions of case studies, which she thinks are advanced definitions of the case study, based on "interpretation in context" (p.123). Wilson's (1979) definition of a case study focuses on "a process which tries to describe and analyse some entity in qualitative, complex and comprehensive terms not infrequently as it unfolds over a period of time" (p.181) while MacDonald and Walkers (1977) conceptualise a case study as "the examination of an instance in action" (p.181). Guba and Lincoln (1981) argue a case study aims to "reveal the properties of the class to which the instance being studied belongs" (p.181). By contrast, Becker (1968) defines the purpose of the case study as "to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the groups under study" and "to develop general theoretical statements about regularities in social structure and process" (p.233). Those significant definitions indicate the nature of my case study, that is, to describe and reveal a comprehensive understanding of CCS in England.

Based on previous researchers' definitions of case studies, Merriam (1988) proposes particularistic, descriptive, heuristic, and inductive are four important characteristics of

case studies. She defines a case study as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of single entity, phenomenon, or social unit" (p.16) and case studies are particularistic, focusing on specific phenomena or situations; they are descriptive, offering rich and holistic description of the phenomenon under study; they are heuristic, furthering readers' understandings and they are inductive, concentrating on processes, understanding and interpretation (Merriam, 1988). Those four characteristics reflect the nature of the current research, aiming to understand the particular social phenomenon of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS; to provide a thick and rich description of CCS; to explore new understandings and extend the knowledge of CCS rather than simply through a review of the literature and provide possible suggestions for further study in this field. What each characteristic is and how each relates to my research are explicitly explained below.

Particularistic is concerned with the focus of case studies on a particular situation, event, programme, or phenomenon (Merriam, 1988). As Shaw (1978) argues, case studies concentrate on "the way particular groups of people confront specific problems, taking a holistic view of the situation" and they are "problem centred, small scale, and entrepreneurial endeavours" (Shaw, 1978, p. 2). This is true of this research. My study focuses on groups of CCS participants' specific experience and particular views of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS and each case has its particular characteristics to be explored, which makes my research unique and special.

Descriptive refers to a rich and thick description of the phenomenon generated from the study (Merriam, 1988). It also means "interpreting the meaning of …the demographic and descriptive in terms of cultural norms and mores, community values, deep seated

attitudes and notions, and the like" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, p.119). This research also attempts to provide rich, thick and descriptive context of CCS using Mandarin.

Heuristic means readers' understandings of the phenomenon under study are extended through case studies (Merriam, 1988). Case studies help to discover new meanings, extend the readers' experience as well as confirm existing knowledge. The literature indicates that research on CCS is largely set on Cantonese-focused CCS; however, there is a language shift towards Mandarin in British Chinese community in the last decade (Li and Zhu, 2013), which may have an impact on the language use of current CCS as well as CCS teaching expertise, resources and material. My research helps to further the established understanding of CCS, as my results in Chapter 4 show current CCS are experiencing changes, the Mandarin has been the preferred language and participants' backgrounds are diverse; hence new challenges for CCS arise in contrast with those already identified in the literature review.

Inductive is conceptualised as "generalisations, concepts, or hypotheses that emerge from an examination of data — data grounded in the context itself" (Merriam, 1988, p.13). Generalisation to other cases or situations is not sought in this research, because each case is interpreted in its specific context, which means findings from case studies need to be embedded in their specific contexts. However, case study research may provide reference and implications for future studies of this field.

Definitions of case studies help to understand a wide variety of goals and uses of case studies. Yin (2009) categorises case studies into three types in terms of the outcomes: *descriptive* case studies provide narrative accounts of the instance under study;

explanatory case studies are concerned with theory testing and *exploratory* case studies are often used as a pilot study for other educational research. Similar to Yin's (2009) classification, Merriam (1988) proposes three types of case studies which are *descriptive* case studies, *interpretive* case studies and *evaluative* case studies. Here *interpretive* case studies are used to "develop conceptual categories inductively in order to examine initial assumptions" (Cohen *et al.*, 2011, p.255) and *evaluative* case studies are considered as good means for explaining and assessing educational issues. Previous researchers argue though identified in different ways, case studies could be a combination of description and interpretation or description and evaluation rather than pure description (Yin, 2009; Merriam, 1988; Freebody, 2003; Cohen *et al*., 2011). Case studies in this doctoral research not only provide detailed and holistic descriptions of the context in which Chinese complementary schooling occurs but also explain the "causal links" (Yin, 2009), for instance, why Mandarin is preferred in CCS and explore how teaching and learning takes place in CCS. My research consists of three case studies, and each is exploratory because each case is unique and distinctive.

In discussing when to use a case study approach, Merriam (1988) argues the nature of the problem being investigated decides whether to choose a case study design, in addition to understanding benefits and limitations of a case study design. A case study could be considered when two "preconditions" exist: "humanistic outcomes or cultural differences" are concentrated in educational research rather than "behavioral outcomes or individual differences" (Kenny and Groteluschen, 1980 cited in Merriam, 1988, p.3); information gathered from participants "can be subject to scrutiny on the grounds of credibility" rather than "truth or falsity" of the data (p.4),which means a case study aims to remove incorrect conclusions so that the most possible and compelling interpretation

of the facts is left, rather than to find the true of correct interpretation (Merriam, 1988). In addition to the two preconditions, the uniqueness of a situation supported the decision of selecting a case study approach. This doctoral research aims to understand the current situation of CCS. Its attention stands on the activities and comprehensive understanding of CCS and, possibly, the changes that may have occurred during the last five to eight years in CCS. This research touches upon "humanistic outcomes and cultural difference" in CCS and also focuses on views of school participants (students, parents and teachers), related to how they think, which relies on their credibility.

Sanders (1981, cited by Merriam, 1988) argues case studies help to develop an understanding of "the process of events, projects and programs and to discover context characteristics that will illustrate an issue or object" (p.44). Process is the focus of a case study (Merriam, 1988). She argues "process" has two meanings. One means monitoring: "describing the context and population of a study, discovering the extent to which the treatment or program has been implemented, providing immediate feedback of a formative type, and the like" (p.31). The other means causal explanation: "discovering or confirming the process by which the treatment had the effect that it did" (p.31). Case studies in this research are helpful for understanding the process of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS, which includes understanding the context and population of CCS, the way in which the teaching and learning takes place and how school participants experience and feel in CCS.

3.5.2 Strengths and limitations of the case study for this research

The nature of my research problem decided the choice of a case study design. Strengths of a case study are accompanied by its limitations. Merriam (1988) argues a case study

provides a way of understanding a phenomenon through investigating potentially significant variables comprising entire complex social entities. It helps to enrich and complete individual understanding of the phenomenon and offer insights to expand readers' experiences. Case study plays a crucial role in enhancing a knowledge base of a field (Merriam, 1988), as a case study provides helpful insights for future research.

However, one limitation is the conduct of a case study may be time-consuming (Merriam, 1988; Cohen *et al*., 2011; Freebody, 2003). In order to gather rich data, a researcher might have to spent a lot of time in a setting and investigate a case in depth. This is more costly in terms of time than, say, a distant survey. However, the high intensity and costs yield high quality, rich, data (Cohen *et al*., 2011; Yin, 2009). My study is limited in scope to three schools; it deals with in-depth experiences and insights.

A further concern is the ethics issue. When a researcher starts to analyse data, the way in which he or she deals with the data might affect the final outcome. As Guba and Lincoln's (1981) argue, potential bias can affect the final product. It means I should not merely select the data I like, or merely fits my preconceptions. This is closely related to the validity and reliability of final results which is discussed in section 3.9. Validity and reliability are closely related with the transparency of how I conduct my data collection and analysis as well as how I present my full range of data in a proper way.

An additional limitation is mentioned by Guba and Lincoln (1981, p.377 cited by Merriam 1988, p.33): "Case studies can oversimplify or exaggerate a situation, leading the reader to erroneous conclusions about the actual state of affairs". However, according to Merriam (1988), Guba and Lincoln's (1981) argument does not really

apply to case study research, since a case study investigates a whole situation — not a representation or a part of a phenomenon and cases cannot be totally separated from their context. My research was undertaken in three CCS but each is explored within its specific context. Therefore, the findings from my research are not representative and very difficult for generalising to other CCS in the UK or create hypotheses, but are to gain a deep and comprehensive understanding of the process, events, and activities in CCS.

3.5.3 Multiple case studies

In order to enhance the validity and reliability of the conclusions of this research, three case studies (one pilot study and two exploratory case studies) were undertaken. This approach is also described as a multiple case study approach. The multiple case study approach describes the situation where researchers use more than one case study, which is sometimes also called collective case studies, cross-case, or comparative case studies. Under normal circumstances, multiple case studies are used to collect and analyse data from several cases to "add weight to the results by replicating the pattern-matching, thus increasing confidence in the robustness of the theory" (Freebody, 2003, p.84). These cases usually share common characteristics or conditions and they are sometimes "categorically bound together" when data is collected and analysed from several cases (Stake, 2006). Normally, involving more cases in a study means variation across the cases is greater and interpretation can be less compelling. As Merriam (1988) puts it, a multiple case study approach is "a common strategy for enhancing the external validity or generalisability of findings." (p.50). However, the multiple case study approach in my research is not simply the replication of a case. It is not used for generalisation either. The purpose of my case studies is exploratory. Each unique case is closely embedded

in a specific context, has its own particularity therefore, they cannot simply replicate each other. The approach can be a challenge for a lone researcher (Merriam, 1988) because the researcher needs to manage several cases. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) suggest that doing fieldwork within one site at a time can make multiple case studies easier, because the first case study will "have provided a focus to define the parameters of the others" (p.70). Based on this argument above, this doctoral research first conducted a pilot study in the West Midlands and afterwards, two case studies in the East Midlands of England.

3.6 Ethnography and researcher's stance

This research intends to provide a detailed, rich and comprehensive understanding of CCS including the current situation of CCS — its composition, its practice, experiences of its participants of Mandarin teaching and learning, challenges that CCS is faced with, the goals that its participants have and how resources and training support school participants in the changing situation. To achieve the aim of an in-depth and overall picture of CCS, an ethnographic approach might be appropriate to get rich and detailed information from the subjects under study. The term *Ethnography* is sometimes referred to as "thick description" (Geertz, 1973; Pole and Morrison, 2003) and its aim is to provide a detailed, in-depth description of everyday life and practice (Hoey, 2014). The aim of ethnographic research requires the researcher to enter the social world of the people or groups being studied (Hammond and Wellington, 2012, p.62). In order to develop an ethnographic understanding of the CCS in this study, I attempted to immerse myself in the field to get rich information through several sources of data — ethnographic observation, semi-structured interviews, casual conversations and documentary materials. However, before officially starting to collect the data, I got

involved in the pilot school as a Mandarin teacher at the very beginning of my study from September 2012, to March 2013. My teaching experience in the pilot school served as an exploratory role, assisting me with the review of the literature and also helped me to develop a preliminary understanding of CCS through what I saw and what I heard in a direct way. This was valuable experience, and helped me access the field of CCS later in the process of data collection. Involvement in ethnographic research entails "the study of behaviour in natural settings" (Elliott and Jankel-Elliott, 2003, p. 215), which means the researcher is able to get a fresh impression of the CCS and the lived experience of participants. However, ethnography is sometimes considered as challenging in terms of access to a research site and the researchers' impact on the research (Hammond and Wellington, 2012). Access to a field can be difficult due to different ethical procedures and standards. Hammond and Wellington (2012) pointed out that in the past, researchers might sometimes carry out covert research, not making others know researchers' statuses, for this reason, which presents ethical difficulties and enormous practical problems.

The influence of the ethnographic researcher has been called the "observer effect" on the group being studied. This is important if the researcher's aim is to be gradually accepted by the people or group in the setting being studied and "therefore becoming party to insider knowledge, insights and conversations" (Hammond and Wellington, 2012, p.189). However, the researcher's questions, body language, dress, observations and comments and indeed, their very presence in a social situation will have an impact on their ability to do this and the researcher needs to carefully consider his or her influence on this setting and the people in it (Hammond and Wellington, 2012; Elliott and Jankel-Elliott, 2003). On the one hand, the researcher needs to fit in to the field

being studied; one the other, he or she needs to probe people's views, prejudices and 'take-it-for-granted' assumptions to 'bring out' the tacit and unspoken things that go on (Hammond and Wellington, 2012). This could be related to what Dwyer and Buckle (2009) call the "space between the insider and outsider". The role of an ethnographic researcher in a research site is concerned with what he or she collected and analysed (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). "Whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristics, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p.55).

The role of insider refers to when researchers carry out research within the group of which they are also members (Mercer, 2007) so that the researcher shares an identity, a language, and experiential base with the participants under study (Asselin, 2003). The insider role provides researchers with a certain amount of legitimacy and /or stigma (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane and Muhamad,2001), which frequently allows researchers to be accepted by their participants more rapidly and deeply, allowing researchers to gain a deeper level of data, as the participants are more open with researchers.

In this study, I gained access to the field rapidly to undertake data collection because the participants in this study accepted me and agreed to participate. I believe that my identity as a Chinese Mandarin speaking student and my background of teaching experience in CCS (during the pilot), helped the teachers, parents and pupils to feel open and secure about talking to me. They treated me as someone sharing the same

language, from a similar background, and with similar experience to them and, of course, there are many assumptions inherent in such a shared background. As Dwyer and Buckle (2009) pointed out, the benefit of being a member of the group one is studying is their acceptance. It provides a level of trust and openness in the participants, who are more willing to share their experiences because there is "an assumption of understanding and an assumption of shared distinctiveness" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p.58). This shared status has benefits as access, entry, and common ground to begin the research is provided by it; however, the status may impede the research process as it progresses (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). There may be a risk of losing objectivity and the participants may make assumptions of similarity or shared experience and therefore fail to explain their individual experience fully (Borman, LeCompte and Goetz, 1986; Bucerius, 2013). The insider role can also create a heightened level of researcher subjectivity that can be detrimental to data analysis and even data collection (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Asselin, 2003). Role confusion might occur when the researcher responds to the participants or analyses the data from a perspective other than that of researcher (Merriam, 2009). There is a higher risk when the researcher is familiar with the research setting or participants of adopting a role other than that of researcher (Gregory and Ruby, 2011). The researcher's perceptions might be clouded by his or her personal experience and as a member of the group; he or she will have difficulty separating his or her own experience from that of the participants (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). For instance, as a Chinese student, it might be very normal to sit at the front of a classroom; however, in a British classroom, students normally prefer to sit at the back. When I did the classroom observation, I noticed that the Chinese parents made their children sit at the front in CCS. At first, I took this for granted until I compared it with the situation of British mainstream classrooms in primary schools. One way to try and

offset this possible drawback was to discuss the field notes I made with my non-Chinese supervisors.

The insider role gives a greater depth to the data gathered; however, I made myself adopt the role of outsider as far as possible to guarantee the objectivity of my data and analysis by cross-checking my observations, as described above. Being an outsider does not create immunity to the influence of personal perspective either. Not being a member of the group can facilitate finding out about the group. As Fay (1996) explained the benefits of being an outsider:

> "1. Someone from the outside might more adequately conceptualise participants' experiences. 2. People are full of overlapping, confusing, ambivalent, mixed, and sometimes contradictory goals, motives, desires, thoughts and feelings. The outsider sometimes is able to see through the complexity; 3. Outsiders might more clearly see what is occurring and can override their self-deception." (p.20)

As a Mainland Chinese student from a UK university, my experience is not completely that of the participants in CCS. The different personal experiences, different backgrounds and even different values of the participants made me an outsider to the research site. I am not a UK Chinese parent and I have no experience of attending CCS so I am an outsider for CCS parents and students. The part insider, part outsider role means that I must be completely authentic when interacting with my participants and "honour the consequences of acting with genuineness, highlighting the necessity of remaining reflexive" (Glesne, 1999, p.60), which refers to paying attention to the effect of my presence on a CCS being investigated and reflecting on my own views, context and biases and how they affect my research process, including data analysis (Carpenter and Suto, 2008, p. 93).

3.7 Methods used for data collection

The research aims to undertake three case studies of Chinese learning in CCS, including the school activities and views of the participants. Each case is unique. The aim is to present the situation of each CCS, the views of the participants and explore what each means for Chinese language teaching and the role of the CCS. The methods chosen to address these questions are based on the paradigm discussed.

3.7.1 Case selection

The key criterion for selecting cases was that they should be CCS as defined in the review of the literature. It means they are part time, not involved in mainstream education. However, beyond this, a willingness to participate was a required characteristic, since this research seeks views. This means the cases are an opportunistic sample of the population of CCS in England.

The process of selecting the schools for the case studies was very prolonged and intensive. In the first instance, the researcher sought contact with CCS in the West Midlands and established a strong relationship with one CCS. This school allowed informal exploration of the issues arising in CCS and discussions with the staff of the school over a period of six months, during the conduct of the literature review. Indeed, the researcher did some teaching in the CCS to develop her understanding of the challenges facing the teachers.

This was an informal phase of the research but it offered a sound basis of experience upon which to begin the design for the case studies, questions and observations. From the initial exploratory case study, other CCS in the West Midlands were identified. It

was at this point that the shift to Mandarin as the dominant language of CCS was initially recognised, as this does not appear in the literature.

This exploratory phase of case selection was the basis of my upgrade process. At the start of PhD second year, following the upgrade process (i.e. from MPhil to PhD), the researcher relocated her PhD study to the University of Nottingham, because her supervisor had moved there. This was beyond the researcher's control and disrupted the case selection. New links were made and visits conducted with schools in the area to develop relationships. (see Table 1)

Table 1 developing a relationship with CCS in East Midlands

	Visits	**Period**
School A	3 visits	Dec 2014- Jan 2014
School B	2 visits	Jan 2014- Feb 2014

3.7.2 Sampling within each case

A case study seeks to explore the phenomenon under consideration but cannot capture all of it. The aim of a case study is to collect data in such a way that it gives a full picture of the case. This means sampling the activities in each case will be useful later for collecting data in my case studies.

In each case, I undertook the data collection using the following steps,

- Forging a link with the case school through accessing it and then using open-ended observations (i.e. an unstructured approach to observe without predetermined ideas and record all that I observed in the school) and casual

discussions with people in the school to develop a general understanding of the background of the CCS (its history, population, premises, curriculum and any possible background information). The data was recorded in field notes as well as relevant documentary material.

- Getting involved in the classroom by going into and finding out what happens in a CCS classroom. Here the researcher made up to eight full lessons of classroom observation with a wide range of groups, following a prepared checklist (classroom observation notes) to record the classroom activities in addition to which, she used field notes to record any significant points that possibly related to the research questions. At this stage, she also had informal conversation with teachers before or after classroom observation and casual conversations with parents, pupils as well as open-ended observations of the case school.
- Semi-structured interviewing with head teachers, teachers, parents and pupils. Based on the review of the literature and open-ended observation within the case school, I developed semi-structured interview schedules to guide my interviews with the participants in my study. In this research, I conducted formal semi-structured interviews with ten teachers (two from the pilot school, four from School A and four from School B), 14 parents (two from pilot school, six from School A and six from School B) and led seven group discussions with students (one in pilot school, three in School A and three in School B)
- Gathering documentary materials. I collected the textbooks used in the CCS, test papers, school calendar, student lists, school publicity materials, work sheets and any relevant documentary materials. I sometimes took pictures of

classrooms as a record of the classroom settings with the permission of the teachers.

Within each case school, I used a purposive sampling technique to select my participants. The purposive sampling technique is the most common strategy used to select cases with rich information to study in depth (Merriam, 1988; Patton, 2005). My case study aims to understand the experiences and views of CCS teachers, parents and pupils, which means I needed to access a particular group of people in the CCS. The school head teacher was contacted and interviewed at the very beginning to gain a general understanding of the case school (e.g. its history, population, organisational features). After being given permission from the CCS, I accessed Mandarin classrooms for observation. During the classroom observation stage, I had an informal conversation with each teacher regarding lesson content, objective and any particular unclear points arising from a certain classroom observation, which were recorded in field notes. I further asked for the teacher's willingness to participate in a formal 30-minute semi-structured interview. Ten teachers in total participated in my interviews (two from the pilot school, four from School A and four from School B). Parents were selected according to a convenience sampling technique, which aims to select participants from people who are available at the time that the study is conducted and who fit the criteria sought by the researcher. Parents were accessed within CCS where they were waiting for or accompanying their children. During each semi-structured interview with a parent, I also asked if it was possible to invite his or her children to a small group discussion, which is a snowball sampling technique that allowed me to access pupils.

3.7.3 Observation

The essence of ethnographic methods consists primarily in participant observation, an approach by which the researcher is directly involved in community life where she observes and talks with people to get their views of reality (Agar, 1996). To develop an ethnographic understanding of what the life in the setting under study is like, the researcher may need to be a participant in the life of the setting while maintaining the stance of an observer that can clearly see and describe the social phenomenon (Hoey, 2014). This ensures the data gathered is rich as the participants feel safe and open to share and also minimises the researcher's impact on the behaviour of participants so that they feel comfortable in the presence of the researcher (Cohen *et al*., 2011). The participants contributing to my data collection were teachers, parents and pupils in the case study schools, who regarded me as one of them, by which I mean a person who shared the same language and culture and even similar experience of working in a CCS and studying and living as a university student outside Mainland China. Therefore, most of the time, they were happy to talk to me. Participant observation is an effective way of gathering fresh data, however it has disadvantages. For instance, any bias the researcher brings may affect the data — what is seen, recorded and interpreted. Also, the appearance of an observer may have an impact on the real situation to a greater or lesser extent (Merriam, 1988), which consequently influences the final results of the case study. For instance, my researcher stance might make some of the participants in my study change their behaviour. Once during classroom observation, the teacher asked me "What would you like me to do?" indicating that the teacher's behaviour might already have been disrupted by my presence in her classroom.

Ethnographic observation is one typical data collection method of ethnographic research, which is a data collection technique that requires the researcher to be present at, involved in the field setting and interact with people (Angrosino, 2007; Schensul, 1999). It is an effective way of gathering first-hand data and makes it possible to gain an understanding of the context and also continue a study when participants are not able to discuss the topic in the study (Merriam, 1988). However, ethnographic observation does not mean observing everything (Merriam, 1988) and for the current research, the researcher needed to observe the setting (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, 1959 cited in Merriam, 1988; Goetz and LeCompte, 1984 cited in Merriam, 1988; Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault, 2015). This includes:

1) The physical environment of each case school, the context and the behaviours that setting encouraged or discouraged;

2) The participants. This means those who attended each case school and the number and roles of those participants;

3) Activities and interactions which refer to what is going on, how people in the group interact with each other, whether there is a definable sequence of activities and so forth. This means interaction between teachers, parents and students as well as activities within mandarin classrooms in a CCS;

4) Frequency and duration. For instance, when an interaction between teachers and pupils happened and how long it lasted;

5) Subtle factors which include: 1."informal and unplanned activities" for example, some parents discussed with Mandarin teachers about children's progress in an informal way; 2. "symbolic and connotative meanings of words" for example, a girl said to her Mandarin teacher that CCS was not a real school when being asked to mind her behaviour; 3. "nonverbal communication" such as the looks on children's faces

and children's reactions to teachers' instructions ; 4. "unobtrusive measures" such as some physical clues and what did not take place in a Mandarin class—especially if it should have happened (Patton, 1980, p.155), for instance, a Mandarin teacher directly spoke English to her students who actually understand Mandarin, which was not anticipated in my study.

Based on the principles of what to observe in a case study, I developed my ethnographic observation plan. My observation was made up of open-ended observation and classroom observation. As discussed above, open-ended observation is used to develop a general and comprehensive understanding of the case school, and classroom observation aims to understand the details of teaching and learning in Mandarin classrooms.

For each case, I observed up to eight full Mandarin lessons using an observation checklist (see appendix 1). The focus of the checklist is mainly on language teaching, including resources, class activities and use of Chinese language by the teachers and pupils with a map of the classroom seating arrangements. Also based on the checklist, I made field notes of any important points such as behaviour or the comments of teachers and pupils in relation to my research questions. Appendix 2 contains an example of field notes showing details about the location and movements of the classes included in classroom maps.

3.7.4 Interviewing

Observation enabled me to have a direct look of what the CCS is like and what behaviours and practices go on in the CCS in my research. However, I still needed to

further my understanding of the experiences of the participants in CCS and to understand why certain behaviour happens and find out what they think and what their points of views of a certain phenomenon are in depth rather than make assumptions only based on my own experiences or perceptions. Therefore it was important for me to interview the teachers, pupils and parents in the case schools.

Semi-structured interviewing is also frequently used in ethnographic research because it enables the researcher to gather information "bearing on the research objectives" in a direct way (Cohen *et al*., 2011, p.268), obtain descriptions of research participants' own experiences (Kvale, 2008) and get to the core issues of the case in greater depth (Simons, 2009). The pre-interview-organised structure or outline can make the data collection systematic for each respondent (Patton, 1990) and its informal and open style can also guarantee the fluidity and flexibility of the interview. Based on the review of literature and observation, I developed my semi-structured interview schedules with teachers, parents and pupils respectively (see appendix 3, 4, 5). These schedules share a similar structure, which begins with the first, referring to the purpose of my research, and informing the participants of the confidentiality of the data, format and length of the interview and seeking their permission to record the interview and ends with an open-ended question about the participants' comments supplementary to this research.

At first, I conducted semi-structured interviews with each school head teacher (three in total), aiming to:

- Get an overall understanding of the background information of each case school (its history, its population, its links with local school, current resources and so forth)

- Understand the general goals and current difficulties challenging the case schools.

My semi-structured interview schedule with school head teachers was developed on the basis of these aims (see appendix 6) and it has four parts. The first refers to the purpose of my research and informs the participants of the confidentiality of the data, format and length of the interview and seeks their permission to record the interview. The second part is background information about the case school with six open-ended questions (e.g. the length of working in CCS, the reason for working in CCS, the aim and objectives of CCS, the number and background of teachers and pupils, the source of funding and any particular challenges). The third part includes three open-ended questions concerning teaching and learning in CCS (e.g. the curriculum, the activities, the way in which Chinese is taught, the relationship between the head teacher and teachers.) The final part relates to the connections between CCS and mainstream schools and includes five questions (e.g. the links between CCS and mainstream schools, the influence of students' CCS attendance on their performance in mainstream schools; the provision of CCS that supplements mainstream schools etc.). Each semi-structured interview with a head teacher was carried out in a face-to-face way and took around 30 minutes. An informed consent form for the interview (see appendix 19) was shown to each respondent and interviews were recorded with the respondents' agreement. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, which is the native language of two participants for better understanding and communication between the researcher and participants (One head teacher originally came from Hong Kong and Cantonese is his native language; however, he understands Mandarin Chinese therefore the interview with him was conducted in Mandarin Chinese). The interview data were transcribed into Chinese afterwards.

In this research, my interviews with teachers addressed the following questions,

- Their background information to help understand the population of CCS;
- Their experience of teaching Mandarin in CCS, which helps to understand the interaction between teachers and pupils, teachers and parents in CCS and challenges arising from their experience;
- Their perceptions of CCS and its relationship to Chineseness, which helps to understand the role of CCS in Chinese identity construction in the UK.

Based on the three themes and the preliminary results from observation, I developed my semi-structured interview schedule with teachers (see appendix 3), which has four parts. The first mentions the purpose of my research and informs the respondents of the confidentiality of the data, format and length of the interview and seeks their permission to record the interview. The second is general questions about background information of the respondent, including the length of working in CCS, the reason for working in CCS, work experience, current occupation etc. The third includes ten open-ended questions to help me understand the interaction between teachers and pupils. The fourth part has three open-ended questions that explore the interaction between teachers and parents. These questions provided me with an opportunity to discover how teachers understand Chineseness and the role of CCS in Chinese identity construction in Britain and also illuminate the issues, which I found at the observation stage. I conducted face-to-face interviews with teachers individually. Each interview took around 30 minutes. An informed consent form for interviews (see appendix 19) was shown to each respondent and interviews were recorded with respondents' permission. ten teachers from all three schools in total took part in my interviews (two from the pilot school, four from School A and four from School B). The interviews with teachers were

undertaken in Mandarin Chinese, which is their native language in order to achieve better understanding and communication between the researcher and participants. Interview data were transcribed in Chinese afterwards.

Interviews with parents were designed to answer the questions below:

- Their background information to understand the population of CCS;
- Their involvement in CCS and in pupils' Mandarin learning, which helps to understand the interaction between parents and pupils, parents and teachers in CCS and challenges arising from their experience;
- Their perceptions of CCS and its relationship to Chineseness, which helps to understand the role of CCS in Chinese identity construction in the UK.

Following my observation, I developed my semi-structured interview schedule with parents (see appendix 4). This semi-structured interview schedule has five parts. The first mentions the purpose of my research and informs the respondents of the confidentiality of the data, format and length of the interview and seeks their permission to record the interview. The second part has warm-up questions regarding background information of the respondent and his or her family, which includes the number of children they have, their ages, language used at home, length of stay in the UK, the reason for sending their children to CCS, the distance between home and CCS, children's attendance etc. The third part has seven open-ended questions around children's experience in CCS (e.g. the subjects their children learn, homework, children's relationships with teachers and peers, children's behaviour and engagement in CCS etc.). The fourth part has three open-ended questions that explore parental involvement in CCS (e.g. their responsibilities in CCS, their contribution to CCS, their relationships with teachers). The fifth is about their perceptions of CCS and its

influence on their children (e.g. links with mainstream schools, provision of CCS, benefits of learning in CCS etc.). These questions allowed me to investigate further how parents perceive Chineseness and the role of CCS in Chinese identity construction in Britain and also illuminate the issues, which I found at the observation stage. I conducted face-to-face interviews with teachers individual by individual. Each interview took around 30 minutes. An informed consent form for the interview (see appendix 19) was shown to each respondent and interviews were recorded with respondents' permission. 14 parents from three schools in total took part in my interviews (two from the pilot school, six from School A and six from School B). The face-to-face interviews with parents were undertaken in Mandarin Chinese, which is the native language of most of them (some Cantonese parents speak comprehensive Mandarin) so the researcher and participants could understand and communicate with each other better. The interview data were transcribed into Chinese afterwards.

Group discussions with pupils also followed a semi-structured interview schedule (see appendix 5), which developed on the basis of the following themes,

- Their background information to understand the population of CCS;
- Their experience of learning in CCS, which helps to understand the interactions between pupils and teachers, pupils and parents and challenges arising from their experience;
- Their perceptions of CCS and its relationship to Chineseness, which helps to understand the role of CCS in Chinese identity construction in the UK.

My semi-structured interview schedule with pupils had four parts. The first referred to the purpose of my research and informed the participants of the confidentiality of the data, format and length of the interview and seeks their permission to record the

interview. The second is background information of the respondents (e.g. name, age, home language, group, travel distance, the reason of attendance, frequency, transport to CCS etc.). The third part is about pupils' experience of CCS (e.g. activities, subjects, homework, engagement, relationships with teachers and peers, behaviour, comparison to mainstream schools etc.). The fourth concerns parental involvement (e.g. parental support, parental responsibilities in CCS etc.) Each group discussion with two to four students took around 30 minutes and in total, seven group discussions were carried out (one in the pilot school, three in School A and three in School B). Before commencing the group discussions with pupils, I first sought and achieved the consent of teachers and their parents. An informed consent form for group discussions (see appendix 19) was shown to each respondent and group discussions were recorded with respondents' agreement. The interviews were conducted in English assisted by Mandarin most students' first language is English (but there were respondents who had recently arrived in the UK and could not understand English very well). The interview data were transcribed into English and Chinese afterwards.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews and group discussions, I also had several informal conversations with the participants in my study when doing my observation in each case school and these helped me to gather authentic information directly on key points to supplement my interview results.

3.7.5 Documentary collection and analysis

Documents provide alternative data sources for this research and are described as a source of data that are already prepared for researchers to easily access (Merriam, 2009, p.139). Documents comprise a wide range of written, visual, digital, physical materials

related to the study in hand (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2005). Documents also include artifacts defined as "symbolic materials such as writing and signs and non-symbolic materials such as tools and furnishings" (LeCompte, Preissle and Tesch, 1993, p.216) such as stickers, snacks used as rewarding in sample schools in my research. Documents can include any forms of stuff in existence before conducting a research (Merriam, 2009; Cohen *et* al., 2011). For example, I collected each school's publicity materials, application forms and school calendars prior to the field work.

Based on different scholars' arguments, Merriam (2009) suggests that public records and personal documents are the two main types of document in qualitative research and in addition, "popular culture documents" (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007) and visual documents including films, videos and photographs are the other two types. Merriam (2009) suggests public records are the official, on-going records of a society's activities such as agency records, programme documents and sometimes previous studies and data banks of information are a type of public record. For example, in this research, I collected some essential reports for the research background, such as the summary report on the 2011 census from Office for National Statistics.

Personal documents refer to "any first individual narrative that describes a person's actions, experiences, and beliefs" (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007, p.133), which include a wide range of "diaries, letters, home videos, children's growth records, scrapbooks, photo albums and calendars, auto-biographies, and travel logs" (Merriam, 2009, p.141). Personal documents are considered to be reliable in respect of an individual's attitude, beliefs and view of world; however, as they are subjective, they are not representative but could reflect the participant's perspective, which is what qualitative research seeks

(Merriam, 2009). For example, I took pictures of students' individual paperwork and greeting cards to their Mandarin teachers in my research. Popular culture documents refer to mass communication materials that are "good sources for dealing with questions of some aspect of society at a given time, for comparing groups on a certain dimension, or for tracking cultural change and trends" (Merriam, 2009, p.144) and include visual documents such as film, video and photographs. For example, the Chinese videos, songs and pictures used in Mandarin classes are one type of data source for my research.

Documentary analysis can complement observation and interviews in a visual and physical way in case study research (Gillham, 2000) and helps the understanding of a case "in the cognitive as well as in the visual sense" (Gillham, 2000, p.88). In this research, textbooks, school calendars, test papers, work sheets and publicity materials are all relevant documentary materials collected from the case schools and used to illustrate the activities that took place in CCS as visual evidence (see appendix 13, 14, 15, 16). They provided a good data source of what a Mandarin lesson might look like, what the structure and the content of a book is, and how school participants used the textbooks. The textbooks were analysed to add a better understanding of the structure of Mandarin lessons, the focus that CCS teachers following the course book structure have on their teaching and the problems that CCS students may have in their learning. Test papers and work sheets can help to see what students produced directly from their learning.

3.8 Data analysis

3.8.1 Rationale for qualitative data analysis

The goal of data analysis according to Merriam (2009) is to "find answers to the research questions" (p.176). Data analysis is considered as a process of making sense out of what the researcher has seen and read and what people have said (Miles and Huberman, 2008). It is a complex process of "moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts", "between inductive and deductive reasoning" (this will be explained in greater depth in 3.8.4.2), and "between description and interpretation" (Merriam, 2009, p.176) and the meanings, understandings or insights make up the findings of a study.

Data analysis consists of "examining, categorising, tabulating, testing, or otherwise recombining evidence, to draw empirically based conclusions" (Yin, 2009, p.126). The analysis of a case study is described as one most difficult stages of case study research as the "techniques still have not been well defined" (Yin, 2009, p.126). Merriam (2009) suggests that the paramount consideration in analysing case studies is to convey the understanding of the case by identifying the features of the specific type of qualitative research to make the findings clear and understandable. The aim of the data analysis of this study was to identify the features of teaching and learning in CCS in response to the research questions.

This research consists of three unique case studies. The goals of the case studies are exploratory, to investigate the current situations of CCS in the study rather than to generalise the findings to other CCS in Britain. Therefore, the data for each case was

analysed separately. The results and findings are reported in Chapter 4, based on the two phases of the PhD research.

The data for this research, as pointed out, were qualitative, including lesson observations, interviews with head teachers, teachers, parents and focus groups with students, field notes and documents. Qualitative data are described as "not easily reduced into numbers and related to concepts, opinions, values and behaviours of people in social contexts" (Babbi, 2015, p.314). Therefore, the data needed to be analysed qualitatively.

3.8.2 Methods of qualitative data analysis

Thematic analysis is used to analyse qualitative data in this research. Thematic analysis is a method for "systematically identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.79). In this doctoral research, the thematic analysis is more like a form of grounded analysis, by which I mean at first, I intended to see what is grounded in my data rather than rely on analytical constructs, categories or variables from pre-existing theories. That means, I jointly collected, coded and analysed my data and then decided what data to collect and where to find them (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). This qualitative data analysis approach aims to identify patterns (themes) of meaning across a dataset that provides an answer to a particular research question through a rigorous process of data familiarisation, data coding, theme development and revision (Braun and Clarke, 2006). One advantage of thematic analysis is flexibility, which means it suits a wide variety of research questions and topics and allows a researcher to focus on the data in numerous different ways. Thematic analysis is also an accessible and useful method that allows rich, detailed and

complex description of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This doctoral research attempts to understand school participants' experience and views, and uncover school participants' interaction in CCS, therefore, thematic analysis is chosen here to analyse numerous qualitative data sources.

Data analysis and data collection can be simultaneous in qualitative research (Merriam, 1988; Cohen *et al*., 2011; Miles and Huberman, 2008), and are not always separate, but interact with one another in ways to investigate the research questions. Wilson (1979) argues that data analysis does not always follow data collection; it may take the lead for data collection. This is true of this research, where the data was read and read as part of the data collection and so this contributed to the generation of themes in analysis. For example, as classroom observations were collected, I was able to identify themes emerging across observations and also issues for further investigation. The could then be further investigated in follow-up interviews and issues mentioned by research respondents, which were relevant but not in the interview schedule, were observed in Mandarin lessons. Miles and Huberman (2008) states that data analysis is a cyclical process consisting of three inter-linking sub-processes- data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification, and "these processes occur before data collection, during study design and planning; during data collection as interim and early analysis are carried out; and after data collection as final products are approached and completed" (p.180). The interactive nature of their model is captured in Figure 1 (cited by Babbi, 2015, p.315).

Figure 1 Components of data analysis

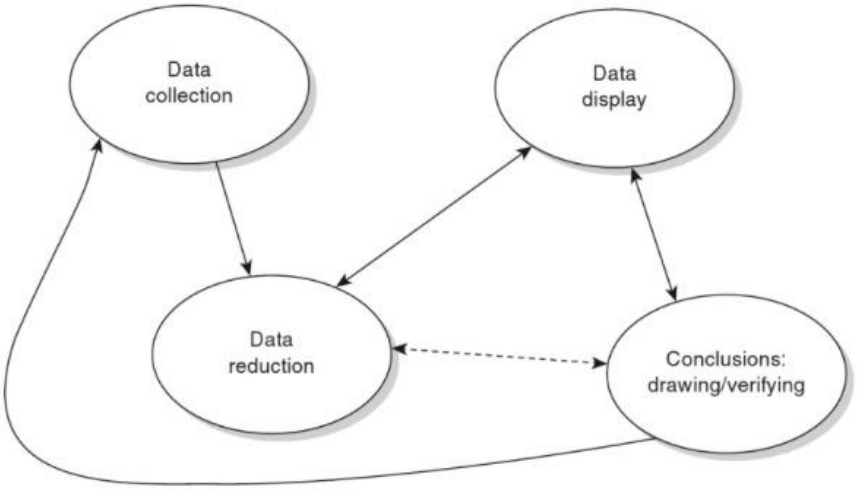


Figure 10.1 Components of data analysis: an interactive model (Huberman and Miles, 1998: 181)

These three components of data analysis were used in this research,

- The data collected for this study were overwhelmingly large and too much for everything to be analysed. Therefore, irrelevant information was excluded from the data at the beginning of the analysis of each type or set of data. For instance, one teacher's detailed talk related to her experience of teaching history in China was reduced in the interview transcript, as this response was irrelevant to her teaching Mandarin to beginners.
- The data were organised and displayed as tables or narrative texts, with very explicit explanations for each case in my research. Some insignificant data were also reduced at this stage, for instance, some parents talked too much about their personal issues which were not valid information for the study.
- Some possible assumptions indicated by the data were created after all the data from the three cases was presented. The qualitative data analysis of each case study is discussed in detail below.

3.8.3 NVivo and data analysis

Data analysis of this study was assisted by a qualitative data software package, NVivo for Mac. Analysing qualitative data is described as a time-consuming task especially when confronted with large amounts of data (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014; McLafferty and Farley, 2006). Traditional manual methods of data analysis (i.e. manually assigning quotations to a category, cutting and pasting them onto different coloured paper and re-organising them into sub- themes) brings concerns about messiness and costs too much time, hence is not seen as an effective and efficient way of analysing qualitative data (Merriam, 2009). This study collected a large amount of qualitative data, from classroom observation notes, interview transcripts, field notes and documents (e.g. textbooks) respectively from three case studies, so it was necessary to organise them for the follow-up analysis. Previous researchers (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014; Merriam, 2009; McLafferty and Farley, 2006) suggest that using Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) helps save time and enables qualitative researchers to easily work with large data sets. NVivo is CAQDAS that facilitates the systematic management and analysis of data (Burnard, 1994). The role NVivo plays in this research is as a tool for organising and managing qualitative data and assisting the researcher in making sense of the data during the process of analysis, allowing the effective coding, searching and retrieving of data and it helps to make the analysis process more explicit (Merriam, 2009; McLafferty and Farley, 2006). However, it does not mean that NVivo can replace the role of the researcher in analysing qualitative data (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007) and it requires time to learn how to use it.

NVivo played a key role both in the data collection and in data analysis stage of this research. I attended some short-term courses for NVivo, which were provided by the university when I was doing the literature review study in my PhD first year. When the PhD study moved on to the stage of data collection, I used NVivo for Mac as a data management tool to organise the field notes, interview transcripts and documents and attempts to code the raw data in the early data analysis. When I started to undertake intensive data analysis, NVivo for Mac gave me more time to analyse the materials, identify themes, glean insight and develop meaningful, evidence-based conclusions (examples can be found in the appendix). The technical problems with NVivo for Mac (e.g. breakdown, incompatibility with NVivo for Windows) disrupted the analysis several times, which frustrated me because the tool supposed to promote efficiency in fact caused trouble (see appendix 17).

3.8.4 Process of qualitative data analysis

Data analysis of this research consists of **early data analysis** and **intensive data analysis**.

3.8.4.1 Early data analysis

Data collection and data analysis are indeed ongoing processes (Merriam, 1988). As suggested by previous researchers (Merriam, 2009; Miles and Huberman, 2008) analysing data at the same time as collecting it is helpful. When the researcher has already started basic data analysis, this can inform the on-going process of data collection. The data collection consists of two phases: one initial case study in the West Midlands and two further case studies in the East Midlands. In each case, as mentioned above, the first stage of data collection consisted of open-ended observations,

which primarily served as an exploration for understanding the setting of each case school, the population and practice of each school and exploring the aims of the school participants in attending the CCS. This enabled the researcher to formulate the questions, understand issues that school participants might have and select important issues to study in the next stage. Classroom observation in the second stage recorded the researcher's views of activities in the classroom and also helped to develop themes to answer the research questions. It also laid the basis for follow-up discussions with school participants on specific problems and examples arising in Mandarin classes, which contributed to the participants' explanation of their understanding and views. Data analysis with observation still in progress was an attempt to find answers to the research questions and also to search for potential topics for interviewing the school participants in CCS. The researcher continued sorting out the field notes of her observation and writing down her reflective thoughts and views after each school visit and simultaneously analysed each written-up field note as well as reviewed her observation techniques. This enabled me to collect effective data during the subsequent observations and reduce data overload in the next round of intensive data analysis. In the process of the early data analysis, I reviewed the field notes as I went along and planned to "pursue specific leads" (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007, p.163), in the following stage of data collection (i.e. interviewing school participants) and wrote comments on the observations to stimulate critical thinking about what I had seen and tried to reflect on the issues raised in the settings. The instance when Chinese parents sent their children to the seats at the front of the classroom lead to the topic of Chinese parents' education values in the interviews with parents. After observing Mandarin lessons, the data collection moved to the stage of interviewing school actor participants. Semi-structured interview schedules were developed based on the review of the literature and

the preliminary results generated from observations. Each interview was audio-recorded and immediately transcribed into written texts. I kept track of my views and thoughts, selected effective data and reduced useless data when revising each interview transcript and attempted to pick out key information that answered the research questions as well as crucial points to discuss in the follow-up interviews.

The early data analysis started at the same time as the data collection. Qualitative data from field notes of observation, lesson observation notes, interview transcripts and relevant documents gathered in the field contributed to the first phase of the investigation, which then moved on to the phase of intensive data analysis.

3.8.4.2. Intensive data analysis

The intensive data analysis began after the data collection had finished and the fieldwork ended, that is, the field notes of observations, lesson notes, interview transcripts and documents were analysed deeply and in detail. Yin (2009) suggests that a good place to start is with the questions (e.g. questions in the case study protocol) rather than the data, which means keeping the questions in mind to focus on the right direction during the data analysis. The qualitative data analysis of this study generally went through the basic process recommended by Merriam (2009). She suggests starting by "identifying segments in your data set that are responsive to your research questions" (p.176). The segment is a unit of data, which might be the answer or part of an answer to the research questions; a unit of data should meet two criteria (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.345):

1. The unit should reveal information related to the study and stimulate readers to think beyond the information;

2. The unit also should be interpretable when any additional information is absent. The nature of data analysis is "breaking data down into bits of information and then assigning these bits to categories or classes which bring these bits together again" (p.177).

For instance, one excerpt from an interview with a head teacher as well as a field note below reflect one aspect of the challenges facing CCS, which are part of an answer to the research question.

[Excerpt 1: interview with head teacher in the pilot school which is an initial West Midlands School]
R: Is there any specific challenge that your school is facing?
T: Yes. I think the biggest problem is money. We do not have enough money so as you can see, we have to borrow seminar rooms from the university. We cannot send out our teachers to any specific teacher training courses. The resources are also limited. It is actually difficult for teachers to give lessons with limited resources. They are doing really hard work.

[Excerpt 2: field note of open-ended observation in School B]
This school is located in a mainstream school. They pay a high rent to the English school. The tuition fees cannot cover the rent (reported by the head).
Two university teachers complained about the low rates of pay to me.

The segments concerning "money" "seminar rooms" "teacher training courses" "limited resources" "high rent" "low pay" demonstrate that the funding issue, which consequently caused the problems of premises, teaching quality and resources was challenging for the CCS in the study.

At the stage of intensive data analysis, I followed the basic "step by step qualitative data analysis guidance" suggested by Bryman (2001) by:

1) Reading the field notes, interview transcripts, documents;

2) Labelling the relevant pieces;

3) Deciding which codes were the most important, and creating categories by bringing several codes together;

4) Labelling the categories and deciding which were the most relevant and how they connected to each other;

5) Considering some other option;

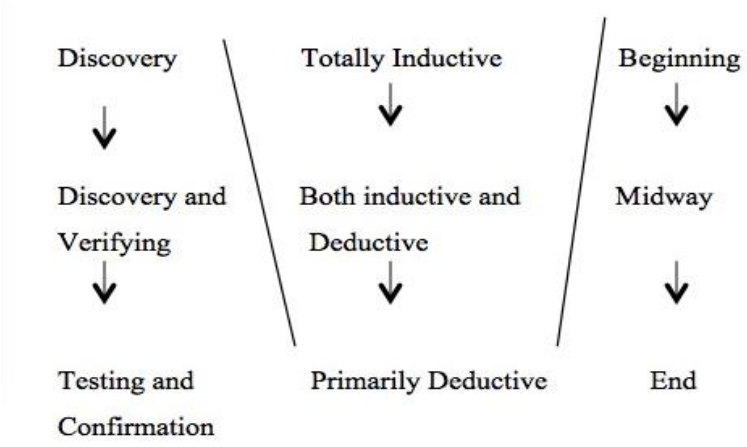
6) Writing up the results.

I first browsed through the entire sets of lesson notes/ filed notes/ interview transcripts/ documents as a whole and made notes about my impressions then read each set of texts one by one. As I read the texts, I began to label relevant words, phrases, sentences or sections that related to the answers to the research questions, called coding the data (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative coding reveals the meaning of the data and the themes or patterns of people's lives (Charmaz, 2006, p.46). As the number of codes increased, I began to group the codes into categories, defined as "abstractions derived from data" (Glaser and Strauss, 2009). These categories could be the main results of this study; however, refining and revising categories can continue through to the writing up of the results. Sorting out the categories of qualitative data underwent a shift from induction to deduction. This means that the construction of categories was highly inductive, starting with detailed bits or segments of data, then clustering data units together and putting the units into categories; as data collection with data analysis moved on, some categories remained solid while others derived from earlier data were excluded on the basis of subsequent data analysis; as I approached the end of this study, the stance was more deductive as I looked for more evidence in support of the final set of categories. For instance, when I had analysed a few interview transcripts, I found that when asked what they expected for their children in CCS, one respondent discussed the importance of Mathematics and the effects Mandarin may have on Mathematics,

"我觉得普通话其实对于现在他们的数学学习也是有帮助的。比如我孩子现在正好在学习九九乘法表，我发现如果可以用普通话背诵口诀的话要容易很多。我觉得把数学学好非常重要。我还是觉得现在英国学校教的数学太简单了。像他们这样的同龄人在国内已经学了很多东西了。"（I think Mandarin is helpful for learning Mathematics. For example, my son is learning his times tables. I found they were easier to remember if they could be memorised in Mandarin. I think it is important to learn Mathematics well but what the current English schools are teaching is far too easy. Students of their age in China have already learned more than them.）

At the first open coding stage, I made the categories "importance of Mathematics" "Mandarin's effects on learning Mandarin". However, as I continued to analyse more interview transcripts, I found that "the importance of Mathematics" was not mentioned by other respondents. A new category generated "parental values of education" which in fact included "the importance of Mathematics" therefore, the two categories "the importance of Mathematics" and "Mandarin's effects in learning Mathematics" were deleted. Furthermore, I was able to find more evidence in support of the category "parental values of education" from other interviews and field notes.

Figure 2　Logic of data analysis



The logic of data analysis, Merriam (2009)

Based on the Merriam's model of analysing qualitative data intensively above (see figure 2), each type of data analysis is discussed below.

3.8.5 Classroom observation notes

Classroom observations were undertaken according to a semi-structured observation schedule (see appendix 1). The aim of the observation schedule was to identify the practice of teaching and learning Mandarin in CCS. In addition to a list of planned activities or behaviours relating to the Mandarin teaching and learning to be observed, I also noted everything that happened during the lessons that might be potential topics for the interviews later. The notes were selected and put into the observation forms (one sample note is in appendix 2). Therefore, the observation notes were initially categorised based on the points in the observation schedule. This process was also needed to reduce data overload for better data management.

In addition to observation notes, photographs of pupils' work and classroom settings were also taken during and after the classroom observations. These supplemented the observation data in a visual way. For instance, a picture of the pupils' worksheets helped me to understand what classroom activities they usually carried out in Mandarin classes and the main objective of a Mandarin lesson; a photograph of pupils' test papers indicated another aspect of practice in CCS.

3.8.6 Field notes

The field notes recorded interesting behaviour, events, and activities emerging from the case study schools and the researcher's views and thoughts on them. They also recorded

key information from informal discussion with school participants. (An example of field notes is in appendix 7)

The field notes for each case study school were analysed together with the other sets of data to lay the basis for the interview questions with school participants. Some field notes simply provided a description of a particular behaviour or an activity or an event which helped to understand the cases. For example, a field note that "some Chinese parents sent their children directly to seats in the front of the classroom" (in School A) might help the understanding of specific behaviour in a Chinese way and their evaluation of education. Some field notes were used to record the researchers' own thoughts about a specific activity, behaviour or event. A person's ideas about the data may occur at any point in the data collection and analysis, therefore it is necessary to write down the ideas and thoughts as they may be useful in the future (Punch and Oancea, 2014). Notes of a researcher's reflections and ideas are considered as a type of case study analysis interpreted as memoing by Miles and Huberman (2008). For example, the field notes that "The textbooks in use might not be suitable for students from diverse backgrounds in one single Mandarin group. Teaching materials need to be improved to be functional and attractive according to the newly-emerging demands on CCS" were my own thoughts of the textbooks after a number of classroom observations and an initial interview with a teacher in the West Midlands study school (pilot school).

3.8.7 Interview transcripts

Interviews were carried out with each CCS head teacher, teachers, parents and there were group discussions with students. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed into written texts. Sample transcripts of interviews with school head, teachers, parents

and group discussion with students were given in appendix 8, 9, 10, 11. Interviews generated a good deal of narrative information and therefore a form of data reduction and analysis was essential to identify relevant responses to the research questions (Miles and Huberman, 2008). Key words from answers were carefully marked after the transcription of interviews. As discussed above, the semi-structured interview questions were developed based on the observation analysis and correspondence with the research questions, therefore, the answers were then categorised according to the research questions.

3.8.9 Textbook analysis explained

The class textbooks were also examined and a simple content analysis made, because the textbooks turned out to be important in Phase 1 of the data collection. This analysis was very simple and involved making judgements about the structure and content of each chapter of the textbook as well as discussing the teaching activities with non-Chinese friends and comparing them with English schoolbooks. This analysis resulted in charts of the contents which are discussed in the next chapter.

3.8.10 Coding the qualitative data: the procedure

Coding is generally used in analysing field notes, interview transcripts and documents (e.g. textbooks). The codes were directly generated from the qualitative data and as Saldaña (2009) suggests, a code is usually a word or phrase or even a sentence that "symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (p.3). Coding is defined as the starting activity in analysing qualitative data and the foundation for later analysis (Punch and Oancea, 2014). It usually uses tags, names or labels to attach meanings to

chunks of data (Punch and Oancea, 2014; Taylor and Gibbs, 2010). Coding consists of two stages – open coding and axial coding (Merriam, 2009). Open coding is the first step of coding, which helps to index the data and provides the basis for later summarising the data by themes or patterns (Punch and Oancea, 2014). Codes at this stage include descriptive codes which are summaries of primary topics of excerpts and analytical codes which go beyond description and develop in order to categorise and analyse data (Merriam, 2009; Miles and Huberman, 2008). Axial coding is advanced coding involving labelling and categorising the data (Punch and Oancea, 2014; Miles and Huberman, 2008). Codes at this stage are called inferential/ pattern codes, which seek for inference beyond the data and help the researcher to pull the data together into smaller, more meaningful units (Miles and Huberman,2008).

In this research, three types of qualitative data were first read through carefully after they had been collected for each case. Key words or phrases or sentences were highlighted and open coding was used with some descriptive codes assigned to the next texts. After the open-coding of all qualitative data for each case, axial coding was used and the descriptive codes of qualitative data belonging to the same case were grouped and noted down, while checking whether the codes attached to the qualitative data had appeared in previous data. After these had been applied to the qualitative data for three cases, the codes were refined, merged and then placed into categories for later analysis. A brief list of codes with examples is in appendix 18, which shows the general set of answers to the research questions of the study.

3.9 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are also an important consideration for research. As Walting (2000) points out, "Reliability and validity are tools of an essentially positivist epistemology" (cited in Winter, 2000, p.7). Validity relates to the integrity of the conclusions generated from the research, and reliability refers to whether the results of a study are reproducible under a similar methodology (Bryman, 2008). Both can be achieved on the basis of "careful attention to a study's conceptualisation and the way in which the data are collected, analysed, and interpreted" (Merriam, 2009, p.210).

Validity consists of external and internal validity (Malterud, 2001). As Cohen *et al*. (2011) state, external validity usually refers to the degree to which the results of the research can be generalised to a wider population, other cases or settings, times or situations, which is also called the transferability of findings and internal validity is mainly about demonstrating that the explanation of a specific event, issue or set of data is supported by the data. In qualitative research, "validity may be improved through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation as well as the disinterestedness or objectivity of the researcher" (Winter, 2000; cited in Cohen *et al*., 2011, p.133). External validity is considered as transferability and internal validity is described as credibility in qualitative research (Lincoln and Cuba, 1985). Merriam (2009) states that qualitative researchers should provide a detailed depiction of data collection and analysis in order to make the conclusions reasonable to the readers.

Reliability refers to stability, equivalence and internal consistency in quantitative research (Carmines and Zeller, 1979). Cohen *et al.* (2011) state that stability is a

measure of consistency over time and over similar samples; equivalence can usually be achieved through equivalent forms and inter-rater reliability; internal consistency requires tests or instruments to be conducted twice. Merriam (2009) argues that it is impossible to achieve reliability in qualitative research in the traditional sense, because "what is being studied in the social world is in flux, multifaceted and highly contextual, so the information collected depends on who gives it and how skilled the researcher is, and the emergent design of a qualitative study precludes *a priori* control" (p.221). Therefore, the same data in qualitative research can be interpreted into several results, and all of these can stand until directly contradicted by new evidence (Merriam, 2009). Reliability usually refers to dependability in qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), referring to the fact that if the findings of a study are consistent with the data in display, then the study can be considered dependable (Merriam, 2009).

As a multiple case study, this research does not attempt to offer generalisations, but simply investigates the situations of current CCS. This PhD study aims to provide a clear and transparent description of three CCS schools.

3.9.1 Transparency

The methodology of this research was developed to ensure the validity and reliability of the findings and conclusions. It is important to demonstrate the reliability of the case by making the conduct of this study transparent to the readers. Transparency of all processes also enhances validity, as the readers could see any threats to the validity of the conclusions which may be caused by the conduct of the study. Using self-reporting data is always a threat to the validity of conclusions, but it is necessary as the data collected is about what participants think. Cohen *et al.* (2011) suggest that it is difficult

to be bias-free in research, especially qualitative research in which human beings are involved as part of their world as they definitely bring with them their subjectivity, their beliefs, perceptions and personal experiences. Thus, in order to minimise bias, the researcher needs to avoid leading questions in interviews and attempt to achieve fidelity by encouraging participants to be as honest as possible in their self-reporting (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995). Bogdan and Biklen (1992; cited in Cohen *et al*., 2011, p.149) note, in qualitative research, reliability could be regarded as a fit between what researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched, i.e. the degree of accuracy and comprehensiveness of coverage. This is exactly what I aimed for in my research. In order to achieve this, I carefully chose the research design and instruments, made explicit the research procedures and gave a clear and thorough description of the research to improve the reliability of the research.

3.9.2 Language considerations

The issue of translation may affect both the validity of conclusions and reliability of the research. The classroom observation schedule and interview schedules were designed in Chinese primarily because my first language is Mandarin Chinese, as was the first language of the adult interviewees. In order to get reliable data, the classroom observations field notes were in Chinese. The interviews with teachers and parents were conducted in Mandarin for better understanding and communication between myself and the participants whose first language is Chinese. Interviews with the students were undertaken in English assisted by Mandarin as is not the native language of the students so possible misunderstandings could occur if the interviews were done in Mandarin. The translation of Chinese into English and English into Chinese required great case and caution. Some words exist in one language but not in the other, concepts are not

equivalent in two different cultures, idiomatic expressions and/or differences among English and Chinese in grammatical and syntactical structures may affect the quality of the findings (Song, 2013). Song (2013) argues: "Language is the carrier of culture. There is not true synonymy in languages and direct translation is extremely delicate because of the possible political and social connotations of words, especially in a professional domain." (p.101) Therefore, Ungerson (1996) argues that in order to avoid corrupted data caused by translation, sometimes loose literal translation is more effective for keeping the original meaning of the data. Translation of the data must consider both the linguistic issues and, more importantly, the cultural context (Acquadro, Jambon, Ellis and Marquis, 1996). It is crucial to translate the data as accurately as possible to reduce bias and minimise misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the original data (Ungerson, 1996). To address this issue, I invited another Chinese speaker with experience of both the UK and Chinese education system to check all the translations of the data collection instruments and translations of data that I was not sure of.

3.10 Ethical consideration

3.10.1 Consent

Informed consent relates to the participants' willingness to get involved in a study (Cohen *et al*., 2011). Obtaining consent from participants is a prerequisite for most educational research (Seidman, 2013; Miller, 2012). I first contacted the head of each case school hoping to gain access to the school. A formal letter containing the detailed fieldwork plan including the purpose, the methods of data collection, the timetable was sent to each school head (sample letter see appendix 19). After obtaining consent from

the CCS head, I contacted school participants including teachers, parents and students presenting them with a formal invitation letter. All the research participants were fully informed of the purpose, the planned procedures, and the conduct of the PhD research (sample letter see appendix 19). This research involved students therefore a DBS check was obtained in advance according to the BERA standards and consent from the children's guardians was gained as well, which was done in writing. All participants were assured they could withdraw their consent at any point although they had agreed to be involved in the research.

3.10.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

Since my study deals with school participants' private views they are entitled to be assured that all the data would be treated confidentially and anonymously. To conform to the Data Protection Act, the data collected does not include any participants' names or other unique identifiers. Neither individuals nor CCS schools can be identified in the report. Before I entered the schools, I submitted my Application for Ethical Approval for Research Degrees for approval by the University of Nottingham, which authorised the research in the schools.

3.11 Summary

In this chapter, I explained how I investigated my research questions and why I chose the way I did. This qualitative research undertook multiple case studies to explore the current situations of CCS, school participants' experience of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS, the challenges they face and how they address them. Three distinctive and unique Chinese complementary schools were selected to conduct case studies with the aim of exploring a phenomenon rather than generalising findings to other CCS in

the UK. The exploratory research consists of an initial teaching experience general acclimatisation phase together with a case study phase in the West Midlands and two subsequent case studies in East Midlands. The ethnographic approach enabled me to acquire detailed and in-depth information for the cases in this research. In each case, I undertook open-ended observations and casual talk with people to understand the overall background and culture of the school; classroom observations to understand the teaching and learning in a Mandarin class; semi-structured interviews with school participants (head teachers, teachers and parents) and group discussions with students to understand their views and experience of CCS. To complement the data collection, documentary analysis (mainly textbook) was also conducted to add information that could help to address the research questions.

I also discussed how I analysed my data and why I chose to do it this way. A great deal of qualitative data (field notes, classroom observation notes, interview transcripts, documents) was analysed on the basis of the "cyclical terms consisting of three inter-linking sub-processes- data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification" (Miles and Huberman, 2008, p.429). The qualitative data analysis of this research was also assisted by the software package NVivo for Mac. Coding and categorising was generally used for analysing classroom observation notes, field notes, interview transcripts and documents (mainly textbooks). Validity, reliability and ethical issues were carefully considered throughout the research, as described in this chapter. The next chapter will present the results and findings.

Chapter 4 Results and Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and findings of my research of three case studies of CCS in the UK. I have attempted to use the analysis of data described in Chapter 3 to give my readers a feeling of CCS and how Chinese language and culture is included, so that they can be aware of what is going on in CCS. I seek to foreground the distinctive features of CCS. I will set out findings from Phase 1 (pilot study) first, as these led to further inquiry and findings in the Phase 2 fieldwork.

4.2 Phase 1: results and key findings of the pilot study in the West Midlands

The results and findings of this initial, exploratory case are based on analysis of the following data:

- Experience of teaching five lessons in the school;
- Ethnographic observation and casual conversation;
- Four classroom observations of three Mandarin groups;
- Semi-structured interviews with two teachers, two parents and informal group discussion with three pupils；
- Documents of textbooks, school timetable, worksheets etc.

This data collection allowed me to get very involved with the school, and teach some lessons. The analysis was done by using the framework discussed in Chapter 3.

4.2.1 Background and population of the case school

The pilot school was based in a university in the West Midlands and operated on Saturday afternoons from 14.30 to 16.30. This is a Mandarin-focused CCS. According to the school head teacher, it was established primarily aiming for the maintenance of CHL and culture in second Chinese generations in 2011.

The pilot school was very small, consisting of three groups with a total of around 15 pupils. The age range of pupils was from two years to seven years old, with no older children doing public examinations in Chinese. Children were grouped according to their Mandarin levels. There were ten Chinese heritage children (with Chinese parents) and five mixed heritage children (with one Chinese parent). 12 (80%) of the children had been born and raised in the UK, with the rest born overseas but currently living in the UK. Parents had a high collective level of education. 26 (87%) of the parents were from middle class backgrounds in that four (13%) were employed in international companies and 22 (74%) were university staff and students. Additionally, 26 (87%) of the parents are Chinese, 20 of whom are Mandarin speakers and six are Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong, Macau and Malaysia (I discovered that they could speak comprehensive Mandarin in the pilot study). The teaching staff consisted of three regular teachers (two parents and one student) and one substitute teacher (one student), who were working or studying in the local university. All teachers came from Mainland China. In terms of language use at home, seven families (47%) were reported to use Mandarin, two (13%) use Cantonese with the remaining six (40%) use English.

The participants in the pilot school seem somewhat different in background and language use to those identified by Francis *et al*. (2008), who were mainly from Cantonese-speaking and working-class backgrounds (see 2.3). However, given the changing demographics of Chinese people in the UK, discussed in the review of literature, it is, perhaps, not surprising to find new types of schools to cater for new types of Chinese in the UK. This was a key issue to explore so Phase 2 aimed to target this particular issue by seeking different schools to allow this apparent inconsistency between the literature and fieldwork to be explored in greater depth.

Classroom observations (and experience of teaching) suggest that the classes in the pilot school had very small numbers (seven in the lowest class, five in the middle and three in the upper class). As teaching proceeded, it was clear that the atmosphere in the youngest class was very informal, and parents joined in activities with their children, led by the teacher. The first half of the lesson was games and the second part a language and literacy activity. In the upper and middle classes, the first half of the lesson was devoted to textbook focused work, followed by Chinese cartoons on video (which the children enjoyed, although not all of them understood) or games (see appendix 20: results of classroom observation in the pilot school). All the classes had a large table around which children and the teacher sat. The teacher would get up to lead using or standing by the whiteboard, ask children to read out loud so that she could monitor them and check what they were saying. The children all carried out the same activity and the teachers particularly supported the children with lower mandarin levels. The small number of children meant children could speak out and did not use more formal devices such as raising their hands to attract attention. This procedure seemed to be something

the teachers had learnt from each other. The Mandarin teacher of the middle group explained:

> “我正式教课之前，听了几次之前那个老师的课。我看着她怎么做的，我也就跟着学了过来。” (I had some classroom observations before I started to teach. I saw how the former teacher taught then I learnt from her.)

It is noticeable that the small size of the pilot school made it possible that each student could get assistance and attention from their Mandarin teacher. But I felt that this might well be unusual and so I aimed to find CCS with larger population in Phase 2 to explore how typical the teacher interaction and student experience was.

4.2.2 Key practice in the pilot school

Mandarin language and literacy was the main objective in the three Mandarin groups, and confirmed by classroom observations and interviews with school participants. The school’s online publicity indicated that children could learn Mandarin in this school. When asked why they sent their children to CCS, parents mainly focused on the language:

> “我儿子的中文不好，有的时候他的用法不标准，会犯错误。因此我决定送我儿子来这边学习普通话。”(My son’s Chinese is not very good and sometimes his language use is not standard Chinese. He makes mistakes. So I decided to send my son to learn Mandarin here.)

> “我虽然会说普通话但是我的发音不标准所以我把我儿子送到中文学校来。” (I can speak Mandarin but my pronunciations might not be standard so that is why I am sending my son to the Chinese school.)

Moreover, parents connected language and literacy with Chinese identity and, to a lesser extent, culture. For instance, one parent identified Chinese culture and identity as goals:

> “我希望他们逐渐能意识到他们是中国人或者至少可以理解一些中国文化。” (I hope the students can gradually develop an awareness that they are Chinese or at least they can develop an understanding of Chinese culture.)

Another parent said bluntly:

> “我和我丈夫都是中国人而且我女儿有一张中国面孔。如果她不会说汉语，真的很荒唐。” (My husband and I are Chinese and my daughter has a Chinese face. If she could not speak Chinese, it really would be ridiculous.)

Classroom observations and interviews suggest the teachers shared the parents’ goals and saw the main purpose of the school as teaching language and literacy. The substitute teacher said:

> “这些孩子跟他们父母回国。如果他们不会说普通话，人们会觉得他们是装的很新潮或者很不同。” (These children go back to China with their parents. If they cannot speak Putonghua, people may think they are pretending to be posh or be different.)

The Mandarin teacher of the youngest group believed that learning Mandarin helps children survive in China:

> “如果他们跟父母回国探亲的话，他们如果不能认识基本汉字，例如男或女，他们甚至无法使用公共厕所。” (If children go to see family in China and cannot even recognise male and female they cannot even go to the public toilet)

The teachers, too, connected the ability to speak Mandarin with Chinese identity:

> “他们是中国人所以他们应该会说汉语，这是他们的语言。” (They are Chinese children, so they should speak Chinese, because this is their language.)

Children’s responses suggested Mandarin is not very relevant to their everyday lives, compared with English, but watching Chinese cartoons in the class was the most

enjoyable activity, though most of the time, they did not understand the meaning of everything (or much, in some cases) of the Mandarin.

The documents collected from this pilot case also focused on literacy. The textbooks (called *Zhongwen* — Chinese language, edited by Jia in 2006) were written in simplified Chinese characters and focused on everyday life as children might experience it. They seem to be literacy-focused, because to use them, children needed to have some basic Chinese. The content of the textbook addressed key points of Chinese literacy teaching — stroke order, radicals, homophones and sentence types. The lesson plans shown to me did not follow a specific syllabus, but were based on the textbook, with the aim of finishing the book. The lessons were planned around language elements and individual teachers had specific objectives. For instance, the Mandarin teacher of the highest group was concerned about children's character recognition:

> "我希望班上的三个学生尽量做到看到一个字知道怎么读，知道是什么意思，并且听到的时候大概知道怎么写。" (I hope the three students in my class are able to pronounce a Chinese character, know the meaning of it and also write it out when hearing.)

In contrast, the Mandarin teacher of the middle group would like her students to develop an understanding of basic Chinese characters:

> "我每节课都准备一首儿歌给他们，而且我也会把个别简单字挑出来，教给他们，让他们去写，做到看到某个常用字，知道指的是什么，比如'鸟'。" (I prepare one rhyme each lesson, Also, I pick up simple characters and teach them to write. I hope they are able to tell the meaning of a common character like 'bird'.)

Mandarin teachers also had a strong sense of sharing Chineseness. They incorporated Chinese cultural elements (e.g. Chinese cartoons, Chinese songs and Chinese festivals) into Mandarin lessons. The Mandarin teacher of the highest group said:

> “我会让孩子们看一些与中华文化相关的动画故事，比如孔融让梨，谦让也是中国传统美德” (I show them cartoon videos related to Chinese culture, like ‘Kong Rong letting pears’ telling them it is a Chinese virtue to be modest.)

The substitute teacher said:

> “我每个月都会介绍一个特殊的中传统节日，让他们理解中国人怎么庆祝中国节日。” (I introduce a particular traditional Chinese festival every month, to help them understand that Chinese people celebrate Chinese festivals.)

Teaching practices varied hugely across groups, but were orientated to activities, which addressed literacy and aspects of the experience of learning Chinese culture and literacy. This was clear from the choices made by the teachers and the resulting activities in the classes observed. In the youngest group, parents were included in classroom activities and the teacher taught Chinese stories and songs. The teacher chose this content and there was no textbook for the very young children. Many of these were known to the parents and were traditional Chinese rhymes and stories such as *小兔子乖乖* (Good little rabbit). This is a story containing a rhyme “*小兔子乖乖，把门儿开开，快点儿开开，我要进来*。” (Little good rabbit, open the door, be quick, I am coming in.) and all Chinese children in the PRC would know this story, in much the same way as English children might know *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star*.

Sharing these traditional stories and rhymes with children was a way of sharing the canon of Chinese childhood texts, which included sharing knowledge of characters and the moral messages of such rhymes and stories. However, these stories and rhymes were also a vehicle for literacy teaching and this was evident by how the songs and rhymes were used in the class. For example, the teacher of the lowest level used *种太*

阳 (Plant the Sun) — a traditional rhyme. This rhyme has an uplifting message about happiness; sharing and warm sunshine throughout the world and has a strong catchy rhythm (to go with actions about planting seeds) to help the children enjoy joining in. It also contains the characters "太" and "阳", which are seen as two of the basic simple characters which children are taught when they begin learning Chinese characters in China. In this example, the teacher began her lesson by discussing the characters "日" (formal word for "sun") and "太", "阳" (colloquial use for "sun"). This made clear that the lesson objective, though not explicitly stated, was to hear and recognise characters "太" and "阳". Next, the teacher showed a video of the song, with the lyrics in characters as subtitles, so the children were able to hear the song and see the characters at the same time. The class — the parents, children and the teacher — all sang the song, and repeated the key passages. Then the teacher returned to the characters and wrote them up so the children were able to see how she wrote them, then they discussed them and the teacher gave out the lyrics of the song on paper. The target characters were highlighted in the text. The parents took these sheets home so that they could be used at home, if families wanted to practise. Finally, the teacher gave out mixed characters on flashcards and the children picked out "太" and "阳". So, the Mandarin lesson was very literacy focused on character listening and recognition, but through a culturally significant childhood text. Though the teachers could have chosen texts which might be familiar to the children from their pre-school experiences (for example, *the wheels on the bus*), they chose texts which engaged both children and parents in their shared heritage.

In contrast, the Mandarin teacher of the middle level taught the textbook as it was presented, without using pinyin (the Latin form of words to help with pronunciation).

However, the teacher of the highest class taught basic pinyin alongside the textbook. The choice of teaching methods was related to the preferences and experiences of an individual teacher rather than the different experiences and competencies of children in their classes. The teacher of the youngest group said:

> “我班上的学生很小所以我必须让他们保持学中文的兴趣。我希望他们在上中文课的时候能够乐在其中。所以我在我的课上用了很多的游戏还有视频。” (Students in my class are quite young so I need to make them maintain an interest in Mandarin learning. I hope to make them have fun during Mandarin lessons. That is why I use so many games and video-watching in my classes.)

The teacher of upper group told me:

> “我决定教给他们拼音是因为他们这个年纪的中国学生已经学了拼音。我也强烈地坚信拼音能让他们更容易地学习汉字。” (I decided to teach them pinyin because Chinese students of their age have already been taught it. I also strongly believe that pinyin will enable them to learn Chinese characters much more easily.)

Literacy teaching was textbook-centred, especially in older groups, so the content of lessons was somewhat dictated by textbooks, but the teachers selected activities from textbooks. Each child had three textbooks — one for use in class and two workbooks to be done as homework. This pattern of textbook and workbooks is usual in Chinese mainstream schools — though not in English mainstream schools — and is in itself the pattern of Chinese education parents, though not all the children at school in England, expected or were comfortable with it. The textbooks were *Zhongwen* (edited by Jia,2006) published in China, written in characters but with some pinyin and short English translations of the instructions to the children. These books are essentially workbooks, which children write on in class and at home. The content analysis of the textbooks (see appendix 22) shows that *Zhongwen* has a mixture of Chinese literacy and cultural content, and universal content. The learning activities were very strongly

patterned. Each chapter contains three new lessons and one review (see appendix 21: chapter analysis of *Zhongwen* vol. 1). As with many types of textbook, there is a clear pattern of texts, new vocabulary and activities for each chapter, which can be used over a number of lessons. The instructions in the textbooks are different from ones in mainstream English schools. Some of these activities are very common in Chinese schools and Chinese foreign language books, but are not well known to non-Chinese speakers. For example, sentence substitution, which means students substitute a number of words or phrases for the words and phrases given in an example sentence; dialogue practice is similar to a kind of role play where the students are expected to practise a dialogue in roles maintaining the natural flow of speech so that they can transfer the use of the expressions to other contexts, are frequently used. This is how the use of the textbook, through traditional exercises, inducted the children into Chinese learning practices. For example, the Chinese practice of dictation is done regularly by the upper class and in a way very characteristic of ordinary Chinese schools. The teacher chose a passage which included the characters learnt in the lesson, told the children it would be the dictation for the next lesson. In the next lesson, the passage was read out, the children had to write it down and then the whole class checked the characters were correct (using the textbook to see which common ones were right) as the teacher picked out the essential words. This is a sensible way for children to memorise characters – in the context of sentences – which do not have the phonological clues offered by English. It is common practice in Chinese schools and for learners of Chinese, but unlikely to be something the children had experienced in an English primary school. As such, it is a simple example of how the practices of the CCS introduce children to the Chinese practices of learning shared by their community and parents. The children in this pilot school upper class were all clearly participants in this shared and understood activity –

though some of them found it stressful and there were groans in class when the teacher announced it was time for dictation! The teacher thought it was a very effective memory enhancing strategy. These textbooks also have a teachers' guide, offering ideas about how to use the materials, but in the pilot study, there was no evidence of using it and the teachers did not refer to it.

This pilot study demonstrates that the content of the textbooks and the way they were used focused on teaching Chinese literacy rather than spoken Chinese language. However, the content and style of the books required users to have some spoken Chinese, and the big issues for learning spoken Chinese, such as tones, were not addressed at a basic level. The principles of pinyin are not taught at all in the textbooks seen, but pinyin suddenly appears (untaught) in Book 2. The content of these books also focused on sharing Chinese identity, culture and learning practices through the structure of the learning activities, with traditional Chinese types of exercises for characters, stroke order and grammar and use of Chinese childhood texts. In analysing Book 2, it was notable that the story of *Little Good Rabbit*, discussed in the early year's example above, is referred to in one of the texts in Book 2, underlining the importance of inter-textual relationships in learning Chinese literacy and culture. This is something which happened in a number of the readings and texts; shared knowledge of Chinese rhymes or aspects of children's culture is assumed. The use of textbooks is more than a convenience; it is a cultural activity in itself and a means of sharing cultural practices and content. The textbooks were bought by the students, therefore they could write directly on their books and take them home with them. This is standard practice in China and so Chinese parents were not surprised and did not mention the cost. Mandarin lessons emphasised stroke orders and literacy, with an implicit assumption that pupils

could speak and pronounce Mandarin, although tones were discussed. For example, one teacher of the highest group told me:

> “我班里的学生懂中文但是他们不擅长写。所以在我的课上，我每次结束前让他们每个汉字用手在空中写几次，强化对比划的记忆。有时候学生会把某个汉字发成不同的声调，我会纠正他们的发音并且告诉他们不同的音调会有不同的意思。” (Students in my class can understand Mandarin but they are not good at writing. Therefore, in my class, I ask them to sky-write one character several times in order to strengthen their memory of stroke orders. Sometimes students may pronounce a certain character with a different tone. I correct their pronunciation and tell them that different tones may have different meanings.)

IT resources played a key role in classes to keep the students’ attention. The IT- related activities were used both for cultural enrichment, listening practice of an informal sort and as novelty to prevent monotony and enhance motivation. The teacher of the middle group said:

> “我通常会放 5 分钟的中文卡通或者 2 到 3 分钟的中文儿童歌曲来保证他们的注意力。如果没有多媒体资源，中文课会变得枯燥。” (I usually play a 5min Chinese cartoon or a two to three minutes’ Chinese children's songs to attract their attentions. Mandarin lessons would be boring if there were no IT resources at all.)

There is no specific test for assessment in the school and teachers did not correct pupils' work or record marks, but did go through the materials with the pupils. Homework was only given to students in the most advanced group but the teachers were happy to provide guidance about what pupils with higher Chinese proficiency could do to extend their work and challenge themselves. Two Chinese mothers from the older group were very keen to support their children and worked regularly on homework with their children, but other Chinese parents said that they simply wanted their children to enjoy the Chinese atmosphere and that homework was not a priority. The students did get feedback in the form of the shared checking of work with the teacher.

The pilot study provides a very great, detailed and lived picture of teaching and learning practice in one CCS, which can give readers a sense of being in the classroom. The above description also provides us with an impression of their classroom activities, textbooks, school operation and interaction between teachers, parents and pupils. It is noticeable that the key priority is Chinese language and literacy in this school. In addition to language support, Chapter 2 identified that the complementary school provides mainstream subject support and other out-of-school activities. So it means, in Phase 2, I would explore what practice CCS focus on and see what new provision could be found.

4.2.3 Key problems identified by the teachers in the pilot school

Teachers of the pilot school identified some key concerns. Funding was a key concern for the pilot school, and was raised by the school head. I did not have access to the school's financial records and it is the perception of this issue, rather than the actual finances, which is included in the study. Teachers did not discuss this issue directly as a lack of funding, but they referred to insufficient practical resources, instability of staffing and lack of training for teaching staff, due to lack of funds. Tuition fees were charged in order to pay teachers but teachers' remuneration was not comparable to mainstream teacher pay rates. Only one teacher held the UK qualified teacher status and one had been teaching Mandarin in China previously. The recruitment and retention of teachers remained difficult, though this is likely to be partly for reasons other than cost. Limited resources challenged the school’s aim to provide a high-quality educational experience. Availability of premises and IT facilities highly relied on

personal access to University IT services. The school confirmed they have no links with mainstream school or other CCS.

These issues have been discussed in the literature but it is not clear to what degree they affect individual CCS. Francis *et al*. (2008) reported their sample schools had a wide range of issues (e.g. limited resources, lack of funding, teacher training and access to general school facilities), which were associated with complementary schooling and needed to be addressed. However, it is unclear how specific these issues are to individual schools and if there are other, new issues to consider. And also, the funding issues would be examined in Phase 2 to see if they extended to other CCS.

4.2.4 New issues and challenges arose from the pilot study

Some unexpected issues arose from the pilot study, which were not identified in the review of the literature. These were important in shaping the next phase of the doctoral research and so are discussed here.

The observation analysis suggested that students in a same Mandarin group had diverse Mandarin levels and backgrounds, and interviews confirmed this. It means needs of Mandarin learners might be diverse, which needs an in-depth reflection on teacher's practice in CCS. For example, the middle group of five children included mostly British born Chinese children with English as their first language (L1) but also included one child newly from the PRC with Mandarin as his L1. In fact, whilst most of the class were learning Mandarin literacy, he learned English literacy. His parent was concerned about his English proficiency:

> “他的中文不是问题。我担心他一点英文也不会。他已经在英国待了两个周。我希望他能快速地适应英文环境。” (His Mandarin is not a big problem. I am so worried that he still cannot understand English at all. He has been here in the UK for two weeks. I hope he could quickly get used to the English atmosphere.)

I noticed that the boy was not given special work but did the same work as others did in the class. He could immediately speak out the answer in Mandarin when the teacher proposed a question however when students discussed with the teacher in English, the boy kept silent. He also missed out on the jokes of other children made when his classmates talked to each other in English.

Parents showed varied aspirations for their children. One Chinese mother expected for improving her son’s Mandarin speaking:

> “我希望我孩子能把普通话说的标准，她现在讲话听上去特别奇怪，一股外国味儿，一点儿也不正宗。现在如果不改好了，以后长大了更难改了。” (I hope my child could speak standard Putonghua. Her mandarin speaking sounds quite weird. Sounds like a foreigner. Not native at all. If she could not correct her pronunciation, she would find it harder to correct when she grows up.)

In contrast, another Chinese parent would like her daughter to enjoy the Chinese-like atmosphere:

> “我只想让我孩子能享受这个汉语氛围。他们还很小所以很难让他们有一个持续的兴趣。如果你逼他们太厉害，他们会感到受挫折。” (I just want my children to have fun and enjoy the mandarin-speaking atmosphere. They are still young so what is important for them is to establish a constant interest. They may feel frustrated and then lose interest if you push them too much.)

The teacher of the highest group pointed out both “tiger mother” (Chua, 2011, Guo, 2013) and the opposite existed in her group:

> “有的妈妈跟说要对他的孩子严厉一点，多点写的作业;有的就让我多一点说的作业； 还有个妈妈无所谓，希望她的小孩开心快乐就好。每个人的要求

都不一样。” (One mother wants me to be strict with her child and requires more writing practice; another mother requires more speaking practice and also the other one is fine and wants her child enjoy the lessons. They have different requests.)

As suggested above, the teaching materials in the sessions I observed were not well suited to the learning needs of the students. The textbooks were designed for overseas Chinese children who understand basic Mandarin, so did not start with pinyin, phonics or any English translation to explain the texts in it (see appendix 13). I found two students in the middle group could not speak Mandarin and were not very engaged in class activities. They told me that they were losing interest in learning Mandarin. These issues of the divergence between the provision and aspirations for Mandarin literacy teaching were not identified in the existing literature and need much closer scrutiny. Therefore, Phase 2 would examine unexpected issues that arose from the pilot study and, also see if any new issues emerged in other CCS.

4.2.5 A focus on Mandarin

Chapter 2 identified a body of literature about UK CCS which led me to expect a focus on Cantonese, although Francis *et al.* (2008) mention in passing, that Mandarin was becoming more important at that time in two case schools from their study. However, in this case, Mandarin was the only target language, and parents, teachers and children were happy to say that they felt it was the important language for them. This suggests either a language shift from Cantonese to Mandarin or that the parents in this school are very different from the ones discussed in the literature. However, in this school six (20%) of the parents who are Cantonese speakers had chosen to send their children to learn Mandarin. Given the participants' choice of Mandarin it is likely that the language focus of this school represents a real change in the focus of UK CCS. This change of

language focus from Mandarin to Cantonese in Chinese community-based schools has been documented in the US (Lai, 2004). However, this finding suggests a change of target language in CCS which the existing literature does not discuss at length in relation to the UK, and so it was very important to select Phase 2 schools so that this issue can be examined in other settings.

4.2.6 Participants' varied constructions of the pilot school

Participants have different constructions of CCS, which reflects how school participants build and accumulate social and cultural capital in CCS according to Bourdieu's (1986) concept of capitals, and further indicate the role of CCS in their Chineseness.

Teachers in the pilot school constructed CCS as a place to teach the Mandarin language and transmit Chinese culture. It means students can build cultural capital from accumulating knowledge and skills about Chinese language and culture. The school's online publicity presentation and the head teacher's interview demonstrated this:

> "学校最初成立就是希望能提供一个给我们的小孩学习中文还有接触中华文化的地方。" (The establishment of the CCS is based on the hope to provide a place for our children to learn Mandarin and Chinese culture.)

However, students' behaviour suggested that some of them primarily considered the CCS as a place where they could have fun and meet friends on the weekend. For example, when two girls misbehaved (screaming and jumping around) during a Mandarin lesson, they complained to the teacher "this is not a real school" when asked to stop misbehaving. Attending CCS to meet friends means students were accumulating their social capital. One girl described one of her classmates as "a friend from the

Chinese school". In addition, as mentioned in 4.2.4, students could strengthen links with their Chinese family members through learning Mandarin. Social competition also appeared in this school. One Chinese mother encouraged her daughter by saying " xxx 学习很努力，你应该跟她学习否则你就要落后了。XXX is working hard. You should learn from her otherwise you will be left behind."

Some parents preferred to regard the school as a relaxing place where they could socialise with other Chinese parents. Parents of different local languages were accumulating social capital by meeting up with each other on every Saturday afternoon. Interviews with parents suggested that the pilot school provided a place for them to take a rest:

> "每个周六，有老师帮着看小孩子，就没有他们来烦我了。我可以在这里跟其他的妈妈们聊聊天放松一下啊。" (The teacher helps me to take care of my child every Saturday. They do not bother me so I can chat with other mothers and relax.)

The case school allowed them to socialise with other Chinese parents:

> "我住的社区邻居都不是中国人，我老公孩子也不会中文，平时闷死了，在这里还能跟其他妈妈说中文，还可以谈谈怎么教小孩分享一些经验，我还能认识新朋友。" (The neighbourhood I live in is non-Chinese speaking. My husband and my child do not speak Mandarin. I can speak Mandarin with other mothers, sharing experiences about childcare and I can also make new friends in CCS.)

It is important to explore whether and to what degree participants share expectations and goals for CCS and how these are related to Chinese identity in the UK. This issue is connected to the language issue discussed above. However, when asked how CCS students identify themselves, they were not able to give very explicit answers. But Chinese parents and teachers agreed that CCS is helpful for developing cultural and ethnic identities of Chinese heritage children. As mentioned in 4.2.4, CCS provide rich

learning opportunities for children to encounter elements of Chinese culture intensively and provide a social context for them to develop their identities by interacting with people who may share the similar cultural and ethnic backgrounds with them. Therefore, in Phase 2, I would further explore how school participants construct their Chineseness in CCS and attempt to find out the role of CCS in identity construction.

4.3 Phase 2: results and emerging findings of two case schools in the East Midlands

The results and findings of Phase 1 (the pilot study) give an overall picture of one type of CCS established by new immigrants from Mainland China (Li and Zhu, 2010b). The findings of the pilot study help to develop an impression of the current CCS in Britain and provide some preliminary answers to the research questions. However, in consideration of the history and the size of the pilot school, I aimed to look at a wider range of schools such as Mandarin schools with a comparatively longer history and bigger size or the Cantonese CCS mentioned in the review of the literature but which offered Mandarin lessons in addition. On the basis of the results and findings in Phase 1, two CCS in the East Midlands, with different histories, different target populations and different intakes were selected as cases. School A and School B refer to the two case schools. The case studies in the two schools (making up Phase 2) were conducted almost simultaneously, within a ten-month period, which was possible with a single researcher because of the different school opening times. Although this is a feature of a convenience sample, the schools were also selected purposively to represent different languages, school histories and likely school participants. Each case thus has its own uniqueness and distinctiveness. This section starts with a brief introduction of the two case schools and then presents the further findings of Phase 2, supporting and extending the findings of Phase 1. To draw the findings together, I attempt to contrast the key findings in each of the two schools, rather than going through the findings for each in turn. Therefore, under each key finding I discuss both School A and School B.

The findings of two case studies, presented here, are based on the analysis of the following evidence collected for each school from:

- Ten visits to each case school;
- Field notes created from eight semi-structured observations of Mandarin lessons in each case school;
- Recordings and notes of semi-structured interviews with head teachers, teachers, parents and pupils;
- Documentation: textbooks, school calendars, handouts, worksheets and publicity materials collected from each school.

The data collection allowed me to be involved in the two case schools. The data analysis was done using the software package NVivo as discussed in 3.8. This section presents a picture generated from this data regarding the culture and practices of the two schools, what challenges the school participants faced and how the school participants constructed their identities. A brief introduction of two schools is summarised in the table below and it provides the readers with basic information of each case school (see Table 2).

Table 2 a brief report of basic information of two case schools

	School A	School B
Established in	1999	Early 1990s
Founders	Chinese parents working at a local university, originally from Mainland China	A local Chinese association consisting of Chinese immigrants from Guangdong and Fujian
Primary Aims	To transmit Chinese culture and language in the local area	To maintain Chinese language and culture in local Chinese immigrant children
Target Language	Mandarin	Cantonese and Mandarin
Premise	A local mainstream school	A local mainstream school
Operation Time	Saturday 13.30-14.30 Activity classes; 14.30-16.30 Mandarin classes	Sunday 13.00-15.00
Population of students and teachers	Approximately 145 Students 8 regular Mandarin teachers	Approximately 130 Students (80 Students in Mandarin groups) 16 regular teachers (8 teach Cantonese)
Groups	8 Mandarin groups	8 Mandarin groups and 8 Cantonese groups
Tuition Fee	150 pounds per academic year	160 pounds per academic year
Registered with UKFCS and UKAPCE	Yes	Yes

4.3.1 History and background of sample schools

One of my key findings is the strong historical underpinnings of the CCS in Phase 2. I argue that the history of case schools represents the most important changes to the recent Chinese populations in the UK.

School A was established in 1999 by Chinese parents from a local university and, in this respect, is similar to the pilot school in Phase 1. The official website of School A suggested that their primary aim was to provide Mandarin lessons for a wide range of learners (from beginners to GCSE and A-level Mandarin). The head said their initial goals were very broad – to offer support on Mandarin and related Chinese culture to a whole range of people with an interest in Chinese language and culture, not only those with Chinese heritage. The official website referred to textbooks designed for Mandarin learners and the simplified characters used in the PRC and its complete use of English suggested that people with no knowledge of Mandarin are also catered for by School A. School A was open on Saturday afternoons from 13.30 to 16.30. It was run by a Chinese school committee, most members of whom have a relationship with a local university. The school committee told me that the premises were borrowed from a "long term partner" mainstream school at a comparatively low rent. The operation of School A largely relied on the tuition fees paid by parents and financial support from a local university.

In contrast, School B was established much earlier, in the early 1990s, by members of a local Chinese association, mainly from southeastern China. The school founders told me that their initial aims were to transmit the Chinese language (primarily Cantonese, because most of the school founders were Cantonese speakers) and Chinese heritage

culture to second and third Chinese generations. In contrast to School A, School B is a more typical CCS of the type discussed in the literature. However, the head said that Mandarin lessons was provided ten years previously. Therefore, there existed two parallel branches – Cantonese groups and Mandarin groups in School B. The head and teachers also reported a shift to Mandarin from Cantonese. This was partly children arriving from Mandarin speaking backgrounds but more usually, parents from a Cantonese or Hakka (another minority language of Southeastern China and Hong Kong) speaking background preferring to place their children in Mandarin and, in some cases, moving them to Mandarin classes from Cantonese classes. School B was open on Sunday afternoons from 13.00 to 15.00 and, at that time, was directly operated by a Chinese couple originally from Hong Kong. The premises were rented from a local mainstream school with a one-year contract. The head said that their operation largely relied on tuition fees paid by parents and donations from members of the local Chinese association. The school's publicity materials (newsletters and brochures) were mainly printed using traditional Chinese characters with English translations, showing that the school catered for learners of various backgrounds, inclusive of users of traditional Chinese characters. This is very significant, because these characters would be the norm for Hong Kong residents (or ex-Hong Kong immigrants to the UK), or Taiwanese people, but, though intelligible by most people from the PRC, give out a strong signal that the school's materials, and, by implication, the school, are primarily aimed at users of full form characters – not people from the PRC.

These two cases reflect the history of Chinese immigration and historical contact with Britain and the identities of British Chinese and Chinese immigrants. School B, the older school, catered for British Chinese people who are likely to have come from Hong

Kong or Southeastern China at or before the handover of the colony to China, while School A catered for a completely different generation of Chinese people. The local Chinese community, which is catered for by two sample schools, experienced a rapid growth in population and structural adjustment from 2001 to 2011, according to one of my PhD colleague's research (Guo, 2014) on the local Chinese demographics. This was not merely a local phenomenon but reflects the UK national experience of a rapid growth in people from Mainland China at the time of the opening up of the PRC (Luk, 2008; Wang, 2014). During that period, Mandarin speakers flooded into UK higher education and as one result, Mandarin became more common than Cantonese. These highly educated Chinese people also had much better English competence than the previous generation of Chinese immigrants, higher skill levels and brought these features, and young children into the local Chinese community (Wu, 2013). When relating to the two cases, the establishment of School A and the presence of Mandarin in School B is closely related to the growing population of Mainland Chinese in the local Chinese community. This finding is related to the others in this section and is a key cause of many of the challenges faced by teachers in their classes, an underlying factor in the difficulties faced in learning Mandarin and may also affect the staffing and support for CCS in the area.

4.3.2 The population of sample schools

The differences between two case schools can be really highlighted by examining the features of their rather different populations. Directly and indirectly, this has a huge impact on the experience of the children and staff in these schools.

4.3.2.1 Pupils

When comparing pupils of School A and B, I found they were overwhelmingly comprised of UK born second generations but each sample school had its uniqueness. The exact number of pupils in School A was impossible to establish, but the head said there were more than 140 students. Counting the children in classes was not accurate and produced different totals on different days, but around 145 pupils seem to be approximately accurate and the head teacher confirmed this number (see Table 3). The proportion of mixed-heritage (who have one parent with Chinese background) and non-Chinese heritage children (who have no parent with Chinese background) is much higher than those in Francis *et al.*'s (2008) research. Pupils were grouped into eight classes according to their individual Mandarin level and a trend to "dropout" is evident from the numbers at each age phase. The estimated student number of each class seems that the distribution of students is relatively even, however the actual attendance was not consistent with the student list. The absence of registered pupils in entry level is lower than its counterpart in upper level. As students progressed through School A, the number of children reduced and the proportion of mixed heritage children and those with non-Chinese heritage reduced. Thus, the GCSE class was composed of 12 students, all with two Chinese parents. Only one of them was born in Mainland China and all the 12 families used Mandarin at home. It would seem that the families with the strongest link with China, in terms of language and family, persist. The author can only speculate about impact of difficulty of the GCSE, because only those taking it actually attended to talk to. In contrast, the total number of pupils in School B was also unclear but counting and checking with the staff suggested 130 pupils was a reasonable total. The focus of School B is the Mandarin branch, because this appears to be the less documented part of CCS in the literature. The children were grouped into eight

Mandarin classes, with around 25 in the youngest class and fewer in the older classes, with only two pupils in the GCSE group who just arrived in Britain two to three years ago (see Table 3). The Mandarin dialogue group in School B consisted of three Cantonese-speaking youngsters who needed to improve their Mandarin speaking abilities. My classroom observation suggested a larger majority of pupils had two Chinese parents with very few mixed heritage children (approximately four) and only one non-Chinese child in School B. I put two sample student lists from School A and B respectively in appendix 23 and 24, which can provide readers a clear and direct impression of the make-up of students and their backgrounds in two sample schools.

Table 3 a list of student number – School A and School B

School A		School B	
Class	**Student number (approximately)**	**Mandarin Class**	**Student number (approximately)**
Reception	25	Beginner A	13
Year 1	16	Beginner B	12
Year 2	20	Intermediate	24
Year 3	18	Class 2	4
Year 4	13	Class 3	4
Year 5	13	Class 4	8
Year 6	20	Class 5(GCSE)	2
GCSE	12	Dialogue	3
Total	145	Total	70

4.3.2.2 Parents

My ethnographic data showed that parents in the two schools had very different backgrounds (see Table 4). Despite School A's declared aims to be inclusive, a considerable proportion of participants in School A had middle-class backgrounds, if this is judged on the occupations of parents, who were business owners, middle management employees, teachers and postgraduate students. Moreover, the Chinese

backgrounds of the parents in School A were mixed, but with a high proportion having a background in the PRC. My observation and interviews suggested that a great number of parents were in middle-class occupations and comparatively newly arrived with higher education or skills and proficient English (most of them confirmed they had attended or were attending a UK university), compared with their counterparts (who had lower education levels and usually working in take-away restaurants or self-employed business) in the literature review. This reflected and confirmed the demographic change of CCS population in Phase 1. Their difference from CCS in the established research (Francis *et al.*, 2008), which has been reviewed in the literature, is not simply about being in university towns, because the towns in the literature were also university towns.

However, in School B, the majority of school participants were from working class backgrounds or families who owned small businesses. Most of the parents had lower education levels with limited English and their jobs were mainly related to manual-labour such as take-away restaurants or catering services. A larger number of Chinese parents were from Southeastern China (Guangdong, Fujian) and Hong Kong. When comparing the two case schools, I found parents of School B showed more similarities with those in Francis *et al*.'s (2008) research, who were referred to as poorly educated with limited English and professionals (Wang, 2014). In terms of language use at home, a large number of Chinese parents in School A reported to use Mandarin (sometimes assisted with English), then English, Cantonese and Hakka. In contrast, parents in School B mainly spoke Cantonese or Hakka with a small number using Mandarin and English at home.

Table 4 a summary of parental backgrounds of School A and B

Parental background	School A	School B
Birthplace	Mainland China; Hong Kong; Taiwan, Malaysia, UK	Mainland China (mainly Guangdong and Fujian province); Hong Kong; UK
Educational background	A larger number have attended UK higher education (mainly postgraduate) or equivalent course overseas.	A larger number have not attended higher education.
Occupation	Well-educated and skilled professions (e.g. academia; technical or managerial); catering	A majority is related with catering (take-away; grocery)
Language use at home	Mandarin, English, Cantonese, Hakka	Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin, English

4.3.2.3 Teachers

The teaching staff in the two sample schools consisted of parents and university students from Mainland China (see Table 5). Informal talks with the head and teachers suggested that six had teaching-related experience in School A. Although none held UK QTS, three had overseas teaching qualifications. Table 5 shows that over half of the teachers in School A were parents and it also shows many of their strong connections to the University. In contrast, most teachers in School B had less than one-year teaching experience. The head told me that it was getting more difficult to find Cantonese teachers but it was easy to find Mandarin teachers from local universities because a large number of Mainland Chinese students flooded into the University town each year. Although university students did not work long in School B and few of them had very relevant working experience, three reported that they had experience of teaching in China and also held Chinese teacher qualifications but none of the teaching staff held a UK teacher qualification. Table 5 shows that School A had more parents as CCS teachers than School B.

Table 5 a summary list of Mandarin teachers in School A and B

Teachers profiles		School A	School B
Teacher Number		8	8
Occupation	University student	2	6
	University Staff	3	0
	Others	3	2
Stay in the UK	More than one year	8	3
	Less than one year	0	5
Work in CCS	More than one year	6	1
	Less than one year	2	7
Nationality	Chinese	4	7
	British citizen	4	1
Teaching experience	Mainstream School	1	0
	Overseas	3	3
Teaching qualification	UKQTS	0	0
	Overseas OTS	3	3
Parent		5	2

This section of the population findings relates to the history of the schools, discussed above (see 4.3.1.), but also to the challenges faced by the schools, which are discussed in the following sections (see 4.3.4. and 4.3.5). By reviewing 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, I found School A has more similarities with the pilot school in Phase 1: Mandarin was the only target language; school founders had a closer link with local universities; parents held a comparatively higher collective of education. This directly reflected a demographic change of UK Chinese population in the last five to eight years, discussed in 1.1.2. School B remained Cantonese-related characteristics, which has been identified in the

review of the literature; however, its emerging and rapidly-developing Mandarin branch implied School B was undergoing great changes, too, which might lead to unanticipated challenges facing School B.

4.3.3 Practice in sample schools

In analysing the data from School A and School B about the practices and priorities of the CCS, I found key practice and objectives are teaching Mandarin and Chinese literacy in both case schools. This part of the findings aims to provide a detailed picture of what Mandarin classes look like and what activities go on in the two CCS. They further indicate a contrast between the CCS established by new immigrants from Mainland China and the traditional Cantonese school which began to teach Mandarin. Table 6 gives a short summary of the practices in each case school. The part aims to make a contrast of detailed and rich pictures of practices in two sample schools.

Table 6 a brief comparative summary of School A and B

	School A	School B
Target Language	Mandarin	Mandarin and Cantonese
Language class	Provide	Provide
Textbook	*Youerhanyu* and *Zhongwen*	*Youerhanyu* and *Zhongwen*
Multimedia	In use	No
Homework	Yes	Yes
Test	Once a year	Twice a year
Exam tutoring (GCSE/A-level)	Provide	Provide
Activity class	Provide dancing, calligraphy	No
School Calendar	Three terms, parallel to mainstream schools	Two terms (divided by Chinese New Year)
Contact with parents	Compulsory	Not compulsory
Event	Christmas party, Chinese New Year, Graduate ceremony	Christmas party, Chinese New Year, speech contest, calligraphy contest, graduate ceremony

4.3.3.1 Key practice in School A

The key priority of School A is teaching Chinese language and literacy, based on the analysis of classroom observations, textbook analysis and discussions with school participants. School A's online publicity material indicates that they provide Chinese instruction based on textbooks *Zhongwen* for students aged from four or five to 18 as well as GCSE and A-level Chinese. Mandarin is the only target language in School A and the current trend of learning Mandarin is evidenced by the interview with the school head:

> “我们这里只教普通话。我知道另外一所学校教广东话。但是其实现在很多家里说广东话或者客家话的父母都要把孩子送到我们这里学普通话。普通话越来越受到重视了。学说普通话也是一个大趋势。” (We only teach Mandarin in this school. I know that there is another Chinese school teaching Cantonese. But actually more and more parents of Cantonese speakers or Hakka speakers are sending their children to our school for learning Mandarin. Mandarin is gaining more attention and learning Mandarin is also a growing trend.)

Mandarin classroom activities in School A are presented below and the voices of school participants can be heard from follow-up interviews.

4.3.3.1.1 Results of classroom observation in School A

The classroom observation in School A was conducted by using the pre-designed semi-structured observation schedule discussed in Chapter 3. In total, eight complete Mandarin lessons with different groups were observed (two hours of each lesson), recorded with key points noted down. A short summary of the classroom observations is given in appendix 25.

The teaching in Mandarin classrooms that I observed was teacher-centred, didactic and direct, which suggests the students were seen as the “passive receivers” of knowledge (Yuan and Xie, 2013) and this may relate to teachers’ own educational experiences. Practice in Mandarin classrooms varied and depended on individual teachers across the school. However, the general structure of a Mandarin lesson for most groups in School A could be characterised as follows,

- Teachers greeted the class and then started to call the roll at the beginning;
- Teachers collected the homework to be checked or the class checked the homework together;
- The class recapped what they learnt the previous week together;

- The class did a ten-minute dictation;
- The class started a new lesson from the textbook in the order of learning of:

  1. Chinese characters; 2. The main text; 3. Exercise after the main text. Every student has a textbook and do the same work by following teachers' instructions.
- A review of the day's content and homework from the workbook in the end.

IT resources were widely used in School A. Video-watching and online Mandarin learning resource and material were used to enrich the Mandarin lessons and support the teaching of literacy and Chinese culture. Teaching practices varied across groups and were highly dependent on individual teachers. Activities addressing literacy and experiences of learning Chinese culture and literacy were the main focus of teachers' practices. Classroom activities including games, group work, reading practice, writing practice were widely used across School A and in all ages. Games and group work were always conducted within limited resources such as worksheets or flash cards designed by teachers. In the youngest group, the teacher chose games as main classroom activities to motivate students. For instance, "pass the parcel" which is a common English party game. This is a game adapted to integrate the Chinese cultures with the British cultures. The teacher wrapped a flashcard in several layers of wrapping paper so that the number of layers corresponded with the number of students in the class. Then the teacher sat everyone in a circle and played a short Chinese song. When the music stopped, the student holding the parcel removed one layer of wrapping and read out the flashcard to the class. This repeated until the last layer of wrapping had been removed.

Classroom observation shows that reading practice in lower groups was usually pupils reading the text aloud after the teacher then reading altogether and students of higher groups reading the text together and then each of them taking turns to read sections, sometimes assisted by teachers. This is a technique used in China throughout primary school to ensure children have the maximum opportunities to see characters and pronounce them — a very logical approach for a language which demands much more visual memory than do alphabetic languages. However, it is not a pattern of activity which would be used in English school classes (Sit, 2013). Depending on the level of proficiency, lower groups were usually asked to copy Chinese characters several times, and higher groups were required to write essays. Due to the characteristic and nature of the Chinese language, pronunciation, radicals and stoke orders were observed to be widely emphasised by teachers across the school using short drills, demonstrations on the boards and practice on worksheets. This is also acknowledged by parents as an essential part of learning Mandarin. Students' engagement in Mandarin lessons is largely related to individual Mandarin levels, teacher's language use, classroom activities and classroom management. Typically, in one Mandarin group, the students sitting in the front or having a comparatively higher Mandarin level could follow the teacher's instruction, actively participated in classroom activities and were less distracted.

Classroom observations and interviews indicate that seven teachers of school A can switch between languages (i.e. Mandarin and English) according to the students' Mandarin proficiency and specific requirements in class. As the group level got higher, the use of Mandarin by the teacher increased with the level of the group. In the higher groups, the teacher's use of Mandarin was generally greater than her use of English in

a Mandarin lesson. In contrast, students were observed to prefer to speak to teachers in English even though they sometimes had already understood the teacher's instructions in Mandarin. However, speaking Mandarin was highly encouraged by the teachers, although there was no compulsory school policy of speaking Chinese only. Instructions such as "*请尽量讲普通话。*" (Please try to speak Mandarin), "*可以用中文表达吗*" (Could you please say it again in Mandarin) could frequently be heard in Mandarin classes. Two teachers arranged ten minutes' free discussion time for students to practise oral Mandarin each week, but the use of this depended on the background of the children. However, the majority of students used English to communicate with each other in some informal situations, for example, in the playground during the break time.

Homework and dictation (another very typical Chinese practice the children would not experience in UK schools) were given regularly in most groups with an annual test at the end of each summer term. Reception and Mandarin group 1 were not given any written homework but the teachers left their students with oral practice work at home such as a pinyin song or a Chinese children's rhyme. Teachers in School A were required to keep in touch with parents by sending out an email of the lesson content and homework each week. This could be regarded as parental involvement in Mandarin learning and it was acknowledged by both parents and teachers as helpful for improving teacher-parent relations.

The teaching content of most groups centered on a set of textbooks with accompanying workbooks – *Zhongwen* (edited by Jia, 2006), but the reception group focused on pinyin with a set of textbooks –*Youerhanyu* (volume 1-4) (edited by Peng, 2002) and the GCSE group was more examination oriented by practising past papers in class. The textbook

Zhongwen has been analysed in Phase 1 (see appendix 22). It is designed to promote students' Mandarin speaking, listening, reading and writing and enhance students' understanding of Chinese heritage culture, but written in the expectation that children/users are able to speak some Mandarin. Its accompanying workbooks were usually used as homework and it provided various types of exercise to support students' understanding of new vocabulary, grammatical structures and linguistic knowledge. *Youerhanyu* is a set of textbooks for children of four to six years old to develop basic ability in Chinese speaking and listening and to lay a good foundation for Chinese learning through understanding very basic Chinese characters and writing in the right stroke order (see appendix 14). However, it was revealed in the follow-up interviews that the content was difficult for the reception level students as it starts directly with complicated Chinese characters in the first lesson of the first volume and without any basic introduction to pinyin. Hence, in response to high demands of pinyin from parents and teachers of higher groups, teacher of the reception group decided to focus on pinyin first, assisted by the content of *Youerhanyu*. The main problem with these books is their assumption that the learners would be able to speak some Chinese and the objectives of Mandarin classes was to learn to read and write.

4.3.3.1.2 Interview participants' perspectives of teaching and learning

In addition to classroom observation and documents collected from the school, I had both formal and informal talks with school participants to explore their experience in School A and further understand how they thought of the teaching and learning in CCS.

The importance of learning Mandarin was widely acknowledged by the school participants. That also explained why priority goes to language and literacy in School

A. When asked why they sent their children to learn Mandarin in School A, parents appreciated the Mandarin-speaking environment of School A and considered Mandarin proficiency as a signifier of being Chinese:

> [One Chinese mother] "我希望他能把中文说好，不要怪腔怪调的。 我觉得中文学校这边提供一个中文环境,教的会比较系统。而且身为中国人不会说中文，可真是大笑话。"(I hope he will be able to speak Mandarin well, not with weird tones or pronunciations. I think the Chinese school can provide a Mandarin environment with systematic Mandarin teaching. Also, as a Chinese person, if you cannot speak Chinese, that is a big joke.)

> [The Mandarin teacher of the reception group] "我来这里教书的主要原因是因为我女儿从不跟我说普通话。所以我每周六来这里教也可以逼着她跟我来中文学校，这里能有一个环境让她试着张口去说。因为妈妈是中国人，她至少要能理解妈妈的母语，不然的话，怎么好像我跟一个外国人交流似的。" (I was attracted to teaching in this Chinese school primarily because my daughter never speaks Mandarin to me. I can take her to the Chinese school every Saturday; it provides an environment for her to speak Mandarin. Her mother is Chinese so at least she would be able to understand her mother's native language. Otherwise, I feel like I am communicating with a foreigner.)

By contrast, students from the upper groups had begun to show their understanding of the significance of learning Mandarin and some directly expressed their satisfaction with the Mandarin lessons provided by School A:

> "Mandarin is important for me because my parents and relatives all speak Mandarin. It would be inconvenient for me to communicate with them if I could not understand Mandarin at all."
>
> "My parents do not speak Mandarin but our family is doing business with Mainland China so it is necessary for us to learn Mandarin."
>
> "We have an after-school club in my English school. They teach very basic Chinese, like *Nihao*. That is too easy for me. The teacher here is very nice. I cannot follow her but I still want to attend her class next year. I am used to her instructions."

School A provided classes related to Chinese heritage (e.g. dancing, calligraphy and word classics) called "activity classes" by the school head. This is regarded as a way of

transmitting Chinese culture and attracting students to CCS as seen in the interview with the head teacher:

> "我们学校已经开办了兴趣班很多年了。兴趣班的开设一是为了能够让在英国长大的这些中国孩子们感受中华文化，还有就是给中华文化感兴趣的人提供机会感受；另一个也是为了能吸引学生们来中文学校，因为相当一部分学生不喜欢来中文学校，基本上都是家长逼着来的，学生都是有抵触心理的，所以我们也希望兴趣班的开设能够成为他们喜欢来中文学校的动力之一吧。"(Activity classes have been opened in our school for many years. The establishment of activity classes is for Chinese students who grew up in England to have an opportunity to feel the Chinese culture as well as people who have an interest in the Chinese culture. It is also for attracting students to the Chinese school. There exist quite a number of students who resist the Chinese school. They are forced by their parents so they will resist. Therefore, we hope the activity classes would be one motivation for them to come to the Chinese school.)

Activity classes were very appreciated by parents as it indeed helped to develop a growing interest in CCS among students:

> [A Chinese mother from Mandarin group 1] "我给我女儿报的舞蹈班，我觉得还好的。她跟着老师还有其他学生一起跳跳，我看她也很开心。而且也能培养一个兴趣。有的时候中文学校还组织他们去社区参加一些庆祝活动什么的，我觉得也能锻炼她的自信。而且确实她也变得不那么抵触来中文学校。每周都会问我，什么时候去中文学校。很喜欢来。"(I get my daughter registered with the dancing class. I think it is not bad. She dances with the teacher and other students. I can see that she is happy. She can also develop an interest in the Chinese dancing. Sometimes the Chinese school takes them to attend some community activities, which I think can boost her confidence. She gradually becomes like to come to the Chinese school. She keeps asking me when we go to the Chinese school each week. She likes to come.)

> [A member of the school administrative team] "我儿子上的是书法班。我觉得学习毛笔字可以让他变得静下来。他平时很调皮。还有就是可以让他对汉字产生兴趣，喜欢上学习中文."(My son is attending the calligraphy class. I think calligraphy enables him to be calm. He is quite naughty. Calligraphy also makes him develop an interest in Chinese characters and begin to like learning Chinese.)

In contrast, student interviews suggested that activity classes were catering for students of lower groups. One student from the GCSE group realised activity classes were not suitable for them and explained that:

> "The activity classes are only for younger students. We are too old to attend. But I think those classes provide various opportunities for younger students to get involved in the Chinese school."

Students from lower groups considered activity classes as a place for making friends across language classes, which is a way of developing social networks:

> "I am attending word classic class with my best friend in this school. She is in Year 2 and I am in Year 3 but we have Zijing (Word Classics) together."

The very "Chinese" nature of the classes — Chinese dancing, calligraphy, word class is important — again emphasising Chinese identity and cultural practices.

Classroom observations indicated the dominant status of textbooks in Mandarin classes. Interviews with teachers demonstrated that textbooks play a key role in lesson planning and teaching:

> [The teacher of Mandarin group 4] "中文课主要是以课本内容为主的，有时候我会根据课文内容引申一些相关的知识，但是还是以课本为本。像我一般是两星期上完一课。每周课前会有一次听写，以检验学生是否掌握上节课所学的内容。每节课也有课堂小练习。都是课本内容。"(My lessons are based on the textbooks. I may add some extracurricular knowledge for the students; however, I still concentrate on the textbooks. I normally spend two weeks on one lesson. I give a dictation each week to find out if the students understand what they learnt last week. We have class exercises each week which are also based on the content of the textbooks.)

Being aware of students' potential difficulty in concentrating during Mandarin lessons, teachers attempted to make their instructions attractive by using a variety of games and online video-watching. Sometimes they may consider synthesising Chinese with

English, which means using English classroom activities or games to deliver Chinese literacy and culture:

> [The Mandarin teacher of the reception level] “这个年龄的小孩子注意力很难集中，我只能多靠游戏吸引他们。但是又不能单纯只是玩游戏，我还要保证他们玩的过程中学到基本一些汉字，所以我就用一些他们熟悉的游戏来帮助他们记住课本上的这些常见汉字词语。 其实对于学前班的要求，主要是能够认出来会说出来，写并不会特别的强调。所以我多做一些字卡来认字。”(It is difficult for children of this age to focus so I have to use many games to keep their attention. But I cannot just let them play games. I have to make sure that they learn some basic Chinese characters when they play games, so I incorporate games they are familiar with to help them remember the basic characters and words in the textbooks. Actually, for reception class students, the lesson objectives focus on the recognition of characters. Writing is not specifically emphasised, therefore I make many flashcards for them to recognise characters.)

Sharing traditional Chinese stories and cartoons with children was an in-depth way of sharing Chinese culture with the students rather than to enrich the classroom activities. For example, the Year 1 teacher showed an episode of a well-known Chinese cartoon *西游记* (Journey to the West) on YouTube to the class, which is a classic Chinese text every Chinese person will know or have studied and this behaviour was based on her personal experience:

> “我每个周都会在课间放西游记动画片给他们看。我觉得这个动画片很经典，我们小时候就看过吧。而且对于我们班上的小孩子来说，动画片是最有吸引力的。 他们也很喜欢看西游记。现在他们都知道了白龙马，猪八戒等等这些人物，还会哼唱主题曲。我觉得看中文动画片也是学习中文的有效方式之一。” (I let my students to watch an episode of *Xiyouji* during the break each week. I think this cartoon is classical. We watched it when we were children. Cartoons are attractive to my students. They really like *Xiyouji***.** Now they know *Bailongma*, *Zhubajie*. They also can sing the theme songs. I think watching Chinese cartoons is one effective way of learning Chinese.)

Homework is compulsory in School A. Homework is recognised as a way of involving parents in Mandarin learning and sometimes is helpful to reduce any misunderstandings between teachers and parents:

> [The head teacher] “我们要求老师要给学生布置家庭作业。老师要及时给家长发邮件告知作业情况。” (We require teachers to give homework to students and they need to inform parents about the homework by email.)

> [The teacher of the Mandarin group 3] “我每堂课都检查作业。做的好的我会适当给一些奖励，不做的我会搞清楚原因，如果可能的话，我也会让他们没有完成的当堂完成。”(I check the homework every week. I reward those who do well. I also figure out why some do not finish. If possible, I also ask them to finish off during the lesson.)

> [The teacher of the Mandarin group 2] “我留作业会要求家长写意见，这样能保证家长也看过孩子作业，了解孩子进度。” (I ask parents to write down their feedback so this guarantees parents also read their children’s homework and know about their progress.”

In contrast, the students had different attitudes towards homework:

> [One boy from the Mandarin group 4] “I do not like doing homework. I already have lots of work from my English school. I have no time to do Chinese homework.”

> [One girl from the Mandarin group 2] “I think I am fine with my Chinese homework. My mother helps me with my homework so I do not feel annoyed.”

Parental involvement in Chinese education is also indicated in the way parents arrange their children’s seating in the classroom. The open-ended observations suggested that parents in the lower groups sometimes chose seats for their children and even sat their children at the front. This behaviour reflects Chinese value on education, which is further discussed in the next chapter. The interviews with teachers and parents indicated that sometimes, parents directly asked the teacher for help:

[The teacher of Mandarin group 1] “我们班上的家长有时候会跟我来说让他的孩子跟谁谁谁分开坐，省的他们上课分心。” (The parents of my class sometimes tell me to separate their children from other students because they may get distracted when sitting together.)

[A mother from the reception group] “我的两个儿子很调皮，我有时候会要求老师尽量将他们安排在老实的学生身边，这样他们上课能被带的注意力集中一些。” (My two sons are very naughty so sometimes I ask the teacher to sit them beside quiet students so that they can concentrate a bit better.)

4.3.3.2 Key practice in School B

In contrast with School A, School B not only provided Mandarin instruction but also retained its original Cantonese lessons as it was first set up for the children of Cantonese speakers, referred to as traditional Cantonese schools by Li and Zhu (2013), and then opened up Mandarin classes to respond to the growing need for learning Mandarin. The head teacher explained why School B began to teach Mandarin:

“我们学校最初成立只有广东话班因为那个时候这里的中国人主要是福建或者广东那边的，基本上都是说广东话的，后来我们设立了国语班。现在不少人也开始学国语了。最近几年学国语的学生越来越多。我们所以开了两个普低班。” (Our school only had Cantonese classes at the very beginning because most Chinese were from Fujian or Guangdong Province, who mainly speak Cantonese. We then opened up Mandarin classes, as there are quite a lot of people starting to learn Mandarin. The number of students learning Mandarin grows in recent years so we open two Mandarin beginner classes.)

In contrast with School A, which provided both language classes and activity classes, School B did not provide any specific classes related to Chinese heritage but they organised key cultural events. The school calendars of the academic year 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 suggested that cultural events (e.g. calligraphy contests, speaking contests, and Chinese New Year galas) were held on an annual basis. For example, School B organised a speaking contest in the spring term, with a Mandarin branch and

a Cantonese branch, held in the assembly of a mainstream school on a Sunday afternoon. Each class sat in a row and parents sat or stood at the back of the assembly hall. Students volunteered to perform Chinese rhymes or poems on stage, such as *小白兔*（little white rabbit）which is a well-known Chinese rhyme or *悯农*（pity the peasants）which is a traditional Chinese poem. Students selected Chinese rhymes or poems from their textbooks. A rating scale with four categories (pronunciation, content, emotion and performance) was used for evaluation and the candidates were ranked according to their total scores. Higher score winners got awards (e.g. notebooks and pens) from School B.

School B had a fixed school calendar as did School A. School A's calendar was parallel to that of the local mainstream schools, with three terms (i.e. autumn, spring and summer term) in one academic year. In contrast, School B did not use a calendar sharing similarities with local mainstream schools. They normally divided the academic year into two terms (i.e. first term and second term) according to the date of the Chinese New Year, during the week of which School B paused to celebrate the Chinese New Year. This division of the academic year is similar to Chinese schools in China, as the Chinese New Year is the most important festival in the year for Chinese people.

However, considering the focus of this research is on Mandarin teaching and learning, classroom observation was mainly conducted in Mandarin groups in School B. The teaching and learning practice in Mandarin classrooms was explored by analysing of classroom observation notes and textbooks. Follow-up talks with school participants provided additional important information on the teaching and learning practice in School B.

4.3.3.2.1 Results of classroom observation in School B

Classroom observation was undertaken according to the same schedule as School A. Eight full Mandarin lessons of different groups were observed and recorded (two hours of each lesson). A brief summary of classroom observation including some key sections is displayed in appendix 26.

School B had no access to the IT resources of mainstream schools therefore, in contrast to School A, it was comparatively difficult for teachers to make their Mandarin lessons attractive without the assistance of online resources or IT equipment. However, School B still shared similarities in its Mandarin teaching and learning with School A. Firstly, Mandarin teaching in both schools was teacher-centred and didactic. Teaching practices varied according to individual teachers but were mainly guided by their textbooks. Mandarin lessons usually followed this process: greeting the class, recapping, dictation, homework checking, textbook content and homework giving. Classroom activities such as games and group work, reading, writing practice were oriented to textbook content and the associated workbooks. Two sets of textbooks *Youerhanyu* and *Zhongwen* were used at the beginner, intermediate and higher levels respectively (see appendix 13 and 14). Workbooks were used as homework. Checking homework together and allocating time for the students to do their homework during Mandarin lessons could be widely seen in School B. Dictation was a routine way of assessing students' learning outcomes. Teachers usually informed the students of the dictation content one week in advance. Exams were sat twice a year and the final results were used as the criterion to decide if each student could move to an upper group in the next academic year (one example paper is given in appendix 12)

4.3.3.2.2 Interview participants' perspectives of teaching and learning

Follow-up discussions with school participants further provided more in-depth and detailed information regarding teaching and learning in School B.

The importance of Mandarin was widely acknowledged in School B, even revealed in Cantonese-speaking parents' interviews. Although some parents were sending their children to learn Cantonese, they had shown their aspirations for children learning Mandarin in School B:

> [A Chinese mother] "我儿子现在还在广东话班，但是我现在想下学年开始把他送去学普通话。我觉得学普通话越来越重要，其实像我们在广东也是学说普通话的，但是我儿子在这里长大，他的国语就没有很好。现在很多人都会说国语，所以我也希望他能够说好国语。我总觉得不会说国语是跟中国社会脱节似的。"(My son is studying in a Cantonese class but I am considering sending him to a Mandarin class next academic year. I think learning Mandarin has become more and more important. In fact, we also learned Mandarin in Guangdong Province, but my son grew up in the UK so his Mandarin is not very good. Now many people can speak Mandarin so I hope he can speak Mandarin better. I always think he may be alienated from the Chinese society if he cannot speak Mandarin.)

The priority is language and literacy learning, also evidenced in interviews with teachers and parents. Being proficient in Mandarin is highly valued and even regarded as a significant part of being Chinese. The teacher of Mandarin class 4 told me:

> "我会经常的纠正他们的发音还有四声。我觉得我班上的小孩子的发音存在很大问题。还有我会让他们在听写的时候把笔画顺序也默写出来，他们有的时候笔顺是完全错误的。我认为掌握正确的发音还有书写规范对于学好汉语十分必要。"(I correct their pronunciations and four tones. I think students have problems with pronunciations. I also ask them to write out the stroke orders when they do dictation. Their stroke orders are totally wrong. I think it is necessary to know the correct pronunciation and stroke orders when learning Chinese.)

Another parent showed his strong concern and explained how he helped his son at home, which illustrates parental involvement in students' Mandarin learning:

> [A mother from Mandarin class 5] "我儿子在来中文学校之前就开始在家里学中文了。一开始我教给他一些简单基本的汉字。所以他之前就打下了很好的基础，掌握了一些汉字。他在中文学校上课就觉得不会特别的难懂。后来他渐渐可以读一些小文章了，我就会给他从网上或者从哪里找一些中文相关的文章让他自己读，提高他的阅读能力，看不懂的字或者词，就给他一本字典，自己去查，这样渐渐阅读能力提高了，速度提高了，也能认识学习更多生字。提高了自学本领。我觉得作为一个中国人，你不能自己国家的中文报刊啊杂志啊书啊这些都看不懂，这不就是太可笑了么。"(My son began learning Mandarin before he came to the Chinese school. At first, I taught him very simple, basic characters, so he already had a good foundation and a grasp of Chinese characters so he would not find it too difficult to study in the Chinese school. Afterwards, he was gradually able to read some paragraphs, and then I would find some related Chinese journals from the internet for him and ask him to read them to improve his reading ability. I would give him a dictionary and asked him to look up a certain character or word if he could not understand it. This made him gradually gain better reading ability and also to learn more new Chinese characters. I think as a Chinese, you should be able to read Chinese newspapers, magazines and books. If you cannot understand them, it will be very ridiculous, won't it?)

In addition to the practice of literacy and language, cultural events were considered to enrich the students' Chinese school life. Benefits of cultural events such as the speech contest and calligraphy contest were appreciated by teachers and parents:

> [The teacher of Mandarin intermediate group] "你看我们班上那个小男生其实很努力，为了这个演讲大会已经准备了好几个周末了。我能看出来他的进步。他并不是我们班上中文水平最好的，但是他能够尽自己最大努力去做这个事情，我觉得高兴。而且他那天的表现也很好，语速发音都很好。"(A boy in our class studied very hard. He had been preparing for this speech contest for a few weekends. I could see his improvement. His Mandarin level was not the best in our class but he tried his best and I am pleased that he did a good job. His speaking and pronunciation were really good.)

> [One mother from Mandarin class 3] "多点这样的活动很好，不然每周只是上课小孩子也觉得很无聊。" (It would be better if we had more activities like these. Children may feel bored if they only come to school for language lessons each week.)

In contrast to School A's access to IT facilities in a local mainstream school, School B had no access to the projectors of their "partner school", which put some restrictions on their teaching resources. Thus, the use of video and audio resources was rather limited in Mandarin lessons, possibly making Mandarin lessons more mundane for the students. Teachers and parents also expressed their anxieties:

> [The teacher of Mandarin class 5] "不能用 projector 的话，这个课真的会很无聊。很难让学生集中精力。如果能放放视频啊还好一些。至少学生不会走神太多。不然一直看课本啊，读啊，写啊，他们也会觉得很累的。" (The lesson would not be boring if we could use projectors. It is hard to keep the students' attentions without videos. If they could watch some videos, they would not be so distracted. If they were asked to keep reading textbooks and keep writing, they would feel tired.)

When asked about their contact with parents, teachers' answers indicated that parental involvement was important but varied according to individual parents:

> [The teacher of the Mandarin intermediate group] "我们班上的学生家长有一些是从来没见过的，但是有一些每节课结束都会来问我今天讲了什么，作业是什么，孩子的表现怎么样，非常的关心孩子的学习情况。"(I never meet some parents in my class but other parents always come to ask me what we learned today, what the homework is, how his/her child performed this time. They care about their children's Mandarin learning.)

Some parents were very keen to help with students' homework, which is reflected by interviews with students:

> [A boy from Mandarin class 4] "我妈妈会提醒我做作业。我做好了她会帮我检查。" (My mother reminds me to do homework. When I finish, she checks it for me.)

The teacher of Mandarin class 3 explained the efforts she made to involve the parents in students' Chinese learning:

> “我经常会布置一些作业让学生家长也参与进来，比如回去读课文给爸爸妈妈听啊，然后请爸爸妈妈写一些评语还有反馈。这样也是希望父母能知道小孩子的进度。” (I give homework and try to involve the parents. For example, I ask the class to read the text to their parents and let their parents write down some comments and feedback. By doing this, I hope to let parents know about the learning progress of their children.)

To sum up, the practice in both schools has similarities but each has its own preferences and context. They both focused on teaching Chinese language and literacy. Culture-related activities and classes appeared in Phase 2 (i.e. activity classes in School A and cultural events in School B). When comparing two schools, I found School A had more language learning-related resources and expertise, by which I mean they could take advantage of IT resources assisted in classrooms, and had a closer link with the University teaching staff. In contrast, School B had problems with resource, materials and staffing, but they made efforts to provide instruction on language and literacy with limited resources.

4.3.4 Challenges which might have been expected from the review of the literature facing sample schools

Ethnographic data suggested that some issues were identified from the existing literature about CCS. These included the difficulty of recruiting teachers, the funding for running the CCS and the teachers' professional levels. These issues appeared in the data in relation to both schools, but the examples chosen here are the strongest examples of these issues identified in the two schools studied.

School A faced a constant struggle to recruit and retain teachers. The head teacher and members of the school committee regularly contacted the university to find more

teachers. This problem was reported in interviews with the school head and CCS teachers.

The turnover of teachers was evident from what teachers said about their commitments — both in school and elsewhere. For example, the teacher of Mandarin group 2 in School A expressed her intention to leave because of the pressure and stress of working at the weekend**,**

> "我考虑离职很多次了。一个人管 20 多个学生很辛苦。 虽然工资还行,但是我的周末也被占用了。而且每个周还要专门抽一个下午时间要备课。说实话，我还没走主要是因为我不知道怎么去跟校长说。" (I am thinking of quitting this job for many times. It is very tough to manage a class of more than 20 children on my own; the pay looks nice, though. My weekends are taken up. Also, I have to spend one whole afternoon to prepare the class each week. To be honest, I am not leaving yet only because I do not know how to tell the head nicely.)

The head teacher made it clear that the problem of teacher recruitment and retention mainly occurred with teachers of the lower groups because they were usually people who were not permanently resident in the UK or who had commitments elsewhere. The high turnover of teachers in the lower groups was evident during my fieldwork in School A in the spring term, January to March 2014, when four teachers asked to leave and at least four substitute teachers came to School A to help (see Table 7). During the whole case study period, the reception teacher in this school changed three times (see Table 8).

Table 7 a sample record of teachers' absence –spring term (11/01/14 to 13/04/14) in School A

Date	Class
17/01/14	Year 3
28/01/14	Year 2
22/02/14	Year 2
08/03/14	Reception
23/03/14	Year 1
29/03/14	Year 1

Table 8 a record of teachers' change – School A: reception group 2013-2014 academic year

Date	Name
11/01/14	Miss L
29/01/14	Miss Z
03/05/14	Miss X

The head teacher found this undesirable because it provided poor continuity for the children and was unpopular with parents. Moreover, the lack of qualified teaching staff made it harder to meet the high demand to open new classes and the shortage of teachers seemed likely to affect the quantity and quality of the teaching and learning. Casual talks with parents indicated that they had found it difficult to get a place for their children in the lower groups of School A because of the limited number of pupil places; sometimes they had to apply for a place over a year in advance, which made enrolment competitive. In response to the growing demand for more places in the lower groups, the head teacher expressed the pressure he was under in the interview:

> “每年一到九月入学，压力特别大。我们每个班都控制了人数，但是家长们还是硬想把孩子加进来。也一直有家长反映多开几个班．我们也想要多开几个班，但是实在是找不到那么些合适的有经验的比较专业的确老师，人手不够。” (It gets stressful each year when it comes to the September, the enrolment period of a year. We control the number of students of each group but parents still want to add their children in. I receive many requests for opening more classes from the parents. We would like to do so but it is not easy to find plenty of appropriate teachers who are experienced and professional. We are shorthanded.)

The rising demand for learning Mandarin in CCS and the growing number of students in the lower groups put pressure on teachers and some of the teachers complained about the increasingly larger class sizes, which made teaching stressful. The teacher of Mandarin group 4 described her high workload of weekend teaching in CCS and indicated the potential benefits of opening more classes:

> “我觉得在这里教书比起在英国学校一点也不轻松，一个班上的学生太多了而且学生的水平差别也很大，要尽量平衡不同学生的需求，对于老师来说，其实挺有挑战性的。平时我要花时间准备课件，还有一些上课用的材料。我每个周平均要花 3-4 时间准备，但我平时也有自己的工作要做而且还要照顾我自己的家庭。如果能多开几个班，确实可以分担一点我的工作量。而且可以保证老师能够关注到每一个学生。” (I do not think it is more relaxing to teach in CCS compared to teaching in English schools. It is challenging for teachers to balance different demands of students in one group especially when there are so many students and their Mandarin levels differ greatly. I need to spend time on preparing teaching material. The average time on class preparation is around 3-4 hours. But I have my own full-time job and also I have to take care of my family. If the school could open a few more classes, it would be definitely helpful for sharing my work and also make sure the teacher could pay attention to each student.)

In order to solve this problem of imbalance between supply and demand in Mandarin learning, School A asked their parents for help. The teachers made a “parent on duty” schedule for each younger group and their parents took turns working as unpaid teaching assistants, helping the teacher mainly with classroom management, such as taking children to the toilet, opening books for them and getting them to focus on the teacher and behave as expected. This strategy might also address the issue of parental

involvement discussed above. However, informal talks with teachers suggested that parents as teaching assistants actually increased the teachers' stress because they felt they were being watched. In order to solve this problem, some teachers suggested that the school could hire university students as teacher assistants. However, given that the patterns discussed above show that the teachers most committed to the school are most likely to stay, this is — at best — only a mechanical solution and taking into consideration the extra pay, it would be an increased financial burden for the school and did not happen during my study period.

Teachers' qualifications were a related issue discussed in the review of the literature. In my study, no teachers in School A and B held UK teacher status and only one teacher interviewee worked as a teaching assistant in a local primary school. A small number of teachers (34% of all teachers in the three schools) held overseas teacher qualifications (i.e. Chinese teacher qualifications) and quite a few (48% in total in all the schools) had overseas teaching experience (i.e. in Mainland China), however, not necessarily related to Mandarin teaching, furthermore, not related to teaching Mandarin as a second language. This concern is related to teacher retention and funding. The school has to employ enough teachers with a Chinese background and the priority is for them to have Chinese as their first language (head teacher interview), but there are few qualified teachers of Chinese origin and little money to pay them.

The funding issue was a concern for School B. According to informal talks with the school head, insufficient funds resulted in a wide range of problems, such as renting premises, teacher recruitment and retention, limited resources and low-quality

Mandarin education, which were identified in the review of the literature. The head teacher said:

> “我们学校每年的资金很紧张，一年租金都不够付，我们仍然需要社区热心人士的援助。” (The funding is very tight each year and it cannot even cover one year’s rent! So we still need assistance from enthusiastic community members.)

Ethnographic observation suggested that School B had little difficulty finding Mandarin teachers as their criteria was anyone who could speak Mandarin. This reflects an organisational problem of School B. The turnover of Mandarin teaching staff had become much more severe in School B. Table 9 indicates a sample record of teacher absence in the spring term. It is obvious that the absence by teachers in Mandarin classes was highly frequent. Teachers were allowed to give one-week notice to the school for their absence.

Table 9 a sample record of teachers' absence (11/01/14 to 13/04/14) in School B

Date	Class
12/01/14	Mandarin Beginner B
29/01/14	Mandarin Class 3; Mandarin Beginner A
09/02/14	Mandarin Intermediate
23/02/14	Mandarin Intermediate
16/03/14	Mandarin Class 5
30/03/14	Mandarin Class 5;Mandarin Class 4
06/04/14	Mandarin Class 2

The unattractive pay and inconvenient transport might explain why teachers asked for leave so frequently. The teacher of Mandarin class 4 (who was a university student) said:

> "学校给的钱真的不多。一个下午两小时只付 15 磅。也就是我们这些学生愿意过来帮帮忙而且这地方交通不方便，每次来回的交通费用学校也不帮我们解决。 来回一趟差不多要 4 磅，等于我一个下午包括来回坐公交车 1 个多小时候搭进去了，其实最后只到手了 11 磅。" (The pay of teachers in this school is indeed low. I am paid 15 pounds for two hours one afternoon. I think only the students like us would like to help. Transport to this area is not convenient and the school does not help to solve our transport expenses. It costs me 4 pounds on transport each time, which means that I spend the whole afternoon including one more hour on travel but I only get 11 pounds in hand in the end.)

Complaints from some parents about the quality of Mandarin lessons could be heard when talking with parents. The inexperienced teachers and the restricted access to classroom facilities were complained about, mostly informally:

> [A mother from Mandarin class 3] "以前是另外一个老师带我儿子的那个班，那个老师教的非常好，非常负责。听说她之前就是老师。 她在中文学校教

了好久,但是后来回国了。现在的这个老师很年轻，我听我儿子说她教得没有之前那个老师好。” (My son’s group was guided by another teacher. She taught very well and she was very responsible. I heard that she used to be teacher. That teacher has been teaching in the Chinese School for a long time but then went back to China. The current teacher is very young and my son told me she does not teach as well as the previous teacher.)

[A substitute teacher of Mandarin class 6] “我以前在这里教过一段时间的普低。一个班要管那么多小孩，真的很累，所以我就不做了。而且你知道，不能用这里的仪器还有设备啊，没有办法放一些视频给小孩看，他们也会觉得枯燥，课也很难上。加上给的钱也不多，太费我的精力。我现在送我的孩子去另外一个中文学校，那边的资源更好一些。” (I used to teach Mandarin beginners for a while. But I quit because it was too tiring to teach a group with so many children. As you know, we cannot use the facilities so we cannot let the children watch some videos. They may feel bored, which makes it hard to give lessons. The pay is not very high but the job consumed lots of my energy. I am sending my children to another Chinese school, where they offer better resources.)

The restricted access to classroom facilities indicated that the partnership with mainstream school was not an equal one in School B. The school rented the premises of a local college but they did not have access to the IT facilities fitted in the classrooms. In addition, School B had to suspend classes twice in one term for mainstream school maintenance (see Table 10). The researcher was informed by the head teacher that School B closed due to a contract problem with the mainstream school after 1st February 2015. However, School B and the local Chinese association were looking for new premises to resume the school as soon as possible.

Table 10 a record of pause or termination of School B

Date	Subject	Reason
09/11/14	Pause	Mainstream school maintenance
14/12/14	Pause	Mainstream school maintenance

The next chapter will contextualise the findings about the shift from British born Chinese community teachers to Mandarin speaking, often temporarily resident teachers. This is something identified in the literature and I argue that that the issue of teacher recruitment is very important for the identity of the school and for the developing the Chinese identity of the children and their families.

4.3.5 New difficulties and challenges arising

In addition to issues already identified in the existing literature, some unanticipated difficulties and challenges which appeared in Phase 1 were again identified by analysing the data of Phase 2. These issues fundamentally reflect the demographic change in the Chinese population in the UK, setting a wider range of challenges for CCS. Again, issues in relation to both schools were strongly evidenced by the most relevant examples here.

4.3.5.1 Diverse needs

The very varied population in terms of Mandarin experience in these schools means that the learning demands of students are diverse, which poses a challenge to teaching in CCS. It means that the current resources, materials and expertise might need to adapt to these diverse demands to be successful. The diversity of student backgrounds and Mandarin levels in the same Mandarin group was identified in Phase 1 and was further demonstrated in Phase 2. Analysis of observation field notes showed that the population was not homogeneous in Mandarin classrooms in terms of student background and Mandarin levels. Analysis of follow-up interviews strengthened this finding. One sample list of students' background information in a certain Mandarin group of School A (see appendix 23) indicated the diversity. For example, students' ages varied from

four to nine years old and their parents came from a wide range of regions such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Mainland China and the UK. According to some students and parents, their home language use varies from English, Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin and other Chinese local language (such as Shanghainese, a local language spoken in Shanghai). Classroom observation of reception group in School A showed that students' Mandarin levels varied. For example, two boys with Cantonese backgrounds were able to write basic simplified Chinese characters with ease because they had learnt Cantonese and its corresponding traditional characters for more than a year before they attended School A, but they could not understand the teacher's Mandarin at all. By contrast, one girl whose parents both came from Northern China could easily understand the teacher's Mandarin and immediately reply in comparatively fluent Mandarin but her writing ability was somewhat weaker. There were also complete beginners with no basic understanding of Mandarin at all. The diversity of background and Mandarin level meant the demands of students within a certain Mandarin group were very different, which challenged teachers' teaching practice in CCS. In trying to cater to these diverse demands, teachers expressed their concerns and struggles:

> [The teacher of Mandarin group 2 in School A] "我们班上有 20 多个学生，学生的水平差距很大。有的会说但不会写，有的写的好但又不会说。有的干脆连普通话都听不懂，只会英语。教起来真的很难。"(There are more than 20 students in my class and their Mandarin levels are quite different. Some can speak Mandarin but cannot write characters. Some can write but cannot speak. Some cannot even understand Mandarin but only English. It is very difficult to teach the group.)

> [The teacher of Mandarin intermediate in School B] "我们班上学生水平差的很大。有的在家里说普通话，有的是说广东话的，有的说英文。背景差的很大。基础也不一样。这个班带起来很费劲。" (Students' Mandarin levels vary hugely in our group. Some speak Mandarin at home whereas some speak Cantonese and some speak English. They have varied backgrounds and different basic understandings of Mandarin. It is very tiring work.)

Diverse demands mean the current resources, expertise, materials need to be changed accordingly. CCS teachers begin to reflect their teaching practice and attempt to address this issue. According to diverse needs of students within one class, teachers tried to find possible solutions to balance different requests. Some teachers gave extra homework to students with higher Mandarin levels after the class. They sometimes asked students with higher Mandarin levels to help those with comparatively lower Mandarin levels in class:

> [The teacher of Mandarin reception in School A] "我现在需要做的就是找到一个平衡。平衡各种不同的需求。(What I need to do now is to find a balance, to balance various demands.)"

> [The teacher of Mandarin group 4 in School A] "我给不同水平的学生布置不同的作业。有能力的就多做一些稍有难度的额外的任务。水平差一点的就做一些能力范围以内的。" (According to students' Mandarin levels, I give them different work to do. Those with higher levels can do a little bit harder extra work whilst those with lower levels can do the work within their abilities.)

The problem of textbooks was raised in teachers' interviews. As mentioned above, textbooks used in CCS were primarily designed for students with a basic of Mandarin levels， which may be not suitable for Mandarin learners in CCS. However, according to teachers, textbooks need to be improved so as to meet students' diverse demands in CCS. For example, when being asked about their opinions and users' experience of *Youerhanyu*, teachers of lower groups from two case schools respectively showed their concerns for the inadaptability of textbooks *Youerhanyu* in current CCS and their words reflect an obvious contrast on students' Mandarin levels between two schools,

> [The teacher of Mandarin intermediate in School B] "幼儿汉语这套教材，对于我们班里的学生来说，似乎有一点简单了。因为我们班上的大多数的学生已经有一定的中文基础了。所以很多时候我不得不找一些课本之外的内容，对他们进行扩展练习。然而他们目前的水平又没有完全达到更高一级，中

文教材对于他们来说又太难了。”(The set of textbooks *Youerhanyu* seems to be a little simple for the students in our class, because most of them already have a basic knowledge of Mandarin. I have to search for some extra stuff to expand their practice. However, their Mandarin levels are not good enough for a higher level course book hence *Zhongwen* is way too difficult for them.)

[The teacher of Mandarin reception in School A] “我个人觉得目前使用的幼儿汉语这套教材并不是很适合我们班上的孩子。很明显这套教材是为有一定中文背景的中国孩子而设计的，但实际上班上大多数孩子没有中文基础。而且一开始也没有系统的介绍拼音，作为一个入门教材来看，似乎对于他们有点难了。”(I personally do not think *Youerhanyu* is suitable for children in my class. This set of textbooks is apparently designed for Chinese students with some Mandarin backgrounds but actually few students have gained basic knowledge of Mandarin. Moreover, this book does not provide a systematic introduction of pinyin so as an introductory textbook, it seems to be a little bit difficult for them.)

Another frequent problem that teachers mentioned is that the textbooks do not give very clear introductions to practice activities in the book. This was later confirmed by analysing the textbooks. Teachers of middle and higher groups complained a lot about the set of textbooks *Zhongwen* and their accompanying workbooks. It seems that the producers of *Zhongwen* targeted users already familiar with such commonly-used formats of exercises for Chinese literacy in China. However, most textbooks used in mainstream schools provide clear introductory examples and explanations for each exercise for students, which is absent in the Chinese textbooks, hence, CCS teachers have to explain to students how to practise the exercises in their textbooks and workbooks in case the students, especially the British students, do not understand how to complete the exercises. The difference in textbooks indicates the challenge CCS participants face, and further reflects difficulties in inter-cultural communication between Britain and China.

To address the problem of textbooks, the UK Federations of Chinese Schools (one of the biggest nationwide Chinese school association in Britain) attempt to edit a series of textbooks *齐来学中文 Let's learn Chinese* to meet the needs of students of learning Mandarin as a second or foreign language or as a HL. The series of textbooks has been written with reference to *the National Curriculum for Modern Foreign languages* (Department for Education, 2013), *Asset Languages* (Association for Language Learning, 2013), *the Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages* (Department for Education, 2005) and *the Curriculum Guide for Chinese* (the National Centre for languages, 2007), which can be used in both CCS and the UK mainstream schools. However, my sample schools do not adopt this set of textbooks so its adaptability to current CCS is unknown.

4.3.5.2 Parental aspirations

Parental aspirations for children in CCS vary, which makes the teaching in CCS challenging. In analysing the interview data from the two schools, I found that parents held various aspirations for their children in CCS which were different from what I initially expected from open-ended observations in both schools. The behaviour of some Chinese parents indicated their strong aspirations for their children doing well in CCS, which reflects Chinese high value on Education (Archer *et al*., 2010). Some Chinese parents directly encouraged their children to sit at the front of the classroom; some talked to the teacher about their children's progress and behaviour; others checked with the teacher about the homework after class or consulted the teacher about how to help with their children's Mandarin learning; one parent even asked the teacher if she could find a private Mandarin tutor for her daughter. All of these behaviours above indicated Chinese people placed a high value on Education regardless of their backgrounds or class (Archer and Francis, 2006). However, parental aspirations for

their children in CCS varied. Some hoped their children would become proficient in Mandarin whilst some hoped their children would enjoy the atmosphere or make friends with other children who shared a similar background with them. One parent of the GCSE group in School A showed her strong anxiety for her son's GCSE Mandarin:

> "我很愁我儿子的中文。他马上要参加 GCSE 考试了，我特别担心他的写作。我希望他能尽快把写作弄好。" (I am worried about my son's Chinese. He is going to take the GCSE very soon. I am worried about his writing. I hope he could improve his writing as soon as possible.)

In contrast, one mother of Mandarin class 6 in School B expressed her best wishes for her child:

> "我不强迫我孩子，只要他们开心快乐就好。我觉得他们能在中文学校认识多一些的朋友就很好。" (I do not push my children. I hope they could be happy. I think it is good for them to make more friends in the Chinese school.)

Different parental aspirations also make it challenging to teach in CCS. Teachers indicated the pressures on them about the various parental expectations occurring in one Mandarin group. For example, one teacher received an email complaint from a British parent regarding Chinese homework. By contrast with Chinese parents who expected their children to have weekly homework, this British parent argued that Chinese homework was too much for his son; he hoped his son could learn Mandarin as a habit rather than by completing learning tasks. This represents the voices of parents who had no relationship with Chinese backgrounds and wanted their children to have fun and develop the habit of speaking Mandarin, which is in contrast to some Chinese parents who expected their children to practise and work to become proficient in Mandarin. The appearance of British children demonstrated the demographic change in the population and the diverse learning demands in CCS. The goals of CCS may shift

from primarily serving British born Chinese children towards catering for a wider range of Mandarin learners.

4.3.5.3 Conflicts

Conflicts which include language use, parental involvement and values appeared**.** The conflict of language use is related to teacher-student and teacher-parent communication. Classroom observations indicated that a teacher's use of Mandarin in a classroom is highly dependent on the teacher's English proficiency and students' Mandarin abilities; most Mandarin teachers in CCS tended to be bilingual in Mandarin and English; however, none spoke English as their first language so were sometimes corrected or even challenged by the students in Mandarin classrooms. This is not a comfortable experience for Chinese teachers, who expect the respect from their students. The teacher of Mandarin group 3 in School A told me:

> "我不太喜欢说英文，有的时候有语法错误自己没有意识到，学生们就会给我纠错，有的甚至让我觉得是看我笑话，让我很不自在。所以我尽量多用中文授课，极少情况使用英文解释。" (I do not like to speak English. Sometimes I made mistakes but I did not realise I had. Students would correct errors for me. Some of them made me feel that they would like to see me make mistakes, which made me uncomfortable. So I try to use Mandarin rather than English.)

This also reflects how CCS students are different from students in China. Most CCS children are educated in British mainstream schools, where they have developed and exposed to British values, beliefs and norms. By contrast, Chinese traditional values emphasise being obedient to teachers and students have to acknowledge the authority of teachers, which is different from British values and norms that support an equal relationship between teachers and students. The conflict of language use further reflected a conflict of values, beliefs and norms.

Communication between teachers and parents was sometimes restricted by the language. Few Mandarin teachers spoke fluent Cantonese or Hakka; therefore, they have very limited communication with Cantonese-speaking parents. The teacher of Mandarin group 2 in School A told me,

> “我不会说粤语，所以我跟那些说粤语的家长通常都是用英语交流。有些还能说流利的英文但是有一些英文也不是很好。所以我跟他们沟通也不是很顺畅。”(I do not speak Cantonese so when I communicate with Cantonese-speaking parents, I normally use English. Some of them can speak fluent English but some are not good at English. So my communication with them does not go well.)

Conflicts were sometimes caused by parental involvement rather than simply misunderstandings due to the language difference. Teachers thought a two-hour lesson each week was not enough to improve students’ Mandarin proficiency and parental involvement was necessary, while some parents relied totally on weekend instruction and contributed little or nothing to students’ Mandarin learning. The different perspectives reflect a conflict of values about relationship between CCS and families in pupils’ Mandarin learning.

Furthermore, Schools A and B did not establish an official link with each other, even though they are located in the same city. This raised an issue of resource exchange and sharing — as one possible way is to improve resources in individual CCS.

4.3.6 The Mandarin trend

Mandarin was preferred by the two sample schools. This reflects one key finding in Phase 1. I noticed that parents of non-Mandarin speakers sent their children to learn

Mandarin in Phase 2. In addition, Mandarin classes had been opened up in School B and the number of students in the Mandarin branch was obviously higher than in the Cantonese branch. Both head teachers of case schools responded they were in great need of Mandarin teachers. School A have attracted a large number of students from School B because of its better reputation in Mandarin education in the local area. One parent from School A told me:

> "我现在在 School B 那边教广东话，但是我在考虑把我儿子送这边学普通话。因为这边的设施比较好，普通话授课历史长，据说教的很好。" (I was teaching Cantonese in School B but I am considering sending my son to School A. This is because School A has better facilities and a longer history of teaching Mandarin and better reputation for Mandarin education.)

4.3.7 Participants' varied constructions of CCS

Analysis of observation field notes and interview transcripts suggested that participants held varied constructions of what a CCS is or should be. Their constructions of CCS indicated the provision of capitals (i.e. cultural, social and economic) by CCS for them.

Parents constructed CCS as a place for socialising, by which they can accumulate their social capital. Ethnographic observation showed parents tended to communicate more with people from a shared linguistic, cultural and /or social background. Parents developed their social networks in CCS as one parent in School B told me:

> "我住的村子很难找到中国人。但是在这里我可以每个下午跟其他的家长聊天交朋友我也可以学习他们如何指导孩子学习。" (It is not easy to find other Chinese parents in my village. But I can have a nice chat and make friends with other parents in the Chinese school every Saturday afternoon. I can also learn from other parents about how they guide their children's study.)

Another Chinese mother from School A explained how she gradually got used to a new living environment by coming to the CCS:

> “我作为家属两个月前刚来英国。我还没有完全适应在国外的新生活。来到中文学校见到很多中国人，我逐渐消除了紧张感。他们都是很好的人，总是帮助我去适应这儿的新环境。” (I arrived at the UK as a dependent two months ago. I have not got into a new life in a foreign country. I gradually erased my nervousness by meeting Chinese people in the school. They are very nice people and always help me to get used to the new environment here.)

Students constructed CCS as a safe place because students tended to be more relaxed in CCS than in UK mainstream schools. It is interesting that a few students even messed around because CCS teachers were tolerant of their behaviour, which was considered as inappropriate by their mainstream schoolteachers. One Chinese boy, born in England, from Mandarin group 4 in School A told me:

> “I feel more relaxed here. My school is a private school. I prefer the Chinese school. I do not need to be on good behaviour.”

Students developed social networks in CCS, too. For example, I found a girl Angela showed her strong expectation for sitting with another girl in the reception group of School A because they were best friends in the school. A boy from the GCSE Group in School B, who had just arrived in England one year ago, told me:

> “My English is not good. I could not get on well with the British students in my English school because of my English level. I asked my parents if I could come to the Chinese school to try to make some new friends. It is nice to spend my weekend in here. I feel comfortable.”

CCS is a place where cultural capital could be accumulated. It is not only for students to encounter Chinese culture and language intensively but also for teachers to improve their knowledge and understanding of teaching in CCS. Some teachers constructed CCS as a place for them to expand teaching experience, by which they can build cultural capital:

> [The teacher of Mandarin intermediate in School B] “我觉得来中文学校工作是个不错的经历。能够积工作经验，也能学习怎么与小朋友相处。”(I think working in a Chinese school is a unique experience. I can gain more work experience and learn how to get well with young children.)

Some teachers explained that they got involved in teaching in CCS because of a curiosity about teaching children of a younger age:

> [The teacher of Mandarin group 1 in School A] “我是出于好奇，以前一直是成人，所以很想体验教幼儿汉语。” (I used to teach adults so I am very curious to experience teaching children Chinese.)

One university student said she had the opportunity to practise her oral English in CCS:

> [The teacher of Mandarin class 3 in School B] “我口语不是很好，来这边教书可以顺便跟学生学习地道英语口语。”（My oral English is not very good so I came here to teach but also to learn oral English from the students.）

CCS also provided valuable opportunities for newly arrived university students from China to build links with those Chinese people who have already long established in Britain. As the Mandarin teacher of Class 4 in School B said:

> “我在这个学校遇到过一些中国家长。我很少有机会接触那种已经在英国定居时间比较久的中国人。我通常接触一些大学里面的中国学生。”（I met some Chinese parents in this school. I seldom have opportunities to meet Chinese immigrants who have long established in the UK. The Chinese people I usually approach to are students in my university.）

Participants had various constructions of CCS related to language issues and further reflected the goals of CCS and their role in constructing Chinese identities in Britain. The analysis of the data showed that parents and teachers valued the Chinese atmosphere of CCS, as part of sharing a Chinese identity with their children. The CCS offered the children linguistic and cultural experience and allowed them to develop dimensions of Chinese identity (as shown in 4.3.3). The Chinese linguistic and cultural

setting gave parents ways to discuss China and their own experiences with their children and to develop shared identity in a "Chinese" setting. This does not mean that the children developed a unified or single Chinese identity or that these youngsters developed a Chinese identity like their parents. As discussed in the review of the literature, identity is flexible, individual and sometimes problematic. Student respondents in my study had a range of self-identifications. A number of terms such as "Chinese", "British born Chinese", "British", "Hong Kong Chinese" "Taiwanese" appeared when students shared their experience of Chinese learning in CCS with me. However, the students did not suggest that these identities replaced or displaced their British identities and the aspects of their lives that supported these. Rather their Chinese identifies co-existed with their other selves. It was noticeable that some Chinese heritage students realised the significance of Chinese proficiency on Chinese identities as one girl from GCSE group in School A pointed out:

> "I am Chinese so there is no doubt that I should be able to read and write Chinese."

This is something many of the parents had mentioned in the interviews, where they made it clear that language was intimately bound up with Chinese identity such as:

> "作为一个华人，我希望孩子能够继承中华文化。首先是语言。能够熟悉中国的语言，文字，然后，进一步能熟悉中国的文化传统。" (As a Chinese, I want my child to inherit Chinese culture. First, (he can) inherit the language. (He can) formalise with Chinese language and further formalise with Chinese traditions.)"

It is possible, that this assumption was shared by families long before the children became part of the CCS and the CCS simply develops this aspect of the children's Chinese identity. These CCS prioritise the learning of Chinese language (as identified in section 4.3.3), possibly because of this shared assumption about the importance of

Chinese language to those with a Chinese identity. By giving children access to language learning and by offering parents the opportunity to discuss and emphasise the importance of Chinese language learning, if only through their support for attendance at CCS, the CCS are playing a key role in Chinese identity formation for the children. Parents recognise this and one said:

> "中文学校提供了中文环境的一个地方。它的责任很大。孩子在家里会觉得，学中文有什么用啊，就是个负担啊，但是到这里一看，小朋友都在学。就觉得别人在干，这个不是孤立的，到这里大家都在学，我们交中国的朋友，学中国的文化，然后周围老师都是中国人，所以对他的帮助挺大的。" (This school provides a Chinese-speaking environment. Its responsibility is huge. My child may feel Chinese is not necessary and learning Chinese is a burden at home. But when he comes to the school, he finds everyone is learning Chinese here. It is not isolated. We make Chinese friends and learn Chinese culture. Teachers are all Chinese. It is very helpful for him.)

The content of lessons, discussed above in section 4.3.3, shows the emphasis on language but also identifies the 'cultural' content, not only in terms of literature, festivals and art, but in terms of the shared background knowledge of rhymes and classroom practices (see section 4.2.2 and 4.3.3), and expectations about learning experiences that may well be shared between parents and children as part of Chinese identity.

Although there is much in the CCS that promotes Chinese identity formation for the pupils, it would be a mistake to see this as monolithic or unchanging. As mentioned in the review of the literature, it is impossible to identify "one" Chinese identity. For example, one girl said: "My mother is Chinese but I am British Chinese." In contrast, another boy who is newly arrived said "I found many Chinese students who cannot speak Chinese in this school. They are different Chinese people".

The teachers in the schools came from different regions and generations of Chinese society and had shaped their own identities based on their lives as migrants. They modelled a range of identities and this will also have affected the identities of pupils. As already discussed in the review of the literature, identity construction is very complex and includes multiple dimensions (e.g. race, ethnicity, culture, social interaction) therefore, when thinking about CCS students' identities, I can identify the role of the CCS as the provision of a range of cultural experiences, of language, of models of what it is to have a Chinese identity and of a place to explore Chineseness, but I cannot trace how this affected each child.

4.4 Summary

In summary, this chapter presented the results of the findings, which are displayed as Phase 1 – the pilot study – and Phase 2— two case studies. The three cases are each unique and distinctive. They are three different CCS in the UK—a small newly built Mandarin CCS, a comparatively larger Mandarin CCS with a longer history in England and a larger Cantonese CCS with provision of Mandarin classes. The research questions concerning what the current situation of CCS is like, what challenges are facing CCS and what school participants' constructions of CCS are, were explored phase by phase. Teaching the Chinese language and literacy remains key practice in these schools. The trend towards learning Mandarin is greater than 10 years ago in CCS and backgrounds of students in CCS are diverse in comparison with those identified in Francis *et al.*'s (2008) study. Diverse learners' needs mean resources, materials, and expertise need to be changed accordingly therefore it is necessary to reflect on current teaching and learning practice in CCS. In addition, parents, teachers and students have varied constructions of CCS, which indicate the effects of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) referred to in Chapter 2. Furthermore, how participants construct and develop their identities and

the connection to the role of CCS needs to be looked into in depth. In the next chapter, I will relate the findings of this research to review of the literature to present an overall and detailed picture of current CCS and further discuss the intercultural nature of CCS, Bourdieu's (1986) concept of capitals and its effects on CCS as well as the role of CCS in school participants' identity construction.

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This research employed three case studies to explore what CCS in Britain are like, who attends these CCS and what CCS can provide. The study aimed to understand the goals of CCS teachers, pupils and parents, the challenges they faced and how far they have addressed these challenges. Furthermore, this research attempted to understand how Chineseness is constructed in CCS and its connection to the role of CCS.

One new aspect of this research is the focus on Mandarin teaching in CCS, where the existing research mainly focused on the CCS with Cantonese backgrounds. This PhD study comprised two phases: one pilot study in Phase 1 and two case studies in Phase 2. At the beginning, the researcher attempted to gain a general understanding of CCS in England; however, as the focus turned to Mandarin and the issues that this raised, the direction of the research focused on Mandarin CCS as it progressed, which made me reshape my sampling in the second stage and seek Mandarin learning and teaching in CCS. The three cases in my study are each unique and distinctive, and as exploratory cases, they are not used to generalise theories that could be applied to any CCS but the findings from my case studies will possibly provide reference points for future study in this field.

This chapter discusses some of the findings of the study in relation to the review of literature; it also discusses what new challenges are facing CCS when Mandarin is identified as the preferred target language in CCS. Mandarin-dominant complementary schooling is an emerging area and my thesis provides a valuable and rare insight into

it. This chapter concentrates upon the notion of CCS as an intercultural space, and what this might mean for the negotiation of inter-culturality in between at least two sets of values, norms and beliefs in CCS. The discussion will go on to identify how CCS reflect different Chinese identities in the UK, and the contribution of CCS to identity creation, how those who are part of CCS construct their Chineseness and their Chinese identities, in relation to the review of literature. This research hopes to contribute to a more detailed and rich understanding of the new types of CCS in the UK as a possible reference for future researchers, teachers and policy makers interested in the field of Chinese complementary schools.

5.2 What CCS is like

This section attempts to answer the question on the basis of the composition of CCS, the provision of CCS and the practice in CCS identified in the three unique cases compared to those described in the review of the literature. In addition to the short summary of findings presented in Chapter 4, this section discusses further the demographic change in the Chinese population in the last decade and how it has affected CCS to a wider extent.

5.2.1 Population of CCS

As identified in Chapter 4, CCS in my study chose Mandarin as the preferred language to learn, which has implications for population of current UK CCS. In contrast with schools identified in the review of the literature, the make-up of CCS population has changed over the past five to eight years, which indicates a demographic change of the UK Chinese population.

According to the research *British-Chinese pupils' identities, achievement and complementary schooling* (Francis *et al*., 2008) in Chapter 2, the population of Cantonese-focused CCS was overwhelmingly comprised of second rather than third Chinese generation. 60 students, 21 teachers and 24 parents from six CCS across England participated in their project. 97% of students had at least one parent born overseas, and 88% reported speaking Chinese at home (63% only spoke Cantonese at home). 87% were British-born Chinese and only one was mixed heritage. 42% came from working-class backgrounds, 28% from families with small business, 27% were from middle-class families, and a further 3% unknown. 18 teachers were Hong Kong Chinese (the three others were Cantonese speakers born overseas). 12 teachers were classified as middle class, with four in working-class occupations, and five small business owners. five parents had been born overseas (13 were Hong Kong Chinese). Ten parents could be categorised as working class, with six being small business owners and eight being middle-class/professionals (Francis *et al.*, 2008). Francis *et al.*'s research (2008) reflected the demographic pattern of long established UK Chinese communities, which consisted of non-professional Chinese people originally from Hong Kong or South-eastern China where Cantonese, Hakka, and Hokkien are widely spoken. However, my research showed a diversity of CCS participants which in fact reflects the demographic change in the UK Chinese population.

As shown in Chapter 4, each CCS in my study has its own unique distinctions, and while they may possibly represent some types of current UK CCS, there is no claim that they represent all types of CCS.

In Phase 1, pupils consisted of Chinese heritage children (with two Chinese parents) and Chinese mixed heritage children (with one Chinese parent). Language use at home varied but included Mandarin, Cantonese and English. The high level of parents' educational backgrounds points to the increasing population of "new migrants" — as distinct from the "long-term residents in the UK who are British passport holders" (Francis *et al.*, 2008) and have already established British-Chinese communities (Li, 2006). Teachers consisted of parents and university students from Mainland China. The pilot study has already shown a different demographic picture from the review of the literature and provided a preliminary result for the population of current UK CCS.

Two CCS comprised Phase 2. School A was a Mandarin-focused CCS and comparatively large. Students consisted of Chinese heritage children (with two Chinese parents), mixed heritage children (with one Chinese parent) and non-Chinese heritage children (with no Chinese parents). Parents' backgrounds varied and the example group in 4.3.1 indicated that parents consisted of "educational transits", "urban professionals" and "catering practitioners" (Li, 1994). In addition to Mandarin, the home language use varied from English, Cantonese to Hakka. In contrast with the Cantonese CCS in the review of literature, School A had extended its target groups from second and/or third Chinese generation to a wider range of people with interests in Chinese language and culture. The teaching staff in School A included university students and parents from Mainland China.

In contrast, School B had maintained the Cantonese teaching with the longest history in my study. It shared many similarities with the CCS in the review of the literature. Its original founders came from Hong Kong and South-eastern China so Cantonese have

been dominating in School B for many years. However, Mandarin classes were opened due to a growing demand of learning Mandarin. Their students consisted of Chinese heritage children (children with parents who were both Chinese), mixed heritage children (with one Chinese parent) and non-Chinese heritage children. An overwhelming majority of students came from families with small business (e.g. take-away restaurants or grocery shops) or with parents working in the catering industry, which was very similar to the CCS identified by Francis *et al*. (2008). Their Mandarin teachers were made up of a large number of university students and some enthusiastic Chinese parents, all of whom came from Mainland China and were able to speak fluent Mandarin Chinese.

The population of Phase 2 further supported the demographic change identified in Phase 1. The three CCS were found to be going through a demographic change in population. This change indicates the demography of the Chinese population in England, which reflects an increase in Mainland Chinese numbers, and this group have a professional background in England. This demographic change has fundamentally affected the CCS provision and widened the goals, provision, and practice of CCS, which consequently could cause unexpected issues and challenges for CCS.

5.2.2 Provision of CCS

This section considers in depth what distinguishes the provision of current CCS from its counterpart in the past. The findings first indicate that the main provision of CCS is language classes and some additional classes related to Chinese heritage. The main aim of these provisions was to promote proficiency in Chinese language and literacy and further improve understanding of Chinese culture. As discussed in 5.2.1, the

demography of CCS has gone through a fundamental change over the last five to eight years, hence current materials, resources and expertise might not be suitable for current CCS pupils due to the different demands of Mandarin learning (e.g. some students learn Mandarin as HL whereas some learn it as modern foreign language); however, looking into the provision of current CCS, it was possible to find what had been identified in the review of the literature. Francis *et al.* (2008) found CCS provided the teaching of Chinese language and literacy with additional classes in traditional activities related to Chinese heritage (e.g. Kung Fu, Chinese dance and calligraphy). They argued that there was little evidence that CCS provided academic support for mainstream education, as do Chinese heritage schools in the United States identified by Chang (2012).

The provision of CCS in my study varied from case to case. Phase 1 found the pilot school only provided Mandarin classes. In Phase 2, I found School A provided Mandarin language teaching and "activity classes" related to Chinese heritage (which included calligraphy, traditional dancing, word classic — teach children the *three character classic* which is traditional text for primary education in China). Additionally, School A provided examination support for GCSE (Mandarin) and A-level (Mandarin), which was mentioned but focusing on Cantonese, by Francis *et al.* (2008). In contrast, School B provided both Cantonese and Mandarin teaching. The three cases suggest that instruction on the Chinese language and literacy was one main provision of CCS. However, similar to those identified in the review of the literature, there was no strong evidence that CCS provided additional support for the mainstream curriculum subjects (e.g. English and mathematics). The provision of Chinese language and heritage culture reflected the needs of CCS participants and their high value on Mandarin proficiency. It also indicates that CCS is a space where Chinese language and culture can be

encountered; and proficiency in the Chinese language and understanding of the Chinese culture are widely regarded as key elements of "being Chinese".

Findings suggest that three CCS in my research occasionally held social events (e.g. weekend lunches, Christmas and Chinese New Year parties), primarily to provide opportunities for school participants to communicate and socialise. The specific provision of social events was not mentioned in the review of the literature but the attendance at CCS would accumulate social capital was suggested by previous researchers.

The provision of CCS in my study confirms a significant language change, shifting from Cantonese towards Mandarin. This is closely related with the changing backgrounds of the school participants (e.g. an overwhelmingly higher proportion of people from Mainland China), increasingly growing demand of learning Mandarin (e.g. a growing awareness that learning Mandarin is important pupils' future and development) as well as the emerging power of P.R. China (e.g. British economic connection with China). However, as discussed above, while the three cases reflect the diversity of CCS in the UK, they were not able to represent all CCS in existence, therefore I cannot say Mandarin is replacing Cantonese in all CCS but the trend is for Mandarin becoming dominant in CCS in Britain. For instance, one teacher from a small town in Southeast England at the Chinese School Teachers' Conference of 2015, told me that their school still focused on teaching Cantonese but the school head was considering about opening Mandarin classes, as it has become increasingly popular in the UK. Although none of my case schools provided additional support on mainstream subjects, I found one school (located outside the area where I conducted my fieldwork),

used to offer additional tuition on mathematics when I was searching sample schools for my study. Therefore, it means there might be other types of CCS, such as those providing academic support on mainstream curriculum subjects in Britain, parallel to those focusing on HL and culture support.

5.2.3 Practice

Established research found that teaching practice in CCS varied across the schools, dependent on individual teachers; however, teaching in CCS was didactic due to the nature of the language and limitations on resources and time, although methods such as group discussion, group work or games were regularly incorporated into Chinese lessons to motivate and engage the pupils. The teaching practice also relates to teachers' qualifications, their experiences and teacher supply in a CCS (Mau *et al*., 2009; Hancock, 2012)

The teaching of literacy and language comprised the core practice in CCS in my study, which is similar to the CCS key practices identified in the review of the literature. Teaching methods and practices varied from group to group even within the smallest case school, and was highly reliant on individual teacher, but the practice focus remained on language and literacy in three schools. Findings of classroom observation indicated that methods such as games, group work, and discussions were frequently incorporated into Mandarin classrooms, which further showed the Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS is operated in a "Chinese" way in comparison with language teaching and learning in British mainstream schools. It means that Mandarin teaching and learning in a Chinese way can be reflected in CCS.

According to the results and findings in Chapter 4, Mandarin teaching and learning across my case schools showed some distinctive features as below,

1. *Teacher-directed*: This literally means that teachers directed one lesson and usually talked to the whole class from the front of the classroom. Students followed teachers' instructions.

2. *Hands up*: This was a common phenomenon in Chinese classrooms; the students were required to raise their hands before answering the teacher's questions or to ask for help. Teachers' words "Hands up before you speak" reflect students' status is subordinate to that of teachers, and is common in CCS. This is a way in which Mandarin teachers manage the classrooms.

3. *Textbook-centred*: Textbooks guided the main objectives of a lesson and dominated most lesson contents. Individual student kept his/her own textbook. Two sets of textbooks *Zhongwen* and *Youerhanyu* were in use.

4. *Homework*: Teachers gave students homework and expected students to do it. Homework usually consisted of a workbook based on their textbook. Teachers would check students' homework (e.g.to see if their students had completed it) and help to sort out problems arising from the homework on a weekly basis.

5. *Dictation*: This was a commonly used assessment method in Mandarin classrooms, especially in groups of lower levels. Students wrote up words or characters according to teachers' spoken words. They normally swapped their worksheets to check each other's writing and then reported the results to teachers. Dictation worked as a motivation for improving students' Chinese character writing.

6. *Repetition*: Students repeated after teachers. They were also required to repeated writing Chinese characters on their work sheets.

7. *Memorisation:* This means students could recite texts of the textbook *Zhongwen* if

possible. Memorisation was encouraged by some Chinese teachers, as by remembering classic Chinese poems to recite, idioms and even paragraphs of classical articles, it would be beneficial for students' acquisition of the Chinese language.

8. *Greetings:* Greetings in Mandarin classes were sometimes operated in a traditional Chinese way. The normal routine was for the teacher to start by saying *class begins* in Mandarin and then the whole class stood up together. After that, teachers said *good afternoon, class*, and students responded *good afternoon, teacher* in Mandarin. The class were not allowed to sit down until teachers had given an instruction *sit down, please* in Mandarin.

Some of those features above make teaching and learning in Mandarin classes distinctive in comparison to British mainstream schools, which indicate that the CCS teachers tend to behave in a Chinese way, which is more regulated. CCS teachers relied on their own school experience when teaching (Wu, 2006) but apparently their experience-based teaching methods and approaches were not completely adaptable to CCS students who attend English mainstream schools. Although a number of teachers attempted to incorporate methods that were frequently used in British primary schools, their practice still revealed some particular Chinese features. One teacher of Mandarin group 4 from School A was working as a teaching assistant in a local primary school and due to the nature of language and her personal teaching experience both in China and in the UK, she incorporated a variety of British class games such as *bingo, camera* into her Mandarin class because a large majority of students in her class were British born Chinese students attending English mainstream schools and have been familiar with the British class games. However, she still maintained the traditional methods of

teaching Mandarin such as dictation, repetition and homework-checking. Therefore, her lessons still presented strong Chinese features.

A teacher's practice is closely related to teacher knowledge and teacher belief. Shulman (1987) argued that what a teacher knows and what he or she thinks, influences how he or she behaves in the classroom. Therefore, Chinese teachers' knowledge, attitudes and values which are gained from their own experiences, shape their decisions on their teaching behaviour, "orientations to literacy learning and perceptions of the children in the classroom" (Hancock, 2012, p.12). The literature found that the status of CCS teachers was "amateur" and many of them were volunteer parents or university students without professional teaching qualifications (Li, 2005; Li and Wu, 2009; Mau *et al.*, 2009; Hancock, 2012). In my research. A small number of teachers held overseas teaching qualifications (34% of teachers over the three schools) and quite a few (48% in total in the case study schools) had overseas teaching experience, which however, might not have been specifically related to Mandarin teaching. The teacher interviews in the three schools found the overseas teacher qualifications they had were the Chinese teacher qualification certification which is official in China, and their teaching experience was based in China, and included teaching in an elementary school, a high school, a college and a private institution. Therefore, a number of teachers were able to directly borrow from their experience of teaching and learning in China when teaching Mandarin in CCS. This kind of behaviour was more obviously mentioned in the interviews with the university students and parents who were completely novice teachers in CCS. For instance, one teacher in School B chose a *班长* (class monitor) to help her collect homework and with classroom management. When asked about this behaviour, the teacher explained that it was inspired by her student experience back in

China and she thought the *班长* (class monitor) could act as a role model so that the class would be able to learn from her respect for Mandarin learning and for her as a teaching assistant managing the classroom.

Storytelling and learning children's rhymes were also widely used in Mandarin classrooms and usually related to Chinese culture and heritage, which were characteristically Chinese and different from what pupils learnt in British mainstream schools, such as shown in Chapter 4, a traditional Chinese children's rhyme *小兔子乖乖* (good little rabbit) and a classical story of *西游记* (journey to the west). Teachers of the two groups indicated that they were inspired by their childhood memories and they personally thought traditional rhymes and fairy tales would be helpful for developing their pupils' interests in learning Mandarin and provide them with opportunities to access Chinese culture and heritage.

Another phenomenon that cannot be neglected is the incorporation of IT resources into Mandarin classrooms. The use of projectors was not specifically discussed in the review of the literature but its impact in stimulating pupils' engagement in Mandarin classes was obvious from my classroom observation in the pilot school and case School A. Except for one lesson with the GCSE/ A-level group in school A, all the other teachers were observed to use multimedia technology in their lessons. Although School B did not get permission to use the projectors to assist teachers in their rented classrooms, the school participants demonstrated their strong desire for access to the projectors and argued that multimedia (e.g. videos, audios and online Mandarin learning practice) would enrich the classroom activities, help to motivate the students to some extent, and furthermore, improve the quality of Mandarin teaching in School B.

5.3 What challenges CCS

This section discusses challenges and difficulties that people in CCS faced in my research in relation to issues (e.g. funding, resources and teaching expertize) that have already been identified in the review of the literature. It is noticeable that some issues still extend in current CCS but unexpected issues arose from both Phase 1 and Phase 2.

5.3.1 The big challenge of funding

The funding issue remains a challenge for CCS in my study. Enough funds are important for to operating a CCS. In Phase 1, the school head teacher explained that adequate funding could go a long way to guaranteeing the quality and quantity of Mandarin lessons. She believed that the pilot school would be able to send their teachers to relevant teacher training programmes to improve their teaching quality if they had more funds. The review of the literature suggests that the non-profit making nature of CCS means CCS do not charge high tuition fees and their funding does not rely mainly on tuition fees but on contributions from enthusiastic organisations or individuals (Mau *et al.*, 2009). Relating to this doctoral research, the tuition fees charged were barely enough to cover each school's operational expenses. The pilot school was self-funded, while School A received regular financial support from a local university each year, and in contrast, School B used to receive grants from the local authorities, but mainly depended on donations from local Chinese community members afterwards.

The lack of funding affected the choice of school premises. CCS seldom had their own premises and their lessons were usually held at weekends in hired premises. Ideally, having a 'proper', dedicated school building space helps to convey the school's image

and promote the school's status and improve parents' confidence in it (Mau *et al*., 2009, p.22). Mau *et al*. (2009) found that paying the high rental costs has remained an immense struggle for many CCS around England. The premise problem arose in both Phase 1 and Phase 2. In order to reduce the cost of renting classrooms, the pilot school borrowed seminar rooms from the University. Their access to classroom facilities was highly dependent on people working or studying at the university, which means they had to book seminar rooms in advance to make sure the school could run on a regular basis. However, the real situation was unstable because available spaces could not always be guaranteed. The school once had to pause for one week and even changed their location due to unexpected issues (e.g. teaching building refurbishment; no vacancy of seminar rooms). In contrast, School B used to rent classrooms of a local mainstream school located in the city centre however, after the school rent increased, they had to move to the outskirts of the city. The change of teaching premises was inconvenient for most school participants who rely on public transport, which means they had to travel a longer distance to school each week.

The funding issue have impacts on personnel and teaching materials The teacher's hourly pay was not competitive in my case schools. CCS usually paid their teachers to thank them for their time and effort in the schools (Francis *et al*., 2008) and this was true of the three schools in my research. Teachers explained that most of them worked in CCS because of a personal connection, interest in teaching, keeping their own children company or personal improvement in teaching skills rather than to make money. Shortage of funds made the CCS to cut down expenses on teaching materials and sometimes, teachers even used their own pay to purchase lesson materials. This kind of behaviour was explained by some teachers as "payback" to CCS and they did

not claim back because they did not want to trouble the school. This kind of behaviour and thought also reflected the non-profit nature of teaching in some CCS. In addition, I found the CCS in my research attempted to provide teachers with basic teaching materials (e.g. work sheets, stickers and related stationaries) with their limited resources and funding.

All the case schools in my research had some concerns with funding, but with different levels. It actually affected the curriculum, the size of the CCS and further led to different levels of Chinese complementary education provision. It is very clear that the pilot school was smallest and due to limited funding, they were not able to organise a varied range of activities to enrich students' CCS life (e.g. a calligraphy contest, recitation contest or "activity classes"), but they hoped to hold after-class activities related with Chinese heritage for students in the future. When moving to Phase 2, School A clearly pointed out funding did not worry them as they were receiving annual financial support from sponsors and they were very confident that even if their sponsorship was terminated, the current tuition fees could support the school's regular operation. School A has already moved further to reflect on improving the teaching quality and promoting the development of their CCS. In contrast, School B was struggling for funds and grants as their school head teacher explained it had been a big burden for them to pay premise rent after the local city council stopped supporting local community schools with grants.

To sum up, the funding issue still remains a challenge for CCS, to differing degrees; however, compared with their counterparts in the review of the literature who were struggling to provide high quality Chinese education with limited resources, one of my sample schools has gradually addressed with the funding issue.

5.3.2 The recruitment and retention of teachers

The recruitment and retention of teachers was a big concern for the CCS in my research. Teaching was affected by the high turnover of teachers and the high proportion of inexperienced and unqualified teachers in CCS (Francis *et al.*, 2008; The Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2010). In Francis *et al.*'s research (2008), they found that their sample schools' teaching force remained relatively stable and balanced, and the majority had not received formal training or teacher education either in the UK or aboard. When looking at the current research, teacher recruiting and retention still remains an on-going issue for CCS.

The recruitment of teachers mainly relied on personal connections, which saved time looking for and ensuring the reliability of teaching staff for CCS (Francis *et al.*, 2008). The teaching staff consisted of parents or university students. Each case school had its own criteria for recruiting teachers. The pilot school searched for Mandarin teachers with teaching or educational backgrounds. School A looked for Mandarin teachers with teaching backgrounds and who could commit to staying in the school for a relatively long time (i.e. more than one year). In contrast, School B set a comparatively lower line for recruiting individuals with Mandarin speaking backgrounds (e.g. Chinese students who understand Mandarin from local universities). According to three school heads, Mandarin teachers were easy to find as there were plenty of Chinese parents with a passion for volunteering in CCS and more Chinese students pursue higher education in Britain each year. However, it was difficult for the sample schools to find teachers with the specific teaching qualifications and relevant teaching experience.

Teacher retention was affected by a number of external factors (e.g. the pay, the period of the university course when university students were employed, full-time jobs and personal issues) and it also relied on individual commitment. Teaching in CCS is a part-time job on a voluntary basis so it is difficult to guarantee a more stable workforce for CCS. This problem was obvious in three cases. According to the school heads, as the teaching was comparatively flexible and mainly dependent on individual teachers' enthusiasm, absences were frequent and the turnover of teaching staff was high. Student teachers were observed to be more frequently absent than parent teachers and the turnover of teachers primarily due to university students' permanent return to China. Teachers explained that their priorities were on their full-time jobs or studies, therefore it was difficult to dedicate themselves to CCS. In order to address the problem of the high turnover of teachers, School A was considering introducing more enthusiastic parents with expertise to teach in the school because parents were more responsible and stayed longer than university students.

5.3.3 Links with mainstream schools and links with other CCS

This doctoral research finds links and connections between CCS, mainstream schools and local authorities still need to be improved. The established research discussed links between CCS and mainstream schools as it pointed out the government suggests mainstream schools make their premises to be available at no or low cost as appropriate to supplementary schools" (DCFS, 2006 cited in Francis *et al*., 2008; Rose, 2013) and should "open up suitable facilities to community users. Arts facilities, sports halls and playing fields, ICT suites and school halls are the type of facility that communities could access— outside of school hours, and even during the school day" (TDA, 2007, cited in Francis *et al*., 2008). However, Francis *et al.* (2008) found their sample schools

suffered from limited access to basic facilities within the premises they rented from mainstream schools. The situation of linking to mainstream schools had been improved in my research. School A was establishing a good relationship with a local mainstream school, illustrating some effort between CCS and a mainstream school during recent years. Access to facilities, especially IT resources when possible, made the teaching and learning in CCS more effective. Additionally, communication and partnership at the school level was frequent and going well during my visits to school A. In contrast, while School B was located within a mainstream school, similarly to the sample schools identified by Mau *et al*.'s (2009), School B was not permitted to use IT facilities, which, in fact, had a negative impact on Mandarin teaching and learning. According to the teachers and parents, restricted access to IT facilities made the Mandarin classes less attractive, which challenged teaching and learning in School B. In addition, communication between School B and the local mainstream school was rare and their partnership merely focused on renting premises. The operation of School B was easily interrupted when the mainstream school terminated the rental agreement, which reflected an unequal partnership between CCS and mainstream schools.

The link with mainstream schools was also reflected in sharing teaching staff. As mentioned above, School A had one Mandarin teacher who worked as a teaching assistant in a local primary school. Her role in School A was regarded as to introduce some of the pedagogy used in mainstream schools to CCS rather than being just an ordinary Mandarin teacher because she had already familiarised herself with the British education system and teaching practice. The incorporation of British mainstream pedagogy into Mandarin complementary classrooms was highly supported by both teachers and parents in School A as some respondents pointed out that some pupils

were already used to the existing pedagogy of teaching and learning in mainstream schools in Britain. However, this kind of teaching staff sharing was not found in the other sample schools, but the research participants generally recognised that sharing teaching staff would be beneficial for improving the quality of complementary education.

Connections with other CCS are also significant for the development of CCS. Such links could not only be in the form of official collaboration but also be connections with other CCS to share experiences or practice in an informal way, as being part of a larger organisation, funded by the same local authorities (DCSF, 2010). My case schools had no links with other CCS but there were other connections noted in this research. All of the case schools were observed to take part in the UK Federation of Chinese Schools (UKFCS) and the UK association for the promotion of Chinese Education (UKAPCE) events, which are two largest nationwide organisations of CCS in Britain. The UKFCS (http://ukfcs.info/en/) and the UKAPCE (http://www.ukapce.org.uk/) work as platforms for connecting CCS and sharing resources and materials beyond geographical boundaries. In addition, the case schools connected by sharing teaching staff in an informal way. A number of Mandarin teachers were observed to help in both School A and in School B due to their personal connections. Human resources could be shared in an informal way as the two schools were located in the same area and they both had links with the local Chinese communities. Partnerships with other CCS had not been established during my fieldwork. However, the three school heads had shown aspirations to collaborate with other CCS to promote the sharing of resources and materials if possible.

Links with the local authorities had improved in the CCS researched. Both School A and School B were observed to participate in local authority events, for example, Chinese New Year celebration. This was widely recognised as a good way of promoting cohesion across diverse communities.

5.3.4 Diversity of students and Mandarin as a HL

One of the biggest challenges for teaching in the CCS I investigated was the diversity of the students. Even within one group, students were diverse in terms of language backgrounds, learning objectives and expectations from parents and teachers. Mau *et al.* (2009) state that one organisational feature of CSS is that "pupils are grouped according to ability not age, with pupils of varied ages in the same classroom" (p.20). This was not true of the CCS in my study. It was common to find even in the same Mandarin group, not only the ages of pupils but also their Mandarin levels varied. The diversity of students made the teaching in CCS more challenging than ever before (Wang, 2014). Teachers and schools needed to reflect on teaching practices, as "classrooms become less homogeneous" (Wang, 2014, p.46). Teachers had to try to find a balance and attempted to meet the diverse needs of their students. For instance, one teacher was observed giving students homework according to their varied abilities. Teachers were encouraged to keep in touch with parents by the school. Discussions with school participants indicated there was a need for better communication between teachers and parents to improve pupils' attainment in CCS. Additionally, they suggested teaching materials needed to be updated in order to meet the needs of current Mandarin learners in CCS. The textbooks *Zhongwen* and *Youerhanyu* were used in my case schools. However, the problem with textbooks also came up in the interviews with teachers. The textbooks in use were designed for students who already had some basic

Chinese, consequently, were not so suitable for students who attended CCS as complete beginners. In addition, the use of textbooks in the UK and Chinese education systems is very different, with only limited use being made of them in English schools.

The diverse backgrounds of students led to the identity issue of CHL learners in CCS. As the review of the literature pointed out (see 2.4.3), the term *Chinese language* is broad and includes a collective of different varieties. China is a multi-linguistic and multi-ethnic country and Chinese does not simply mean Mandarin (Wong and Xiao, 2010). Mandarin is standard Chinese but it may not be the only HL for Chinese people. People from Mainland China may have their own forms as their HL, which differ from Mandarin. Along with Mandarin, there are also two forms of written Chinese characters — the simplified form and the traditional form.

This raises questions about the role of HL in Mandarin learning in CCS and how Mandarin is part of a Chinese identity for those students whose HL does not include Mandarin. Therefore, it is necessary to take the non-Mandarin heritage learners into consideration when attempting to impart Mandarin with Chinese heritage to them. According to Wong and Xiao (2010), from a dialect learner's point of view, the notion of Mandarin as a HL should expand from "identifying a bounded entity— be it mainland China or Taiwan" (p.171) to "concentrating on the international networks that dialect learners attempt to get into, so learning Mandarin for them is particularly about accumulating cultural capital in the globalised Chinese communities for the future" (p.171).

5.4 Chinese identity construction in CCS

The change of target language from Cantonese to Mandarin in CCS is problematic and raises questions about the role of HL in CCS participants' identity construction. I argue that participants' attendance at CCS helps them to construct their Chinese identities as CCS provide a space for them to share their life experience and reflections on being Chinese. It is about being Chinese on a daily basis and immersed in a Chinese-like atmosphere. Not only is the teaching content, such as the Chinese songs taught by Mandarin teachers, the calligraphy taught in CCS but also some behaviour patterns — which seemed second nature to me as my learning experience was based in mainland China — but which are quite different from what goes on in English mainstream schools, such as students sitting at the front of the classroom, putting their hands up or standing up before answering teachers' questions, all of which indicate feeling more Chinese in daily life. The sharing of Chinese values is closely connected with CHL learning and the Chinese identity construction. Whether the target language, Mandarin, is the true HL of children in CCS is highly debatable. As He (2008) states,

> "the HL learner, by virtue of his/her own family and community background, blurs and blends the distinction between native and target languages and between the native speech and target speech communities." (p.3)

The notion of HL and how it relates to my study is discussed below. One of the biggest issues in my research was that although it is argued that the identities of Mandarin HL learners may vary according to their dialects, the students in my study still shared a Chinese identity even if no one could assume they shared the same language. This section of the discussion focuses on identity construction in my case studies, which, I argue, is complicated by a number of the features I have already discussed. To discuss this issue I first review the theoretical issues related to identity construction in general

and then consider how the examples in my study exemplify this or do not. In particular, I want to consider whether Mandarin was a HL in these CCS and what its role is for the children and families in identity construction. I also want to consider the role of Chinese culture in identity construction and the particular, and I will argue, the intercultural nature of the CCS space in the identity construction of these children.

5.4.1 Mandarin and HL learning

As mentioned in 2.10, identity construction is complex and multi-faceted which means personal identity is based on a number of factors such as religion, culture, education, community and family (Myhill, 2003). Brown (2009) argues that social influence on identity is significant as one cannot be separated from social interaction with others. When considering identities of immigrants or minority ethnic youths who maintained their HL in an English-dominated society, it is noticeable that their identities are dynamic and socially constructed (Brown, 2009). The connection between language and identity has been widely discussed by researchers in the areas of second language acquisition, language studies and HL education. Previous researchers state that "identity is negotiated in discourse and thus influenced by language, which creates the medium for its negotiation" (Belz, 2002; Crawshaw, Callen and Tusting, 2001; Djité, 2006; Joseph, 2006; Rosi and Solé, 2004; Sti, 2005; Warschauer, 2000 cited in Val and Vinogradova, 2010, p.1). The connection between identity and language is viewed as "an intimate and mutually constitutive relation" (Belz, 2002, p. 16), especially since language has important symbolic value (Li, 2000) and plays a crucial role in establishing one's place and role in society (Djité, 2006). This influences social identity, and such identity variables as ethnicity, gender, class, education, and cultural background contribute to one's social status (Val and Vinogradova, 2010). Language is

viewed not only as the medium of identity negotiation, but also as the source of the identity interpretation of others and by others (Joseph, 2006 and Warschauer, 2000 cited in Val and Vinogradova, 2010, p.1). When looking further into the connection between the HL and the identities of HL learners, researchers argue that speakers of more than one language, including HL speakers, who are raised in a home or community in which a language other than English is spoken (Peyton, Ranard and McGinnis, 2001 cited in Val and Vinogradova, 2010), navigate within and among different language communities. HL speakers negotiate their own identities in connection to these different languages and their power relations and social distribution in society (Val and Vinogradova, 2010).

HL learning is a way for HL learners fulfil not only linguistic but identity needs (Wong and Xiao, 2010). Some Mandarin learners in my study were similar to CHL learners in the United States but it is unwise to consider that students learn Mandarin as a HL in CCS because there also exist some students who do not speak Mandarin at home or in their immediate community (see 4.3.2). A CHL learner is defined as "a Chinese language student who is raised in a home where Chinese is spoken and who speaks or at least understands Chinese and is to some degree, bilingual in Chinese and in English" (He, 2008, p.2). As the findings suggest, most students in CCS were raised in a home where Chinese was spoken and most of them may speak or at least understand Chinese to different degrees and to some degree, they are bilingual both in Chinese and in English. Furthermore, my findings identified that most students in CCS see Chinese "with a particular family relevance" (Fishman 2001, p.169) and they are English-dominant with no or limited reading and writing ability in Chinese. Given this understanding, Niuniu would be one typical CCS student in my study. Niuniu was born

in England and raised in a home where Mandarin is spoken so she speaks and understands Chinese. Since Niuniu attended an English mainstream school, she gradually picked up English language skills hence Niuniu is bilingual in English and Mandarin but she has very limited ability in reading and writing Chinese. Therefore, Niuniu was sent to CCS to improve her Chinese proficiency. The students like Niuniu may construct their Chinese identities via learning Mandarin in CCS. In contrast, there are still a large number of students who are different from Niuniu, which includes children with one Chinese parent and children with no Chinese parents. They also attended CCS in my study for reasons of communicating, socialising, personal interest or future development. These Mandarin learners would not be specially focused on when discussing CHL learning and Chinese identity construction, but their existence in CCS diversifies the learners' backgrounds and demands, which further influences the teaching practice in CCS and also makes CCS an intercultural space with the behaviour and perceptions these non-heritage learners bring. Hence, relating to my study, the connection between Mandarin and the identities of CCS students — the Mandarin learners in CCS — is not simply the connection between HL and the identities of HL learners.

One important question that initially needs to be addressed is the notion of HL in my study. As identified in the review of the literature, the term *heritage language* primarily arose in the United States and is used to identify languages other than the dominant language (or languages) in a given social context (Kelleher, 2010). English is the de facto dominant language in the United States (not an official language, but the primary language used in government, education, and public communication); therefore, any other language apart from English can be considered as a HL for speakers of that

language (Fishman, 2001; Wiley and Valdé, 2000). The HL reflects the "connections between a non-dominant language and the person, the family and the communities" (Kelleher, 2010, p.3). Alternative terms are community language (Baker and Jones, 1998; Corson, 1999; Wiley, 2005) and home language (Yeung, Marsh and Suliman, 2000). In England, similar terms such as community language, immigrant /minority language or mother tongue are used to describe languages spoken by members of minority ethnic groups or communities who share a range of social and cultural contexts and values (e.g. Chinese, Bengali, Urdu and Arabic in England) within a majority language context (i.e. English in England). The Chinese language, which is broadly spoken in Chinese communities, is considered as the HL discussed here. Considering this study, Mandarin was widely being taught in CCS; however, this raises the question of whether Mandarin equates to the CHL, which is discussed below.

Within the specific area of CHL learning, He (2008) built on Valdés's (2001) definition of the HL learner and defined a CHL learner as a Chinese language student who is raised in a home where Chinese is spoken and who speaks or at least understands Chinese and is, to some degree, bilingual in Chinese and in English. CHL learners may see Chinese "with a particular family relevance" (Fishman, 2001, p.169) and furthermore, they may bring "a set of ambiguities and complications which are typically absent in the second or foreign language learner or mother tongue learner and which can be sources of both challenges and opportunities" (He, 2008, p.2). The set of ambiguities and complications makes the practice of CHL learning in CCS distinctive and unique and that is why it could not be simply considered as similar to learning Chinese as a second or foreign language in British schools or learning Chinese as mother tongue in China.

He (2008) further discussed that to know Chinese as a HL means not only to "command the lexico-grammatical forms in both speech and writing, but also to understand or embrace a set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating linguistic structures to context" (p.3). That reflects the distinctiveness of CHL to some degree, which is not only being able to use Chinese correctly but also to understand why a certain word or a certain speech pattern should be chosen in a specific context. It was also found in my study that some parents and teachers expected Chinese students to be able to use Chinese just like native speakers. Researchers claim that HL learning is often motivated by neither strictly instrumental (i.e. a practical reason such as passing a language exam or getting monetary rewards) nor integrative goals (i.e. learners' interests in getting to know the language to connect with its culture and people); learner motivations are derived not merely from pragmatic or utilitarian concerns but also from the intrinsic cultural, affective, and aesthetic values of the language (Widly and Valdé, 2000). This is true of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS. The findings indicate that CCS participants considered Mandarin proficiency as beneficial for communication, their future development, relevance to their families and the connection with their Chineseness. Furthermore, researchers claim that HL acquisition increases competence in both the formal and functional potential of the language, and the transmission of HL is not merely horizontal — e.g. formal education in the classroom — but also vertical, across generations at home and in the community (He, 2008). When related to my study, my findings suggest that it was widely acknowledged by CCS participants that students' Mandarin proficiency depended not only on sitting in a CCS classroom for two hours per week but also on the family where s/he was raised and the communities s/he was

immersed in. In addition, the significance of Mandarin proficiency for constructing students' Chinese identities was widely acknowledged by both parents and teachers.

However, the question that needs to be addressed is whether Mandarin alone could be considered the HL of CCS students in my study when discussing Chinese identity construction in CCS. As discussed before, the Mandarin learners in my study came from diverse backgrounds (e.g. cultural, linguistic, ethnic and social) which means their home language could have been a Chinese language other than Mandarin, or even a non-Chinese language like English. Even for ethnic Chinese students, their home languages were not necessarily Mandarin but another variety of Chinese. Researchers point out that Chinese is a broad term that includes plenty of local Chinese varieties classified into major dialect groups such as Wu, Xiang, Gan, Min, Cantonese, Hakka, and Mandarin, most of which are not mutually comprehensible because they have different phonetics, syntax and semantics (He, 2008). Mandarin refers to the majority dialect family of China; its pronunciation and grammar are associated with the speech of Beijing and the surrounding countryside, regions which have enjoyed political and cultural significance for centuries (He, 2008). It is also known as *Putonghua* in mainland China, *Guoyu* in Taiwan, and *Huayu* in Singapore. However, Mandarin is not a "monolithic entity" (He, 2008, p.3) and although there is one writing system, it has two variants: the simplified script, which is officially used in mainland China and Singapore, and the traditional script, mainly used in other Chinese-speaking regions (Norman, 2003). Hence, He (2008) summarised the possibilities of Mandarin as the CHL learned, which reflect the complexity of learning Mandarin as a HL:

> "1. Mandarin is the learner's home dialect or is comprehensible to home dialect speakers

a. Classroom script is the same as home script (i.e., both use Traditional and/or Simplified scripts)

b. Classroom script different from home script (i.e., Traditional in class, Simplified at home, or vice versa)

c. No home literacy in Chinese

2. Mandarin is unintelligible to home dialect speakers

a. Classroom script same as home script (i.e., both use Traditional and/or Simplified scripts)

b. Classroom script different from home script (i.e., Traditional in class, Simplified at home, or vice versa)

c. No home literacy in Chinese." (p.3)

The complexity of Mandarin HL learning was identified in my study. The findings show that children who have no relationship with Mainland China but have connections with Hong Kong, Taiwan or Singapore attended Mandarin CCS to learn Mandarin using the simplified script. Those children were learning a different language with its accompanying scripts to the Chinese language and traditional scripts officially used in the above regions. Moreover, even students with links to Mainland China did not necessarily come from Mandarin-speaking families. As the findings suggest, there were a number of families where other Chinese dialects (e.g. Cantonese, Hakka and Wu) were spoken, which greatly differ from Mandarin in terms of phonetics, syntax and semantics. Furthermore, China is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic county. Dialect groups not only represent the variety of Chinese languages but also reflect the diversity of history, customs, culture, beliefs and values embedded in the language. These values, beliefs, cultural influences are related to identity construction. As He (2006) argues, to learn a HL is not merely to inherit this HL and maintain individual cultural heritage identity but also to transform the HL (as a dynamic language in terms of changes in dialect, script, accent, discourse norms, etc.) and re-create one's identity. Considering the diversity of Mandarin learners' backgrounds in my study, it cannot be assumed that Mandarin is the HL of students in CCS. This further raises questions about the connection between Mandarin as a HL and the identities of its learners. Their heritage

is largely Chinese — but linguistically, may well not be related to Mandarin. They are, in effect, learning a foreign language, although one used in their parent's country of origin.

5.4.2 The role of Mandarin in children's identity construction in CCS

The identity issues CHL learners from different dialect backgrounds experience have been explored in the identity construction of CHL students from different dialect backgrounds in the United States (Xiao, 2006). Those CHL students' experience of learning Mandarin as a HL which is neither used at home nor in their immediate communities, has highlighted the process of identity-producing, -processing and -practising and the dialect speakers' identity issues were conceptually categorised into imagined communities, linguistic hegemony and language investment (Wong and Xiao, 2010). In relation to my study, similarly, not all the students in CCS were from the same Mandarin-speaking background. Mandarin Chinese taught in CCS does not represent the HL or cultural roots of all the students attending CCS but their experience of learning Mandarin in CCS influences their identity construction. Identity is about belonging (Weeks, 1990, p.88 cited in Wong and Xiao, 2010) and dialect Chinese speakers in my research who chose to learn Mandarin demonstrated a sense of heritage belonging (Wong and Xiao, 2010). Although Chinese students in CCS did not share the same Mandarin Chinese, they still shared a Chinese identity, which made them different from the British in my study. I did not directly ask my research participants how they identified themselves but the Chinese practice in CCS has already made them feel Chinese, a way in which CCS participants recognise their distinctive UK Chineseness.

The identification with one's ethnic core and his or her relations to the world is a creative process, which is called the "imagined community" by Norton (2001). The imagined community suggests "in the minds of each lives the image of their communication" (Anderson, 1983, p.6). It is possible that Mandarin is a feature of the "imagined community" of these children in CCS, as a feature of the greater China, if not their own heritage. Wenger (1998) suggests that identity formation requires three modes of belonging — engagement, imagination, and alignment — through which the participants can conjure broader connections in addition to their "communities of practice" and find their place in the larger scheme of the world (p.173). It means that students in CCS could imagine themselves as being members of a broader Chinese network, from their immediate family to distant ethnic origins, and learning Mandarin helps to foster this connection. In my study, most students in CCS were born and raised in England. They had never been to China hence the connection to their ethnic origin was imagined by themselves. Informal discussion with the students indicated the imagined China was based on a variety of sources. Some perceived China as the home country of their parents; some imagined China as what is shown on television, whereas others said their imagined China came from their textbooks, *Zhongwen.* The imagined community helped CCS Chinese children to construct their identities. Learning Mandarin in CCS enabled them to envision their integration into a broader Chinese community and share a sense of being Chinese. It is not simply about maintaining a HL but gaining access to Chinese values, norms and beliefs through encountering elements of Chinese language and culture in CCS.

5.4.3 CCS as an intercultural space and its role in constructing UK Chineseness

The results and findings in Chapter 4 present a great number of examples of what I would term *culture* in an everyday sense, both Chinese and English. The term *culture* refers to languages, beliefs, values and norms, customs, dress, diet, roles, knowledge and skills, and all the other things that people learn that make up the 'way of life' of any society that is passed on from one generation to the next through the process of socialisation (Damen, 1987; Hofstede, 1984; White, 1959; Sewell, 2005 cited in Asmah, Clement and Mate, 2015, p.22). Culture is dynamic and adapts to changing circumstances. Some aspects of culture comprise an individual's identity — ethnicity, age or generation; gender; sexual orientation; education; occupation and socio-economic status; and ability or disability; culture can also be used to describe our way of life and the values, beliefs, and attitudes that we use in everyday life (Kinébanian and Stomph, 2009). Some definitions of culture focus on art, religion, habits, rituals and ceremonies (Kinébanian and Stomph, 2009). It is important to understand that there is as much variety within cultures as there is between them and that individuals express their cultures in various ways depending on their circumstances (Spencer-Oatey, 2012; Porto, 2013). From an intercultural perspective, culture is defined as the shared patterns of behaviour and interactions, cognitive constructs and affective understanding that is learned through the process of socialisation; these shared patterns identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group (Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, 2014). In my study, it is noticeable that CCS provided uniquely intercultural space, with intermingled features of at least both Chinese and English culture and daily life, values and practices. I argue that the intercultural dimension of CCS is very important in identity construction because it

helps CCS participants to recognise and reflect on their UK Chineseness. Interculturality refers to the interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds using language in a way that demonstrates their knowledge and understanding of the cultures and represents the ability to experience the culture of another person and to be open-minded, interested, and curious about that person and their culture (Fay, Lytra and Ntavaliagkou, 2010; Byram and Feng, 2004; Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey, 2002). The complementary schools I have investigated have very particular interculturality. Classroom observation found that Mandarin teaching in CCS was deeply influenced by the nature of the target language and teachers' personal teaching or learning experience in China. As summarised in 5.2.3, Mandarin lessons in my research present strong Chinese features, which make CCS distinctive from British mainstream schools. Additionally, some CCS participants' very Chinese behaviour of students standing up when greeting teachers made a very Chinese-like atmosphere was invisible to me as it was an assumed part of my culture and taken for granted. However, CCS participants showed mixed attitudes and feelings towards their intercultural experiences in CCS. For example, one of my student respondents, Isabella, was born and raised in England and her parents came from Mainland China. She was attending a local primary school so she had been used to the British mainstream school life. In her point of view, experience in CCS was unusual. CCS provided her with valuable opportunities for encountering Chinese people, Chinese language and culture, which mainstream schools could not provide. However, the girl told me that CCS was not a formal school, to her mind. The classroom setting was quite different from her English primary school and her Mandarin teacher's instruction, textbooks, classroom activities, school events, all made the CCS an unfamiliar environment for her. In contrast, another Chinese student, Yang, was born in Mainland China and had attended a Chinese school

before he arrived in England two months previously. He found plenty that was familiar in CCS and he felt much more comfortable in this school as he could understand his Mandarin teacher and did not have to struggle with the language barrier which bothered him in his English school. Yet since his classmates comprised a great number of students who were born and raised in England, Yang found it was difficult to get along with his CCS classmates. He told me that he could not understand his classmates' English most of the time and they behaved quite differently from his previous Chinese classmates. The two Chinese students' personal experiences in CCS make a clear contrast and reflect the interculturality of CCS that students of different cultural backgrounds encounter and interact in CCS.

The intercultural dimension of CCS is also reflected in the interaction between Chinese culture and British mainstream culture. CCS in my research are regarded as places for preserving the Chinese language and culture in second or third Chinese generations. They also provided a space where people who grew up in Chinese cultures could behave in a Chinese way. It is noticeable that acting in a Chinese way according to Chinese norms, beliefs and values is sometimes encouraged in my case schools. CCS pupils were expected to respect and be subordinate to their teachers in Mandarin classrooms. For example, I found one Chinese girl was asked by her mother to greet her Mandarin teacher first and listen to the teacher's talk. CCS pupils were also encouraged to learn from good students, who are hardworking, self-disciplined, obedient, smart and overachieved. For example, one Mandarin teacher attempted to stop two boys misbehaving in her class by asking them to learn from another student who could follow her instruction. These examples above are influenced by Chinese values, beliefs and norms, which make up a significant part of Chinese cultures. But it is noticeable that a

majority of school participants were raised in and exposed to a British mainstream culture, so they have been used to British values and norms and their behaviours were much more similar to British children. That may explain why some pupils (non-heritage and mixed heritage children included) consider CCS as informal or unreal school where they were required or ordered to act or behave differently in comparison with British mainstream schools. As Archer *et al*. (2010) pointed out, complementary schools are often set up with the explicit cultural agenda of preserving or maintaining a traditional culture and language within diasporic communities and are important for the re/production of identities. In addition, Archer *et al.* (2010) consider CCS as "contested spaces within which the meanings and symbols of Chineseness are being constantly struggled over" (p.422). Chineseness of CCS participants can be interpreted as co-constructed because school participants have links with both British mainstream cultures and Chinese heritage cultures. Their Chineseness is diasporic and hybridised, which distinguishes dispersed Chinese from non-Chinese in a way but is localised with UK cultural norms and values. The intercultural dimension of CCS in my research make it possible for their participants to reflect on their unique UK Chineseness, which is neither complete British nor complete Chinese.

It is noticeable that Chinese proficiency is widely considered as one dominant construct of UK Chineseness in my research. An overwhelmingly majority of respondents emphasised the importance of being proficient in the Chinese language as this language enables Chinese children to understand their Chinese heritage culture. Furthermore, the Chinese value is also helpful for understanding UK Chineseness construction. The literature has identified Chinese value of education (Francis and Archer, 2005a; Huang and Gove 2012). My research finds Chinese parental high expectations and aspirations

for their children's achievements in CCS. For example, a Chinese mother from the Mandarin GCSE group in School A asked for opening up a mathematics class because she believed that succeeding in mathematics was important for her son's future. A Mandarin teacher from School B showed concern about one Chinese boy who under-achieved in her Mandarin lessons. The Chinese high value of education is rooted in Chinese traditional norms which have shaped the social, ethical and political aspects of Chinese cultures for nearly 10 centuries (Huang and Gove, 2012). Francis and Archer (2005a) found that British-Chinese parents and pupils placed extremely high value on education irrespective of their social class and gender, which extended to my study. In the three case schools, I always found a great number of parents spent a whole weekend afternoon waiting outside classrooms when their children were having Mandarin lessons. Some very enthusiastic parents would contact teachers about their children's progress and classroom behaviour. I found one Chinese second generation mother who even could not speak Mandarin but actively looked for a private Mandarin tutor to provide her nine-year-old daughter with extra Mandarin support at home. The examples above demonstrated very Chinese behaviour and Chinese high value of education. In contrast, as mentioned in Chapter 4, some Chinese parents absorbed and synthesised British norms and values, hoping their children have fun in CCS rather than get them pushed and under pressure. In addition, conflicts between British parents and Mandarin teachers illustrated an intercultural interaction in CCS. As mentioned in 4.3.5, British parents and Mandarin teachers' different attitudes towards homework indicate Chinese cultural values and British cultural values are reflected in CCS.

5.4.4 Bourdieuian concepts and CCS

This doctoral research examines Bourdieu's concept and its connection to CCS. Bourdieu (1986) argues that there are three basic forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital in the social world and in his view, these three forms of capital can be acquired, exchanged and converted. In my study, CCS provided a space in which the three forms of capital were accumulated, exchanged and converted. Moreover, I argue that the process of capital accumulation, exchange and conversion reflects how UK Chineseness is constructed in CCS from a Bourdieuian approach.

Bourdieu (1986) defined cultural capital as something that one can acquire to equip oneself and can be produced through having economic capital; when a parent possesses more economic capital, his or her children are more likely to acquire more cultural capital (Reay, 2000). In relation to CCS, parents paid tuition fees for students' Mandarin classes; students thus had opportunities to develop their Mandarin proficiency, which might be beneficial for CCS students' futures. According to Bourdieu's concept of capital, Chinese parents' economic capital purchases their children's cultural capital, in a sense. However, as the CCS in my study were voluntary organisations and they were not used to make profits from providing Mandarin classes, parents sometimes invested their economic capital by purchasing Chinese books for their children or taking children to China on holiday. This is a way in which Chinese students could accumulate their cultural capital by approaching Chinese cultural elements directly and enhancing their understanding of their Chinese heritage.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Bourdieu (1986) argues that cultural capital, can be presented in three kinds of states: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. CCS

pupils built up their cultural capital by encountering the Chinese language and culture intensively in the field of CCS. Francis *et al.* (2008) argue that learning Chinese (mainly Cantonese) in CCS had an influence on UK Chinese identity construction. It means attendance at CCS helps to enhance awareness and recognition of UK Chinese identities. When relating to my study, Mandarin has become the preferred language in current CCS. Although I have mentioned above that Mandarin is not the HL for all CCS pupils, the cultural value of Mandarin is widely recognised by a majority of school participants, moreover, experience of learning Mandarin in CCS helps them to construct their unique UK Chineseness, which can be a way of cultural capital accumulation. In addition, findings of Chapter 4 also suggest Mandarin teachers could build up their cultural capital by working in CCS where teachers could improve their English proficiency and broaden their knowledge and understanding of primary education or heritage education. This also could be considered as cultural capital exchange between teachers and pupils, which further reflects the interculturality of CCS discussed above.

Social capital, as Bourdieu (1986) referred to it, is "a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p.50). CCS provided a place for school participants to build their social capital, especially develop their social networks. Parents had opportunities to socialise with each other. Although I found parents of a shared cultural or linguistic background had much closer and tighter connections to each other, Chinese dialect speakers could communicate in Mandarin. This illustrates the significant role of Mandarin on how Chinese parents built up their social capital in CCS and further reflects social influence on people's identity construction. That means, Chinese people may develop and strengthen a sense of belonging when interacting with those who shared same Chinese cultural roots. Pupils

also accumulated social capital in CCS as learning Mandarin helped their links with their Chinese families. CCS allowed Chinese pupils to approach a social context in which people could behave in a very Chinese way that would be never offered by their British mainstream schools. Thus, it can be understood as a way in which Chinese pupils could recognise and reflect on their UK Chinese identities.

CCS provided opportunities for teachers, parents and pupils to accumulate and exchange three forms of capital (i.e. economic, cultural and social) as defined and developed by Bourdieu (1986). This also helps to understand how the UK Chineseness is constructed in CCS. The process of capital accumulation and exchange in CCS actually reflects how Chinese people behave, act and think in a particular UK Chinese way, which in fact reveals how the unique UK Chineseness is gradually constructed in CCS.

5.4.5 Reflections on CCS and identity construction

As discussed in Chapter 2, identity is complex, multi-faceted and personal. How people identify themselves is based on their interaction with others, their experience, education, culture and family backgrounds (Mu, 2016). Fixed, homogeneous and permanent Chinese identities did not exist in my research. This means participants in my research did not share a unified and single Chinese identity. Their different perceptions of identities have impact on their attitudes towards CCS and further affects their activities in CCS. As is shown in Chapter 4, teachers and parents valued the Chinese atmosphere of CCS, where they could have a sense of belonging and develop their Chinese identities beyond national boundaries (even people who came from Malaysia and Singapore identify themselves as Chinese people). Parents and teachers have

opportunities to share their language and culture learning experience with children (e.g. introducing traditional Chinese children's games or rhythms) so as to let children feel more Chinese and construct their Chinese identities. Therefore, for most Chinese parents and teachers, they took it for granted that going to CCS is part of Chineseness construction. They connect Chinese language and culture learning with Chinese identity formation, and believe that CCS plays a significant role in children's Chinese identity formation by providing intensive support of Chinese language and culture.

However, children did not share the same Chinese identities with parents and teachers. In my research, for some pupils (especially those who were born in Britain and had never been to China), China and Chinese are something far away from their daily life and only belong to their parents or relatives in China. Some preferred to identify themselves as British born Chinese or British citizens but it does not mean that they overlooked their Chinese dimension in their identities. Some Chinese students realised the importance of Chinese because it was an indivisible part of their Chinese identities. In contrast, for some children who were born in China and moved to Britain recently, they clearly identified themselves as Chinese and expressed their shock when seeing so many Chinese pupils who could speak fluent Chinese in CCS and described them as different. Therefore, for CCS pupils, I argue that CCS is an intercultural space where they can reflect on their hybridised Chinese identities which are discussed in section 2.10. By encountering elements of Chinese language and culture and interacting with people born in Chinese cultures or who have similar backgrounds with them, CCS pupils have opportunities to develop their unique UK Chineseness, which is co-constructed because they have links both with British mainstream cultures and Chinese

heritage culture. Therefore, CCS is a place where participants have chances to access elements of Chinese language and culture and explore their identities.

5.5 Summary

This chapter first presented a brief summary of the results and findings of this study in relation to the review of the literature. Each CCS in my research had its own unique distinctions. They are quite different from the Cantonese-focused CCS identified by Francis *et al.* (2008). My research finds Mandarin has been the preferred language in my case schools, which has significant implications for the demographic change of UK Chinese population. Furthermore, the diversity of students in my research calls for serious reflection on resources, materials, expertise in current CCS. The language shift towards Mandarin further raises consideration of identity construction in CCS. That is, Mandarin is not the HL for all CCS participants. However, experience in CCS helps CCS pupils to encounter Chinese language and culture intensively and then construct their unique UK Chinese identities. Furthermore, in this study, I argue that CCS provide a uniquely intercultural space, with intermingled features of at least two cultures (e.g. Chinese and English) and two sets of everyday life values and practices. The intercultural dimension of CCS helps CCS participants to reflect on their UK Chineseness, which is diasporic and hybridised. Additionally, I argue that CCS is a place where capital (i.e. economic, cultural and social) as defined and developed by Bourdieu (1986) were built up and exchanged by teachers, parents and pupils, which is interpreted as significant constructs of UK Chineseness.

.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This research employed three case studies to find out the current situation of CCS and examine key issues regarding teaching and learning in CCS. This chapter will summarise the key research findings, consider the implications of this study, discuss its limitations, and make recommendations for future research.

6.2 Overview of this research

This research aimed to present a detailed and thick understanding of the current situation of three CCS by attempting to answer the following research questions,

- What is the composition of the three CCS including who is teaching and what are the backgrounds of students in the CCS?
- What are the goals of CCS and challenges facing CCS?
- How can the goals of the teachers, parents and students in CCS be understood and how far do their resources, training and support address their changing situation?
- How do CCS participants, construct their identities and what is the connection with the role and function of CCS in the UK?

One new aspect of this research has been the focus on Mandarin teaching in CCS, as the established research mainly focused on CCS teaching Cantonese. This doctoral study included two phases: one pilot study in Phase 1 and two case studies in Phase 2. Ethnographic observations, semi-structured interviews and informal conversations as well as documentary analysis were used to collect the data. At first, the researcher

attempted to gain an overall and general understanding of CCS in England; however, when Mandarin became the focus, and new issues were thus raised, this changed the direction of the research as it progressed and caused me to reshape my sampling in the second stage, seeking out particularly Mandarin learning and teaching in CCS. The three cases in my study are unique and distinctive and as exploratory cases, they are not used to generalise or theorise, or suggest that the findings could be applied to any CCS; however, the findings from my case studies will possibly provide valuable reference for future research in this field. My research finds Mandarin has been the preferred target language in CCS, which implicates the demographic change of UK Chinese population. Moreover, the diversity of pupils in CCS requires reflection on practice in CCS. It is also necessary to think about how school participants construct their identities and their relation to the role and functioning of CCS in depth. In Chapter 5, I related the research findings to the review of the literature to present a detailed picture of current CCS and further discuss the intercultural nature of CCS, Bourdieu's (1986) concept of capital and its connection to CCS. The language shift towards Mandarin in CCS raises consideration of identity construction. That means Mandarin is not the HL for all CCS participants. However, experience in CCS helps CCS pupils to encounter Chinese language and culture intensively and then construct their identities. In this thesis, I argue that CCS participants construct unique UK Chinese identities, which synthesise the Chinese heritage with British mainstream cultural elements. CCS in my research as a uniquely intercultural space, provides valuable opportunities for CCS participants to reflect on their distinctive UK Chineseness.

6.3 Implications

This research has identified some issues regarding Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS. It is noticeable that Mandarin has been preferred in my case schools. One significant finding is the diversity of students in Mandarin complementary classrooms. This means that old and traditional teaching materials and resources need to be adapted to fit the needs of diverse students more appropriately.

It is also necessary to consider the connection between HL and identity formation. There are several Modern Chinese languages and it is hard to regard Mandarin as a HL for some students in CCS. One of the practical implications of my observations and discussion of teaching the very wide range of children is to suggest that teachers need a range of materials to cope with this diversity. At the time of the research, many of the children were learning Chinese from books designed for use by HL learners who already speak some Chinese. Many of the children in CCS do not, and they need different materials to introduce to them what is, essentially, a foreign language. The materials I saw used were difficult for the teachers to use with the range of children with their different needs.

Another practical implication of my work is that the training for CCS teachers could be strengthened, in particular, in terms of helping teachers to plan for and teach a wider range of children with differing abilities. This is training which the CCS associations or even local schools might be able to help CCS develop, suitable for their teachers, and to help them engage the children with their learning better, so that the teachers feel confident in the classroom. Materials also need to be developed to respond to the

diverse demands of the school participants, for instance, audio-visual and IT resources, as these are what they are accustomed to accessing in their state school classrooms.

Another implication from my work is about collaboration with other CCS and mainstream schools. School A (in Phase 2) benefitted from collaboration with a mainstream school in terms of using its classrooms and IT resources, but did not benefit in terms of support with teaching or wider, general support. The other two schools had no collaboration at all. This seems to be a great waste of the facilities and expertise of mainstream schools, which might well be able to contribute facilities and other support (like methodology or material ideas) if good relationships could be established. As most UK schools now celebrate Chinese New Year and are keen to teach Chinese, I believe there is the potential for greater collaboration.

Finally, I believe that one implication of my work, based on the interpretation of CCS from a Bourdieuian perspective, is to reconsider the definition of the role of CCS. The definition of complementary schools I referred to early in this thesis referred to schools ignoring the demands of minority ethnic children and failing to help them to maintain their minority ethnic languages, customs and faith (Evans and Gillan-Thomas, 2015). This defined CCS in a rather negative way in the sense that they were there to address a deficit in the experience of minority ethnic children. However, the CCS I investigated exist to offer an additional source of social and cultural capital and of Chinese identity, not to supplement mainstream schooling. I would like to define CCS in terms of the positive contribution to Chinese identity and language that they can make.

6.4 Limitations

The limitations of this study need to be examined. The first concern is the common criticism of case studies that the findings cannot be generalised (Bryman, 2008). However, the validity of this study is based on the transparency of the presentation of the data collected and there is no intention to generalise these findings but rather to provide in-depth insights into the situations of the CCS investigated and the practice of Mandarin teaching and learning, the challenges school participants faced and their identity construction within these schools. This study has offered three distinct cases, not a picture of the whole population of CCS. Despite this, it has aimed to understand features within and across the selected three cases and the relationships between issues within and across the research questions. The use of qualitative research methods helped me to collect as much data as possible but, as discussed in Chapter 3, every method has its own limitations. With regard to lesson observation, the pupils and teachers may have displayed different behaviour to that were not observed during the observations, although the researcher spent a great amount of time getting to know the pupils and teachers before officially starting the classroom observations. For instance, if the teachers sometimes needed assistance, they simply asked the researcher to help during the lessons. With regard to the interviews, the participants may not have given entirely truthful answers even though they were all assured that their names would not be disclosed and their answers would only be used for this research. For example, one of the teachers suggested that she avoided speaking English to the students since her students had good Mandarin levels, However, this teacher was observed to speak English to students during the Mandarin lesson. In addition, relying on self-reported data provided by participants alone, while it can reveal their views, may threaten the validity of findings and conclusions (Cohen *et al.*, 2011), hence the need for observation

as well as a counterbalance. These issues need to be taken into consideration, and illustrate the possible limitations of this study.

Another limitation of this study is the overload of data collected. This study aimed to explore the current situation of CCS and there were many issues to find out about. Therefore, I made good use of every second in each school, trying my best to record every detail I supposed might be useful for my study. I hence gained a huge amount of qualitative data by hand before the intensive data analysis. Consequently, a lot of time was spent on data reduction and data display. Future research might focus on a smaller number of issues than explored by and identified in this study in order to obtain more detailed results.

6.5 Recommendations for future study

There are also some recommendations for future study. Firstly, it is necessary to conduct further relevant studies to test the results and findings that emerged from this study. There is currently a paucity of research on Mandarin teaching in CCS in England therefore this is a new field of study. For instance, as mentioned above, the case schools in my study did not provide any additional support for mainstream curricular subjects but it is unknown whether some CCS provide instruction in Mathematics or other subjects. Furthermore, future studies could focus on the practice of Mandarin teaching and learning in CCS, and how the practices used by teachers, which are currently usually based on their experiences in China, work for children who usually study in England. This research did not investigate the students' experience of CCS and its impact on students' attainment in UK mainstream schools, so further research could pay attention to this point. Another recommendation is that other research methods

could be used to explore this area, such as a survey of CCS in the UK. A survey was initially a consideration for this study, but it was difficult to carry it out by myself. However, it would be a useful to understand a general map of the population and practice in current CCS in the UK, if enough time and funding could be obtained in future, as a context for these case studies. It would also be helpful for policymakers such the Department of Education to provide teacher training or support programmes for CCS teachers.

Reference

Abelson, R. P. (1979) Differences between belief systems and knowledge systems, *Cognitive Science*, 3(4), pp.355-366.

Abrahamson, J. H. (1974) *Classroom Restraints and Teacher Coping Strategies: A Way to Conceptualise the Teaching Task*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Acquadro, C., Jambon, B., Ellis, D. and Marquis, P. (1996) Language and translation issues. In: Spilker, B. (ed.) *Quality of Life and Pharmacoeconomics in Clinical Trials*, 2nd, Philadelphia: Lippincott-Raven Publishers, pp.575-585.

Agar, M. H. (1996) *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*, 2nd, San Diego: Academic Press.

Amrith, S. S. (2011) *Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Growth and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

Anderson, J. (2008) Towards an integrated second-language pedagogy for foreign and community/heritage languages in multilingual Britain, *The Language Learning Journal*, 36(1), pp.79-89.

Ang, I. (2003) Together-in-difference: beyond diaspora, into hybridity, *Asian Studies Review*, 27(2), pp.141-154.

Angrosino, M. (2007) *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research*, London: Sage Publications.

Archer, L. and Francis, B. (2005) 'They never go off the rails like other ethnic groups': teachers' constructions of British Chinese pupils' gender identities and approaches to learning, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26(2), pp.165-182.

Archer, L. and Francis, B. (2006) Challenging classes? Exploring the role of social class within the identities and achievement of British Chinese pupils, *Sociology*, 40(1), pp. 29-49.

Archer, L. and Francis, B. (2007) *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement: Race, Gender, Class and 'Success'*, Oxon: Routledge.

Archer, L., Francis, B. and Mau, A. (2009) 'Boring and stressful' or 'ideal' learning spaces? Pupils' constructions of teaching and learning in Chinese supplementary schools, *Research Papers in Education*, 24(4), pp.477-497.

Archer, L., Francis, B. and Mau, A. (2010) The culture project: diasporic negotiations of ethnicity, identity and culture among teachers, pupils and parents in Chinese language schools, *Oxford Review of Education*, 36(4), pp.407-426.

Asmah, A. E., Clement, F. and Mate, M. M. (2015) Proverbial symbols in cloth for Ga royals, *European Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences*, 2(3), pp.22-41.

Asselin, M. E. (2003) Insider research: issues to consider when doing qualitative research in your own setting, *Journal for Nurses in Professional Development*, 19(2), pp.99-103.

Association for Language Learning (2012) *Asset Languages* [online], available from: [http://www.all-languages.org.uk/tag/asset-languages/] (accessed: 17 June 2015)

Babbi, E. R. (2015) *The Practice of Social Research*, Boston: Cengage Learning.

Baker, C. and Jones, S. P. (eds.) (1998) *Encyclopaedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bassetti, B. (2007) *Effects of Hanyu Pinyin on Pronunciation in Learners of Chinese as a Foreign Language* [online], available from: [onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/Intro_QDA/how_what_to_code.php] (accessed: 12 May 2014)

Becker, H. S. (1968) Social observation and social case studies. In: Sills, D. L. (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan, pp. 232-238.

Becker, H. S., Geer, B. and Hughes, E. (2003) *Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life*, 2nd, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P.C. and Verloop, N. (2004) Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20(2), pp.107-128.

Belz, J. A. (2002) Second language play as a representation of the multicompetent self in foreign language study, *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 1(1), pp.13-39.

Benjamin, R. (1997) What do our students want? Some reflections on teaching Spanish as an academic subject to bilingual students, *ADFL bulletin*, 29(1), pp.44-47.

Ben-Peretz, M. (2011) Teacher knowledge: What is it? How do we uncover it? What are its implications for schooling? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27(1), pp.3-9.

Benton, G. and Gomez, E. T. (2008) *The Chinese in Britain, 1800–Present*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Benton, G. and Gomez, E. T. (2014) Belonging to the nation: generational change, identity and the Chinese diaspora, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(7), pp.1157-1171.

Blumenfeld-Jones, D. (1995) Fidelity as a criterion for practicing and evaluating narrative inquiry, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 8(1), pp.25-35.

Board, J. (2017) *Social Capital and Education* [online], available from:

[ahref="http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2427/Social-Capital-Education.html">Social Capital and Education</a] (accessed: 16 January 2017).

Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S. K. (2007) *Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods*, Boston: Pearson Publishing.

Borman, K. M., LeCompte, M. D. and Goetz, J. P. (1986) Ethnographic and qualitative research design and why it doesn't work, *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 30(1), pp.42-57.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In: Karabel, I. and Halsey, A. H. (eds.) *Power and Ideology in Education*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood Press, pp.241-258.

Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Johnson, R. (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Thompson, J. B. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bray, M. and Liao, Q. (2012) The global expansion of shadow education: subverting or enhancing equity, quality and development? *Comparative Education Review*, 34(2), pp.13-17.

Bray, M. and Lykins, C. (2012) *Shadow Education: Private Supplementary Tutoring and Its Implications for Policy Makers in Asia*, Manila: Asian Development Bank.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), pp.77-101.

Brecht, R. D. and Ingold, C. W. (2002) *Tapping a National Resource: Heritage Languages in the United States* [online],
available from: [http://www.ericdigests.org/2003-1/tapping.htm] (accessed: 20 March 2014).

British Academy (2012) *Multilingual Britain* [online], available from:
[http://www.britac.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Multilingual%20Britain%20Report.pdf] (accessed: 20 December 2016).

British Council (2013) *Languages for the Future* [online], available from
[https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/languages-for-the-future-report.pdf] (accessed: 18 June 2016).

British Council (2014) *How Can UK Schools Support Young Children Learning English* [online], available from: [https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/how-uk-schools-support-young-learners-english] (accessed: 1 September 2016).

British Educational Research Association (2012) *The Secrets of Supplementary School Success* [online], available from: [http://www.wacas.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/InsightsSupplementarySchools.pdf] (accessed: 14 December 2016).

British Library (no date) *Sounds Familiar* [online], available from: [http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/index.html] (accessed: 12 December 2016)

British Museum (2008) *Chinese Diaspora in Britain* [online], available from: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Chinese%20diaspora%20in%20Britain%20201008.pdf] (accessed: 16 December 2016).

Brousseau, B. A. and Freeman, D. J. (1988) How do teacher education faculty members define desirable teacher beliefs? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 4(3), pp.267-273.

Brown, C. L. (2009) Heritage language and ethnic identity: a case study of Korean-American college students, *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, 11(1), pp.1-16.

Browne, J. R. (2012) *Walking the Equity Talk: A Guide for Culturally Courageous Leadership in School Communities*, Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press.

Bryman, A. (2001) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*, 3rd, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bucerius, S. M. (2013) Becoming a "trusted outsider": gender, ethnicity, and inequality in ethnographic research, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 42(6), pp.690-721.

Buckingham, D. (2008) *Youth, Identity and Digital Media*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Buitink, J. (2009) What and how do student teachers learn during school-based teacher education, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25(1), pp.118-127.

Burke, P. J. and Stets, J. E. (2009) *Identity Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burnard, P. (1994) Searching for meaning: a method of analysing interview transcripts with a personal computer, *Nurse Education Today*, 14(2), pp.111-117.

Byram, M. and Feng, A. (2004) Culture and language learning: teaching, research and scholarship, *Language Teaching*, 37(3), pp.149-168.

Byram, M., Gribkova, B. and Starkey, H. (2002) *Developing the Intercultural Dimension in Language Teaching, A Practical Introduction for Teachers,* Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Language Policy Division.

Cai, Y. and Liu, D. (2011) The compiling methods for Pinyin textbooks of teaching of Chinese as a foreign language: a case study on the textbook for interesting Chinese Pinyin, *Studies in Literature and Language*, 2(1), pp.26-32.

Carmines, E. G. and Zeller, R.A. (1979) *Reliability and Validity Assessment*, London: Sage Publications.

Carspecken, P. F. (1996) *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research: A Theoretical and Practical Guide*, New York: Routledge.

Carpenter, C. and Suto, M. (2008) *Qualitative Research for Occupational and Physical Therapists: A Practical Guide*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Carter, K. (1990) Teachers' knowledge and learning to teach. In: Houston, W. R., Haberman, M. and Silkula, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, New York: Macmillan, pp.291-310.

Catts, R. and Ozga, J. (2005) *What is Social Capital and How Might It Be Used in Scotland's Schools?* [online], available from: [http://www.ces.ed.ac.uk/PDF%20Files/Brief036.pdf] (accessed: 12 January 2017).

Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (2014) *What is Culture* [online], available from: [http://carla.umn.edu/culture/definitions.html], (accessed: 12 June 2016)

Chan, Y. M. and Chan, C. (1997) The Chinese in Britain, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 23(1), pp.123-131.

Chang, J. (1987) Chinese speakers. In: Swan, M. and Smith, B. (eds.) *Learner English: A Teacher's Guide to Interference and Other Problems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.224–237.

Chang, P. (2012) Community-based heritage language schools: a Chinese example, *Kappa Delta Pi Record*, 48(1), pp.29-34.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications.

Chen, P. (1999) *Modern Chinese: History and Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chen, Z. and Lee, K. F. (2000) A new statistical approach to Chinese pinyin input. In: *Proceedings of the 38th Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics*, Hong Kong: Association for Computational Linguistics, pp.241-247.

Chevalier, J. F. (2004) Heritage language literacy: theory and practice, *Heritage Language Journal*, 2(1), pp.1-19.

Cho, G. (2000) The role of heritage language in social interactions and relationships: reflections from a language minority group, *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), pp.369-384.

Chua, A. (2011) *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Clark, C. M. (1988) Asking the right questions about teacher preparation: contributions of research on teacher thinking, *Educational Researcher*, 17(2), pp.5-12.

Clark, C. M. and Peterson, P. L. (1986) Teachers' thought processes. In: Wittrock, M. C. (ed.) *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, 3rd, New York: Macmillan, pp.255-296.

Clarke, D. and Hollingsworth, H. (2002) Elaborating a model of teacher professional growth, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18(8), pp.947-967.

Clyne, M. G. (1991) *Community Languages: the Australian Experience*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2011) *Research Methods in Education*, 7th, London: Routledge.

Connelly, F. M. and Clandinin, D. J. (1985) Personal practical knowledge and the modes of knowing: relevance for teaching and learning. In: Eisner, E. W. (ed.) *Learning and Teaching the Ways of Knowing*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.174-198.

Connelly, F. M. and Clandinin, D. J. (1988) *Teachers as Curriculum Planners, Narratives of Experience*, New York: Teachers College Press.

Connelly, F. M., Clandinin, D. J. and He, M. F. (1997) Teachers personal practical knowledge on the professional knowledge landscape, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 13(7), pp.665-674.

Coppel, C. A. (2012) Chinese overseas: the particular and the general, *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 8(1), pp.1-10.

Conteh, J. (2015) *The EAL Teaching Book: Promoting Success for Multilingual Learners in Primary and Secondary Schools*, London: Sage Publications.

Corson, D. (1998) Community-based education for indigenous cultures, *Language Culture and Curriculum*, 11(3), pp.238-249.

Cortazzi, M. and Jin, L. (1996) Cultures of learning: language classrooms in China. In: Coleman, J. (ed.) *Society and the Language Classroom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.169–206.

Creese, A. (2009) Building on young people's linguistic and cultural continuity: complementary schools in the United Kingdom, *Theory into Practice*, 48(4), pp.267-273.

Creese, A. and Martin, P. (2006) Interaction in complementary school contexts: developing identities of choice – an introduction, *Language and Education*, 20(1), pp.1-4.

Creese, A., Bhatt, A., Bhojani, N. and Martin, P. (2006) Multicultural, heritage and learner identities in complementary schools, *Language and Education*, 20(1), pp.23-43.

Creese, A., Baraç, T., Bhatt, A., Blackledge, A., Hamid, S., Lytra, V., Martin, P., Li, W., Wu, C. and Yagcioglu-Ali, G. (2008) *Investigating Multilingualism in Complementary Schools in Four Communities* [online], available from: [http://www.researchcatalogue.esrc.ac.uk/grants/RES-000-23-1180/outputs/read/8e3e4b17-a195-480b-a7b1-6f37795825d5] (accessed: 25 April 2014).

Cronbach, L. J. (1957) The two disciplines of scientific psychology, *American Psychologist*, 12(11), pp.671-684.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2006) Teaching and learning Chinese: heritage language classroom discourse in Montreal, *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 19(2), pp.189-207.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2008) Reading the world through words: cultural themes in heritage Chinese language textbooks, *Language and Education*, 22(2), pp.95-113.

Dang, H. A. and Rogers, F. H. (2008) The growing phenomenon of private tutoring: does it deepen human capital, widen inequalities, or waste resources? *The World Bank Research Observer*, 23(2), pp.161-200.

De Castro, B. V. and De Guzman, A. B. (2013) Proliferation of shadow education institutions (SEI's) in the Philippines: a time series analysis, *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 22(3), pp.341-345.

Department for Education (2013) *The National Curriculum in England* [online], available from: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/425601/PRIMARY_national_curriculum.pdf] (accessed: 12 December 2015).

Department for Education (2015) *The KS2 Framework for Languages* [online], available from: [https://allconnectblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/ks2_framework_pt1.pdf] (accessed: 17 June 2015)

Djité, P. G. (2006) Shifts in linguistic identities in a global world, *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 30(1), pp.1-20.

Dong, H. (2014) *A History of the Chinese Language*, Oxon: Routledge.

Dove, N. D. E. (1993) The emergence of black supplementary schools resistance to racism in the United Kingdom, *Urban Education*, 27(4), pp.430-447.

Doyle, W. (1977) Learning the classroom environment: an ecological analysis, *Journal of Teacher Education*, 28(6), pp.51-55.

Doyle, W. (1979) Classroom effects, *Theory into Practice*, 18(3), pp.138-144.

Doyle, W. (2006) Ecological approaches to classroom management. In: Evertson, C. M. and Weinstein, C. S. (eds.) *Handbook of Classroom Management: Research, Practice, and Contemporary Issues,* Mahwah: Erlbaum, pp.97–125.

Doyle, W. (2009) Situated practice: a reflection on person-centred classroom management, *Theory into Practice*, 48(2), pp.156-159.

Dwyer, S. C. and Buckle, J. L. (2009) The space between: on being an insider-outsider in qualitative research, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), pp.54-63.

Elliott, R. and Jankel-Elliott, N. (2003) Using ethnography in strategic consumer research, *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 6(4), pp.215-223.

Evans, D. and Gillan-Thomas, K. (2015) *Supplementary Schools Research Report Descriptive Analysis of Supplementary School Pupils' Characteristics and Attainment in Seven Local Authorities in England, 2007/08—2011/12,* London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

Fay, B. (1996) *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science: A Multicultural Approach*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Fay, R., Lytra, V. and Ntavaliagkou, M. (2010) Multicultural awareness through English: a potential contribution to TESOL of Greek schools, *Intercultural Education*, 21(6), pp.581-595.

Fishman, J. A. (2001) 300-Plus years of heritage language education. In: Peyton, J. K., Ranard, D. A. and McGinnis, S. (eds.) *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a National Resource*, Washington, D. C.: Centre for Applied Linguistics, pp.81-97.

Francis, B. and Archer, L. (2005a) British–Chinese pupils' and parents' constructions of the value of education, *British Educational Research Journal*, 31(1), pp.89-108.

Francis, B. and Archer, L. (2005b) Negotiating the dichotomy of Boffin and Triad: British-Chinese pupils' constructions of 'laddism', *The Sociological Review*, 53(3), pp.495-521.

Francis, B. and Archer, L. (2009) Language as capital or language as identity? Chinese complementary school pupils' perspectives on the purposes and benefits of complementary schools, *British Educational Research Journal*, 35(4), pp.519-538.

Francis, B., Archer, L. and Mau, A. (2008) *British-Chinese Pupils' Identities, Achievement and Complementary Schooling* [online], available from: [http://www.researchcatalogue.esrc.ac.uk/grants/RES-000-23-1513/outputs/read/62b968ff-1552-4450-99b7-f9993abe226e] (accessed: 12 October 2012).

Francis, B., Archer, L. and Mau, A. (2010) Parents' and teachers' constructions of the purposes of Chinese complementary schooling: 'culture', identity and power, *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 13(1), pp.101-117.

Freebody, P. (2003) *Qualitative Research in Education: Interaction and Practice*, London: Sage Publications.

Kelleher, A. (2010) *What is a Heritage Language Program* [online], available from: [http://www.cal.org/heritage/pdfs/briefs/What-is-a-Heritage-Language.pdf] (accessed: 18 October 2014)

García, O. (2005) Positioning heritage languages in the United States, *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(4), pp.601-605.

Gates, P. and Guo, X. (2014) How British-Chinese parents support their children: a view from the regions, *Educational Review*, 66(2), pp.168-191.

Gaventa, J. (2003*) 'Power after Lukes: A Review of the Literature'* [online], available from: [https://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/power_after_lukes.pdf] (accessed: 15 November 2015)

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books.

Gillham, B. (2000) *Case Study Research Methods*, London: Continuum.

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (2009) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Glesne, C. (1999) *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*, 2nd, New York: Longman.

Gorski, P. C. (2009) What we're teaching teachers: an analysis of multicultural teacher education coursework syllabi, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25(2), pp.309-318.

Gregory, E. and Ruby, M. (2011) The 'insider/outsider' dilemma of ethnography: working with young children and their families in cross-cultural contexts, *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 9(2), pp.162-174.

Grossman, P. L. and Richert, A. E. (1988) Unacknowledged knowledge growth: a re-examination of the effects of teacher education, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 4(1), pp.53-62.

Guba, E. G. (1990) *The Paradigm Dialog*, London: Sage Publications.

Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1981) *Effective Evaluation: Improving the Usefulness of Evaluation Results through Responsive and Naturalistic Approaches*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Guo, K. (2013) Ideals and realities in Chinese immigrant parenting: tiger mother versus others, *Journal of Family Studies*, 19(1), pp.44-52.

Guo, X. (2014) *British-Chinese Parental Support Strategies for Young People's Academic Achievement and Socialising*, PhD Thesis, School of Education, University of Nottingham.

Hall, K. A., Özerk, K., Zulfiqar, M. and Tan, J. E. C. (2002) 'This is our school': provision, purpose and pedagogy of supplementary schooling in Leeds and Oslo, *British Educational Research Journal*, 28(3), pp.399-418.

Hall, S. (1990) Cultural, identity and diaspora. In: Rutherford, J. (ed.) *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, pp.222–237.

Hammond, M. and Wellington, J. (2012) *Research Methods: The Key Concepts*, Oxon: Routledge.

Hancock, A. (2010) *Chinese Children's Experiences of Biliteracy Learning in Scotland* [online], available from: [https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/5873/Hancock2010%20.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y] (accessed: 12 October 2015).

Hancock, A. (2012) Unpacking mundane practices: children's experiences of learning literacy at a Chinese complementary school in Scotland, *Language and Education*, 26 (1), pp.1-17.

Hartas, D. (2010) *Educational Research and Inquiry: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

He, A. W. (2004) Identity construction in Chinese heritage language classes, *Pragmatics*, 14(2/3), pp.199-216.

He, A. W. (2006) Toward an identity theory of the development of Chinese as a heritage language, *Heritage Language Journal*, 4(1), pp.1-28.

He, A. W. (2008) Chinese as a heritage language: an introduction. In: He, A. W. and Xiao, Y. (eds.) *Chinese as a Heritage Language: Fostering Rooted World Citizenry*, Mānoa, Hawaii: National Foreign Language Resource Centre, University of Hawaii, pp.1-12.

Higgins, L. T. and Sheldon, K. (2001) Teaching of Mandarin in an English comprehensive school: a case study, *Educational Studies*, 27(2), pp.109-127.

Hoge, D. R., Smit, E. K. and Crist, J. T. (1997) Four family process factors predicting academic achievement in sixth and seventh grade, *Educational Research Quarterly*, 21 (2), pp.27-42.

Hoey, B. A. (2014) *A Simple Introduction to the Practice of Ethnography and Guide to Ethnographic Field Notes* [online], available from: [http://works.bepress.com/brian_hoey/12/] (accessed: 20 November 2015).

Holden, C. and Hicks, D. (2007) Making global connections: the knowledge, understanding and motivation of trainee teachers, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 23(1), pp.13-23.

Huang, G. H. and Gove, M. (2012) Confucianism and Chinese families: values and practices in education, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2(3), pp.10-14.

Hudson-Ross, S. and Dong, Y. R. (1990) Literacy learning as a reflection of language and culture: Chinese elementary school education, *The Reading Teacher*, 44(2), pp.110-123.

Issa, T., Allen, K. and Ross, A. (2008) *Young People's Educational Attainment London's Turkish, Turkish Kurdish and Cypriot Communities: A Report for the Mayor's Office*[online], available from: [http://archive.londonmet.ac.uk/dass-research/metranet.londonmet.ac.uk/londonmet/fms/MRSite/acad/hale/TKC%20Report%20Final%20version.pdf] (accessed: 13 March 2013)

Jenkins, R. (2008) *Social Identities*, 3rd, Oxon: Routledge.

Jia, Y. (ed.) (2006) *Zhongwen*, Guangzhou: Jinan University Press.

John Lyon's Charity (2012) *Supplementary Schools: A New Approach* [online], available from: [http://jlc.london/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/supplementary-schools-a-new-approach.pdf] (accessed: 18 November 2014).

Jones, S. R. and McEwen, M. K. (2000) A conceptual model of multiple dimensions of identity, *Journal of College Student Development*, 41(4), pp.405-414.

Kane, D. (2006) *The Chinese Language: Its History and Current Usage*, North Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing.

Kelleher, A. (2010) *What is A Heritage Language*? [online], available from: [http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.422.6012&rep=rep1&type=pdf] (accessed: 19 October 2014)

Kinébanian, A. and Stomph, M. (2010) Diversity matters: guiding principles on diversity and culture: a challenge for occupational therapist working in practice, education or research and for WFOT member organisations, *World Federation of Occupational Therapists Bulletin*, 61(1), pp.5-13.

Kondo-Brown, K. and Brown, J. D. (eds.) (2008) *Teaching Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Heritage Language Students*, New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kvale, S. (2008) *Doing Interviews*, London: Sage Publications.

LeCompte, M. D., Preissle, J. and Tesch, R. (1993) *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research*, 2nd, San Diego: Academic Press.

Lai, H. M. (2004) *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, Walnut Creek: Altamira.

Lee, S. and Shouse, R. C. (2011) The impact of prestige orientation on shadow education in South Korea, *Sociology of Education*, 84(3), pp.212-224.

Lewis, H. (1990) *A Question of Values: Six Ways We Make the Personal Choices That Shape Our Lives*, San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Li, M. (2005) The role of parents in Chinese heritage language schools, *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29(1), pp.197-207.

Li, P. S. and Li, E. X. (2013) The Chinese overseas population. In: Tan, C. B. (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of The Chinese Diaspora*, London: Routledge, pp.15-18.

Li, W. (1994) *Three Generations, Two Languages, One Family: Language Choice and Language Shift in a Chinese Community in Britain*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Li, W. (2000) Towards a critical evaluation of language maintenance and language shift, *Sociolinguistica*, 14(1), pp.142-147.

Li, W. (2006) Complementary schools past, present and future, *Language and Education*, 20(1), pp.76-83.

Li, W. (2011) Moment analysis and translanguaging space: discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), pp.1222-1235.

Li, W. (2013) Negotiating funds of knowledge and symbolic competence in the complementary school classrooms, *Language and Education*, 28(2), pp.161-180.

Li, W. and Wu, C. (2009) Polite Chinese children revisited: creativity and the use of codeswitching in the Chinese complementary school classroom, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12(2), pp.193-211.

Li, W. and Wu, C. (2010) Literacy and socialisational teaching in Chinese complementary schools. In: Lytra, V. and Martin, P. (eds.) *Sites of Multilingualism: Complementary Schools in Britain Today*, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, pp.33-44.

Li, W. and Zhu, H. (2010a) Voices from the diaspora: changing hierarchies and dynamics of Chinese multilingualism, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2010 (205), pp.155-171.

Li, W. and Zhu, H. (2010b) Changing hierarchies in Chinese language education for the British Chinese learners. In: Tsung, L. and Cruickshank, K. (eds.) *Teaching and Learning Chinese in Global Contexts: Multimodality and Literacy in the New Media Age*, London: Continuum, pp.11–27.

Li, W. and Zhu, H. (2013) Diaspora: multilingual and intercultural communication across time and space, *AILA Review*, 26(1), pp.42-56.

Lien, L. Y. (2006) Creating a successful educational path for children: the experience of Taiwanese mothers. In: *The Annual Conference of the National Council on Family Relations*, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Liu, J. (2012) Light and shadow of public education for migrant children in urban China. In: Yeakey, C. C. (ed.) *Living on the Boundaries: Urban Marginality in National and International Contexts (Advances in Education in Diverse Communities: Research, Policy and Praxis*, vol 8), Bradford: Emerald Group Publishing, pp.79-115.

Louie, V. S. (2004) *Compelled to Excel: Immigration, Education, and Opportunity among Chinese Americans*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Love, N. and Ansaldo, U. (2010) The native speaker and the mother tongue, *Language Sciences*, 32(6), pp.589-593.

Luk, W. (2008) *Chinatown in Britain: Diffusions and Concentrations of the British New Wave Chinese Immigration*, New York: Cambria Press.

MacDonald, B. and Walker, R. (1975) Case study and the social philosophy of educational research, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 5(1), pp.2-11.

Mair, V. H. (1991) *What is a Chinese "Dialect/Topolect"? Reflections on Some Key Sino-English Linguistic Terms* [online], available from: [http://sino-platonic.org/complete/spp029_chinese_dialect.pdf] (accessed: 17 December 2016)

Malterud, K. (2001) Qualitative research: standards, challenges, and guidelines, *The Lancet*, 358(9280), pp.483-488.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. (2016) *Designing Qualitative Research*, 6th, Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Martin, P., Bhatt, A., Bhojani, N. and Creese, A. (2006) Managing bilingual interaction in a Gujarati complementary school in Leicester, *Language and Education*, 20(1), pp. 5-22.

Mau, A., Francis, B. and Archer, L (2009) Mapping politics and pedagogy: understanding the population and practices of Chinese complementary schools in England, *Ethnography and Education*, 4(1), pp.17-36.

Maylor, U., Glass, K. and Issa, T. (2010) *Impact of Supplementary Schools on Pupils' Attainment: An Investigation into What Factors Contribute to Educational Improvements* [online], available from: [https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/4150856.pdf] (accessed: 21 October 2012).

Mazzocco, E. (1996) The heritage versus the non-heritage language learner: the five college self-instructional language program's solutions to the problem of separation or unification, *ADFL Bulletin*, 28(1), pp.20-23.

McLafferty, E. and Farley, A. H. (2006) Analysing qualitative research data using computer software, *Nursing Times*, 14(2), pp.111-117.

Medwell, J., Richardson, K. and Li, L. (2012) *Working Together to Train Tomorrow's Teachers of Chinese* [online], available from: [http://www.scilt.org.uk/Portals/24/25-5%20Medwell_Richardson_Li.pdf] (accessed: 20 November 2013)

Mercer, J. (2007) The challenges of insider research in educational institutions: wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas, *Oxford Review of Education*, 33(1), pp.1-17.

Merriam, S. B. (1988) *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M. Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G. and Muhamad, M. (2001) Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(5), pp. 405-416.

Merriam, S. B. (2009) *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, M. and Huberman, A. (2008) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Miles, M., Huberman, A. and Saldaña, J. (2014) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, 3rd, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Miller, T. (2012) *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, 2nd, London: Sage Publications.

Minty, S., Maylor, U., Issa, T., Kuyok, K. and Ross, A. (2008) *Our Languages: Teachers in Supplementary Schools and Their Aspirations to Teach Community Languages*, London: The National Centre for Languages.

Montrul, S. A. (2012) Is the heritage language like a second language? *Euro SLA Yearbook*, 12 (1), pp.1-29.

Morgan, D. L. (2007) Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods, *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(1), pp.48-76.

Mori, I. and Baker, D. (2010) The origin of universal shadow education: what the supplemental education phenomenon tells us about the postmodern institution of education, *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 11(1), pp.36-48.

Mu, G. (2013) *Heritage Language for Chinese Australians: Negotiating 'Chineseness' and, Capitalising on Resources in the Lived World*, PhD Thesis, Faculty of Education, Queensland University of Technology.

Mu, G. M. (2014a) Heritage language learning for Chinese Australians: the role of habitus, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(5), pp.497-510.

Mu, G. M. (2014b) Learning Chinese as a heritage language in Australia and beyond: the role of capital, *Language and Education*, 28(5), pp.477-492.

Mu, G. M. (2016) *Learning Chinese as a Heritage Language: An Australian Perspective*, Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Mu, G. M. and Dooley, K. (2015) Coming into an inheritance: family support and Chinese Heritage Language learning, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(4), pp.501-515.

Myers, K. and Grosvenor, I. (2011) Exploring supplementary education: margins, theories and methods, *Journal of the History of Education Society*, 40(4), pp.501-520.

Myhill, J. (2003) The native speaker, identity, and the authenticity hierarchy, *Language Sciences*, 25(1), pp.77-97

Navarro, Z. (2006) In search of a cultural interpretation of power: the contribution of Pierre Bourdieu, *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), pp.11-22.

Nespor, J. (1987) The role of beliefs in the practice of teaching, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 19(4): 317-328.

Nonini, D. M. and Ong, A. (1997) Chinese transnationalism as an alternative modernity. In: Ong, A. and Nonini, D. M. (eds.) *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, New York: Routledge, pp.3-33.

Norman, J. (2003) The Chinese dialects: phonology. In: Thurgood, G. and LaPolla, R. J. (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, London: Routledge.

Norton, B. (2001) Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. In: Breen, M. (ed.) *Learner Contributions to Language Learning: New Directions in Research*, Essex: Pearson Publishing, pp.159-171.

Nwulu, S. (2015) *Report: Beyond The School Gates-Developing the Roles and Connections of Supplementary Schools* [online], available from:

[https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/reports/beyond-the-school-gates] (accessed: 05 March 2016).

Office for National Statistics (2011) *2011 Census General Report* [online], available from: [https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census/howourcensusworks/howdidwedoin2011/2011censusgeneralreport] (accessed: 21 March 2013).

Oxford Cambridge RSA (2012) *Chinese (Mandarin/Simplified) Breakthrough*, Cambridge: Oxford Cambridge RSA.

Pajares, M. F. (1992) Teachers' beliefs and educational research: cleaning up a messy construct, *Review of Educational Research*, 62(3), pp.307-332.

Parker, D. (2000) The Chinese takeaway and the diasporic habitus: space, time and power geometries. In: Hesse, B. (ed.) *Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, "Transcriptions"*, London: Zed Books, pp.73-95.

Patrikakou, E. N. (1997) A model of parental attitudes and the academic achievement of adolescents, *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 31(1), pp.7-26.

Patton, M. Q. (1980) Making methods choices, *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 3(4), pp.219-228.

Patton, M. Q. (1990) *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Patton, M. Q. (2005) *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, 3rd, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Peng, J. (ed.) (2002) *Youerhanyu*, Beijing: Beijing Huawen College Press.

Pole, C. and Morrison, M. (2003) *Ethnography for Education (Doing Qualitative Research in Educational Settings)*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Porter, A. C. and Freeman, D. J. (1986) Professional orientations: an essential domain for teacher testing, *The Journal of Negro Education*, 55(3), pp. 284-292.

Porto, M. (2013) Language and intercultural education: an interview with Michael Byram, *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, 8(2), pp.143-162.

Punch, K. F. and Oancea, A. (2014) *Introduction to Research Methods in Education*, London: Sage Publications.

Putnam, R (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

Ramalingam, V. and Griffith, P. (2015) *Saturday for Success: How Supplementary Education Can Support Pupils from All Background to Flourish* [online], available from: [http://www.ippr.org/publications/saturdays-for-success] (accessed: 08 October

2015).

Reay, D. (2000) A useful extension of Bourdieu's conceptual framework? Emotional capital as a way of understanding mothers' involvement in their children's education? *The Sociological Review*, 48(4), pp.568-585.

Redding, G. (1990) *The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.

Rohsenow, J. S. (2004) Fifty years of script and written language reform in the PRC. In: Zhou, M. and Sun, H. (eds.) *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China*, Hong Kong: Springer Netherlands, pp.21-43.

Rose, A. (2013) Exploring the relationship between supplementary schools and 'cohesive communities', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 17(11), pp.1135-1151.

Rothman, J. and Treffers-Daller, J. (2014) A prolegomenon to the construct of the native speaker: heritage speaker bilinguals are natives too, *Applied Linguistics*, 35(1): pp.93-98.

Saldaña, J. (2009) An introduction to codes and coding. In: Saldaña, J. (ed.) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, London: Sage Publications, pp.1-31.

Schwab, J. J. (1964) *The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum*, Chicago: Rand McNally.

Schensul, J. J. (1999) *Using Ethnographic Data: Interventions, Public Programming, and Public* Policy, 7th, Thousand oaks: Altamira.

Seidman, I. (2013) *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*, 4th, New York: Teachers College Press.

Seginer, R. (1983) Parents' educational expectations and children's academic achievement: a literature review, *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 29(1), pp.1-23.

Seng, G. Y. and Lai, L. S. (2010) Global Mandarin. In: Vaish, V. (ed.) *Globalization of Language and Culture in Asia: The Impact of Globalization Processes on Language*, London: Continuum, pp.14-33.

Shavelson, R. J. and Stern, P. (1981) Research on teachers' pedagogical thoughts, judgments, decisions, and behavior, *Review of Education Research*, 51(4), pp.455-498.

Shaw, K. E. (1978) Understanding the curriculum: the approach through case studies, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 10(1), pp.1-17.

Shi, Y. (2005) Identity construction of the Chinese diaspora, ethnic media use, community formation, and the possibility of social activism, *Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 19(1), pp.55-72.

Shulman, L. S. (1986) Those who understand: knowledge growth in teaching, *Educational Research*, 15(2), pp.4-14.

Shulman, L. S. (1987) Knowledge and teaching: foundations of the new reform, *Harvard Educational Review*, 57(1), pp.1-22.

Simco, N. P. (1995) Using activity analysis to investigate primary classroom environments, *British Educational Research Journal*, 21(1), pp.49-60.

Simons, H. (2009) *Case Study Research in Practice*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Sit, H. H. W. (2013) Characteristics of Chinese students' learning styles, *International Proceedings of Economics Development and Research*, 62(8), pp.36-39.

Smith, L. M. (1978) An evolving logic of participant observation, educational ethnography, and other case studies, *Review of Research in Education*, 6(1), pp.316-377.

Song, M. (2013) *Participant Perceptions about Speaking and Listening in Modern Foreign Language Classes in China and England, and Their Relationship to Classroom Practices*, PhD Thesis, Institute of Education, University of Warwick.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012) *What is Culture: A Compilation of Quotations* [online], available from: [https://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/globalpad/openhouse/interculturalskills/global_pad_-_what_is_culture.pdf] (accessed: 16 June 2016).

Stake, R. E. (2006) *Multiple Case Study Analysis*, New York: Guilford Press.

Strand, S. (2002) Surveying the views of pupils attending supplementary schools in England, *Educational Research*, 49(1), pp.1-19.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1994) Grounded theory methodology. In: Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, pp.217-285.

Sun, C. (2006) *Chinese: A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sun, D. (2012) "Everything goes smoothly": a case study of an immigrant Chinese language teacher's personal practical knowledge, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 28(5), pp.760-767.

Sullivan, A. (2002) Bourdieu and education: how useful is Bourdieu's theory for researchers? *Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 38(2), pp.144-166.

Tabacbnick, B. R., and Zeichner, K. M. (1984) The impact of the student teaching experience on the development of teacher perspectives, *Journal of Teacher Education*, 35(6), pp.28-36.

Tamir, P. (1991) Professional and personal knowledge of teachers and teacher educators, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 7(3), pp.263-268.

Tang, S. Y. F. (2003) Challenge and support: the dynamics of student teachers' professional learning in the field experience, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 19(5), pp. 483-498.

Taylor, C. and Gibbs, G. R. (2010) *How and What to Code* [online], available from: [http://onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/Intro_QDA/how_what_to_code.php] (accssed: February 2015)

Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R. and DeVault, M. (2015) *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource,* Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons.

The Department for Children, Schools and Families (2013) *The National curriculum* [online], available from: [https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/national-curriculum] (accessed: 21 October 2015).

The National Centre for Languages (2007) *Curriculum Guide for Chinese* [online], available from: [https://www.gold.ac.uk/media/documents-by-section/departments/research-centres-and-units/research-centres/centre-for-language-culture/cg_chinese_web.pdf] (accessed: 17 June 2015)

Thorpe, A. (2011) Leading and managing Chinese complementary schools in England: leaders' perceptions of school leadership. In: *The 2011 British Educational Research Association Annual Conference*, Institute of Education, University of London.

Tom, A. (1973) Teacher reaction to a systematic approach to curriculum implementation, *Curriculum Theory Network*, 3(11), pp.86-93.

Tsung, L. and Cruickshank, K. (2011) Emerging trends and issues in teaching and learning Chinese. In: Tsung, L. and Cruickshank, K. (eds.) *Teaching and Learning Chinese in Global Contexts: CFL worldwide*, London: Continuum, pp.1-10.

UK Border Agency (2013) *UK Border Agency Annual Report and Accounts 2012-2013*[online], available from: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/257143/annual-report-12-13.pdf] (accessed: 25 March 2013).

UK Federation of Chinese Schools (2012) *Let's Learn Chinese* [online], available from: [http://ukfcs.info/sc/ukfcs_publications.php] (accessed: 22 April 2014).

Ungerson, C. (1996) Part two: qualitative methods. In: Hantrais, L. and Mangen, S. (eds.) *Cross-national Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, London: Pinter Publications, pp.63-65.

Val, A. and Vinogradova, P. (2010) *What is the Identity of a Heritage Language Speaker?* [online], available from: [http://www.cal.org/heritage/pdfs/briefs/what–is–the–identity–of–a–heritage–language–speaker.pdf] (accessed: 08 November 2013).

Valdés, G. (1995) The teaching of minority languages as academic subjects: pedagogical and theoretical challenges, *The Modern Language Journal*, 79(3), pp.299-328.

Valdés, G. (2001) Heritage language students: profiles and possibilities. In: Peyton, J. K, Ranard, D. A. and McGinnis, S. (eds.) *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a National Resource,* Washington: Centre for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems, pp.37–80.

Valdés, G. (2005) Bilingualism, heritage language learners, and SLA research: opportunities lost or seized? *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(3), pp.410-426.

Van Deusen-Scholl, N. (2003) Toward a definition of heritage language: socio-political and pedagogical considerations, *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 2(3), pp.211-230.

Van Fleet, A. (1979) Learning to teach: the cultural transmission analogy, *Journal of Thought*, 14(4), pp.281-290.

Verloop, N., Van Driel, J. and Meijer, P. (2001) Teacher knowledge and the knowledge base of teaching, *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35(5), pp.441-461.

Wacquant, L. (2005) Habitus. In: Beckert, J. and Zafirovski, M. (eds.) *International Encyclopaedia of Economic Sociology*, London: Routledge, pp.315-319.

Walters, S. (2011) Provision, purpose and pedagogy in a Bengali supplementary school, *The Language Learning Journal*, 39(2), pp.163-175.

Wang, D. (2014) Profession or passion? Teaching Chinese in London Chinese complementary school, *London Review of Education*, 12(1), pp.34-49.

Wang, G. (1991) *China and Chinese Overseas*, Singapore: Time Academic Press.

Wen, X. (2011) Chinese language learning motivation: a comparative study of heritage and non-heritage learners, *Heritage Language Journal*, 8(3), pp.41-66.

Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Westbury, I. (1973) Conventional classrooms, "open" classrooms and the technology of teaching, *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* 5(2), pp.99-121.

Wiley, T. G. (2005) The re-emergence of heritage and community language policy in the US national spotlight, *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(4), pp.594-601.

Wiley, T. G. and Valdés, G. (2000) Editors' introduction: heritage language instruction in the United States: a time for renewal, *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), pp.iii-vii.

Wilson, S. (1979) Explorations of the usefulness of case study evaluations, *Evaluation Review*, 3(3), pp.446-459.

Winter, G. (2000) A comparative discussion of the notion of 'validity 'in qualitative and quantitative research, *The Qualitative Report*, 4(3), pp.1-14.

Wong, K. F. and Xiao, Y. (2010) Diversity and difference: identity issues of Chinese heritage language learners from dialect backgrounds, *Heritage Language Journal*, 7(2), pp.152-187.

Woods, P. (2000) Teaching for survival. In: Stephen, J. (ed.) *Sociology of Education: Major Themes*, London: Routledge, pp.1339-1359.

Wu, C. (2006) Look who's talking: language choices and culture of learning in UK Chinese classrooms, *Language and Education*, 20(1), pp. 62-75.

Wu, B. (2013) *Nottingham Chinese Communities in Transition* [online], available from: [https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/groups/ccms/documents/ncc-survey-report-english-summary.pdf] (accessed: 11 April 2015).

Xiao, Y. (2006) Heritage learners in the Chinese language classroom: home background, *Heritage Language Journal*, 4(1), pp.47-56.

Yeung, A.S., Marsh, J.W. and Suliman, R. (2000) Can two tongues live in harmony: analysis of the National Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS 88) longitudinal data on the maintenance of home language, *American Educational Research Journal*, 37(4), pp.1001-1026

Yin, B. and Felley, M. (1990) *Chinese Romanization: Pronunciation and Orthography*, Beijing: Chinese Teaching Press.

Yin, R. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, London: Sage Publications.

Yuan, Y. and Xie, Q. (2013) Cultures of learning: an evolving concept and an expanding field. In: Cortazzi, M. and Jin, L. (eds.) *Researching Cultures of Learning: International Perspectives on Language Learning and Education,* London: Palgrave MacMillian, pp.21-40.

Zevenbergen, R. (2006) Teacher identity from a Bourdieuian perspective. In: Grootenboer, P., Zevenbergen, R. and Chinappan, M. (eds.) *Identities, Cultures and Learning Spaces,* the 29th Annual Conference of the mathematics Education Research Group of Australasia, pp.616-618

Zhang, D. and Slaughter-Defoe, D.T. (2009) Language attitudes and heritage language maintenance among Chinese immigrant families in the USA, *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 22(2), pp.77-93.

Zhang, B. and Yang, R. R. (2004) Putonghua education and language policy in postcolonial Hong Kong. In: Zhou, M. and Sun, H. (eds.) *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China,* Hong Kong: Springer Netherlands, pp.143-161.

Zhang, G. and Li, M. L. (2010) Chinese language teaching in the UK: present and future, *The Language Learning Journal*, 38(1), pp.87-97.

Zhu, H. (2010) Language socialization and interculturality: address terms in intergenerational talk in Chinese diasporic families, *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 10(3), pp.189-205.

Zhou, E. (1958) *Reforms of Chinese Written Languages*, Beijing: Foreign Language Press.

Zhou, M. and Sun, H. (2004) *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China: Theory and Practice since 1949*, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Zuo, X. (2007) China's policy towards minority languages in a globalising age, *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, 4(1), pp.80-91.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Classroom observation checklist

<table>
<tr><td colspan="6">Classroom observation checklist</td></tr>
<tr><td>Date</td><td></td><td>Place</td><td></td><td>Group</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Classroom settings</td><td colspan="5"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Lesson objective</td><td>Told by teacher</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Inferred from the lesson</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Teacher’s language use</td><td>English</td><td colspan="4">Never (?) Sometimes (?) Mainly (?)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mandarin</td><td colspan="4">Never (?) Sometimes (?) Mainly (?)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Students’ language use</td><td>English</td><td colspan="4">Never (?) Sometimes (?) Mainly (?)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mandarin</td><td colspan="4">Never (?) Sometimes (?) Mainly (?)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Teaching tools/ materials</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2"></td><td>Textbook</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Assessment</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Participation of students in the class</td><td colspan="5"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Activity</td><td colspan="2"></td><td>Homework</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Lesson process (details)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Period</td><td colspan="2">Teachers</td><td colspan="3">Students</td></tr>
<tr><td>Period 1</td><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Period 2</td><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
</table>

Period 3		

Appendix 2: Example of classroom observation checklist with field note

<table>
<tr><td colspan="6">Classroom observation checklist</td></tr>
<tr><td>Date</td><td>1st June 2014</td><td>Place</td><td>School B</td><td>Group</td><td>Mandarin 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Classroom settings</td><td colspan="5">• Posters show that this is a history classroom.
• Students seat in the first row.
• Only two students are present today with the other two absent.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Lesson objective</td><td>Told by teacher</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Inferred from the lesson</td><td colspan="4">Teacher does not tell students what they are going to do at the beginning but from her lecture, it is inferred that she will do a review of three lessons on the textbook for the final exam in the end of this term.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Teacher's language use</td><td>English</td><td colspan="4">Sometimes</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mandarin</td><td colspan="4">Mainly</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Students' language use</td><td>English</td><td colspan="4">Sometimes</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mandarin</td><td colspan="4">Mainly</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Teaching tools /materials</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Teacher designs flash cards for students' pinyin practice. She also makes exercise papers as their homework.</td><td>Textbook</td><td colspan="2">*Zhongwen* Vol.4 with exercise book A and exercise book B (Link: http://www.hwjyw.com/fj/jcxz/zhongwen/4/12.pdf)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Assessment</td><td colspan="2">Teacher uses dictation for assessment.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Participation of students in the class</td><td colspan="5">Students are observed to follow the teachers' instruction and mostly could be engaged in. Each of them participates in the activities led by the teacher. They seldom chat and distract. They could respond to the teacher immediately.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Activity</td><td colspan="2">Group work, reading practice, self-design flash card (labelling pinyin to Chinese characters)</td><td>Homework</td><td colspan="2">Teacher leads the class to check the homework and also gives homework which are exercise papers at the end of the class.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Lesson process (details)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Period</td><td colspan="2">Teachers</td><td colspan="3">Students</td></tr>
<tr><td>5 mins(1.10 - 1.15pm)</td><td colspan="2">• Registration , calls student's name in Mandarin</td><td colspan="3">• Student responds yes in Mandarin when his/her name is called.
• Students open textbooks and start reviewing. Someone practices writing</td></tr>
</table>

	• Asks students to review words they learnt in Lesson 12 for 1 min, later they will have a dictation. She also warns them these new words might appear in the final exam.	on the notebook while reviewing. Some are chatting in English.
5mins (1.15pm-1.20pm)	• Dictation starts. Teacher speaks out Chinese word then explains its meaning in English. According to some specific words, she tries to remind students of other related words they learnt before. • Dictation ends. Teacher asks students which one they missed. She repeats in Chinese with English what students did not hear.	• Students write down what they hear. Students correct teacher's English.
10 mins (1.20pm-1.30pm)	• Teacher writes down the correct answers on white board. She emphasises character structure, radicals and stroke order. She also emphasises that the writing direction of a Chinese character should be from left to right. • After checking answers together, teacher goes to check each one's work and marks their dictation. • Asks students to review poems. Also asks them to take out the	• Students correct the mistakes on their notebooks. • Student says "I got it "in English to show that he/she gets a correct Chinese word. • Students are quite.

	homework that she forgot to check last week. • She notices students do not read aloud. She asks them to read aloud by saying "kai sheng" (a kind of Cantonese word).	• One student asks what kai sheng means in English. Another one explains in English "speak aloud".
10mins (1.30pm-1.40pm)	• Teacher leads students to read a poem together. • She asks students to recite the poem. • Asks students to continue reading another poem and warns them these two poems might appear in the final exam. • Teacher leads students to read. Then asks them to recite together. She corrects someone's pronunciation. • She asks students to read words (an exercise) on the textbook together.	• Students read a poem with teacher together. • Most students can recite. • One asks if they need to do pinyin on the two poems in the final exam. • Students read with teacher. Then they recite. • Read with teacher together.
20 mins (1.40pm - 2pm)	• Takes out flash cards, distributes to students and asks them to put pinyin on works in each flash card. • She asks students to work in group. • Asks students to check the pinyin with ones on textbooks. She goes to check students' work.	• Students get different flash cards from teacher and work in-group to put pinyin on words. • Most students can read out and point out which one they did.

	• Teacher collects flash cards, shows one card by covering the pinyin to the class each time and asks them to read. She corrects their pronunciation. • Emphasises the exam content and asks students to review at home. • Starts another lesson on the textbook and leads students to read new words together. Each word read twice. • She picks up "买卖" which means buy and sell in English. She emphasises the tones. • Teacher answers his questions. • She asks what overseas means. • Leads students to read next part. Picks up "节目 "and "节日" which means programmes and festivals respectively. • Asks students to close their textbooks and do flash cards again. • Checks their work. • Emphasises four tones. Especially the fourth tone.	• Students read after the teacher. One student asks what is trading in Chinese. • Students answer haiwai in Mandarin. • Works in groups. • One student shouts "成功" another one points out that is not fourth tone and she just speaks aloud. • Most students show they do not like pinyin but one likes because he does not like Chinese characters.

	Using a word “跳” which means jump. She names it angry tone. • Uses another word “蹈” which means dance to show third tone	
Break Time		
20mins (2.15pm-2.35pm)	• Teacher notices student is writing Chinese on white broad. She writes down “children are very small” in Chinese on white broad. Teacher points out “Hai” which means child in English. She divides it into two parts, telling students that different radicals can constitute different Chinese characters, just like jigsaw puzzles. She gives another example (外处) • She continues talking about flash cards, showing to students and checking their pronunciations. • Sentence pattern practice on their textbooks, she asks students to read themselves. • Teacher says “大声点” in Mandarin, which means read aloud.	• One student is writing “adults are very big” in Chinese on white broad. • Students read but not aloud. • Students read aloud. • Students make sentences to each other by using the pattern teacher gives on white broad. • One student asks the meaning of the speech pattern.

	• Teacher writes down “劳” “荣” which have similar structures and explains their meanings according to their structures. • Teacher writes down “为了….” which means in order to on white broad, asking students to make sentences in-group. • Teacher makes an example sentence for students and checks students’ sentence(to see whether it makes sense , grammar) • Teacher writes down “越来越 … “which means the more…, the more…. In English. Read sentences on white board first. • Teacher tries to make example sentences to students.	• Read together
15mins (2.35 pm - 2.50 pm)	• Continues reviewing a new lesson on their textbooks. First, she asks the class to read new words to check and correct their pronunciations. She asks students pay attentions to four tones. • She distributes flash cards to students and asks them to put pinyin on Chinese words. • Teacher asks students to swap their flash	• Read together with the teacher. • Someone reads out and writes down pinyin.

	cards and check for each other. After that, pass to another one for checking. • Teacher writes down "成功 "and "工程 "on white board and explains the difference between two words. Then she asks students to make new sentences with the two words respectively. • She writes down "纪念 "and "记住 "on white board, emphasising the radicals. (She first omits the radical of remember and asks students to tell her which radical should be put here).	• One student put wrong pinyin on a Chinese word cheng gong as gong cheng. • One student answers single person or double person, trying to guess out the correct answer.
5mins (2.50pm-2.55pm)	• Teacher writes down speech pattern "subject + at + vs + time" on white board. She gives the class an example in Chinese; we are at a beach in the morning. She then asks students to make sentence by using this pattern. • Teacher asks students to make sentences with 终于 which means eventually	• Students make sentences.
5 mins	• Teacher distributes exercise papers to students and tells them what and how they should do.	• Students asks teacher to explain in English.

(2.55pm-3.00pm)	• Teacher explains the homework in English and then uses Mandarin to say it again. • She asks students to take out last week's homework and goes to check.	• Students take out their homework.

Appendix 3: Semi-structured interview schedule with teachers

Part 1: introduction

I am a second year PhD student from the Institute of Education, University of Nottingham. My current doctoral research is about Mandarin teaching in Chinese complementary schools. Thank you for taking part in this interview. The interview will take you no more than 30 minutes. Your participation in the interview will be audio-recorded. All information collected in this study will be treated with strict confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. Your information will be kept anonymously. Your answers are completely confidential and will not be shown to anybody. The data will be stored on a computer and kept for three years, and only the researcher will have access to it. Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Thank you again for supporting my research.

Part 2: Background information

1. How long have you been teaching at this school?
2. What attracted you to working in a CCS?
3. What age groups /subjects/activities do you teach? Do you have any other role in the school?
4. Do you also teach in a mainstream school?
5. Do you have any teaching qualifications and/or experience of teaching abroad? Has that experience/qualifications helped you in teaching in this CCS? In what way?
6. What training and preparation in relation to teaching in CCS have you had?

Part 3: Teaching and learning - explore:

1. What are the specific learning needs that you aim to cater for in your lessons?
2. Perception of what it takes to teach in a CCS (including some of the challenges)?
3. What are some of the strategies that you use in your lessons? Do you use different strategies depending on e.g. linguistic competence?
4. Do you encourage pupils to explore their identities in relation to language, culture, faith? If yes, why and how? Are other identities present in the children's mainstream school/wider society explored? If yes, why? How?
5. Do you give the children homework? Do they complete it?
6. Please describe your experience of teaching at this CCS (in relation to the subject/activity/pupils' attitudes - e.g. responsiveness to the topic, interest in learning, learning about/valuing their identities)? Do you think that attending CCS can influence children's learning in their mainstream school? If so, how (e.g. building confidence/self-esteem, increasing their interest in learning/achieving)?
7. Do you think attending CCS can help improve children's attainment in their mainstream school?
8. If the teacher also teaches in a mainstream school: How do your CCS teaching experiences compare with those in your mainstream school (e.g. are pupils better behaved/challenge authorities more, show greater interest in learning etc.)?

Part 4: Parental involvement – explore:

1. What strategies (if any) do you use to involve parents in their children's learning?
2. How do parents support the Chinese learning of their children? Are there challenges to this for parents?
3. Finally, is there anything else that you would like to add that you think could help with this research?

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview/group discussion schedule with parents

Part 1: introduction

I am a second year PhD student from the Institute of Education, University of Nottingham. My current doctoral research is about Mandarin teaching in Chinese complementary schools. Thank you for taking part in this interview. The interview will take you no more than 30 minutes. Your participation in the interview will be audio-recorded. All information collected in this study will be treated with strict confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. Your information will be kept anonymously. Your answers are completely confidential and will not be shown to anybody. The data will be stored on a computer and kept for three years, and only the researcher will have access to it. Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Thank you again for supporting my research.

Part 2: Background information

1. Brief introduction of yourself and your families (name, something about their family, How many children they have attending this CCS; The ages of their children attending the CCS; The mainstream schools their children attend (including names, if possible and whether they are local)
2. Why do you send your children to this Chinese complementary school? (advantages)
3. Do you send or have you sent your children to other Chinese complementary school? If yes, why?
4. How far their son/daughter travels to attend this school?
5. How long their son/daughter has been attending this school? (If the sessions are more than once a week, how often do their children attend?)
6. Whether their daughter or son's attendance is regular.

Part 3: Children's experience in Chinese complementary school—explore:

1. Which subjects/activities does their son/daughter learn at this school?
2. Is their son/daughter given any homework? Do they complete it?
3. How would they describe their child's relationship with teachers and peers at the school?
4. How would they describe their child's behaviour at CCS?
5. How would they describe the teaching support their son/daughter receives?
6. How well do their children engage with their lessons in the CCS? Is this different to their mainstream school engagement?
7. In what way is this CCS helping their son/daughter's education?

Part 4: Parental experience of/ involvement in CCS – explore:

1. What involvement do they have with the CCS? Do they have any responsibilities at this school? (What are they?)
2. Whether they contribute to the finances of the school (through fees/donations)?
3. How would they describe their relationship with the head teacher/teachers at this school? Is this different to their experience of their child's mainstream school?

Part 5: Connections between supplementary and mainstream – explore:

1. Do they know if their child's CCS has any links/relationships with mainstream schools? If yes, how many? What do you define as a link/relationship?
2. Are such links/relationships wanted and perceived as beneficial (e.g. do they think it is important for CCS to establish links/relationships with their children's mainstream schools? Do they think this would help raise their children's attainment and improve their understandings about themselves and their background? Would this help with developing better community understanding and relationships?)

3. If they are not aware of any links/relationships, what do they think could be done to create links with mainstream schools?
4. Whether they think their son/daughter's CCS attendance benefits their learning in normal school (e.g. increases confidence/encourages them to learn/enjoy learning more)? Does it help to improve their grades e.g. in Maths, English etc.?
5. What do they think CCS offers to their son/daughter that they cannot get in their mainstream school? Is this something they would like to see offered in their child's mainstream school?
6. Finally, is there anything else that you would like to add that you think could help with this research?

Appendix 5: Semi-structured group discussion schedule with students

Part 1: introduction

I am a second year PhD student from the Institute of Education, University of Nottingham. My current doctoral research is about Mandarin teaching in Chinese complementary schools. Thank you for taking part in this interview. The interview will take you no more than 30 minutes. Your participation in the interview will be audio-recorded. All information collected in this study will be treated with strict confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. Your information will be kept anonymously. Your answers are completely confidential and will not be shown to anybody. The data will be stored on a computer and kept for three years, and only the researcher will have access to it. Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Thank you again for supporting my research.

Part 2: Background information

1. Brief introduction, ask each student to introduce themselves by saying:
Their names; Their age: Something about themselves and their families; Which group they are in; How long they have been in the Chinese complementary school ;Which mainstream school they are attending (including names if possible and whether they are local)
2. Why do you attend this Chinese complementary school?
3. Have you attended other Chinese complementary school before? Or do you attend other complementary school? If yes, why?
4. How often do you come to this Chinese complementary school?
5. How do you come to the school? (Walk? bus? Personal transport by parent?)
6. Does your parent send you? Will he/she stay in the school for the whole afternoon?

Part 3: Children's experience in Chinese complementary school—explore:

1. What subject or activities do you learn or attend in this school?
2. Are you given homework? Do you complete it? If not, why?
3. How would you describe your relationship with teacher and peers in the school? (Do you enjoy your teachers' lessons? Do you enjoy having lessons with students in your group? Do you make good friends with peers? etc.)
4. How do you describe your behaviour at this school? (Are you engaged in classroom activities? Do you behave as what you do in your English school?)
5. Do you or have you received any help or support from the Chinese complementary school for your Mandarin learning? In what way?
6. Do you think Chinese complementary school is helpful for your Mandarin learning? Is this school beneficial for you in other ways apart from Mandarin learning?
7. Do you think the Chinese school is different from your English school? In what way?
8. Do you think the Chinese school provides something that you cannot get from your English school?

Part 4: Parental Involvement – explore:

1. Do you receive help or support from your parent on your Chinese learning?
2. Does your parents have any responsibilities at this school? Does it helpful for your learning?
3. Would you like to continue your Mandarin learning in the next academic year? Why?

Appendix 6: Semi-structured interview schedule with head teachers

Part 1: introduction

I am a second year PhD student from the Institute of Education, University of Nottingham. My current doctoral research is about Mandarin teaching in Chinese complementary schools. Thank you for taking part in this interview. The interview will take you no more than 30 minutes. Your participation in the interview will be audio-recorded. All information collected in this study will be treated with strict confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. Your information will be kept anonymously. Your answers are completely confidential and will not be shown to anybody. The data will be stored on a computer and kept for three years, and only the researcher will have access to it. Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Thank you again for supporting my research.

Part 2: Background information

1. Can you please tell me how long you have been headteacher at this school, and how you became involved in supplementary school education?
2. Could you tell me a bit about the aims and objectives of your school?
3. How many pupils attend the school? Could you please describe the demographic profile of the pupils who attend the school (e.g. ethnic background, gender, if pupils live locally – do you record any other information about the children e.g. D.O. B, the mainstream schools the children attend etc.)? Do pupils regularly attend? Are there any issues that affect attendance? Do you keep a register of the children who attend?
4. How is the school staffed? Numbers of teaching staff?
5. How is the school funded (e.g. donations/fees/LA/other grant)? Is this level of funding sufficient to address your needs?
6. Any particular challenges (e.g. in relation teacher recruitment, funding, resources, school location, premises etc.)?
7 .Are you working towards the NRC's Quality Framework? [NB: Where the case study school has completed the survey questionnaire, confirmation will be sought about the information supplied in relation to questions 2-5, rather than the questions repeated.]

Part 3: Teaching and learning – explore:

1. Which curriculum areas/activities are covered?
2. How are pupils taught Chinese (e.g. according to age/ability/subject; in a relaxed/very formal learning environment)? Are teaching approaches adapted according to pupils learning needs (e.g. linguistic)?
3. If the school covers National Curriculum subjects, what strategies are used to teach these subjects? Are they different to mainstream school approaches?
4. How would you describe children's attitudes towards learning and achieving at this school? Do you think this is different to their attitudes to learning in their mainstream school?
5. How would you describe the children's relationships with their teachers and peers?
6. How would you describe the children's classroom behaviour (e.g. are they well behaved, more 'playful' or challenging of authority)? Does this affect their learning?
7. How does the school help to improve the children's learning and impact on their attainment?
8. How successful would you say the school has been in meeting its aims and objectives? What are the main factors underpinning the school's success?

Part 4: Parental involvement – explore:

1. What are some of the ways pupils' parents are committed/involved in the work of the school and/or supporting their children's learning at the school?

2. How do parents support the Chinese learning of their children? Are there challenges to this for parents?
3. Are there any particular strategies that you use to try and engage parents in your supplementary school and/or in their children's mainstream schools?

Appendix 7: Example of field note of open-ended observation

Date: 040114 Site: Nottingham Chinese School
Premise: Alderman White School, Beeston, Nottingham.
Contact: head teacher, Dr. Sun.

Points:	Aspects or themes
➢ Sun's previous email tells that this school is located in Beeston. It is operated on Saturday afternoon from 2pm-4.30pm.	➢ Location, opening time
➢ The Premise is offered by Alderman White School, who has collaborations with several complementary schools. When the researcher arrives at the school around 1.30pm, she found 1) One female Chinese teacher is teaching traditional Chinese dancing to students in the hall 2) Some students are having calligraphy lesson in one classroom. 3) Some British people are having Japanese lesson in another classroom that is later be used as Chinese parents lounge.	➢ links with mainstream school
Only one teaching building (MFL and Maths Centre) is open, of which seven classrooms are used for Mandarin lessons and one classroom is used as "parents lounge".	➢ School physical setting,
Chinese school can access to facilities of this building, including lavatory, printer, tape-recorder and the projector and computer of each classroom.	➢ School physical setting, link with mainstream school
Alderman White School provides refreshments for parents and	➢ School interactional setting, links with mainstream school

students. Their staff provides assistance in IT service on site.

- There are two bus stops nearby, within 5 min walk to the school. Few parents take a bus or walk to the school. Instead, most drive to the school. The researcher noticed some parents go into the school with children while some only drop off their children.
- After 2 pm, more parents with children are coming. Some parents send their children to the classroom and help to find seats and unpack bags for them.

- Transport to school
- Parental involvement (do parents help with children's learning?)

A hand bell rang at 2.30pm. Classes begin.

When students are having lessons, their parents are waiting in the lounge or in the hall. Some parents take care of their infants who do not have lessons because they are very young.

- School participant composition

Several groups of Chinese parents tend to chat in Mandarin or Cantonese. A few parents (especially non-Chinese parent) are doing their work with their laptops, Ipads, or books.
In the lounge, one parent brings some homemade food for sale.

- Interactions among school participant.

Su walk around and chat with parents.
Some parents already prepared drinks and biscuits for children.

A hand bell rang again around 3.25pm. Break time. Some students go to find their parent or their siblings. Some are having snacks. Some are playing outside the teaching building.

- From an informal discussion with Sun in Mandarin,
  the Chinese complementary schools is operated by a committee. Most committee members come to the school for help every Saturday afternoon;
  they have 7 Mandarin groups including GCSE group and they also provide activity classes including calligraphy, traditional dancing and character classic from 1.30pm to 2.30 pm;
  teachers are Chinese parents from the committee or PhD students from the University; the school are seeking for new Chinese teachers as two teachers are leaving soon; they hope to find teachers who are eligible for teaching Mandarin and will stay in Nottingham for a longer time; they could not guarantee a higher pay, only 20 pounds for one hour.
- Sun welcomes the researcher to come.

- School oganisational setting
- teaching staff compostion

Appendix 8: Example of interview transcript with head teacher

Date: 11/05/2013 Place: Pilot school
R for researcher and H for head teacher. The interview was conducted in Mandarin.
R: 您在中文学校做了多久的校长？
H: 两年
R: 您建立这个学校的目标，授课对象？
学校最初成立就是希望能提供一个给我们的小孩学习中文还有接触中华文化的地方。我们这些小孩都是在这边生的中国孩子，British-born Chinese，简称是 BBC.这些小孩的特点是，他们的英文差不多是第一语言，很多是会说中文，但是在读写方面要强化的，所以我们的重点是要增强他们的读写和理解能力。所以这也是我们教学的主要一个方向。
R: 本校现在大概有多少学生？
H: 这里学生的流动性还挺强的，刚开始的时候只有 7 个小孩，然后很快最多的时候到了 28 个，然后每个学期人员不是很固定。就是因为有的家长换工作呀，或者是家里没有时间，就整个学期就不来了。所以这个的话呢，人员很不稳定。
R: 学生的背景？
H: 很复杂。有的呢，比如说，我们就有这样几种类型。一个是父母双方都是中国人。然后他们在家里边讲中文。会讲一些中文。这时候对他们来讲就侧重于读，认，写。那还有一部分是 mixed family，然后一方是中国人，另一方可能是，比如说伊朗人或者是俄罗斯人，所以对于他们来讲除了要会说，还有呢，也要会写，因为作为中方的家长呢是要求他们这样子。但还有一部分小孩，比如父母由一方可能是 Chinese background。但实际上，他们本身的中文也不是很好。那比如说有的是，爸爸是中国人，妈妈是 Hong Kong second generation。那这时候妈妈不会讲，基本上是不讲中文的，然后尤其是这样的家庭是很麻烦，因为一般情况下，小孩子会跟妈妈的时间呆在家里更久一些。所以他们的中文的 speaking ability 就比较低一些。所以呢，在这种情况下，每个小孩都不一样，我们只能说每个小孩都不一样，所以又根据每个小孩的兴趣，他的语言兴趣，他对语言的接收速度都不一样。所以，在这种情况下，我们觉得教学还是挺困难的。
R: 学校运营的资金来源呢？
H: Funding 呢，主要还是依靠…怎么说呢，一个是家长给一部分的 contribution， 再就是老师们自己在找一找看看有什么样的 external 的 funding 吧。比如说，有的人可能会做一些 donation，我们来搞活动，来募捐一点钱，这样子。
R: 在招聘教师方面有遇到什么问题吗？
H: 有的，也是因为人员的不稳定。比如说，我们有个学生家长也在当老师，怀孕了，又生了一个小孩子，她又没办法，她就需要更多的精力去照顾家庭，所以她只能放弃。那有的学生也是，因为这边的学生家长受教育程度蛮高的，那他呢，家庭换工作，他们要走，那我们也只能在换人。那还有一个教师的来源就是学生，在这边读书的学生也不稳定。一个可能是学生他如果是读 master 的话，可能就一年的时间，那 PhD 的话呢，可能会时间久一点，但是呢，就作为学生来讲，他对于这个学校，我觉得，相对来说，就投入的精力还是没有那么强的，就好像，okay 我来做。所以呢，就造成我们的人员，师资的人员不是很稳定。
R: 在挑选老师的时候有什么要求吗？
H: 有的。老师要能充分考虑到学生不同的水准。那就是一个我们要看老师的表达能力。使用普通话的水平。那再就是有没有教学经验。如果有教学经验的话呢，我们会优先考虑。
R: 那要不要看看他们有没有教师资格呢？
H: 嗯，这个很难达到。我们只能再退一步了。那比如说教学经验，我指的是在中国的教学经验。那在英国这边的教师资格呢，你要找到一个中文老师的教师资格。我觉得本身是一个就是很难的一件事情。全英国也没有几个人。所以我们只能退而求其次。一个是如果有中国的教学经验。就是学教育的学生。那本身哪怕再有一点实习的经验。我们也会考虑。所以，在这方面的话，我觉得我们的要求还是比较高的。
R: 您学校会跟其他中文学校保持联系吗？
H: 有的，那我们也有些老师，我们就是也知道别人的学校在做什么。然后了解一下他们的进度啊。或者是就是了解一下他们用什么教材。然后包括给教师的一些费用。因为老实讲，我们这种也不能算是给老师的一个工资，只能算是一个给老师的准备材料费。严格的说，这个费用只能是

让老师来准备一下教材。那就是刚才我想补充一下，就是我们的老师，哪怕是家长，请家长来做老师的时候，家长的水平，最起码我们也考虑到，基本上是 master 的水平之上的。而且都是学语言或者学教育的背景。
R: 您学校会跟英国主流学校有什么联系吗？
H: 目前还没有。因为如果有的话，也只能是。因为目前怎么一个情况呢，我们只能是一个周末的学校，然后这些小学生也就住在周围，在周围的英国学校学习。他们周末专门是来学中文的。我们是一个很单一的科目。只有中文。而且中文的适用对象也只是适用于有一定中文基础的小朋友，就是说他有一定的中文表达能力。然后我们如果是跟当地的主流学校来看的话，那只能是把他们当做一个 second language 来学习。那也就是只能看他们有没有这个需求。然后我们可能会提供师资这样。但是目前，我还没有去做这方面的工作吧。不过我也可能会考虑。
R: 你会给每个老师制定一个教学大纲吗？
H: 会的会的，就是起码我们就是说，以教材为基础，我们会有一个教材，以教材为基础，那么呢给老师，虽然说我们现在没有一个上岗培训，因为时间都很紧张，但是最起码会给老师讲一下，比如说，okay，我们要在这个教材基础上，补充一些阅读材料，根据每个学生的特点，给他们补充一些阅读材料。然后呢就是在教学方法方面，给老师要讲一讲，应该采用哪些方法好一些。然后再及时的跟家长做一些沟通。
R: 那您会推荐老师去一些教师培训项目吗？
H: 这个，如果是免费的，会的。如果是需要花钱的，这就是一个问题，哪里来的资金，钱哪里来。。这个确实是需要钱就是钱的问题，我们现在只能是仅仅维持一个运转，就是说老师能够把课上下去，不可能是有盈余的，那这样的情况下，去参加教师培训是不太现实的。就只能是说老师自学，或者是我们自己找一些相应的资料。所以说这目前的话，只能是凭老师的个人兴趣。个人的那种在 motivation 方面来进行一些学习和提高。
R: 作为一个老师的角度，我想问一些问题。首先，你所教的班级的学生，年龄是？
H: 这个班上的学生是 3 岁到 4 岁。
R: 课上都教一些什么内容呢？
H: 我们是以儿歌为主，让他们先说，因为我觉得如果就是他们能多记一些儿歌的话呢，对他们的发音会有很大的帮助。因为这边的小孩子，他有的会说中文，但是他发音有的时候就不是很标准。那如果通过练习儿歌，读和唱，然后会把他们的发音会引导的好一些，那通过儿歌呢，他们又会把它打印出来，然后他们又会通过儿歌上面简单的字他们来认或读。然后呢，写，现在的要求是他们太小，拿笔都有点问题，但是我会给他们一点写的练习的，不是这个非常严格的要求，主要要求是一个能读，背儿歌，然后再一个是能读下来打印出来的那些字的儿歌，那我们现在这一个两个学期，两个学期现在下来，我觉得我们应该学了小朋友应该学了有 4，50 个字，能够认了。
R: 在授课过程中，会引入一些中国文化的内容吗？
H: 会的，比如说春节的时候，我们就会介绍一下过年的时候是怎么样的东西，然后有的时候就经常会引入一些像，对父母的尊敬啊，然后对长辈的尊敬啊，这样说要说爸爸妈妈好啊，当然就是你讲太多，对于他们这么小的小孩，是比较难接受的。我们只能通过游戏的方式，那比如说唱歌，世上只有妈妈好，过年的时候，很简单对长辈说，过年好。然后这个也不必要，但是小孩子会通过这样，就比如有个概念，哦，过年的时候，我可能，我就要给长辈去做一个 greeting 这样的一个方式，所以他可能就慢慢的接受了，所以我觉得这也是不是一种强化的而是一种潜移默化的方式。
R: 那么您本身有教师资格证吗？
H: 是的，我在中国我就是老师，然后我本身又是学教育的。我自己的孩子又是在这边生长的。所以我对这个，他们对语言的发展，我觉得我还是蛮有兴趣的。本身，我觉得反正是，在这边教中文的话，尤其是这种周末学校，基本上还是要看大家的兴趣，就是老师的兴趣，有没有兴趣，因为收入上，根本是谈不上能这个为这个来赚多少钱。只能说你有兴趣来做这个事情你才能做好。所以我的观点是这样的。
R: 您认为参加周末中文学校会对学生在英国主流学校的学习有什么影响吗？
H: 这个是很难说的。因为从以前就是一些中文学校的运行情况来看呢，很多小朋友也只是说在学校里面学一点，他们回家以后学不学这个是很关键的。如果家长能在这方面给她多一些练习，或者家长会重视的话，那他后面学起来会好一些，但是从前面我看到别的家庭的小孩子，在这边长大的小孩子，他们的中文水准，以及他们在中文学校学习的情况来看，嗯，最起码，前面的经验不是很乐观。这也是为什么我就改变他们的学习方法。就是大量的给他们读一些读的东西，一

个比如说，增加儿歌，然后说，读，我说的读，一个是口诵的读，一个是 reading 再一个要读懂，这个 literacy 的东西。所以这个是，我的重点是在这边。也是从前面的这个一些失败的经验里面来取得的一些，来想到的一些方法。但是有一点就是说，会给他们一个概念就是我是中国人。就很多小朋友会觉得我是中国人，我会说中文。对他们在 mainstream school 的学习，对有一些影响，但是具体影响有多大，我还真说不好。因为这个要跟其他的小孩子，比如英国的小孩子，比如说印度小孩子在这边也有这么一些情况，要跟他们进行比较才行。所以我觉得反正对他们会有一些影响的。

R: 你会鼓励家长融入学生学习汉语中吗？

H: 会的。我们这个学校在建立之初，我们这个学校不是说有哪个老师或者哪个个人来办这个学校的。我们这个学校当时我们的办学理念就是由家长来办学校，家长来请老师来上课，因为是哪个人来办这个学校，我没有兴趣了，我要走人了。那这个学校很快就是结束了。那小孩子就陷入一种我又没有中文学校可以上了，但是呢，就是说，只要小孩子在，只要家长在，那这个学校就可以稳定下去。老师可以是流水的，家长或者学生也可以是流水的，但是只要有一些家长有这个需求呢，我们这个学校就是存在的。所以这也就是当初我们开始这个学校的一些方针吧。

R: 您会组织一些活动鼓励家长学生一起参与吗？

H: 会的。我们会经常搞一些活动，现在也是因为钱的问题。每个学期只能搞一次。然后家长也会做一些贡献吧。然后我们现在也完全是靠家长。我们找一个场地，场地也要花钱的。然后呢就是搞一些小的游戏啊活动啊，一方面是家长可以交流一下，对于孩子的学语言的一些经验哪，或者怎样，再一个小孩子可以在一起更放松的玩一玩。想跟他们搞一些大型的跟文化啊有关的我觉得，从时间，地点，资金这几个方面来讲，是不现实的。只能从小的活动开始，潜移默化，我觉得润物细无声这句话还是有道理的。然后让他们一点一点的来感觉到，受一些影响。

R: 作为一个学生的家长，你平时怎么样参与到孩子的汉语学习中？

H: 作为学生家长，老实讲，我不是一个很严格的学生家长。我的感觉是她的兴趣是要引导的，你如果跟她一个很强势的很严格的类似于虎妈那种性格的，我不是很赞成那种方式。所以基本上还是，然后对他们来说，是让他们自己来引导一些有兴趣的东西。当然我觉得最主要的是我们这种模式的中文学校，你只周末学一天，所以回家的练习是很重要的。你这个就得是，适当的调整时间。在家里每个周给她两个小时的练习，我觉得影响会很大，最起码，还有一点就是在家有时间就跟她说中文的，像我的女儿，她在中文学校开始之前，她基本上是不说中文的，而且会讲一点中文还带有很奇怪的那个英国口音，但是这一年多下来，她中文表达起来已经是很好了，所以我觉得从另外一个角度讲，中文学校还是有必要的。对，对她的教育来讲也算是比较成功吧。

R: 你为什么选择送女儿来中文学校，就是希望她能有这么一个说中文的环境，培养她说中文的兴趣。

H: 对对，这是很关键的。在家里她只能作为一个语言来表达。但是在学校里，她会发现这个是很特别的，因为这有个叫 peer pressure。她不知不觉会觉得，哦，别的小朋友再学，学的怎么样，我最起码不会要很差。尽管我觉得我们没有给小孩子你必须要怎么怎么样。她也会不知不觉的会觉得，哦，她学会了，我也要学会。会有这样一点点影响。对他们都会有点触动。我觉得很好的。

[Translation]

R: How long have you been working in this school

H: Two years.

R: What's the aim and objective of your school?

H: The establishment of the CCS is based on the hope to provide a place for our children to learn Mandarin and Chinese culture. Pupils in our school were born in Britain. They are British-born Chinese, which are called as BBC children. English is their first language but most of them can speak Mandarin. They need to learn how to read and how to write. So one of our aims is to improve their reading and writing ability.

R: How many students are there in your school?

H: The population of students is not static. At first, we only had seven pupils. And the number reached to 28 once. But the population is not exact in each term as parents change their jobs or do not have time, pupils may not come any longer.

R: What about pupils' backgrounds?

H: Very complicated. Sometimes parents are both Chinese. So they speak Mandarin with their children at home. For these children who can speak Mandarin already,

reading, recognising and writing is necessary. Some families are mixed. One parent is Chinese but the other one may be Iran or Russian. For their children, besides speaking, writing is also necessary. There are a few children who have one parent with a Chinese background. But their parents are not fluent in Mandarin. For example, the father is Chinese while the mother is Hong Kong second generation. So the mother actually cannot speak Mandarin. In these families, children are more likely to stay with their mother at home. So their Mandarin-speaking ability is not good. Therefore, every child is different. We have to teach according to their interests, their language receiving abilities. I think Mandarin teaching in our school is difficult.
R: where is the funding from?
H: Funding rely on parents' contribution. Sometimes teachers will seek for external funding. For example, we organise some activities for receiving donation from some people.
R: Do you have any issues regarding recruiting teachers?
H: Yes. This is also due to the unstability of people. For example, we had a parent to teach previously but soon she got pregnant. She had to give up, as she needed to put more energy into her family. In addition, our parents are well-educated and sometimes they may change their jobs so they have to leave. We much recruit new teachers. Students also constitute our teaching staff. If he/she is a master, then he/she will help for one year. If PhD, then 4 years. But as a student, I think he/she will contribute a lot of energies to the school.
R: Do you have any requirements for recruiting teachers?
H: Yes. We need teachers who can consider students' diverse abilities. We also need teachers who are articulate. Teachers' Mandarin level and their teaching experiences are important. We give priority to experienced teachers.
R: Do you consider their teaching qualifications?
H: It's very hard. Like teaching experience, we consider teaching experience in China. In terms of UK teacher qualification, it is difficult to find a Chinese teacher with UKQTS. But we will consider a candidate, who has teaching experience in China and a background of Education.
R: Do you have links with other Chinese complementary schools?
H: Yes. We need to know what other schools are doing, their progression, teaching materials they are using and the fee they pay their teachers. Frankly speaking, the salaries are actually for teachers to prepare materials. I would also like to add that even parents we recruit as teachers need at least to hold a master degree and have a background of Education or Language Teaching.
R: Does your school have any links with the mainstream schools?
H: Currently no. We are a weekend school and our pupils are living nearby. Pupils attend the mainstream schools at weekdays and come to learn Mandarin on weekends. We only teach Mandarin to pupils who have been able to speak Mandarin. But in mainstream schools, Mandarin is being learnt as a second language. If they need Chinese teachers, we may provide teaching staff. But now I have not developed in this field. I will consider it.
R: Do you have syllabus?
H: Yes. We have a textbook. This is the basis of Mandarin teaching. Although we do not have teacher training, we will tell the teacher to teach on the basis of the textbook. Then according to diverse needs of pupils, provide additional reading materials for them. In terms of teaching methods, we will tell teachers which methods are useful and keep in touch with parents.
R: Will you recommend teachers to attend training programs?

H: If it is free, of course yes. But if it is not, then we have to consider about the funding. Currently, our funding can only cater for the operation of the school. There is almost no extra money. So it is not realistic to attend teacher training programs. Teachers can do self-learning or be provided some relevant materials by us. Therefore, now, teachers can attend only from their personal interests.
R: What age group are you teaching?
H: From three to four.
R: What do you teach in your lessons?
H: I mainly teach pupils the children's songs to improve their speaking. I think the more they memorise, the better their pronunciation will be. Because some children can speak Mandarin but their pronunciation sometimes is not correct. Practicing children's songs can improve their pronunciations. We print Children's songs out then pupils can read some simple words. Pupils in my group are too young. They even cannot hold a pen. So I mainly develop their reading ability through memorizing Children's songs with some writing practices. Now after two terms, they can recognise 40 or 50 Chinese characters.
R: Do you introduce Chinese culture into your lessons?
H: Yes. For example, during the Spring Festival, I will tell them what "guonian" is. I also introduce some customs of China, like respecting parents. Of course, for those young children, if you taught too much, they could not understand. So we have to use games. For example, we sing songs. During the Chines New Year, we tell them to say "guonianhao" to their parents. Children will be influenced gradually.
R: Do you have teacher qualification?
H: Yes. I was a teacher in China and I learned Education. My children grew up here. So I am very interested in their language development. I think teaching Mandarin depends on personal interests, especially in weekend schools. Because the pay is low.
R: Do you think attending Chinese complementary school have impact on their learning in the mainstream schools?
H: It is hard to say. I believe attending Chinese complementary schools will have impact on their learning in the mainstream schools. But what the specific impact will be, it is difficult to say. Because they need to be compared with British children or Indian children.
R: Will you encourage parents to be involved in pupils' Mandarin learning?
H: Yes. The primary aim of our schools is that parents establish the school. If the school was established and operated by a person, when the person left, the school would close. Then pupils had no places to learn Mandarin. So as long as parents are here, the school can open. Teacher, parents and pupils can change but as the needs of Mandarin learning exist, the school exists.
R: Do you organise any activities to attract parents and pupils?
H: Yes.We often organise some activities. But due to the lack of funding, we only organise once a term. Parents will do some contribution. We need to find an avenue, but the avenue is not free. We will organise some small-scale activities. Parents can communicate with each other about experiences of children's Mandarin learning while children can play together. I would like to organise large-scale activities but considering the time, place and funding, it seems to be unrealistic. So we have to start with small activities and gradually influence pupils.
R: As a parent, how do you participate in your children's Mandarin learning?
H: I am not strict. I think children's interests need to be developed. I do not want to be a tiger mother. Generally speaking, encourage them to develop their interests. I think practicing at home is very important as children just learn Mandarin in the school every

weekend. Besides, speaking Mandarin to your children at home is important as well. Like my daughter, she almost cannot speak Mandarin before she came to the Chinese complementary school. Her limited Mandarin sounded like British. But during one-year study in complementary school, her Mandarin is getting better.

R: So you chose to send your daughter to the complementary school as you hope that she could have a Mandarin-speaking environment to develop her interest in speaking Mandarin.

H: Yes, exactly. At home she can only use Mandarin as a way of expression. But in this school, she learns Mandarin as a result of peer pressure. Other pupils can learn Mandarin then my daughter herself feels that she can learn it as well. She is affected gradually. I think this is good.

Appendix 9: Example of interview transcript with teacher

Date: 14/06/2014 Place: School A
R for researcher; T for teacher. This interview is conducted in Mandarin.
R: 你在中文学校工作多久了？
T: 恩，快一年了。去年九月份开始的。
R: 什么原因促使你来中文学校教书呢？
T: 首先，第一个原因与我自己的想扩展自己的社交方面有原因。就是想通过这样的机会去扩大自己的社交圈。然后还有一个原因就是说，是个很好的锻炼自己的，就是授课能力吧。虽然以前在国内有过很多这种的授课经验但是大多数是教中国学生英文，我觉得这是与以前不同的很特别的一个经历吧很想体验一下在英国环境下教中国学生中文的怎样的这样一个感受。同时也想借此机会提高一下自己的英语能力。第三个原因，也不算主要原因，算是一个契机，我男朋友跟中文学校的校长认识，是很好的同事，他们当时刚好缺一个中文老师，刚好我就这样进去了。
R: 那你的学生的年龄几岁到几岁？属于哪一个组？
T: 我的学生年龄上来讲，是二年级，我不知道这边的年级跟国内是不是接轨的。年龄的话，从７岁到１１岁这个范围，学生的水平的话，怎么说呢，这个课程的话，是有的学生来了有的学生走了，来来去去，所以学生的层次，会有一些变化，学生的中文水平是非常的不同的，有的学生可以很流利的用中文表达他想说的东西，当然他的英文也很好，还有的同学只能说不能写，还有的学生甚至特别是从香港那边来的说都说不好。然后，学生的背景的话呢，就是完全是从中国过来，还有的就是中英混血，还有，我班上有个非中国非英国的学生。但是主要来说，学生群体还是华人的子女。
R: 你之前参观过英国学校吗？
T：没有。
R：那你之前教书吗？
T：很多。我从大学开始，以家教形式教英语。 教小学生开始。之后教高中生英语。研究生的时候我开始教大的学生。是去一些培训机构教书。教授的主要是想要出国的学生 。主要教的是托福还有雅思。
R：那你觉得你之前的教学经历对你现在的中文教学有没有什么影响？
T：有的。第一个是经验的积累。我现在教课的时候不会很紧张。有很多自信。第二个是我之前也在考雅思 所以我可以把自己的学习经验运用到教课中去。 第三个是因材施教。每个学生的背景不同。我针对不同的学生采取不同的授课方式还有授课内容。
R: 所以你现在班上的学生的背景包括有华人子女，还有我们所说的混血儿童，还有就是完全没有任何华人背景的海外儿童。针对这样的学生群体，你是如何做到因材施教的呢？
T: 我发现华人的孩子普遍中文水平高一些，课堂上表现更积极。那些香港来的或者是完全外国背景的，他们相对来说表现的比较安静比较沉默一些。我不知道是不是所有老师都会喜欢那些表现好的学生，但是我有点私心，比较喜欢那些表现积极的学生。当然我也会注意那些 有点沉默不太说话的学生。我的做法就是，有的时候，华人学生针对我的问题会直接脱口而出给出答案。我会直接让那些不怎么说话的学生回答。我也会去问他们是否明白我的问题以此去确认他们是否理解我讲的东西。同时在课后我也会跟那些不太积极的学生交流。我觉得作为一个老师，需要去照顾每个学生的感受并且关注每个学生的进度。
R: 你是否有教师资格证？
T: 没有。
R: 你听说过或者参加过 相关的中文学校教师培训吗
T: 没有。
R: 你主要的教学目标是什么？你怎么满足不同学生群体的学习需求的？
T: 我通过因材施教的方式去教授他们。还有就是我比较有耐心。不论中文水平高低，不论是否调皮，我都会很有耐心的对待他们。
R：你主要的教学目标是什么呢？
T: 每本书都给了本堂课的教学目标是什么。我觉得读是主要的。会认会读。当然会写更好。但是我觉得主要的是在一个轻松有趣的环境中学习。
R：你在教书过程中遇到什么困难和挑战吗？

T: 最大的挑战就是年龄层次的不同吧。因为之前教的都是成人，青少年，比较容易接受；到这里教的都是小孩子。他们的中文表达能力不是很强。还有就是英语。我们相互之间的交流。有的时候我的英语词汇选择上不能很好表达我的指示。我也要向他们学习。
R：那你在课上会经常使用英语吗？
T: 我觉得是的。 而且毕竟班上有的学生一句中文都听不懂。所以我必须用英文解释。但是我也会用中文。中英文并用吧。确保他们还是有中文环境，不然会感觉在上英文课。
R：你在课上会经常用视频，图片，多媒体等吗？
T: 会的。这个教材本身就有配套的多媒体教材。我主要依靠那个多媒体教材。不过我自己也会找一些 YouTube 上的视频，还有一些怎样教孩子中文，还有一些游戏的设计啊，怎样将它融入到课堂中去。让他们更好的掌握生字啊词汇啊，每节课之前我都会去查，将他们更好的融入课堂教学中。
R：你平时的教学是以课本为主吗？
T: 基本是以课本为主。但是我也是有选择的。课本的要求是两节课时讲完一课。我一般是从生字开始然后词汇，句子最后是课文。关于课后的一些阅读，可能课堂上涉及不到。我会穿插一些其他的知识游戏来补充当堂课所学的东西。
R：你现在使用的是中文二？
T: 对。
R：除了这本书，还有什么别的教材吗？
T: 练习册 A 和 B. 主要是他们作为家庭作业。 每堂课上课之前检查。因为基本上我不会一起对答案。在检查的时候我会看看他们做的情况。如果有错误的话，当时就挑出来。而且他们的错误率不高。不用整堂对答案。
R：你会自己设计一些教材吗？
T: 没有。
R：学校会给你一些教学大纲还有教学计划吗？
T: 没有。他们会给我教学用书。
R：他们会给你一些教学计划吗比如，这学期要完成哪些内容。
T: 没有。我感觉中文学校的管理还是比较宽松。不是那么的严格。给每个老师的发挥余地比较大。
R：那你每周花多久时间备课呢？
T: 不一样。我第一次去上的时候，我不了解学生的背景也不了解这边上课的情况。我准备了两个小时的 PPT，一两个小时 找资料。等我去了之后发现，他们本身有自己的多媒体教材。后来基本上大概一个小时内吧，就准备先看一下明天讲的是什么，重点在哪里，然后找一下游戏啊，课外的一些知识啊，然后这个过程大概就一个小时。
R：除了练习册，你还会额外布置一些作业吗？
T: 不会特别布置。但是有的时候，比如最近两个周，我在领他们学生字。我发现练习册跟课本内容有时候不是很匹配。比如现在我教他们生字，但是练习册的生字他们已经做了。我就会让他们每个生字抄写几遍这样。我会根据每堂课的情况来布置作业。但是主要是以练习册为主。
R：作业完成情况怎么样？
T: 基本上学生完成的非常好。除了有个别的一两个，他们说老师我实在没有时间。因为他们上另外一个课，所以只完成了一点点。基本上完成的很好。让我很欣慰。
R： 你也会给他们批改作业？
T: 是的。我每堂课第一件事情就是检查作业。我会让他们交给我，我检查。
R：你会在你的课上鼓励学生探索关于身份的认识吗？
T: 我觉得多少会有。 比如上节课，我们讲江河，比如课本提到中国的母亲河是黄河。我会问为什么呢。我会找一些课外的补充资料。因为我是中国人，所以我可能会特别注重为什么中国的母亲河是黄河。我还准备了地图，告诉学生这条河的位置。特别注重这些。会告诉他们你们要记住。因为你们也是中国人。我会这样说。还有比如我会剪纸，我会准备一些剪纸 分给学生。我会告诉他们这些是中国的东西。这是中国的文化。我希望他们也能掌握这样的东西。
R：你会跟其他的老师交流分享教学经验吗？
T: 我觉得会。我跟之前走了的教一年级的老师的交流会多一点。因为她在这里上了三四年。会跟她交流多一点。但是主要还是靠自己的摸索。她的经验可能未必适合我的班上的学生。我主要是通过网上，看一些别人的教学，怎样帮助孩子学习中文，结合自己的班级情况。我运用到我的课堂上。我不会完全拷贝。

R：你看的那些教学视频是中国背景还是英国背景的？
T: 是搜索一些例如如何教华人孩子学中文。
R：你觉得班上的学生喜欢学中文吗？
T: 我觉得他们大部分比较积极，可能他们的中文水平比较好。他们很乐意学，积极性都很高。比如上课做游戏，我说我需要多少人，马上就会有很多人举手。我觉得他们的积极性很高。
R：你觉得在中文学校的学习经历对于这些学生在英国学校的学习有没有什么影响？
T: 我觉得有。先不管对于他们英语语言的学习如何。他们在中文学校的学习让他们身心愉悦，建立了自信心。会觉得做的更好。我觉得这个阶段的小孩子，他学了什么也许没有那么那么的重要。关键在他的这个过程是否很享受。他很享受会影响到他的兴趣。就是说潜意识会引导他让他觉得学中文很有趣啊，我对中文很有兴趣，我以后学中文会学得好。学中文学得好。因为你是个华裔，你中文说的好，别人会说哇你中文说的很好。会对你产生一种尊重。这也会拓展你的社交圈子。你的朋友圈因此也建立起来了。我想这方面可能会多一点。
R：你觉得班上的学生家长对孩子的中文学习的帮助多吗。你跟他们的沟通多吗？
T: 我觉得沟通确实不太多。我与他们的沟通就是，每次布置完作业然后发邮件给家长。但是家长从来不会回复。他们不会跟我确认到底有没有收到我的邮件。但是下一次，我去问班上的学生你们的爸爸妈妈收到我的邮件了吗？他们都回答收到了。平时与我的交流不太多。不会来问我学生的进度啊表现啊。唯一的就是上学期期末有一个家长交流会，我说如果你们想知道学生的进度啊表现啊可以来跟我来讨论。那是唯一一次家长来找我询问学生的表现。平时似乎没有那么的关心。但是他们其实还是能尽量确保学生不缺课。除了有特殊情况，基本上他们每节课都会来。
R：你用过什么方法或者想过什么方法鼓励他们参与到学生的中文学习中吗？
T: 主要是家庭作业。我觉得需要组织家长和老师的会议。老师跟老师的。很重要。
R: 你觉得家长参与是否会对学生的中文学习有帮助？
T: 我觉得因人而异。

[Translation]

R for researcher, T for teacher. This interview is conducted in Mandarin.
This teacher is a PhD student from school of Education, University of Nottingham. She has been teaching in the Chinese school for 1 year.
R: How long have you been teaching in this school?
T: Um…almost one year already. I started from last September.
R: What attract you to teach in this school?
T: First, I would like to expand my sociability. I mean I would like to expand my social net. Then I think this would be a good opportunity for me to improve my teaching ability. I did some teaching in China but that mainly focus on teaching English to Chinese students. I think teaching Chinese would be different from what I did before. I would like to feel how to teach Chinese in an English context. Also I hope to make good use of such an opportunity to improve my English. The third reason would be …. My boyfriend is the head teacher's colleague. They know each other. At that moment, they need a teacher then I came to teach.
R: How old are your students? Which group are you teaching?
T: My students…. they are in Year 2. I am not sure whether their Year 2 is similar to our Year two in China. Students age from seven to 11. Their Mandarin level…. how to say…. some students come to the class then some leave…so their levels are various. Some students can express what they want to say in Mandarin. Their English is certainly good. Some can say but cannot write. Some especially those who are from Hong Kong cannot speak very well. Their backgrounds….some are totally from China…some are mixed…These is also a student in my class who is neither Chinese nor British. However, most are Chinese heritage students.
R: Have you visited some local English schools? Or been teaching there?
T: No.
R: Did you do some teaching before you came to England?

T: Yes, many. I was teaching primary school students English as a private tutor when I was an undergraduate student. After that, I was teaching English to senior high school students. I began to teach some adult students when I was a postgraduate student. I went to teach in some private institutions and the teaching subjects are students who would like to go abroad. I mainly teach IELTS and TOFEL.
R: Do you think your previous teaching experience affects your current teaching in the Chinese school? How?
T: Yeah. Firstly, I think I accumulate more experience. I would not be nervous and gain more confidence. Secondly, I was also preparing for the IELTS test so I could input my learning experience into my teaching. The third one would be…. teaching students in accordance with their abilities. Every student varies in backgrounds. I need to take different teaching methods and teaching contents according to different students.
R: Your current class includes students from Chinese heritage to Mixed heritage and also those who have no Chinese background at all. How do you teach them according to their different abilities?
T: I found Chinese heritage students have higher Mandarin levels and they are more active in classroom activities. Students from Hong Kong or from aboard are comparatively quite in the class. I am not sure if all teachers like students who do good job in the class but I like students who are active. Certainly I pay attentions to students who seldom talk in the class. Sometimes Chinese heritage students shout out answers directly but I will let those who seldom talk answer my questions. I also ask them if they understand my questions to confirm if they understand what I am talking. I also talk with them. I think as a teacher, you need to pay attention to each student's feelings and their progress.
R: Have you got any teaching qualifications?
T: No.
R: Have you heard of or attended any teacher training programme focusing on supplementary schools? Or mainstream schools?
T: No.
R: What is your main teaching objective? How do you cater for different needs in your class?
T: I said I teach them according to their different abilities. Also I am patient. I am patient with them no matter how naughty they are and what their mandarin levels are.
R: What is your MAIN teaching objective?
T: The textbook gives teaching objective of each lesson. I think reading is the main teaching objective. They can read and recognise. It would be surely better if they could write. But I think it is important to learn it in a relaxing and stimulating context.
R: Have you encounter any challenges and difficulties when you are teaching?
T: The most challenging thing is that their age which is quite different from those I sued to teach. I used to teach adolescents who are able to accept what I taught. But now I am teaching little children. Their Mandarin level is not very good. Also my English is not good enough. Out interactive communication might be triggered. Sometimes I cannot choose an exact word to give instructions. I also need to learn from them.
R: Do you mainly use English in your class?
T: Yes. Besides, some students cannot understand Mandarin at all so I have to explain in English. But I also use Mandarin to make sure they have the Chinese-speaking environment. Otherwise, you feel it is an English class.
R: Do you usually use videos, pictures or the multi-media stuff?
T: Yes. This textbook has its multi-media teaching materials. I mainly rely on that one. But I also find some videos from the YouTube including how to teach children Chinese

and how to design classroom games. I use those into my class to make my students learn new Chinese characters and words better. I do the searching work before each lesson and incorporate those into my class.
R: Does your teaching mainly focus on the textbook?
T: Yes. Basically I focus on the textbook. But I make choices. The textbook requires two sessions for one lesson. Normally I start with new Chinese characters then words, sentences then the text. About the after class reading, I might not cover in the class. I may add some other knowledge or games to complement what they learn in the class.
R: Do you use any other teaching materials besides this textbook?
T: Exercise book A and B. They use those as homework. I check their homework before each lesson. I seldom lead them to check the answers together in the class. I correct the mistakes for them when I check their homework. They make few mistakes so I seldom use the whole class to check answers together.
R: Do you design any teaching materials?
T: No.
R: Does the school set any teaching plans or syllabus for you?
T: No. But they gave me textbooks for teachers.
R: Do they set any teaching plans like you must finish how many lessons in one term?
T: No. This school is not very strict with teachers and give much freedom to teachers. It is very flexible with organising.
R: How much time do you spend on lesson preparation?
T: It depends. The first time when I was there teaching students, I did not know their backgrounds and how they are given lessons, I spent two hours on PowerPoint making and one hour on searching relevant materials or documents. However, when I was there, I found they actually had relevant multi-media materials. After that, I normally spend maximum one hour on preparation including what to teach tomorrow, what the emphasis should be. Then I search for games and some extracurricular knowledge. The whole preparation lasts for one hour or so.
R: Besides exercise books, do you give any other homework?
T: I will not give some specific ones. But sometimes like in the recent two weeks, I teach them characters. I notice that exercise books are not in accordance with textbooks. Like I am teaching those characters and they have already finished the exercises in the book A and B. So I ask them to practice writing in their notebooks. I give homework according to each lesson. But it is mainly dependent on exercise books.
R: Do they complete it?
T: Basically they can complete it very well. Except one or two… They told me they have no time to finish because they have other classes to attend. Basically, they complete it very well, which makes me very relieved.
R: Do you correct their homework?
T: Yes. I check their homework before each lesson. I ask them to hand in their homework and then I check and correct.
R: Do you encourage your students to explore their identities in your class?
T: Yes. For instance, we talked about rivers in the last lesson. The textbook mentions that the Chinese mother river is the *Huanghe* River. I ask them why. I found out some extracurricular materials. Because I am Chinese, I might especially emphasise why our mother river is the *Huanghe* River. I prepared the map for students and told them the location of the river and told them to remember. Because you are Chinese. I would say like this. Another example, I would prepare some Chinese cutting for students. I would tell them those are Chinese stuff, Chinese culture. I hope they could get a grasp of those.
R: Do you share your teaching with other teachers in the school?

T: Yeah. I talked more with a teacher who taught year one and has left. She have been teaching in the school for 3 or 4 years. I talked more with her. But I rely more on my own exploration. Her experience might not be suitable for my students. I watched some online videos about how to teach children Chinese then make an adaption to my class. I will not totally copy those. I will make an adaption.
R: Those videos are in the Chinese context or English?
T: I search for videos by typing key words like Teach Chinese to Chinese children.
R: Do you think your pupils like learning Mandarin in your class?
T: Yes. Most of them are engaged and active. They like to learn probably because their mandarin levels are higher. For instance, when I said I need some people to do the classroom game, they would raise hands immediately.
R: Do you think learning in Chinese complementary schools would have effects on their learning in mainstream schools?
T: I think it would have. Learning in Chinese schools will make them happy and relaxed. They will gain more confidence. They will do better. I think it is not important for children at this stage to exactly learn something. The importance is if he or she enjoys the learning. The enjoyment would affect his or her interest. I mean, potentially the enjoyment would lead him to feel that learning Chinese is interesting. I am interested in Chinese and I will learn it better in future. You are a Chinese so you speak good Chinese. People will say wow you speak good Chinese. They will respect you. That also expands your social network. Your social networking is ultimately built up.
R: are the parents involved in children's Chinese learning in your class? Do you often communicate with them?
T: I think we seldom communicate with each other. The only communication would be…. I send them emails every time I give students homework. But the parents seldom reply to my emails. They do not confirm with me whether they received my emails. But next week, I ask students if your parents have got my emails they told me yes. Parents rarely communicate with me. They seldom ask me about their children's behaviour or progress. The only communication is a teacher-parent meeting which was held in the final week of last term. I told them if they would like to know their children's progress or behaviour they could come to me to discuss. Parents came to discuss with me. That was the only time they did. They seldom discuss with me. But they can make sure their children are not absent unless they have some urgent issues. Basically they come to my class every week.
R: How do you encourage parents to get involved in their children's Chinese learning?
T: I mainly use homework. I may ask parents to supervise their children. I think our school should organise some parent-teacher meeting or teachers' meeting. I think meetings are important. Teachers can discuss with parents about their children's progress. Teachers can also share teaching experiences with each other. I think meetings are important.
R: Do you think parental involvement will be helpful for children's learning?
T: I think it depends. But for children of this stage, they might need parental supervision. Children like playing.
R: Do you think parents' Mandarin levels might affect their children's Mandarin learning
T: Yeah, you are right. It may affect.

Appendix 10: Example of interview transcript with parent

Date: 16/11/2014 Place: School A
Inreview with one parent, R for researcher and P for parent.
This parent is a father who is also working in this Chinese complementary school.
R: 您家里有几个孩子？
P：我现在有一个。
R：在家里面您跟您的孩子是讲普通话吗？
P: 对，基本上普通话，除非遇到新的东西，他不会，他会用英语问我。那么以后可以用中文解释的话，就不用英语了。
R: 您的第一语言还是普通话。
P: 是的。
R: 您的孩子每周六都会来中文学校上课？
P: 对。
R: 他几岁开始来这里学习呢？
P: 四岁半。
R: 来这里几年了呢？
P: 四年了。
R: 平时去的英国学校离这里近吗？
P: 很近。大概一迈之内吧。
R: 您每周都送他来吗？
P: 顺路送来。因为我每周在这边有个中华字经的课。就两个事一块办。以前没有字经课，就专门送他来。
R: 那您每周送他来也不是很麻烦，是吧？
P: 恩，是的。
R: 那您为什么要送他来中文学校呢？您觉得中文学校有什么好处呢？
P: 中文学校提供了一个学中文的环境。作为一个华人，我希望孩子能够继承中华文化。首先是语言。能够熟悉中国的语言，文字，然后，进一步能熟悉中国的文化传统。文化总是需要一个传承，总之希望他能继承这些东西。
R: 那您对您的孩子是否有个目标，比如在这个学校能够认字达到一定的数量？
P: 我当然有这个目标，比如认字达到 2000，3000 字，英国的这个语言环境和它的汉语能够提供的资源和时间都是有限的，那么在这种情况下，汉语能够提供的资源和时间都是有限的环境中不是利于汉语学习的情况下，想要孩子汉语达到一个水平，这个确实是一个很大的问题。就是说，汉语在英国的地位呢，它就是一个外语。类比法语啊，德语啊这些。作为一个外语啊，它能得到的资源时间非常有限。但是汉语对于华人家庭来说，又是母亲的语言。简称就是母语。人们对于母语的要求是很高的。不光能全面的了解学习了解掌握这门语言的各个东西，发音啊，词汇啊，语法啊。全面掌握并且还要对于文化有所了解比如继承。那么说对于母语的要求很高的。那就产生一个问题，就是说，它一方面，汉语在英国环境中是一门外语，我们每周给他时间资源都是有限的，那么同时对于华人的孩子，华裔的家庭来说又是一个母语，又希望他能达到一个相当高的水平。那这个里面，有一个很大的矛盾，我们给他的时间资源有限但是希望他达到的水平又比较高。很大的一个矛盾。其实每一个华人的孩子在这个学校里都有这个问题。那么到底要达到一个什么水平，很多老师家长都有这个疑问。大家对于这个问题没有一个清晰的答案。那么我这个问题考虑的比较多一点。我想不能像国内的孩子那样的要求的水平，那是不现实的是吧。比方说，国内的语文教育，在小学阶段基本是认字，语言这一观基本要过，每天都有语文课，其他课也会提供语言方面的支持对不对。 那就是说，他的时间资源是我们的 5 倍 10 倍以上，我们只有他们的 5% 10% 这样一个水平，那么现在我们要达到什么样的水平？那么识字来说，国内的小学阶段要求 2500 个字，那么如果我们只有他们教学时间或者资源的 1/10，我们如果只能达到 250 个字，那显然是没法达到应用的目的的。就是说这个里面差别很大。那么我们要达到一个什么目的呢？我就想，认字方面应该要达到 2000 左右才能，达到这个水平了，他的阅读才可以进行，这个孩子以后离开了这个学校，五年，十年，离开这个学校的时候他能够阅读，他有一种兴趣，他从阅读中得到兴趣，得到回报。他可以复习以前学的东西，得到新的知识，巩固增加新的知识。

那就是说他真正能把汉语拿来做一个工具来得到其他的东西。反过来说，如果他达不到这个识字量，如果只有几百个字，那么这个时候他阅读起来就会有困难。那么他从英语里面得到各种信息很容易，他就自然而然避开汉语，离开这个学校用不了几年，就忘记了，没有办法阅读就没有办法应用。应该给孩子做一个目标，就是汉字这一项，在中文教育里面都把它看成很困难的一项，就是说海外孩子学中文主要的障碍就是认汉字 。那么家长孩子 花了很大的精力，回去以后主要的家庭作业就是写汉字，1 个汉字 5 遍 10 遍 这么练，到最后呢，他们可以了练得很熟，但是不用他们就会忘记，所以认汉字这方面，我们建议采取新的方式，新的思路，能够达到相应的目的，能够达到新的目的。比如多认少写，一般海外孩子 写汉字都认为是个很困难的，他们认为难写抗拒，孩子不愿意学习中文，把学中文当作一个负担，甚至恨中文，一个原因。如果避开这点，多认少写，读写分离，对孩子尽快掌握这门语言有个关键的作用。这是一方面。达到国内的脱盲标准。这是可行的。我在给孩子做试验的时候我们大概用一年多的时间，那么接下来，认了字怎么能保持下去，这是另外一个课题，关于这个我认为大量的阅读是可行的。认字量达到一定程度过了一定的门槛，再去阅读就容易的很多。很多好的阅读教材，就比如说小学的课本就编写的很好，它的知识性趣味性就很好，我的孩子现在在读小学课本，国内的小学是把它作为一个精读的材料，但是我没有给他这个标准，就是一本书给他去读，他很快就能把它读的很熟，里面的故事情节他都能够吸收。这对他的学习就是一个很大的促进。那么这就是第二个问题。第一个就是认汉字，达到 2000 这样一个阅读的量。第二个，他能够阅读，他现在已经在中文学校呆了 4 年，等他从中文学校毕业的时候，GCSE 结束 A level 之前 ，那个时候他应该读中学课本没有问题。普通的中文报纸打个比方，人民日报海外版，一般的小说，这是我的第二个目的。那么第三个标准呢，中文输入，电子的，比如电脑啊， 手机啊，用汉语拼音方法或者什么方法。往电子设备里面输入汉字，那么这个呢，拼音的输入方案呢，对于孩子不是很困难，他只要能认识这个汉字，比方说我 wo，出来一系列的，他只要认识他就能挑出来。第四个就是希望他能比较顺利的写出应用性的短文。这个还没有开始，我想等他阅读达到一定水平的时候。小学差不多毕业的时候，我就开始加强他这方面的训练。现在给他大量的阅读就是希望他有一个概念。第五个，就是希望他对中华文化有一定的了解，热爱，对它有一定的感情，这不象前面认知多少多少，这就是一个比较虚的目标，虽然没有一个，很难量化的标准来考究但是贯穿了整个过程中。我想到中文学校他毕业的时候他能够达到这个目的。这就是对孩子的几个目标，前面是比较量化的，达到多少多少，最后一个比较虚。也是一个指导思想吧。

R: 那您孩子在享受这里的学习吗？

P: 他很享受。原来他不喜欢。三年前吧，上了两年左右的时候，他对中文学校非常抗议。就不愿意来中文学校，每次来都对他软硬兼施，对他说很多好话，奖励啊，什么方法都用了。不愿意说中文，也不愿意做作业，也不愿意来中文学校，后来我们就想了一些其他的办法。请了私教的老师，改变了教学方式，他对中文学校的看法也发生了改变。现在他对来中文学校有一个很轻松很愉快，他很愿意来。

R: 除了 语言班，他参加了别的兴趣班吗?

P: 他现在在书法班。那么兴趣班，我们现在有舞蹈班，书法班，上学期有戏剧班他参加了。现在已经结束了。现在还有个集中识字班，现在是我在教，是 1000 字以内了，他早就过了所以他没有参加这个班， 所以他现在在学书法。到底学怎么样，也算他的一个兴趣吧。

R: 他每周都有家庭作业吧？

P: 对每周都有。

R: 他 会 做吗？

P: 不是那么主动。他知道他做了会得到奖励啊， 他的这个电视时间会延长啊。

R: 你觉得他跟同组的小朋友还有老师的关系怎么样？

P: 挺好的。很喜欢他的老师。

R: 您平时给他的中文学习提供了什么帮助，除了识字，送他来上学，看书？

P: 看书是一个重要的方面，平时机会比较少，当然我也在这上面给他做了努力。尽量的想各种办法让他用。汉语这个东西学了要接地气，不能不用。学了干什么，不用的话是个额外的负担，没有用的负担。你要找各种机会给他用啊。他会慢慢发现汉语这个东西是可以用的。每周给家力打电话，家里人听汉语说的这么好啊，家里人很受鼓舞，给他一些表扬，他很喜欢。比如说家里面的购物单啊让他用汉语来写，开始的时候他写不全，大人写的他抄，慢慢慢慢的，他就写的比较熟练了，有时候比如留个言呢什么的，什么事情，你可以用汉语给他留言，他慢慢觉得汉语给他成就感，也就愿意用汉语。当然你要创造各种环境和条件让他用他的汉语。这样用的过程中，每次他用了，他就有个成就感，这就是一个激励。

R: 您在家里面也是全部讲汉语。
P: 全部讲。他会讲英语。我们根他讲汉语。我们给他解释，他会了以后呢，知道什么意思以后了呢，慢慢他就也用汉语。基本呢我们以汉语为主。
R: 除了这所中文学校，您孩子还去其他的中文学校吗？
P: 中文的话，就这所了。
R: 您觉得中文学校在您孩子中文学习方面的作用大吗？提供的帮助怎样？
P: 中文学校提供了中文环境的一个地方。家里是学汉语的一个地方。那么除了家庭以外中文学校就是主要的了。它的责任很大。他在家里会觉得，学中文有什么用啊，就是个负担啊，但是到这里一看，啊，小朋友都在学。就觉得别人在干，这个不是孤立的，到这里大家都在学，我们交中国的朋友，学中国的文化，然后周围老师啊，都是中国人，所以对他的帮助挺大的。另外在家里面教汉字，文化的熏陶是一个很缓慢的过程。所以在这里提供了一个很好的环境。在这里不光学习语言，也是学习文化一个比较系统的一个环境。
R: 那对比他在英国学校的表现，他在中文学校的表现更积极吗？
P: 可能在这边更积极把。他其实在英国学校也很积极。但是他在这里可能觉得比同班同学知道的更多啊，他可能很喜欢表现吧。就觉得很高兴，有机会来表现。会有信心。
R: 除了送孩子来上学，您在这个学校还担任什么职务吗？
P: 我原来是学校管委会的一员。也帮助校长从事学校管理的工作。后来校长知道我给孩子做中华字经的教学，效果很好，就想引入到学校里面来。当时因为插入到各个班去效果怎么样，后来校长让我来做这个实验班。那么这样的话，我就不能承担其他的工作了。专门关注这个字经班。
R: 您知道我们学校是否根其他英国学校有什么合作关系吗？
P: 好像没有。
R: 您觉得如果有合作关系是否会对中文学校的教学水平有利？
P: 那我想会有帮助。学校也积极参加一些社区的文化活动啊，象庆祝中国节日，或者多文化的文化活动啊，学校和家长都会积极的参加。如果有教学上的合作呢，肯定会有促进。
R: 您觉得孩子在中文学校的学习会不会对他在英国学校的发展有帮助。
P: 这个很难说。但是肯定是有的。孩子的眼界会变宽。英国学校的表现啊学习啊有影响，眼界会更宽。
R: 您还有什么问题以及补充吗？
P: 没有什么补充。我觉得中文学校在英国是比较分散的比较孤立，教的好不好，我们也不知到。也没有什么考核。交流也比较少。我认为你的研究对于中文学校有个系统的归纳。是比较好的。对于我们的教学也会有促进作用。

[Translation]

R: How many children do you have?
P: Only one now.
R: Do you speak Mandarin to you children at home?
P: Yeah. Mandarin. He would ask me in English if he came across new stuff. If I can use Mandarin to explain later, I would not use English.
R: Your first language is Mandarin.
P: Yeah.
R: Does your son attend this Chinese school every Saturday?
P: Yeah.
R: When did he start to attend this school?
P: 4 years a half.
R: How many years has he been here?
P: 4 years.
R: Is his English school closed to here?
P: Yeah, very closed. Within one mile or so.
R: Do you send him every weekend?
P: Yeah. I teach “Chinese character canon” in this school so he comes along with me. I used to send him specifically before I started to teach.
R: So it is not very inconvenient to send him.
P: Not at all.

R: Why do you send him to this school? What advantages do you think this school have?
P: The Chinese school provides a Chinese-speaking environment. As a Chinese, I want my child to inherit Chinese culture. First, (he can) inherit the language. (He can) formalise with Chinese language and further formalise with Chinese traditions. The culture needs to be inherited. Anyways I hope he can inherit this stuff.
R: Do you set up a specific aim for your child in this school? For example, he can recognise a number of Chinese characters.
P: Yeah, I have this goal. For example, he can recognise 2000 or 3000 characters. Here in England, the language environment can only provide limited resources and time for Chinese learning. Under this circumstance, which is disadvantageous for Chinese learning, it is a big problem for children is Chinese to reach a specific level. Chinese in England is considered as a foreign language compared to French, Spanish and German. Chinese learning receives limited resources and time. However, Chinese is a mother tongue language for most Chinese families. People have high requirements for mother tongue language learning, including not only knowing every aspect of the language, the pronunciations, lexicons, grammars but also knowing and inheriting the culture. Then there arise a problem. That is to say, there is a huge contradiction, which I mean we give the child limited resources and time while we want our child's Mandarin to reach a higher level. Actually, every Chinese child in this school has the same problem. So what exact level do we want them to achieve? Many teachers and parents have the same question. Most of them have no clear answer. I have been thinking a little more about it. I think we cannot set same requirements for them as the children in China. That is unrealistic. For instance, Chinese education in China focuses on literacy in primary schools. They have Chinese lessons every day and they can get language support from other lessons. That is to say, resources and time that children in China have is 5 or 10 times more than those children here have. They are required to recognize 2500 characters. Our children can recognise 250 characters. Apparently, 250 characters are not enough for children to read. I think 2500 characters are enough for reading. After the child leaves the school, he/she can still read and develop an interest from reading. Thus, he/she can review what he/she learnt before and gain new knowledge. He/she uses Chinese as a tool to learn new stuff. If my child could not recognise enough characters, he would find it difficult to read then he would avoid using Chinese. After he leaves this school, he will forget what he learnt. So I think character recognition is the most challenging thing for overseas Chinese children. Sometimes parents and pupils spend time on writing characters. Eventually, pupils forget if they do not use. I suggest that children should try to recognise rather than write. After they recognise enough characters, they will find it easy to read. For instance, my child is reading some Chinese textbooks, which are used as intensive reading materials in China. I do not ask him to do the intensive reading. He can read a textbook and understand the stories in it, which improves his Chinese learning. He has been in the Chinese school for 4 years. I think he could read textbooks of high schools after his graduation from the Chinese school. This is also my second goal for him. The third goal is about Chinese input electronically such as the computer and mobile phones. For example, like pinyin wo, a number of characters will come out if you input wo. He can recognise and pick the correct one. The fourth goal is to writing some short essays. He has not started it yet. I think after his graduation from a primary school, I will ask him do some work on essay writing. This is also related with reading. He needs to gain enough reading. The fifth goal is that he can gain a grasp of Chinese culture and have an attachment to it. This is abstract and not easy to calculate, which is quite different from other goals.
R: Does your child enjoy learning in the Chinese school?

P: Yes, he enjoys a lot. He did not like. He was reluctant to be here three years ago. Every time he was said good words and promised rewards before he was sent to the school. Every method has been tried. He did not like to speak Chinese, do the homework or come to the school. We used other methods, hired a private teacher and change the teaching method. He began to change his views of the Chinese school. Now he likes to come to the school and finds it relaxed and enjoyable.
R: Does he attend any other club activities besides the language class?
P: He is in the calligraphy group. We have the dancing group, the calligraphy group and last term we also had a drama group which he attended. The drama group was cancelled this term. We also have a Chinese character canon which is led by me. He does not attend because he already know the 1000 characters, which are being taught in this group. So he is learning calligraphy. I do not know how he learns. It is just his interest.
R: Does he have homework every week?
P: Yes
R: Does he complete it?
P: Yeah. He does when he is asked to do. He knows that he can get more time on watching TV if he does the homework.
R: How do you describe his relationship with his teacher and his peers?
P: Very good. He likes his teacher.
R: What support do you offer for his Chinese learning, sending to the school, reading?
P: Reading is important. I also make more opportunities for him to practice his Chinese. For instance, he makes a call to his relatives every week. He is encouraged and praised by the relatives because he speaks Mandarin to them. He is very happy. He is also asked to write the shopping list. He does not know some specific Chinese terms at first. We write it out and ask him to copy. He then gradually knows how to write. Sometimes we also leave Chinese messages for him. He feels a sense of fulfillment by using Chinese so he likes to use Chinese. We need to make more opportunities for him. This is also an encouragement.
R: You speak Mandarin at home.
P: Yes, He speaks English and we speak Mandarin. We will explain Chinese to him. After he knows the meaning, he will use Chinese.
R: Do you send him to any other supplementary schools?
P: No
R: Do you think your children receive support from the school in Chinese learning?
P: This school provides a Chinese-speaking environment. My child may feel Chinese is not necessary but when he comes to the school, he finds it useful. Everyone here is learning Chinese. It is not work alone. We make Chinese friends and learn Chinese culture. Teachers are all Chinese. It is very helpful for him.
R: Is he engaged in Chinese school, compared with his behaviour in English school?
P: He is more engaged in this school. He might feel he know more than his peers so he would like to show off. He can gain confidence and feel pleased.
R: Do you have any other responsibilities in this school?
P: I was one member of the school committee and used to help the head teacher with school management. The head teacher knows that I was teaching my child Chinese characters so he invited me to open a class for this. So I have to focus on Chinese Character Canon and stopped doing the management work.
R: Do you know whether our school has any links with other mainstream schools?
P: No. No links.
R: Do you think it helps if they have links with each other?

P: Yeah. Our school also takes part in community cultural activities. Parents also take part in. If there were any link, that would be helpful.
R: Do you think studying in Chinese school will be beneficial for your child's achievement in English school?
P: It is hard to say. It must be. His behavior and achievement might be affected.

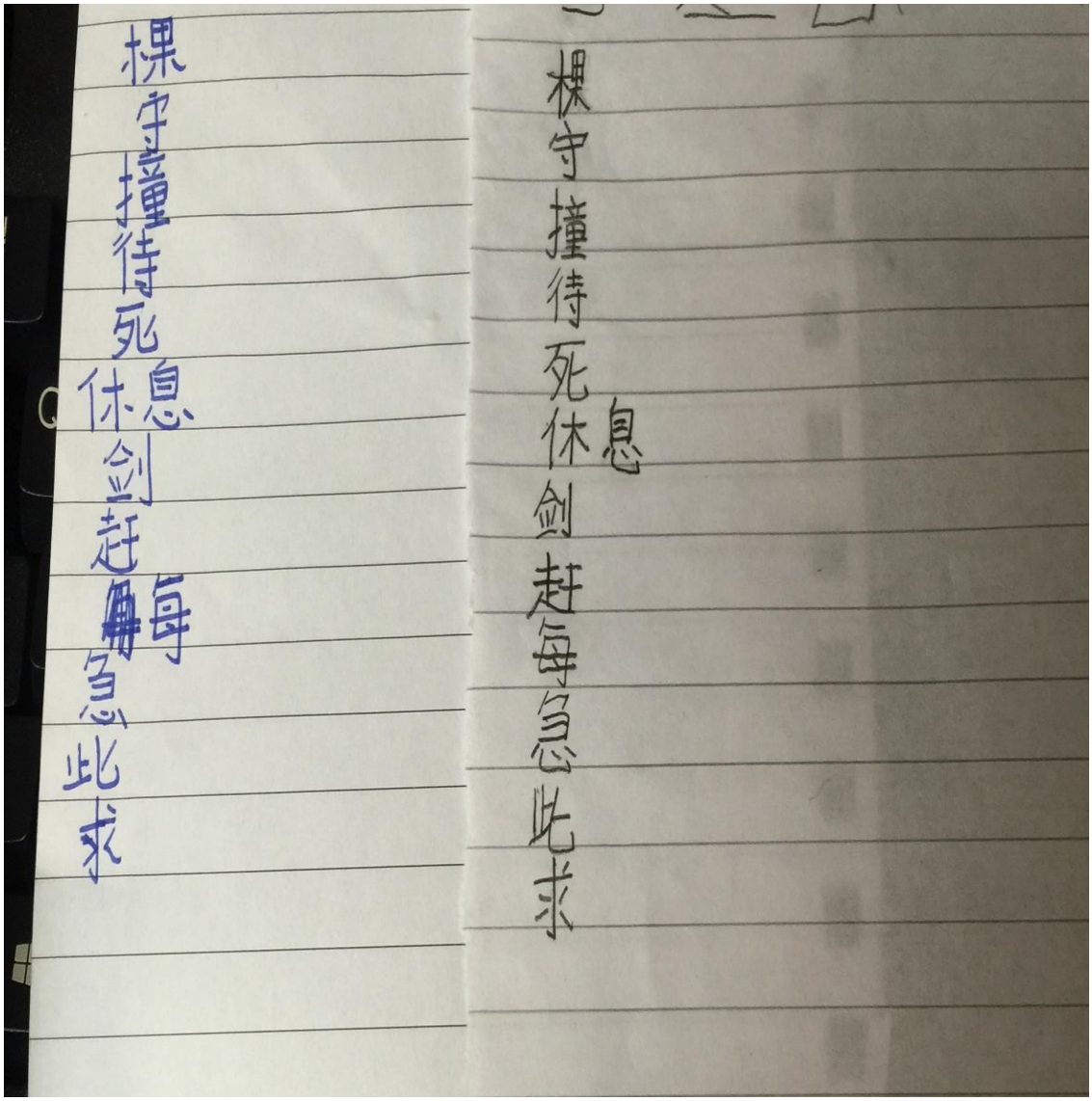
Appendix 11: Example of interview transcript with student

[Transcript]
Date: 24/06/2014; Place: school B
Interview with two students, conducted in English.
R for researcher; S1 is 16 years old and just finished GCSE test, he is from the Northern part of China. S2 is in year 10 who is going to have the GCSE test in next year.
R: How old are you?
S1: I am in year 11
S2: I am in year 10.
R: Do you have any siblings?
S1: I have a sister.
S2: Stepsister. His family is reconstituted.
R: Are you living in Nottingham?
S1: Yeah.
R: Do you speak Mandarin at home?
S1: Yeah sure. My mandarin is perfect.
R: How about you?
S1: He is from Fujian.
R: Do you speak *Minnanhua* at home?
S2: No, I speak Mandarin and sometimes out local language, *Fuqinghua*.
R: Is this group GCSE group?
S1: Yeah the most advanced one in the school.
R: How long have you been attending this school?
S1: Almost two years since I came to England.
S2: Me too. Almost two years.
R: So two of you have been in England for only two years.
S1: Yeah.
R: So where are you originally from?
S1: I am from Chengde.
R: I guess your Mandarin is not bad.
S1: Yeah sure.
R: Are you attending local English schools?
S1: Yeah.
R: Where is it?
S1: It is near my home.
R: How about you?
S2: We are in the same school.
R: So your English school is not nearby.
S1: Yeah. We take a long time to travel every weekend.
S2: Five hours if we walk.
R: I notice you took a bus. Do you come here by yourself?
S1: Sometimes.
S2: My mother is following me. She does not want me to run away from the school. I do not want to come here at all.
R: Will you two go back home by bus?
S1: Nah.
S2: My mother will come to pick us up.
R: In case, you escape from school.
S2: …

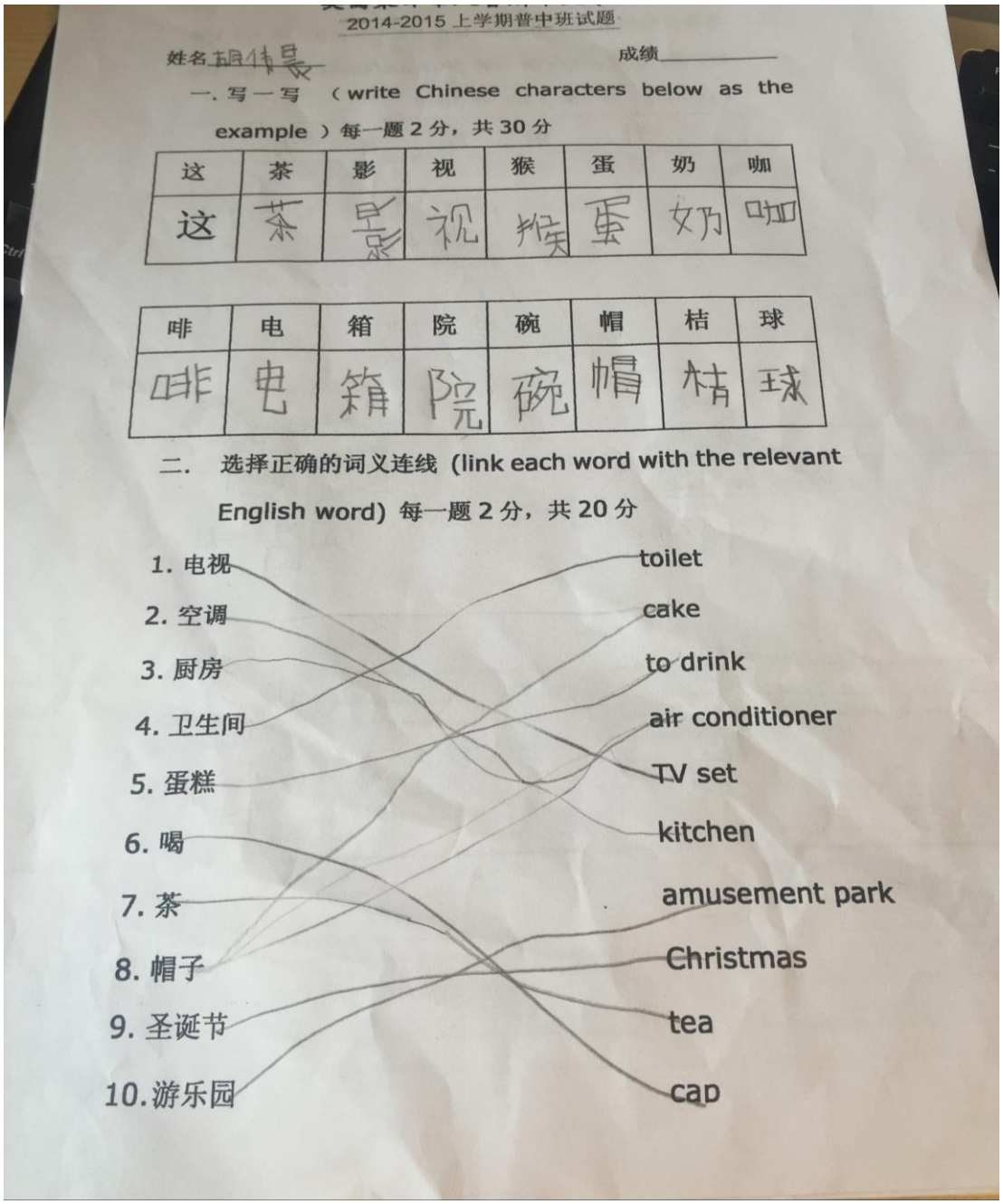
R: So you are sent to this school by your parents. Why do they do so?
S2: They want me to pass the GCSE test and get grade A.
R: How about you?
S1: Me? I feel bored so I am here for amusement and spend my time.
R: Amusement? You mean you make friends here.
S1: No.
R: You have been in this group for almost two years, right? You did not attend other groups.
S1: No. We are the best in the school. We are experts.
R: Are you given homework? Do you finish?
S1: I have finished the GCSE. I do not need any homework.
R: I mean in the past.
S1: Um…I did.
S2: I did …sometimes.
R: Do you enjoy your teacher's lessons?
S1: So so.
R: Do you enjoy having lessons with your classmates?
S1: We two have lessons with another boy. He does not speak Mandarin. He is not as good as us.
R: Are you engaged in school activities here?
S1: I told you I am here for spending my time. I do not care.
R: Do you feel this school is different from the local school you are attending?
S1: Yeah.
R: Which one do you like?
S1: Of course the local school. Much more interesting.
R: Do you think you can get something from the Chinese school you cannot get from the local school especially after you came to England?
S1: Yeah. I can see many Chinese who cannot speak Chinese …very funny.
R: Compared with the one in China?
S1: I want to go back to China for an undergraduate course. I might apply for the Nottingham then I can go to Ningbo.
R: Do you think the Chinese school is helpful for your Mandarin?
S2: Only for the GCSE test.
R: Do you get any support from your parents on Mandarin learning?
S1: No, I do not need.
S2: No. Their Mandarin is worse than mine.
S1: Yeah. His parents even cannot speak English. His mother's is worse. So he is sent here.

Appendix 12: Student work sheet

[A Picture of Ting Xie (Dictation) - Mandarin Group 1, School A]



[A picture of test paper- Mandarin intermediate, School B]



2014-2015 上学期普中班试题

姓名胡佳晨　　成绩_____

一. 写一写 （write Chinese characters below as the example ）每一题 2 分，共 30 分

这	茶	影	视	猴	蛋	奶	咖
这	茶	影	视	猴	蛋	奶	咖

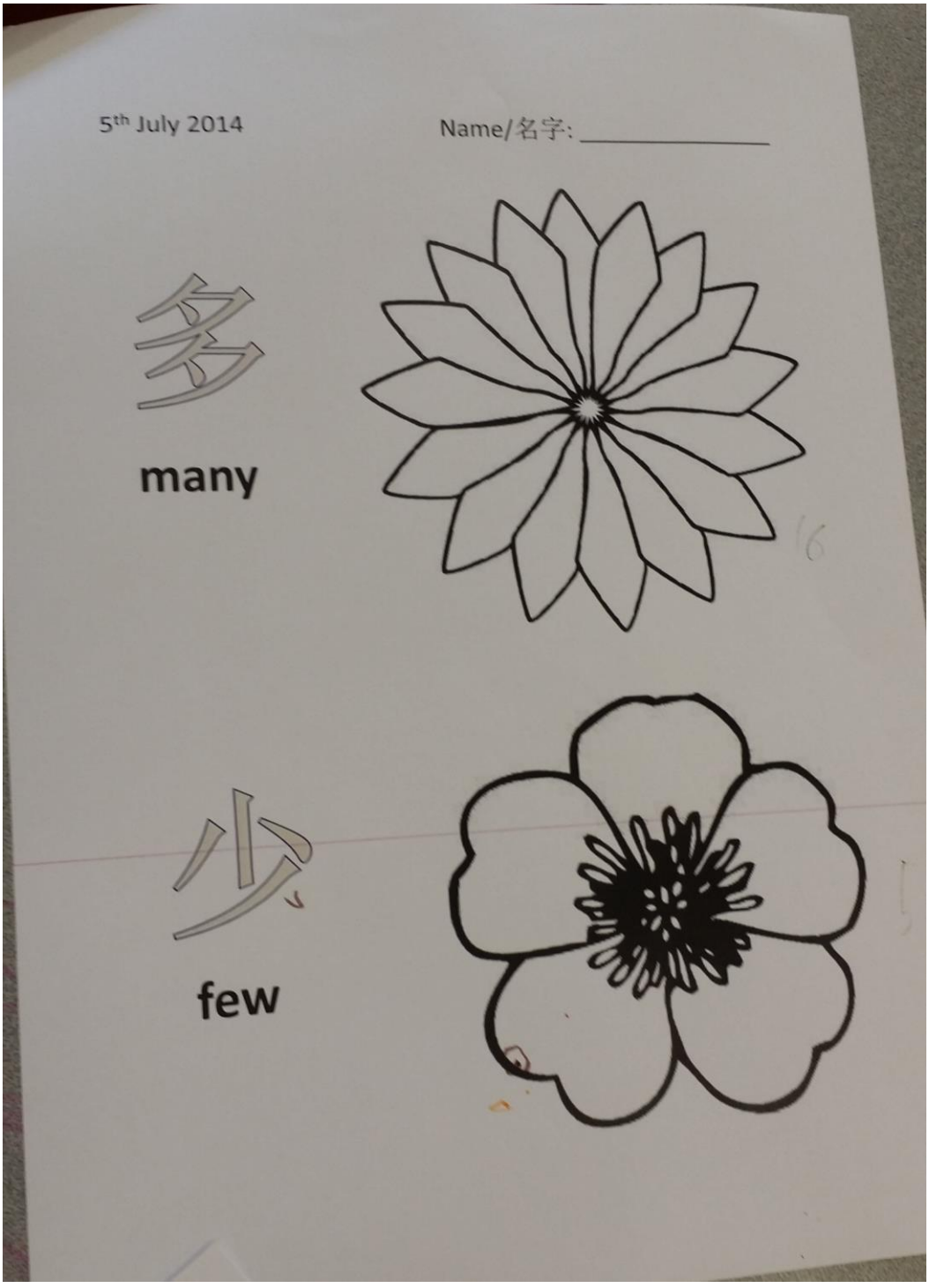
啡	电	箱	院	碗	帽	桔	球
啡	电	箱	院	碗	帽	桔	球

二. 选择正确的词义连线 (link each word with the relevant English word) 每一题 2 分，共 20 分

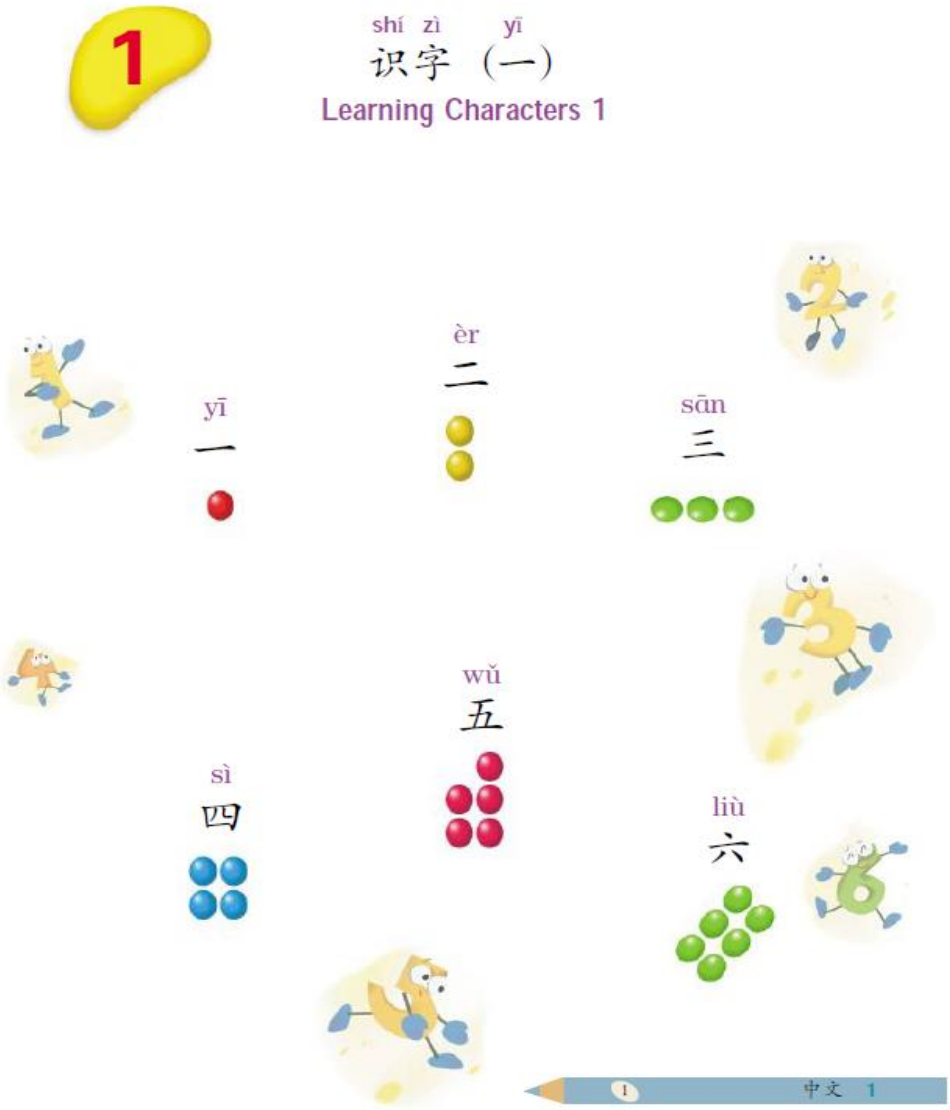
1. 电视
2. 空调
3. 厨房
4. 卫生间
5. 蛋糕
6. 喝
7. 茶
8. 帽子
9. 圣诞节
10. 游乐园

toilet
cake
to drink
air conditioner
TV set
kitchen
amusement park
Christmas
tea
cap

[Worksheet collected from the Mandarin reception, School A]



Appendix 13: Extract of textbook- *Zhongwen*





qī
七





bā
八





jiǔ
九



shí
十

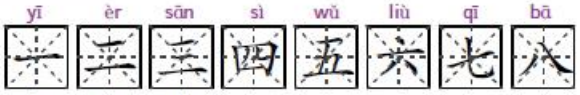


bǎi
百



shēng zì
生 字 (Characters)

yī èr sān sì wǔ liù qī bā



jiǔ shí bǎi



丶 一 丨 乚 丿 八



kè táng liàn xí
课堂练习
Exercises in Class

miáo yi miáo　xiě yi xiě
1 描一描，写一写 (Learn to write.)

一 一

二 二 二

三 三 三 三

四 丨 冂 冂 冂 四 四

五 一 厂 万 五 五

六 丶 亠 亠 六 六

七 一 七 七

八 丿 八 八

九 丿 九 九



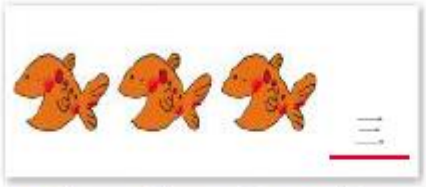
十 一 十

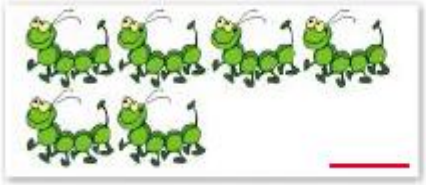
百 一 丆 丆 丆 百 百

zhào lì zi shǔ yi shǔ shuō yi shuō xiě yi xiě

2 照例子数一数，说一说，写一写 (Count, speak and write after the model.)

lì
例：


三









zhào lì zi dú yi dú lián yi lián

3 照例子读一读，连一连 (Read and link after the model.)



yuè dú
阅读
Reading

cāi mí yǔ
猜谜语
Make a Guess



yí piàn yí piàn yòu yí piàn，
一片一片又一片，
liǎng piàn sān piàn sì wǔ piàn
两片三片四五片，
liù piàn qī piàn bā jiǔ piàn
六片七片八九片，
luò rù shuǐ zhōng kàn bú jiàn。
落入水中看不见。



dú ér gē
读儿歌
Read the Children's Song



yī èr sān sì wǔ liù qī bā jiǔ shí
一二三四五，六七八九十。
yī èr sān sì wǔ liù qī bā jiǔ shí
一二三四五，六七八九十。
lǎo shī hǎo tóng xué men hǎo
老师好，同学们好。
nǐ hǎo nǐ hǎo zài jiàn zài jiàn
你好，你好；再见，再见。

shēng zì
生字 (Characters)

yòu liǎng shuǐ zhōng bù jiàn

又	两	水	中	不	见

[Extract of work book]

shí zì yī

1. 识 字 （一）

Lesson 1 Learning Characters 1



xiě yi xiě

1. 写一写 (Learn to write.)

五 六 七 八 九

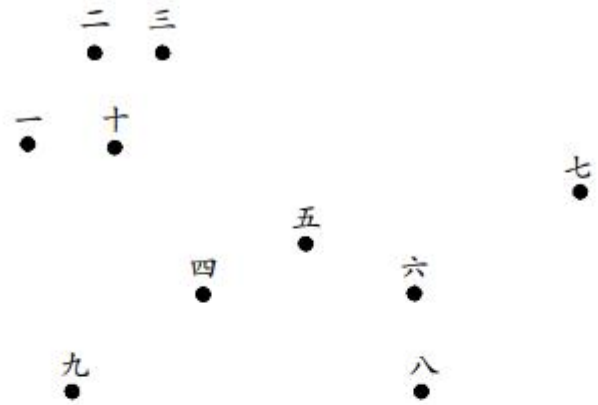
bǎ xià mian de zì xiě wán zhěng

2. 把下 面 的字写 完 整 (Complete the following characters.)



àn shù zì shùn xù lián yi lián

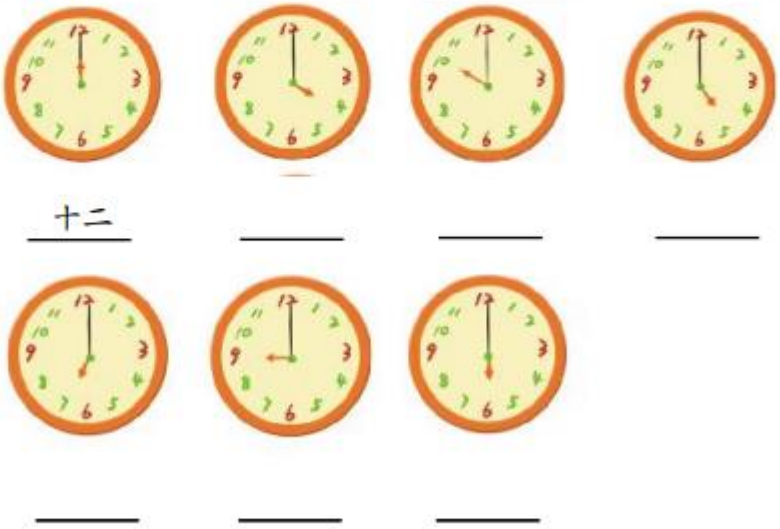
3. 按数字顺序连一连 (Draw a line between the numerals in the order from small to big.)



kàn yi kàn xiě yi xiě

4. 看一看，写一写 (Write the characters of numerals next to the correct hour on the clock after the model.)

lì
例：



Appendix 14: Extract of textbook- *Youerhanyu*



1 bǎo bao yi jiā 宝宝一家



dú yi dú
读一读



bǎo bao
宝 宝



bà ba
爸 爸



tíng ting
婷 婷



mā ma
妈 妈



dū du
嘟 嘟

1 bǎo bao yì jiā 宝宝一家

shuō yi shuō
说一说



①



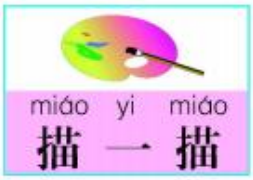
②

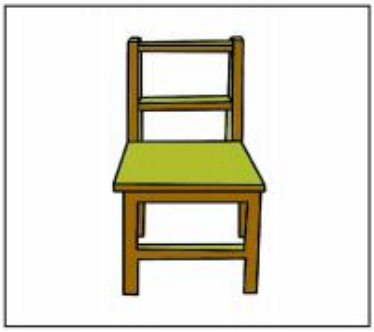


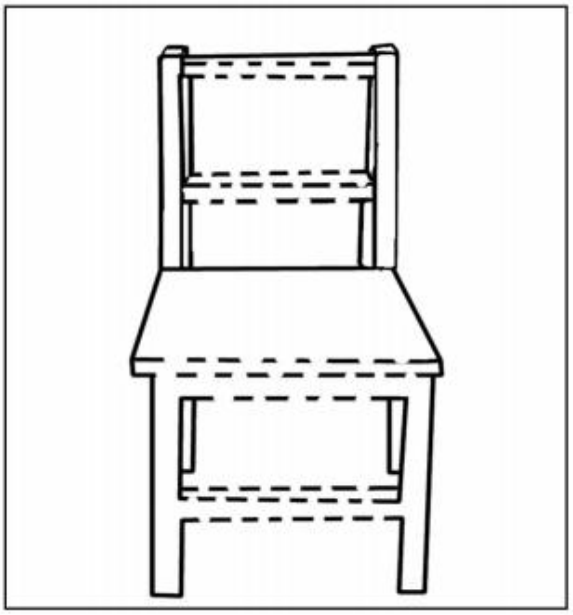
③

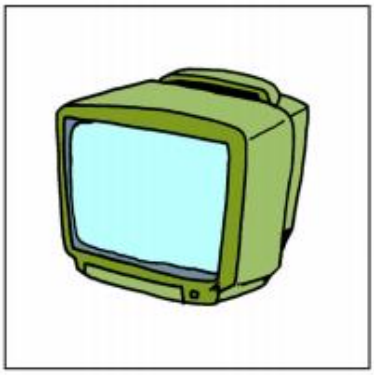


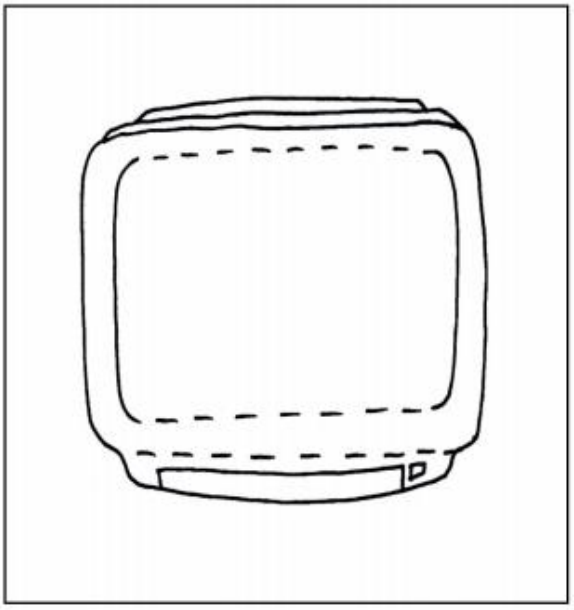
④

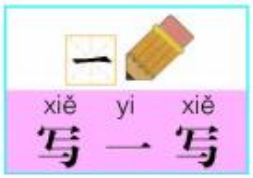

miáo yi miáo
描一描













héng

横

王 王 王 王 王 王 王



Appendix 15: Extract of textbook- *Let's learn Chinese*

编者的话 Foreword

齐来学中文教材全套共十册，由英国中文学校联合教育委员会属下的教材编写小组编写出版。这套课本根据英国国家课程大纲所指定的外语教学内容编写而成，符合 ASSET Languages 和 Curriculum Guide for Chinese (社区语言课程大纲)的课文技能要求。

除了语文知识和技能外，课本亦涵盖了中国文化、地理和历史的常识，让学生在学习中文的同时，加深对中国的认识。

齐来学中文这套教材采用现代教学方法，特别是互动教学，旨在帮助学生学习及提高听、读、讲、写四项语文技能。

为方便教师备课，教材编写小组为每册教材编写了教师用书，内附有丰富的教学材料，例如生字卡、图画卡、补充练习、电脑幻灯片 (PowerPoint) 等，供教师选择使用。每册课本后均附有生词表，方便教师、学生及家长翻查生词的英文解释及掌握中文读音。由于编写课本的工作庞大，错误在所难免，希望各位老师不吝指正赐教。

Let's Learn Chinese is a series of ten textbooks based on an active learning approach for pupils learning Chinese as a second or foreign language. The series takes learners through from beginner's level to GCSE level and has been written with reference to the Curriculum Guide for Chinese, Asset Languages, the Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages and the National Curriculum for Modern Foreign Languages.

In addition, Chinese culture, geography, and history have been deliberately incorporated into the lessons so that learners can develop their knowledge and understanding of China at the same time as learning the language.

The teaching methodology for Let's Learn Chinese is based on best practice in interactive teaching and learning, aimed at promoting the development of all four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing.

Teachers are well supported, as each textbook is accompanied by a teacher's manual with a CD-ROM which, in addition to guidance on the use of the textbooks, comes with additional teaching and learning resources, such as flashcards, exercises, games and activities on PowerPoint.

目录 Contents

第一课	Lesson One	你们好
第二课	Lesson Two	我叫王小明
第三课	Lesson Three	我的家
第四课	Lesson Four	我五岁
第五课	Lesson Five	我的好朋友
第六课	Lesson Six	我喜欢红色
第七课	Lesson Seven	我有红鞋子
第八课	Lesson Eight	我家有一只猫
第九课	Lesson Nine	我的眼睛在哪里
第十课	Lesson Ten	吃水果
节日(一)	Festival 1	圣诞节
节日(二)	Festival 2	中国新年

第一课 49

你们好



Janet



王小明



李老师



Tom









一起来认字

50

你 you

你们 you (more than one person)

好 well, good

你好 hello

老师 teacher

再见 good-bye

一起来唱歌 51

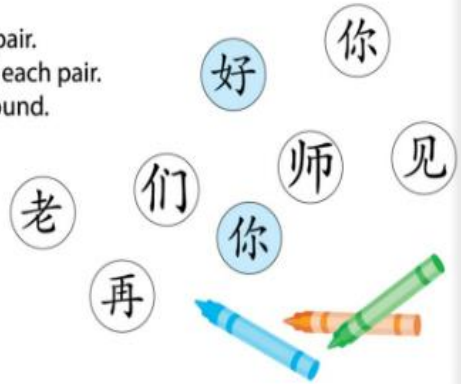
(to the tune of *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star*)

你好，你好，你们好，
你好，你好，老师好。
Peter 好，Jane 好，Stephanie 好，
Jack 好，Mary 好，Graham 好，
你好，你好，你们好，
你好，你好，老师好。

一起来认字

Find, match and make a pair.
Use a different colour for each pair.
Tick the pairs you have found.

你好 hello ✓
老师 teacher
你们 you
再见 good-bye



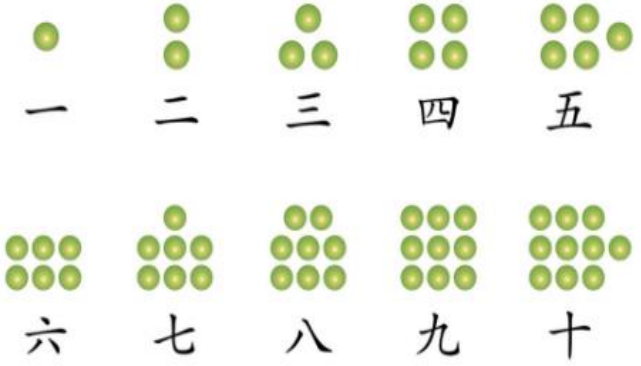
你知道吗？ Do you know?

Do you know what these Chinese words are? 52

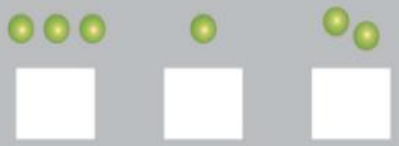
一 二 三

They are the Chinese numbers "one", "two" and "three".

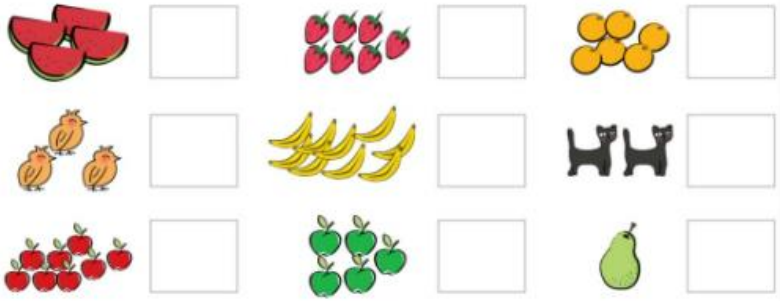
Let's look at the Chinese numbers from one to ten below:



有多少？ How many?

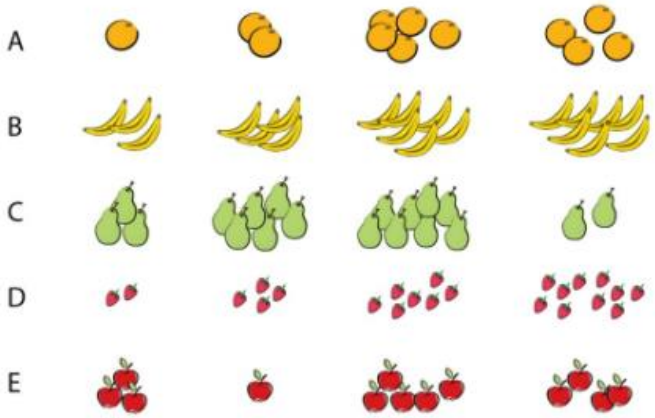


一起来数数 How many? (1–10)

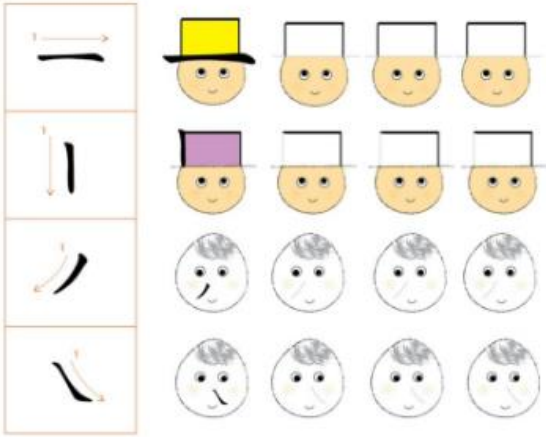


一起来听听 53

Count how many first. Then listen and circle the correct number.



中文字笔画 Basic strokes



一起来写字 Practise writing these characters.

一	一	一	一	一	一	一	一	一	一
二	二	二	二	二	二	二	二	二	二
三	三	三	三	三	三	三	三	三	三
八	八	八	八	八	八	八	八	八	八
十	十	十	十	十	十	十	十	十	十

Appendix 16: Scanned copy of relevant school publicity materials

[Application form collected from School B]

中文學校入學申請表

CHINESE SCHOOL APPLICATION FORM

中文姓名 年齡

NAME IN CHINESE _____ AGE _____

英文姓名

NAME IN ENGLISH _____

出生日期 性別

DATE OF BIRTH _____ GENDER _____

中文程度

LEVEL OF CHINESE EDUCATION _____

申請入讀年級

ENTRANCE CLASS _____

英文學校名稱

NAME OF FULL-TIME SCHOOL _____

_____

英文學校地址

ADDRESS OF FULL-TIMESCHOOL _____

_____

家長姓名

NAME OF PARENTS _____

住址

HOME ADDRESS _____

_____

電話

TELEPHONE NO. _____

電郵 Email. _____ 日期 DATE _____

附註：如學生有以下情況，請填寫下列各項

長期病患 食物過敏 藥物過敏

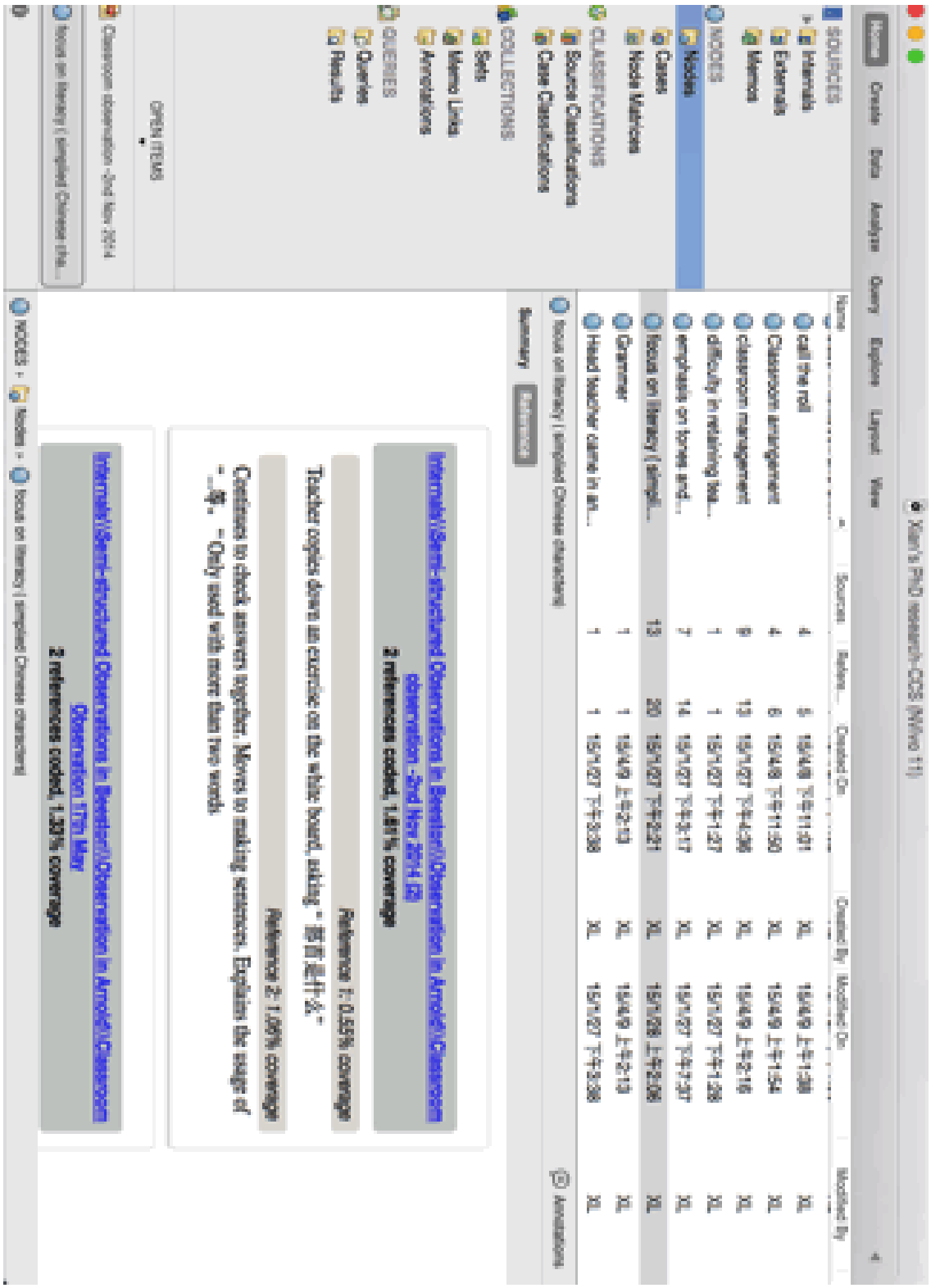
ONG-TERM FOOD ALLERGY DRUG ALLERGY

[Annual report collected in School B]

成绩 Results / 科目 Subjects	First-Term Exam. 上学期考試成绩	Final Exam. 下学期考試成绩
读本 Language		
会话 Conversation		
认字 Reading		
默书 Dictation		
作文 Composition		
写字/书法 Hand Writing		
操行 Conduct		

名次 Position	班人数 Class No. 人
下年度该生升/留: Next Term Move Up / Remain in	班 Class
上课日数: Attendance	天 Days
迟到日数: Late	天 Days
缺课日数: Absence	天 Days
备注: Notes	
下年度开学日期: Next Term Starting Date	
校长签署 Head Teacher signature	班主任签署 Teacher signature / 家长签署 Parent/Guardian Signature

Appendix 17: Screenshot of NVivo for Mac



Appendix 18: Brief code list with examples

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">A brief summary of code list with some examples</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Aims and goals of CCS</td><td colspan="2">(Field note)
“School A is founded for anyone who is interested in learning Mandarin, not only Chinese children.”</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">(Interview transcript)
“Our school is established by a couple of Chinese parents, who hope our children could learn Mandarin.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>History of CCS</td><td colspan="2">(Field note)
“School B has a branch of Cantonese classes. It might be the most similar to CCS in Francis’ study.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Composition of CCS</td><td colspan="2">(Field note)
“School A has 7 groups of Mandarin classes. I saw Chines students, British students, mixed students and also students whose mother might be Muslim.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Provision of CCS</td><td colspan="2">(Field note)
“School A provides Mandarin lessons. They also provide Calligraphy, Chinese traditional dancing, classic classes. Those are called as “兴趣班” (not free of charge).</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Experience of School Participants</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Mandarin teaching and learning-Practice</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Language learning</td><td rowspan="2">Pronunciation</td><td>(Field note)
“The teacher corrects student’s tone. She emphases four tones.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>(Interview transcript)
“R: I notice you remind students of pronunciations.
T: Yes. I think pronunciations are very important for speaking Mandarin well. Sometimes the wrong pronunciation may result in wrong meanings.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing</td><td>(Lesson notes)
“Teachers ask the whole class to have 10 min free chat in Mandarin. It is a routine practice.”</td></tr>
</table>

		(Interview transcript) "P: I think being able to read Chinese is essential. It would be a joke if my son could not read Chinese."
Literacy	(Lesson note) "The teacher reminds students of stroke orders. They did sky writing together."	
Textbook	(Interview transcript) "R: Is *Zhongwen* being used in your class? T: Yes. The textbook takes up a majority of my lesson content. To be honest, I personally think the textbook might be difficult for most students in my class."	
Teaching tools	(Lesson note) "Teacher used projectors."	
Language use	(Interview transcript) "T: My English is not good. I do not like to speak English to the students. In addition, I think this is a Chinese school so I mainly speak Mandarin to them but sometimes I use English if the students really feel confused about what I am talking about. Especially when I gave them instructions.	
Homework	(Lesson note) "The teacher gave them homework and gave extra to those with higher abilities"	
	(Interview transcript) "T: Students in my class could complete the homework. I will check for them every week. They basically listen to what I say to them."	
Assessment	(Lesson note) "Teacher used dictation to check if they could write down new Chinese characters and phrases they learnt last week."	
Classroom environment	(Field note) "This classroom might be a maths classroom for GCSE because of the posters on the walls."	
Engagement	(Field note) "Students could concentrate on the videos of Chinese cartoon. No one chatting." (Interview transcript) "S: I just arrived at England last summer. I think the lessons here are very simple for me. I prefer drawing pictures to listening to the boring instruction."	
Challenges and difficulties: issues		
Teacher knowledge	(Interview transcript)	

	"T: I know nothing about teaching. I was just called to help by my classmate. She said the school just want teacher who can speak Mandarin. That is enough."
Teacher belief	(Interview transcript) "T: I think it is necessary to be responsible for the students. I know that some teachers do not care. They just come to look after the students for two hours. However, I do hope I could provide something useful for the students. I know they are good children and very hard working."
Student motivation	(Interview transcript) "S: I do not think it is necessary to learn Mandarin. I dislike Mandarin. It is so difficult for me."
	(Field note) "Some students distracted and chatting with each other. They lost interest in practicing Chinese characters."
Links with CCS/mainstream schools	(Interview transcript) "H: We keep a good partnership with this English school. They provide a lot of benefits for us."
Funding and resources	(Field note) "This school could not use ICT suites. This may make it difficult to enrich classroom activities"
Parental Aspiration and support	(Interview transcript) "P: I hope my children could enjoy the atmosphere. I do not want they feel stressed." "P: I am worried about my son's essay writing. I hope he could pass the GCSE test."
Diversity of students	(Interview transcript) "T: There is a huge difference among students in my class. I mean they are divers in Mandarin levels. I give instructions in Mandarin but some cannot understand at all."
Chineseness and Identity Construction	
Cultural	(Interview transcripts) "P: CCS is a very good place for my child to access to Chinese culture."
Chinese value of education	(Interview transcripts) "P: I think education is important. I hope my son could get good results on GCSE. It is helpful for entering a top university."
Language and identity	(Interview transcripts) "T: I think the students are Chinese. They should know Chinese."

Socialising	(Interview transcripts) “P: The teacher helps me to take care of my child every Saturday. They do not bother me so I can chat with other mothers and relax.”

Appendix 19: Consent form

School of Education
The University of Nottingham
Participant Information Sheet

Project title
The Changing Nature of Chinese Supplementary Schools in the UK
Researcher
PGR student Xian Li, School of Education

Introduction
You are invited to consider participating in research study about "The Changing Nature of Chinese Supplementary Schools in the UK". This is a Doctoral study undertaken by Xian Li (Student No 4215148) at University of Nottingham, UK. This study is designed to explore the current situations that two Chinese supplementary schools are facing. This sheet describes the purpose and nature of the study and your rights as a participant. You can decide whether you participate or not. If you decide to participate, please sign your name the last line on the consent form.

Explanation of the study
Your participation will provide in-depth information for the researcher. If you agree to take part in the research, please tick the box "I agree to participate" in the consent form. For the observation part, the researcher will come to observe lessons and keep filed notes. For the interview part, you will meet with the researcher for a short interview. The interview will take you no more than 30 minutes. Your participation in the interview will be audio-recorded.

Confidentiality
All information collected in this study will be treated with strict confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes. Your information will be kept anonymously. Your answers are completely confidential and will not be shown to anybody. The data will be stored on a computer and kept for three years, and only the researcher will have access to it.

Your participation
Participation in this study is voluntary and any individual may withdraw at any time. If you have any questions about this research, you can contact the researcher by email. You can also contact Dr. Jane Medwell, who supervises the study. If you wish to complain about the study as a result of your participation, please contact the School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator. Thank you very much for your kind help!

Contact details
Researcher: Xian Li
Email: ttxxl12@nottingham.ac.uk
Supervisor: Jane Medwell
Email: Jane.Medwell@nottingham.ac.uk
School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator:
educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

School of Education
The University of Nottingham
Participant Consent Form

Project title
The Changing Nature of Chinese Supplementary Schools in the UK
Researcher's name: Xian Li
Supervisor's name: Jane Medwell

	Tick where appropriate
I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I have received satisfactory answers to all of my questions.	
I have received enough information about the study.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.	
I understand that any information I provide will be kept anonymously. My answers are completely confidential and will not be shown to anybody and only accessed by the researcher.	
I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.	
I agree to take part in the observation.	
I agree to take part in the interview.	
I agree for my interview to be audio recorded.	
I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.	
Participant Signature …… Date	
Researcher Signature …… Date	

Contact details
Researcher: Xian Li
Email: ttxxl12@nottingham.ac.uk
Supervisor: Jane Medwell
Email: Jane.Medwell@nottingham.ac.uk
School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator:
educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix 20: Classroom observation summary of the pilot school

		Mandarin group Lower level	Mandarin group Middle level	Mandarin group Upper level	Mandarin group Middle level(led by a substitute teacher)
Class size/ Student number		7	5	3	5
Lesson objectives	Told	1.Review Chinese character 1 to 10 2. Learn new character 日 (sun) 3. Get familiar with a traditional Chinese story			
	Inferred		1. Review of lesson 10 the main text “花园” (the garden) 2. Continue to reading “公园里”(the park)	1. Review of Lesson 5 2. Start Lesson 6, learn new Chinese characters and main text “雪” (snow).	1. Review of lesson 10 2. Start lesson 11, learn new Chinese characters
Teachers Language use	Mandarin	always	always	always	always
	English	sometimes	sometimes	sometimes	sometimes
Textbook		No	*Zhongwen* vol 1	*Zhongwen* vol 2	*Zhongwen* vol 3
Pupils language use	Chinese	seldom	sometimes	mainly	sometimes
	English	mainly	sometimes	sometimes	sometimes
P engagement		Assisted by parents	Listen to teacher, Answer teacher questions, Repeat after teacher, Watch video	Listen to teacher, Answer teacher’s questions, Repeat after teacher, Engage in task (silent)	Listen to teacher, Engage in games

Tools & facilities & materials	Work sheets, Video online, Stickers Flash cards Games	Video online, Flash cards, Work sheets, stickers	Worksheets stickers	Video online Flash cards Games
Assessment	No	No	Dictation	No
Homework	No	No	No	No
Lesson process	Greeting+ roll call(10 mins); Review of 1 to 10(10 mins); Game (15 mins); Learn “日” (the sun) (15 mins); Game (10 mins).	Greeting (10mins); Review of text “花园” (the garden) (10 mins); The Reading “公园里” (in the park) (20 mins); Work sheet (15 mins); Review of the reading again (5mins)	Greeting+ free chatting (10mins); Review of lesson 5 (10mins); Dictation (15mins); Learn character of the main text of lesson 6 (15 mins); Main text (20 mins)	Greeting +free chatting (10mins); Review of lesson 10 (20 mins) Main text and its new characters of lesson 11(20 mins); Game (10mins)
	Break time			
	Review of “日” (the sun) (10 mins); Video watching (15 mins); Practice character writing (15 mins).	Video watching (25mins) Review of the reading and practice writing characters (20mins).	Review of main text (10mins); Practice (20 mins) Work sheets (15mins)	Review of 1st session (10 mins) Hand crafts (20mins); Review of today (10mins); Video watching (5mins)

Appendix 21: Chapter analysis of *Zhongwen* volume 1

Chapter Analysis of *Zhongwen volume 1*	
Structure	**New Content appear in the lesson**
Lesson 1 **1. Words** Characters + radicals **2.Exercise in class** 1) Copying 2) Count, speak and write after the model 3) Read and link copying the model **3.Reading –make a guess: a typical Chinese riddle** Characters	
Lesson 2 **1.Words** Characters + radicals **2.Exercise in class** 1) Copying 2) Count, speak and write after the model **3.Reading –make a guess: a typical Chinese riddle** Characters	3) Listen and point: teacher says the names of five organs of the face and students point out their facial features.
Lesson 3 Same structure as lesson 1 and 2	Exercise in class 3: look and read. Pictures are given with Chinese names below.
Review 1 of lesson 1 -3 1.Put the characters with the same number of strokes together after the model e.g. 三画（three strokes）：三 2.Read aloud e.g. 山头 多少 3.Compare and read e.g. 四 十四 田 水田 4.Write one character for each picture after the model e.g. picture + 日 5Count and write after the model e.g. Chinese characters of numbers.	

Lesson 4 Same structure as lesson 1 -3	
Lesson 5 Same structure with lesson 1-4	Exercise in class 3: answer the question according to the picture: **what is in the sky**?
Lesson 6 Same structure as lesson 5	
Review of Lesson 4 -6 1.Put the characters with the same number of strokes together after the model 2. Read aloud	3. Fill in the blanks with characters, which contain the given radical. 4. Write one character for each picture.
Lesson 7 **1.Text about the topic "pupils"** **1)生字（new characters）：** recognition of new characters + pinyin radicals **2)词语（words and expressions)** **3)句子（sentence)** **2.课堂练习（Exercises in class)** Copying Read aloud Expand and substitute Dialogue Think and answer the following questions **3.Reading –using characters, expressions in the text** New characters Words and expressions	
Lesson 8 Same structure as lesson 7	
Lesson 9 Same structure as lesson 7 and 8	
Review 3 of lesson 7-9 1.Put the characters with the same number of strokes together after the model 2.Read aloud	3.Compare and form phrases 4.Choose right sentences for the picture and read out 5.Put the given words in the correct order to make sentences after the model
Lesson 10 Same structure as lesson 7	

Lesson 11 Same structure as lesson 7	
Lesson 12 Same structure as lesson 7	
Review 4 of lesson 10-12 2.Read out 3.Compare and read 4.Read out	1.Link and write after the model 5.Fill in the blanks after the model (making a sentence) 6.Making a card (write down what you want to say to your parents for the Chinese New Year)
Exercise 3.Compare and form phrases after the model 4.Make one sentence for each picture	1.Combine two parts to make characters and fill in the blanks after the model 2.Count the strokes and fill in the blanks 5. Complete the sentences for each picture and read them out after the model.

Appendix 22: A sample content analysis of textbook *Zhongwen* 2

Topic	Chinese-oriented content	Cultural content	Universal content
Learning characters 1	Recognition of basic Chinese numbers from one to ten as well as hundred and thousand	make a guess- a well-known Chinese riddle	Numbers from one to ten as well as hundred and thousand
Learning characters 2	Recognition of basic Chinese characters related with organs and four common adjectives		Parts of the body
Learning characters 3	Recognition of ten common Chinese characters related with natural phenomenon, which are also radicals of Chinese characters	Reading part—the months – a well-known rhyme for teaching the number of days of each month	Natural phenomena
Learning characters 4	Recognition of common Chinese characters related with directions and common gestures	Make a guess- a well-known Chinese riddle about ears	Directions Basic gestures(come in, go out)
Learning characters 5	Recognition of common Chinese characters related with natural phenomenon		Natural phenomena Four seasons.
Learning characters 6	Recognition of common Chinese characters related with animals and colours		Animals and colours
Pupils	I am a student and I love classmates, teacher and the Chinese school		Basic sentence of self-introduction Who I am
I am going to school		Picture of the main text shows a typical Chinese school campus Reading-going to school-a well-known Chinese children song's lyrics	Taking a bus to school Greeting to teacher and students
My home			Family relations

Garden	Chinese rhyme: A description of the garden		Description of a garden; Flower names.
Directions	Chinese rhyme: Recognition of directions (east west north and south) Recognition of animals		Directions Animals
Spring festival is coming	Chinese rhyme: Spring festival and traditions of celebrating Chinese New Year (Making dumplings, wearing new clothes, posting Spring Festival couplets		

Appendix 23: Sample class list in School A

A sample list of students and their backgrounds in one Mandarin class (all names changed): School A				
Name	**Gender**	**Age**	**Born in the UK**	**Parental backgrounds: origin, occupation; language use at home**
Isabella	Girl	6	Yes	Parents from Hong Kong; catering; English mainly with Cantonese use at home
Sam	Boy	7	Yes	Parents from Hong Kong; university staff; Use Cantonese at home
Luke	Boy	6	Yes	Mother from Mainland China; catering; English mainly with Mandarin at home
April	Girl	6	Yes	Mother from Taiwan; banking; English mainly with Mandarin at home
Isabelle	Girl	7	Yes	Mother is second generation Hong Kong Chinese; English at home
Jennifer	Girl	9	Yes	Mother from Mainland China; catering; English mainly with Mandarin at home
Michael	Boy	7	Yes	Mother from Hong Kong; university staff; English at home
Grace	Boy	6	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; university staff; Mandarin at home
Jessica	Girl	4	Yes	Mother from Mainland China and father from Hong Kong; university staff; Mandarin mainly with Cantonese at home
Helena	Girl	7	Yes	Parents from Hong Kong; consulting; English mainly with Cantonese at home
Alvin	Boy	7	Yes	Parents from Hong Kong; company staff and nurse; Cantonese at home
David	Boy	6	Yes	Mother from Mainland China; university staff; English mainly with Mandarin at home
Billy	Boy	7	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; catering; Hakka at home
William	Boy	7	Yes	Parents from the UK; English at home
Roger	Boy	6	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; catering; Mandarin at home
Niuniu	Girl	6	Yes	Parents from Mainland China, company staff, Mandarin at home

Appendix 24: Sample class list in School B

a sample list of students and their backgrounds in one Mandarin class (all names changed) in School B				
Name	**Gender**	**Age**	**Born in the UK**	**Parental background: origin, occupation; language use at home**
Ziang	Boy	10	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; catering; use Hakka at home
Jiajia	Girl	6	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; catering; Cantonese at home
Xiang	Boy	7	No	Parents from Mainland China; catering; Cantonese at home
Xin	Boy	7	Yes	Parents from Mainland China, catering; Mandarin at home
Jie	Boy	9	Yes	Parents from Mainland China, catering; Hakka at home
Furong	Boy	9	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; small business owner; Cantonese at home
Xindi	Girl	6	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; take away restaurant; Hakka at home
Wendy	Girl	7	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; take away restaurant; Hakka at home
Jennie	Girl	7	Yes	Mother from Mainland China and father from Hong Kong; company employees; Cantonese at home
Jingyi	Girl	7	No	Parents from Mainland China; catering; Cantonese at home
Mingyi	Girl	9	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; catering; Cantonese at home
Wenchen	Girl	8	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; retail sales; Mandarin at home
Xixia	Girl	9	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; small business owner; Mandarin at home
Xiaojing	Girl	9	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; small business owner; Cantonese at home
Keai	Boy	9	Yes	Parents from Mainland China, catering; Hakka at home
Kaixin	Boy	11	Yes	Parents from Mainland China; catering; Hokkien at home
Yaohua	Boy	7	Yes	Mother from Mainland China, mother working at catering industry and father is British; English at home

Appendix 25: A short summary of classroom observation in School A

a short summary of classroom observation in School A: part 1 (the first four groups)					
		Reception	**Mandarin 1**	**Mandarin 2**	**Mandarin 3**
Lesson objectives	Told				
	Inferred	√	√	√	√
Teacher's language use	English	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly
	Mandarin	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Pupils' language use	English	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly
	Mandarin	No	No	Sometimes	Sometimes
Teaching materials/tools/ facilities		PowerPoint; flash cards; work sheets; online video; art& crafts stickers	PowerPoint; work sheets; online video; Flash cards stickers	PowerPoint; work sheets; online video, online resource; stickers	PowerPoint; online resource; stickers
Textbook		*Youerhanyu*	*Zhongwen*	*Zhongwen*	*Zhongwen*
Students' engagement		Mainly follow the teacher in the front; the back easily distracted;	Mainly follow the teacher in the front; the back easily distracted;	Most engaged; some distracted	Follow the teacher; Respond to her questions
Classroom activities		Game; Group work	Game, Group work; Practicing characters;	Game; Group work; Sentence making;	Phrase making; Sentence making;
Assessment		No	No	Yes	Yes
Homework		No	No	Yes	Yes

a short summary of classroom observation in School A: part 2 (the last four groups)					
		Mandarin 4	**Mandarin 5**	**Mandarin 6**	**GCSE**
Lesson objectives	Told	√	√	√	√
	Inferred				
Teacher's language use	English	Sometimes	No	Sometimes	Sometimes
	Mandarin	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly
Pupils' language use	English	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly
	Mandarin	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Teaching materials/tools/ facilities		PowerPoint; Online resource; Online video	PowerPoint; work sheets;	PowerPoint; work sheets; online video	Work sheets; past papers
Textbook		*Zhongwen*	*Zhongwen*	*Zhongwen*	No
Students' engagement		Follow the teacher; join in the classroom activity	Follow the teacher; join in the activity	Respond to teacher's questions rapidly; Join in the activity	Quite when doing papers; follow the teacher
Classroom activities		Game, Group work; Free chatting in Mandarin; Reading practice	Group work; Short essay writing	Group work; Short essay writing; Free chatting in Mandarin	Exam-preparation; Practicing past papers
Assessment		Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Homework		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Appendix 26: A short summary of classroom observation in School B

A short summary of classroom observation in School B: part 1 (the first four groups)					
		Mandarin Beginner 1	**Mandarin Beginner 2**	**Mandarin Intermediate**	**Mandarin 2**
Lesson objectives	Told				
	Inferred	√	√	√	√
Teacher' language use	English	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
	Mandarin	Mainly	Mainly	Mainly	Sometimes
Students' language use	English	Mainly	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
	Mandarin	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Teaching materials/tools/ facilities		Flash cards; work sheets; stickers	Work sheets; Flash cards stickers	Work sheets; stickers	Flash Cards
Textbook		No	No	*Youerhanyu*	*Zhongwen*
Students' engagement		Mainly follow the teacher in the front; the back easily distracted;	Mainly follow the teacher in the front; the back easily distracted;	Most engaged; some distracted	Follow the teacher; Respond to her questions
Classroom activities		Game; Group work;	Game, Group work; Practicing characters;	Game; Group work; Sentence making;	Phrase making; Sentence making;
Assessment		No	No	Yes	Yes
Homework		No	No	Yes	Yes

A short summary of classroom observation in School B: part 2 (the last four groups)					
		Mandarin 3	**Mandarin 4**	**Mandarin 5**	**Mandarin Dialogue**
Lesson objectives	Told			√	
	Inferred	√	√		√
Teacher' language use	English	Sometimes	Sometimes	No	No
	Mandarin	Mainly	Sometimes	Mainly	Mainly
Students' language use	English	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Mainly
	Mandarin	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Teaching materials/tools/ facilities		Flash cards	Not given	Work sheets; Posters	Not given
Textbook		*Zhongwen*	*Zhongwen*	*Zhongwen*	*Zhongwen*
Students' engagement		Follow the teacher; join in the classroom activity	Follow the teacher; join in the activity	Respond to teacher's Qs rapidly; Join in the activity	Quite when doing papers; follow the teacher
Classroom activities		Game, Group work; Free chatting in Mandarin; Reading practice	Group work; Short essay writing	Group work; Short essay writing; Free chatting in Mandarin	Exam-preparation; Practicing past papers
Assessment		Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Homework		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Appendix 27: Research ethics approval form

2014/10/JM

School of Education – Research Ethics Approval Form

The University of Nottingham

Name	Xian Li
Main Supervisor	Jane Medwell
Course of Study	PhD
Title of Research Project:	The changing nature of Chinese complementary schools

Is this a resubmission? No Date statement of research ethics received by PGR Office: 22/04/2014

Research Ethics Coordinator Comments:

The information provided meets the criteria for ethical approval of this research.

I consider this research to be above minimum risk ☐

Final responsibility for ethical conduct of your research rests with you and your supervisor. The Codes of Practice setting out these responsibilities have been published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and the University Research Ethics Committee.
http://www/educationstudentintranet/researchethics/index.aspx http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/Ethical%20Guidelines *If you have any concerns during the conduct of your research then you should consult those Codes of Practice and refer again to the School of Education's Research Ethics Committee.*

Independently of the Ethics Committee procedures, supervisors also have responsibilities for the risk assessment of projects as detailed in the safety pages of the University web site. Ethics Committee approval does not alter, replace, or remove those responsibilities, nor does it certify that they have been met.

Outcome:

Approved ☑ Revise and Resubmit ☐

Signed: *W. J. Morgan* Name: Prof W. J. Morgan (Research Ethics Coordinator) Date: 8/5/14