The Nature of Volunteer Chinese Teaching Launched by the Hanban

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THE NATURE OF VOLUNTEER CHINESE TEACHING LAUNCHED BY THE HANBAN

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With the increasing demand of Chinese language learning, the Hanban has been dispatching volunteer Chinese teachers worldwide for several years. Many studies on volunteer Chinese teaching have focused on the Hanban's soft power projection, higher education cooperation, and policies. However, not much work has been done on the nature of official launched volunteer Chinese teaching via examining its teaching practices. Mainly referring to Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism, my thesis aims to fill in the gap in the literature through exploring whether volunteer Chinese teaching launched by the Hanban in three Southeast Asian countries has features of linguistic imperialism. I conducted a qualitative case study on teaching practices of volunteer teachers in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia for the purpose of having a detailed understanding of the volunteer Chinese teaching situations. Combining with findings from interviews of volunteer Chinese teachers, the paper also contains a content analysis on materials from the Hanban website and online newspapers. My analysis indicates that volunteer Chinese teaching in the three Southeast Asian countries contains some features of linguistic imperialism, but cannot be completely defined as linguistic imperialism. The result on the nature of volunteer Chinese teaching clarifies some people's concern about the promotion of Chinese language by China. Also, Chinese language teachers and administrators can have a better idea of what Chinese teaching should be like and how it could be improved.

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1.0   BACKGROUND INTRODUCTION

1.1   INTRODUCTION

Due to the success and rapidity of Chinese language promotion all around the world, some people feel worried and even connect Chinese language teaching to linguistic imperialism. By mainly referring to Phillipson's (1992, 1997, 1998, 2009) work, I examine whether the Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program launched by the Hanban has characteristics of linguistic imperialism in three Southeast Asian countries, namely the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia, via incorporating a qualitative case study with a content analysis.

In this chapter, I introduce the Hanban and its Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program. Also, I briefly discuss the three Southeast Asian countries' communication history with China, the history of Chinese language education, and the local development of the Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program. In addition, I mention my research question and the significance of my research study.

1.2   THE HANBAN

The Hanban, also called the Office of the Chinese Language Council International, established in 1987 (Zhao & Huang, 2010), is a branch of the Chinese Ministry of Education and the

headquarters of the Confucius Institute (Hanban, n.d.a). The Hanban has nine divisions, including the Division of General Affairs, the Division of Personnel Management, the Division of Logistics Service, the Division of Teaching Materials, the Division of New Initiatives and International Exchanges, the Division of Testing and Scholarships, the Division of Finance, the Division of Teachers and Volunteers and the Secretariat of the International Society for Chinese Language Teaching (Hanban, n.d.a). The chart below shows the structure of the Hanban.

Table 1. Structure of the Hanban

The Ministry of Education				
The Hanban (The Confucius Institute Headquarters)				
Division of General Affairs	Division of Personnel Management	Division of Logistics Service	Division of Teaching Materials	Division of New Initiatives and International Exchanges
Division of Testing and Scholarships	Division of Finance	Division of Teachers and Volunteers	Secretariat of the International Society for Chinese Language Teaching	

The Hanban aims to provide teaching resources and Chinese language and culture services with countries all around the world, to satisfy demands of overseas Chinese learners as much as possible, and to make contributions to develop a world of multiculturalism and harmony (Hanban, n.d.a). The main functions of the Hanban are as follows: to formulate policies[1], rules, and development plans for Chinese language popularization internationally; to support Chinese

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[1] "To formulate policies" does not mean that the Hanban makes policies for other countries. In my understanding, they are policies on how to promote the development of Chinese language education, such as the development of Confucius Institutes and volunteer programs. For instance, the process of volunteer selection and book donation are policies made by the Hanban.

language education launched by different countries and various educational organizations at different levels; to set the standards of International Chinese language education, and to develop and promote Chinese textbooks (Hanban, n.d.a).

The Confucius Institute is a non-profit organization (Hanban, n.d.b), sponsored by the Hanban (Li, Mirmirani & Ilacqua, 2009). A pilot project was initiated in Tashkent in early 2004 (Starr, 2009), followed by the establishment of the first Confucius Institute in Seoul, South Korea (Zhang, 2006). The Confucius Institute is expanding at an amazing speed since its founding. Specifically, there have been 353 Confucius Institutes and 473 Confucius Classrooms established in a total of 104 countries and regions as of August, 2011 (Hanban, n.d.b). The Confucius Institutes commit to promoting the understanding of Chinese language and culture, to developing friendly relationship between China and foreign countries, to promoting the development of multiculturalism around the world, and to contributing to the establishment of a harmonious world (Hanban, n.d.b). The functions of the Confucius Institutes are as follows: to conduct Chinese language education for the society; to train Chinese teachers; to organize business on Chinese language tests and the Chinese Language Teacher Certificate; to provide consultation on Chinese language education, culture, economics and society; and finally, to study contemporary China (Hanban, n.d.b). The Confucius Institutes can be operated in three ways: to be solely run by its headquarters; to cooperate with local organizations; and to be operated by authorized local offices (Starr, 2009). Also, many Confucius Institutes are held in universities (Li, Mirmirani & Ilacqua, 2009), which have had departments or programs on Chinese studies (Starr, 2009).

Most research studies on the Hanban concentrated on the Confucius Institutes. Some focus on the Confucius Institutes' cooperation with higher educational institutions, specifically

on foreign universities' academic integrity, while some study the Confucius Institutes' intention on soft power projection. Also, there are responses to these criticisms. For instance, Starr (2009), Li, Mirmirani and Ilacqua (2009) and Yang (2010) mention that the Confucius Institutes do not hinder higher education's academic integrity, because the Hanban does not decide class content and cultural activities for universities abroad. Yang (2010) also explains that the Confucius Institutes enable foreign universities and Chinese universities to have cooperation and communication opportunities. Interestingly, according to Starr (2009), the main reason that China continues to develop the Confucius Institutes is for national pride, by which he means that China wants to wash away its past humiliations through making its participation in world culture better known.

1.3   THE VOLUNTEER CHINESE TEACHER PROGRAM

With the goal of spreading Chinese language, improving Chinese language education worldwide, promoting the spread of Chinese language and Chinese culture overseas, deepening China's understanding with foreign countries, and promoting friendship and communication with people from different countries, the Hanban set up the program of volunteer Chinese teachers (Hanban, n.d.c). There are two kinds of volunteers: volunteer teachers and the Confucius Institute volunteers (Hanban, 2010). My study subjects are the former. The Hanban sent out volunteers abroad tentatively in 2003 and officially from 2004, aiming to solve the problem of lack of Chinese teachers worldwide (Hanban, n.d.d). Mainly, volunteer Chinese teachers are selected from undergraduate or graduate students and teachers who major in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, Chinese Literature, Foreign Languages, History, Philosophy, and other

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related subjects (Hanban, n.d.d). According to the Hanban (n.d.d), the Volunteer Center entrusts Chinese universities or education departments to recruit, select, train and dispatch volunteers based on foreign organizations' and schools' requirements on teaching levels, teaching time and the number of volunteers (Hanban, n.d.c). Also, the Volunteer Center conducts all the process from recruitment to dispatchment by itself sometimes. In terms of the recruitment process, it is a multistage and culling process. The Hanban sends a request letter about organizing volunteers' application and initial selection to the above mentioned Chinese organizations, and they evaluate applicants' qualification based on applicants' education, foreign language proficiency, Mandarin level, teacher certificate, work experience, teaching experience, hobbies and other conditions. The candidates passing the initial evaluation have an interview and a psychological test next. Qualified candidates in the previous round of test can participate in the following training. Finally, after the training, volunteer Chinese teachers are selected from a test held by the Hanban (Hanban, n.d.c). Chinese embassies and schools in which volunteers teach are in charge of volunteers when they are abroad (Hanban, n.d.d). Local organizations or administrative teachers dispatched by the Hanban are responsible for the overall evaluation of volunteers' work at the end of their ten-month teaching term. Furthermore, volunteer teachers do not earn salaries, and they only receive an allowance from the Hanban. Sometimes, organizations in which volunteers teach also will to provide teachers with some allowance (Hanban, n.d.d).

Starr (2009) believes that dispatching volunteer Chinese language teachers is "a stop-gap solution" (p. 72). Due to the lack of indigenous Chinese language teachers, the Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program is initiated for solving the problem, but the Hanban's ultimate goal is to provide teacher training for local teachers in basic education (Starr, 2009). So, although

volunteer teachers may be weak in experience, classroom control, and improving students'

grades, the program is a way to solve the current scarcity of Chinese language teachers.

1.4 HISTORY, CHINESE LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND VOLUNTEER CHINESE TEACHERS IN THE PHILIPPINES, THAILAND AND INDONESIA

1.4.1 The Philippines

My study focuses on volunteer teaching practices in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia. In

the following sections, I briefly introduce the three countries' communication history with China,

Chinese language education history, and indigenous development of the Volunteer Chinese

Teacher Program.

The relationship of China and the Philippines started from the 8th century (Yang, 1987).

A lot of Chinese labor went to the Philippines in 1585 (Yang, 1987). There were 40,000 Chinese

in the Philippines by 1748 (Yan & Huang, n.d.). The number of Chinese is about one million in

the Philippines, which accounts for 6% of the whole population (Li & Yu, 2005).

In the Philippines, Chinese language education originated from the 19th century (Lin,

2011). The first local Chinese school for overseas Chinese opened in 1899 (Lin, 2011; Yan &

Huang, n.d.; Zhang, 2004). In 1935, 21,000 students were learning in 46 Chinese schools (Yan &

Huang, n.d.). Owing to World War II, local Chinese language education ceased until 1946 (Yan

& Huang, n.d.). Hundreds of Chinese schools were on business in 1960s through development.

However, Chinese language education descended in the 1970s due to the Philippine

government's restriction. In the 1990s, Philippine Chinese language education restarted after

both Chinese Filipinos and native Filipinos realized the importance of Chinese language (Lin, 2011). The Philippine Chinese Education Research Center was established in May, 1991 (Zhou, 1994). Angeles University tentatively started the major of Chinese language in 2010 (The Confucius Institute of Angeles University, 2011). Also, Chinese language was appended to the special language program in 2011 by the Philippine Department of Education, allied with Spanish, French, Japanese, German and Arabic (The Confucius Institute of Angeles University, 2011).

There were 19 volunteer teachers dispatched to the Philippines in 2003, and they were the very first group of volunteer teachers sent out by the Hanban (Fan, 2005). By 2011, a total number of 1766 volunteer Chinese teachers have worked in the Philippines (the Hanban, 2011a). The range of schools in which volunteer teachers have been working has extended from eight Chinese schools (Fan, 2005) to 75 Chinese schools and 18 mainstream schools (the Hanban, 2011a).

1.4.2 Thailand

Chinese and Thailanders have had exchanges since about 2000 years ago (Zou, 1985). During the first wave of migration that has been recorded in history, from 1279 to 1299, 500 Chinese potters went to Thailand to work (Li, 2005). Ten thousand Chinese immigrated to Thailand yearly after 1840. China was Thailand's suzerain state until 1869 (Zou, 1985). More than 240,000 people from Chaozhou, a city in Southern China, arrived in Thailand from 1900 to 1906. The number of Chinese who lived in Thailand was about 1,500,000 in 1914 (Li, 2005). As many as 50% of Thailand's people are Chinese or of Chinese extraction (Yu, 2009).

Chinese language education started in Thailand from 1908 (Du & Gou [2011] state that it was 1898) and 30 more schools were opened after the establishment of the first Chinese school (Li, 2010). In 1933, Chinese was taught as a foreign language, according to Thailand government's regulation (Li, 2010). However, the Thailand government required that all classes must be taught in Thai three years later (Du & Gou, 2011), so only two Chinese teaching schools were left in 1940 (Li, 2005). With the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Thailand, the number of Chinese schools in Thailand was beyond 600 by the end of 1946 (Li, 2010). Chinese language education in Thailand revived after the Cold War (Li, 2005). Elementary schools, high schools and vocational schools were allowed to open Chinese classes by the government in 1992, and the Thailand Ministry of Education approved high school Chinese courses in 2000 (Li, 2005).

In 2003, 23 volunteer Chinese language teachers were dispatched to Thailand by the Hanban and they were the first batch of volunteer teachers in Thailand (Jiang, Wu & Fu). By 2011, the Hanban has dispatched 10 batches of volunteers and there have been more than 5600 volunteer teachers working in Thailand (Jiang, Wu & Fu). According to the Thailand Ministry of Education, more than 700,000 people have studied Chinese language and more than 260,000 people took HSK[2] (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi) by March 2011 (Sun, 2011).

1.4.3 Indonesia

China and Indonesia started to build contact since two thousand years ago (Huang, 1987). Although Indonesia had a history of Sino-phobia, it has the largest number of overseas Chinese

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[2] HSK: HSK is the abbreviation of Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi, which is the Pinyin of the Chinese Proficiency Test. HSK is an international standardized Chinese proficiency test created by the Hanban, which examines Chinese learners' proficiency in Chinese language (Confucius Institute Online, 2012)

(Xu & Huang, 2010). It is commonly believed that there are more than 10 million Chinese living in Indonesia (Lin, 2011).

In Indonesia, Chinese language education has a history of more than 300 years (Geng, 2007). Chinese language education started from a school called Mingcheng in 1690 (Geng, 2007; Zhou & Chen, 2003). The first Indonesian modern Chinese school was established in 1901. After developing for decades, the number of schools and students grew from 507 and 33,000 in 1926 to 1861 (Chen, 2002) and 425,000 in 1957 (Zhou & Chen, 2003). Because of the restriction policies towards Chinese language education by the Indonesian government and the relationship deterioration between Indonesia and China, all the Chinese schools were shut down in 1966 (Chen, 2002; Wen, 2001). Chinese language education ceased completely in Indonesia from 1974 to 1990 (Zhou & Chen, 2003; Wen, 2001). In 2001, Chinese schools were allowed to reopen by the Ministry of Education (Zhou & Chen, 2003), and Chinese language became an elective foreign language class in high schools (Xiao, 2007). In 2004, an organization called the Chinese Education Coordination Institute of Jakarta was established (Xiao, 2007).

The Hanban dispatched volunteer Chinese teachers to Indonesia for the first time in 2004 (Xiao, 2007). By 2011, more than 500 volunteer teachers have worked in Indonesia (Chinanews.com, 2011).

1.5   RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

From the above mentioned facts, it is clear that the number of volunteer teachers dispatched by the Hanban is growing gradually. Owing to the boost of Chinese language education all around the world, some people may assume that China is exercising linguistic imperialism. Aiming to

answer this question, the goal of my research question is to find out whether the volunteer Chinese teaching by the Hanban in the three Southeast Asian countries has features of linguistic imperialism. Because Phillipson (1992, 1997, 1998, 2009), who constructs the basic structure of linguistic imperialism, is one of the most important specialists in the field of applied linguistics, I used Phillipson's work as my theoretical foundation.

1.6   SIGNIFICANCE

First, my research study builds up a picture of Chinese teaching in Southeast Asia for readers. Secondly, I come up with a potential research question for other researchers who may have interest in the Hanban. Also, as mentioned before, the study of this topic can answer the questions and doubts of many people towards Chinese teaching. It can help the Chinese teachers and school administrators have a better idea of what Chinese teaching should be like and how it could be improved, which relates to the long-term development of official launched Chinese teaching. What's more, personally, as a student previously majored in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language and now majoring in Social and Comparative Analysis of Education, I would like to combine these two fields. Therefore, I want to examine Chinese teaching from a macroscopically social perspective.

1.7   CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I gave a brief introduction on the Hanban, the Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program and histories of Chinese language education in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia. Also, I illustrated the problem raised by Chinese language promotion, followed by my research question and the significance of my research study. In the rest of my thesis, I first review the existing literature on linguistic imperialism in chapter 2, and I introduce my methodology in chapter 3, including a case study and a content analysis. Next, in chapter 4, I analyze data based on methods described in the previous chapter. Finally, I conclude the result of analyses and summarize limitations of my research study in chapter 5.

2.0   LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I review the literature related to linguistic imperialism. The main author I refer to is Phillipson (1992, 1997, 1998, 2009). Because the foundation of Phillipson's linguistic imperialism theory lies on asymmetric power distribution, I start from the unequal power relationship between the Center and the Periphery. Following the Center-Periphery relationship, I review literature on imperialism, cultural imperialism, linguicism and linguistic imperialism one by one.

2.2   THE CENTER-PERIPHERY RELATIONSHIP

A main focus of Dependency school researchers is the Center-Periphery relationship (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Dependency theorists come out with a different world geography, which claims that the European first world is the Center and the non-European Third world countries are Peripheries. They argue that the developed countries, like European countries and the U.S., achieve development through making underdeveloped non-European countries even less developed than they had been (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). According to Teontonio Dos Santos (1970), the economies of the Periphery countries are dominated by the Center and only reflect

the alterations in the Center countries. Similarly, Andre Gunder Frank (1979) argues that the developed countries of the Center cause the Periphery's underdevelopment by expropriating surplus. Generally, the Dependency school deems that developed countries in the Center make Periphery countries underdeveloped by means of economy exploitation.

Similar to the Dependency School, the world system theory also pays attention to the Center[3] and the Periphery (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Wallerstein (1979) divides the world system into three categories, and his division is different from the Dependency School by adding the semi-periphery. The Center countries enjoy advanced production structures and productive capital increase under well-coordinated administration and strong military power, while the Periphery suffers from the opposite situation. Also, countries in the semi-periphery have characteristics of both the Center and the Periphery, which means that they exploit and are exploited (Wallerstein, 1979). Like the dependency theory, the world system theory claims that the Center exploited surplus from the Periphery. But theorists from the world system theory take a step further. Chase-Dunn (1989) argues that the Center countries reduce their internal conflict by utilizing surplus from the Periphery. However, the Periphery countries become even more underdeveloped and internally conflicted due to the unequal commercial exchange, namely the Center's exploitation.

However, Canagarajah (1999) suggests that Wallerstein and his successor Giddens's analysis are not comprehensive enough to reveal diversified dimensions in the world system. Yet he states that Galtung's work more thoroughly reflects the influence of the Center from different aspects. Galtung (1980) deems that the world is divided into the dominant West Center and the

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[3] Although Peet & Hartwick (2009) write "centers" (p.172) and "peripheries" (p.172) instead of "the Center" and "the Periphery" in the book, I change them to "the Center" and "the Periphery" for the purpose of enabling the expression here in accord with the expression in the whole paper. The concepts of the "center" and the "periphery" in Peet & Hartwick's (2009) book mean countries in the center and the periphery, while the lower case "center" and "periphery" in the following sections mean the center and the periphery in a country.

dominated under-developed Periphery. The terms "center" and "periphery" can be defined from three aspects: absolute properties (the center ranks high while the periphery ranks low), interaction relation (the center obtains more than the periphery from interaction relation perspective) and the interaction structure (the center is in the center of interaction network) (Galtung, 1971). It is necessary to point out that the center and the periphery relation can be inter- and intra-national (Galtung, 1971, 1980). That is to say, a particular country can be categorized into either the Center[4] or the Periphery, but the country also has its own center and periphery. So there are the center in the Center, the center in the Periphery, the periphery in the Center and the periphery in the Periphery (Galtung, 1971, 1980). Like the former two theories, Galtung (1980) claims that the Centers exploit the corresponding Peripheries through the unequal power distribution in both regions. Moreover, Galtung (1971, 1980) asserts that the elites in both centers share interests through various types of imperialism, including linguistic imperialism. In addition, Galtung (1971) believes that the Center-Periphery relationship is not a fixed relationship. Actually, a country can be in the Center and the Periphery at the same time because a country may have relative advantages in one aspect and weaknesses in another aspect.

In terms of the linguistics field, linguists also develop the Center and the Periphery according to English language spread. For Canagarajah (1999), the Center is the native English speaking Western countries which have advanced technology, while the Periphery includes former Britain colonies where English is the official language now and other former colonies which suffer from the penetration of English. Kachu (1990) divides world Englishes into three levels. The first level is the innermost circle that includes native English speaking countries. The

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[4]In order to differentiate the two pairs of concepts, the Center represents a country or countries in the Center and the Periphery represents a country or countries in the Periphery, while the center means the center of a country and the periphery means the periphery of a country.

next level comprises former colonies where English is their official language and the outermost circle is English learning countries. Canagarajah's (1999) Periphery is the combination of Kachu's (1990) two outer circles, which makes his classification more general. The reason lies in that Canagarajah (1990) states that the concepts of native and non-native speakers fail to distinguish the asymmetric power relations in this context.

2.3   IMPERIALISM

Based on the Center and the Periphery relationship, we come to the concept of Imperialism. Marxist theories define imperialism as external exploitation between capitalists in one society and working class and peasants in another society (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Imperialism has lasted from the 15th century to current society in different forms. In the past, imperialism existed in the form of geopolitical extension, like territory intrusion. With gradual development, direct physical control has become more implicit, which has taken the form of manipulating people's thought via economic, political, and cultural control. Although imperialism itself is evolving, a consensus of radical imperialism theories is that capitalist countries launch external imperialism for the purpose of alleviating their inside contradictions in social and environmental aspects (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Here I would like to talk about Galtung's (1971, 1980) view of imperialism in detail based on his theory on the Center and Periphery relationship.

Imperialism is a type of "dominance and power relationships" (Galtung, 1971, p. 81), in which one society has authority over another (Galtung, 1980). According to Galtung (1971), imperialism divides collectives into several parts and connects these parts through "harmony of interest" (Galtung, 1980, p. 107) and "disharmony of interest" or "conflict of interest" (p. 107).

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In other words, the Center and Periphery relationship between nations represents a disharmony of interest (Galtung, 1971). To be specific, the harmony of interest exists between the center in the Center and the center in the Periphery, while the disharmony of interest exists between two peripheries. Also, in both the Center and the Periphery, the center and the periphery are in disharmonious relationship.

Generally, the Center and the Periphery nations exchange commodities or raw materials in a way of complementing each other (Galtung, 1971, 1980). The exchange is always realized through exploitation, penetration, fragmentation and marginalization (Galtung, 1980). Exploitation means unequal interactions among countries and people, which is the foundation of the other three factors. Penetration implies that the Center nations penetrate the center in the Periphery and exercise imperialism through the center. It indicates that the center in the Periphery internalizes the Center's ideology, including languages, and represents the Center's interests. Next, fragmentation means the centers and the peripheries' separation in both international and intra-national levels. On one hand, the Center nations keep the physical and social distance among the Periphery countries. On the other hand, both centers share the common interest, which makes the center and the periphery in the Periphery detached from each other. Also, to some extent, the center in the Center shares some benefits of exploitation with its periphery, resulting in the separation of two peripheries. In addition, marginalization means that the developed countries ally with each other to isolate the Periphery (Galtung, 1980).

Moreover, imperialism can be split into three phases. The first phase is colonialism (Galtung, 1971, 1980). In this phase, people from the Center's center went to the Periphery and took charge of everything. That is to say, political control is imposed on the Periphery by the Center (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Then, decolonization appeared with the decline of the center in

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the Center and the reinforcement of the center in the Periphery. In the second phase, namely neocolonialism, international organizations are the bridge to connect two centers and the two centers' interests are equally translated within the organizations (Galtung, 1971, 1980). Also, the control exercised through international organization is more concealed. During this period, the Center's control inclines to economic control instead of political control (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). In the future, neo-neocolonialism will be realized by instant interaction between two centers, without the mediation of international organizations. This kind of communication would be built and withdrawn quickly, based on the participants' demands (Galtung, 1971, 1980).

Furthermore, imperialism includes six subtypes: economic, political, military, communication, cultural, (Galtung, 1971, p. 91; 1980, p. 128) and social (Galtung, 1980, p. 128). Economic imperialism means that the Center and the Periphery exchange means of production, capital, raw materials, and labor. Political imperialism is about the Center making decisions and the Periphery following those decisions. Next, military imperialism refers to protection and discipline, by which I mean that the Center protects the Periphery by its military hardware, while the Periphery supplies discipline, soldiers and oil to the Center. Also, in terms of communicative imperialism, the Center provides news, means of communication and transportation while the Periphery provides events, passengers, and goods (Galtung, 1971, p. 91; 1980, p. 128). Cultural imperialism signifies a teaching and learning relationship. In other words, the Center always plays the role of teachers, while the Periphery acts as a learner. Lastly, social imperialism implies that the Center provides the model social structure, whereas the Periphery consolidates the structure. In general, the six types of imperialism intertwine with each other, and each should be analyzed in company with other aspects (Phillipson, 1992).

2.4　　CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Cultural imperialism is undetachable from other types of imperialism. Hamm (2005) explains that political and economic imperialism yield cultural imperialism, either intentionally or unintentionally. Schiller (2000) takes a step further: he argues that cultural factors are significant in domination due to their influence on social thinking. Similarly but more explicitly, Phillipson (1992) claims that cultural imperialism nurtures exploitation in both ideological and economic aspects. All of their argumentation manifests cultural imperialism's fundamental effect on the whole mechanism of imperialism.

According to Schiller (1976), cultural imperialism is "the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to dominating center of the system" (p. 9). Contrary to this broader definition, cultural imperialism can also be defined as narrowly as "the domination of other cultures by products of the US culture industry" (Culturalpolitics.net, 2012). Tomlinson (1991) puts emphasis on Western countries' cultural domination and recipients' autonomy. A different point that Tomlinson (1991) stresses is the essentiality of content in defining cultural imperialism, and he also mentions that the way of living is primary for cultural imperialism's definition.

Cultural imperialism involves scientific imperialism (Galtung 1971, 1980; Phillipson 1992), media imperialism, educational imperialism and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). In addition, linguistic imperialism attaches to the other three types of imperialism due to language's function of expression and mediation (Phillipson, 1992). In terms of scientific imperialism, scientists from the Center go to the Periphery in order to collect data, analyze data, and form theories (Galtung, 1971, 1980). Then, they send the fruits of research studies back, so

that the center in the Periphery can consume research results. Through this structural inequality, the Periphery depends on the Center. Also, if the Center language is constantly used while the Periphery language's usage is limited, linguicism (talked about later) occurs (Phillipson, 1992). Media imperialism would be promoted by means of films, videos, televisions and books through the connection of languages (Phillipson, 1992). Although the Center may receive ideas, products, and influence from the Periphery, the main current is the information exported from the Center to the Periphery. With regard to educational imperialism, Galtung (1971, 1980) states that the distribution of teachers and students plays a primary role in it. The Center always plays the role of a teacher and defines the contents and forms of teaching, whereas the Periphery acts as a student and learner. A noteworthy point is that the Periphery does not always passively receive what the Center supplies. Differently, the Periphery pleases the Center by acting as an eager and humble student so that the Center would give the Periphery more "aids." Needless to say, the language is one thing that the Center desires to promote and teach to the Periphery, and the Periphery would like to meet the Center's will by learning the languages.

2.5   LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM AND LINGUICISM

Linguistic imperialism integrates into almost every type of imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). For one reason, the two parties, namely the Center and the Periphery, cannot understand and communicate with each other without the connection of a shared language. Also, linguistic imperialism intertwines with other types of imperialism. It is a branch of both cultural imperialism and social imperialism. It can shift to communicative imperialism (Phillipson, 2009).

As to the concept of linguistic imperialism, Gilbert Ansre (1979) gives an integral description. He deems that speakers' minds and lives are dominated by the dominant language, because they believe that this language enables them to access advanced sides of life; in addition, the appreciation of the dominant language leads the speakers to neglect the advantages of their native languages. Mühlhäusler (1994) confirms that linguistic imperialism enables a few advantaged languages to expand by sacrificing other languages. Phillipson (1992) suggests that Ansre's definition is specific enough to depict linguistic imperialism's characteristics, consequences and internal structure inequality.

However, Phillipson (1992) argues that Ansre's definition lacks the discussion of language pedagogy and imperialism. Phillipson (1997) states that linguistic imperialism "is a theoretical construct" "to address issues of why some languages come to be used more and others less, what structures and ideologies facilitate such processes, and the role of language professional" (p. 238). Phillipson (1992) focuses on English linguistic imperialism and defines it as "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (p. 47). Phillipson (1992, 1998, 2009) explains that "structural and cultural inequalities" (p. 47) mean imbalance of "material properties" (p. 47) like unequal distribution of finance, and imbalance of "immaterial or ideological properties" (p. 47), including pedagogy and standpoints. In addition, this kind of language inequality is realized by language policies, which link to commercial, scientific, educational, and cultural policy (Phillipson, 2009). Due to the internalized inequality, dominant languages are favored by the government, and speakers are afforded unequal rights in exchange, communication, and benefits in nations where linguistic imperialism is prevalent (Phillipson, 2009). In other words, speakers who use the governmental

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favored language enjoy a better opportunity and access in exchange, communication, and benefits than those who do not speak the language.

Similar to Phillipson (2009), Mühlhäusler (1994) also emphasizes this unequal flow of language learning between the Center and the Periphery. But Mühlhäusler (1996) criticizes that Phillipson's (1992) definition of linguistic imperialism is too narrow to involve other widely spread languages like Mandarin, Spanish, French and Indonesian. What's more, Mühlhäusler (1996) suggests that the historical backgrounds should be analyzed so that the present situation can be better understood. Actually, Phillipson (1992) does briefly mention some history when he writes about language promotion and phases of imperialism.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1988), linguicism is "ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (on the basis of their mother tongues)" (p. 13). Also, linguicism is manifested through language policies and language pedagogy. As for English, it is "language and culture (anglocentricity)" and "pedagogy (professionalism)" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47). Anglocentricity means that English speakers always think from an anglocentric perspective; professionalism implies that ELT pedagogy and principles are supposed to be professional and adequate to investigate language learning. As two main components of ELT, anglocentricity and professionalism contribute to a structure with the asymmetrical power and resources distribution between English and other languages, by which English is legitimated as a dominant language. In other words, English linguistic imperialism is validated by ELT through structural and cultural inequality built by anglocentricity and professionalism. Phillipson (1992) also stresses that the

definition of English linguistic imperialism reflects how the dominant role of English language is established by ELT.

Phillipson (1992) maintains that linguistic imperialism is a branch of linguicism, but linguicism contains more diversified connotations than linguistic imperialism. Linguicism happens when minority or immigrant students' first languages are neglected in schools, and when local dialects are looked down upon by teachers. However, when the dominant language does not relate to exploitation in the broader context, it is only linguicism in question rather than linguistic imperialism. For example, English is the main language compared with a leading local language in some regions, while the leading local language is the dominant language compared with other local languages. In this case, the language exercising linguistic imperialism is the one that connects to economic imperialism, political imperialism, cultural imperialism, and other types of imperialism. Nevertheless, although linguicism and linguistic imperialism can be distinguished from each other by definitions, Phillipson (1992) admits that they might be contradictory occasionally for intertwining with politics, ideology and other elements.

2.6   CONCLUSION

I organized this chapter in the order of gradual refinement. First, I described the Center-Periphery relationship, which is the unequal power distribution between the Center and the Periphery. Next, I introduced imperialism, a manifestation of the Center-Periphery relationship, followed by one of its divisions, cultural imperialism. Finally, I discussed linguicism and its subtype, linguistic imperialism. In the next chapter, I illuminate my research methodology, a qualitative case study and a content analysis, in detail.

3.0   METHDOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

In order to answer my research question, I interviewed a total of five volunteer teachers working in three Southeast Asian counties with the aim of understanding their perspectives on teaching practices. My thesis also incorporates a content analysis on materials from the Hanban website and online newspapers, through which I can have an idea of the Hanban's view. In the following chapter, I discuss in detail reasons for choosing methodology, selecting samples, collecting data and analyzing methods.

3.2   CASE STUDY

My study is a qualitative case study combined with a content analysis. With regard to the qualitative case study, there are several reasons to explain why I have chosen qualitative methodology. First, I have been mainly interested in knowing participants' personal experience in Chinese teaching, their understanding of the teaching, and how they perceive the attitudes of Chinese learning students, parents, school administrators, local government officials and the media towards Chinese teaching. I have focused on participants' perspectives rather than my own views (Merriam, 1998). Secondly, few research studies have been done on the nature of

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Chinese teaching by volunteer Chinese teachers, and qualitative studies are used to fill in the gap between existing research studies and unexplored practical situations (Merriam, 1998). Also, my research study is descriptive in nature, which accords with the characteristic of qualitative research studies. In addition, my sample size is relatively small, five people in total, and I have used convenience and purposeful sampling rather than random sampling. Qualitative studies usually have a small sample size and seldom use random sampling (Merriam, 1998).

In general, Merriam (1998) has guided me in case study method. I designed my case study in the form of interviews. I chose case study as my research method because of my research study's features. First, the case is an enclosed system which has its own particularity (Merriam, 1998). My research context has been limited to the Volunteer Chinese Teacher program launched by the Hanban in three Southeast Asian countries. The case is particular because of its location and the institution launching it. In addition, I have interpreted and analyzed the nature of Chinese language education based on volunteer Chinese teachers' comprehensive description of their teaching. Also, the study has included many variables, ranging from teaching environment to pedagogy. Those variables are contextual and difficult to control. It is easier to handle those variables via a qualitative case study. Furthermore, since my case study has connected the existing literature on English language imperialism to Chinese teaching practices, so that readers could use it for further exploration, which is also a feature of case studies (Merriam, 1998). Specifically, my case study is interpretive in nature. Through analysis of teaching practices, I have interpreted Chinese teaching practices so that readers could have a better understanding of the nature of Chinese teaching from the perspective of teachers.

In terms of the case itself, I chose the case for two reasons. First, the Hanban is a branch of a governmental organization and the government is the body most likely to conduct

imperialism. Also, the Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program, which is a main method for spreading Chinese language education, is developing rapidly. In addition, the three Southeast Asian countries have been influenced by Chinese culture from ancient times, and Chinese language education has a long history in the three countries, so the influence of Chinese language teaching in those countries is stronger than in Western countries. Therefore, the case is representative.

With regard to sample selection, I selected my sample purposefully. According to my research question, I chose volunteer Chinese teachers who were dispatched by the Hanban and taught in Southeast Asian countries. Based on this principle, I contacted my undergraduate classmates who work for the Hanban in Southeast Asia. In other words, I selected samples based on availability and convenience. Two of my interviewees are working in Thailand, two in Indonesia and one in the Philippines. Among the five participants, four are female and one is male. Generally, all participants majored in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) in their undergraduate years. Four out of five are current graduate students majoring in Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages (TCSOL). According to my respondents, there are two types of local schools, mainstream schools and Chinese schools. Most native students go to mainstream schools while most students in Chinese schools are descendants of overseas Chinese. A feature of Chinese schools is their substantive and consecutive Chinese language education. Although Chinese schools are not only constituted by Chinese descendants anymore (Zhang, 2004), Chinese schools maintain the tradition of stressing Chinese language education. Among my five participants, one works in a Chinese school in which the majority of students are Chinese descendants, and the rest works in mainstream schools. Regarding teaching time, it varies from two months to 15 months. For the participant who has taught in more than one

school within 15 months, I mainly asked him questions about the latest working experience in his current school. Four teachers teach integrated classes, which include reading, writing, speaking, listening and culture. Only one teacher, who is working in the Chinese school, teaches spoken Chinese rather than an integrated class. The content of Spoken Chinese class involves HSK (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi). Moreover, respondents' students' ages are various, ranging from about three to 18, so that their teaching content is diversified. Teachers in Thailand have students in similar age groups and use the same series of textbooks. Although Indonesian students' ages overlap a lot in this case, schools' specific requirements lead to volunteer teachers' different teaching content. I labeled my participants from one to five, and I made up a name for each of them. The chart below summarizes all five volunteer teachers' basic information.

Table 2. Introduction of Participants

Participant# and pseudonym	Country	Type of school	Gender	Education	Teaching time
1 Pino	The Philippines	A private school	Female	Current graduate student	About eight months[5]
2 Lily	Indonesia	A Private Chinese school	Female	Current graduate student	Less than eight months
3 Talley	Thailand	A Public school	Female	Current graduate student	More than eight months
4 Tiling	Thailand	A Public school	Female	Current graduate student	More than eight months
5 Ivey	Indonesia	A Public school	Male	Holds undergraduate degree	More than eight months

My interview is a semi-structured interview. I decided the order of interview questions in advance, because I wanted to know each of my interviewees' perspectives towards certain issues, such as their teaching environment and teaching pedagogy. Also, my questions are open-ended

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[5] I use eight months as the measurement for the purpose of protecting my respondents' identity. It is easy for readers to know who I am talking about if I directly wrote their teaching time. Because each term lasts ten months, using eight months as the standard is proper to show volunteer teachers' working time and protect their privacy.

and I added supplementary questions according to participants' responses. In this way, I gathered essential information from every participant and gained everyone's different views at the same time.

The interviews were conducted via videoconference technology through the Internet because all the participants are outside of the United States. I conducted the interviews in Chinese and then transcribed the recorded interview content, also in Chinese. Merriam (1998) and Feldman (1995) have guided me in data analysis. Phenomenological analysis and semiotic analysis have been used in analyzing data. First, I listed each unit of data by elements (Merriam, 1998). Elements include the academic base, teacher training, books, school timetables, teaching materials, pedagogy, and teachers' perception on attitudes of students, parents, school administrators, local government officials, and local media towards Chinese language teaching. A unit of data is all the meaningful information about every element from each teacher's responses. For instance, I collected all Tiling's answers related to teacher training and put these answers into the group of teacher training. The group is a unit of data.

Next, the units of data were categorized. Data was divided into two categories: structure and culture. Factors like the academic base, teacher training, books, school timetables, and teaching materials were detectors of structural inequality, while issues related to pedagogy, and teachers' interactions with students, parents, school administrators, local government officials, and local media belong to cultural factors. Because every unit of data is the information assembly of each element, I just put these units of data under the category of structure and culture.

Thirdly, the technique of semiotic chains was used to interpret data. Denotation represents the description of the phenomena while connotation represents my interpretation of

the phenomena (Feldman, 1995). The above mentioned detectors were expression of denotations and teachers' answers were content of denotations. I compared their answers with standards I concluded from the literature review. According to participants' responses and literature review, I interpreted whether each detector in volunteer Chinese teaching is a way of exercising structural or cultural inequality. For example, teachers' answers about pedagogy are content of denotation. I analyzed teachers' responses and interpreted them according to the literature review. My interpretation on whether teachers' pedagogy may lead to inequality is connotation. Because inequality leads to imperialism, I can find out features of linguistic imperialism in volunteer Chinese teaching through tracing inequality in teachers' teaching practices. I repeated this process in analyzing the second interview after the first one was done. Results of the first two interviews were compared and integrated to one, which was used to compare and integrate with the result of the third interview. This process was repeated until a final result came out, which provided an answer to the research question.

I conducted my data analysis by analyzing whether volunteer teachers' teaching practices have led to structural or cultural inequality. Specifically, the following situations can lead to structural inequality. In terms of the academic base, if China treats itself as the only professional academic center, where expertise and theories are developing, and it takes charge of other countries' needs and how to satisfy those needs, China's Chinese Language Teaching base and its ability to conduct research and training will be consolidated by spreading China's standards of Chinese language as norms, which are Sino-centered, causing Chinese learning countries' dependence on China (Phillipson, 1992). For instance, if China controls Chinese learning countries' pedagogy development and requires those countries to use certain pedagogy, gradually, those countries will depend on China in research of pedagogy. Meanwhile, China's capability of

pedagogy development would be strengthened. Also, it is not equal if more training is given to Chinese teachers than teachers of other languages. Other languages' training resources will decline due to the growth of Chinese language's training resources. Receiving training from Chinese experts continually would lead to Chinese learning countries' dependence on China, because recipient countries could lose the ability or expertise to train teachers. In addition, textbooks supplied by China are compiled from the perspectives of Chinese researchers on what local students should learn and how they should learn, which might not be suitable for local students' learning styles and needs. Similarly, the content of Chinese books, containing Chinese values and ideas, would be culturally improper for local students due to the culture differences. For instance, it is not appropriate to talk about pork in books for Indonesian students. Subsidized or gift Chinese books could enable indigenous people to have easy access to Chinese language, and recipient countries would gradually be devoid of the ability of book developing if they just rely on books from China. Another consequence of using those books is that they will jeopardize the development of local publishers, or even edge out of them from the market, which could ensure Chinese learning countries' dependence on China. Furthermore, it is believed that more class time assigned to Chinese language classes means better results, which neglects the importance of qualified teachers, suitable books and enhanced pedagogy. This maximum exposure fallacy reduces attention on improvement in teachers, teaching materials and pedagogy, causing decline of teaching quality. Moreover, subsidized teaching materials enable students to access to Chinese language and culture more easily than other languages, through which Chinese language's advantaged status in resources allocation could be consolidated. Also, relying on the supply of teaching materials from China in the long run would cause recipient countries' dependence on teaching materials made in China (Phillipson, 1992).

Also, I analyzed data from the perspective of cultural inequality. Pedagogy and teachers' perception of people's attitudes towards Chinese learning are two main causes of cultural inequality (Phillipson, 1992). For the former, if Chinese teaching methods and procedures are confined to the technical level, Chinese teaching will be isolated from culture, language, politics and the economy. Taking teaching methods as an example, if a teacher only utilizes a fixed method without regard to the students' cognitive characteristics and influence from mother tongues, the teacher cuts off language learning's relationship with the whole context, which is harmful for the language education. The improper pedagogy would help the consolidation of China's authority in Chinese language teaching. Specifically, monolingual fallacy, which is viewed as impractical and misleading, would only allow Chinese language to be spoken in classes. Native speaker fallacy means that native speakers are ideal language teachers, which ignores the truth that the real good teachers are highly proficient in the learned language and share the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds with learners. Based on this fallacy, people regard native speakers as born language teachers regardless of their professional skills. Early start fallacy emphasizes that the result is better if a second language is learned earlier. Furthermore, the subtractive fallacy is that using other languages more will decrease the quality of Chinese. These four fallacies could lead to Chinese learning countries' dependence on China from both ideology and structure. In terms of ideology, the fallacies may fortify other countries' dependence on China's expertise, standards, and criterions of what is important. What's more, if all the stakeholders have positive impressions on Chinese, which related it to success and benefits, their preference to Chinese language will lead to Chinese language's privilege in ideology. Also, if teachers, books and language policies from China are favored, China may gain

economic benefits through teacher and book supply (Phillipson, 1992). I summarize the above

mentioned analysis methods into the following table.

Table 3. Standards of structural and cultural inequality

Structure		
Denotation:	detectors: 1. the Academic base 2. teacher training 3. books(textbooks; extracurricular books) 4. school timetables 5. teaching materials	Response 1. China decides other countries' needs and how the needs would be met; theories and pedagogy built in China 2. priority in teaching training 3. books with content improper to local situations; low-priced/ free books 4. the more Chinese is taught, the better the results 5. subsidized teaching materials
Connotation:	If all participants' answers are the same as the above responses, it will be structural inequality.	
Culture		
Denotation:	detectors: 1. pedagogy 2. teachers' perception on students' attitudes towards Chinese teaching 3. teachers' perception on parents' attitudes 4. teachers' perception on school administrators' attitudes 5. teachers' perception on local government's attitudes 6. teachers' perception on local media's attitudes	Response 1. only focuses on classroom techniques and material products rather than social and cognitive factors; professionalism: methods, techniques, procedures; monolingual fallacy; native speaker fallacy; early start fallacy; subtractive fallacy 2.3.4.5.6. Chinese is strongly favored, Chinese language is related to success and benefit.
Connotation:	If all participants' answers are the same as the above responses, it will be cultural inequality.	

3.3   CONTENT ANALYSIS

In terms of the content analysis, it is a way to derive meaning from interview transcripts, postings, speeches and other written data (Julien, 2012). I mainly reviewed the Hanban's website, accompanied by on-line articles related to its policies and regulations and an interview of the Hanban's director by Gunagming.net (2010), in order to find out meanings behind the texts. Data is always interpreted based on "themes" in content analysis (Julien, 2012). My theme is structural and cultural inequality, which lead to linguistic imperialism. I searched for evidence of inequality in volunteer Chinese teaching through reviewing on-line textual materials. Also, the content to be analyzed is always related to certain subjects (Julien, 2012). My data is officially or publicly published announcements or articles, from which I wanted to discover the Hanban's operation mechanism and initiative reasons. In addition, qualitative content analysis interprets implications and the relationship between text and its context, so that both explicit and implicit information can be analyzed (Julien, 2012). Through reading online materials, I tried to explore obscure content behind the words. For instance, I studied the announced rules about book donation first and analyzed its influence to students and local book market. In this way, I could have a better idea of why the Hanban donates books. It is necessary to study what is said and not said by the Hanban for the purpose of understanding the real motivations of launching the Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program. The official announcements on the Hanban website tell people what the program initiators want the public to know, but the unsaid content is the key to understanding real purposes of the Hanban. In sum, the content analysis is a necessary complement for making up drawbacks of the five volunteer teachers' interviews in sampling, and it helps the emergence of a more integrated picture on facts of volunteer teaching.

3.4   CONCLUSION

I used a case study and a content analysis to explore answers to my research question. Specifically, I conducted the case study through interviewing five volunteer teachers working in three Southeast Asian countries. In terms of the content analysis, it was employed to complement results of the case study. In the next chapter, I analyze data collected from interviews through methods mentioned above. Also, the analysis of online materials intermingled with the analysis of interviews.

4.0   ANALYSIS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

I have studied whether Chinese teaching has features of linguistic imperialism from aspects of structure and culture. I have examined the nature of volunteer Chinese teaching from the structural perspective through studying the academic base, teacher training, books, school timetables and teaching materials. The category of culture is constituted by two parts: pedagogy and volunteer teachers' views on the attitudes of Chinese learning students, their parents, school administrators, local government officials and the media towards Chinese teaching. I found that some of the teaching practices by volunteer teachers have the characteristics of linguistic imperialism but others do not.

4.2   STRUCTURE

4.2.1   The Academic Base

According to the Hanban (n.d.d), if foreign organizations, communities or foreign Education Departments need volunteer Chinese language teachers, they should contact the Hanban or Chinese Embassies in their countries first and submit an application form on their requirements

with regard to volunteer teachers. This shows that the Hanban is satisfying schools' needs of Chinese teaching, rather than deciding their needs. In addition, in the interview conducted by Guangming.net (2010), the director of the Hanban emphasized that the primary reason of dispatching volunteer teachers is to meet and adjust to requesting organizations' needs. Also, the director stressed the process of meeting foreign needs and satisfying those needs (Guangming.net, 2010), indicating that the Hanban does not impose or control the demand for volunteer teachers. Similarly, interviewees reflected that the Hanban dispatches volunteer teachers based on schools' necessity. Pino, Talley, Tiling, and Ivey mentioned that their schools applied for volunteer teachers from the Hanban. Talley also said that the Hanban dispatches volunteer teachers according to foreign schools' specific needs on Chinese teachers, such as gender.

In terms of volunteer selection process, the five participants have similar experiences, which accord with the selection process announced on the Hanban website. In the main, the selection is a multistage process and the five volunteer teachers went through four stages in the volunteer selection: personal basic information submission, the first round of interview, the training, and a final test, which includes a written examination and an interview. Although the general selection procedure is alike, there are still minor differences due to different regional organizers. For instance, Lily had a written examination and an interview in the first round, and Ivey did not take the written examination in the final round. Also, some recipient countries may participate in the process of volunteer teacher selection. Lily and Ivey, who teach in Indonesia, were interviewed by teachers from the Chinese Education Coordination Institute of Jakarta and officials from the Indonesian Ministry of Education. Tiling mentioned that her recipient school checked her information and decided whether it wanted her to work in the school during the selection process. The Hanban announcement on its website does not indicate foreign

participation in volunteers' selection directly, but the director of the Hanban mentioned that the Germans and the British get involved in the volunteer selection through interviewing candidates (Guangming.net, 2010). In addition, according to the Hanban website, American experts interview candidates of American volunteer Chinese teachers after the first round of interview (Hanban, n.d.e). It is unknown the reasons why some countries get involved more in volunteer selection while some do not. However, it is clear that the Hanban is in charge of volunteer selection generally, with some foreign participation in the initial period and the decisive stage of the selection. In the selection process, Chinese learning countries' choice on volunteer teachers is deprived by the Hanban to some extent, because they cannot decide what should be tested and how candidates would be tested. In this way, China decides those countries' needs of teachers through formulating the qualification of qualified teachers.

Although the Hanban sets the standards for teacher selection, my respondents indicated that the Hanban does not take charge of what should be taught. Three volunteer teachers decided the teaching content with their schools upon arrival at the school, while Talley and Tiling made decisions on their own. Among the three teachers, Ivey said that the class content was designed particularly for students:

> I design the class content specially for my students. I almost go to local shopping
>
> malls every week, because there are libraries in large shopping malls. I read some
>
> local published Chinese language materials about simple oral Chinese. I combine
>
> what I have learnt from those materials with textbooks, and I teach the
>
> combination of them to my students. I create the class content for students
>
> working in the hotel by myself.

Lily mentioned: "I teach oral Chinese. But the HSK (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi) is around the

corner, so we [volunteer teachers] teach the content related to HSK." Talley, who makes decisions by herself, said: "My students and I use the textbook called Experience Chinese, so generally, I teach content on the textbooks. At the same time, I teach some extra knowledge on Chinese culture." On this point, the choices on class content are made by schools and teachers rather than the Hanban, which implies that the Hanban does not decide what local Chinese learners should learn.

Furthermore, local research centers on Chinese language education are developing in the three countries. The Philippine Chinese Education Research Center is a research and administrative organization, which serves Philippine Chinese language education (The Philippine Chinese Education Research Center, n.d.). Its business includes publication of academic journals, textbooks compiling, teacher training and foreign communication (The Philippine Chinese Education Research Center, n.d.). According to Pino, students in the Philippines use textbooks developed by the center, which are appropriate for local students' learning styles. The Chinese Education Coordination Institute of Jakarta is also a local organization working on development of Chinese language education. It seems that there is no such organization in Thailand, but many Chinese schools have their own programs and research groups, according to Talley and Tiling. For example, Talley indicated: "I know some volunteers, who work in schools which put emphasis on Chinese language. Those schools have their own research departments and directors. So everything follows regulations and teaching guidelines, and all things are decided through meetings." As local research centers are growing, it is less possible for China to develop professionalism and expertise alone. Through their teaching practices, local research centers can gradually improve their abilities of research and training; they would develop their own standards for Chinese language teaching, and create a method suitable for indigenous language

context and the local language environment. At that time, Chinese standards are only references not the models.

In sum, the Hanban does not overwhelmingly control Chinese learning countries' needs for teachers and class content, but it has more say in how to select teachers and what kind of teachers are qualified. In this way, China may put influence on Chinese language education through volunteer teachers to some extent. Also, because of the development of local academic power, China is not the only place that produces professionalism. However, it is for sure that China is still essential and influential in academic study and research of Chinese language education.

4.2.2   Teacher training

According to Lin Xu (Gunagming.net, 2010), and confirmed by my respondents, the Hanban provides candidates with about two months of training after their first round of interviews. Different teachers were trained in different places, but the content of training was similar. Generally, the training included knowledge on Chinese language, Chinese culture, teaching techniques, cross-cultural communication, the language and culture of the country they go to, traditional Chinese art, and teaching practices. All five participants affirmed the value of this training from different aspects. Particularly, they thought highly of the training on the language, culture and basic information of the target country. For example, Talley said:

> Classes on target countries' culture are necessary, and help me to get along well
> with my colleagues. Thai language is the most essential, which is used not only in
> classroom teaching, but also in communication with my students. My students can
> understand China directly.

Tiling expressed the similar view: "I think that I learnt a lot from knowledge on Thailand's basic conditions in the training." Lily further explained:

> Study of local life and work situations gives us psychological preparation. … Although every school's condition is different, and they [the training and the Hanban] cannot provide a complete and real picture of local situations to us, we could anticipate what we may face through the training. So it is very helpful.

Also, two of the teachers referred to teaching techniques and traditional Chinese art, which they thought were important. Because the training included sessions on local languages, culture and basic situations of the target countries, the training has connected volunteer teachers to local social contexts. It contradicts the possibility of ignoring learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds in the training. Also, this training was held before the final round of testing, so it was mainly for preparing candidate teachers for the final test. In this way, it does not mean that more training is allocated to Chinese teachers.

Besides the training before the final test, some teachers received teacher training after they arrived in the countries they work. For instance, Lily received training from the Indonesian Ministry of Education before she started to teach, and aims of the training were introducing local teaching experience and how to make teaching planning before teachers started to teach. In Thailand, volunteer teachers receive teacher training more frequently. Talley said that she participated in training twice and both the training sessions were held when she was new in Thailand. An interesting point is that teachers who trained the volunteer teachers were local Thailand teachers. Tiling explained that there would be teacher training every three to six months, and the content ranges from training on textbooks to pedagogy. Although teachers evaluated the training sessions positively, the training only for Chinese teachers leads to inequality in resources

allocation. That is to say, training for Chinese teachers rather than other teachers enables Chinese teachers to enjoy privilege in teaching improvement and teachers' communication, which would benefit Chinese teaching's quality. If Chinese teachers receive training continually while teachers of other languages have little or no training, other language classes would suffer from scarcity of resources and students in the future. Also, training continually provided by the Hanban to volunteer teachers when they are abroad would cause the countries' dependence on China in teacher training and create jobs for the Chinese teachers. However, Talley mentioned that they learned from local teachers, which could abate the possibility of dependence.

Furthermore, Starr (2009) said that the ultimate goal of the Hanban is to provide teacher training for local teachers from basic education. If this is true, it will definitely form a dependence relationship between China and Chinese learning countries. According to Phillipson (1992), teachers from the Center become teachers of local teachers and take charge of influential positions in language teaching and policy making. In this way, the Center's ideas and values on language teaching could be transmitted in multiples. Although this is not the current case, it is a potential direction of developing, which is unfavorable.

Based on the analysis above, it is difficult to give a conclusive judgment on teacher training, because volunteer teachers received more training when they are teaching abroad on one hand while linguistic and cultural context was taken into consideration in the training on the other hand. The fact that local teachers act as trainers of volunteer Chinese language teachers make it even more difficult to make a judgment.

Based on the analysis above, it is difficult to draw a conclusion on teacher training. On one hand, volunteer teachers received more training; on the other hand, linguistic and culture

context have been taken into consideration in the training. Also, the fact that local teachers act as trainers of volunteer Chinese teachers makes it even more difficult to make a judgment.

4.2.3   Books

The Hanban sponsors books in two ways: to volunteer teachers directly and to schools with volunteer teachers (Hanban, n.d.f). Volunteer teachers apply for gift books through sending application forms to the Hanban. They can choose from 15 sets of books with 11 languages versions. In each set of books, there are more than 20 books, priced ¥2600 (about $400) in total, which include textbooks, culture books and reference books. Teachers can apply for books once each year and only one set of books each time. Also, these books should be left to other teachers or following volunteer teachers in this school when teachers who applied for the books leave for China (Hanban, n.d.f).

The process of applying for sponsored books for schools is similar to that for individual teachers, but more complicated. First, if the school wants to receive book donation from the Hanban, the principal or program leaders should write an application letter to the Hanban, which includes the number of Chinese learning students, the function of books and how to maintain them (Hanban, n.d.g). After discussion with program leaders in the school, volunteer teachers select books available in the Hanban online book warehouse (Hanban, n.d.g). Books, containing versions in 45 languages, are categorized into textbooks, readings, audio-visual products, and reference books and teaching materials (Hanban, n.d.h). In the group of readings, there are books on politics, the economy, culture, literature, geography, arts, healthcare, and other subjects. Audio-visual products include DVDs or CDs on texts, culture, travel, arts, Chinese medicine, and dramas (Hanban, n.d.h). Next, the finished application forms and booklist are sent to the Hanban.

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Usually, there is a certain time for book application every year, and a school cannot apply for books repeatedly within three years. The total price of books applied by each school should not go beyond about ¥18,000 (about $2770). Schools are responsible for managing those books and storing them in the Chinese Book Corner, as required by the Hanban (Hanban, n.d.g).

Certainly, gift books provided by the Hanban endow Chinese language teachers and students with more learning resources on Chinese language. Even if the number of books is limited, students are able to have extensive contact with Chinese culture and Chinese language through those books and DVDs, compared with other languages. More accessible Chinese books, surely, make it possible for Chinese language to enjoy an advantaged status, which supports the local development of Chinese language education. A dependence on Chinese book supply will be nurtured if the Hanban provides books in the long run, which might hamper the indigenous development of Chinese books.

Interestingly, none of the participants applied for gift books. Two of them indicated that they missed the application time, but they expressed the will to apply for books. Another two teachers planned to apply, but they did not. Talley explained that she did not request gift books because her colleagues who applied for books failed to get the permission due to a budget shortage of the Hanban: "My classmates who applied for gift books did not get books, because they were told that the Hanban had no budget for book donation. No one received books this year." Lily said that she did not receive the application notice from the Hanban, so she could apply for books. Probably, this is also caused by the Hanban's lack of funds. Only Pino mentioned that she did not need those books as her textbooks and the resources bag (explained later) were enough for her daily teaching. Clearly, gift books' supply closely ties to the financial condition of the Hanban. If the Hanban stops supplying free books in the future, the situation of

book development will be changed. In other words, indigenous developed Chinese books could be widely used by local schools in order to make up the lack caused by the halt of book supply from the Hanban. Furthermore, the budget problems of the Hanban weaken the possibility of exercising inequality through book donation, because it is unlikely to be imperialistic with fund shortage.

These two ways are the main sources of sponsored books accessible to local schools and students. In terms of textbooks, the Hanban does not provide low-priced books or free books to students of my respondents. Students from two of the five schools use "real" textbooks. Other students either photocopy their teachers' textbooks or copy the textbook compiled by their own teacher, which are caused by lack of textbooks, fund scarcity of local schools or special needs of students. Tiling described:

> Our textbooks are books recommended by the Hanban. But our students do not have textbooks. Recommended textbooks should be ordered online; although we ordered the textbooks, it is difficult to guarantee being shipped on time. So I usually photocopy two weeks' content once. Because we have a test every two weeks and it is three weeks in total, I photocopy two weeks' content every three weeks, and do it again when we finish.

Ivey introduced his situation:

> There are no Chinese textbooks in the school. I discussed with the school administrators, and they said they cannot photocopy books due to the budget shortage. I have to borrow textbooks by myself, and compile my own teaching plan based on the content of textbooks.

Furthermore, schools could not get enough textbooks just by applying for free books from the

Hanban, because as mentioned above, the number of books is limited and all the books need to be stored in the Chinese Book Corner. Also, Lily said: "It is impossible for the Hanban to provide textbooks, because the number of students is large." Under this circumstance, it is unfeasible for the Hanban to attract students to learn Chinese through providing subsidized or free textbooks. Although local publishers have not been affected by an influx of Chinese textbooks, the demand of textbooks published by local publishers is limited by teachers' preference to certain textbooks. In other words, volunteer teachers' selection of non-local textbooks deprives of local publishers' market competitiveness. However, the prerequisite of using local developed textbooks is that local publishers have high quality textbooks which are appropriate for students. For instance, Pino uses local developed textbooks, which are viewed as suitable to students' learning styles. Because this series of textbooks fits local context very well, most schools in the Philippines are using this set of textbooks. So, it is necessary to evaluate this issue from two sides. If locally published textbooks are worse, it is natural for teachers to choose China-published textbooks. However, local textbooks will decrease greatly and even be driven from the market, if volunteer teachers insist on choosing Chinese textbooks rather than better compiled local textbooks. In this way, book development may depend entirely on China owing to the disappearance of locally published textbooks from the market. In sum, the quality of local books and teachers' selection on textbooks are important for judging whether there is structural inequality.

Also, three teachers reflected that their current textbooks were not ideal for local students. All three are using textbooks compiled by Chinese and recommended by the Hanban. Talley and Tiling chose the textbooks by themselves, and Lily uses her current textbook because the school has been using this series of textbooks for a long time. Although the specific textbooks used by

them are different, they all complained about the unsuitable content of their textbooks. A noteworthy point is that Lily stressed that the situation was caused by the complexity and specialty of Chinese language education in the school. To be specific, the school, which is a Chinese school, opens Chinese language to students from elementary school to high school, but there is not a series of textbooks available on the market, which aims at Chinese descendants who have learned Chinese consecutively from elementary school to high school. Middle school students' textbooks are written by Chinese while high school students use textbooks developed by Singaporeans. Although the textbooks used in the middle school are specifically created for Indonesian students (Chinaxwcb.com, 2009), the disconnection of text content between middle and high school leads to the school's dilemma in textbook selection. In other words, the main problem about textbooks lies in the lack of appropriate textbooks for the local context. The other two teachers indicated that their textbooks were usable in general, but the content was too simple. Tiling explained:

> I think it is OK. If I were teaching in China, I would not use this kind of textbook, because the content is not enough.… But it is suitable for students in our school, who make a feature of interest learning. … The characteristic of the textbook is interestingness.

Tiling also suggested that grammar should be added to the book, which is helpful for students' Chinese learning. Actually, Tiling mentioned that the school used Singaporean textbooks before. Compared with the current textbook, the Singaporean textbook was even unsuitable for local students, because Chinese language education in Singapore is close to mother-tongue teaching, while Chinese language education is foreign language education in Southeast Asian countries. Also, because the current textbook is appropriate for the students'

Chinese level in general, Tiling keeps using this textbook. In terms of Talley, she said that she did not change textbooks because students have been learning this series of textbooks before she started to teach.

Although three teachers expressed dissatisfaction with the textbooks being used, they still provided positive evaluation. It is unwise to utterly negate the content of textbooks. However, there are still traces of problems: researchers in China compile books without careful consideration of local education reality, which causes some mismatch in textbook content, such as lack of grammar and lack of consistency. I do not think the three teachers will change textbooks easily unless really appropriate textbooks are obtainable on the market, because their current textbooks' advantages outweigh their disadvantages. If no more qualified books are developed and available to local students, efficiency of students' learning will decrease and quality of Chinese language education could not be guaranteed.

All respondents claimed no extracurricular books in their schools, implying the impossibility of transmitting China's values and ideas via subsidized books in schools. Also, most of the teachers disagreed that Chinese books were cheaper in the local market. Two of them said that the price of Chinese books was more expensive than in China. That is to say, local publishers do not need to face price advantages of Chinese publishers in competition, and it is less possible that local Chinese language education's book supply will depend on China due to local publishers' dying out.

Although the Hanban's budget problems make it less likely to be unequal, gift books from the Hanban cause inequality in book resources allocation. Also, there is no obvious imbalance exercised through extracurricular books. In terms of textbooks, even though the Hanban does not directly sponsor books, volunteer teachers' choices of textbooks recommended

by the Hanban influence the development of local textbooks and publishers. It is uncertain whether low-priced Chinese books with culturally inappropriate content will enter local schools and the market later. The Hanban official mentioned that only about 10% of Chinese language learners have access to the exported Chinese textbooks, and they hoped that at least 80% of Chinese language learners could use Chinese textbooks from China in the future (Guangming.net, 2010). Also, a main function of the Hanban is to develop and promote Chinese textbooks (Hanban, n.d.a). Probably, the Hanban will strengthen its effort on textbook development and promotion. If so, it will be evidence of China exercising structural inequality. Generally, the pendulum slightly swings to the side of inequality.

4.2.4　School Timetables

Compared with professional subjects or required courses, class time for Chinese is limited. Normally, there are one to four Chinese classes weekly in the four mainstream schools, which is not too many. However, students in the Chinese school usually have seven Chinese classes each week, accounting for about one seventh of the total amount of classes. Also, Chinese classes outnumber English classes. It is clear that Chinese courses enjoy priority in quantity in the Chinese school, but Chinese language education's nature as heritage education in the Chinese school makes it difficult to describe this priority as a sign of teaching Chinese at the expense of other languages.

4.2.5   Teaching Materials

Most of the teaching materials are made or prepared by volunteer teachers themselves, including pictures, word cards, and handouts. Also, several teachers mentioned a pack provided by the Hanban, called the Resources Bag, as a part of their teaching materials. According to volunteer teachers, there are a set of textbooks, word cards, maps, writing brushes, paper-cuttings, Jianzi,[6] and DVDs in the bag. The DVDs contain introductions on China, Chinese culture and teaching videos. Although most students could not view those DVDs owing to the restriction of school facilities, every teacher utilizes materials in this bag to a different extent. Talley said:

> Teaching materials provided by the Hanban are fine.… The DVDs are handy. My students like Jianzi very much.… I think map of China is very useful. Students might have little ideas about China in the past, but they could get a direct impression on China now.

Pino also expressed:

> There are more than ten DVDs, which are about pictures and instructions of various festivals, in the resources bag. I can use them sometimes, because they have English subtitles. I play the videos to students. Things in the resources bag are very useful. For example, there are several writing brushes and paper, so I could teach Chinese calligraphy to students.

> Clearly, the resources bag facilitates volunteer Chinese teachers to possess more teaching resources. Compared with other language courses, although Chinese language teachers do not obtain extra benefits on teaching materials from their schools, the resources bags provide

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[6] Jianzi: It is a traditional Chinese game. A person tries to keep it in the air by continuously kicking.

students with additional access to information about China and Chinese culture. In other words, the resources bag entitles Chinese language privileges in allocation of teaching materials. Also, most of the teaching materials are about Chinese culture, like paper-cuttings, writing brushes and DVDs on Chinese culture, which are special Chinese products. It is less possible for local factories to produce those special Chinese products due to their technical specializations or the costs. So using the resources bag for a long time may lead to Chinese learning countries' dependence on China in the production of teaching materials. However, the Hanban director asserts that the resources bag is necessary for volunteer teachers who work in rural areas of less-developed countries (Guangming.net, 2010). Even though teachers working in less developed regions may need resources bags, in general, the resources bag provided by the Hanban constitutes a part of the structural inequality.

4.3   CULTURE

4.3.1 Pedagogy

The main reason that volunteer teachers choose their teaching methods depends on whether it is effective in teaching. Three volunteer teachers choose the grammar-translation method, while another two respectively prefer the communicative approach and task-based language teaching. Among the five volunteer teachers, Pino and Lily indicated that local teachers or graduate professors influenced them in pedagogy selection, as Pino said:

> When I came here, most of local teachers use grammar-translation method.…
>
> Influence from local teachers is the main reason, because students, who were

taught by local teachers before, have got used to this pedagogy…. I think that

translating words directly, in most cases, works very well for entry-level students.

Tiling, who uses communicative approach explained:

I had language classes before, and I could learn from pedagogy used by my

teachers. I would try several teaching methods in order to find out the most

effective one for teaching. Also, I watch teaching videos, conduct class surveys,

and refer to other teachers' pedagogy…. It is very efficacious. Because I am in

teaching practice now, I can know which method is effective. If something is

wrong, I could make changes immediately and get instant feedback.

Talley also indicated further:

The local condition requires [me to use this method]. If I do not use translation,

they cannot understand. For some words and sentences, it is a necessary

method…. But I think it is effective for the second language learning, because it is

direct.

Volunteer teachers choose either the teaching method that students have gotten used to or

the most efficient method. It is clear that teachers have taken the local teaching context and

students' cognitive characteristics into consideration. In this way, theories and teaching practices

are well integrated.

With regard to teaching procedure, almost all the teachers follow the same one, which

they learned from past studying: review, new lesson, exercises, homework or tests. Volunteer

teachers adjust their class forms, content, and tempo based on students' feedback from class

performance and homework. Pino illuminated: "For instance, students may perform less actively

or show less interest during class time. I need to use methods that intrigue students so that

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students could have interest in getting involved in the class." Similarly, Lily always starts from a topic which students are interested in. Lily said:

> In terms of students' interest, I adjust class content and teaching form. That is to say, I choose the content that most students are interested in as an extendable topic. I also adjust teaching form. For example, for the same topic, I can lecture, or have group activities, either in the form of group cooperation or group competition; or all the students, everyone answers and practices in turn. I arrange [the form] based on students' interest.

Talley indicated: "I adjust my class time, content, tempo, and homework based on students' performance." Also, teachers may review class content through exercises, if students have problems in mastering what they teach. Talley expressed: "They [students] probably perform badly for some parts, like sentences.… I spend more time and pay more attention to practices on sentences. I ask them to do exercises in class and after class."

In Chinese class, Chinese language is not the only teaching language used. Usually, teachers teach in local languages and Chinese. In other words, the teacher working in Thailand teaches in Thai and Chinese. There is one volunteer teacher, Pino, teaching in English, since English is the language required in her school. It is clear that there is no monolingual fallacy existing in those teachers' classrooms. Also, most teachers do not think that students' mother tongues will impede students' Chinese learning. Instead, four out of five teachers confirmed the importance of learning local languages, and two hoped that the Hanban could provide more training on local languages for teachers, which shows that teachers do not hold a Chinese-centered idea and look down upon local languages. Pino did not talk about the significance of Pilipino, because her school forbids students to speak the native language. Teachers' using of

local languages also indicates that they disagree with the subtractive fallacy. Volunteers do not think speaking more native languages will lead to the decline of Chinese language's standards. In terms of the native speaker fallacy, it is not evident from my interviews. In native speaker fallacy, native speakers are considered as ideal language teachers (Phillipson, 1992). In the two schools with local Chinese teachers, volunteer teachers are supervised by the program leaders, who are local Chinese teachers. For instance, according to Pino, the leader of the Chinese program in her school usually listens to her classes and gives her advice, which implies that although volunteer teachers are native speakers, they are not treated as authorities and they follow local teachers' instructions. Other Chinese teachers said that not many or no Chinese speakers lived in the regions they taught, so they are the only or among the few Chinese teachers there. Hence, it is not easy to recognize whether volunteer teachers are preferred by local people purposefully. In addition, except students in Pino and Lily's school, who start to learn Chinese from kindergartens, all the other students in the schools where my respondents teach are at high school level. Not many students start to learn Chinese from early age, according to the interviews.

In general, we can see that teachers take account of local students' characteristics through using suitable pedagogy, speaking local languages, and adjusting their teaching according to students' responses. In this way, students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds are taken into consideration in teaching practices, and pedagogy is attached to broader social context.

4.3.2 Teachers' Perception of Attitudes

All teachers indicated that most of their students are not self-motivated Chinese learners and do not pay much attention to Chinese classes. Mainly, volunteer teachers perceive that students choose to learn Chinese because of schools' or parents' requirements. Also, teachers believe that

some students think that Chinese is novel and they are interested in Chinese. According to the interviewees, although students show interest in Chinese language and some of them like it, most of them just hold a casual attitude towards Chinese. Lily described her students' indifferent views to Chinese:

> Actually, I believe, students think that Chinese is difficult. Chinese is not a subject in College Entrance Examination, and there is no such examination to push them. When they have Chinese classes, they feel that it does not matter whether they learn well or not.

Talley explained students' attitude further:

> Students learn Chinese because it is a subject arranged by the school, but some of them are really interested in Chinese. I feel that the majority of students are cooperative, since they do not want to fail.… Students learn what I teach in the class, but they do not review or study after class. They just do not want to fail. Except a few students who are very interested in Chinese, most students are forgetting the class content while learning.

In addition, Lily mentioned that some senior students consider that Chinese is important. This is the only direct positive assessment made by students.

Volunteer teachers believe that parents' attitudes vary based on their different backgrounds. Generally, according to teachers, parents of Chinese origin support Chinese learning and have expectations of good performance on Chinese from their children. Volunteer teachers reflected that most native parents think Chinese is an ordinary subject and treat it the same as other subjects.

Lily thinks that her school, which is a Chinese school, places emphasis on Chinese

classes. Other teachers claimed that because Chinese is an elective course for some students, it is unimportant in their schools. Ivey, who started the Chinese teaching in the school, said:

> Our school does not pay much attention on Chinese class. My term will finish in this June. The Hanban asked whether the school needed volunteer teachers in the second half of this year, and the school refused. That is to say, there will be no Chinese teacher in this school after this semester.

Talley even said that Chinese language course was marginalized in her school. According to Talley, there is not any teaching or research group for Chinese language. Talley uses her class time to take exams, and exams are organized by her. Also, Talley said that the school does not review the test paper. It is not difficult to see that Chinese is not a main subject in local schools, and schools are unconcerned with Chinese teaching.

Although two teachers claimed that they had no idea of government's perspectives, three volunteer teachers expressed that local governments have positive attitudes towards Chinese teaching. Supportive regulations and policies could be found online. For example, as mentioned before, Chinese language has become a part of Special Language Program launched by the Philippine Department of Education (The Confucius Institute of Angeles University, 2011). Also, the associate minister of the Philippine Department of Education emphasized the importance of Chinese language education once in his speech (Scio.gov.cn, 2011). The Thailand Higher Education Council worked out a strategic plan on Chinese language education in 2010, which required an annual growth of the number of Chinese learners in higher education and the number of professional Chinese teachers (Hanban, 2011b). Furthermore, the Indonesian Ministry of Education has allowed elementary schools and high schools to open Chinese classes since 2000 (Zhou & Chen, 2003). From that time on, the subject of Chinese language has been added into

the national education system and has enjoyed equal status as English and Japanese (Zhou & Chen, 2003). Also, the first national Chinese language education promotion seminar was held by the Ministry of Education of Indonesia in 2001 (Xiao, 2007). Although it seems that the Indonesian government strongly supports Chinese language education, Lily referred to the conflict within government. According to Lily, the Ministry of Education is in favor of Chinese language education, while the Ministry of Labor objects to the Volunteer Chinese Teacher Program and impedes the coming of volunteer teachers through restricting the number of volunteers working in Indonesia. To be specific, Lily said that about 60% of prospective teachers can actually teach in Indonesia due to constraints from the Ministry of Labor. Wen (2001) also mentions this contradictive attitude, attributing it to ideological differences. To be specific, some people in Indonesia are still watchful of China and the communalism of China. Generally, governments in the three countries, especially Thailand, support Chinese language education. Surely, seminars held by educational departments, regulations on increase in the number of Chinese teachers and students, and initiating Chinese courses in schools constitute structural preferences to the development of Chinese language education, which may impede the spread of other languages.

Most volunteer teachers have not found obvious support for Chinese language education from the media, except Ivey. He mentioned that local Chinese newspapers had some affirmative reports on Chinese language education: "Local newspapers like Chinese Today and Thousand Islands Daily report more and positively on Chinese language." According to literature, Chinese learning programs and newspapers have been created by local Chinese media (Chen, 2002; Li, 2005; Zhang, 2004), from which we can see advocacy for Chinese language education by local Chinese media. However, the primary influence of Chinese media is on the Chinese community,

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and Chinese descendants prefer Chinese language naturally, so the Chinese media's favor is not a forceful proof for supportive views on Chinese language education.

According to volunteer teachers, governments and parents of Chinese extraction are favorable to Chinese language education, which is an interpretation strongly evident in the data. Policies and regulations by governments entitle priority to Chinese language education, which is unequal to other languages to some extent. But it is necessary to compare Chinese language's current status with other foreign languages and local languages. In Thailand, Chinese language is the third largest language being used, following Thai and English (Wang, 2011). Indonesian students are required to learn English as a foreign language from basic education to higher education (Wen, 2001), while Chinese language is an elective subject. Similarly, English is a core course of school education in the Philippines while Chinese language is still in a secondary position (Lin, 2011). Although governmental support has enabled Chinese language to spread rapidly in the three countries, governments still put more emphasis on English. However, if governments keep supporting Chinese through various policies or activities like seminars, probably, the public will appreciate Chinese language more. Moreover, if some critical policies, such as adding Chinese as an optional or a required subject to national college entrance examination, are released, definitely, the whole society's view on Chinese language will change completely. However, whether those governments will go on strongly promoting Chinese language, to a great extent, depends on the development of the Chinese economy. In spite of the large population of Chinese descendants, rapid economic development is the most essential reason for Chinese learning (Wang, 2011; Yu, 2009; Zhang, 2004; Zhou & Chen, 2003). Lin Xu, the director of the Hanban, said that the economy is the most fundamental reason that attracts Chinese learners (Guangming.net, 2010). It is important to recognize that attitudes on Chinese

language education closely tie to the Chinese economy. In addition, Graddol (2000) predicts that Chinese language would become regionally more significant through more and more business cooperation with the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asian countries. But Graddol (2000) also gives two more possibilities: English remains the dominant status or many indigenous languages are favored. Because how Chinese language and the Chinese economy will develop in the future is uncertain, so it is difficult to predict whether the public will change their attitudes towards Chinese language.

Moreover, when respondents were asked to evaluate the Hanban's functions in their current teaching, all of them indicated that they do not receive help or commands from the Hanban. They mentioned that the main help from the Hanban is teaching materials, teacher training and gift books (although they did not apply), which they received before they left China.

4.4   CONCLUSION

I analyzed interviews of volunteer teachers and online materials in this chapter from aspects of structure and culture. In sum, I found traces of linguistic imperialism from the process of volunteer teacher selection, teacher training, book donation, sponsored teaching materials and teachers' views on attitudes of governments and parents of Chinese extraction. In addition, elements like school timetables and pedagogy diverged from Phillipson's idea of linguistic imperialism. On the whole, volunteer Chinese teaching has features of linguistic imperialism, but I could neither define Chinese teaching in the three countries as linguistic imperialism nor not.

5.0   CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1   CONCLUSION

In my thesis, I studied volunteer Chinese teaching launched by the Hanban in three Southeast Asian countries. Specifically, I examined whether volunteer Chinese teaching practices have features of linguistic imperialism from the perspective of structure and culture. Through interviewing volunteer teachers and reviewing online resources, I found that some of the teaching practices accord with characteristics of linguistic imperialism while some do not. For elements with features of linguistic imperialism like gift books and teaching materials, they cause or would cause inequalities, which may lead to Chinese learning countries' loss of research abilities and dependence on China in the long run. On the other hand, teachers try hard to accomplish their teaching through satisfying students' demands, considering students' learning styles and improving efficiency of their teaching. Also, the Chinese language education in the three countries is developing at different levels: Thailand puts the greatest emphasis on Chinese language education, whereas different departments in the Indonesian government have not reached an agreement. The inner differences make it difficult to draw a definitive conclusion. So even among the three countries, Chinese teaching has the characteristics of linguistic imperialism to a different extent.

5.2   IMPLICATIONS

Based on my research study, readers can have an understanding on how volunteer teachers conduct their teaching in the three Southeast Asian countries and what the volunteer Chinese teaching is like, from which readers can have a glimpse of the Hanban's intentions of launching this volunteer teaching program. Although I did not give a conclusive definition on the nature of volunteer Chinese teaching, my research might give people who are worried about the spread of Chinese language a basic idea of the nature of Chinese teaching. In this way, they will not treat the spread of Chinese language as a prelude of China spreading its power all around the world. In addition, I provide a possible research question for further studies. Researchers could study the nature of Chinese teaching in countries which are less influenced by China, such as the western countries, so that a complete picture of the nature of Chinese teaching would be demonstrated. Furthermore, the focus of research studies could go beyond linguistic imperialism, which means that researchers can examine the nature of Chinese teaching from the perspective of linguistic capital or lingua franca.

Also, ordinary readers may be aware of and be cautious of practices of linguistic imperialism hidden in daily teaching. For Chinese language teachers, they could improve or revise their teaching methods accordingly. Teachers should pay more attention on local teaching context and students' learning styles, cognitive characteristics, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. For example, teachers should select suitable Chinese textbooks according to students' learning styles and cognitive characteristics, instead of always using a certain series of textbooks. Similarly, local teaching context and students' characteristics should be taken into consideration in pedagogy selection and actual teaching process. In addition, teachers should utilize both students' mother tongues and Chinese in class, which is more helpful for students'

language learning than just speaking Chinese. Also, speaking more local languages does not mean the decline of Chinese class's quality. Teachers are expected to speak indigenous languages when it is necessary. In terms of schools hiring or wishing to hire volunteer teachers, they should equalize their attention to different foreign languages on assignment of teacher training, timetables and teaching materials, rather than only emphasizing one language. Native Chinese teachers may not be the most appropriate teachers. The best candidates are proficient in both Chinese and local languages, and share the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds with local students. Moreover, to start Chinese language education earlier does not equal to better learning results. Instead of stressing the importance of native teachers and early start, schools would better focus on improving teachers' qualification, developing well-written textbooks and studying better teaching methods.

Furthermore, volunteer teachers have latitude to choose materials and methods, and enjoy greater autonomy than what was believed. Teachers, at least my respondents, do not receive a concerted effort for control over the content or curriculum from the Hanban. In terms of the status of Chinese language, although Chinese language is spreading rapidly and supported by the governments, English still takes the dominant position. But it is for sure that Chinese language is more and more important in the three countries. Graddol's (2000) prediction that Chinese language may become as equal as English or surpass English in the future could be true. In this way, Chinese language is likely to be a significant subject or skill for citizens in the three countries. Obviously, there will be more jobs for Chinese teachers, researchers, and publishers. Also, with the increase of the number of Chinese learners, people in the three countries will have a better understanding of China, Chinese culture and Chinese people, which contributes to

regionally peaceful development. Probably, bilateral trade between China and the three countries will be more prosperous.

Due to the dominant role of English worldwide, I think that it is difficult for other languages to absolutely practice what is mentioned in Phillipson's (1992, 1997, 1998, 2009) theory as linguistic imperialism. In other words, since Phillipson's theory is based on English linguistic imperialism, other languages are less likely to exercise teaching practices with imperialism as exactly as what Phillipson found from English. It is understandable that Chinese language teaching is in between linguistic imperialism and non-linguistic imperialism. From my point of view, because most of the teaching practices, according to the data, disconnect from Phillipson's idea of linguistic imperialism, volunteer Chinese teaching launched by the Hanban is not linguistic imperialism. Although there are features of linguistic imperialism, I think it is unavoidable in promoting a language in foreign countries, especially in the initial stage. For instance, Indonesia, in which Chinese language education is still reviving from a 30-year interruption, lacks the essential abilities to develop Chinese language education by itself, so teachers and textbooks from China are necessary. Nevertheless, the Philippines and Thailand have already had relatively well-developed academic and research bases, so they can depend on themselves more in textbooks development and teacher training. Because those countries are learning Chinese language, it seems inevitable to communicate with China and refer to China's experience. Limited resources locally also account for their application of teachers and books.

Generally, my study answered people's doubt on the nature of Chinese teaching to some extent. It provided some ideas on teaching practices for teachers and school administrators. Because there are only a few features of linguistic imperialism in Chinese teaching practices, countries that want to learn Chinese may welcome their volunteer teachers with less worry.

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5.3   LIMITATIONS

Because I mainly focused on the Hanban's Chinese teaching in three Southeast Asia countries, it may not represent the general situation of Chinese teaching launched by the Hanban in other countries. More research studies on the nature of Chinese teaching in different countries should be done. This qualitative case study interviewed five volunteer teachers' personal experience and perspectives, so it cannot generalize the general situation of volunteer Chinese teaching. In addition, I only interviewed five Chinese teachers rather than having comprehensive interviews of all the stakeholders. Due to the restriction of conditions, I could not reach the Hanban officials, local students, parents, school administrators, local government officials and media directly. Although I make up for this by conducting a content analysis and getting to know their attitudes from volunteer teachers, it would be helpful if I were able to collect information from those people directly. Also, since I collected and analyzed data by myself, unavoidably, my subjectivity may influence my judgment on understanding data and interpreting data. In addition, my personal standpoint might influence me unconsciously. In other words, I am a Chinese woman so my background and culture may influence me.

APPENDIX A

[IRB APPROVAL LETTER]

<table>
<tr><td></td><td style="text-align:center">**University of Pittsburgh**
Institutional Review Board</td><td>3500 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
(412) 383-1480
(412) 383-1508 (fax)
http://www.irb.pitt.edu</td></tr>
</table>

<u>Memorandum</u>

To: Haowen Zhang

From: Sue Beers PhD, Vice Chair

Date: 2/1/2012

IRB#:   PRO12010280

Subject: The nature of Chinese teaching launched by the Hanban in Southeast Asia

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The above-referenced project has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board. Based on the information provided, this project meets all the necessary criteria for an exemption, and is hereby designated as "exempt" under section
45 CFR 46.101(b)(2)

Please note the following information:

- If any modifications are made to this project, use the "**Send Comments to IRB Staff**" process from the project workspace to request a review to ensure it continues to meet the exempt category.
- Upon completion of your project, be sure to finalize the project by submitting a "**Study Completed**" report from the project workspace.

Please be advised that your research study may be audited periodically by the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office..

APPENDIX B

[INFORMED CONSENT FORM]

The purpose of this study is to explore the nature of Chinese teaching launched by the Hanban in Southeast Asian countries. I will interview several Chinese teachers dispatched by the Hanban in Southeast Asian countries. The interview will last about one hour. The interviewees are supposed to answer questions about their education, teaching environment, teaching responsibility, and their opinion about the Hanban's function in Chinese teaching. There are no risks or benefits to the interviewees. The interview is anonymous, and all the answers will be confidential. This participation is voluntary and the interviewee can withdraw any time. This study is being conducted by Haowen ZHANG, and I can be reached at haowenzhangs@gmail.com.

[SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL]

1.   How did you become a Chinese teacher?

--What did you learn in graduate school?

--How does the knowledge you learned in graduate school help you in your teaching?

--How were you selected by the Hanban? How did they test whether you are qualified?

--What's the content of the Hanban's training? Specify the answer

--How does the training help you in your teaching?

2. Please introduce your working environment.

   --Where is your school?

   --What's the nature of your school? (Private/public school; elementary/junior/high school)

   --What's the constitution of teachers? What's the constitution of Chinese teachers? How many

Chinese teachers in total in your school? Does your school need more Chinese teachers? Why?

   --How did the other Chinese teachers become Chinese teachers? Did they receive similar

training in graduate schools and in the Hanban to yours?

   --How do you evaluate other Chinese teachers in your school?

--How old are Chinese learning students in your school? How old are your students? What's the general Chinese proficiency of your students?

--What's the motivation of your students to learn Chinese? (Voluntarily/forced) Are they cooperated to your teaching?

3. Please introduce your teaching responsibility.

--How many classes do you have per day? How long is each class? How many classes do you have per week? How much extra time do you devote to teaching? What do you do for the extra time?

--What classes and levels do you teach?

--Do you have any partner? How many partners do you have? How did your partner become a Chinese teacher? What's your partner's responsibility? How do you cooperate with each other? How do you evaluate your cooperation?

--What's the process of teaching a new class? Is there any standard or rules that you should follow? Did you change the process based on students' class performance and homework feedback?

--Where do you get the textbooks? Who compiles these textbooks? Who is the publisher? How do these textbooks fit in with local students' learning style? How do you think the textbooks can be modified and improved?

--Where and how do you get the teaching materials? How do you evaluate your teaching materials? Did you adjust your teaching materials to students' special needs?

--How do you design curriculum? Is there any standard or rules that you should follow? Did you adjust your curriculum to student's performance?

--What's your teaching pedagogy?

Where did you learn this pedagogy? How do you appreciate it?

--How do you evaluate students? How many exams do you have per semester? Who designs the exam? Did you adjust the exam content according to student's class performance? Did you adjust your teaching according to students' performance in exams?

4. Please introduce local Chinese teaching environment.

   (1)--what are students' attitudes towards Chinese teaching?

   --What are parents' attitudes towards Chinese teaching?

   --What are school administrators' attitudes towards Chinese teaching?

   --What are local government officials' attitudes towards Chinese teaching?

   --Ho do local media describe Chinese teaching?

(2)--Did you meet any difficulties in teaching? How these difficulties can be overcame?

5. Will you adjust your curriculum design, pedagogy, assessment according to suggestions from students, parents and school administrators?

6. Does your school organize any activities about Chinese culture?

7. Evaluate the Hanban's function in your Chinese teaching work.

   Is there anything that you think can be changed or improved?

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[7] The original source is from Chinaxwcb.com.. But I did not find the article from Chinaxwcb.com and I found it on Chinataiwan.org.

[8] I use hyperlinks of the homepage rather than the actual hyperlinks in order to avoid the situation that readers cannot find the webpage a few years later.

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