From graduate schools to K-12 schools: the transformation of Chinese language teachers

---- Understanding the socialization process of novice Chinese language teachers in the U.S.

By

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From graduate schools to K-12 schools: the transformation of Chinese language teachers

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Abstract

This study tried to understand how teacher education programs and the practices in American K-12 schools shaped beliefs and behaviors of Chinese language teachers through the theoretical framework of Lacey’s theory of teacher socialization. Under this overarching purpose of the study, the interactions these novice Chinese language teachers had within the contexts of their teacher training programs and K-12 schools were examined by analyzing the social strategies they applied in corresponding contexts.

Seven novice Chinese language teachers with various language, educational, and work backgrounds were interviewed for this study. The findings from surveys and in-depth interviews revealed the teachers were trying to establish themselves as authorities in the profession of teaching. In addition, some seemingly contradictions on the interpretations and choices these participants made within both the contexts of graduate schools and K-12 schools disclosed these teachers’ demands on the practicality of the teacher education programs at graduate school level. The need for support, recognition, and appreciation at schools were expressed by the participants in this study as well.

The findings of this study suggested that the graduate programs that collaborated teacher education with local schools would be beneficial for novice Chinese language teachers to have a smoother transition. Additionally, integrating all aspects of teacher knowledge in teacher education programs, especially the knowledge of themselves as language teachers and the teacher profession, was indicated by the findings of the study. Some contradictions on choices of social strategies between NS and NNS novice teachers of Chinese also provided some insights for school administrators in terms of understanding teacher candidates and establishing sustainable development environment for Chinese language programs in American K-12 schools.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Rationale

In the past couple of decades, studies of some Less Commonly Taught Foreign Languages (LCTFL), such as Chinese, Japanese, and Russian, have moved from the margins of K-12 education toward the mainstream as options for more students in the U.S. (Schrier & Everson, 2000). Researchers have also been studying the relationship between the development of these language programs and the qualifications of these language teachers (Walker, 1991). Accordingly, these LCTFLs have been included into various foreign language teacher education programs to provide professional training, development, and accreditation for prospective teachers (Schrier & Everson, 2000).

Among the LCTFLs in the United States, Chinese language programs have grown dramatically compared to other LCTFLs in the past decade. Corresponding to the rapid growth of Chinese language programs in the United States, organizations and research of teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) have thrived. However, research in the field of teaching CFL is lacking an adequate understanding of two aspects of the nature of teaching. First, research in teaching and learning Chinese has focused on teaching effectiveness in certain grammar patterns, integration of technology and teaching, learning characters, and assessment (Tsung and Cruickshank, 2011). However, little research has focused on articulating Chinese language curriculum at the macro level in terms of coherence of the curriculum, relationships between assessments and curriculum design, curriculum orientations, and teacher preparation. Second, most researchers emphasize linguistics. That is, teaching effectiveness is usually examined through the scope of linguistic theories, methods, and results, and teaching implications are mainly drawn from results of second language acquisition studies. However,
when teaching effectiveness is examined, the transformation and development of pre-and in-service Chinese teachers is not well studied. Therefore, a study on Chinese language teachers in the U.S. is necessary if the pedagogical implications from linguistic research can be conducted comprehensively in real classrooms. The need for studies focusing on novice Chinese language teachers in the U.S. is urgent for further development of Chinese language programs in the states.

Research shows that Chinese language programs in American high schools are dominated by well-educated native speakers (NS) of Chinese (Moore, Walton, & Lambert, 1992). However, the problem is that teaching approaches developed in China prior to their training programs in American graduate schools are not “totally compatible with the philosophy underlying American secondary school education” (Moore, Walton, & Lambert, 1992, p. 39). Research reports that many novice native Chinese language teachers struggled against various difficult situations ranging from the lack of appropriate teaching materials and choices of teaching contents to classroom management and communication with students, parents, and colleagues (Schrier & Everson, 2000). Therefore, the role transformation experienced by novice teachers includes both the transition from being a student to being a teacher and a process of reflecting and adjusting the perceptions and practices of teaching obtained from learning and/or teaching in China, teacher education programs, and ongoing teaching experiences in actual classrooms.

On the other hand, an increasing number of non-native speakers (NNS) of Chinese have joined the instructor force of teaching CFL in American K-12 classrooms in recent years. Although NNS might be more familiar with the underlying culture and philosophy of American schools compared with NS teachers of Chinese, these NNS teachers nonetheless experience a process of role transformation when they are compared with NS teachers by administrators and students. Research reveals a stronger student preference for teachers who are NS of Chinese than
NNS (Meadow & Muramatsu, 2007). Although both NS and NNS Chinese language teachers each bring strengths to the classroom, NS teachers have more power and prestige in the classroom (Meadow & Muramatsu, 2007). As novice Chinese language teachers, teaching abilities and qualifications of NNS are questioned even before their actual teaching. Preference of NS over NNS teachers influences attitudes and actions of students, administrators, and teachers (Meadow & Muramatsu, 2007). Moreover, as both a student and teacher of Chinese language and culture, NNS teachers’ perspectives and practices of teaching involve a more complex transformation process when they encounter cultural differences. Therefore, Chinese teachers who are NNS also experience a transformation process during their teacher training and practice.

Though NS and NNS CFL teachers usually come from different backgrounds, the problems and dilemmas they encounter in their pre-service training and the first few years of teaching affect their role transformation in similar ways. The self-perceptions and behaviors of Chinese teachers in American schools is influenced by the interaction of their prior experiences, including the goals and content of their teacher education programs, and their actual teaching experiences. This process is not only that of a transformation from student to teacher, but also a transformation that involves reflections and adjustments on professional, personal, and cultural identities.

During this transformation process, novice teachers interact with peers and professors in their teacher education programs, connecting their prior learning and teaching experiences with theories, methods, and instructional strategies learned in program courses and develop social strategies with different groups in various contexts. As Lacey (1977) pointed out, teachers’ socialization process is interactive and mutative and reflected in teachers’ behaviors and
perspectives in specific social contexts. Therefore, the transformation process of teachers is neither passive nor static. It is a process in which teachers make sense of being a teacher by understanding and interpreting their social interactions with their prior experiences, peers, mentors, and teaching and learning contexts (Blumer, 1969). For novice teachers of CFL in American K-12 schools, their socialization is a process of interacting, interpreting, and responding to different contexts of culture, training, and teaching communities.

**Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to understand how teacher education programs at the graduate school level and the in-service practices in K-12 schools in America shaped beliefs and behaviors of novice Chinese language teachers. The interactions among teacher education programs, teachers’ prior experiences, and their teaching experiences in various school contexts shape self-perceptions and behaviors of Chinese language teachers in American K-12 schools. This study focused on understanding the transformation process of reflecting and adjusting professional, personal, and cultural identities that novice teachers of CFL in the U.S. experience.

**Theoretical framework**

In order to understand this complex and developing process, this research builds the theoretical framework on Lacey’s (1977) theory of social strategies.

Blumer posits that human beings’ actions toward things and other people are largely based on the interpretations they make about the meanings of these things and people (Blumer, 1969; Mahlios, 2002). The socialization process is a dynamic and interactive process among people and all factors of the contexts. Both society and people who are within the society interpret meanings of symbols and modify actions and changes. Thus, Bullough and his fellow researchers hold that this kind of socialization process is the core of teachers’ role negotiation
(Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1992). Based on the view which understands the process of interaction individuals have with each other and within society by interpreting meanings of symbols, becoming a teacher is a socialization process that involves making meanings from the context of teacher education programs and the context of actual practices as a pre-service teacher (Mahlios, 2002).

The socialization of teachers is more than learning to teach. During the socialization process, teachers’ perceptions of teaching and learning are shaped by internal and external factors (Lacey, 1977). Changes in this dynamic process have different levels or dimensions. Fullan (1991) defines three dimensions that act as a whole in practice: materials, teaching approaches, and beliefs. The relations among these three dimensions are both strong and weak. They are tightly related to each other because materials are delivered by teacher approaches to achieve goals that reflect underlying beliefs. However, adapting some new materials or altering some teaching behaviors does not necessarily mean that underlying beliefs have changed. Fullan’s study of teacher change provides dimensions to analyze the relationship among teachers’ actual practices in classrooms and their underlying perceptions of teaching and learning.

Lacey’s theory of social strategies provides a conceptual framework to analyze patterns and models of teachers’ changes in their socialization process. Lacey uses social strategies to describe choices and responses that student teachers make during their interactions within specific contexts (Lacey, 1977; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). In this theory, Lacey describes three social strategies: 1) internalized adjustment, which refers to changes from internal beliefs to external behaviors teachers have as a response to authorities’ perceptions and decisions; 2) strategic compliance, which refers to a middle ground in which changes are made on the
dimension of behaviors without actual changes at the dimension of underlying values and beliefs; and 3) strategic redefinition, which attempts to widen the acceptance range of behaviors within a social context (Lacey, 1977). Choices of these three social strategies are made by student teachers when they interact with factors of diverse contexts. Adapting this conceptual framework can help one understand the relationship between changes at different dimensions that teachers experience in their socialization process and factors of particular contexts.

Although Bullough’s theory on teacher socialization provides a unique perspective to understand teacher perspectives and behavior changes, the theoretical framework of this research is based on Lacey’s theory. This study tries to understand interactions that novice teachers have within different contexts with emphasis on understanding teachers’ perceptions of their own role in a changing process. Bullough (2011) employs methodologies of analyzing personal teaching metaphors which emphasizes formed perceptions that are shaped by classroom interaction. He does not reflect the socialization process as well as unveiling reasons of different social strategies teachers choose.

Research questions

In order to understand the socialization process of becoming Chinese language teachers in the U.S., this study seeks to understand how these novice Chinese language teachers’ perceptions of teaching and their program goals influence and interact in real classrooms. Underlying this overarching question, this research looks for answers to the following three questions:

1) What kinds of social strategies did novice CFL teachers apply when they interacted with program goals, course content, and professors?
2) What kinds of social strategies do novice CFL teachers apply when they interact with their school milieu and broader communities (community, affiliated Chinese teacher associations, and local Chinese community)?

3) What is the relationship between novice CFL teachers’ social strategies and corresponding contexts? How do the elements above interact in the context of teacher training programs and field teaching shape their perceptions of teaching CFL?

**Personal interest in this study**

My interest in this study is both professional and personal. Professionally, I have been trained to teach Chinese as a foreign language both in China and in the U.S. I have teaching experience with students from pre-school to college, and from one-on-one tutoring to drills and lectures. Based on my teaching and learning experiences in this field, I have noticed the change in the complexity of the group of Chinese language teachers in the U.S. and various obstacles these teachers encounter at the novice stage of their career. One obstacle is that, even though there are all kinds of post-graduate level programs offering training on methods courses and certification of foreign language teaching, prospective Chinese language teachers usually experience more difficulties with certain issues as compared with prospective Spanish or French teachers, due to two main factors. One is the characteristics of the Chinese language itself. The Foreign Service Institute (FSI) and Defense Language Institute assign Arabic and East Asian languages to Category 4 (Yang, ), which means that those languages are the most difficult for English-speaking students to achieve high levels of speaking proficiency. These languages also require a much longer time to obtain the same level of reading and writing proficiency level than languages in Category 1, such as French and Spanish (Jorden & Lambert, 1991; Walker, 1989). Based on the characteristics of the language, such as the relationship between written and spoken
systems, a study that was conducted by the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) at the Johns Hopkins University pointed out that “Chinese takes several times longer to learn than French, German, or Spanish” (NFLC). In addition, the same research also summarized some challenges that high school Chinese curriculum shared: 1) the core task facing high school Chinese teachers is to capture the interest of students; 2) parallel courses such as history and culture and extracurricular activities always supplement the language course; 3) resources of teachers are very limited in most schools so that the teacher must always be responsible for everything, including promotion, recruitment, curriculum design, teaching, and evaluation; 4) compared with colleges, high school students are much more diverse in terms of language aptitude, motivation, and plans for future study, which limits what can be done in class; 5) the limited amount of homework teachers can assign for self-study; and 6) difficulties to continue instruction for advanced level students if there are too few students to open a separate class. (NFLC) Another obstacle is that an increasing number of research on immigrant Chinese language teachers in the U.S. tries to look for underlying reasons explaining teachers’ tolerance of poor student performance, including behaviors and language accuracy (Inan, 2012; Arva & Medgyes, 1999). Exploring and understanding Chinese language teachers’ social strategies at the early career stage might be able to provide some explanations to this phenomenon and further be able to lend some implications for teacher training programs and schools.

Personally, as an immigrant to the United States, I have noticed my curriculum orientations, assumptions about students’ expectations, and strategies at various school settings have changed over the past nine years. Currently as a senior Graduate Teaching Assistant at a large public university in the Midwest, I often provide advice on teaching for novice instructors. While giving my opinions to novice teachers in this field, I have observed their practices and
changes and reflected on my own development, looking for similarities and differences of patterns during the socialization process of becoming a Chinese language teacher in the U.S. Having in-depth and systematic research on this process will provide more resources for foreign language teacher education programs, especially for less commonly taught languages such as Chinese.

**Significance of the study**

This study can provide an initial understanding of cultural, personal, and professional factors that affect professional development of novice Chinese language teachers. It can provide insights for innovations for foreign language teacher education programs. It may also be helpful for administrators to develop more effective communication in school environments. Lastly, it can help teachers better understand their teaching by reflecting on their teaching beliefs and practices.

**Chapter summary**

This chapter presents an introduction to this study. Based on the addressed rationale, purpose, theoretical framework, and significance of this study, research questions are proposed. In addition, professional and personal reflections relating to this study are provided as well.

**Organization of the dissertation**

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter I provides an introduction of this study and proposes overarching and underlying research questions. Chapter II provides a review of the literature that is related to this study, which includes literature of teacher education for foreign language teachers in the U.S., pedagogical training and practices for teaching CFL in China and the U.S., and the theoretical framework. Chapter III provides a detailed description the methodology that this study employs, including a summary of the pilot study. Chapter IV
presents data analysis and findings in response to the three research questions. Chapter V provides conclusions and discussions of this research based on the analysis and findings, and also provides recommendations for future studies.
Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

In order to understand how the interactions between CFL teachers and the contexts of their teacher training programs and K-12 schools shaped the novice CFL teachers’ perceptions and practices of teaching, this chapter reviews the overall context of Chinese language education in the U. S., teacher education for CFL/ CSL teachers both in the U.S. and China, characteristics of the group of CFL teachers in the U.S., and theories of teacher socialization and social strategies that serve as the theoretical framework for this study.

Teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S.

With rapidly increasing economic exchanges and more frequent political and cultural communications with China, CFL in the United States has been brought to the spotlight as a critical language for purposes of security and better communication from the shadows of foreign language in America in the past few decades (Xiao, 2011).

Although teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S. started in 1871 at Yale, the number of college students learning Chinese was only 1,844 in 1960 (Zhou, 2011, p.137). Chinese language education only moved beyond universities in the 1940s (Tsung and Cruickshank, 2011). With the slow expansion of Chinese programs in universities, high schools in San Francisco received support from universities to develop their Chinese programs and courses for K-12 students and teachers (Zhou, 2011, p.138). Speaking and learning Chinese as a second or foreign language moved gradually from scholars and students in prestigious universities towards educators and students in many four-year comprehensive universities and K-12 schools in the United States in the past several decades.

Unlike the first expansion in universities due to needs of the army and Peace Corps right after World War II, the second rapid expansion was due to the growing economical and political
relationship between China and the U.S. (Tsung and Cruickshank, 2011). In 2000, a national survey by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) showed approximately 5,000 students enrolled in various Chinese language programs in the U.S. (Gao, 2010). This number increased tenfold in seven years, which brought Chinese language into the spotlight of foreign language education in American public schools (Matus, 2008). Chinese language programs are now in over 500 schools and universities in the U.S., and establishing and developing Chinese language programs has recently figured more prominently at the school level of language policies (Tsung & Cruickshank, 2011). In addition, the widely spread establishment of Confucius Institutes that are supported by Hanban (The Office of Chinese Language Council International) played an important role in recent expansion of Chinese language programs in K-12 schools in the U.S. (Tsung & Cruickshank, 2011).

The development of teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language in the United States can hardly be separated from the continuous influx of immigrants and globalization processes (Zhou, 2011). According to Xiao’s ethnolinguistic research, there were three major waves of Chinese immigration to America the first wave started from the mid-nineteenth century when most Chinese immigrants with very limited education backgrounds arrived to build railroads in California. Since this group of immigrants faced inequality and racial discrimination at that time, Chinese language was marginalized in the field of foreign language education in the U.S. Therefore, unlike Spanish or German, Chinese was a “long neglected” and “less-commonly” taught foreign language in America (Xiao, 2011). The second wave started from mid-twentieth century due to the legislation on new immigration policies in 1965. During the second wave, Chinese immigrants were more educated and financially better off compared to earlier Chinese immigrants (Xiao, 2011). This wave was later followed by the third from the
1980s to the present. Along with the development of relationships between China and the U.S. and China’s open-door and economic reform in the 1980s, the component of the latest Chinese immigrants shifted from Cantonese-speaking farmers towards Mandarin-speaking and well-educated Chinese (Xiao, 2011).

In addition, globalization contributed to the rapid expansion of Chinese language programs in the U.S. as well. In an article that examined globalization and language order, Zhou (2011) addressed that interest and investment in teaching and learning a foreign language are determined by the global language order. After the Cold War, the “National Security Education Act of 1991 was passed to educate American citizens to understand foreign cultures” in order to strengthen nation’s economic competitiveness and security (Zhou, 2011, p. 140). The events of 9/11 recalled the emergence of learning “strategically important world languages that are not now widely taught in the US” (STARTALK, 2015). The economy, politics, and cultural communications have all been increased during the process of globalization. Failures that Wal-Mart suffered in Germany and South Korea and successes that were gained by Starbucks and Hagen Dazs in China proved that understanding foreign languages and cultures of the target country is an important competency in the field of international business in the age of globalization (Zhou, 2011). China emerged as an economic superpower at the end of last century, especially marked by its entrance into WTO (World Trade Organization) in 2000 (Zhou, 2011). At present, China is America’s second largest source of imports and the largest foreign holder of U.S. Treasury Assets (Xiao, 2011, p186). In this context, learning Chinese as a foreign language became an important way to gain social capital and human capital in American society. At present, teaching and learning Chinese are not only limited to educational institutions, such as
secondary schools and universities, but also have been widely expanded to business settings and governments, such as international companies and militaries.

**Teacher education for teachers of CFL in the U.S.**

The increasing interest in learning Chinese language and culture and rapid expansion of Chinese language programs in American K-12 schools demands adequate numbers of Chinese language teachers. In 2004, there were 263 Chinese language programs in K-12 schools in America, and this number almost tripled in 2008 (Asia Society, 2010). This huge demand promotes alternative certification programs to college-based teacher education (Stoddart & Floden, 1996). Two main factors are believed to contribute to this change in teacher education in the U.S. One factor is that teacher shortage is “localized in specific subject areas, grade levels, and geographic contexts” (Stoddart & Floden, p. 84). Guest teachers from China, heritage-language speakers, and NS of English are identified as three kinds of Chinese language teachers in American language classroom (Asia Society, 2010) Among them, guest teachers who are employed through The Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban), the College Board, and the Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program of the U.S. Department of Education, form the majority of teacher force in K-12 Chinese language programs (Asia Society, 2010). According to the data in 2010, there were about 350 guest teachers working in American schools with a three-year contract and financially supported by the Chinese government (Dillion, 2010). This large amount of guest teachers indicates that there is a severe shortage of Chinese language teachers trained in the U.S. Unfortunately, this kind of shortage is unlikely to be solved through the source of traditional college-based teacher education. As Stoddart and Floden (1996) pointed out, teacher shortage “tend to be localized in specific subject areas, grade levels, and geographical contexts” (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 84). On the other hand, their research also
showed that the number of traditional age college students who enrolled in teacher certificate programs did not meet the demands. They also predicted that this kind of shortage would continue, especially in specific subject areas and geographical contexts. As for CFL teachers in the U.S., the number of undergraduate students who are able to reach certain Chinese language proficiency and willing to join teacher certificate programs are very limited, due to the difficulty of the language and the limit of the population of this group. In addition, most alternative certification programs try to keep the teaching qualification by requiring passing a subject-matter exam (Stoddart & Floden, 1996). For foreign language teachers, the subject-matter exam refers to specific language proficiency exam. Some were concerned that this change shifted the focus of teacher certification “from pedagogical competence to general academic competence” (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 87). Having a large quantity of CFL guest teachers from China with short-term contracts to solve the shortage reflects this concern at some point. Guest CFL teachers from China are mainly selected from teachers who are native speakers of Chinese and with some experiences of EFL or CSL in China. This group of teachers, which is the majority, is exactly the group that needs training in pedagogical competence in the context of American K-12 schools. Struggles these teachers experience reflect this concern.

Although there are programs dedicated to Chinese language teachers education, most certified Chinese language teachers are trained in general foreign language education programs. Understanding the teacher education for Chinese language teachers in the U.S. requires a comprehensive understanding of teacher education for foreign language teachers in the U.S.

Research on foreign language teacher education in the past few decades focuses on three aspects. One is what and how foreign language teachers should be taught (Bernhardt & Hammadou, 1987). Some proposed focusing on teachers, language skills and teaching strategies
on communicative practices, while some other scholars tried to provide theoretical models for teacher education programs (Bernhardt & Hammadou, 1987). Meanwhile, teaching effectiveness was carefully examined and characteristics of effective teaching were summarized as teaching strategies that were introduced to foreign language teachers (Bernhardt & Hammadou, 1987). On the other hand, unlike replying to specific matters of foreign language teaching and learning, some other scholars addressed the coherence of all elements of foreign language teacher education from teacher selection, knowledge base of general education, language proficiency, knowledge of language acquisition and teaching methods, intercultural competence, to abilities of curriculum and professional development (Bernhardt & Hammadou, 1987).

Another aspect is on teaching practices of foreign language teachers in the classroom. Research on this aspect mainly focuses on the proficiency level of the target language. The target language proficiency is viewed as a key to teaching effectiveness. Thus, plans containing coursework in the target language and residency in the target culture were proposed elements to incorporate into foreign language teacher education programs (Bernhardt & Hammadou, 1987). Although studies also addressed lesson planning skills and classroom management, overall, the research on teaching effectiveness of foreign language teachers was mainly based on behaviorist approach that focused on “discrete aspects in a day in the life of a teacher without considering the full context within which the act of teaching takes place” (Bernhardt & Hammadou, 1987, p.291).

The third aspect focused on the problematic intention of training all foreign language teachers who work at K-12 through graduate school in one model (Bernhardt & Hammadou, 1987). The contexts, including working environment, expectations, priority tasks, student groups
of K-12 teachers, teaching assistants, and university professors are very distinctive from each other. One model for all is neither suitable nor effective.

Foreign language teacher education usually comprises competence of the subject matter, curriculum development and classroom management, understanding of learning and teaching, and teaching methods courses and field experiences. However, for foreign language teachers, no matter which level of schooling they teach, the various backgrounds of education, culture, language proficiency, and prior learning and teaching experiences obscure the complexity of their process of becoming teachers in terms of interactions, interpretations, and negotiations within the group and within the context of teacher education and actual classroom teaching (Fox, 1999). Besides the lack of understanding and research on the aspects listed above, Chinese language teachers in the U.S. also face the dilemma that other LCTL teachers have: teacher education courses are designed with very little attention to particular needs of specific languages, especially LCTLs (Omaggio & Shinall, 1987). Nonetheless, the contrary situation to this dilemma is the difficulty of learning LCTLs due to the language and cultural distances between them and that of native English speakers. The isolation of these languages in use and less attention in teacher education for LCTL teachers separate groups of teachers within the context of their teacher education, and then further isolate these teachers in the context of their working community. This kind of isolation adds to the complexity of the socialization process of becoming a Chinese language teacher in American K-12 schools.

Although teachers of CFL in the U.S. are isolated at a certain level in their teacher education and school environment as mentioned above, it is also true that professional development organizations and publications on Chinese language teaching and learning formed a broad community for teachers of CFL in America. Two leading U.S. based professional
development associations that now also operate as part of ACTFL were founded after the 1960s, when Chinese programs in the U.S. started to expand rapidly. Both associations work towards the improvement of Chinese education in K-12 schools. CLASS (Chinese Language Association of Secondary and elementary Schools), founded in 1987, “promotes the teaching and learning of Chinese language and culture at PreK-12 schools in the United States” (CLASS, 2015, November 17). The other group, CLTA (Chinese Language Teachers Association), founded in 1962, contains half of its membership from postsecondary schools in the world. However it has an increasing number of membership teachers from secondary schools (CLTA). This tendency shows that the focus on Chinese language learning and teaching in the U.S. shifted from universities, where this field started, and thrived into secondary schools.

Among certified teachers of CFL in the U.S., some teachers, such as those with Bachelor degrees from China and those who are associated with a Confucius Institute, already had prior teacher education in CSL (Chinese as a Second Language) in China. When they were trained as CSL teachers in China, their future students vary in different settings and backgrounds. Some learners are college age students, some are K-12 age students in international schools, and some are businessmen. Their previous education of CSL should be taken into consideration in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the socialization process of this group of CFL teachers in the U.S.

With the boom of foreign students in Chinese universities in the 1990s, a complete certificate system for TCFL/ TCSL was gradually developed in Chinese universities and finally founded in 1998 when Beijing Language Institute (now Beijing Language and Culture University) started its doctoral program in TCFL for foreign graduates (Lu & Zhao, 2011). Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education developed examinations and approved regulations for
qualification certificate of TCFL (Lu & Zhao, 2011). From the early 1990s till early 2000s, TCFL as a discipline was established with various teacher training programs from undergraduate to doctoral levels, including native and non-native speakers, development of publishing and professional organizations, and regulations for qualification certificate and professional development.

Teaching Chinese as a second or foreign language in China was significantly influenced by approaches and methods of language training programs at Harvard University in the U.S. and programs in the Soviet Union in the 1950s (Lu & Zhao, 2011). Audio-Lingual Method (ALM) was adopted with an emphasis on grammar explanation and comparison on language patterns. Critiques on these methods and approaches are weakness of communicative language skills and over-emphasis of Chinese linguistic knowledge (Lu & Zhao, 2011). Along with the political and economic “Open Door” policy in the 1980s, the Communicative Language Approach (CLA) was introduced into this field and eventually was adopted by textbooks and classroom teaching later in order to overcome the shortcomings of earlier teaching approaches such as ALM (Lu & Zhao, 2011). CLA tries to link the classroom learning and the actual language environment through using authentic materials, the target language, and integrating learners’ previous experiences. Unlike ALM, CLA views communication as both means and goal of language learning. In the 1990s, the movement of task-based instruction in foreign language teaching swept TCFL in China as it did in the United States. The concept of student-centered teaching and learning certainly prompted reflections and changes on teaching and teacher education programs of TCFL in China since then.

**Teachers of CFL in K-12 schools in the U.S.**
Besides having different training backgrounds, Chinese language teachers are also divided into NS and NNS teachers. Differences in educational backgrounds and language proficiency levels may also be influential factors that contribute to their processes of teacher socialization. Along with developments of methods of foreign language teaching and arguments among different orientations of teaching methods, research on similarities and differences of NS and NNS foreign language teachers has involved comprehensive aspects ranging from classroom practices to underlying believes of teaching and learning.

Within the past several decades, communicative language teaching methods (CLA) have become the endorsed trend replacing audiolingualism (ALM) in foreign language classroom and this switch of teaching method caused reflection on teachers’ roles in the classroom (Blyth, 2002). The phrase teacher’s role refers to perceptions on teaching and their behaviors in the classroom (Blyth, 2002). Research finds that a communicative language teaching approach can only be truly conducted when teachers are conscious of and understand their role in classroom (Lee and VanPatten 1995, p.3). The finding of this research indicates that teachers’ perspectives of teaching and accordingly practices in classroom are highly correlated with effect of teaching approaches. As Finger (2002) points out, CLA requires teachers to become a facilitators who help construct the learning process with students instead of a traditional linguistic expert.

The inseparable relationship among teachers’ perspective of teaching, their practices, choices of teaching methods, and the effect of teaching approaches leads to the heated arguments about NS and NNS teachers in foreign language education. Finger believes that NS teachers have prestige in language classroom because the standards of the language use are set up by the community of NS, and this kind of prestige causes obstacles for changes of instructional methods (Finger, 2002). The process of setting up standards of language use builds the prestige of NS
teachers, whose role is considered as “expert or linguistic disciplinarian” (Finger, 2002, p.43). As mentioned earlier, this kind of teachers’ role is different from roles of facilitators and coworkers. Therefore, teaching practices and perspectives on teaching differ accordingly.

In order to explore this kind of commonly held assumption that NS teachers are the ideal foreign language instructor, research on NS and NNS teachers in foreign language classrooms have been conducted. Most studies have been focused on EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classrooms around the world. One study that investigates attitudes of Thai students towards NS and NNS English speaking teachers shows that students have explicit preference for NS teachers, which is consistent with earlier research in this field (Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009). The researchers argue that this kind of NS model should be reconsidered based on three main reasons. First, the growth of English as an international language challenged the standards of language use. Second, because of the growth of English as an international language, NS are not superior to NNS in terms of language use and teaching. Third, other than the linguistic aspects, preference on teachers should also consider other elements of this profession, such as dedication and willingness to change (Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009).

Another study that was also conducted in Thailand focuses on NNS English teachers in terms of their classroom practices and commitment to teaching (Hayes, 2009). This study suggests that understanding the sociocultural and educational contexts is necessary and critical when evaluating appropriateness and effectiveness of different language teaching methods (Hayes, 2009). This study reveals that learning and teaching contexts of a foreign language should be prior consideration rather than comparing the language competence of NS and NNS teachers.
As important as this conclusion, some studies focusing on similarities and differences of teaching behaviors between NS and NNS teachers in ESL/EFL classrooms share an interesting finding: NS teachers are relatively more tolerant than NNS teachers in terms of error correction (Inan, 2012; Arva & Medgyes, 1999), although NNS student-teachers usually have specific anxiety on “communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation” (Kunt & Tum, 2010).

Narrowing down the scope from foreign language education, especially mainly EFL, to LCTLs, research findings are similar. A study that tries to understand students' attitudes and preferences toward NS and NNS teachers was conducted in a southwestern American university. The result of this study shows that compared to European language classrooms, students have a stronger preference for NS teachers in Chinese language classrooms (Meadows & Muramatsu, 2007). Evaluating both knowledge of the target language and teaching effectiveness, although NNS teachers can present to students a learning model and provide valuable learning experiences as a second or foreign language learner, they are still not students’ first preference in many cases (Meadows & Muramatsu, 2007). The analysis of this research’s data shows that having accurate pronunciation is considered as an important criteria for a good foreign language instructor. The difference between NS teachers and native-like fluency in speaking also contributed to students’ favor of NS teachers (Meadows & Muramatsu, 2007). Another research that focuses on the group of Chinese language teachers reveals that students from novice and intermediate level Chinese classes believe that the rotation of NS and NNS teachers are beneficial for their learning (Crosier & Huang, 2012). On the one hand, research suggests there should not be priority to have NS teacher in foreign language classrooms; nor that the teacher, NS or NNS, have a prestige variety of the target language. Other elements, such as dedication and local contexts, should be
taken into account when evaluating the teaching of NS versus that of NNS teachers. On the other hand, the findings of the research still reveal the reality that NS teachers are preferred over NNS teachers in general. The NNS teachers experience different kinds of anxiety from NS teachers in the foreign language classroom.

As for Chinese language teachers in K-12 schools in America, the numbers of NS and NNS teachers are both increasing in recent years. Understanding strengths and struggles of both NS and NNS Chinese language teachers in the U.S. requires knowing their learning and teaching experiences both in China or the United States.

**Teacher socialization**

The term “socialization” was defined by Sociologist Robert Merton (1957) as a process “by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interest, skills and knowledge – in short the culture – current in groups of which they are, or seek to become, a member” (Lacey, 1977, p.13). Based on this definition, the socialization of teachers is not only limited to learning to teach, but also includes changes on perceptions of teaching. In addition, these changes in perceptions are crucial parts during the process of teacher socialization.

Criticisms on Merton’s definition pointed out other important characteristics of teacher socialization. Considering teaching as an occupation, changes on perceptions requires the process of developing a teacher’s perspective within specific contexts (Lacey, 1977). In various contexts, teachers observe and interpret circumstances when they interact with administrators, staff, fellow colleagues, students, parents, and associate communities, in forming a teacher perspective. Acquiring a teacher perspective is at the center of the process of teacher socialization (Lacey, 1977).
There are different views on the process of forming a teacher perspective. The functionalist model of socialization views the teacher as a relatively passive receiver that is filled with attitudes and beliefs of the context where the teacher is within (Lacey, 1977). However, unlike this functionalist view of socialization that is based on the assumption of unchanging society, another opponent view, which is the conflict model of socialization, points out the inevitable changes of societies. Besides considering the change of the contexts, the conflict model of socialization also points out layers of socialization. It believes that the primary socialization occurs within a homogeneous group and the secondary socialization occurs within a group of mixed social classes, ethnicities, religious beliefs and the like (Lacey, 1977). As for teachers, especially foreign language teachers in the U.S., such as a Chinese language teacher, they experience differences between their primary socialization, learning to become a teacher, and their secondary socialization, interacting with their peers, professors, school administrators and colleagues, students, and parents who hold different backgrounds of ethnicities, social classes, religions, and beliefs beneath. Therefore, the socialization process of these teachers is a complex process of interacting and negotiating with their contexts, and making choices of behaviors and beliefs.

The interactive and mutative characteristics of teachers’ socialization process are rooted in Blummer’s theory of symbolic interactionism. In this theory, Blummer points out that the interactions between human beings and between people and things are largely based on the interpretations people make about the meanings of these things and people for them (Blummer, 1969; Mahllos, 2002). The theory of symbolic interactionism is viewed as a sound approach to scientific studies of human group life and human conduct (Blummer, 1969). There are four central conceptions in this theory. First, human beings act based on the meanings of objects in
their world. Second, human beings interact based on their interpretations of each other’s acts and this interaction is a process. Third, social acts are constructed through a process of interpreting and assessing situations that human beings confront. Forth, the process of interactions and mutual influences are not static. On the contrary, it is a changing process (Blummer, 1969). As for the socialization process, it is a dynamic and interactive process among people and all factors of the contexts. Both society and people who are within the society interpret meanings of symbols and modify actions and changes. In terms of teacher socialization, teachers’ roles negotiation is the core of their socialization (Bullough, Knowles, and Crow, 1992). Based on the view which understands the process of interaction individuals have with each other and within society by interpreting meanings of symbols, becoming a teacher is a socialization process that involves making meanings from the context of teacher education programs and the context of actual practices as a pre-service teacher (Mahlios, 2002).

**Theory of social strategies**

Research found that student teachers’ early reaction to their teacher education courses is greatly influenced by their subject specialization of their first degree (Lacey, 1977). Because of the critical factor that their prior subject specializations plays in their meaning making of their teacher education, subject sub-cultures develops when a group of student teachers face common problems and situations (Lacey, 1977). Within an isolated group, student teachers have intensive interactions with each other. This interactive socialization process is not only limited to learning to teach, but also includes changes on perceptions (Lacey, 1977). During the socialization process, teachers’ perceptions of teaching and learning are shaped by internal and external factors. The interactions among all elements form a dynamic process.
Besides identifying dimensions of novice CFL teachers’ changes, Lacey’s theory of social strategies provides a conceptual framework to analyze patterns and models of teachers’ changes in their socialization process. In Lacey’s theory, socialization is understood as a process of constant choice making in contexts (Lacey, 1977). In order to understand this process, Lacey uses the term “social strategy” (p. 69) to describe choices and responses that pre-service teachers make during their interactions within specific contexts “for survival and success” (Lacey, 1977, p. 69; & Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). Lacey believes that choices of social strategies are influenced by teacher’s interpretations of the situation and the quality of their performance (Lacey, 1977). Considering factors that influence choices of strategies and survival and success purposes, Lacey describes three social strategies.

One social strategy is called internalized adjustment, which refers to changes from internal beliefs to external behaviors teachers have as a response to authorities’ perceptions and decisions. During the teacher education, professors and contents of teacher education programs serve roles as authorities. In actual teaching, supervisors, senior colleges, and the school culture serve as authorities. For the purpose of surviving, some novice teachers may choose to follow their authorities’ perceptions and decisions from behavior to beliefs in teaching. This strategy tends to be adopted by those whose skills are limited or excessive for the teaching assignment values corresponding with the institution, no matter it is the program or the school (Lacey, 1977).

Another is named as strategic compliance, which refers to a middle ground in which changes are made on the dimension of behaviors without actual changes at the dimension of underlying values and beliefs. Unlike the internalized adjustment strategy, which adopts authorities’ perceptions both in dimensions of behavior and beliefs, this strategy only adopts changes on the dimension of behavioral level for the purpose of survival. A study shows that pre-
service teachers who tend to adopt this strategy are likely to have a gradual change in beliefs and eventually adopt the internalized adjustment strategy, even though their values are different from institutions at the beginning (Lacey, 1977).

The third social strategy is called strategic redefinition, which is moving further away from internal adjustment by attempting to widen the acceptance range of behaviors within a social context (Lacey, 1977). A strategy may not be accepted until the performance brings positive outcomes. Having such performance requires skills that novice teachers obtain excess the teaching assignment. By having different values from institutions and skills, some teachers tend to widen the acceptance range of behaviors in schools through positive outcomes from students. If internalized adjustment and strategic compliance strategies are the choices more for surviving as pre-service teachers, the strategic redefinition is more for the purpose of success. Choices of these three social strategies are made by student teachers when they interact with factors of diverse contexts. It is also a dynamic process that choices of these social strategies may change, depending on the corresponding level of teachers’ skills and their teaching assignments, their teaching performances and outcomes, and values they and their institutions hold. Adapting this conceptual framework can help one understand the relationship between changes at different dimensions that teachers experience in their socialization process and factors of particular contexts.

**Chapter summary**

This chapter provides an overall review of literature with regards to the contexts of becoming Chinese language teachers in K-12 schools in the U.S. and theories of teacher socialization. After integrated theories, research findings, and national data of Chinese language learning and teaching in the U.S., this chapter first presents the overall context of teaching and
learning in the U.S., including program developments and needs and underlying factors that contribute to the development of Chinese language programs in the U.S. Within this overall context, an introduction of teacher education for CFL in the U.S. and CSL in China is presented as well considering distinguished training backgrounds that may influence the socialization process of these teachers. In addition, due to the complexity of the group of Chinese language teachers in the U.S., this chapter also reviews characteristics of different groups who obtain various ethnical, educational, and language backgrounds, such as NS and NNS teachers. Third, but equally important, theories of teacher socialization and social strategies that serve as the theoretical framework are presented in this chapter.
Chapter 3: Methodology

Rationale for using a qualitative approach

This study seeks to understand how novice Chinese language teachers’ perceptions of teaching and their program goals influence and interact with their teaching in real classrooms and how more broadly these elements contribute to their socialization as Chinese language teachers. In order to understand this overarching research question, it is also necessary to understand the perspectives and experiences of these novice Chinese language teachers, specifically in regards to social contexts. Answering questions about their socialization process requires “a systematic, empirical strategy” (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman, 2007, p.96) to describe and attempt to understand how people interact with their world. Qualitative studies lay the emphasis on identifying “how people interact with their world (what they do), and then to determine how they experience and understand that world: how they feel, what they believe, and how they explain structure and relationships within some segment of their existence” (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman, 2007, p.99). Qualitative studies are, thus, necessary and suitable research method for this study. In addition, the central idea of qualitative research is that “meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world” (Merriam & Associates, 2002, p.3). How novice teachers of CFL in the U.S. interpret the meanings of various contexts and make decisions on social strategies based on their interactions and interpretations are the process of social construction.

The research questions of this study are asking how these teachers interact with their contexts of learning and practicing to be a teacher, and what social strategies they apply during that interaction, rather than trying to find statistically significant relationships (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). A strength of the qualitative approach is that thoughts, experiences, attitudes,
and beliefs of interviewees can be discussed in-depth in order to find out the underlying reasons of their behaviors (Babbie, 2007; Lindof & Taylor, 2011). In other words, this study is investigating what experiences novice teachers of CFL have in teacher education programs and classroom teaching in schools, as well as their feelings and social strategies they apply in the interactions within context. This investigation is not intended to test theories of teacher socialization and teacher change, but to extend and expand theories from the scope of a group of novice CFL teachers who have complex backgrounds, experiences, and beliefs. Further, the survey of background information and semi-structure qualitative interviews this study uses can also allow the researcher to explore underlying attitudes and beliefs of interviewees through descriptions of stories and examples, explanations for their statements, and follow-up conversations for clarification and confirmation.

Participants

The following two criteria guided the selection of the participants of this study: First, they should be graduate students currently enrolled in or just finished their teacher preparation/license programs at a graduate school level in the U.S. This indicates that they should already have obtained B.A. degrees either from institutions in the U.S. or abroad. They may or may not have prior training or experiences of TCFL, either in the U.S. or abroad. However, they should be graduate students who are going to or already obtained a masters degree in Education or related fields and a state license ensures their qualification of TCFL in K-12 schools in that state.

Second, they should currently practice or have recently finished practice teaching CFL in various settings in the U.S. The teacher socialization process during the time period of becoming a teacher has critical influence on teachers’ professional development later. This study focused on novice teachers, therefore, the participants of this study were novice teachers who have had
experiences in TCFL in American schools as student teachers and just started to teach CFL in K-12 schools in the U.S. The setting of their teaching varied from one to another, but the experience of being a novice teacher of CFL in the U.S. was the essential characteristic of the sample participants.

The participants’ selection process had four phases. During the first phase, a list of representative foreign language teacher education programs at the graduate school level in the U.S. was selected including information on the program, affiliated department, school, college and institution, and contact information of professors and coordinators who are in charge of the program and field experiences. A list of representative K-12 schools that have Chinese language programs was selected as well. The selections of the representative programs and schools were based on three criteria. First, it had to be a Master program. Second, the program must contain the subject matter of CFL. If CFL was not mentioned or listed separately as a subject matter, the program has to contain foreign language education, world languages, or languages other than English as subject matter. Third, the selected programs and schools represented various geographical regions from coast to coast of the United States. Ideally, selected programs and schools were located in the West Coast, Midwest, and East Coast. Additionally, in order to expand the pool of potential participants, the researcher also reached out to in-service CFL teachers and CFL program coordinators on LinkedIn and Facebook CFL groups.

The second phase of participant selection was contacting the faculty, program advisors, in-service teachers on LinkedIn and Facebook groups, or program coordinators who are in charge of the selected programs and schools. The purpose of this study and necessary approved Human Subjects materials were emailed to them (see Appendix VII). These individuals were essential in the identification of prospective participants. The advantage of conducting this phase of
participant selection is that by contacting other program supervisors and faculty, the potential participants are not limited to the researcher’s convenient data. On the contrary, the pool of potential participants were a good representative of regions, languages, and cultural and training backgrounds.

The third phase was only conducted after getting an affirmative response from the second phase. In this phase, the researcher contacted potential participants based on the information that program faculty, supervisors, in-service CFL teachers, or pre-service CFL teachers provided. The purpose of this study, data collection procedures, and related Human Subjects approved documents were emailed to them. After gathering all responses from phase three, the final phase of participant selection was making appointments with those who agreed to participate in this study.

Regarding the number of participants, there were three considerations: First, due to the nature of this study as qualitative research, the sample size should follow the concept of saturation proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This concept points out that the collection of new data does not lead to more information. This indicates that collected data reaches the necessary limit of its sample size. Based on the literature of guidelines for sample sizes of qualitative research, the size ranges from two to fifty and varies from one type of qualitative research to another (Mason, 2010). The second consideration is the reality of the limits of time duration, funding, and sources for a PhD dissertation (Mason, 2010). The third but also the most important consideration is “the scope of the study, the nature of this topic, the quality of the data, the study design” (Morse, 2000, p.4) and the use of data. Due to the three considerations presented above, the researcher of this study reached out through various channels to look for as many participants with different backgrounds as possible. The final selection was made based on
the variation of potential participants’ regional, language and cultural backgrounds, and prior training and teaching experiences. A survey of background information (Appendix II) was emailed to assist the researcher’s selecting decision of potential participants. When the number of responses was not as many as the researcher expected for this qualitative research, follow-up emails were sent to those who had not responded. At this final phase of participant selection, the researcher confirmed with participants about the time and locations of interviews. After these four phases of participant selection, seven research participants were selected and finished their interviews out of seventeen enthusiastic contacts who were initially willing to participate in this study. To protect identities of the participants and programs, schools, and other people that were mentioned in this study, pseudonyms were used for participants’ names and other names were not mentioned specifically. Information about each of the seven participants can be seen in Table 1.

Data collection

Lindlof and Taylor (2011) point out that qualitative interviews are purposeful conversations and critical tools for understanding people’s perspectives. Other scholars also believe that the flexible, interactive, and continuous characteristics of interviews can lead to a clearer model of the phenomenon (Babbie, 2007). In addition, interviews can also allow participants to share their perceptions of their role within contexts by telling stories about how they interact with themselves and their world (Silverman, 2006). What can be gained from interviews are not simply reports of external realities, but interviewee’s interpretations of their reality (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). That is precisely what this study tries to explore: how pre-service teachers of CFL interpret and respond to their realities. Therefore, applying qualitative interviews is a suitable way to collect data.
Table 1: Information of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender as participants identified</th>
<th>Ethnicity as participants identified</th>
<th>Graduate program in the U.S.</th>
<th>Working information</th>
<th>Languages used in interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Asian studies</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Northeast</td>
<td>Chinese, with code-switch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caitlyn</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>TESOL</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Midwest</td>
<td>Chinese, with code-switch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caleb</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>TESOL Foreign language education</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Midwest</td>
<td>English, with code-switch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>World language education Licensure program</td>
<td>Elementary school in the North</td>
<td>Chinese, with code-switch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicole</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>TESOL</td>
<td>Pre, K, and Elementary school in the South</td>
<td>Chinese, with code-switch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valorie</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Asian studies</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Northeast</td>
<td>Chinese, with code-switch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>TCFL</td>
<td>Secondary schools in the East and West coasts</td>
<td>Chinese, with code-switch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviews were based on two similar interview protocols that address different language and cultural backgrounds of participants. The decision on applying which interview protocol depended on the gathered information from the questionnaire of demographic information (see Appendix II). This questionnaire focuses mainly on participants’ language proficiency and prior teaching experiences. These two aspects of information can distinguish the complex components of the group of Chinese language teachers in the U.S.
Based on these two main aspects, participants whose first language is Mandarin Chinese and were accepted to the program with Bachelor’s degrees from institutions in China were interviewed based on the interview protocol for NS teachers who came to America as adults (see Appendix II). This interview protocol begins by asking questions that try to understand participants’ general experiences before they came to the U.S. Questions then move on to specific inquiries about participants’ perspectives and experiences in the context of their teacher training programs. Inquiries in this session try to answer the first research question: what kinds of social strategies did novice CFL teachers apply when they interact with program goals, course content, and professors? The third part of this interview protocol focuses on participants’ perspectives and experiences in the context of their classroom teaching. Inquiries were designed to look for answers to the second research question of this study: what kinds of social strategies do novice CFL teachers apply when they interact with their school milieu and broader communities? Lastly, the interview protocol concludes with a few questions about their professional future, including their working plans in the future, as well as descriptions of the ideal working environment they wish for. These questions were intended to gather their current attitudes and beliefs and compare them to the perspectives they stated earlier in the interview.

The group of NNS identified by the questionnaire of demographic information should be further divided into two different groups. One is the group of participants whose mother tongues are other than Mandarin Chinese. Their learning experiences of Chinese language and culture can be very different from each other. Some obtain degrees in Chinese language from American institutions with or without studying abroad experiences in China. Some learned Chinese language from living and working experiences in China. The variations of their Chinese language learning experiences reflect on their language proficiency levels, teaching practices,
and underlying beliefs of teaching and learning Chinese. The other group of participants are domestic NS teachers who were born in or immigrated to America as children and grew up in Chinese language or bilingual (Chinese and English) environment at home. The biggest difference between domestic NS teachers and NS teachers who came to the U.S. as adults is that domestic NS teachers grew up in the context of both Chinese and Western languages and cultures. However, they are trained domestically in the U.S., where course content and values of learning and teaching are significantly different from NS teachers who came to study and work as adults. Meanwhile, domestic NS teachers also are familiar with the culture of American schools as NNS teachers. Yet grown up in Chinese families, they were immersed in Chinese culture and language as well.

Therefore, different from the interview protocol for NS teacher who came to America as adults, the other interview protocol was designed for NNS teachers and domestic NS teachers. This interview protocol begins with a few questions to get some general understanding of the participants, including reasons of deciding to become a teacher of CFL, prior learning experiences of Chinese, and description of an ideal Chinese language teacher in American K-12 schools from their perspectives. The rest of this interview protocol remains the same as the one for NS teachers.

In order to allow participants fully express their opinions, the interview accommodated the language preference (Chinese or English) of each interviewee. Code-switch was allowed at any time during each interview no matter what language preference the interviewee chooses.

Considering that the participants were all around the United States, the interviews were conducted online or by phone calls for participants whose locations were out of the state where the researcher was located. Whether video or voice interview via internet or phone calls was used
depended on each interviewee’s preference. The researcher also accommodated the software preference of online video or voice chatting of each interviewee. Face-to-face interviews were conducted instead of online chatting if participants’ locations were in the state of the researcher’s residency.

At the beginning of each interview, the purpose of this study and the procedures of data collection were briefly introduced. An informed consent statement was presented to the participants as well. To conduct the interview, the informed consent statement was signed voluntarily by each participant prior to the interview and they were allowed to withdraw from the study at any point, as the informed consent statement addressed. For distant participants, informed consent statement was emailed in advance.

The questionnaire of demographic information (see Appendix I) was completed first before asking interview questions. After the questionnaire was completed, appropriate interview protocol was chosen by the researcher based on participants’ demographic information in the questionnaire. Again, for those participants who were not going to have face-to-face interviews, the questionnaire was emailed along with the informed consent letter. Data from the questionnaire was only collected after receiving participants’ signatures on the informed consent statements.

Each interview lasted approximately between forty minutes and an hour. Regardless of the way the interview was conducted, all interviews were audio recorded for the purpose of accurate data analysis. During the interview, probing of both positive and negative experiences was encouraged by the researcher.

The interview protocols and questionnaire were revised based on the preliminary data from the pilot study. The pilot study was conducted prior to the interviews of Chinese language
teachers nationwide. Participants of the pilot study could be student-teachers of any foreign language taught in the U.S., but having student teachers of LCTLs and even CFL would be ideal.

**Pilot study**

In order to make sure the questions in the survey and interview protocols generate the kind of information this study sought, a pilot study was conducted prior to the nationwide investigation. According to Baker (1994), a 10-20% sample size of the actual study can be considered reasonable and valid for a pilot study. The major study was looking for at least six participants. Based on Baker’s theory of sample sizes of pilot studies, two participants were found for this pilot study.

Prior to the pilot study, applications for conducting the pilot and major studies along with the consent letter, survey and interview protocols were reviewed and approved by IRB. Through a faculty of the GLP (Graduate Licensure Program) at the University, the researcher reached out to all students who are currently enrolled in this program and other students who took foreign language teaching methods courses with this faculty. Eventually, two CFL students agreed to participate in this pilot study. This pilot study shaped the future major study in the following two aspects.

First, the process of looking for participants, data collection, and data analysis led to two minor adjustments in the major study. One was the critics of choosing participants. Prior to the pilot study, the researcher was looking for participants that fit the following two criteria: 1) they should be graduate students currently enrolled in or just finished their teacher preparation programs at a graduate school level in the U.S.; 2) they should currently practice or have recently finished practice teaching in various settings in the U.S. As for the participants of the pilot study, one was enrolled in a teacher licensure program as an undergraduate at the time, but he
started practicing teaching and planned to teach Chinese in K-12 schools in the U.S. He had very limited experience in CFL. Most of his methods of CFL teaching were based on his own English learning experiences. The other participant had Chinese language teaching experiences in various settings in the U.S., but he was a PhD student at the time and not sure about working at K-12 setting after graduation. Most of his teaching experiences were at post-secondary schools. His methods of CFL teaching were mainly built on both his teacher education in China and his study and work experiences in the U.S. The backgrounds of these two participants reflect the variety of licensure programs and potential CFL workforce in the U.S. Based on the variety and reality this pilot study reflected, the study needed to adjust the criteria of choosing participants in order to get a broader pool and a more comprehensive understanding of this group. The pilot study suggested that those who are currently enrolled in or just finished teacher preparation programs in the U.S. and should be novice teachers currently practicing or having recently finished practice teaching in various settings in the U.S. can be candidates for this study. Novice CFL teachers can provide rich data for the analysis of this study. Some novice CFL teachers may also enroll in some teacher education programs as well. Possible various responses to the choice of working at K-12 setting in the U.S. in the future may lead to interesting findings for this study.

The second minor adjustment was made on the design of the survey. Two items in the participant’s demographic information questionnaire were revised. Item 6, which is a chart that tries to gather the foreign language (s) learning information of the participant, was inserted a space that asks the participant to address what the foreign language is. Item 8, which sought information of participant’s previous foreign language teaching experiences, needs to add “other (s)” for participants to fill out experiences other than school setting, such as tutoring. These two items have been revised in the updated questionnaire (see Appendix I).
Second, the process of looking for participants, data collection, and data analysis ensured the comprehension, necessary procedures, reliability, and validity of the major study. In the pilot study, participants provided rich data by being allowed to choose Chinese to conduct the interviews with code-switch at any time. The rich data was also ensured by exploring both positive and negative experiences during the interview. As the interview was designed, each was conducted in a quiet reserved room and lasted approximately between forty minutes and an hour. Participants had no difficulties of understanding questions of interview protocols. Based on the data collection and analysis, interview protocols remained the same as in the original design. The data analysis was conducted simultaneously as soon as the data from the pilot study was collected, transcribed, and translated into English. After the researcher got familiar with the data by listening to the recordings and reading interview transcripts, the rich data from interviews started to be coded and categorized. Based on the research questions and theoretical framework, data were first coded and categorized into four parts (see Appendix V).

The first part was about the geographic information and related experiences prior to coming to the U.S. The two participants in this pilot study have very different educational backgrounds. This can provide data for comparisons in terms of similarities and differences among various groups of pre-service CFL teachers.

The second part focused on the interactions between the participants and their teacher education program, including courses, professors, and peers. In this part, data that were directly or closely related to strategies the participants applied in the context of teacher training were selected, focused, and transformed. The analysis of the data in this part showed that interestingly the younger participant who gained CFL training as an undergraduate in the U.S. did not apply the other two strategies that were considered more for surviving as pre-service teachers. Instead,
this participant applied the “strategic redefinition” as his social strategy during his interactions with his teacher education program. Contrarily, the other participant who had CFL training and teaching experiences both in China and the U.S. preferred “strategic compliance” as his strategy. Their choice of social strategy showed that their changes of contexts had a gradual influence on their behaviors and eventually on beliefs.

The third part was about the interactions between the participants and their student teaching, including students, parents, school environment, colleagues, and the community. As the second part, data that were directly or closely related to strategies the participants applied in the context of student teaching were selected, focused, and transformed. The analysis of the data in this part showed that both participants preferred “strategic compliance” as their social strategy during their interactions with students, parents, and schools. Regardless of their differences in age, training, and teaching experiences, they both had to lower their standards and expectations of their classes due to some realities, although their underlying values and beliefs of what and how Chinese language should be taught may change later.

In the last part, information about future careers and follow-ups of the study were collected. The analysis of the data about participants’ willingness and description of their ideal future working environment was used to validate the underlying relationship of their perspectives and behaviors of teaching.

The preliminary findings of the pilot study suggested that participants’ various training and teaching experiences contribute to their different choices of social strategies when they interact with their teacher education programs. Participants’ preferences of social strategies during their interaction with their schools were strongly influenced by the school milieu, such as attitudes of students, parents, and administrators. However, how long it may take to eventually
have changes on their values and beliefs are unknown from the current data. Patterns of social strategy choices of pre-service CFL teachers and underlying relationships require more data from the major study.

**Data analysis**

An active and continuous data analytical process was present throughout the entire qualitative research in order to transform raw data into explored findings (EBN notebook, 2000). Coffy and Atkinson (1996) also pointed out that researchers should conduct data analysis simultaneously as soon as data collection starts. Therefore, the data analysis of this study started as soon as data were collected from pilot interviews and transcribed and translated into English if necessary.

The strategies of analyzing data for this study followed the guidelines provided by Maxwell (2004). The initial step in qualitative analysis was getting familiar with the collected data, including listening to recordings and reading interview transcripts. Then the data analysis moved to the step of coding as well as keeping memos. Maxwell (2014) suggests that writing memos regularly during the process of data analysis can help obtain and facilitate a researcher’s analytic thinking about the data. Thus, while listening to the recordings and reading interview transcripts, the researcher obtained memos regarding reflections and thinking on methods, theory, research goals, and data. Meanwhile, data were categorized as well. One main categorizing strategy was coding (Maxwell, 2004). Unlike coding in quantitative research, coding in qualitative research is a process of “fracture the data and rearrange them into categories that facilitate comparison between things in the same category and that aid in the development of theoretical concepts” (Maxwell, 2004, p.96).
In this study, data were coded into theoretical categories, which refers to the general framework that was derived from prior theory (Maxwell, 2004). This study tried to understand the complex and developing socialization process of becoming a teacher of CFL in the U.S. The theoretical framework of this research was built on Lacey’s theory of social strategies. According to this theory, there are three social strategies that pre-service teachers apply in various contexts: internalized adjustment, strategic compliance, and strategic redefinition (Lacey, 1977). Therefore, data of social strategies from interview transcripts were initially coded and compared to these three main categories for further analysis. Subcategories under these three main categories were developed or merged while further coding occurred in terms of different backgrounds of teacher groups.

Maxwell also suggests developing a matrix of research questions and methods which apply to analyzing data (Maxwell, 2004). This kind of matrix helps the researcher obtain thoughts of questions and theories, as well as keep coherent the design of research questions to analysis methods. Therefore, a matrix of research questions and chosen methods for each component was developed for this study (See Appendix IV).

The process of data analysis in this qualitative study consisted of three converging activities: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data reduction is a “process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data that appear in written-up field notes or transcriptions” (Miles & Huberman, p. 10). In this study, in order to answer research questions, the conceptual framework was built on Lacey’s theory of teacher socialization with a focus on strategies in contexts. Based on the conceptual framework, interview protocols were designed. During the process of data reduction, data that are directly or closely related to strategies novice teachers of CFL apply in contexts of
teacher training and student teaching were first selected, focused, and transformed. Meanwhile, data display was needed in forms of matrices and charts in this study in order to assemble organized information. While data about strategies in different contexts were selected and transformed, rich data of stories and explanations were organized for the researcher to validate the data and look for underlying relationships between strategy choices and contexts of participants. In interview protocols, inquiries about participants’ prior experiences of learning and/ or teaching CFL, motivations for being teachers of CFL, and descriptions of ideal CFL teachers provided rich data during this data analysis process. While rich data were selected, transformed, and displayed, conclusions were drawn and verified at the same time. During the data analysis, the researcher continuously verified the conclusions that were drawn from analyzed data with transcripts. Narrative stories participants told about their learning and working experiences were used to verify conclusions of their strategies and reasoning. Ideal CFL teachers and working contexts participants described were used to validate the underlying relationship of their perspectives and behaviors of teaching.

Validity and reliability

The qualitative approach has always been criticized on its validity due to two main threats. One threat is “bias” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 124), which refers to two kinds of data selections that researchers conduct. One kind of bias is selecting data that “fit the researcher’s existing theory, goals, or perceptions” (Maxwell, 2013, p124). And the other bias on data selection is choosing “data that ‘stand out’ to the researcher” (Maxwell, 2013, p124). These two types of data selection that cause validity threats to a qualitative approach actually involve two key points: what data should be chosen and how to select data.
To limit the negative influence that the researcher’s expectations and beliefs may have on data collection, the researcher tried to gain rich data to ensure that it is not just the data that fits in researcher’s expectation or convenient data. In this study, in order to conquer the bias threats to the study’s validity, the design of data collection has three ways to limit these threats. First, the data was not only from the institution at which the researcher works or studies. By searching numerous programs in the U.S., a list of programs that may have potential participants was made and the locations of selected programs could represent different regions from coast to coast. This first phase of data selection ensured various backgrounds of potential participants and a possible foundation of rich data. Second, participants were encouraged to probe both positive and negative examples of their experiences. In this way, the rich data on both sides were collected for proving the existing perspectives and theories, but to extend and expand what has been discovered. Third, a pilot study was conducted on a few student teachers of foreign languages, especially LCTLs and Chinese language, prior to the interview. Data collected from pilot interviews helped revise interview protocols, which were designed based on the theoretical framework of this study and the researcher’s perceptions as an insider of the teacher socialization process.

The other threat to the validity of qualitative approach is called “reacting” (Maxwell, 2013, p.125). It refers to the influence the researcher has on the participants and the deduction from collected data. In order to solve this problem, the researcher ensured the validity of this study in two ways. One way was, to always keep in mind during the interview that the researcher is both and insider and outsider of this study. As an insider, it is necessary to make interviewees feel comfortable enough to provide rich information by sharing some similar experiences. However, it is also critical that the researcher always keeps a distance from her bias. To limit her
influence on participants, the researcher encouraged participants to share their experiences without judgments towards a particular person, program, or school. The other way is having respondent validation during and after the interview. During the interview, follow up questions were asked if any statement or experience needs to be clarified or explored. After the interview, transcriptions and researcher’s interpretation were confirmed by the corresponding participants.

Additionally, in order to let participants feel comfortable and be able to fully and accurately express their perspectives and experiences, participants were able to choose Chinese or English, or code-switch at any time during the interview. Therefore, transcripts first will be in the language of participants’ preferences, and later transcripts in Chinese were carefully translated into English. It is necessary that the person who conducts the interviews and analyses the transcripts is capable of understanding, expressing, communicating, and translating conversational and written materials in both Chinese and English. The researcher of this study is a native speaker of Chinese who obtained a Bachelor degree in Chinese literature and linguistics from a four-year comprehensive university in China. She has also been working and studying in English-speaking environment in the U.S. since 2007. Her English language proficiency enables her to communicate in English, and transcribe and translate Chinese into English accurately. Further, to ensure the accuracy of the translation, a native speaker of English who obtained a superior level of Chinese language proficiency level was consulted.

**Ethical issues**

The research questions of this study look for understanding of social strategies of prospective teachers of CFL in the U.S. through their interactions and interpretations with teacher education programs and classroom teaching. Thus, teacher education programs and schools were not evaluated in this study. Participants remain anonymous in this study and their
confidentiality were known only to the researcher. Moreover, as a graduate student, the researcher has no connection with the faculty and supervisors of participants’ training programs and schools. Therefore, there was minimal threat to teacher education programs, schools, and student teachers in this study as a result of their participation.

Most importantly, the questionnaire and interviews of this study, including those for the pilot study, were only be conducted after being approved by the researcher’s institution’s Human Subjects Committee.

Chapter summary

This chapter presents the methodology used in this study. It first justifies the necessity and suitability of chosen methods, including the rationale of choosing the qualitative approach as a research method for this study. Then it is followed by research design, including participant selection, design of interviews, data collection and analysis. Within this section, validity and reliability are discussed as well.
Chapter 4: Findings

Findings and discussion center around the social strategies the participants applied when they interacted within their graduate school programs and at the K-12 schools. To discuss the choices of social strategies that participants in this study made in different contexts, the merged themes from interview transcripts were organized based on three research questions. The first research question focuses on social strategies novice CFL teachers applied when they interacted with program goals. The second research question focuses on social strategies novice CFL teachers applied when they interacted with their school milieu and broader community. Based on the first two research questions, the third research question looks for the relationship between novice CFL teachers’ social strategies and corresponding contexts. The research question also attempts to understand how the interactions novice CFL teachers had in the context of teacher training programs and field teaching shaped their perceptions of teaching CFL. There are three sections in this chapter: 1) questionnaire findings; 2) findings; 3) chapter summary.

Questionnaire findings

The researcher reached out to administrators, faculty, and in-service teachers at K-12 schools and graduate programs across the nation. In order to expand the searching pool, the researcher also sent emails to professional contacts on LinkedIn and a regional groups of Chinese language teachers in the U.S. During three months of searching and contacting, seven research participants were selected and finished their interviews out of seventeen enthusiastic contacts who were initially willing to participate in this study. Since this focuses on novice Chinese language teachers in the U.S., participants were chosen who had teaching experience of less than three years and just finished or still are taking their graduate level courses. Of the initially selected pool of seventeen potential participants, ten teachers were not able to be interviewed for
this study: two were more experienced teachers, five only had teacher training as undergraduates in China, one had just finished student teaching but was no longer interested in pursuing her career in this field, and two others recognized later that they were too busy to participate. Therefore, the final number of participants was reduced to seven. Although this number of participants is not as large as expected, they do represent various regions, school environments, and backgrounds. To protect identities of the participants and programs, schools, and other people that were mentioned in this study, pseudonyms were used for participants’ names and other names were not mentioned specifically. Information about each of the seven participants can be seen in Table 2.

Among these seven participants from various regions in the U.S., the majority were female (6 out of 7) and between age 25 and age 29, which indicates that the majority of them started to work as a novice teacher in K-12 schools right after they left graduate school. All the participants had earned their Bachelor degrees in the fields that directly or closely relates to CFL: four participants studied TCSL in China before they came to the U.S. to pursue their more advanced degrees, and the other three participants studied literature or East Asian languages as undergraduates in the U.S. In addition, two participants have already earned their Master degrees in CFL/ CSL in China prior to their graduate study in America. Two participants studied two related fields in graduate schools in the U.S.: one was foreign/world language education and the other one was TESOL and/ or Licensure program to become teachers of TCL in American K-12 schools. As language teachers, five had studied more than one foreign language. By the time the data analysis was completed, three participants (Valorie, Caitlyn, and Nicole) left their jobs due to working visa issues or personal reasons.
Table 2: Questionnaire findings of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ethnicity as participants identified</th>
<th>Graduate program in the U.S.</th>
<th>Undergraduate degree and Location</th>
<th>Foreign languages can speak</th>
<th>Current employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Asian studies</td>
<td>TCSL, China</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Northeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caitlyn</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>TESOL</td>
<td>TCSL, China</td>
<td>English, French</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Midwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caleb</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>TESOL Foreign language education</td>
<td>East Asian studies, U.S.</td>
<td>Chinese, Japanese, (Sichuan dialect)</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Midwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>World language education Licensure program</td>
<td>TCSL, China</td>
<td>English, Japanese</td>
<td>Elementary school in the North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicole</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>TESOL</td>
<td>Comparative Literature, U.S.</td>
<td>English, Japanese, Korean</td>
<td>Pre, K, and Elementary school in the South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valorie</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Asian studies</td>
<td>TCSL, China</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Secondary school in the Northeast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Findings

**Old, new, and beyond: interactions within graduate school programs**

*Interactions with program goals*

Viewing academic plans in a sociocultural context, Lattuca and Stark identified three categories of internal influences that together shape academic plans: 1) institutional influences such as college missions; 2) unit level influences, like discipline, and 3) faculty work. (Lattuca &
Stark, 2009). And within the academic plan, purposes, content, students, instructions shaped each other as well (Lattcua & Stark, 2009). Various programs that aim to prepare future K-12 teachers have different missions, and that directly influences and reflects the curriculum of the corresponding programs. The graduate programs that these participants attended can be divided into three main categories: 1) Asian studies, 2) foreign language education with personal interest in a specific language, and 3) licensure. Although their programs are located in different regions of the United States, the missions of these programs vary from one another due to the nature of these three main categories. Also, because of the nature of different missions of these three types of programs, graduates of these programs had significantly different feelings at the end of their training.

Licensure programs aim directly at getting the state approved teaching license for a specific school subject through teaching training. Courses heavily focus on teaching application and practice. Emily, who completed this kind of licensure program while she also finished her courses in a world language education program in the same graduate school in the North, strongly expressed her feelings about the licensure program:

Well, I think the world language education program was pretty much like courses I took in China. They were more theoretical, more from the aspect of knowledge. However, the licensure program had much more specific teaching stuff. It was much more practical.

A specific example she gave was that there was a discussion session every week for all pre-service teachers in that program to exchange ideas about problems and situations they encountered as student teachers during that week.
Other participants who were in world/foreign language education programs were either focused on TESOL or CFL. Programs like this aim to foster instructors teaching specific languages as a foreign or second language, which depends on their teaching environment. Participants in these kinds of programs shared some pros and cons from their perspective as novice CFL teachers. One pro they believed was that the program helped them make their knowledge of teaching a kind of language in various contexts become more systemic. Even though programs may vary in different schools and regions, they all include courses of linguistics, curriculum design, teaching methods of foreign languages, and research methods. Jenny who went to programs located in both the East and West coasts, believed that these courses were all very necessary:

I think that all these courses were very interesting. For example, the teaching methods course I took last summer was an introduction course. It provided me a foundation by telling me what teaching methods are. Before I just taught the way I wanted to, and nobody taught me anything about teaching methods. Now I feel like my knowledge of teaching became more systematic.

Nicole, who attended a TESOL program in the South, shared this point as well when she recalled courses she took that benefited her the most: “The curriculum design course was beneficial to me, because it is systematic”.

Another pro that many participants mentioned was that their perspective of teaching languages in various contexts have been expanded and became relatively more thorough through the programs. Caitlyn, who studied TCSL as an undergraduate and got her Master Degree in TESOL in a graduate school in the Midwest, said that her view of foreign language teaching has been expanded to a broad international view through the program.
When I was in China, the training was kind of limited in terms of teaching methods. Basically, it was just some examples of how to teach some specific grammar patterns and how to deal with some situations in class. However, in my ESL program, it seems to have a more international view. We learned the development history of English language teaching in different countries and how to teach foreign languages by integrating different cultural backgrounds. That was a more international perspective.

Another participant, Jenny, had the advantage of observing a variety of teaching methods in different school settings in both the East and West coasts due to the way her CFL program was set up. She gained more first-hand experience and deeper understanding about communicative teaching and content-based teaching. The only NNS participant in this study expressed similar opinions as well. He believed that his prior teaching training and teaching experiences were confirmed or expanded within his foreign language education and TESOL program in a graduate school in the Midwest.

However, Asian studies programs that do not aim at teacher training exclusively have been criticized consistently by participants who attended them. Lindsay strongly expresses her disappointment towards her program. One main reason was that they barely gained anything new in these programs since they studied Chinese literature, linguistics, and CFL as undergraduates and graduates in China.

I don’t think the graduate program here helped me at all. What I learned in China actually helped me a lot. Maybe it is because I have gained a M.A. degree in CFL. Most things I learned in America, I have already learned in China. There was not much new stuff.
Valorie, who has a similar educational background, had the same feelings as Lindsay. Although she felt that her graduate programs both in China and in the U.S. were equally sub-par, she believed that what she learned in China was more in-depth.

Courses here covered like anything that is related to Chinese language. We had linguistic courses, but they were very simple. We studied literature, but it was superficial as well. It was just like a combination of everything related. …… (When I was an undergraduate) I took several linguistic courses, such as Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics. Those linguistic courses were more about the language itself. Then because of studying for the graduate school exam, I studied a lot of things in the field of linguistics by myself. So I actually did a lot of research in the field of the language.

To go through and complete their programs in the U.S. and prepare themselves for their teaching career in K-12 schools in the United States, these participants, who were pre-service teachers, applied different social strategies when they interacted with their program goals. Participants enrolled in Asian studies programs already had CSL/ CFL education from the undergraduate through the graduate level, and felt that the programs here did not prepare them very well for teaching careers in the U.S. Complaints include heavily overlapped knowledge, very limited teaching practice during the program, and lack of help with finding teaching jobs. Lindsay strongly expressed her dissatisfaction on both the academic aspect and employment expectation.

I think this program here was just like an opportunity for me to come to America. That’s it! Honestly, there was no help on academics at all. And as far as looking for jobs, dealing with interviews, no help at all!
Valorie suggested quite similar feelings about the Asian studies program she attended as well.

I don’t think I learned anything (in that program). You probably already got what I mean. Because the curriculum was not designed for teaching at all. It just provided you some courses like linguistics, literature, and the like, so it’s called Asian study! It’s not about teaching, about education at all! So for my current job, it doesn’t matter if I studied in this program or not.

Both participants had years of CSL/ CFL training from undergraduate through graduate school in China, and gained some teaching experiences prior to their attendance of their programs. Their educational backgrounds and teaching experiences gave them sufficient skills in the field of CFL. In addition, the programs they attended in the states definitely have different goals from the students’ perspectives. With excess skills and different goals from the programs here, Lindsay and Valorie both chose strategic redefinition when they felt the programs were not the ones they expected. They just completed courses and finished assignments that they were required to in order to get a job with a Master Degree from an American institution. They widened their acceptance range of what they should do, though they felt most of the things were useless.

On the contrary, Emily, who went to a licensure program, had the opposite experience compared to Lindsay and Valorie. She highlighted the advantage of being practical with the program during the interview. Emily believed that she gained a lot from the weekly seminar on student teaching. Besides that, her perspectives on CFL/ CSL have gradually changed after the program.
Before, it was more about grammar. When I studied linguistics for my undergraduate in China, we seriously focused on grammar, like what was wrong. However, you probably just teach beginning or intermediate level Chinese or teach little kids after you come here. You would not reach very deep syntax questions. It would be all easy and superficial. I wouldn’t say it’s a conflict. It’s more like different emphasis. For me? I think it should be the latter. Because you teach little kids! If you teach them syntax, …(you know). I actually kind of had this idea when I was in China, because it would be very boring if you only talk about syntax. Besides, the CSL education in China was more about studying linguistics, such as syntax, as a college student, rather than teaching you how to teach. It didn’t teach me what you should do when you teach.

What Emily expected to gain exactly coincided with the practical goal of the licensure program, especially when she needed more practice in an actual classroom. From internal beliefs to external practices, Emily completely shifted towards the direction that the program goal pointed to. Internalized adjustment was the strategy Emily applied when she interacted with the licensure program goals.

For the participants who enrolled in World language or foreign language education programs, many of them actually studied TESOL. On the one hand, participants expressed their concerns on the lack of emphasis on Chinese language teaching, which is the current subject they are teaching. Caleb, the only male and NNS who gained his Master Degree in foreign language education and TESOL in a graduate school in the Midwest, emphasized this point in the interview.

What would be more beneficial for my program would be more language-specific courses. Some places offer that so we were able to take more language specific courses,
but pretty much all of them in general were fine in what they offered, what they were teaching. I just wish I had more time to apply and learn some of these various theories like TPRS and specifically how they apply in my language. And in fact they don’t really go over foreign language writing things, particularly how to write in Chinese, because teaching that is very difficult.

When Caleb was asked why he believed that the lack of emphasis on LCTL, such as Chinese, should be addressed in these programs, he gave examples about different teaching approaches and procedures that vary depending on the language being taught. He said that when he sat down with teachers of Spanish to discuss about teaching dates and time, language differences were reflected on their teaching procedures significantly.

They have to spend more time doing that (teaching dates and time) because they have to go through teaching past tense, future tense, you know. They have to adjust and spread it out. I said like: ‘no, I just teach them today, tomorrow, yesterday. The same for year. Then they just add whatever verb they are using.’ They are like: ‘what?!’ so there is a fact that there are, though there are some similarities, basic concepts, there are all the details that are very different that need to be included. That’s why I would say that more language specific information would be helpful.

On the other hand, the interviewees also agreed that the TESOL programs, or the general language education programs they attended, expanded their perspectives on CFL and shaped their current teaching style.

Caitlyn, who enrolled in a TESOL program in a graduate school in the Midwest, addressed how her TESOL program influenced her perspectives of CFL.
It provided me a more international view to think about foreign language education, rather than just in a small classroom. I have never thought about it in this way. It is a totally new perspective and widened my view. It also helped me to consider more things in teaching, such as teaching approaches, content, and backgrounds of students. Besides caring about what and how my students do in my Chinese language class, I also would like to know what they do outside of my class.

Caitlyn used an assignment she gave to her students that same day as an example. After her students learned daily schedule vocabulary, instead of just focusing on classes and school life, she asked her students to write about their after school activities as well. She wanted to know her students better by knowing what they usually do after class and she believes that understanding students in different aspects is necessary as well.

Emily also mentioned how her world language education program influenced her perspectives in teaching in general. She believes that social justice, what her program highly valued, has a significant influence on her perspectives on schooling.

Because we don’t really have issues like races, but race is a deep problem in America. Those were the things that I just started to think about in this program, things like homosexuality and transgenderism. These things were discussed here, not when I was in China.

While the programs were unable to provide enough information on CFL, participants adapted teaching approaches and activities from other languages and modified them for CFL. Changes were only made on behaviors without actual change on underlying values and beliefs. Within a situation like this, participants chose compliance as their strategy to interact with the program with a purpose of completing it. However, when the programs were able to shed light
on new perspectives on social contexts of American society, participants had changes from internal beliefs to external behaviors: they had internalized adjustments when they interacted with their program goals.

**Interactions with content of the programs**

Although the curricula across various programs in different regions are not exactly the same, there are certain courses that each program share in order to prepare future educators of foreign languages. The most common categories are linguistics, teaching methods, culture awareness in language learning, curriculum design, and research methods. The licensure programs usually add practicum and the Asian studies programs add a lot more literature and history courses for the mission of the program. The responses from participants in this study revealed interesting opinions on these courses.

To the question about whether they had been significantly influenced or benefitted from any course(s), three categories of courses stood out among all courses in world/foreign language education programs. The first type of class includes those that presented new information like Special Education, Education Psychology and Curriculum Design. Emily highlighted special education and educational psychology courses from her program.

Yes! One is Special Education. Because that course basically started from the history of special education in America and changes of all kinds of policies till now. As Chinese, I didn’t really know anything about this field. So I feel it was really a good one!

And the other one is Educational Psychology. It’s actually very important, because studying CSL in China was not quite in the field of teaching and learning. So we didn’t really study things about Educational Psychology. …… Yes, you must use knowledge of
Educational Psychology in teaching because you must interact with students and you need to know how to deal with some situations. For example, we learned about stereotype. So I should avoid having stereotypes about my students in school.

Nicole mentioned special education as well.

Oh, Special Education is useful for classroom teaching. If you know what differences your students have in learning, then it’s very helpful.

Several participants mentioned curriculum design. It was the first course that Nicole recalled.

The curriculum design! It was very beneficial for me because it systemically introduced what I should pay attention to when I designed classes.

Jenny talked about her changes of perspectives after the Curriculum Design course.

That course was really good! Because when I taught CFL before, I felt that I pretty much just followed the textbook. The textbook had the authority to lead the direction of my teaching, not me. However, after this course, I thought that I should design my own curriculum based on students’ needs. This is the way that I can do my best to motivate my students. So I think this course was very useful!

The language assessment course appealed to Caitlyn because it was new for her as well.

Because I didn’t know types and designs of assessment before. I looked at assessments from the perspective of an assessment taker before I took this course. Afterwards, I could look at assessments from the perspective of an assessment designer: is it effective? Is it fair? It’s totally different perspectives!

All the courses mentioned above appealed to some participants because they offered new knowledge, they all provided new perspectives for them to reconsider issues in teaching and
learning in general, not just in CFL. And because of this, these participants chose internalized adjustment as their social strategy when they interacted with this kind of content in their graduate programs.

Another type of course that participants believed was beneficial was teaching observation and practice. The participants felt this was very applicable for their future career as a teacher of CFL in K-12 schools in the U.S. One of the Asian studies programs goals was preparing future Chinese language teachers. However, the only course participants thought was helpful was supervised teaching. When being asked about influential or beneficial courses, Valorie almost devalued all courses except supervise teaching.

Well, maybe the one I mentioned earlier, supervise teaching. It helped a little bit. We went to several schools and observed their Chinese classes. …… There were middle schools, high schools, and one was kindergarten. I kind of had a brief impression about teaching in secondary schools in America. I have never been to any American secondary schools, so after observations, I kind of know their course arrangements, class sizes, and dynamics of their class. It was just a brief impression. You couldn’t tell a lot of other things just from the observation of one class.

Emily, who attended both world language education and licensure programs, repeatedly emphasized the importance of teaching practice by comparing two programs in the same graduate school. She felt that her world language education program was similar to her CSL program in China, which put an emphasis on theories and knowledge. When she realized this, she enrolled in the licensure program for practical purpose, and completed both programs within three years with one year overlapping.
The practical session of these graduate programs fulfilled students’ desires to prepare to be CFL teachers in the U.S. after graduation: a goal of both the students and the programs. When the values of the students and programs coincided, the choices on social strategies made by the participants when they interacted with the program content depended on their skills. For student teachers who majored in CSL or CFL and have some practices in Chinese institutions, their internal beliefs of what and how Chinese should be taught may not be changed by limited observations and student teaching in the U.S. Instead of changing their internal beliefs, these kinds of participants tend to choose strategic compliance as their strategies when they interacted with their program content in order to adjust and survive in the context of teaching in America.

The most interesting findings on participants’ perspective on courses was when one student found a course beneficial and another one found it ineffective. One contradiction among participants’ opinions on helpful and useless courses was how the classic Chinese and Chinese classical literature courses are related to CFL. These kinds of courses were strongly criticized by NS participants but highly valued by the NNS participant. Lindsay and Valorie both enrolled in Asia studies programs and they shared similar feelings about their courses. While Lindsay repeatedly claimed that she did not gain anything new or useful from the program, Valorie picked out the Chinese classical literature course as a typical example of useless courses.

A really useless course, in my opinion, is probably Chinese classical literature. Because it has nothing to do with teaching! Plus I already studied that when I was in college!

However, Caleb, the only NNS participant, was also the only one that highlighted the classic Chinese course among the helpful courses in his foreign language education program and undergraduate program. He took different levels of classic Chinese in the Chinese language program from college through graduate school within the same institution in the Midwest. The
reason he strongly felt that it was helpful for preparing him to be a CFL teacher was the practical side of the course.

Some key concepts from Zhou Dynasty, Han Dynasty, and Tang Dynasty aspects of language that influenced the way the language is even used to this day. And (it) clarified things that I had learned for years that I didn’t quite understand where they were coming from. The issue of course is that it provides me with explanation to the students if they really don’t get why you say ‘我十八’ (I eighteen years old), why don’t you say ‘我是十八’ (I am eighteen years old). You know, things like that. There are various ideas about Chinese numbers that sort of function in classical Chinese like Verb. Not a Verb, but like a Verb. They didn’t function just like numbers, you know. Five is five, five means it is five. Something like that. So it gave me an idea that there was a lot more correlation and development in this language that relates to how things are now.

Though participants had significantly different attitudes and evaluations on similar types of courses, the underlying criteria that they used to make their judgement was whether the content was practical or not for their future teaching career. The Chinese classical literature did not appeal to Lindsay or Valorie because they did not think that it was something that may help their teaching of CFL in the future. On the contrary, Caleb found that the classic Chinese courses provided useful explanations to some kinds of Chinese syntax that he may need in teaching after graduation. For participants who were aiming at how practical the content was and gained abundant skills in this field already prior to the program, they chose strategic redefinition as their strategy when they interacted with the program content. They widened their acceptance in order to complete the program without any changes of their beliefs and behaviors. However, participants whose desire of practicality matched what the content could provide and were able
to gain skills and knowledge from the content, tended to choose internalized adjustment as their strategy when interacting with the content.

The other contradiction among participants’ opinions on helpful and useless courses was how the research course was related to CFL. Due to the nature of graduate programs, research method courses are necessary parts of the curriculum no matter what the program is. When probing both positive and negative examples of program content, Jenny expressed very positive impressions about almost all courses except research courses.

Research probably. I don’t think it’s useless, but I am more interested in teaching. I think maybe learning how to do research might be helpful in the future, but now …… Well, it really depends on if I’m interested in doing research or not.

Lindsay, on the other hand, recalled how important research was to her current teaching job. The research courses she took were prior to her program in the U.S.

The topic I had for my thesis in China was extremely helpful for me to get my current position. I compared two of the most popular textbooks used in American high schools.

Similar to the different attitudes on classic Chinese and classical Chinese literature, the underlying criteria that participants used to make their judgement about research courses mainly depended on whether the content was practical or not for their future teaching career, even though research is an important part of the mission of all graduate programs. For the participants of this study, how practical research courses were depended on whether participants experienced the link between research and practice. Participants who had limited experience of conducting research and applying research in teaching tended to choose strategic compliance as their strategy when they interacted with the program content. Yet their underlying beliefs and values about research did not change. However, for participants who have experienced the benefit of
doing research in teaching, especially getting a teaching position first, they tend to choose internalized adjustment as their strategy when interacting with the content. They believed that learning how to conduct research and what research could do were directly linked to the success of their teaching career.

Besides courses that provided new knowledge to participants, and similar courses that left opposite impressions to participants, there was another kind of course that is worth discussing: courses about culture. For language educators, culture cannot be separated from language. In interviews, many participants explicitly emphasized what aspects of culture they believed were important.

Lindsay highly valued her training in China and the culture courses contributed to that program significantly in her opinion.

I think every course of the program in China was very helpful, especially the culture courses, such as paper cutting, Chinese folk dancing, calligraphy, and the like.

As for programs in the U.S., Caleb and Jenny both emphasized the importance of integrating culture into Chinese language learning and teaching. Courses like Chinese culture and ancient Chinese philosophy greatly inspired some participants in terms of perspectives of CFL.

Obviously there are other classes, like Chinese popular culture, as a general class to get information that just introduced me to a wide range of things that well, because it was presented by an American, obviously literally translated Chinese poetry, books, and things. So she was able to bring a broad perspective of a lot of things on going on popular Chinese culture that I need for my students. (Caleb)
I think it is not complete if a Chinese language teacher only teaches the language. In my opinion, language and culture cannot be separated. Last year when I taught Chinese on the East coast, I found that a lot of students were very interested in Chinese culture. They chose to study Chinese because of Chinese history and culture. …… I feel that I could only be considered as a good Chinese language teacher if I am able to integrate Chinese culture in my language class. (Jenny)

When comparing participants’ attitudes on culture content of their programs to their descriptions of ideal CFL teachers, it was clear that there was a match: being able to introduce Chinese culture into Chinese language class was considered one of the most important qualifications of an ideal CFL teacher. And the culture content courses that programs offered were able to provide what participants demanded. During this learning process, these participants chose internalized adjustment as their strategy.

**Interactions with faculty**

In order to understand how these participants interacted with faculty of their programs and what social strategies they applied during the interactions were, participants were encouraged to talk about influential professors and how they were influenced, describe situations when they did not quite agree with professors’ opinions and what they did in that situation, and explore underlying reasons for their disagreements and results of the situation.

Not surprisingly, participants’ responses about influential faculty were so highly consistent with their preference on program goals and content that they chose internalized adjustment as the social strategy. For instance, Jenny emphasized integrating Chinese culture into language teaching, and the influential professor for her was the one that taught ancient Chinese philosophy.
I think the professor that influenced me the most was the one that taught a culture course. He taught ancient Chinese philosophy. …… I think this professor really widened my view and made me feel that I should first obtain knowledge of Chinese culture if I want to be a Chinese language teacher, and then integrate the knowledge of culture into my language class.

Lindsay highlighted the research course she took in China and the most influential professor for her was the one who supervised her thesis.

She was very rigorous when she did research. And in the field of her research, she probably is considered a top scholar in Southeast Asia. Additionally, she really cares about her students and she is very organized. Not just me, pretty much all the students in our program believed that she influenced us a lot! She was my advisor when I was a graduate student in China and she had a very positive influence on me. For example, I disliked doing research and writing papers very much, but under her supervision, I found that it’s quite interesting to write papers. More importantly, my thesis topic, which she helped me to decide, was extremely helpful for me to look for jobs in America.

In the above cases, participants had changes from behaviors to underlying beliefs according to/depending on the content and professors. Professors, who were the authority figures, had great influence on the participants. During their interactions, participants tend to choose internalized adjustment strategies as well as they interacted with the content and the goals of the program.

Yet there were situations in which some participants did not quite agree with their professors. These participants were asked to describe the situation and their responses at the time. Interestingly, some chose to keep their opinions to themselves at the time of disagreement,
while some stopped raising concerns after they did not get the answer they expected. Valorie talked about her opinions after she observed a professor’s teaching.

I observed how my professor taught Chinese to undergraduate students. She was kind of more traditional: not many classroom activities. Just lectured grammar patterns. That kind of relatively more traditional method, like translation. I can’t say it was not good, because she was teaching in college. And college is different from secondary schools. You might be able to teach undergraduates this way, but it definitely would be too boring for secondary school students. And in the school I am working at, each class is eighty minutes, very long! So her method was not very suitable for my situation, but I can’t say that her method is totally wrong.

When she was asked if she has ever discussed this issue with the professor, the answer was a resounding no.

I didn’t discuss teaching methods with this professor. (she clicked her tongue) This, this was not very possible to be discussed. And I wouldn’t talk about things like that privately.

Jenny encountered a very similar situation and had a similar response.

The Chinese class I observed was content-based. The problem was that I don’t think that students actually improved their language skills in this class. The teacher gave students a sheet of vocabulary lists to preview before class, and divided students into small groups to do a presentation about the content in class. While one group was doing the presentation, the rest of the students were listening and taking notes. I just felt that the teacher just gave a topic. What they said were decided by students and were not corrected
by the teacher before the presentation. So I really had some doubts about the content-based method.

Although she was concerned about the effectiveness of this method in language learning, Jenny did not share her opinions with the instructor.

No! Because he was doing me a favor to allow me to observe his class. So I didn’t raise those questions. I think in general content-based method is good, but it depends on how you teach. In my opinion, learning languages should be content-based, but you cannot give up language learning when you emphasize the content.

Caitlyn had similar experiences and she believed that she did not speak up about her concerns because she was too shy. When she was asked what she would do if she had to write about whether she had different opinions from the professor in homework or exams, she said that she usually presented the theory itself and professor’s perspective first, and then added her own opinions with examples.

For Valorie, Jenny, and Caitlyn, the faculty was an absolute authority figure. They chose not to mention their disagreements with professors. However, they did not have any changes on their teaching practices or beliefs either. With some teaching experience, they made their own judgements on what teaching methods might work better in specific contexts. So participants like Valorie and Jenny chose strategic redefinition as their strategy when they interacted with their professors.

Unlike the participants above, some other participants raised their concerns or questions in class but did not get the answers they expected. After their expectations were unsatisfied, they decided to give up on further attempts to discuss.
Some concepts were ambiguous. He (the professor) even couldn’t explain it clearly. When some students asked about the explanation, he would say: ‘Oh, you can say it like this. You can also express it in another way.’ He probably was not quite clear about it either! ……I raised hands to ask questions. If he couldn’t explain it clearly, I would think that I shouldn’t make the whole class waste time on my little problem. So I stopped asking more questions, ha ha. (Nicole)

They (professors) don’t always understand Chinese well enough. When they think about it, they don’t realize there is a huge gap between what you can do with Chinese and what you can do with Spanish. I have discussed (with these professors) a little bit, not very much. Because I didn’t get time to do that in class. We were talking about general theory and practice. (Caleb)

Caleb also described a common situation he observed in class after he mentioned the big gap between Chinese and Spanish.

They wanted clarification and showed interest in how it’s related, but they didn’t want to sound like they had no idea what I was talking about or it’s just irrelevant at all. The problem is, this gets into a more social-behavior interaction between adults.

Although participants like Nicole and Caleb tried to start some discussions with their professors in class, due to the limitation of time and understanding of language differences, they could not get clear and satisfactory answers. In this case, they chose strategic redefinition when they interacted with their professors as well, though there were attempts of discussions. Whatever the teaching theories or approaches they tried to discuss with professors, they remained the same as before they raised their questions. They did not present any changes on beliefs or behaviors.
On the contrary, another kind of interaction between a few participants and their professors paints a different picture. As role models and inspirations on the way to becoming CFL teachers, these professors had significant influence on participants. Caleb and Nicole both mentioned how their professors influenced them on perspectives of foreign language teaching. Caleb recalled his interactions with his classic Chinese professor.

I spent most of my time writing words he was saying but I didn’t know. It also showed me that it was possible to achieve a high level, even if you started later. Yes, he’s functioned as a great role model for me!

Nicole was impressed with one of her professors who taught poetry. This class expanded her view of what can be taught and provided her with different approaches of language teaching and learning. At the beginning she thought this course had no connection with TESOL, but at the end she realized how much she gained from this class and professor.

One professor I have a deep impression of is a poet too. The course he taught was teaching us how to write poems. At the beginning we all were kind of worried about this course because nobody ever had classes like that before. However, after trying to write poems, which was very different from other TESOL courses, I felt that I actually should encourage my students to try and experience different things as well. The professor himself is a very interesting person. I didn’t think there was any direct connection between writing poems and TESOL, but I think my view has been widened after I learned something new like this.

As role models and inspirations, these professors had great influence on these future CFL teachers during their training. What professors have achieved, and what new experience the professor brought to the learning, changed the perspectives of foreign language teaching and
education of these future language instructors. During this kind of interaction, the participants chose internalized adjustment as their social strategy.

**Interactions with peers**

For the participants in this study, they all had interactions with their peers at different levels in and after class. Some participants had very limited interactions with their peers which were usually limited to classroom discussions and class projects. The collaboration between them and their peers were only about projects and assignments.

We just did homework and projects together. Americans in this program were going to be EFL/ESL teachers, and Hispanics would become Spanish teachers. We didn’t have any communication besides homework. (Helpless laugh) (Nicole)

I didn’t really know teachers of other languages. (Helpless laugh) I had some communication with other CFL teachers, but it was not very deep. We just chatted a little bit when we had meals together. No deep communication. (Valorie)

No, we didn’t have a lot communication on specific teaching stuff. We mainly talked about more macro level things, such as how to get students to be interested in something, and how to promote an educational program. (Caitlyn)

Some had more communication on specific teaching topics when they had opportunities to discuss their student teaching in seminars.

I would say our interaction was very cordial, and educational, and let each other have all kinds of opportunities to learn and have new ideas of things very useful for class. Things that I can apply or adapt. When I see how the activity was done in a Spanish class, I was like: ‘wait a second! I could adapt this activity easily for Chinese.’ A lot of things that I can collaborate. (Caleb)
Because my classmates are teachers of all kinds of foreign languages, I keep in touch with them. We were in the same program, so we had the opportunity to sit together and discuss all kinds of problems we had during our student teaching. (Emily)

We had classes together, so we discussed how to teach foreign languages and we studied second language acquisition together. We discussed which theories could be used in our classroom teaching. We discussed these kinds of things. (Jenny)

Limited communication with peers apparently did not change anything on these participants’ beliefs of CFL education. The participants occasionally adapted classroom activities from others and that was just changes of behaviors. These participants chose strategic compliance as their strategy when they had limited interactions with their peers in class.

There were situations in which some participants had different perspectives from their peers on how the language should be taught. Like most of the time when they interacted with their professors, these participants kept their own opinions to themselves as well.

There was a student teacher that really liked to ask students to do translation. I felt very uncomfortable with that, because I think she could have asked a much more meaningful question rather than asking students to translate the sentence ‘I have my breakfast at 7AM’. I didn’t express what I was thinking, because I didn’t know her very well. Also, I think the way you teach greatly reflects the way you learn. Maybe that’s the way that worked the best for her when she learned foreign languages and now she thinks that that way should be the best way for her students too. (Caitlyn)

Rather than confronting her classmate, Caitlyn kept her feelings and perspectives to herself, and also tried to understand the classmate’s point of view from different angles. She widened her acceptance range of teaching perspectives and approaches by considering various
contexts and the learning outcome of that classmate. Caitlyn chose strategic redefinition as her strategy to interact with peers whose beliefs and practices differed from her.

One participant who had a lot of communication with her classmates on all things related to her future career gained the most benefits for her work as a new teacher after graduation.

We talked about students, classroom management, etc. Actually we talked a lot about classroom management and I gained a lot from our discussion. For example, we asked each other the background of different school districts we observed or worked. By sharing information like that, I know what the suitable way is to teach students in that school district. We also discussed curriculum, such as what students like to learn, what teaching approaches we use. All these discussions were after class. (Lindsay)

Based on the information she gained from her peers, Lindsay decided to use different approaches and content-based instruction (CBI) on who her students are and what culture the school district has. She adjusted her behaviors to fit the culture of the school and school district later when she started to work. During her in-depth and rich interactions with her peers, Lindsay applied strategic compliance as her strategy for having a smooth transition to her current teaching position.

**Up, down, and struggle: interactions within teaching practice in various K-12 school settings**

Working at K-12 schools in the states after graduation would be a significant change of context for pre-service teachers. They became in-service teachers but they are still at the beginning of the journey of becoming teachers. As novice teachers, participants in this study experienced ups and downs when they applied what they had learned in teacher training programs, in their classroom teaching, and interaction with students, parents, and colleagues.
Meanwhile, they also encountered struggles between what they believed, what they wanted to achieve, and what was the reality. During this process of interactions, the participants made choices to deal with their struggles and pursue what they believed. Several key themes that have emerged during the coding process of data analysis and social strategies the participants chose in certain contexts are presented within each theme the following section.

*Teach in target language: ideal versus reality*

When the participants described some teaching methods and approaches they learned from teacher training programs and applied in their current teaching, the majority of the participants mentioned teaching in the target language. In addition, several participants work at Chinese immersion programs or schools, which require courses to be taught in that target language, rather than just the language course. The participants who all agreed on the great benefits of teaching in Chinese expressed their observation on the gap between the ideal situation of this method and reality. Valorie compared the ideal and reality of using 100% the target language in CFL classroom and reasons behind the differences in her opinion.

I learned how to use 100% target language to teach Chinese. It really influenced me, but I cannot say that I can copy this model in my current high school teaching. The 100% target language teaching method didn’t work very well in actual teaching. Why? Because, for example, Startalk (STARTALK) is a different context. It is a very intensive and short-term program. Each class was prepared by many teachers who had two days of preparation for just one hour of teaching. However, it’s impossible to prepare a class like this at a regular setting, because every sentence you say should be 100% the target language, and every sentence has to be examined if it’s understandable for students. Besides, you have to consider if the input is too much for students to comprehend. I have
to consider a lot of things, such as how would you use your body language to express it. Anyway, it’s just a lot of considerations. If you do all these things by yourself, and on the other hand you have to follow the pace that the school requires, you probably do not have enough time to complete your teaching assignments if you teach in this way. Yet I still think that it’s good to use the target language to teach as much as we can, like 80% to 90% of the language you use in teaching is the target language. I think 80% is pretty good.

Valorie still believed in how beneficial the immersion language teaching and learning environment is for students, but she widened her acceptance range due to the limitations she encountered in her teaching.

Emily and Nicole both work at immersion programs but have very different types of students. Nicole teaches Chinese to kids from pre-school and kindergarten, while Emily works at an immersion elementary charter school. Unlike Valorie who felt limitations on resources for preparing teaching and difficulties in catching up on the teaching content if she used 100% target language in teaching, the main problem that Emily and Nicole encountered was from students and parents.

I tried my best. Some kids actually didn’t know what to do, but they can understand what you said by imitating you. It didn’t work well when some kids didn’t pay attention. Then you have to repeat it over and over and emphasize it. Because they are so young, and they may not really be interested in learning it……. Teaching little kids Chinese is controversial anyway. Some believe that it’s useless, and some others believe it has positive influence, especially if the kids continue learning the language. (Nicole)
It’s an elementary school. Although it is an immersion school, sometimes I just felt that the main goal of some parents was not having their kids learn Chinese. The major goal of these parents was getting their kids more special attention in a relatively smaller school. So if they are not interested in learning Chinese, a lot of things are hard to be done.

(Emily)

Nicole and Emily not only believed in the benefits of using the target language in teaching, but also are required to teach in 100% target language of all courses in immersion programs. Their beliefs coincide with the values of the immersion programs they are working at, but the reality of students’ performance and parents’ goals sometimes did not match the ideal assumption. Facing situations like these, Nicole and Emily had to accept the reality while they tried their best to achieve their teaching goals.

What I can do was like adjusting the curriculum, you know. In general, actually we teachers really couldn’t do a lot of things. All I can do is try my best to make sure every student learns something……I had to lower the standards for sure, if the student doesn’t want to learn, or the parents do not care. …… It’s just that as a teacher, what I can do is very limited. (Emily)

What I can do now is try my best to teach. In the future? Hahaha, I don’t know. If kids were not very interested in the things that I prepared, or they didn’t understand it very well, I usually found something similar or moved on, and went back to that point till they gained more interest. If kids wanted to watch one more video, I usually would let them do because it would get better later. Because I know sometimes it’s hard to deal with little kids, but these situations wouldn’t affect my perspectives on CFL. I just need to be more flexible. (Nicole)
While still believing in using 100% target language in CFL, Nicole and Emily both accepted the not so ideal reality and tried to be more flexible with all changes and situations. Their acceptance range of behaviors of students and parents were widened, even though they insisted in their goal of using the target language to teach. There was a gap between the ideal and the reality, but they chose strategic redefinition as their social strategy to bridge this gap when they interacted with students and parents.

**Lifelong learner versus GPA pursuer**

During the interaction with students, two types of students and parents from participants’ impressions emerged. One kind of students and parents were mainly heritage speakers who chose to take Chinese for the purpose of getting a higher GPA. For heritage speakers, many of them have abilities in conversational Chinese but not sufficient for reading and writing. Research on heritage learners in Chinese language classes showed that heritage learners of Chinese demonstrated significant advanced performance in speaking, listening, and grammar compared to non-heritage learners (Xiao, 2006). However, the heritage learners in this study did not show any advantage in reading comprehension and Chinese character writing (Xiao, 2006). Another study that investigated learning motivations of heritage and non-heritage learners of Chinese suggested that non-heritage learners of Chinese seemed to gain success by external factors rather than internal factors (Wen, 2011). By comparing expectations for Chinese courses of the participants and students and their parents, several participants mentioned that some heritage speakers and their parents directly expressed their demands of getting higher GPAs by taking Chinese language courses.
I hope students can really learn something about Chinese language and culture. But I had parents come to me and say: ‘hey! My kids can speak Chinese and my kids supported your class, so can you give extra credit to my kids?’ (Lindsay)

Parents in our school district are pretty strict in general. They want their kids to get into good universities, so they really care about scores. However, it seems that they do not care about anything else except scores, haha. …… I hope students can develop long-term learning interest, and be able to carry on some basic conversations in Chinese. That’s good enough for me because Chinese is not their mandatory class anyway. I just felt that the purpose of many students choosing this class was raising their GPAs. For instance, some heritage speakers already have some kind of foundation. So for them, getting good scores was the main reason they chose for taking Chinese. (Valorie)

When some participants encountered the conflicts between their expectations of Chinese language courses and what some parents and students want to gain from their courses, the participants chose to stick with their standards rather than compromising with parents and students demands.

I told the parents I can’t do that (give extra credit to the heritage students) and the parents were very upset. So I had to explain to them that it would be unfair for other students if I gave your kids extra credit. (Lindsay)

It’s really tough to deal with students and parents who only care about scores. I still haven’t found a very good way to solve this problem. I had a heritage speaker student who’s speaking and writing skills are above the class. He chose taking Chinese only for a better GPA. So he had all kinds of behavior problems in class, such as he didn’t pay attention, didn’t participate actively, chatted with others, didn’t respect his classmates or
me. I tried to communicate with his parents, but they were more on his side defending him. So it didn’t really solve the problem. Of course I used some other ways like taking off points from his scores to discipline his behaviors in class, but his parents didn’t play an active or good role in it (solving behavior problems of the student). (Valorie)

Valorie and Lindsay held very different goals for the Chinese language courses compared to some students and parents who are heritage speakers. Facing demands and pressures from these students and parents, they, as novice teachers, did not compromise their beliefs or actions. Instead, while trying to communicate with the parents and students, they kept the same standards for all students and accepted the reality that these heritage speakers could get good scores if they fulfill all standards that they have for all students. As long as this expectation is met, the participants accepted that these heritage speakers get scores as good as they aimed for as their only goal, which was different from the instructors though. These novice teachers chose strategic redefinition as their social strategy when they interacted with students and parents who were GPA pursuers, even though survival is usually a main goal for many novice teachers.

Very different from GPA pursuers, the majority of students and parents were more interest driven, and they were usually the ones from whom the participants gained a sense of accomplishment. When asked about their expectations of the Chinese courses, many teachers in this study emphasized developing students’ long-term interest in learning the language and culture. What these teachers expected students to learn from their classes perfectly matched what the majority of students and parents wanted to gain from the course. In terms of the participants’ expectations, lifelong learning was a common theme that was mentioned by many participants.
The most important thing for me is that I hope they are interested in learning Chinese, and they can keep learning it. Even though they may not learn it later in college, they still obtain the interest in learning it by themselves. (Valorie)

I think the most important thing is that they gain more interest in learning Chinese. Because the class time here is really very limited, and they can’t learn a lot of things in a short time, but I hope they can keep learning it. Even though they are unable to continue to learn Chinese, they had a great experience in my Chinese class. (Caitlyn)

The most important thing is to foster their interest, because learning is a lifelong process. The maximum period of time that I teach them is four years. They can continue studying it in China or Taiwan if they have the interest. (Lindsay)

Firstly, I think the most important thing is to foster their interest in Chinese language and culture. I will not be their Chinese language teacher after they graduate, but they can still continue learning Chinese and about the culture. (Jenny)

These participants consistently listed fostering interest in Chinese language and culture as the priority of their teaching goals and hoped the interest they cultivate could help students to become lifelong learners. Within this guideline, perspectives on what should be taught, and how the content should be taught, were significantly and interestingly divided into two uneven groups: NS teachers of CFL that put interest as their priority and the NNS teacher who repeatedly emphasized rigorous instruction.

**Interest as a priority versus rigorous instruction**

In order to understand participants’ perspectives on what should be taught and how the content should be taught, participants were asked to describe the ideal CFL teacher from their point of view, talk about what they want their students to learn from the Chinese class, and
describe the results of using some teaching methods they learned in teacher training programs. In
the description of ideal CFL teachers and what they hope students can gain from the class, many
participants mentioned motivating students’ learning interests.

Because I teach secondary school students, so I think it would be great if students have
learning motivation under the teacher’s lead. They are interested in learning Chinese.
(Jenny)

I think (the ideal CFL teacher should be the one that can) motivate students to have an
interest in learning Chinese, and then be able to design conversational practices
accordingly. …… You get to have many ways to teach the language, like games,
activities, and all kinds of scenarios for conversational practices. (Valorie)

I think one important thing is student engagement. Because no matter what you know,
interest is the most important thing. You can only really learn things if you like it. If you
teach secondary schools, Chinese is just an elective course, so student engagement is
really, really important. The student cannot learn anything if he/she doesn’t want to learn.
Let alone teaching younger kids! Secondary school students may think about the benefits
of learning Chinese to his/her future career and life, but little kids won’t think about that.
So no matter what, teachers should equip themselves to engage students in all kinds of
ways. (Emily)

Because the priority of their teaching is getting students interested in learning Chinese
and Chinese culture, these participants spent more time on planning and organizing various
activities and projects that might engage students better. In order to achieve this goal, different
approaches have been used in their classrooms.
I have been learning some activities from other teachers. Those are more interactive classroom activities, such as competition in groups. Interactive and communicative activities worked pretty well I think. (Valorie)

For example, you cannot give students the same type of task to do for a long period of time. For instance, you give them a lecture for twenty minutes, and then you can let them practice writing. After twenty minutes of writing, you have to let them move around in the classroom. (Emily)

I remember the classes during the week of Chinese New Year. Instead of having traditional classes, we had culture classes. We spent the week together by inviting teachers of martial arts, calligraphy, and photography in New York to our classrooms. We experienced Chinese culture by doing Chinese folk dancing, paper cutting, calligraphy, and Chinese painting together. It was a very happy Chinese New Year. I think it’s really great that students can experience Chinese culture and they have been motivated a lot by the experience. (Jenny)

Having fun in Chinese class seems to be a key to help students gain more interest and motivation in learning Chinese language and culture for these NS teachers of CFL. Surprisingly, the only NNS teacher of CFL in this study repeatedly emphasized rigorous instruction while not denying the importance of making learning Chinese interesting. From his own experiences of learning Chinese and teaching English as a foreign language, Caleb realized significant differences in ways of learning languages between NS and NNS. And by comparing and reflecting the differences, Caleb believes that helping students develop learning skills that Chinese students may have developed over years of rigorous instruction might be the key for students to learn a foreign language effectively. In terms of the learning skills, he referred to
preview, review, and memorization skills in language learning. From his point of view, that is one of the most important things he wants his students to learn in order to become effective and lifelong learners of Chinese language.

With Chinese, particularly with writing, students have to memorize. There is no magical, mystical way to get a student to learn characters, but except by hand writing them. You have to memorize them, and write them in contexts, and read them. There is no way around it! There are other fun things to do with that, but at the basic level, they need the ability to study, review, and memorize.

When Caleb tried to implement his beliefs in his class, he got frustrated sometimes but tried to understand the situation from different perspectives as an insider and outsider of Chinese culture and American culture.

It’s the frustration I feel when I’m putting forth all this effort, and its lack of appreciation. It also caused me to come to understand some of the issues that some NS have in school districts like this.

Caleb admitted that after living in China and Japan for a long time, being married to a Chinese woman, and being raised by strict parents, the obligation and respect in Chinese and Japanese cultures have deeply influenced him. That was the reason he found the connection with NS teachers of CFL who faced similar situations. On the one hand, Caleb had negative feelings when he realized that a lot of issues students have closely related to the culture of the family, the school, and the society. He did not want to blame parents who have family, financial, and other issues to deal with. On the other hand, he also felt that he had to help students to gain learning skills, even in some ways that may not be that interesting, because parents actually expect students to be able to use Chinese practically. Struggling with the dilemma, Caleb held his
beliefs but changed some approaches to achieve his goal: to be a lifelong learner and an effective learner of Chinese, discovering how to learn is the key and sometimes the process is unavoidably boring.

I simply started to teach them the SVO structure and regularly every lesson require them to break sentences down and identify the parts. It’s probably one of the most useful things for helping students decipher reading. Well, students had trouble and found it boring at first, but have gradually developed a better understand of it. It had indicated to me that teaching Chinese is about reinforcing and developing overall study and learning habits for my students.

Though it seems that the CFL perspectives and approaches that Caleb and the other NS teachers hold apart in interestingly opposite directions, these novice CFL teachers all chose themselves as the authority when they interacted with students and parents by insisting on what they believed was most important for students in this class. The difference among these teachers was that, when they encountered all kinds of issues in reality, NS teachers tended to choose strategic redefinition as their strategy to deal with the situation and the NNS teacher in this study chose strategic compliance to achieve his goal. NS teachers realized that some parents and students have very different goals for learning Chinese, but these teachers tried all the ways they can to make the class more interesting and attractive to all students while keeping the same standards. The NNS teacher in this study tried to understand students’ issues in class from their personal backgrounds, and his approach was not making the class more appealing to students who just want to have fun. He chose some very traditional ways, even he himself was not quite in favor of, but he believed that it was necessary to help students build a solid foundation for the future.
Classroom management: not a one person battle

Besides the ups and downs during the interactions with students and parents who obtain similar, different, or unclear expectations on Chinese language courses, several participants also described their struggles in classroom management. Three typical cases were mentioned by Valorie, Emily, and Jenny. For Valorie, the main problem was that she was new to the senior class students. Her assumption was that the student discipline should be easier when students get older. Unfortunately, she did not expect that she had the biggest classroom management challenge from a senior class. As a novice teacher, this situation was not what she expected. For Jenny, being a young teacher she had a closer relationship with students, but also more challenges in classroom management. For Emily, she thought what she learned from special education courses would help her deal with students with special needs. However, what she did not prepare for was that what she could actually do was very limited with the knowledge and authority she had in some situations.

I have a senior class. They already took their SAT or ACT and they are going to graduate and go to college soon. They were not very into studying at this stage. So there were issues in classroom disciplines. And they got older, so they started not to care about what teachers say very much. In addition, they have studied with another teacher for three years already so that they got used to that teacher’s style of teaching. I am a new teacher after all, so they didn’t get used to my style and there were discipline issues at the beginning. (Valorie)

Sometimes they consider me as their friend, not their teacher, so they didn’t take me seriously. Sometimes it was pretty noisy in class. …… Sometimes when I gave assignments at the end of the class, they would whine about how busy they are on
weekend that they do not have time to do any homework. …… Some other challenges were about the content in class. I cannot recall every specific scenario each time, but examples are like being asked a question suddenly without any preparation. For example, in a speaking class that discusses Chinese history, there was a student who suddenly asked me to introduce every single emperor in Qing Dynasty. It’s impossible for me to recall every single name of Qing emperors because there were so many! (Jenny)

Facing challenges like these, Valorie and Jenny did not give up their standards on what students should do and how students should behave in class. They contacted parents to address the issues and look for parents’ support, and talked to students individually to both emphasize the role of teacher and understand individuals’ needs. In addition, they also reached out to their colleagues for advice. Sometimes they also looked for support from administrators of the school. By utilizing all the resources and supports above, Valorie and Jenny solved problems successfully.

I learned a lot about classroom management through the process of solving problems in this senior class. I learned how to interact with students to manage the class. (Valorie)

I would talk to the students first and ask the student more questions in class to force him/her to pay attention. If the student still cannot concentrate in class or complete homework, I would let the administrator who is in charge of the school year know about the issue. If the problem still cannot be solved, I would talk to the parents. (Jenny)

Jenny also turned challenging questions into another teachable moment in her class. Instead of showing embarrassment or avoiding the request of naming every emperor in Qing Dynasty, she told the entire class that they can have a class session dedicated to these emperors next week. In this way, she showed her students her understanding about teachers’ role: being a teacher does
not mean you know everything. Teachers and students can learn things together and the students’ question was a great contribution to their learning. By redefining the authority status of teachers, she not only reinforced her close relationship with her students, but also turned an authority crisis into a meaningful learning opportunity. All the cases above could not be solved successfully without support from parents, advice from colleagues, and endorsement from administrators.

These are not too different from scenarios that teachers may encounter if they were CSL novice teachers in China, Emily’s case would be the one that is new for NS teachers of CFL.

Frustrating things? Haha, too many. There was a class that had a lot of discipline issues.

It’s really hard for me to do the classroom management, especially when there was a kid who is in a special education program. That kid has a lot of problem, like throwing scissors at other kids, kicking others, saying inappropriate words a lot, and even sending threatening notes to the principal. The notes had pictures of beheaded people with principal’s names on it!

Although Emily had Special Education courses in graduate school in the U.S., she still had limited ways and resources to put the theory into action.

If it was a regular public school, I could have the principal or special education teacher here in the classroom when incidents like that happened. However, our school is too small to have enough resources. Sometimes I contacted the parents, but the parents defended the kid by blaming me for lying about the kid’s behaviors. There was really no way to handle it. I need the special education team to handle it sometimes, but the problem was that the team just gave him an iPad to take breaks whenever he had behavior issues in class. I do not agree with this resolution because he likes playing games on the
iPad and the resolution was kind of a positive reward to his bad behaviors! I still haven’t solved this problem yet!

Without parents’ support and a team’s coherent assistance, Emily found no way to solve this tough problem just by herself, even with some knowledge of special education. For many NS teachers, special education cases would be harder to deal with compared to other classroom management issues since special education is new for NS of Chinese. Without a strong lead as an authority in special education, there would be no values or actions that these teachers can observe, internally adjust, or change practices to solve the problem. The special education team at the school was like an authority in this field for Emily, but the values the team holds are against what Emily internalized from her training in graduate school. She had to accept the team’s resolution, but there was no change on the dimension of her beliefs or behaviors. Widening the acceptance range of behaviors in the context of her school was the only thing she could do and that was the reason she chose strategic redefinition as her strategy dealing with this tough case alone.

**Support: attention, resources, and understanding**

As the cases above suggested, having support from parents, colleagues, and administrators of the school is key to smooth the transformation process of becoming novice CFL teachers in the U.S. Answers to questions that addressed interactions between the novice CFL teachers and their colleagues and administrators showed specifically what kind of support these teachers expect.

As new teachers, these participants believed that helping them know the school and students better was a great support for novice CFL teachers to start their work.
I had a lot of questions about teaching and management when I first came to work here. The administrators and staff answered all my questions seriously. I didn’t have a lot of contact with the principal, but the vice principal told me that he would support me and help me look for resolutions. They all are really nice! (Valorie)

My school is really supportive. For example, if I need supplies, or want to host a workshop, or organize cultural events, as long as I mentioned the plan to the school, my requests were fulfilled. And what means the most for me was that I was told that the school would like to help me apply for an H1b working visa in November last year, when I just worked there for two months. They also support me by securing my legal status in the U.S. They really respect me. I am the one that makes decisions on my teaching. I have the full authority to decide everything about my class in my school. (Lindsay)

Our school has a mentor for me. The mentor is an experienced teacher and meets with me biweekly. During the meeting, the mentor would ask me if I have any questions or concerns, and gave me suggestions. Besides that, I also have a learning coach, who is there for me anytime to answer my questions. This was very helpful! Because I was new here, I didn’t know anything about working in this school, even tiny easy things like how to connect my laptop to the printer. If you have learning coach like I do, they had professional training and they would sit down with you to go through all your questions. (Caitlyn)

They (Administrators of the school) are very supportive of my efforts and encouraging of my methods. I would say they are. (Caleb)

Besides hoping for support on resources, such as supplies, the participants of this study also looked for respect, appreciation, and authority on their teaching. By pursuing respect,
appreciation, and authority, the participants looked for the consistency of their values of teaching CFL with the school values. Having freedom to decide teaching content and approaches, being backed up by administrators when they have disagreements with students and parents, and even getting legal working status secured are the ways that these participants felt the support from the administrators, staff, and colleagues.

Having support in getting used to work in new schools as novice teachers was helpful and this kind of assistance usually can be found in formal and informal settings in school. The formal setting is usually as assigned mentor or learning coach as Caitlyn described, or meetings with colleagues and administrators. In foreign language department meetings, the participants in this study were able to get information about teaching topics of the month and exchange ideas on teaching content and activities with other CFL teachers or teachers of other languages. They also had opportunities to ask for advice on classroom management or student behaviors from experienced teachers. However, a lot of communications the participants had occurred in informal settings, such as during lunch. Lunch time became a valuable time period that the participants got to socialize with other language teachers casually and relatively more personally compared to department meetings.

I have lunch with my colleagues together. We talk about our students and news like friends. Sometimes I had trouble with disciplining some kids in class, and I would consult experienced teachers in different subject matters. They always shared their advice with me in enthusiastically. They all especially care about new teachers. They always know how I feel as a new teacher and if I have any questions or problems. They are really nice.

(Jenny)
Without the connections made during lunch time, Caitlyn strongly felt the isolation of her working environment. The Chinese language program is tiny at her school, which is a secondary school with over 1,500 students enrolled. So she was assigned into a small classroom and shared it with an English class. All the other foreign language classrooms and department office are located on the second floor, but she is the only one that had lunch alone while all the other English teachers on this floor have lunch together in the English department office. The isolation increased her feelings about the lack of attention to her work.

Everyone is very nice, but they are just being polite. They would greet and ask ‘how are you’, but they didn’t really ask about my Chinese program. I don’t think they really care about it. …… I just felt that I was a tiny part of this giant school with no attention. The principals wouldn’t always visit my class and ask how it is going or if I need any help. I had to go out to look for help if I need it.

Besides support with resources and paying attention to the program, some participants also called for understanding as a kind of support: understanding Chinese language teaching and learning, and understanding the perspectives and values the CFL teachers hold. Emily pointed out two reasons that contributed to the gap between her expectation of the Chinese language course as the instructor and the administrators’ expectations of this course.

Maybe the administrators do not quite understand language teaching and learning, haha, so I don’t think they expect much on foreign language education. More importantly, it reflects the difference among charter schools, private schools, and public schools. I just felt that (the charter school) is more likely try to meet with parents’ demands. ……

Luckily, our administrators are more on our teachers’ side because they know what kind of school it is. So most of the time they would come to solve the problem. (Emily)
Another participant in this study also expressed her willingness on being backed up by the school administrators when there were any conflicts between the teacher and students and their parents. Caitlyn mentioned this point of view when she explained why she always avoids expressing her personal opinions in class discussion.

I usually tell them a relatively neutral view to avoid conflicts. Because I am shy, hahaha, and mainly it’s because of self-protection. It seems like teachers are usually the one who gets hurt if students or parents are not happy with something you said, especially in K-12 schools. So, yeah, ……

Besides support of teaching and learning materials, budget, and external resources, these CFL novice teachers also expect emotional support from their administrators: understanding Chinese language and culture, understanding foreign language teaching and learning, and supporting their decisions when there are conflicts at work.

**Culture: products, practices, and perspectives**

In terms of what should be taught in Chinese language class, a shared perspective on CFL by all participants in this study was that the culture and language are inseparable. So integrating Chinese culture into the language learning was considered another priority that almost every participant mentioned in the interviews. This priority and goal of teaching CFL from the participants’ perspectives matched the standards for foreign language education proposed by ACTFL (2006) (the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages). Along with communication, connections, comparisons, and communities, cultures was listed as one of five important components of the standards for all foreign language education. The statement about cultures in the ACTFL standards believed that the language learning cannot be completed without understanding the culture of the language and learning the language within cultural
contexts (ACTFL, AATF, AATG, AATI, AATSP, ACL/ APA, ACTR, CLASS/ CLTA, & NCSTJ/ ATJ, 2006). Specifically, ACTFL defined culture in three aspects: practices, products, and perspectives (ACTFL, AATF, AATG, AATI, AATSP, ACL/ APA, ACTR, CLASS/ CLTA, & NCSTJ/ ATJ, 2006). Cultural practices refer to the social behaviors and interactions in particular cultural contexts, such as holiday celebrations, table manners, and appropriate body languages. Cultural products involve tangible and intangible creations of the culture, such as calligraphy, architecture, literature, cuisine, and political systems. Cultural practices and products are closely related and integrated and also reflect the cultural perspectives, the underlying values, beliefs, and philosophy of the culture. This definition of cultures and the standards of foreign language education have been widely accepted and adopted by K-12 foreign language educators in the U.S., including CFL teachers. To achieve the ultimate goal of understanding the cultures of the language and mastering the language within cultural contexts, the standards proposed that students need to understand the relationship among cultural products, practices, and perspective. It is necessary to take a closer look at what cultural aspects these participants engage in their teaching.

In terms of what was important for preparing CFL teachers, what were considered essential qualities of ideal CFL teachers, and what should be taught in Chinese classes, the culture that many participants referred to was products and practices of Chinese culture. When Lindsay recalled useful courses she had that prepared her to be a CFL teacher, she especially mentioned cultural courses like paper cutting, Chinese folk dancing, and calligraphy courses. Lindsay also added that the support she looked for at her current school was supplied by these cultural activities and workshops of dancing and other arts. Caleb emphasized the importance of
having knowledge of these Chinese cultural practices and products as a CFL teacher when he described ideal CFL teachers in his mind. Caleb stated:

The other thing I think it would be important for Chinese teachers is having a variety of cultural skills: knowledge of history, knowledge of basic cultural practices, teaching for minority groups, and especially cultural practices. Or at least being informed by the things like Kongfu tea, martial arts, calligraphy, arts, and various things like poetry, singing, and Chinese popular and traditional culture.

Jenny explicitly referred to Chinese holidays, dining customs, tea, and paper cutting when she was asked what kinds of Chinese culture she wants students to learn from her Chinese class. She presented two examples that how she integrated Chinese culture as she explained in her class. One was having students experience Chinese New Year by doing dancing, paper cutting, calligraphy, and painting together instead of regular classroom teaching. The other example was that she tried to use some traditional Chinese games in teaching. Jenny described that method worked successfully in her class last year.

The second half of that semester, I spent a lot of time on designing new games, and sometimes I tried to use traditional Chinese games as much as possible. For instance, we played the ‘grandma, grandma what time is it’ game when I taught them about time. And also the ‘drawing nose’ game for learning up, down, left, and right. One student who had their eyes covered drew a nose on a given face by instructions from another student saying go up, down, left, or right. Those were kind of traditional Chinese games, but I felt that they fit our Chinese class very well.

Two participants in this study mentioned that a goal of Chinese class was that students be able to understand and respect different cultures. Caitlyn wanted her students to have more
positive interests in Chinese culture. When she was asked to define what positive interests she meant, she explained like this:

It is the interest that the students would like to understand Chinese culture with normal curiosity, rather than thinking that the politics in China is weird, Chinese people’s customs are difficult to understand, and Chinese people have weird things and eat weird animals. Not these kinds of interests.

Emily stated that understanding and respecting cultural differences was not just important for Chinese class, but should be an ultimate goal for all foreign language classes. Emily expressed this point of view as part of her perspective of highly valuing teaching differentiation, which was her daily teaching practice. By being exposed to multicultural content in a teacher training program and teaching four different groups of students with various needs in one class as her daily practice, Emily hoped that eventually, students in her class could be able to understand and respect differences among people.

Maybe this person is from another country, speaks a kind of different language, and has different values and cultural customs. We should respect each other, and respect the differences among us as well.

Caitlyn and Emily tried to achieve the goal of connecting Chinese cultural products and practices with underlying perspectives and values, but neither of them presented any specific example of the connections they tried to make. Caitlyn admitted that she still needs to prepare herself better for reaching this goal by gaining more knowledge on political science. Lindsay conducted a lot of cultural activities introducing Chinese cultural products and practices, while at the same time still believed that discussing the influence of the May Fourth anti-imperialist, cultural and political movement in China in 1919 on youth at that time or learning classic
Chinese were related or useful to her current teaching. It seems that the cultural perspectives have been left out while Chinese culture was mainly understood by being materialized into cultural practices and products that students can easily observe and experience. The weak links between cultural practices and perspectives and cultural products and perspectives require one to be strengthened by the awareness and knowledge of CFL teachers, as well as a strong internal connection between theories and practices in teacher education curriculum.

**Relationships of social strategies and contexts**

This study tries to understand the complex socialization process of becoming a teacher that novice Chinese language teachers experience in the U.S. by investigating how these novice Chinese language teachers’ perceptions of teaching and their program goals influence and manifest in real classrooms. Underlying this overarching research question, the social strategies that the novice CFL teachers in this study applied within the context of graduate school programs and within the context of schools they teach were analyzed above in the section of findings. In response to the third research question, this session analyzes data for revealing the relationship between novice CFL teachers’ social strategies and corresponding contexts and the way that all the elements in different contexts shape these teachers’ perceptions of CFL.

Lacey’s theory of social strategies provides a conceptual framework to analyze patterns and models of teachers’ changes in their socialization process. Lacey uses social strategies to describe choices and responses that student teachers make during their interactions within specific contexts (Lacey, 1977; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). To understand the relationship between novice CFL teachers’ social strategies and corresponding contexts, it is necessary to first analyze their interpretations and responses of situations in two different contexts separately.
One context was the graduate programs in the U.S. Within this context, program goals, content, and faculty resources may vary, but these were all elements that interact with pre-service CFL teachers and shape their perspectives of CFL. Lacey pointed out that pre-service teachers apply different social strategies for the purpose of survival or success and their choices of social strategies are influenced by their skills and interpretation of the situation (Lacey, 1977). To clearly state the relationship of strategies likely to be adopted and corresponding context, Lacey used a diagram to illustrate dynamic process and choices of social strategies based on the skills and values of individuals in programs (Lacey, 1977, p. 100). To illustrate the social strategies the participants adopted as pre-service teachers in interactions with program goals, content, faculty, and peers within the same programs, this study adapted similar diagrams as follows (table 3).

Table 3: social strategies in interactions with program goals, content, and faculty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills and goals of the participants</th>
<th>Usefulness of the content for the participants</th>
<th>Faculty as authority to the participants</th>
<th>Social strategies likely to be adopted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skills: limited or abundant experience and knowledge of CFL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strategic redefinition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals: coincide with the program</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strategic compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content: new</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Internalized adjustment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill: limited or some experience and knowledge of CFL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals: close to the program</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content: practical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Professor as authority: Inspirations and role models

* Professor as authority: When different opinions occur
Data from the interviews on participants’ experience and feelings of their graduate programs showed that participants had significantly different comments on how the programs prepared them to be CFL teachers in the U.S. Emily completed both licensure and world language education programs at the same institution but adopted different social strategies to interact with different goals of programs. The licensure program solely focused on the practical aspect of preparing future foreign language teachers, and that goal coincided with Emily’s purpose of enrolling in that program. With a background of majoring in CSL and working as a teaching assistant as an undergraduate in China, Emily gained some knowledge and teaching experience prior to the program. What this licensure program could provide her with was knowledge and experience of CFL in American schools, especially with the valuable student teaching opportunity. Participants like Emily tend to adopt internalized adjustment as their strategy when their goals match program goals.

Many other participants attended world/foreign language education programs as Emily did, but many with emphasis on TESOL. The goal was slightly different from the goal of becoming CFL teachers after graduation, but it still addressed necessary elements of becoming a foreign language instructor, including CFL. Participants like Caitlyn, Caleb, Emily, Nicole, and Jenny still learned concepts, activities, and approaches that they could use in CFL classroom. Participants like this were more likely to adopt strategic compliance as the strategy to interact with the program goals. Their underlying beliefs and values of CFL may remain the same but

| Skill: abundant experience and knowledge of CFL |
| Goals: distance from the program |
| Content: old/ not practical |

Professor as authority: When inquires unfilled
they made some changes in the behaviors they adopted from TESOL or other foreign language programs. With some experience and knowledge of CFL, the participants were able to make choices on what teaching approaches and activities from other languages were suitable for Chinese classes.

On the contrary, Lindsay and Valorie were disappointed at the programs because preparing CFL teachers was one, among many goals, of the programs they attended. Additionally, they both had abundant knowledge and experience of CFL and CSL as undergraduate and graduate students in China. Pre-service CFL teachers like Lindsay and Valorie tend to adopt strategic redefinition as their strategies for completing the program and gaining the degree. The program was more like an opportunity for them to gain teaching positions in America.

The choices of social strategies on interacting with program content depended on two criteria: the level of practical and the level of new knowledge for the participants and their future teaching career. Courses like special education, curriculum design, multicultural education, poetry writing, and language teaching in the context of globalization provided new perspectives and knowledge that the participants did not know prior to the program, no matter how much knowledge and experience of CFL they gained before. When participants interacted with content like this, they tended to adopt internalized adjustment as the strategy. The content changed their views on CFL and even educational philosophy and influenced their teaching practices and reflections later.

Although some participants had very opposite opinions on courses like classic Chinese, Chinese classical literature, and research methods, one shared criteria was how practical these courses were for becoming a CFL teacher. For Caleb, he picked out useful information he can
utilize to explain some grammar patterns in his class. And for Lindsay, her research on two commonly used Chinese language textbooks in American high schools helped her get a teaching position. Jenny and Emily also mentioned that they adopted some teaching approaches and activities from practicum course in their teaching because they observed successful outcomes of these approaches and activities. Their practices in teaching had changed by adopting and trying out new approaches and activities without necessary changes on underlying beliefs. For pre-service CFL teachers in this situation, strategic compliance tended to be their strategy to interact with content that was believed to be practical for their future teaching career.

Similar to the mismatch of program goals that Lindsay and Valorie criticized, the program content was another thing they both found disappointing. One main complaint on the program content was the level of overlap with the knowledge of CFL they obtained from previous undergraduate and graduate training in China. Both of them had six years of courses on linguistics with an emphasis on Chinese language, Chinese literature including Chinese classical literature, and theories and practices of second language acquisition. The content of the programs they attended in the U.S. barely presented anything new for them. The heavily overlapped courses made them feel that they had learned nothing new, but they still had to complete all assignments, projects, and courses to fulfill the requirement for graduation. In order to gain the degree as a key to job positions in American schools, they chose strategic redefinition to achieve that goal by widening their acceptance on repeating similar content.

In all programs with different goals and content, the faculty played a role as authority, but the participants had different interaction patterns with them. When program goals matched the participants’ demands and the content provided by the faculty was new, the participants viewed particular professors as inspirations and role models. As the poet to Nicole, the classic Chinese
professors to Caleb, the advisor who had rich experiences of English language teaching in many
different places to Caitlyn, and the faculty of the program that emphasized social justice to
Emily, their perspective of what should be taught and how it should be taught in language
classrooms have been greatly influenced by these professors. When they interacted with these
faculty, the participants internalized beliefs and behaviors from their inspirations and role
models.

Yet there were moments that the participants had uncertainty or different opinions on
some teaching methods from the faculty in class. However, none of the participants in this study
ever had direct or open discussion with the faculty. Jenny said it was a favor that the professor let
her observe the class, and Caitlyn said that she was too shy to start the discussion. Valorie
believed that it was impossible to bring her opinions into discussion even privately after class.
They all tried to understand the beliefs and behaviors the faculty had in certain contexts, such as
differences between college and high schools, students groups, and personal learning styles. By
observing both positive and possible negative outcomes of different teaching methods and styles,
these participants thought that they would use different methods for different student groups and
there was no absolute good or bad ones. Facing the conflicting ideas from the faculty, professors
were absolute authority figures with whom openly discuss these ideas. However, the willingness
of trying out different approaches the faculty practiced were expressed by the participants. The
participants believed that the outcomes of the same teaching approaches may vary in different
settings. Some approaches might work better for adults than young kids, and some approaches
might only work effectively for students who were highly motivated. They would like to choose
strategic compliance to interact with faculty in situations like this. The participants still held their
values and beliefs but were accepting of making changes on behaviors because the faculty was the authority.

There were also moments in which some participants raised questions about some concepts or approaches they were not quite sure about. It was mainly because of the unclear explanation or differences among languages. Some raised questions in class but did not get satisfying answers from the professors. Viewing the faculty as authority, these participants did not make further inquiries. They believed that they should spend more time on the unclear concepts after class because it may just require a longer time and more effort to be understood. Sometimes, due to the lack of understanding on specifically Chinese language, such as writing characters, the faculty was unable to give satisfying answers as the participants expected. By realizing that the class was for all foreign language instructors, not just Chinese, the participants usually decided to accept that at least the questions they raised made their classmates and professors aware of the language differences. These participants accepted the uncertainty of some concepts and the limitation of understanding on Chinese language and spent time after class on searching and reflecting. The faculty was still the authority for the participants, but the strategic redefinition they adopted as a social strategy to interact with faculty sometimes promoted more in-depth understanding of the questions they raised.

The interactions the participants had within their programs were a little different from their interactions with their program goals, content, and faculty. When the program goals matched theirs, they may have chosen internalized adjustment strategy. When the content was new and inspiring and the faculty were role models and inspirations, the participants tended to adopt an internalized adjustment strategy as well. However, during the interactions with peers, all participants in this study held themselves as authorities steadily. They either had limited or
rich communication with their peers, in which cases participants either had disagreements with or gained new information from their peers respectively. If the activities or approaches the peers shared sounded effective in class, the participants usually adopted and utilized it in student teaching. When they heard about school cultures of other school districts from peers, the participants usually thought about adjusting a few things to fit in that school. When they did not quite agree with some methods or approaches their peers practiced in class, the participants usually tried to understand the situation in that context or the learning background of their peers. If there were any changes that occurred during the interactions with their peers, those were changes and adjustments on behaviors and acceptance range, not in beliefs.

The other context this study tried to examine was the school milieu. Working at K-12 schools in America was a significant change of the context for preservice teachers. They became in-service teachers but they are still at the beginning of their journey to becoming teachers. As novice teachers, participants in this study interacted with students, parents, colleagues, administrators, and staffs in various school settings ranging from public secondary schools in suburban to private kindergartens and from urban public schools to immersion charter schools. Some schools just started Chinese language programs, while other schools already had established Chinese language programs through AP Chinese. In addition, the locations of these schools are across the nation from coast to coast. Because of the location, school type, and the development of Chinese programs, the milieu in each school these participants work at is different from each other.

Meanwhile, they also encountered struggles between what they believed, what they wanted to achieve, and what the reality was. During the process of struggling with teaching in the target language and classroom management, negotiating with students and parents who only
cared about scores, balancing rigorous instructions and fun, and reaching out for supports and understanding, the participants made choices to deal with their struggles and pursued what they believed. Choices of social strategies they made when they interacted within the school milieu also reflected the process of establishing themselves as authorities in CFL classrooms.

Research suggested that teaching in the target language would help students expose to rich comprehensible input, especially for those students who do not have convenient access to the target language speaking community (Cullen, 1998; Ellis, 1984; Krashen, 1982; Long, 1996). The participants in this study internalized this point of view on foreign language teaching and learning in their graduate programs and tried their best to promote this idea in teaching. The difficulties to achieve their goal of teaching in Chinese were different in immersion schools and non-immersion schools. In Chinese immersion schools, it was a requirement that all courses should be taught in Chinese, but some students and parents came to the immersion schools not because of the language goal. Instead, they considered the small size class in immersion schools as their priority. More attention on individuals overweighed rich Chinese language input for some parents and students, and sometimes the school administrators had to be on their side. Participants working at immersion schools were able to teach in Chinese but had to look for supports from the administrators whenever the parents’ lack of knowledge of how language learning occurred interfered with their way of teaching. In the context of immersion schools, the participants kept the beliefs in teaching in target language and did not change their teaching methods. They had to widen their acceptance range of parents and students’ behaviors if their priority was not learning Chinese. These participants highly valued their CFL beliefs and also looked for support from school authorities to help them establish themselves as authorities.
In non-immersion schools, the participants in this study expressed their concerns on limited resources and the pace of the teaching. With experiences of learning and practicing teaching in Chinese, some participants realized that it requires a collaborative team to prepare rich and meaningful Chinese language input in class. In some schools, the Chinese program just started and there was only one Chinese language teacher. Additionally, some novice teachers had to follow the teaching pace of the department. Teaching in Chinese may cause the risk of being unable to cover the content they were asked to complete. Due to these difficulties in realities, these participants had to lower the percentage of target language use to 80% or 90% while they still believed in that teaching in Chinese would benefit students the most. The changes were made on the dimension of behaviors without actual changes at the dimension of underlying beliefs in this context. Overall, both in immersion and non-immersion contexts, the participants kept their beliefs in teaching in target language and looked for support and understanding from school administrators. They tried to establish their own authority in CFL in their schools by gaining support from school authorities, accepting different attitudes and priorities, and adjusting some practices. Choosing strategic redefinition or compliance can be considered the strategies to establish their own authorities.

The same process of establishing themselves as authorities occurred when the participants negotiated with students and parents who only cared about scores and tried to balance rigorous instructions and fun in class. When parents of heritage learners of Chinese tried to negotiate with extra credit or shortcut for good scores in Chinese class, the participants adhered to their standards for all students without any exception. Gaining knowledge of Chinese language and culture has always been their goal of teaching. What they had to accept was that some heritage learners of Chinese could easily get good scores with advantages in listening and
speaking. By accepting this reality, they still requested these heritage learners fulfill all assignments, projects, and classroom involvement requirements as others, even though the tasks might be really easy for these learners to complete. These novice CFL teachers set up standards and expectations and tried to stick to the authority they built.

All participants wanted to foster their students to become lifelong learners of Chinese language but pursued this goal in different approaches. The group of NS teachers focused on getting students interested in Chinese language and culture by integrating fun games and cultural related activities into language learning. On the other side, the NNS teacher in this study focused on helping students gain language learning skills by conducting rigorous instruction, including analyzing syntax of sentences in Chinese. Internal interests and learning skills are both essential for becoming lifelong learners of Chinese language, but what contributed to the differences on approaches was the contexts. The group of NS teachers were in suburban schools on the coasts, within fully developed Chinese programs, or new programs that needed attention. West coast and east coast have rich material supplies, human resources, and Chinese language speaking communities. These NS teachers also observed school cultures in America as outsiders and tried to fit in. On the contrary, the NNS teacher in this study was in a new program in an ethnically, socially, and economically diverse urban public school. As an insider of American school culture, Caleb struggles with some students and their families and noticed how the family context influences students’ learning. Additionally, taking Chinese as an elective course in that school demonstrated some internal interest in Chinese language and cultures, but Caleb noticed that some important learning skills and habits were not formed. As a Chinese language learner himself, he observed the importance of memorization in learning Chinese characters. And he noticed that this skill was emphasized in Chinese schools, not in American schools. Within the
school context like this, this NNS teacher decided to use some very traditional language teaching methods like grammar analysis to help students learn essential skills. He admitted that he struggled when it was boring at the beginning, but he became more firm on his beliefs of CFL when the result turned out well. It seemed that the NS and NNS teachers in this study chose opposite approaches to reach the same ultimate goals, but under the superficial difference, both groups pursued what they believed important and right in learning Chinese by accepting and compromising to differences in their contexts.

There were some other elements in the school milieu that contributed to novice CFL teachers’ constructions of authority establishment. One was the securing a legal working visa. Being offered legal working visas based on teaching performance was considered a way of showing appreciation and recognition by Lindsay. This offer provided a stable working environment for NS Chinese teachers as immigrants. With a stable working status, NS Chinese teachers are able to implement long-term goals and plans of teaching, feel more support by administrators, and gain more confidence by being recognized and appreciated.

Another contribution was having enough freedom on deciding teaching content and approaches. Novice CFL teachers would gain more authority if they could decide their own teaching goals, content, materials, and activities to teach. With more freedom on teaching goals, content, and pace, some participants could worry less about catching up the pace if they used the target language in teaching. When Jenny was asked whether her perspectives of CFL had changed so far since working there, she mentioned that she felt burnt out at the end of her first semester because she just tried to cover all the content she was asked to finish. During the winter break after that semester, she reflected on her first semester teaching and decided that keeping
the pace with others should not be the priority of her teaching. In this case, she would have more
freedom to adjust her teaching for better outcomes if she had more authorities on curriculum.

Another element was the presence of a strong leading figure as authority in this school that could help
and back up the novice CFL teachers when they had conflicts with students and
dependents. Some participants mentioned that their principals understood and supported their
decisions when they had to deal with classroom management and communicating with students
and parents. One participant mentioned that a strong lead in special education was needed in her
class. She had some knowledge of special education but more professional support from a
collaborative team would be necessary in some cases. Unfortunately, the resolution the special
education professionals provided for her in regards to a kid with severe special needs did not
have ideal outcomes. With different opinions, she still has not found the best way to solve the
problem without the team’s support.

From graduate schools to K-12 schools, the authority figure has been gradually changed. Choosing
different social strategies actually reflected the change of authorities. In the process of
becoming novice CFL teachers, these participants internalized inspirations from faculty in
graduate schools and gradually built their own as authorities in CFL at K-12 schools. This
process and how these elements shaped this change can be illustrated in figure 1.

![Diagram](image_url)

Figure 1: Change of authorities from graduate schools to K-12 schools
Socialization process of novice CFL teachers in this study

Lindsay

Lindsay had training and experience in CSL in China for her undergraduate and graduate education. For the purpose of career development after work experience in India, Lindsay took advantage of an exchange program her graduate school in China had with an Asian Studies graduate program in the U.S. After graduation, she successfully found a teaching position in a secondary school in the Northeast. She described her school as a secondary school with a large proportion of Chinese American students in a very good school district. The Chinese program in her school has all levels of Chinese language courses, and even includes AP Chinese. In addition, the school has resources and support for her to organize Chinese cultural events. At the time of the interview for this study, she had been working at that school for about six months as a novice CFL teacher.

Interactions at the teacher education program

Lindsay had quite opposite opinions about her CSL/ CFL training programs in China and in the U.S. She constantly compared goals, content, and faculty of these two programs and highly valued the training program she had in China for three main reasons. First, the curriculum of her CSL program in China prepared her well for her future teaching career, while the Asian studies program seemed to lose focus. Lindsay had opportunities to practice teaching in some Chinese reading courses in her university when she was in that CSL program. She did a thesis on comparisons of the two most popular CFL textbooks used in American high school for her Masters in China and that thesis helped her in a significant way to get her current job. However, preparing CFL teachers was just one of many goals of the Asian studies program she was in, and she repeatedly expressed her dissatisfaction on both the teacher preparation and employment
expectation. Second, the CSL program she had in China provided her with a solid knowledge foundation of Chinese linguistics, literature, culture, and teaching methods. What she learned from her Asian studies program in the U.S. barely added anything new to her knowledge of content and instruction as a CFL teacher. Third, Lindsay had much closer connections with her faculty in China than the faculty she had in the U.S. The interactions she had with her advisor in China not only occurred in class such as supervising research and providing academic materials, but also continued after class and after graduation, such as discussion teaching issues and fostering her interest in research as an educator. What she believed in CFL education was heavily influenced by her advisor in China. On the contrary, Lindsay did not agree with many things the faculty at the Asian studies program did here because she felt that these faculty just knew theories better than her, but without any actual teaching experience in K-12 schools.

The training in China gave Lindsay excess skills in CFL education as a novice teacher, and the Asian studies program provided the opportunity for Lindsay to study and look for a job in America. Even though the program goal was not the one she expected, the content seemed useless for her, and the faculty barely had any influence on her. Lindsay decided to just do whatever she was asked to do in this program to complete courses and get a degree. Lindsay chose strategic redefinition as her social strategy when she interacted with her graduate program in the U.S.

*Interactions at the school*

Unlike her interactions with program goals, content, and faculty, the interactions Lindsay had with her peers in her Asian studies program actually helped her have a smooth transition from her graduate school to her current teaching position. She learned about cultures of different school districts from her peers even after graduation, and she decided to use different approaches
and content based on who her students are and adjust her behaviors to fit in the culture of her school and school district.

One adjustment she made in practice was on pronunciation correction. When she had training in China, she believed in what her professors persisted: students should be corrected on every single inaccurate pronunciation. Lindsay stuck to this standard strictly till she started teaching in this school. She agreed that it would be beneficial for students at beginning levels, but did not work well for advanced levels, especially AP class students. She observed that students in the advanced level class felt very frustrated when they tried to express opinions in Chinese but were interrupted by pronunciation corrections. Rather than correcting pronunciation of single words, Lindsay decided to focus more on opinions students tried to express and how students organized and presented their opinions in advanced Chinese classes. Besides different language proficiency levels, Lindsay also considered differences in language learning environment. She said her professors in China are teaching Chinese for speakers of other languages in Beijing, where learners have opportunities to repeat what they have been corrected in class immediately in real life. However, Lindsay considered the broad context of her teaching in the environment that her students have very limited access of practicing the language in real life or have guaranteed opportunity to continue learning Chinese in the future. In this case, she believed that correcting every inaccurate pronunciation would do more harm than good in her current teaching context. She would rather her students be able to say something with less than perfect pronunciation than just feel frustrated and forget expressions. Now she believed that correcting pronunciation is important and should be through the entire process of Chinese language learning at all proficiency levels, but with different emphasis at each level.
The other major adjustment she had was the goal of her Chinese language class. She admitted that she had a significant shift on what she wants her students to gain from her Chinese language class. Lindsay recalled that she hoped students would learn the subject content by doing homework after class, and she heard that some students in other school districts are willing to do homework for twenty minutes or even longer per day. What Lindsay realized in her classroom was that students were not quite engaged in any class activities no matter how fun she tried to make the activities look like, including homework. She decided to spend more energy on fostering learning interests in Chinese language and culture than continuing homework battles with students. She usually included homework in class for a very short time and provided cultural related extracurricular. She believed that there are many ways to learn the language and students can learn something if they are interested in this subject.

These two changes in her practices and beliefs showed a shift from language learning theories to individual needs of students. She acquired language learning and teaching theories from her teacher training programs, such as feedback and corrections. And she viewed the faculty of the program in China as authority figures. At that time, with very limited teaching experience and having professors as her authority figures, Lindsay applied internalized adjustment as her social strategy as a response to her professors’ perceptions of teaching and learning Chinese language. However, as the context in the school she was working at changed, so did her behaviors and beliefs. She started to have daily intensive interactions with students, and herself became the authority of this subject matter in her school. Different responses from various classes and students provided opportunities for her to reflect on what she believed before. In order to fit into the school culture and get positive outcomes from AP courses, Lindsay changed her behaviors in teaching. Meanwhile, interactions with different kinds of students and
parents let her realize the gap between ideal scenarios of teaching and learning Chinese and the reality that students came to her class with various goals, language learning competences, and personalities. Within this context, Lindsay applied strategic redefinition as her social strategy when she interacted with students and parents.

**Social strategies and corresponding contexts**

Changes of behaviors, beliefs, and social strategies that Lindsay had at different social contexts reflected the role change from graduate schools to her current secondary school. At the first stage, Lindsay had very limited experience of teaching Chinese for speakers of other languages and she had systematic training with some leading professors in this field in China. Accordingly, she naturally adopted perceptions her authorities held and formed her perceptions of teaching and learning Chinese language through internalized adjustment. At the second stage when she was at the Asian studies program in the U.S., unclear goals, overlapped curriculum, and faculty whose specialty is not CFL in K-12 in the program were unable to establish authorities for Lindsay. Only the degree of the program would benefit her by giving her opportunities to apply for teaching positions in the U.S. For this one potential positive outcome of the program, Lindsay chose strategic redefinition as her strategy to complete her courses. Also for the potential positive benefit of successfully securing a teaching position in America, Lindsay gathered information about school districts and students from her peers in the program, and eventually applied strategic compliance as her strategy when she adjusted her behaviors to fit in the culture of school districts.

After a smooth transition from graduate school to her current job, Lindsay was in a different context. The secondary school she is working at is in a good school district and has a large proportion of Chinese American students. The Chinese program in her school has all levels
of Chinese language courses, and even includes AP Chinese. In addition, administrators and staff in this school are willing to provide resources and support for her to organize Chinese cultural events. What really changed Lindsay’s behaviors and perceptions on teaching was her interactions with students and parents. Some students were aiming high at AP Chinese, while some heritage speakers just took her courses as an easy way to get a good score. Students at beginning level classes definitely have different goals and emphasis compared to advanced level classes. Some students were highly encouraged by, and engaged in, course projects while some students resisted homework or only cared about test scores. The variety of the student population and the various needs of students were taken into consideration by Lindsay. In terms of teaching goals, content, and methods, Lindsay shifted from what she acquired from books and professors to what she encounters daily. She became the one that has authority to make decisions on what should be taught and how it should be taught. Teaching goals, content, and methods mainly depended on responses from her students. At this stage, on the one hand, she expects positive outcomes from students in learning, such as good performance in AP exams and on the other hand, she also wants to fulfill student needs. The gap between ideal and reality put her in a situation where she reconsidered the pros and cons of some beliefs she obtained from her teacher training. After battles on homework load, pronunciation corrections, and GPA pursuers, Lindsay at this third stage applied strategic redefinition as her strategy for success: she had adjustments both on her behaviors and beliefs in CFL education in this American secondary school.

**Valorie**

Valorie has very similar educational backgrounds as Lindsay. She studied CSL for her undergraduate and graduate degrees in China, and then completed her graduate program in Asian studies in graduate school in the Northeast. Valorie explicitly expressed that her motivation for
joining the graduate program was to have experience living abroad. Her major in college and specialty in graduate school helped her to make the connection and achieved that goal.

When Valorie worked at a public high school in the same state where her graduate school was located, she considered the school district a nice one with the majority of the students from middle class families. She was in charge of four different levels of Chinese courses. She had twelve students in each class except one big size class that had twenty five students.

*Interactions at the teacher education program*

Valorie has a very similar educational background as Lindsay. The difference between Valorie and Lindsay was that Valorie did not have positive impressions on her teacher training in China. Lindsay internalized beliefs of her professors in China, but Valorie just felt that she just gained more knowledge on Chinese linguistics. In terms of CFL teaching and learning, Valorie found no big difference between her graduate program in America and the program in China. There were some lectures on how to teach drilling classes of Chinese language summer courses that were organized by American and Chinese universities, and the lectures were given by some professors from American universities. Valorie recalled that she just accepted whatever these professors taught because she had no experience in teaching CFL/ CSL at that time, especially no experience teaching abroad.

Because of her urgent need for teaching experience, Valorie valued experiences of observing teaching when she was in the graduate program in the U.S. She observed Chinese language classes in several local K-12 schools. From the observations, Valorie had some brief impression of the context of American K-12 schools: school types, class sizes, and how the Chinese language was taught. She was only able to gain a very brief impression due to limited
opportunities. Valorie admitted that the observation helped her understand the actual teaching context, but did not really change anything she believed in CFL teaching and learning.

Valorie also had the opportunity to be a graduate teaching assistant for Chinese language courses in her school. She did not have too many chances to teach in the classroom, but she was allowed to observe Chinese language teaching in this American university. The interactions she had during this kind of observation were interesting. She naturally compared teaching CFL in college and in K-12 schools since she had chance to observed both contexts. Valorie noticed that the teaching she observed in college was much more traditional than the teaching in K-12 schools. In college, it was more lecture and drill setting and the teaching methods were mainly ALM. Valorie did not really agree with this kind of setting and method, but she did not highly value other teaching methods in K-12 schools either. Instead of making a judgment on different teaching methods, Valorie considered the teaching context as an important factor to consider in teaching. She believed that there were no absolute good or bad teaching approaches, choosing appropriate approaches was the key. She pointed out two major differences between college and K-12 school. One is that college students are different from secondary school students. Secondary school students would easily get bored if the grammar lectures were presented in class. The other difference is the schedule. Many secondary schools have a block schedule, which is about eighty minutes for each class. The Chinese class in college is relatively shorter. She felt that the same approaches may not applicable in secondary schools. Based on her various observations and active reflections on the observations, Valorie gradually formed her own perspectives on CFL teaching and learning. She considered applying different approaches based on the context. In addition, Valorie was not willing to discuss her opinions on CFL teaching with teachers and faculty she observed. Like other participants in this study too, experienced teachers
and faculty were still authority figures for Valorie because she was a graduate student. She may not completely agree with these authority figures, but she chose to keep her own opinions to herself and modify her behaviors in different contexts for survival.

**Interactions at the school**

Valorie had some challenges mainly from interactions with students in classroom management, interactions with parents who only cared about scores, and the gap between ideal and reality in teaching in the target language. First, her senior class students were not quite what she expected. As a novice CFL teacher, she assumed that the senior class would be the most mature and well-trained students. Unfortunately, this group of students already got used to the teaching style of their previous CFL teacher. And they were not very motivated at the time since they would graduate soon. Valorie initially talked to students and parents and asked advice from experienced teachers in her school. During the process of solving this problem, Valorie felt that she gained a lot and became more confident in classroom management. Second, during the interactions with parents, Valorie always tried to look for parents’ support and understanding. Some parents of heritage learners of Chinese only cared about test scores and even defended their kids’ inappropriate attitudes and behaviors in Chinese class. When Valorie could not have parents’ support, she decided to use taking points off in final scores for inappropriate behaviors and negative participation. Valorie took initiatives to engage more students in active learning, and the positive outcomes of her initiatives reinforced her attempts on trying out her beliefs in actual teaching. She was a new and novice CFL teacher in this school, but her teaching style was gradually accepted by students and her goals of engaging students in meaningful learning were achieved. Third, the school context was not quite realistic for her to teach in the target language. When Valorie learned and practiced teaching in target language in STARTALK program, she
spent two days with a team to prepare for an hour of teaching. In her current school, Valorie did not have a team to prepare one lesson with her for two days, and the teaching pace was mainly decided by her department with very limited flexibility. In this condition, Valorie believed that she still would like to try her best to teach in the target language, but one hundred percent in the target language would not be practical. She still put the context as the priority so that she would adjust her behaviors but keep her beliefs unchanged.

Valorie took initiatives on her interactions with her administrators and colleagues. She sometimes observed other foreign language classes. So far, she has already observed French, German, Spanish, and Latin classes and exchanged opinions on some interactive class activities with teachers of these classes. She used some interactive games and activities in her Chinese language class and the learning results turned out to be very effective. Meanwhile, she gained support from administrators as well. Besides the resources in her school, Valorie also actively looked for ideas from Chinese language groups online.

*Social strategies and corresponding contexts*

The interactions Valorie had in her graduate program and in her current school were different. In her graduate program, Valorie accepted new knowledge and thought she understood K-12 schools in America. The observation opportunities provided valuable chances for Valorie to reflect on the knowledge she learned in various contexts. Valorie chose strategic compliance as her strategy as a graduate student. She did not believe in faculty and experienced teachers she observed, but she chose not to discuss her opinions with them. The faculty and experienced teachers were authority figures for Valorie, not because she internalized their perspectives of CFL education, but more because of her status as a student at the time.
Along with the process of becoming a novice CFL teacher in her current school, Valorie gradually had more opportunities to take initiatives when she interacted with her students, parents, colleagues, and administrators. She considered the school context and chose strategic compliance as her strategy when she realized that some approaches may not work as effective as in ideal situations. Valorie would modify her behaviors to survive in particular contexts. She also applied various activities she observed from her colleagues and online teacher groups to achieve her teaching goals. Meanwhile, she tried various ways and gained support from administrators to engage students and parents who have different goals in her Chinese language class. Her initiatives brought positive outcomes that allowed her to apply strategic redefinition as her social strategy when she gained more teaching experience. She had more space on Chinese language curriculum, and the changes on social strategy choices revealed that the authority figures have gradually shifted from faculty and experienced teachers toward herself, who keeps gaining experience and confidence during the process of constant self-reflection.

Caitlyn

Caitlyn completed her undergraduate education in China with a Bachelor Degree in CSL. She had a couple of years of CFL teaching experience in America before she was admitted to a TESOL program in the Midwest. Besides Chinese as her mother tongue, Caitlyn also learned English and French as foreign languages in China. She took the current job right before she had planned to leave the U.S. in summer after she graduated from the TESOL program.

The high school she was working at was a large public high school in a college town in the Midwest with almost two hundred teachers. The school just started to hire her after several years of having interactive distance learning Chinese program that was operated in conjunction with other educational organizations. Compared to the size of this high school, the Chinese
program was relatively small: three levels of Chinese language courses with twenty three students in total. Students were organized by their Chinese language proficiencies rather than their school years. Since Caitlyn only had three classes per day, she was also responsible for some administrative duties.

*Interactions at the teacher education program*

Caitlyn majored in CSL in China as undergraduate and completed her Masters in TESOL in the U.S. Although the TESOL program was not aiming to prepare her to be a CFL teacher, it did bring something new to Caitlyn after she studied four years of CSL in China and worked three years teaching Chinese to K-12 students in America. She believed that the TESOL program broadened her views of language education in general in three aspects. First, the teaching methods she learned prior to the TESOL program were at a micro level that only addressed how to teach some specific Chinese grammar patterns. In her TESOL program, the dots of linguistics, educational psychology, and teaching methods, and assessments were connected. Second, awareness of intercultural competence was integrated in teacher education for language educators. Considering different cultural backgrounds in curriculum design was emphasized. (Sentence is unclear, consider rephrasing) Third, learning the history of the development of English language teaching in different countries provided her a more international perspective on language education. Caitlyn had training in CSL for learners in China and focused on CFL for American learners when she taught secondary school students. She felt that the difference her TESOL made was that she started to consider CFL outside of the classroom. She started to pay more attention to students: their cultural backgrounds, interests, experiences, and needs. Even though her program was not on CFL education, it still shed light on new perspectives on language teaching and social contexts of American society. Caitlyn had some changes from
internal beliefs to external behaviors: she had internalized adjustment when she interacted with goals and content of her TESOL program.

The interactions between Caitlyn and her peers and between Caitlyn and her professors were interesting. On one hand, she was inspired by the international perspectives on language education and internalized this view. On the other hand, she believed that some approaches her professors and peers introduced or demonstrated were not realistic or effective in a real classroom. The interesting part was that when Caitlyn disagreed with her professors or peers, she never exchanged her perspectives with them. For instance, Caitlyn agreed that the communicative approach (CLA) was a great approach in teaching, but from her own experience, she felt that it is easier to discuss and demonstrate this approach in a virtual class than actually practice it in a real classroom. Instead of expressing her doubts in class, she usually prefers having more time to think about issues like this after class by herself. If this dilemma appeared in written exams for her courses, she chose to present the theory and professors’ perspectives first, but added her own opinion with examples from her teaching experience. Similarly, Caitlyn did not express her disagreement about ALM that one of her classmates demonstrated in class. She believed that CLA is a much more effective approach to learning languages in contexts than ALM, but she felt that how a language teacher teaches at some point reflects how this teacher learned foreign languages, and the preferences and effectiveness of learning approaches may vary from person to person. During the interactions with her professors and peers, Caitlyn made her own judgements on what she would like to adopt, and what she would not, based on her teaching experience. The faculty was an authority figure because of their social status, so she avoided open discussion or direct confrontation. Caitlyn chose strategic redefinition as her social strategy when she interacted with professors and peers. She accepted variances in perceptions
and approaches of language teaching, but had no change on her own perspectives or practice of CFL teaching and learning.

*Interactions at the school*

Caitlyn has authority to decide her goals, content, approaches, assessment, and paces of teaching at the school, and she appreciated professional help from the learning coach and mentor/ mentee program at her school. Biweekly, Caitlyn sat down with her mentor, an experienced teacher, to consult and discuss things they are concerned with for that month. The learning coach could be reached at any time about any questions, even for something like connecting a printer. Caitlyn felt that help from her mentor and learning coach at the school was beneficial for her to get used to this new environment as a novice teacher. However, during the interview, Caitlyn addressed three major struggles she had in the past year as a novice CFL teacher despite the positive side of her work.

The first struggle was being isolated from administrators and colleagues. Besides having support from colleagues in formal settings like mentor/ mentee program, informal settings in school, such as lunch time, seemed a valuable time for novice teachers to socialize with other language teachers casually and relatively more personally compared to meeting their colleagues at department meetings. Unfortunately, Caitlyn did not have the opportunity to interact with her colleagues due to her office settings. Caitlyn felt the isolation of her working environment immensely because not only was she was assigned to a classroom on a different floor from all other foreign language classrooms in a big school building, but she ate lunch alone because her lunch period did not correspond to the other English teachers who ate together in their English department office. This kind of isolation made her feel that she and the Chinese language were unimportant in this giant school. Besides the typical physical isolation, Caitlyn pointed out
another form of isolation: the gap of expectations of Chinese language programs between CFL teachers and administrators. While she tried her best to engage students to learn the language and culture and gain skills and interest students to become life-long learners, she never had any administrators visit her classroom or ask her about her class. The conversations she usually had with her colleagues at the school were just polite greetings. She felt that the Chinese program drew very little attention and encouragement from administrators. The Chinese program was isolated in the school curriculum, and she was not recognized or supported either.

The second thing that really bothered her was about the necessity of doing homework after class. When being asked about influential things that happened in her teaching, Caitlyn mentioned her struggle with assigning homework. She has always believed in the necessity of having assignments after class for foreign language learning. She struggled with the reality that some students still did not care about doing homework at all no matter how many different ways she tried. She first lowered the homework load to only twice a week even though they have classes on every weekday. Then she provided awards for completing all assignments for a week and set up punishment on final scores for missing turning in assignments. None of the above worked effectively, so she changed the format of the assignment sometimes. Instead of reading and writing only, she accepted callings via google voice and all students needed to do was speak two sentences on each call. Unfortunately, this way of lowering the homework load and requirements did not work effectively either. When she turned to her colleagues for advice, she was suggested to give up. Caitlyn realized that this problem did not just exist in her class, and she decided to never give up on her beliefs that practicing was a key to language learning success.
The third struggle she encountered during her interactions with students was regarding political issues in CFL. CFL teachers from mainland China may have different opinions on some political issues such as religion, Taiwan, Tibet, and the South China Sea. Unavoidably, Chinese language teachers might be asked about their opinions on these issues when students brought their interest in understanding Asia and contemporary Chinese culture and society to the class. Caitlyn has been asked about her opinions on “Falun Gong” in her class. She tried to avoid discussing political issues in class and chose more neutral opinions when she talked to the student individually after class. She admitted two reasons she chose to deal the situation in this way. One was because she tried to avoid potential conflicts in class because of her personality. More importantly, it was because she felt that she needs to protect herself. She has seen or heard some cases that some teachers’ careers were in jeopardy because students or parents were not happy about some opinions teachers expressed in class. During her interactions with students on Chinese political issues, Caitlyn started to reflect on her own political views and decided to pay more attention to political issues. She admitted that she would still be more likely to express neutral opinions, but with more related history and cultural knowledge.

As she usually kept her own opinions to herself during interactions with faculty and peers in teacher training programs, Caitlyn also chose to keep her opinions to herself when she interacted with administrators, colleagues, and students. As a novice CFL teacher in this school, Caitlyn gained useful information from her learning coach and mentor and adjusted her behaviors in teaching to fit in the norm of this school and to fulfill the needs of her students. However, her perceptions on foreign language learning have not changed, no matter if it was the issue of homework, political controversies, or learning process. She applied strategic compliance as her strategy when she interacted with the school milieu.
Social strategies and corresponding contexts

Caitlyn started to take courses in the TESOL program when she was still teaching CFL in America. When the program provided her new knowledge on language teaching in the context of globalization and curriculum and instruction at the macro level, Caitlyn chose internalized adjustment as her strategy when she interacted with her program goals, content, and faculty. The context provided her opportunities to consider the development of language teaching in different countries. Unlike her undergraduate education that only focused on CSL in China and her working experience only for K-12 students in the Midwest in America, Caitlyn took into account various historical, cultural, and language backgrounds in consideration as a language educator. Teaching experiences of her advisor inspired her as well. Therefore, when she decided content and approaches of her teaching as a CFL teacher, she tried to include students’ personal experiences into her curriculum.

One social strategy she applied consistently was strategic compliance in both contexts of teacher training programs and school milieu. When she was a graduate student, she disagreed with her professors and peers on some teaching approaches. Caitlyn chose not to express her opinions directly in class. She respected the perspectives her professors and peers had, but she also reflected on those perspectives by connecting theories with her own teaching experience. For the purpose of effective teaching and achieving teaching goals, Caitlyn was ok to adopt or try out different approaches. Even though she had some changes of behaviors, she still held what she believed in CFL education. She has never given up on her beliefs in practicing after class, even though she has not gained positive outcomes from her students, or support from her colleagues. Also, she did not have enough support as she expected from the school and school administrators, but she still tried her best to do what she believed was right in CFL education.
She was honest with parents about how long it will take for students to be fluent in Chinese, and she decorated her classroom that was shared with another language class with students work and signs in Chinese. The outcomes of her teaching and reactions from her students were important but not the only factor that influenced her decisions on her social strategies in contexts. Also, because her goals and beliefs in CFL education might be different from administrators of that school, she had some struggles expressing her perspectives at work for survival as a novice teacher.

After six months of working in this school, Caitlyn felt that the school milieu was much more complex context than her graduate program. For survival, she had to consider many other factors in her work besides teaching in class. As a very small program in a large public school, she needed enough enrolled students, supportive parents, and understanding administrators to survive budget cuts and lack of resources in the Midwest. The broad school and community context posed these challenges to Caitlyn, while she was the only CFL teacher and a novice teacher to struggle with these difficulties. She had been trying to look for a balance of what she believes and what reality requires.

**Caleb**

As the only male and NNS of Chinese participant in this study, Caleb has quite different path of becoming a novice CFL teacher compared to other NS participants. Caleb started to learn Chinese as a foreign language from 9th grade and continued pursuing his interest in Chinese language and culture during undergraduate in a big public university in the Midwest. Before Caleb was admitted to foreign language education and TESOL programs at his alma mater graduate school, he taught English as a foreign language in China for a few years. Besides
Mandarin, Caleb also learned Japanese and Szechuan dialect, the dialect that is mainly spoken by people live in Szechuan Province in southwestern China where he taught English.

After graduation, he got a job offer at a public secondary school in a big urban school district, which is not too far away from his graduate school. Caleb considered his school as a not too typical urban school by national standards but is ethnically, economically, and socially diverse in a big city in that state. The school just started the Chinese program after he was hired. In this new program, he had two classes at the same level and each class had between fifteen and twenty-two students. He had block scheduling, which means that each of his class lasted eighty-five minutes. Meanwhile, he is also an ESL teacher at the same school and offers academic advisory as well.

*Interactions at the teacher education program*

Caleb brought his experience of learning Chinese as a foreign language, experience of teaching English as a foreign language in China, and strong motivation to become a CFL teacher in the U.S. with his foreign language and TESOL programs. When Caleb learned Chinese in his high school and college, he had several NNS teachers as his role models. From his own learning experience, he believed that having NNS teachers as role models was extremely beneficial for learners. In addition, he pointed out that schools in the U.S. lack CFL teachers in general, especially NNS teachers.

Theory classes in these graduate programs provided a theoretical base for what he thought about language teaching when he learned Chinese and taught English. In addition, within two semesters of practicum of his graduate programs, Caleb highly valued the opportunity of observing and practicing all aspects of teaching, including outcomes of teaching applications of language acquisition theories and classroom management. In addition, Caleb also felt that
introductory courses on a wide range of Chinese culture including literature and pop culture were necessary for preparing him to be a CFL teacher with more knowledge of Chinese language and culture. When theories coincided with his learning and teaching experiences, Caleb internalized perspectives of the content and his professors. Similarly, when his observations confirmed his perspectives on CFL teaching, he internalized what he has learned from his practicum as well.

On the contrary, Caleb experienced a lack of understanding of the Chinese language when he interacted with content and faculty of his graduate programs. Caleb believed that it would be more beneficial for him if the program had more language specific courses. It is undeniable that many teaching applications of language acquisition theories are suitable for all languages, but Caleb still had difficulties in applying some teaching approaches in teaching Chinese, especially writing characters. He agreed that there are some similarities and basic concepts that languages share, but he argued that there are also some very different details that need to be included in foreign language education. When he had a discussion with his peers about a lesson plan for teaching dates and time, his peers heavily focused on grammar of different tenses while he did not at all. His peers did not even realize that there was such a big difference between European Romance languages and Chinese. He encountered similar situations when he explained writing and reading Chinese. He pointed out there are many more steps involved in being able to read and write Chinese characters than Spanish words. The general responses he got from professors and peers were surprising as if they have never considered that before. Without enough understanding of language differences, especially on some less commonly taught languages in the U.S., Caleb felt that there was a gap between what he has learned from the program and what he can do in teaching Chinese. And because of this gap, it was hard for Caleb to internalize some perspectives from his professors and books.
For Caleb, his authority figures were his role models that he had when he learned Chinese. They demonstrated how Chinese was learned and taught and the outcomes of his learning reinforced the authority status of his role models. He internalized perspectives of teaching and learning CFL from his role models and tried to see if the knowledge he gained from his graduate programs fit what he knew about CFL education. He might adopt some teaching approaches and classroom management when he interacted with program content and faculty, but his perspectives on what should be taught and how it should be taught had no change. He understood the reality that there is a lack of understanding of Chinese language in his foreign language education program, and he chose strategic compliance as his strategy to deal with the situation.

*Interactions at the school*

Caleb’s personal education and language backgrounds led him to have very different perspectives in CFL education compared to other novice NS teachers of Chinese in this study. He wanted to foster his students to become lifelong learners of Chinese language as the other novice NS teachers of Chinese, but he pursued this goal in a different approach. While the NS teachers focused on getting students interested in learning Chinese by integrating games, cultural events, and fieldtrips, Caleb focused on helping his students gain learning skills through rigorous and more traditional instructions, such as ALM at the beginning level, syntax analysis in class for new patterns, and emphasis on practicing writing characters.

When Caleb started to work in this school, he took over the Chinese program from the previous instructor. The previous instructor struggled with student behavior problems and felt frustrated when he tried to teach the language. Caleb believed that having rigorous instructions would fix behavior problems. On one hand, Caleb believed that he knows American high school
students better than NS teachers because he was an insider. On the other hand, he constantly felt
differences between students today and himself more than a decade ago. In reality, he had to
focus on classroom management and understood frustrations his previous NS colleague
experienced. Caleb has never been a fan of ALM, but he decided to use that approach at the
beginning of each class as a routine to help students decipher Chinese language. He taught
students about SVO (Subject- Verb- Object structure) and other structures and broke sentences
down to identify grammar patterns. His students first had trouble doing this and found it was too
boring. Caleb did not take that response as the final outcome of his method. Gradually, his
students developed better understanding in Chinese language and this result indicated to him that
teaching Chinese is about reinforcing and developing overall learning habits for students.

Caleb chose strategic compliance as his strategy when he applied some teaching
approaches he did not believe in for dealing with learning and behavior issues. The development
of Chinese language and learning skills were the outcomes Caleb expected, but he still felt
frustrated sometimes because of the lack of appreciation for his effort. He had to remind himself
that as society changes, so do students. He tried to understand his students and parents who are
from various social classes and have their own personal issues. He also realized that the passion
he had when he was a Chinese language learner was much more enthusiastic than the majority of
his current students. His job now includes making students interested in learning, but his teachers
did not need to consider this issue. The context when he was a learner and the context when he
became a teacher changed. During the process of realizing the change, Caleb started to accept a
wide range of behaviors within his current social context and chose strategic redefinition as his
strategy to interact with the school milieu.
Social strategies and corresponding contexts

From internalized adjustment to strategic compliance, and until strategic redefinition, Caleb’s choices on social strategies in interactions with corresponding contexts revealed his reflections on his role as both a learner and a teacher in CFL education, and both an insider and an outsider in American school culture.

When Caleb internalized perspectives from his role models, he viewed himself as a learner and reflected on his own language learning experiences. Later when he was in the graduate program, he was the expert in Chinese language when his professors and peers were lacking a basic understanding of this language. He explained language differences and some difficulties in teaching Chinese. Without clear answers, his formed perspectives on CFL barely had any change until observations and practice during his practicum. He observed positive outcomes of some approaches in language teaching and classroom management, so he became the learner again to adopt these approaches. However, what he believed about what should be taught and how the language should be learned have not changed. So he brought his confidence as an expert in Chinese language learning and as an insider in American school culture to his current school: a public secondary school in a big urban school district where students are ethnically, economically, and socially diverse. He believed that his methods and approaches would be effective and he would not have struggles with student behaviors as the previous NS teacher. Unfortunately, the context of school has changed. He realized that he had to deal with student behaviors and help them to gain learning skills as his priority of his Chinese language teaching. Caleb recalled the importance of memorizing Chinese characters and ALM for understanding similarities and differences of languages when he was a learner. So he decided to use some very traditional language methods to help his students learn essential skills. That was
the reason he shifted from internalized adjustment to strategic compliance. Meanwhile, he realized his students were different from him as learners. First of all, not all of his students were as passionate about learning Chinese as he was. Second, his students are from various social backgrounds. Third, he reflected on his own experience and admitted that he has been heavily influence by Chinese and Japanese cultures because he has lived in China for years and grown up in these cultural environments. That made him become a kind of outsider in his current school. He tried to make connections between his experience and the life experiences of his students. By realizing that, Caleb widened his acceptance range of student behaviors and even felt he understood the other NS Chinese teachers’ frustration and struggles.

Emily

Emily was admitted to her world language education program in a public university in the North right after she completed her undergraduate education in CSL in China. At the second year of her graduate program, Emily was admitted to a licensure program at the same school. Within three years, she gained degrees of both graduate programs that usually take two years each. Emily was very clear about her career before she came to the U.S. Since her major was CSL and she studied abroad, language teaching was the natural choice.

Emily has been working at an elementary school in the same state where she went to graduate school. Emily described this school as a small charter school with a Chinese immersion program and the school was part of a wealthy suburban school district near her graduate school. The majority of her students were Caucasian from middle and upper middle class families. In addition, due to the nature of immersion program and elementary school, Emily was in charge of all subject matters for students from 3rd to 5th grade all day.
Interactions at the teacher education program

Emily distinguished differences between her world language education program and licensure program. The content of her world language education program heavily overlapped with her CSL courses in China except for new knowledge on students. She was very inspired by courses that focused on student groups: special education, educational psychology, and multicultural education. When she was a student majoring in CSL in China, she had never learned anything about special education or multicultural education. Courses like these helped her understand her future student group in the U.S. She has never thought about race, homosexuality, and transgender issues until she started her graduate program here. Rather than having influence on her perspectives of CFL education, these courses had greater influence on her perspectives of being a teacher in general. She started to reconsider bias, stereotypes, and social justice when she considered students in curriculum design and teaching. These new perspectives on American society and education provided Emily new angles to think about being a CFL teacher in the U.S. She chose internalized adjustment as her social strategy to absorb the new information and understand her future working context.

Emily benefited from her licensure program directly from its practical goal and content. In this licensure program, Emily had opportunities to practice teaching every week and there were weekly seminars discussing issues and concerns student teachers had each week. Within this program, she was able to connect language teaching and learning theories with practice through student teaching. Meanwhile, she also had a lot of interactions with her faculty and peers during their teaching seminars. In addition, there was a year that these two graduate programs overlapped. This overlapped year was a great opportunity for Emily to reflect on theories and practice at the same time. During this time, she noticed the difference between her CSL
education in China and her graduate programs in America. The CSL education she had in China had an emphasis on Chinese linguistics, especially syntax. She doubted the effectiveness of teaching in that way and her doubt was confirmed by her learning and teaching experience in the U.S. Teaching syntax would not work when her students were not adults, and knowing how to teach was as important as knowing the subject matter. During the process of reflecting on her own learning and teaching experience, Emily still applied internalized adjustment as her social strategy as a student teacher.

Emily believed that teaching exclusively in the target language was ideal, but the reality was hard to execute in the classroom. The method of teaching in the target language was much more emphasized in her graduate program here than in China. Emily agreed that creating an immersive language environment would be very beneficial for student learning, but the reality was that very few teachers were able to make it happen. It indicated that she agreed with this method, but applying this method or not depends on the contexts. Within the context of student teaching, Emily chose strategic compliance as her social strategy.

Interactions at the school

Although Emily argued that applying the method of teaching in Chinese or not depends on the school context, she must teach in that way because she got a teaching position in a small charter school with a Chinese immersion program. The school was part of a wealthy suburban school district and the majority of her students were Caucasian from middle and upper middle class families. Due to the nature of immersion program and elementary school, Emily was not only in charge of Chinese language courses, but also responsible for all subject matters from 3rd to 5th grade. Emily had a tough transition from graduate school to her current position due to the following three main reasons.
First, she experienced big differences between teaching in high school and elementary school. When Emily was a student teacher for her practicum, she worked at a high school and Chinese was an elective course. She spent a lot of time on designing interesting activities to make the language learning appealing to high school students. She thought it would be the same in elementary school when she started to work as a novice CFL teacher in this immersion program. However, she noticed that having all kinds of activities in class did not work as well as she expected. Elementary students preferred daily routine activities. She immediately adjusted her lesson plan towards this characteristic of elementary school students and her teaching started to become smoother afterward. From her interactions with elementary students, Emily realized that students of different age groups should be taught in different methods and approaches that are appropriate for their development. She changed her perspectives of CFL teaching within this new context.

Second, the goals of immersion Chinese program were different from the orientations of the charter school. When Emily interacted with administrators, students, and parents of this school, she realized that some difficulties she had in teaching were partially because of different goals some parents and administrators had for the immersion program in this school. As a teacher of the immersion Chinese language program, Emily hoped that her students could take advantage of the great language environment to learn the language and culture as much as they can. However, some parents that sent their kids to this program just hoped that their kids could have more attention from the teacher because of the class size. As for language learning, they did not really care. Additionally, Emily also felt that administrators in this school and the school district did not really understand language teaching and learning. Having students learn the language was not their priority goal either, even though they set up this immersive language
program. Having different goals and expectations on the immersion Chinese program left Emily in a dilemma. With very limited authority as a novice CFL teacher in this school, all Emily could do was adjust the curriculum, including lowering academic standards, trying to work with parents, and fostering students learning interests.

Third, there was a big gap between what she learned in special education courses and the challenges she had in her class. In her graduate program, Emily learned history and policies of special education in the U.S., as well as the principle that all the students with special needs should be included in schools. However, she never had training in dealing with special need students with specific resolutions. So when she had special need students in her class, she knew she needed professional support, but she could not get the support she needed. First, the school she is working at is a very small charter school. There were not enough recourses when she had several students with special needs or when she had some emergency situations. She had a students who often had aggressive behaviors in class, such as throwing scissors toward classmates and threatening classmates and principals. When situations like these happened, sometimes Emily was unable to find special education support team, and sometimes she disagreed with the resolution that special education team provided, such as giving the student an iPad to distract him. Emily thought that giving an iPad would not solve the problem at all because it was more like a reward for his behavior, considering the student enjoyed playing games on the iPad. Without enough support from the school resources and professional training in special education, she is still being troubled by this issue.

Social strategies and corresponding contexts

Emily completed two graduate programs on foreign language teaching with different emphases. Her experiences of teacher training, especially the overlapped year, was a great
opportunity in that she was able to practice teaching while still taking theory courses. Within this context, Emily was able to reflect on both theories and practice simultaneously. When the knowledge was new and practical for her, she chose internalized adjustment as her social strategy when she interacted with content, faculty, and peers. When the outcomes of some methods and approaches were not ideal in her classroom, Emily tended to choose strategic compliance as her strategy for surviving as a student teacher. She did not change her beliefs in teaching in the target language, but she had to face the reality that sometimes the challenges of doing that were overwhelming.

While Emily started her teaching in this charter school with her unchanged beliefs and modified behaviors, it was not a smooth transition because the context was so different from what she learned in graduate school. Emily internalized understanding on multicultural education, but this school is not diverse in social class, race, ethnicity, or sexuality at all. She also internalized concepts and principles of special education in the U.S., but this school is too small to have a supportive team to handle all the situations she had with special needs students. She had teaching experiences in high schools as a student teacher, but elementary schools students were so different from her previous high school students. In addition, Emily still believes in positive outcomes of having an immersive language learning environment, but some of her students and parents’ primary goals were not learning the language.

Facing all these challenges, Emily tried different approaches to adjust to this context. The influence of this context only reflected on her modified behaviors, not perspectives of CFL teaching and learning. She still holds her beliefs in CFL education while struggling with the difficulties. The interactions she had with her school milieu provided some possible explanations to understand her stand of point. First of all, the interactions between Emily and her school
milieu mutually influenced each other. Emily and the school context shaped each other. When Emily realized how different this school context is from what she expected in graduate school, she initially communicated with school administrators and parents to gain their support. The more understanding and support she gained from administrators and parents reinforced her beliefs in language teaching. Secondly, it is still an immersion Chinese language program. Her perspectives coincided with goals of this immersion program, even though the goals of the charter school were slightly different. In this case, Emily only had some changes on behaviors, such as lowering academic standards and adjusted curriculum. She was still able to put language learning as one of her primary goals. Third, Emily mentioned that she did not idealize the school milieu like some other new teachers before she became a novice CFL teacher here, and this was mainly because her observations from her mother, who has been teaching for years in China. Growing up in a family with an experienced teacher, Emily already observed many ups and downs of the teaching profession. Fourth, Emily did not have much authority to make big changes that could influence students and parents. There were hardly any positive outcomes that Emily could use to persuade parents and administrators to accept what she believes. Within this context, all Emily could do was modify some of her behaviors for survival, but with her beliefs of CFL education unchanged.

Nicole

Nicole is a native speaker of Chinese but studied comparative literature in an American university in the south. She has strong interests in humanities and managed to learn English, Korean, Japanese, and Cantonese informally through the years of studying and living in the U.S. Because of her personal interest in language learning and teaching, Nicole was admitted to a TESOL program at her alma mater.
After Nicole completed her TESOL program, she took a job offer at a private school that includes pre-school, kindergarten, and elementary together. Like Emily, Nicole taught all courses in Chinese from morning to afternoon for kids between two and five years old. Nicole did not consider the Chinese program as a complete immersion program because not all courses were taught in Chinese. The kids she taught were mainly from middle class families that parents include some Chinese-speaking ones.

*Interactions at the teacher education program*

Nicole decided to become a CFL teacher mainly because of her interest in language learning and teaching. Unlike many other participants in this study, Nicole did not study CSL as an undergraduate in China. Instead, she completed her undergraduate education in an American university and majored in literature. When Nicole was in her TESOL program, she had a little experience of CFL as a tutor at school and church. Because of her educational background, Nicole felt that the most useful course for her was curriculum design. It was systematic, practical, and detailed knowledge of how to do course and lesson design. Prior to this course, all Nicole could have thought about curriculum design was from textbooks and some adjustments by personal experience.

Another course and professor that inspired Nicole in language teaching was the one that sounded irrelevant and impractical at the beginning. The professor was a poet and the course was about poetry writing. At the beginning, Nicole felt that writing poetry had no direct connection with TESOL, but she was attracted by the course itself and found that it was a great opportunity to try something different. It was like learning a different language with interest and courage. With very limited experience of teaching CFL and abundant personal experience of
learning other foreign languages, Nicole chose internalized adjustment as her strategy when she interacted with program content and faculty.

*Interactions at the school*

The students Nicole had in this private school were even younger than Emily’s students. It was the first time that Nicole taught such young students. Besides language teaching, taking care of the students became one of her jobs as well. Nicole realized that there should be different ways to teach CFL for students at different age groups. The younger the students are, the harder for these students to get used to their teachers. The interactions with her students made her change her perspectives on CFL teaching: she started to prepare and conduct teaching toward her students’ interests and she was ready to make adjustments at any time based on her students’ responses.

In this school, topics of each week were decided by her supervisors. She only had authority on choosing and designing class activities, such as games, art works, and media resources. When she prepared these activities, she took students age and interests into account: there were always back up plans in case the original plan did not get positive responses, and there were always repeats and emphasis for the purpose of language learning. The challenges in this context were that parents did not have high expectations on how much Chinese their kids can learn here, and the students were too young to really develop strong and lasting interests in learning Chinese language and culture. It was more like providing the language learning environment and opportunity for the students at such a young age.

Nicole also addressed expectations and help for her from the administrators and other experienced CFL teachers in this school. She said that all the other teachers in the school taught better than her because they had a lot more teaching experience. In her eyes, the administrators
and other experienced Chinese language teachers were her authorities on curriculum, teaching, and classroom management. Emily accepted every plan they proposed or assigned to her and internalized their perspectives to become part of her own beliefs.

_Social strategies and corresponding contexts_

Unlike other participants in this study, Nicole did not have a rich experience of learning Chinese as a foreign language like Caleb, or have teacher training in CSL as an undergraduate as some other participants did. Her graduate program was TESOL, which was not aiming at preparing CFL teachers. All she had before becoming a novice CFL teacher in a private kindergarten Chinese language program were her informal experience of learning other languages, interest in language teaching, very limited CFL teaching experience, and some theoretical knowledge of language teaching and learning from books and professors of her TESOL program. In both contexts of graduate school and the private school, her authority figures were professors, administrators, and experienced teachers. For Nicole, this had both positive and negative effects for her process of becoming a CFL teacher.

On one hand, perspectives on language teaching and learning of her authority figures influenced Nicole greatly. She learned knowledge of curriculum and instruction in her TESOL program, and the poetry writing class widened her views on what can be integrated into language learning. But at the school, the curriculum was assigned and arranged by experienced teachers, and she also got advice and help from them as well. During her interactions with these authority figures, Nicole chose internalized adjustment as her strategy when she gained knowledge and experience in CFL education.

On the other hand, without student teaching, Nicole did not have the opportunity to reflect the knowledge she learned from her graduate program. At the school, Nicole did not have
opportunities to apply her knowledge of curriculum because the curriculum had already been designed by her authority figures. The interactions she had with both contexts were more one direction influence from authority figures to her, not the other way around. The imbalance of the interactions Nicole had in both contexts left her very limited room to reflect on the beliefs she internalized from her authorities. Relying on advice and help from experienced teachers may lead to less struggles as a novice CFL teacher, but made it harder to gain personal development in all aspects of teaching to become a more experienced teacher.

**Jenny**

Jenny shares a similar path of becoming a novice CFL teacher as Nicole. Jenny was born and grew up in China but was not quite satisfied with the higher education in China. Without knowing what she would like to major in exactly, Jenny went to a private liberal arts college in the Northeast for her undergraduate degree. During her time studying there, she studied Japanese and majored in East Asian Studies. Jenny developed strong interest in language teaching when she worked as a Teaching Assistant for Chinese courses at her university.

She felt very lucky that she was offered a teaching position at a private K-12 school in a major metropolis on the East coast. One characteristic of that school was that students received one-page reports from their teachers rather than scores or grades. At that school, foreign language was mandatory, but Chinese was one of many options. Jenny was responsible for secondary school courses and she worked with a team. The Chinese language program had been established for a while in that school and the founder of the program was also a strong leader of the team Jenny was on. After working at that school for a year, Jenny was enrolled in a TCFL program in a graduate school in the Northeast. The TCFL program provided opportunities for Jenny to observe teaching in secondary schools on both the east and west coasts. Jenny was on
the west coast when this study occurred, but she planned to go back to the school she worked before after the observation was complete.

*Interactions at the teacher education program*

Jenny’s graduate program was different from other language education programs. It has two sites on the east and west coast. One site was focused on CFL and the other site was more on ESL. Jenny needs to complete studying at both sites. Although Jenny had some experience of teaching CFL in college and secondary school, she has never had training in language teaching. When Jenny recalled her teaching in college, she entirely relied on her own foreign language learning experience. When Jenny started her courses in her CFL teacher training program, she felt that every course of the program was helpful because she gained systematic knowledge in curriculum, instruction, and Chinese language and culture. She used to be led by the textbook in teaching, but she felt she was able to design the curriculum that was based on student needs after these courses.

There were two courses that significantly inspired Jenny. One was teaching methods course, including observing different teaching methods in K-12 schools. The school she worked at on the East coast preferred CLA, and the school she was observing at the time of this study preferred content-based instruction. From her observation, practice, and reflections, Jenny believed that the differences among various teaching methods were appropriate or not for particular school contexts. This kind of perspectives on teaching methods was the same as Valorie’s opinions. The other course was classic Chinese philosophy. Jenny believed that language and culture are inseparable in language learning and teaching. Many students decided to learn Chinese because they were interested in Chinese culture. Having this course would definitely prepare her well in knowledge of language and culture. With this foundation, she
would be able to integrate Chinese culture into language learning, and that is an important goal Jenny wants to achieve in her CFL teaching career.

Jenny’s interactions with experienced teachers she observed were similar to other participants in this study. She was not quite in agreement with the way the teacher conducted content-based approach. However, she kept her questions, thoughts, and reflections to herself. One reason was that this experienced teacher gave her a great opportunity to observe his teaching. It was a big favor for her to observe the class, which aided her professional development. The other reason was that she related more to students because of her foreign language learning experience in college. Jenny chose internalized adjustment and strategic compliance as her social strategies when she interacted with her program content and faculty.

*Interactions at the school*

Jenny had a strong leader as her mentor in the secondary school where she worked. The leader was a very experienced CFL teacher that established the Chinese program in this school. With much more experience, this mentor demonstrated how to practice this belief in teaching. The mentor designed language classes towards the topic of the Chinese New Year by having students experience Chinese New Year traditions and celebrations. She also took students to libraries to get books about Chinese culture and societies to read during summer break as a program tradition. Luckily, Jenny shared the same belief of integrating culture and language learning in class with this mentor. Influenced and inspired by this mentor, Jenny tried to use traditional Chinese games for learning in her class. She noticed that students enjoyed that much more than traditional lectures she had at the beginning of her first semester. Jenny adjusted her lesson plan and activities because of students’ responses. By doing that, Jenny internalized perspectives of her mentor in CFL learning and teaching.
Besides interactions with her mentor, Jenny had active interactions with other colleagues as well. She always uses lunch time to discuss student and teaching issues with colleagues and ask for advice from experienced teachers. Because Jenny majored in Japanese in college, she had even more interactions with the Japanese teacher in her school. With more personal interactions, Jenny was able to observe Japanese classes sometimes and borrowed some activities to use in her Chinese classes.

One distinguishing feature this secondary school has is that students receive one-page reports from their teachers rather than scores or grades. So Jenny has not faced challenges on GPA pursuers as some other participants had, but she was challenged on her authority as a young and novice CFL teacher. Jenny is not too much older than her high school students. The small age gap brought her and her students closer as friends. The role of friend rather than teacher influenced her authority in class. Students started to have more behaviors that disrupted her teaching, negotiated on homework load, and tried to embarrass her with irrelevant questions. Jenny dealt with these challenges based on different situations. For behavior problems and homework issues, Jenny tried to establish her authority in class by emphasizing her role as their teacher. Jenny adjusted her requirements only when students had medical leave or participated in activities out of the town. For challenging questions, she tried to prepare learning resources for questions on language and culture.

*Social strategies and corresponding contexts*

Jenny’s process of becoming a novice CFL teacher in the U.S. was an interesting journey mixed with practicing teaching and learning to become a teacher. It was also a process that Jenny used to define an authority role in various contexts.
At the beginning of her graduate program, Jenny gained systematic knowledge in teaching and learning CFL from faculty. She also had professors who shared the same values and goals in CFL education. Naturally, the faculty of her graduate program was her authority that she internalized beliefs and values of CFL teaching and learning. Experienced teachers she observed, and worked with, were authority figures for Jenny as well, but the interactions Jenny had with them started to change when Jenny gained more teaching experience in different school contexts. She started to compare similarities and differences of school contexts, and constantly reflected on effectiveness and outcomes of various teaching methods and approaches she had seen and practiced. After comparisons and reflections, Jenny decided to slightly adjust her behaviors based on the context. She added her opinions when she learned from these experienced teachers. They were models Jenny could learn from as a student. She felt her role was still not a teacher yet.

The transition from student to teacher started during her interactions with students. Jenny realized that she had to emphasize her authority role in class sometimes for classroom management that ensured her effective teaching. With that transition, Jenny started to hope for more authority in curriculum design at the end of her first semester. She felt burned out at the end of the semester because she had to follow the curriculum that was not designed by her, regardless of her students’ performance. She hoped that she could have opportunities in the future to communicate with the mentor in terms of setting goals and teaching pace based.

**Findings across all participants in this study**

When Lacey examined the socialization process of student teachers, he looked into some of the common elements within the socialization process. One element was reasons for joining the profession of teaching (Lacey, 1977). In Lacey’s research, there was a shift from idealistic
reasons to realistic purposes from the beginning of the teacher training program to the end of the year (Lacey, 1977). It is necessary to look at reasons for joining the profession of teaching CFL in K-12 schools in America from interviews as well. When being asked what brought them to become CFL teachers in the U.S., the four participants who had undergraduate or graduate education in CSL in China reported that their prior Chinese language education background was the main reason. The other two participants who went to universities in America joined this profession by their interests in language learning and teaching. The only NNS participant in this study wanted to become a CFL teacher because of his experience. In addition, he noticed the lack of Chinese language teachers in general, especially NNS teachers. To become a CFL teacher, he believed that he could be a role model for his students in learning Chinese. Interestingly, the NNS and the other two participants who were more driven by personal interests explicitly expressed their strong willingness of continuing the career of being CFL teachers in K-12 schools in the future. Among the four participants who had CSL education prior to their graduate program in the U.S., three out of the four had their doubts about continuing being CFL teachers in K-12 schools as their long-term careers. They either preferred cultural exchange work or teaching CFL at the college level. One participant also pointed out the income for CFL teachers does not match the workload at all. This pattern is consistent with the result of Lacey’s study: what the teachers cared about the most would take more reality issues as work load and income into account than just considering their interests and abilities (Lacey, 1977). However, findings from this study also indicate that intrinsic motivation of becoming a CFL teacher in K-12 schools helped keep enthusiasm in the teaching profession than extrinsic factors.

Lacey observed another change in the influence of courses for student teachers before and after their student teaching. The finding showed that the importance of theoretical courses
declined for student teachers because these courses were not practical in teaching (Lacey, 1977). On the contrary, practical courses like teaching methods and classroom management remained as important as they were before student teaching (Lacey, 1977). The findings of this study coincide with this observation as well. During the interactions with goals, content, and faculty of graduate programs, all the participants valued all aspects of their programs on the scale of how practical it was, especially when some participants had a clear goal of becoming CFL teachers after graduation.

Lacey also pointed out several new elements within the teacher socialization process in the first year of teaching compared to the teacher training period. These novice teachers were fresh out of graduate school. During this transition, their “‘student’ status has gone and they are members of the profession” (Lacey, 1977, p128). This means that on one hand, novice teachers are not protected and being excused as students anymore. On the other hand, novice teachers start to “establish themselves in the school and in the profession” (Lacey, 1977, p129). Lacey’s study on first year teachers showed that first year teachers tend to apply skills and values formed in teacher training programs and choose new social strategies in their new contexts (Lacey, 1977). In the school contexts, new teachers needed to survive the new contexts with all the challenges. Meanwhile, they also wanted to make the school milieu more like the environment that they would like to work at (Lacey, 1977). To achieve that goal, many participants in this study chose strategic compliance strategies to interact with their school milieu. When the gap between the ideal environment they expected and the current contexts of the schools they are working at is too big, and strategic compliance strategies were unable to bridge the gap, some novice teachers may choose to leave the school (Lacey, 1977). Findings of this study show that these novice CFL teachers chose strategic compliance strategies to deal with all kinds of
challenges in their schools. Towards the end of their first year teaching, some novice teachers were unsure if they would continue teaching in the same contexts in the future, and a few teachers enjoyed the changes they brought to their school contexts by applying strategic redefinition strategies.

Chapter summary

This chapter presents the findings of this study. It first reports the results of the questionnaire of this study, including their basic geographic information, educational background, background of their foreign language proficiency, and general information of the schools where they work as novice CFL teachers. Then it is followed by findings in response to the three research questions. For each research question, findings were organized by merged themes from interviews. After merged themes, the findings of the socialization process of each participant were presented as well.
Chapter 5: Discussion and Recommendation

Based on the findings from the interviews, the discussion on how the teacher training and actual teaching shaped perspectives and behaviors of novice CFL teachers focuses on the following four aspects: 1) practice and theory in teacher preparation programs; 2) collaborations and isolations in graduate programs and K-12 schools; 3) NS and NNS of CFL teachers; and 4) the socialization process of novice CFL teachers. At the end of each aspect of the discussion, recommendations are presented.

Practice and theory in teacher preparation programs

Findings from the interviews in this study showed that the applicability of goals and content of the graduate school programs is one of the most important indices for the effective learning that the participants had in their teacher training programs. Licensure programs that directly aim at preparing future K-12 teachers were considered very practical and useful by some participants in this study. Meanwhile, courses of teaching method, curriculum design, special education, educational psychology, teaching observation and supervision, and practicum were considered the most influential content when the participants were asked about influential courses and in which way they were influenced. Additionally, although opinions on courses like research methods, classic Chinese, and Chinese classical literature were significantly opposite among participants, one thing that was consistent was the reason they had for their opinions: the usefulness of the course for their future teaching career. All the above findings lead to the discussion on three fundamental questions: 1) What knowledge should CFL teachers acquire within their training programs? 2) What is the relationship between practice and theory of CFL and how can the program help pre-service CFL teachers link practice and theory? 3) How does
practicum help CFL pre-service teachers navigate their future career and what model of teacher education would benefit them the most?

The first question, what knowledge CFL teachers should gain, tries to address a common concern raised by the participants in this study. Lindsay did not think writing a paper on the May fourth anti-imperialist, cultural, and political movement would be helpful for her teaching because it may not even be mentioned in class, especially for beginning level students. Valorie also believed that the Chinese classical literature course in her Asian Study program had nothing to do with teaching. On the other hand, Caitlyn believed that the language assessment course provided her a different view on CFL. And Emily felt that knowledge of special education and educational psychology she gained from her graduate program helped her in classroom teaching. Additionally, from observation, Valorie grasped a general understanding about CFL in American high schools and Jenny witnessed pros and cons of different teaching methods in actual classroom teaching. The content of various programs the participants attended was consistent with theories and practice knowledge of language teaching, yet with different proportion of knowledge of theory and practice. The disagreements and arguments on how practical the teacher education programs should be, and the connection between theories and practice, reflected different views on the nature of the knowledge needed to accomplish the complex task of teaching and learning.

Some believed that knowing how to teach is more important than knowing what to teach, while some argued that the knowledge of teaching methods and subject matters were integrated in the practice of teaching (Tsui, 2011). Some researchers considered teacher knowledge as personal narratives that was constructed by their teaching experiences and reflections, and others believed that teacher knowledge was content knowledge that included knowledge of subject
matter, pedagogy, and curriculum (Tsui, 2011). Meanwhile, some other researchers viewed teacher knowledge as suited knowledge that was developed in particular contexts through an anthropological approach (Tsui, 2011). Considering all different views on teacher knowledge, Tsui proposed a dialectical relationship between theory and practice from case studies on EFL teachers and understanding the conceptions of knowledge in Chinese philosophy (Tsui, 2011). Teacher knowledge was viewed as practical knowledge that was understood in particular social teaching contexts (Tsui, 2011). “In other words, theory and practice are mutually constituted and dialectically related. (Tsui, 2011, P24).” Lave emphasized that theory and practice should be joined together as a whole of teacher knowledge (Lave, 1988). Within the framework of this view, Elbaz summed up five components of teachers’ practical knowledge: knowledge of the subject matter including learning theories, knowledge of the curriculum at both micro and macro levels, knowledge of instruction including classroom management, knowledge of beliefs, values, and personalities of oneself as a teacher, and knowledge of the social context of teaching (Elbaz, 1983). In addition, Tsui found that this view of teacher knowledge was shared in literacies of ancient Chinese philosophers. The dialectical relationship between theory and practice of teaching and learning was even reflected in the Chinese word, jiao xue [教学] for the word “teaching” in English. As for CFL pre-service teachers, the five components of knowledge summarized by Elbaz above should be all involved in their training programs. Crossing various programs these participants attended, all five areas of teacher knowledge were included but with different portions. Linguistic and psychology courses provided knowledge subject matter and learning theories. Curriculum design courses equipped participants with knowledge of what to teach and how to teach. Courses of teaching methods served base for knowledge of instruction. Teaching observation, supervision, and practicum provided opportunities for participants to
experience and reflect their teaching values, beliefs, and personalities. And courses like special education and multicultural education helped some participants understand the broad context of schooling in America. Complaints and satisfactions of each program that individual participant attended reflects the loose connection of some knowledge presented above and the imbalance of these five components of teacher knowledge. These lead to the second and third question about teacher knowledge in teacher education program: how can these five components of teacher knowledge be organized to prepare qualified CFL teachers for K-12 schools in the U.S.?

Tsui’s research pointed out the dialectical relationship between theory and practice in teaching and this relationship should be reflected in teacher education programs. However, the dominant model of teacher education programs separate theory and practice components and the practice component comes after the theory component (Tsui, 2011). Tsui believed that the separation of theory and practice was the main reason that programs were blamed as being too theoretical or the practice was too late or too limited by many teacher trainees (Tsui, 2011). In fact, discussions on the gap between theory and practice in teacher education programs for foreign language teachers have never been new or lack in controversy (Hutterli & Prusse, 2011). Findings from this research coincide with Tsui’s findings on EFL teachers. Participants felt that they benefited from special education, multicultural education, and educational psychology courses that provided knowledge of teaching contexts in America, while highlighted curriculum design courses that facilitated gaining the knowledge of curriculum. However, many participants felt that the knowledge of linguistics, second language acquisition, literature, and philosophy were not helpful during the process of becoming CFL teachers unless their content knowledge could be used, such as explaining characters or syntax in Chinese from the scope of classic Chinese, as Caleb recalled in the interview. Without the reflection and application process of the
content knowledge in teaching, theories of foreign language teaching and learning seemed distant from actual practice. Among all participants, Jenny was the only one that understood various teaching methods and classroom managements by observing actual teaching in different schools both in the East and West coasts. Thanks to the advantage of having multiple settings, Jenny believed that she gained a more first-hand, insightful understanding on theories of teaching and learning CFL in K-12 schools in the U.S. She constantly reflected on different teaching methods and contexts during the process of learning to be a CFL teacher. Theory and practice has been blended together during the process of preparing Jenny to become a certified CFL teacher in the U.S. Yet one piece in integrating theory and practice was missing: her communication with in-service CFL teachers she observed.

Based on the understanding of what theoretical and practical knowledge pre-service CFL teachers should gain and the dialectical relationship between theory and practice of teacher knowledge, it is urgent to call for an integrated model that emphasizes “the centrality of reflection on practical experience and theoretical understanding as teachers engage in the act of teaching in specific settings” (Tsui, 2011). In a study of implementing these innovations in a foreign language teacher education program at the Zurich University, Hutterli and Prusse suggested considering seven factors that could influence the program innovation (Hutterli & Prusse, 2011). Among these seven factors, three factors were about reflections on teacher self: how they learned foreign languages, how they were trained to become foreign language teachers, and how they taught the language till now. Without reflections on these factors, the knowledge of beliefs, values, and personalities of oneself as a teacher is hard to be gained just by limited observation and practicum. Besides these three factors, another two factors were about considering the internal contexts of the program, and another two factors were about foreign
language learning theories and research on other similar teacher education programs (Hutterli & Prusse, 2011). Wedell proposed similar considerations with an emphasis on creating two networks: learning network within the program and local network with schools (Wedell, 2005). To develop the program that could benefit the future CFL teachers the most, integrating theory and practice is the goal to achieve, and considering all the factors above is an essential step of the innovation. In addition, building connections among the five components of teacher knowledge that CFL teachers should obtain is equally critical as well. In the meantime, forming connections with local schools can provide valuable opportunities of observation and student teaching for prospective CFL teachers.

Based on the literature of relevant research and findings of this study, an integrated innovation model is suggested for programs that prepare future CFL teachers in K-12 schools in the U.S. This model is demonstrated in figure 2 and figure 3.
Figure 2 shows elements that need to be considered to build an external network and two key considerations for the possibility of implementing the innovation. Understanding educational policies and resources of the state and local schools are equally as important as building connections with administrators of state departments of education and school districts.

Figure 3 shows the five aspects of teacher knowledge that the internal network should build. These five aspects are knowledge of the self as a teacher, knowledge of language and culture, knowledge of instruction, knowledge of the curriculum, and knowledge of social contexts. These five aspects of teacher knowledge are spontaneously and simultaneously interacting with each other.

Figure 3: Internal network
An interactive model of connecting internal and external networks is shown in figure 4. The state department of education, school districts, local schools, and school administrators and mentors form a broad social context that pre-service CFL teachers have opportunities to observe and experience teaching. During the interactions with this broad social context, pre-service teachers are able to apply and reflect on their teaching philosophies, approaches, and language learning theories. As the process of becoming a CFL teacher, the dynamic interactions between the pre-service teacher and the broad social context should exist within their teacher training programs, rather than after or at the late stage of their training.

Figure 4: Interactions between internal and external networks
Collaborations and isolations in graduate programs and K-12 schools

Besides lack of collaboration of all aspects of teacher knowledge and the connection between the internal and external networks presented above, findings from the data also indicated isolations in both teacher training programs and actual teaching environment. Within the teacher training programs, several participants mentioned that they did not have any faculty that understood Chinese in their graduate programs. Nicole and Caleb both directly expressed their dissatisfaction when they could not get answers for their questions due to the limitation of understanding in Chinese language. Caleb even explicitly pointed out that it would be more beneficial for his program if there were more language specific courses, especially on issues of writing Chinese characters. He also hoped for a greater connection between the teacher education program and the foreign language departments, including language specific courses and observation opportunities. In terms of interactions with their peers in the programs, the majority of the participants in this study admitted that they had very limited interactions with their peers. Peers barely had any influence on their values and beliefs on CFL teaching. Few participants who reported gaining insightful knowledge of classroom management and cultures of various school districts and schools were those who had a lot more personal communication outside of class projects. Findings from this study revealed the isolated situation that many pre-service CFL teachers experienced during their training.

The situations during student teaching and in actual teaching environment were similar. Having support on getting used to work in new schools as novice teachers was helpful and this kind of help usually can be found in both formal and informal settings in school. In fact, lunch time seemed a valuable time period that the participants got to casually socialize with other language teachers, and relatively more personally, compared to interactions with their colleagues.
at department meetings weekly. Unfortunately, many participants did not have the opportunity to interact with their colleagues due to their class schedule or office settings. Caitlyn strongly felt the isolation of her working environment because not only was she was assigned to a classroom on a different floor from all other foreign language classrooms in a big school building, but also she had lunch alone while all the other English teachers on the same floor had lunch together in their English department office. This kind of isolation made her feel devalued and that Chinese language was unimportant in the giant school. Besides the typical physical isolation such as the environment Caitlyn experienced, some other participants pointed out another form of isolation: the gap of expectations from Chinese language programs between CFL teachers and administrators. It was either because the administrators had very limited understanding of Chinese language, or because the administrators and the schools held a different orientation and purpose from these novice CFL teachers. While the novice CFL teachers tried their best to engage students to learn the language and culture and gain skills and interest to become life-long learners, some schools and administrators were more interested in simply adding Chinese program as a trendy choice to attract potential students and parents. In this case, these CFL teachers and Chinese courses drew very little attention and encouragement from administrators. The Chinese program became isolated in the school programs and so did these novice CFL teachers who needed recognition and support the most.

The third kind of isolation occurred in Chinese language teaching. All participants in this study shared the perspective that the culture and language are inseparable and integrating Chinese culture into language learning is one of several primary goals in Chinese language class. The ACTFL standards for foreign language learning also proposed that students should be able to understand the relationship among cultural products, practices, and perspective (ACTFL,
AATF, AATG, AATI, AATSP, ACL/ APA, ACTR, CLASS/ CLTA, & NCSTJ/ ATJ, 2006). However, findings from the interviews showed that the cultural perspectives have been left out while Chinese culture was mainly understood by being materialized into cultural practices and products that students can easily observe and experience. Chinese philosophy and literature was isolated from language teaching courses in teacher training programs, so does the cultural perspectives was not integrated with cultural practices and products in Chinese language classroom.

Fullan (1991) pointed out that teacher change is a dynamic process that is significantly influenced by teachers’ subjective reality. Practice in the classroom tends to draw teachers’ attention to day-to-day effects, isolate teachers from meaningful interactions with colleagues, and burn teachers out (Crandall et al., 1982). The findings from the interviews reflected how these novice CFL teachers were isolated during the process of becoming teachers: both in teacher training programs and actual teaching. Another study also pointed out that divisions in teacher education programs need to be reconstructed (Grossman, Hammerness, & McDonald, 2009). The divisions exist in curricular separation between foundations and methods courses, and disconnection between the university and schools (Grossman, Hammerness, & McDonald, 2009). All forms of isolation and separation presented above call for collaborations not only between, but also within internal and external networks. Considering the representative isolation situations these participants encountered, the interactive model of internal and external networks for preparing CFL teachers (Figure 4) needs to be developed as indicated in Figures 5 and 6.
Collaborations with language departments

Integration of theory and practice

Figure 5: Collaborations of internal network

Figure 5 shows the internal network in which all aspects of teacher knowledge are collaborating with each other and promote teacher learning and change through peer conversations and reflections on teaching beliefs, values, experiences, and motivations of oneself. Knowledge of the subject matter calls for collaboration with the language department and integration of language and culture. Knowledge of instruction and curriculum requires integration of theories and practice of foreign language teaching. The acquisition of this knowledge by the pre-service CFL teachers occurs through self-reflection and active interaction with peers. The goal of having active interaction with peers can be achieved through peer teacher
conversation (Yonemura, 1982). Yonemura believed that it is necessary for teachers to have reflective and supportive conversations to increase their awareness of their underlying values and beliefs in teaching, rather than making judgement or teaching the other one on some specific content (Yonemura, 1982). The teacher conversation should focus on classroom life and be guided by clear practical principals to help teachers reflect on and appreciate teaching as a practical art, to release from isolations in teaching, and to achieve consistency between theories and practices one holds and one’s beliefs in teaching (Yonemura, 1982). The technique of having peer-teacher conversation is in setting up five stages. First, a questionnaire should be completed, followed by a structured interview as the second step based on the questionnaire. The third step is the teacher spending several weeks to gain perspectives on a teaching area she or he would like to explore. Afterward, classroom observations as step four and conversations about the observations as step five occur (Yonemura, 1982). This kind of interactive communication between teachers calls for leadership personnel in both teacher training programs and local schools to explore and evaluate the outcomes of the conversations (Yonemura, 1982). With collaborations within both internal and external networks, there should also be collaborations between these two networks as well. The model of collaborations of external and internal networks is shown as Figure 6.

The entire external network creates the complex social contexts for pre-service and novice CFL teachers. Taking courses in educational law, special education, and multicultural education is one way to gain knowledge of social context. Meanwhile, having experience interacting with policies of the state Department of Education, local communities, students, parents, colleagues, and administrators of schools is another way to understand the social context of future work environment as well. Additionally, learning from courses and observation and
teaching can also foster in-depth understanding of the social context. Similarly, gaining knowledge on curriculum and instruction from courses in teacher training programs and understanding orientations, methods, and techniques the school and its faculty hold, are great opportunities for pre-service CFL teachers to reflect on their own beliefs and values of CFL. Also, the peer teacher conversation would help pre-service and novice CFL teachers have more collaboration with their peers in programs and colleagues in schools. To release pre-service and novice CFL teachers from isolation, building collaborations within and between the networks is essential.

Figure 6: Collaborations of external and internal networks
NS and NNS teachers of Chinese

Among the seven participants in this study, Caleb was the only NNS teacher of Chinese. The ratio of NS and NNS teachers of Chinese in this study reflects the reality of the CFL teacher force in American K-12 schools. Research shows that the majority of CFL teachers in American K-12 schools are NS of Chinese language and “were formally educated in mainland China or Taiwan” (Xu, 2012, p. 3). Caleb pointed out the lack of NNS teachers of Chinese in the U.S. He joined the CFL teacher group hoping that he could be a role model for his NNS students, just like his high school and college instructors were role models for him.

Research on NS and NNS teachers of Chinese has focused on challenges the NS teachers encountered in American schools due to cultural differences. To understand the underlying cultural reasons for the challenges these teachers faced in American schools, research looked into differences of teacher role, school culture, and teacher preparation between Chinese and American cultures. First of all, researchers pointed out that teachers’ personal educational experiences played a much more important role in their pedagogy than the knowledge they gained during their teacher education (Haley & Ferro, 2011; Roberts, 1998; Wallace, 1991; Zhan, 2008). In a case study that tried to understand immigrant Chinese language teacher’s personal practical knowledge, one observation Sun made was that the teacher’s educational tradition shaped the participant’s knowledge and practice of teaching (Sun, 2012). This observation was consistent with other research findings: unlike Western teachers and students who tend to highly value creativity, self-expression, and communicative approaches in language learning, NS teachers of Chinese seemed to inherit their traditional Chinese educational culture and tend to place accurate use of the language as their teaching priority (Haley & Ferro, 2011; Sun, 2012; Xu, 2012). The conflicts between values of the collective and of the individual in
observed language classrooms were considered deeply rooted in different cultural traditions in China and U.S. (Zhao, 2009; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996).

However, the findings of this study were ironically opposite. Caleb, the only NNS teacher of Chinese in this study, decided to have a rigorous and more Chinese traditional instructions in his class in order to help his students gain learning skills. He repeatedly pointed out the lack of learning skills he observed from his students, and he believed that the ALM method, syntax analysis, and memorization could help students gain essential learning skills. As many researchers believe, this is a more traditional Chinese education culture that diverges from American school culture. As a NNS of Chinese language and NS of English who grew up in American schools, Caleb struggled with this decision at first. He admitted that this kind of instruction was boring and his students had a hard time adjusting to it. Yet gradually his students started to benefit from this kind of instruction and he achieved one of his goals: help students gain learning skills to become lifelong learners. On the contrary, the NS teachers of Chinese in this study focused on getting students interested in learning Chinese by integrating games, cultural events, and field trips. Some participants mentioned their struggles on the principle of giving correction on pronunciation, grammar, and character writing. The data of this study shows that some teacher training programs emphasized strict error correction in pronunciation, and the novice CFL teachers who had training in these programs were more consciously aware of accurate pronunciation. Although they believed the importance and benefits of error correction for language accuracy, they chose not to correct students on the accuracy of pronunciation, grammar, and characters all the time. Accuracy of the language was not their priority in teaching. This ironic finding is consistent with an interesting finding from some research: NS teachers are relatively more tolerant than NNS teachers in terms of error correction.
One explanation some researchers proposed was that when teachers who have been educated outside the U.S. make the transition into U.S. schools, the perceptions of teaching and learning these teachers inherited from their cultural traditions were not static (Clark & Otaky, 2006). When these NS teachers of Chinese observed classes as student teachers, they realized differences in school cultures. During their transition to becoming novice teachers in U.S. schools, the NS teachers of Chinese in this study adapted to the new culture by adopting a more American style of teaching approaches. For these NS teachers, they all agreed on the importance of correcting pronunciation and grammar errors, but they lowered their standards based on student responses. Negative outcomes from their students, like feeling frustrated and bored, made the teachers more relaxed in error correction. This is along the lines of Bhabha’s (1995) idea that new culture is formed during the continuous process of hybridizing different cultures. This theory explains Caleb’s opposite decision on teaching approaches.

Through years of learning Chinese language and living and working in China, Caleb adopted some traditional Chinese teaching methods because he witnessed some positive learning outcomes from students in China. After he came back to an American school, he went through the process of hybridizing Chinese and American educational cultures as well. It is inaccurate to make the assumption that NS teachers of Chinese who had formal education outside of U.S. would be stricter in language accuracy than NNS teachers. The actual situation could be opposite because of the continuous process of hybridizing different cultures that both NS and NNS teachers of Chinese experience. In addition, some research also pointed out that promoting Chinese language programs was an important part of CFL teachers’ job (Liu, 2012). Under this pressure, it is reasonable to be concerned that not adopting American school culture might result in losing students. Even worse, teachers could lose their jobs due to limited enrollment and
funding. For some NS teachers of Chinese, losing their jobs means their legal status in the U.S. would become invalid. Securing legal status and promoting Chinese language programs are another underlying reason for many NS teachers of Chinese who are more tolerant than NNS teachers in terms of error correction.

Research shows that another challenge many NS teachers of Chinese face is classroom management, including facing students with special needs, navigating their teacher role, and communicating with parents. Studies on prospective and novice NS teachers of Chinese show that these teachers not only struggled with classroom management during their student teaching, but also possibly decided to withdraw from the profession due to the frustration from managing students’ behaviors (Ferber & Nillas, 2010; Romig, 2009). Additionally, a study on transitions of NS teachers of Chinese in American schools reveals novice NS teachers experienced more concerns over classroom management after they adopted American teaching methods and approaches (Haley & Ferro, 2011). The findings of this study are consistent with this research. Three typical cases of classroom management were mentioned by the participants in this study. First, students and parents held different expectations from Chinese language courses. Their students had various purposes for taking Chinese language classes. Many heritage speakers expected to get a good score without making any effort in the class, while some NNS of Chinese leaners chose the class because of their passion in understanding Chinese language and culture. Some parents sent their kids to immersion Chinese programs just because they wanted their kids to have more attention from teachers in a low student-teacher ratio charter school. At the same time, some parents expressed their appreciation and strong support for the development of Chinese programs. Facing all the above differences in interests and expectations, participants in this study reported that they had a hard time to deal with student behaviors in class. Second,
there is a struggle in the teacher’s role. Jenney felt her students considered her more of a friend than a teacher at the beginning of her career because her age was very close to the students. Her students tended to have more disruptive questions in class and have various excuses for not completing assignments. Some other participants complained about expectations parents held for them. These teachers were expected to take full responsibly for every aspect of their students’ development. They did not get much communication or collaboration from parents to solve behavior problems of their students. Caleb, the NNS teacher of Chinese, also experienced complex feelings when he dealt with student behavior problems. He felt frustrated not only because of some student behaviors in his class, but more guilt when he realized these students were from families with parents who were working long hours to financially support their families and payed very limited attention to their kids academic performance. During the process of navigating teacher’s role, the participants explored definitions and limitations of being a teacher, especially a novice CFL teacher. Third, special needs students are a new challenge for many NS teachers of Chinese. When they were trained to be CSL teachers in China, special education was not part of the curriculum. In their teacher training programs in American graduate schools, not all programs included special education courses. Even the participants who had special education courses prior to their student teaching admitted they had very limited tools to deal with special needs students in their classes, let alone those novice CFL teachers who never had any training in special education. All these classroom management challenges that novice CFL teachers faced, call for support from administrators, experienced teachers, and staff in schools to help novice CFL teachers in classroom management (Liu, 2012). Table 4 illustrates the problems, needs, and support of classroom management the novice CFL teachers expressed in this study.
### Table 4: Problems and needs for novice CFL teachers in classroom management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identified problems</th>
<th>Parents and students expectations</th>
<th>Teacher role</th>
<th>Special needs students</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Management Problems and Needs</td>
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</table>
| **Knowledge** | • Knowledge of culture differences  
• Knowledge of school contexts  
• Knowledge of American education system and policies | • Knowledge of culture differences  
• Knowledge of various teaching methods and approaches  
• Knowledge of the teaching profession | • Learning disabilities  
• Behavior problems |
| **Administrators** | Help novice CFL teachers:  
• understand school cultures and community contexts  
• gain knowledge of school policies and procedures  
• show support in Chinese language programs by visiting classes, providing stable employment status, and respecting teachers’ decisions in instruction and classroom management  
• provide collaborative environment for novice CFL teachers to interact with staff and other teachers  
• provide resources for special needs students | | |
Experienced teachers | Share professional and personal experience with novice CFL teachers on:
- school and community cultures
- professional development
- strategies of interacting with students, parents, other teachers, and school administrators

Staff | Provide:
- teaching supplies
- technology support
- classroom and office arrangements (such as teachers not having to share classroom or not having a private office)

Broad educational environment | The language learning system is consistent with the development of Chinese language programs.

In table 4, common problems the participants revealed to have in classroom management were categorized into three types. Within each type, specific challenges these novice CFL teachers encountered were presented. Based on their struggles and other research on novice CFL teachers, especially NS teachers of Chinese, needs in teacher preparation programs and schools were listed in order to help these teachers to have a smoother transition to American schools. In their teacher education programs, courses of special education, children development, psychology, and educational policies should be included in the curriculum. Additionally, observations and student teaching are valuable opportunities for prospective CFL teachers to understand various cultural and social contexts of American schools and communities. What is equally important for prospective teachers in teacher education programs is understanding the teaching profession in American culture. When these CFL teachers start to work in American K-12 schools, support from administrators, experienced teachers, and school staff are essential for their success in classroom management. Besides preparation and support from teacher education programs and schools, what seems to be a fundamental factor is the broad educational
environment, which was called “ecological environment” by Wang (2008) in a study of Chinese language program development in the U.S. Wang (2008) pointed out the conflicts between demands on Chinese language programs and the reality of the education system and resources in the U.S. On one hand, Chinese language programs bloomed because of the demand for learning Chinese language in the U.S. On the other hand, a language learning system requires “sustainable development of supply and demands of students, teachers, curriculum, instructional strategies, materials, assessment, teacher development, funding, research …” (Wang, 2010, p. 21). This kind of conflict existing in a broad educational environment contributed to the divergence among CFL teachers, school administrators, parents, and students. It would be hard for many Chinese language programs to actually thrive without having these necessary sustainable supplies and demands.

NS and NNS teachers of Chinese may also vary in language proficiency levels, and these kinds of differences lead to preferences by students and school administrators. If novice NS teachers of Chinese suffer more in cultural differences during their transitions to American schools, novice NNS teachers of Chinese usually encounter doubts in their qualification. Unfortunately, although NNS teachers can present to students a learning model and provide valuable learning experiences as a second or foreign language learner, they are still not students’ first preference in many cases (Meadows & Muramatsu, 2007). However, research that focuses on the group of Chinese language teachers reveals that students from novice and intermediate level Chinese classes believe that the rotation of NS and NNS teachers are beneficial for their learning (Crosier & Huang, 2012). In addition, NS teachers are not necessarily superior to NNS teachers in terms of language competence, dedication, and willingness to change (Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009; Meadows & Muramatsu, 2007). Some research indicated that differences in
language competence between NS and NNS teachers were not the major factor that influenced teaching effectiveness (Hayes, 2009). Teaching methods and corresponding teaching contexts should be the critical factor instead (Hayes, 2009). Among the participants in this study, Caleb, the only NNS teacher of Chinese who had learned Chinese language and culture since high school was able to use his knowledge of classic Chinese to explain inherited and developmental use of some modern Chinese words and syntax. When he was a student learning Chinese, his role models were NNS as well. He highly valued having NNS teachers in foreign language learning. It became one reason for him to commit to the career of teaching CFL in the U.S. and inspire more young adults in understanding Chinese language and culture. For administrators, this implies that when considering potential teacher candidates, NS teachers of Chinese should not have priorities over NNS teacher candidates. NS and NNS teachers of Chinese should be evaluated based on their knowledge of Chinese language and culture, teaching methods, understanding of the school culture and community context, and commitment of teaching, rather than on whether their first language is Chinese or not.

**The socialization process of novice CFL teachers**

It is necessary to revisit some basic concepts about teacher socialization in general in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the socialization process of the novice CFL teachers in this study. One fundamental concept is the definition of teacher socialization. Besides learning to teach, changes on perceptions of teaching should be involved as well (Lacey, 1977). Additionally, developing a teacher’s perspective within specific contexts is at the center of the process of teacher socialization (Lacey, 1977). In this study, interview questions were designed to look for what these novice CFL teachers have learned about teaching and to see if their
perceptions of teaching have changed from their teacher education programs through their K-12 school teaching experience.

Within the context of teacher training programs, the participants were asked about courses they took, influential faculty, differences between their prior learning and teaching experiences and the training program in the U.S., and their interactions with their professors and classmates. In order to cross-examine the responses, all participants were asked to describe their ideal CFL teacher, state what they want their American students to learn, and provide both positive and negative examples for each question. During the process of learning to teach, all the participants in this study had training in linguistics, language acquisition, curriculum design, and teaching methods. There were two main factors that influenced their opinions about what they have learned about teaching. One factor was their prior learning experience. Some research pointed out that teacher education programs had limited influence on pre-service teachers because of their personal experience as learners (Lortie, 1975; Grant & Zeichner, 1981; Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Uzum, 2013). The data from the interviews of this study was consistent with this finding. All seven participants majored in foreign language, literature, or TCSL for their undergraduate studies, and six of them learned at least two foreign languages. For those who already majored in TCSL as undergraduates, the teacher training programs in the U.S. barely changed any beliefs they held already. The training programs highlighted new content from the programs or faculty members such as Language Assessment, Special Education, Multicultural Education, and understanding and teaching foreign languages in a broad view and with creative approaches like writing poems. When the program content overlapped with their prior learning experience, the participants tended to hold their previous beliefs in TCFL and only had limited adjustments in behaviors for survival or success in their programs. It indicated that the
participants tended to choose strategic compliance or strategic redefinition as their strategies to interact with faculty and peers. On the other hand, when new content, ideas, and teaching approaches were presented to them, they felt their views of foreign language teaching have been widened and tended to adopt them and internalize the new perspectives. In this case, they usually chose internalized adjustment as their strategy during their interactions within the graduate programs. The other factor that shaped their perspectives of TCFL was the practicality of the goals and content of their graduate programs. Some participants strongly expressed their disappointment towards their programs because the focus of the programs was not preparing future CFL teachers. They barely had any opportunities to observe American schools, student teaching, and making connections with a potential job. For these pre-service teachers, they only completed what was required for the program degree. Conversely, some participants repeatedly emphasized how they benefited from programs that included student teaching, weekly teaching seminars, and long-term classroom observation. They felt that the goals and content were extremely practical and were able to prepare them to be CFL teachers in American K-12 schools. Their beliefs of TCFL were internalized by these practical activities during the teacher training. The relationship among social strategies these CFL teachers applied, and the factors that shaped their beliefs and behaviors within the context of teacher education programs is illustrated in Figure 7:
When the program presented new and practical content to the participants, these pre-service CFL teachers tended to adopt new ideas and approaches and felt their view of foreign language teaching was broadened. However, if the program and faculty were unable to provide new or practical information to them, these participants chose strategic compliance or strategic redefinition as their strategy to survive and complete their teacher education program. They did not have any change in their CFL education beliefs. And because of this reason, they felt the programs did not prepare them well for their future career.

In order to improve learning in teacher education programs, it is important to understand the group of pre-service CFL teachers: their experiences as language learners, their perspectives of CFL teaching and learning, and their expectations for their future career developments. Horwitz recommended that it would be helpful for the programs and pre-service foreign language teachers to understand their beliefs of language teaching by using the Foreign Language Attitude Survey (FLAS) and the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI).
as tools (Uzum, 2013; Horwitz, 1985). Horwitz believes that having pre-service teachers explicitly discuss their beliefs in foreign language teaching and learning would be a critical step for these teachers to have a smoother transition later in their professional development (Uzum, 2013). The findings of this study on novice CFL teachers indicated that this group of teachers shared the same pattern as other foreign language teachers. Those who had previous training in CFL tended to adhered to what they believed in CFL teaching and barely had any changes through their teacher education in the U.S. Those who had very limited training and teaching experiences in CFL education, but had rich experiences of foreign language learning always criticized teaching methods and approaches from the perspective of language learners. It would be beneficial for both teacher education programs and pre-service CFL teachers to discuss and understand how their prior experiences shaped their beliefs of CFL education. Besides using FLAS and BALLI, a method of “three-stage-reflective-assignment” (Uzum, 2013, p. 23-24) was recommended by Farrell (1999) to help pre-service foreign language teachers reflect on their prior experiences and current practices. The first stage is having the teachers write about their experience of learning a foreign language. Then these teachers are asked to develop a detailed lesson plan to teach any grammar structure of the language. After their teaching, the third step is to reflect on their teaching and discuss if they would change anything in the teaching (Farrell, 1999). This approach is not only limited to grammar teaching. It could also be used for pre-service CFL teachers to reflect on their beliefs in CFL education overall and examine their current teaching.

The other context this study tried to examine was the school milieu. The interview questions of this study aimed to understand the teacher socialization process of novice CFL teachers within the context of teaching in American K-12 schools. In each interview, the
participants were asked about their current school environment, impressive or influential events during their first year of teaching, applications, conflicts, and resolutions in their classroom teaching, and their interactions with their students, parents, colleagues, and school administrators and staff. In order to cross-examine the responses, all participants were asked to describe their ideal work milieu, state what they wanted their American students to learn, and provide both positive and negative examples for each question. The findings of this study can be understood by examining traits of social strategy choices in the process of authority establishment in schools and in teaching profession (Figure 8).

**Figure 8: Social strategies within the context of K-12 schools**

As summarized earlier, when the participants were pre-service CFL teachers, they chose internalized adjustment as their social strategy to interact with faculty and peers if the teacher training programs had practical goals and content. In this situation, their professors were role models and inspired their beliefs of foreign language education. They internalized the beliefs of their professors and viewed their professors as authorities. The same social strategy was chosen
when these novice CFL teachers interacted with supportive school administrators, staff, colleagues, and parents, and their philosophy matched their school cultures. In this case, their authorities became school administrators and experienced colleagues in the context of K-12 schools. However, when these teachers had different beliefs and opinions of CFL education from their professors, peers, school administrator, colleagues, and parents, strategic compliance and strategic redefinition tended to be chosen as these teachers’ social strategies for survival and success in both graduate programs and K-12 schools. Professors, administrators, and experienced colleagues had very limited influence on these teachers’ beliefs of CFL teaching. In terms of social status, they were still authorities for these CFL teachers, who had to adjust their behaviors to fulfill the requirements and expectations of the graduate programs and K-12 schools. When they encountered conflicts in either teaching methods or with parents or students, these teachers looked for explanations, understanding, and support from professors, administrators, and experienced teachers to back up their establishment of authority as novice teachers. During the transition from graduate schools to K-12 schools, the student status of these novice teachers was gone and these teachers started to “establish themselves in the school and in the profession” (Lacey, 1977, p. 129). In this study, some participants lowered their standards on error correction in pronunciation or teaching in the target language exclusively to allow their classes to run more smoothly. Some participants decided to try out some very traditional foreign language teaching methods and approaches from which they experienced or witnessed positive learning outcomes before. The findings of these novice CFL teachers’ choices on social strategies in K-12 schools coincided with what Lacey (1977) summarized in his study: novice teachers chose either strategic compliance or strategic redefinition as their social strategies in the new contexts of K-12 schools for surviving or making the school milieu more like the
environment they would like to work at. Lacey (1977) pointed out that understanding student and student learning have always been put at the center of teacher training and professional development, but understanding the socialization of teachers has rarely been featured. To help new teachers transition from graduate schools to K-12 schools and deal with challenges, conflicts, and anxieties, Lacey suggested that “student-teachers should be helped to become aware of the social forces structuring their perspectives, but also of the inexact and partial knowledge that we have of these ‘social forces’” (Lacey, 1977, p. 153). As the data shows in this study, these novice CFL teachers had very limited resources in both graduate programs and K-12 schools to help them understand and navigate their career. Some participants looked for teaching ideas and resolutions from external resources such as online CFL teacher discussion groups or professional conferences. Unfortunately, they rarely had resources to understand themselves. This circumstance indicated that it would be beneficial for these novice CFL teachers to have courses, research, and discussion on teaching profession and teacher identity in graduate programs and professional development conferences. Additionally, school administrators should realize that the interactions between the school milieu and the novice CFL teachers have mutual influences on both sides, even though the school has authorities to decide these teachers’ employment and legal status. If the gap between the ideal environment these teachers expected and the current contexts of the schools they are working at is too big, and their strategic compliance strategies were unable to bridge the gap, some novice teachers may choose to leave the job (Lacey, 1977). Participants in this study emphasized understanding, support, and recognition of CFL education when they described their ideal school milieu. The implication for school administrators is that starting and developing Chinese programs in K-12 schools in the U.S. should be considered and evaluated carefully. Chinese programs cannot be simply added as
an extra option of elective course or a trendy attraction for potential parents. Without basic understanding of the potential student pool and language learning, sustainable funding and resources including teachers, and supportive community environment, both the Chinese language programs and CFL teachers, especially novice teachers, would experience more struggles and hardly obtain a sustainable program and career development.

As the possible exit of the professional career of novice teachers has been studied in teacher socialization, individuals’ commitment to the teaching profession should be considered as well to illustrate a comprehensive understanding of the teacher socialization process (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Research on individuals’ commitment to the teaching profession showed two major types of commitment through teacher training to early years of teaching (Anderson, 1974; Lacey, 1977). One type of the commitment is identified as professional commitment (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). It refers to the commitment “to a career as classroom teacher” (Zeichner & Gore, 1990, p. 12). The other type is identified as radical commitment, which refers “primarily to a set of ideals which may be realized in or outside of the classroom” (Zeichner & Gore, 1990, p. 12).

In addition, the research also revealed differences of teacher socialization experienced by teachers who had professional commitment and those who had radical commitment (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). The correlation coefficients of a study on student teachers’ commitment showed that those who had professional commitment made their decision on their career as teachers early, and the subject they were interested in as a student was an important factor (Lacey, 1977). On the other hand, the student teachers who had radical commitment were not subject-oriented and not limited their career within schools (Lacey, 1977). In this study, what brought these novice CFL teachers to this career, and their plans for the future of this career, were inquired in in-depth interviews as well. The four participants who majored in CSL for undergraduate and
graduate prior to their enrollment in the graduate programs in the U.S. had early commitment to the career of CFL education. They also showed strong desires on practical courses and professional development in graduate programs that can prepare them well for teaching in American K-12 schools. The other three participants joined the teaching force because they developed interests through years of learning foreign languages, cultures, and literature in and out of the classroom. In terms of their future career plans, the findings of this study seemed to contradict those from Lacey’s (1977) theory: the three novice CFL teachers who have radical commitment expressed their strong willing of being CFL teachers in K-12 schools, while some of the other four who have professional commitment aimed for their career developments in a “broader spectrum of education” (Lacey, 1977, p. 124). Some participants looked for careers in cultural exchange and higher education, and some participants started to consider school types as an important factor for their future jobs. This kind of contradiction between the findings of this study and theories of teacher socialization might be caused by the characteristic of this CFL teacher group. The three novice CFL teachers who have radical commitment to this career had their undergraduate and graduate education in the U.S. They were able to decide their majors mainly based on their interests, and their decisions on majors did not have to be made before they went to college. Conversely, the four novice CFL teachers who have professional commitment to this career majored in CSL in Chinese universities. For high school graduates in China who are able to go to college after the national college entrance exam, they have to decide their majors prior to the admission and their exam scores are the key factor that influences what their majors in college are. Once they are admitted, it is very difficult to change their majors, even though some universities provide some limited examination opportunities for those students who want to do it. This kind of college admission system leaves very limited freedom and room
for students to choose the fields of study in which they are truly interested. In this case, it is hard to conclude that those who made decisions in majoring CSL as undergraduates had professional commitment to this career. This contradictory finding indicated that cultural differences in educational backgrounds of CFL teachers should be considered when trying to understand their commitment to teaching CFL and how their commitment influences their teacher socialization process.

In summary, the socialization of this group of novice CFL teachers coincided with the generalized findings Lacey and other researchers’ proposed on various groups of teachers’ socialization process. By examining social strategies pre-service and novice teachers in this study chose in the contexts of teacher education programs and K-12 schools, challenges, needs, and resolutions they experienced during their establishment in this profession were revealed to be similar to the experience of other novice teachers. However, unlike many other research on CFL teachers in the U.S., this study chose the novice teachers who had teacher training in American graduate schools and not exclusive to NS of Chinese. Because of the various backgrounds of the participants, some seeming contradictions in teacher choices, perspectives, and career development between findings of this study, and other research on teacher socialization, seems to indicate that the subculture shared by teachers of the same academic subject and its underneath cultural factors need be taken into account in understanding the process of teacher socialization.

Limitations

There are two main limitations when considering the implications of this study. One major limitation is the low number of participants in this study. Only seventeen prospective and current CFL teachers responded to hundreds of emails through graduate programs, public and
private schools, immersion programs, and connections on social media such as Facebook and LinkedIn. Among these responses, only seven people were eligible for this study based on criteria of participant selections. Luckily, these seven participants had various learning and teaching experiences. They shared their insights on teacher education programs both in China and the U.S., as well as their experiences in public, private, charter, and immersion schools in America from coast to coast. However, there was only one NNS teacher, and none of the participants were heritage speakers who had grown up in America. Because of the limited number of participants, the degree of generality of the findings may be affected. The findings and implications can only be generalized cautiously to novice CFL teachers with similar demographic backgrounds. To obtain a more comprehensive understanding on the group of novice CFL teachers in the U.S., future research should use a larger sample size that includes more heritage and NNS of CFL teachers.

The other major limitation is that the data collection of this study was limited to interviews. Although approximately one hour long in-depth interviews for each participant and follow-up clarifications through emails and messages provided rich data for analysis, it would be better if future research included classroom observations to cross examine participants’ beliefs and practices in actual teaching. Triangulating data from various resources like teachers’ journals and classroom teaching observations would be useful to verify and even explore preliminary findings. Possible contradictions of teachers’ beliefs and practices in classroom teaching could provide further information about their socialization process in their corresponding contexts. Due to the lack of opportunities to access other resources of information, the triangulation technique was not employed in this study.

**Recommendation for future research**
Due to the limitations of this study, future research of understanding the socialization process of novice Chinese language teachers are recommended in three aspects. First, triangulating data from classroom teaching observations and teachers’ journals are recommended in order to verify and even explore the preliminary findings of this study. Second, a longitudinal study on the same group of teachers over a longer period of time would be helpful to reveal a more comprehensive picture of their socialization process, as well as to generalize the implications of this study. Third, conducting research on comparing the socialization process of novice and experienced CFL teachers might be able to disclose interesting patterns of different groups of CFL teachers in the U.S.
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Appendix I

Questionnaire

Participant’s demographic information (Please check the appropriate blank)

1. Age: ____22-25 ____26-29 ____30-33 ____34-37 ____ 38 and above

2. I identify myself as: ____Male  ____Female  ___Not applicable

3. Obtained academic degree:
   ____B.S. (Major: __________________)
   ____B.A. (Major: __________________)
   ____M.A (Program: ________________)
   Other: ____________________________

4. Native language: ____Mandarin Chinese
   ____Chinese dialect (Please specify: __________________)
   ____English
   ____Other (Please specify: ____________________________)

5. Have you ever learned a foreign language? ____Yes  ____No

6. If you have learned a foreign language/ foreign languages, please fill in the following form:
7. Before you enrolled in your teacher education program, have you taught foreign language (s)?

___Yes  ___No
8. If you answered “Yes” in item 7, in what settings and for how long?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Months</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preschool and kindergarten</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post-secondary school</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

9. When you were a student teacher, how long have you taught what language in what setting?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Preschool and kindergarten</td>
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<td>Post-secondary school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other (s):</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

10. As a novice teacher, what language are you teaching in which level?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Level</th>
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<td>Preschool and kindergarten</td>
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<td>Post-secondary school</td>
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Appendix II

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (for NS teachers who come to America as an adult) – 访谈题目

Preliminary: I am interested in learning about the socialization process of novice Chinese language teachers in the U.S. This is a chance for you to give feedback on your true experiences and feelings about how your perceptions of teaching and your teacher education program goals influence and interact in your teaching practice. This study may not benefit you directly, but has the potential to help improve the adaptation and conditions for others through programs and policies.

Prior to coming to the U.S. 来美国之前:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself or your background? 你可以简单地介绍一下自己吗?

2. How did you decide to teach Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S.? 你为什么决定来美国教中文(对外汉语)呢?

3. What was your teaching experience of teaching Chinese as a foreign language before you came to the U.S.? 你来美国以前,有哪些对外汉语的教学经验呢?

4. If you had some experience of teaching Chinese as a foreign language before you came to the U.S., did you have any teaching training? If so, what kind of teaching training did you have? 如果你来美国以前有一定的对外汉语的教学经验,那么你之前接受过任何教学的训练吗? (如果接受过)是什么样的教学训练呢?

Experiences in the program (as a graduate student) 教师教育培训的经历(作为硕士研究生):

[Switching gears, I’d like to ask you about your experiences in your current program as a graduate student]
5. What kinds of courses do you need to take to fulfill your program requirements? 你参加的教师教育培训项目，都有哪些必修课程呢？

6. Among the courses you have taken, is there any course (s) that you think are very influential or beneficial to you? 在你修过的课程中，有没有哪门或几门课，你觉得对你的影响非常大，或从中受益很多呢？If yes, what is it/ are they? 如果有，是什么课呢？What kind of influence or benefit? 是什么样的影响或者有什么样的收获呢？How did the course (s) influence/ benefit you? 那(些)门课是如何影响你或使你受益的呢？

   -Can you give examples?  [Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

7. (If you had teacher training prior to your arrival in America) Is the content you learned from courses in this program the same as what you have learned from your prior teacher training program? (如果你在来美国之前接受过任何的教学培训) 你在这里所学的内容跟你以前学到的一样吗？

   -Could you give examples?  请举一些具体的例子。What did you before and here? ？你来美国以前学到了什么?在这儿又学到了什么？

8. Have you ever had experiences that your course content conflicts with your prior teaching training or your teaching experiences? 你没有发生过你学到的一些东西跟你之前接受的教师培训或你自己的教学经验有冲突的地方呢？If you have had experiences like that, what is/ are the conflicts? 如果有，那是什么样的冲突或不一样的地方呢？How did you deal with the conflicts? 你又是如何解决这个/些冲突的呢？

   -Can you give examples?  [Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

9. Is there any professor that you think influenced your perception of teaching Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S.? 有没有哪个教授，你觉得对你的对外汉语的教学观有很大的影
If there is, please tell me who is the professor and how did they influence you. 如果有，请你介绍一下这位教授，并说说这位教授是如何影响你的教学观的。If none, please also tell me why. 如果没有，也请你说说为什么你觉得他们对你的教学观没有产生什么影响。

10. (Either from your experience, or from the experience of someone you know) Have you ever had experiences that your perceptions of teaching Chinese as a foreign language are different from your professor (s). (或者是关于你自己的经历，或者是你注意到的别人的经历……）你有没有碰到过你的对外汉语教学观跟你的教授不同的情况呢？

-What is different? （请你具体说说）有什么样的不同呢？

-Did you eventually agree with that professor or not? Why? 你最终有没有接受教授的观点？为什么？

-Why do you think you and the professor have different perceptions on teaching Chinese as a foreign language? 你觉得为什么你会跟这个教授在对外汉语教学观上有不同的看法？

11. In your opinion, what would an ideal Chinese language teacher be like? 你理想中的对外汉语教师是什么样的？

12. As a Chinese language teacher, what do you wish American students learned from your class? 作为一个对外汉语教师，你希望美国学生从你的课堂上学到什么？

13. Have your perceptions of teaching Chinese as a foreign language changed or remained the same after being here? If changed, in what ways? 那么回想起来，你之前的对外汉语的教学观在结束你的教师培训项目之后有没有产生变化呢？如果有，是什么样的变化呢？

14. Do you interact with other foreign language teachers in your program? 你跟项目中的别的外语教师(非中文教师)接触吗？
Experiences in the classroom (as a novice teacher): 实际课堂教学的经历(作为新教师):

[Switching gears, I’d like to ask you about your experiences of teaching Chinese as a foreign language in a local school as a novice teacher]

15. Would you please describe your current work at a local school (What kind of school district and school is it? How many classes are you teaching now? What level are you teaching? What is the class size in general? What is your daily routine there, etc.)? 你可以描述一下你现在在这所学校的工作情况吗（是什么样的学区和学校呢？现在教多少节课？教哪一个年级？一般来说，一个班有几个学生？你一般的一天的工作流程是什么样的？等等）

16. Have you been influenced or impressed by anything that happened during your internship/teaching here? 在你教学实习期间，有什么事让你印象非常深刻，或者对你产生了比较大的影响吗？ If yes, please tell me what happened and what kind of influence it has on you. 如果有，请你说说是什么样的事，以及这件事对你产生了什么样的影响。

[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

17. Have you applied any teaching methods and approaches you learned from class in your actual teaching? If you have applied any, can you give us some examples? 你在现在实际的课堂教学中，有没有应用你在教师培训中所学的教学理念和方法呢？如果有，请你举几个例子。

18. What are the effects of the methods and approaches you used in your classroom? 你所用的这些理念和教学方法，在你课堂中的效果怎么样？ If the effects were not as ideal as you
thought, what do you think might be the reason? 如果在实际的课堂教学中并没有达到你设想的理想的效果，你觉得是什么原因呢？

[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

19. How did you decide your teaching goals, content, approaches, and activities in this school? 在这所学校，你是怎么决定你的教学目标、教学内容、教学方法以及教学活动的？请你举几个例子。

20. During the process of planning and conducting teaching, is everything consistent with your perception of teaching Chinese as a foreign language? If not, please give me some examples. 在准备和实施教学的过程中，你有没有碰到过和你的对外汉语教学理念不相符合的情况？如果有这样的情况，请你举几个例子。

- What is not consistent with your perception of teaching Chinese as a foreign language? 哪些事情/情况与你的对外汉语教学理念不符？

- What did you do at that time? 在这样的情况下，你是怎么处理的？

- Why did you make that decision at that time? 你当时为什么作出了那样的处理决定？

- What is the result? Was the result as you expected? 结果是什么？跟你所期待的结果一样吗？

- Has the result had any influence on your perception of teaching Chinese as a foreign language? 这个结果有没有对你的对外汉语教学理念产生影响？

21. During your interactions with students and their parents, what kind of general impressions do you have? 在你跟学生和学生家长接触交流的过程中，你对他们大致有一个什么样的印象？ Are their expectations of this course consistent with yours? 他们对这门课的期望与你的期
望一致吗？ If not, how did you deal with the conflicts? 如果不一致，你是怎么处理这些冲突和矛盾的呢？

[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

22. During your interactions with your school administrators and staff, what kind of general impression do you have? 在你跟学校的行政人员和员工接触交流的过程中，你对他们大致有一个什么样的印象？ Are their expectations of this course consistent with yours? 他们对这门课的期望与你的期望一致吗？ If not, how did you deal with the conflicts? 如果不一致，你是怎么处理这些冲突和矛盾的呢？

[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

23. Have your perceptions of teaching Chinese as a foreign language changed or remained the same after teaching here? If changed, in what ways have they changed? 那么现在在这里教学以后,你之前的对外汉语的教学观有没有产生变化呢？如果有,是什么样的变化呢？

24. Do you interact with other foreign language teachers in your school? 你跟学校里别的外语教师(非中文教师)接触吗？

-If yes, what languages are they teaching and what is your interaction with them like? 他们都是教什么外语的呢？你跟他们都有些什么什么样的交流呢？

25. Have you looked for external supports such as affiliated Chinese language teacher associations, professional development workshops, and the local Chinese community? 你是否有寻求过学校和项目以外的支持呢，比如相关中文教师协会、职业发展研讨会以及当地的华人社区？ If yes, what kind (s) of external support (s) have you looked for? 如果有，是什么样的支持呢？ What do you think you gained from that experience? 你觉得你从中获得了什么？
Future 将来:

26. Are you still willing to teach Chinese as a foreign language in K-12 setting in the U.S. in the future? 你是否还是希望以后继续在美国的中小学教中文？

27. Please describe the ideal school milieu you wish you work in the future. 请你描述一下你理想中的工作的学校的整体环境与氛围。

28. Are you willing to be contacted by email for a follow up in case I have questions? 如果我还有一些后续的问题，我可以通过电子邮件跟你联系吗？

29. Are you willing to help me by recommending friends to me to interview? 你可以帮我引荐一些你的朋友参加我的这个研究采访吗？

30. Is there anything we haven’t covered today that you’d like to add? 还有没有需要补充的？
Appendix III

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (for NNS teachers and domestic NS teachers) - 访谈题目

Preliminary: I am interested in learning about the socialization process of novice Chinese language teachers in the U.S. This is a chance for you to give feedback on your true experiences and feelings about how your perceptions of teaching and your teacher education program goals influence and interact in your teaching practice. This study may not benefit you directly, but has the potential to help improve the adaptation and conditions for others through programs and policies.

Prior to Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language in the U.S. 在美国教中文之前:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself or your background? 你可以简单地介绍一下自己吗?

2. How did you decide to teach Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S.? 你为什么决定在美国教中文(对外汉语)呢?

3. Can you tell me a little bit about your experience of learning Chinese? 你可以简单地介绍一下自己学习中文的经历吗?

4. Can you describe an ideal Chinese language teacher in the U.S. from your perspective? 你可以描述一下你认为的理想的美国中文教师是什么样的吗?

5. Do you have some experience of teaching foreign language before you admitted to your teacher education program? If you have, what kind of experience do you have? Did you have any teaching training prior to that experience? If you did, what kind of teaching training did you have? 你在进入你的教师培训项目以前，有一定的外语的教学经验吗?如果有，是什么样的
Experience in the program (as a graduate student): 教师教育培 教师教育培 教师教育培 教师教育培训的经历（作为硕士研究生）：

[switching gears, I’d like to ask you about your experiences in your current program as a graduate student]

6. What kinds of courses do you need to take to fulfill your program requirements? 你参加的教师教育培训项目，都有哪些必修课程呢？

7. Among the courses you have taken, is there any course (s) that you think are very influential or beneficial to you? 在你修过的课程中，有没有哪门或几门课，你觉得对你的影响非常大，或从中受益很多呢？If yes, what is it/ are they? 如果有，是什么课呢？What kind of influence or benefit? 是什么样的影响或者有什么样的收获呢？How did the course (s) influence/ benefit you? 那（些）门课是如何影响你或使你受益的呢？

- Can you give examples? 请举一些具体的例子。[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

8. (If you had teacher training prior to this program) Is the content you learned from courses in this program the same as what you have learned from your prior teacher training program? (如果在此项目之前接受过任何的教学培训) 你在这个项目里所学的内容跟你以前学到的一样吗？

- Could you give examples? 请举一些具体的例子。What did you learn before and here? 你在进入这个项目以前学到了什么？在这个项目里又学到了什么？

9. Have you ever had experiences that your current course content conflicts with your prior teaching training or your teaching experiences? 你没有发生过你在这个项目里学到的一些东
西跟你之前接受的教师培训或你自己的教学经验有冲突的地方呢？ If you have had experiences like that, what is/ are the conflicts? 如果有，那是什么样的冲突或不一样的地方呢？

How did you deal with the conflicts? 你又是如何解决这些冲突的？

-Can you give examples?  [Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

10. Is there any professor that you think influenced your perception of teaching Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S.? 有没有哪个教授，你觉得对你的对外汉语的教学观有很大的影响？ If there is, please tell me who is the professor and how did they influence you. 如果有，请你介绍一下这位教授，并说说这位教授是如何影响你的教学观的。If none, please also tell me why. 如果没有，也请你说说为什么你觉得他们对你的教学观没有产生什么影响。

11. (Either from your experience, or from the experience of someone you know) Have you ever had experiences that your perceptions of teaching Chinese as a foreign language are different from your professor (s). 你有没有碰到过你的对外汉语教学观跟你的教授不同的情况呢？

-What is different?  （请你具体说说）有什么样的不同呢？

-Did you eventually agree with that professor or not? Why? 你最终有没有接受教授的观点？为什么？

-Why do you think you and the professor have different perceptions on teaching Chinese as a foreign language? 你觉得为什么你会跟这个教授在对外汉语教学观上有不同的看法？

12. As a Chinese language teacher, what do you wish American students learned from your class? 作为一个对外汉语教师，你希望美国学生从你的课堂上学到什么？
13. Have your perceptions of teaching Chinese as a foreign language changed or remained the same after being here? If changed, in what ways?  那么回想起来,你之前的对外汉语的教学观在你结束这个教师培训项目之后有没有产生变化呢? 如果有,是什么样的变化呢?

14. Do you interact with other foreign language teachers in your program? 你跟项目中的别的外语教师(非中文教师)接触吗?

-If yes, what languages are they teaching and what is your interaction with them like? 他们都是教什么外语的呢？你跟他们都有些什么样的交流呢？

Experiences in the classroom (as a student teacher) 实际课堂教学的经历(作为新教师):

[switching gears, I’d like to ask you about your experiences of teaching Chinese as a foreign language in a local school as a novice teacher ]

15. Would you please describe your current work at a local school (What kind of school district and school is it? How many classes are you teaching now? What level are you teaching? What is the class size in general? What is your daily routine there, etc.)? 你可以描述一下你现在在这所学校的工作情况吗（是什么样的学区和学校呢？现在教多少节课？教哪一个年级？一般来说，一个班有几个学生？作为一个实习生，你一般的一天的工作流程是什么样的？等等）

16. Have you been influenced or impressed by anything that happened during your internship/teaching here? 在你教学实习期间，有什么事让你印象非常深刻，或者对你产生了比较大的影响吗？ If yes, please tell me what happened and what kind of influence it has on you. 如果有，请你说说是什么样的事，以及这件事对你产生了什么样的影响。

[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]
17. Have you applied any teaching methods and approaches you learned from class in your actual teaching? If you have applied any, can you give us some examples? 你在现在实际的课堂教学中，有没有应用你在教师培训中所学的教学理念和方法呢？如果有，请你举几个例子。

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[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

19. How did you decide your teaching goals, content, approaches, and activities in this school? 在这所学校，你是怎么决定你的教学目标、教学内容、教学方法以及教学活动的？请你举几个例子。

20. During the process of planning and conducting teaching, is everything consistent with your perception of teaching Chinese as a foreign language? If not, please give me some examples. 在准备和实施教学的过程中，你有没有碰到过和你的对外汉语教学理念不相符合的情况？如果有这样的情况，请你举几个例子。

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- What did you do at that time? 在这样的情况下，你是怎么处理的？

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- Has the result had any influence on your perception of teaching Chinese as a foreign language? 这个结果有没有对你的对外汉语教学理念产生影响？

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[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

22. During your interactions with your school administrators and staff, what kind of general impression do you have? 在你跟学校的行政人员和员工接触交流的过程中，你对他们大致有一个什么样的印象？Are their expectations of this course consistent with yours? 他们对这门课的期望与你的期望一致吗？If not, how did you deal with the conflicts? 如果不一致，你是怎么处理这些冲突和矛盾的呢？

[Probe to elicit positive and negative examples if possible]

23. Have your perceptions of teaching Chinese as a foreign language changed or remained the same after teaching here? If changed, in what ways have they changed? 那么现在在这里教学以后，你之前的对外汉语的教学观有没有产生变化呢？如果有，是什么样的变化呢？

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Future 将来:

26. Are you still willing to teach Chinese as a foreign language in K-12 setting in the U.S. in the future? 你是否还是希望以后继续在美国的中小学教中文？

27. Please describe the ideal school milieu you wish you work in the future. 请你描述一下你理想中的工作的学校的整体环境与氛围。

28. Are you willing to be contacted by email for a follow up in case I have questions? 如果我还有一些后续的问题，我可以通过电子邮件跟你联系吗？

29. Are you willing to help me by recommending friends to me to interview? 你可以帮我引荐一些你的朋友参加我的这个研究采访吗？

30. Is there anything we haven’t covered today that you’d like to add? 还有没有需要补充的？
## Appendix IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What do I need to know?</th>
<th>Why do I need to know this?</th>
<th>What kind of data will answer this question?</th>
<th>Where can I find the data?</th>
<th>Whom do I contact for access?</th>
<th>Timelines for acquisition</th>
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<tr>
<td>What kinds of social strategies do teachers apply when they interact with their program goals, course content, and professors?</td>
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<td>What kinds of social strategies do teachers apply when they interact with their school milieu ad</td>
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<td>What is the relationship between teachers’ social strategies and corresponding contexts?</td>
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<td>How do the interactions in the context of teacher training programs and field teaching shape perceptions of pre-service teachers of CFL?</td>
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Appendix V

Charts for data analysis of the pilot study

Part I: Prior to coming to the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Participant 1</th>
<th>Participant 2</th>
<th>Data analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1: Self-introduction</td>
<td>Education level:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Major:</td>
<td>Major:</td>
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<td>(reading), (writing)</td>
<td>(reading), (writing)</td>
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<td>Q2: Why TCFL in the U.S.</td>
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<td>Q3: Previous TCFL/TCSL</td>
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<td>Q4: Previous teacher Ed</td>
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Part II: teacher and teacher education

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<tr>
<td>Q1: Courses of teacher education</td>
<td>Why:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative:</td>
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<td>Q2: Influential course(s)</td>
<td>Before:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>After:</td>
<td>After:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Differences/ conflicts:</td>
<td>Differences/ conflicts:</td>
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### Q4: Influential professor(s)
- Why:  
- Negative:  

### Q5: Different/conflict methods
- What:  
- Why different:  
- How did you deal with it:  
- Why:  

### Q6: Ideal CFL teacher

### Q7: Want American students to learn

### Q8: Changes after teacher education
- What:  
- Why:  

### Q9: Contacts with other FL teachers in the program
- With whom:  
- What kinds of contacts:  
- Why:  

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### Part III: teacher and classroom teaching

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<td>Responsibilities:</td>
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<td>Q2: Influential event(s)</td>
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<td>What influence(s):</td>
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<td>Question</td>
<td>What</td>
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<td>Q3: Applying teaching methods</td>
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<td>Q4: Conflicts</td>
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<td>Q5: Impression on students &amp; parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q6: Your expectation Vs. students/parents expectation</td>
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<td>Q7: Impression on administrators and staffs (expectations)</td>
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<td>Q8: Contacts with other FL teachers in the school</td>
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<td>With whom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q9:</td>
<td>With whom</td>
<td>With whom</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Contacts with the community and professional development associations</td>
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<td>What kinds of contacts:</td>
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Part V: information about future and follow-ups

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<td>Q1: Future career</td>
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<td>Q2: Ideal working environment</td>
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<td>Q3: Follow-up contacts</td>
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<td>Q4: Recommend other participants</td>
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<td>Q5: Anything missed</td>
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Appendix VI

Adult Informed Consent Statement

From graduate schools to K-12 schools: the transformation of Chinese language teachers

----Understanding the socialization process of novice Chinese language teachers in the U.S

INTRODUCTION

The Department of Curriculum and Teaching at the University of Kansas supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You may refuse to sign this form and not participate in this study. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time. If you do withdraw from this study, it will not affect your relationship with this unit, the services it may provide to you, or the University of Kansas.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The primary purpose of this study is to understand how teacher education programs at the graduate school level and the in-service practices in K-12 schools in America shaped beliefs and behaviors of novice Chinese language teachers. The interactions among teacher education programs, teachers’ prior experiences, and their teaching experiences in various school contexts shape self-perceptions and behaviors of Chinese language teachers in American K-12 schools. This study will focus on understanding the transformation process of reflecting and adjusting professional, personal, and cultural identities that novice teachers of CFL in the U.S. experience.

PROCEDURES

At the beginning of each interview, the purpose of this study and the procedures of data collection will be briefly introduced. An informed consent statement will be presented to you as well. To conduct the interview, the informed consent statement should be signed voluntarily by you and you will be allowed to withdraw from the study at any point, as the informed consent statement addressed. Informed consent statement will be emailed to you in advance if you are not at the state of the investigator’s residency.

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire of demographic before answer any interview questions. After the questionnaire is completed, appropriate interview protocol will be chosen by the researcher based on your demographic information in the questionnaire. The questionnaire will be emailed along with the informed consent letter in advance if you are not at the state of the investigator’s residency. Data from the questionnaire can only be collected after receiving your signature on the informed consent statements.

Each interview will last approximately between thirty minutes and an hour. Regardless of the way the interview is conducted, all interviews will be audio recorded for the purpose of accurate data analysis. During the interview, probing of both positive and negative experiences should be encouraged by the researcher.
The audio recording of all interviews will only be used for transcription and data analysis. All data (surveys and interviews) will be individually collected. Data of participants who are in the same state as the investigator's residency will be collected in person. Data of participants who are in other states will be collected through email and online chatting software (Skype, QQ or Wechat) as their preference.

All audio recordings will be saved both on the investigator's laptop hard drive and investigator's external hard drive. All hard drives are password protected and the investigator will be the only one who has access to the recording. All surveys will be saved in a file in the investigator's study room. The investigator will be the only one who has access to this file.

All the data will be preserved for two years beyond the completion of the project.

Risks

There is no risk or harm to the subjects in this study. It is possible, however, with internet communications, that through intent or accident someone other than the intended recipient may see your response.

Benefits

This research can help teachers promote effective teaching by reflecting on their teaching beliefs and practices. The analysis of this study can also provide a comprehensive understanding of cultural, personal, and professional factors that affect professional development of novice Chinese language teachers. It can provide reflections and innovations for foreign language teacher education programs. It is also helpful for administrators to develop effective communications in school environments.

Payment to participants

Participants will be paid $10 in cash for their participation of this research, even if they have started the survey and interview but decided not to finish the interview due to any reason. This project is not funded by any institution. Investigators may ask for your social security number in order to comply with federal and state tax and accounting regulations.

Participant confidentiality

Your name will not be associated in any publication or presentation with the information collected about you or with the research findings from this study. Instead, the researcher(s) will use a study number or a pseudonym rather than your name. Your identifiable information will not be shared unless (a) it is required by law or university policy, or (b) you give written permission.

By signing this form you give permission for the use and disclosure of your information for purposes of this study during the time period of this project. All the data will be preserved for two years beyond the completion of the project.
REFUSAL TO SIGN CONSENT AND AUTHORIZATION

You are not required to sign this Consent and Authorization form and you may refuse to do so without affecting your right to any services you are receiving or may receive from the University of Kansas or to participate in any programs or events of the University of Kansas. However, if you refuse to sign, you cannot participate in this study.

CANCELLING THIS CONSENT AND AUTHORIZATION

You may withdraw your consent to participate in this study at any time. You also have the right to cancel your permission to use and disclose further information collected about you, in writing, at any time, by sending your written request to: Zhuojun Jiang 12410 E. Mainsgate St, Wichita, KS 67226

If you cancel permission to use your information, the researchers will stop collecting additional information about you. However, the research team may use and disclose information that was gathered before they received your cancellation, as described above.

QUESTIONS ABOUT PARTICIPATION

Questions about procedures should be directed to the researcher(s) listed at the end of this consent form.

PARTICIPANT CERTIFICATION:

I have read this Consent and Authorization form. I have had the opportunity to ask, and I have received answers to, any questions I had regarding the study. I understand that if I have any additional questions about my rights as a research participant, I may call (785) 864-7429 or (785) 864-7385, write the Human Subjects Committee Lawrence Campus (HSCL), University of Kansas, 2385 Irving Hill Road, Lawrence, Kansas 66045-7568, or email irb@ku.edu.

I agree to take part in this study as a research participant. By my signature I affirm that I am at least 18 years old and that I have received a copy of this Consent and Authorization form.

_______________________________         _____________________
Type/Print Participant's Name       Date

_______________________________
Participant's Signature

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