# Yuhua Wang Qi and Eleanor Lemmer

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# Foreign language policy and the development of Mandarin Chinese in the United States

A B S T R A C T This paper discusses the development of foreign language policy in higher education in the United States (US) and indicates gaps in the study of foreign languages in higher education in that country. A discussion of current policy, provision, programmes and funding of foreign languages in higher education are presented, focusing on Title VI: The provision of the National Defense Education Act associated with foreign language study. The most recent policy for the teaching of modern foreign languages in higher education and the motivation behind such policy-making in the US are explored in detail. The extension of the teaching of Mandarin inspired by rapid economic development in China and strengthened by the demands of the language 'market' and the national strategy of the US is investigated. Concrete recommendations for the policy and provision of Mandarin instruction in higher education are proposed. Finally, the status of Mandarin in the study of foreign languages in the US is indicated: the teaching of Mandarin lags behind some European languages and is generally taught at elementary level.

**Keywords:** Language policy and provision, Mandarin Chinese, higher education

#### 1. Introduction

Many countries worldwide view multilingualism as an opportunity to increase one's knowledge, to enhance one's understanding of international and national diversity and to expand their influence in the economic, social and political spheres. These countries treat bilingualism as a 'national resource to be cherished, nourished and sustained' (Loheyde 1993:105-106). The United States (US) has long been known as a country of immigrants and the diverse cultural backgrounds of its peoples have been valued and promoted to some degree. The diversity of Ethnic Languages (ELs) should be considered an advantageous linguistic resource. However, the controversial and complex attitudes towards the majority official language (i.e. English), ethnic languages and foreign languages can be discerned in terms of policy shifts between

bilingualism and monolingualism. Language policies have been disputed and the struggle has been influenced by factors of nationalism, political advantage, human rights, democracy, national defence and economic development. The US has long been called a melting pot, in which assimilation to the mainstream (i.e. English-only) is expected from immigrants (Beykont 2002a). From early 20th century to 1980s, many states passed English-only laws, adopted programs that used English as the exclusive instructional language and set as the primary goal, the development of children's literacy and academic skills in English (Beykont 1994). Use of immigrants' home language has been long discouraged and immigrant populations tend to lose their native language skills after two or three generations (Beykont 2002b).

The national demands made by politics and defence have always been prioritized over language rights and cultural diversity. After the surprise launching of Sputnik in 1957 by the Soviet Union, attention became focused on the foreign language crisis (Lambert 1992: 6). Consequently, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). The provision of NDEA associated with foreign language teaching was known as Title VI (Abrate & Edwards 2009). The original focus of Title VI was the teaching and learning of foreign languages at advanced levels, especially non-Western European languages (Lambert 1992). Title VI continued to expand its dimensions of international language studies and to increasingly emphasize global competitiveness, particularly economic competitiveness. Today there are ten programs under Title VI (details in Section 2) and four programs under Fulbright-Hays: Fulbright-Hays Training Grants Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad, Fulbright-Hays Training Grants-Faculty Research Abroad, Fulbright-Hays Training Grants-Group Projects Abroad, Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad-Special Bilateral Programs (International Education and Foreign Languages 2007).

However, the majority of Americans do not regard foreign language study as important in terms of the culture and the leading status of the English language in economy and science. As Arendt points out, foreign language learning is not part of the American environment, nor of its tradition, as it is in Europe (Loheyde 1993). This is demonstrated by the relatively small number of Americans who study and/or are considered to be proficient in a second language. The Modern Language Association (MLA) of the US conducted a survey of foreign language enrolments in the US institutions of higher education in 2002. The survey displayed that the proportion of modern foreign language enrolments was only 8.1% of total institutional enrolments in 2002 (Welles 2004).

The events of 9/11 in 2001 highlighted the loss of language resources and the importance of foreign languages for national defence and security. In 2007, the Committee of the National Research Council concluded that in terms of funding and programs that while many new programmes and objectives have been added since Title VI began, funding in real dollars has not increased proportionately. Not only is there a need for additional resources to match the growing mission of Title VI/FH programs, but there is also a need to expand support for the field of foreign languages and international studies throughout the education system (International Education and Foreign Languages 2007). Today the US faces unprecedented demands for globally competent citizens and professionals (US Department of Education 2008:1-3).

This paper aims to discuss the development of foreign language policy in higher education in the US according to current policy, provision, programmes and funding of foreign language study

and the motivation behind such policy making in the US; to investigate the extension of the teaching of Mandarin inspired by the rapid economic development in China and strengthened by the demands of the language 'market' and the national strategy of the US and to propose concrete recommendations for the policy and provision of Mandarin instruction. The paper is organized as follows. Sections 2 and 3 discuss the current foreign language policy in higher education in the US, indicate shortages in the study of foreign languages in higher education and explore the motivation behind such policy making. Section 4 demonstrates the growing trend of the teaching of Mandarin in the US and investigates the relationship with Chinese economic development, the demands of the language 'market', and the national strategy of the US. Some concrete recommendations for the policy and provision of Mandarin instruction in higher education are proposed in the conclusion.

# 2. Current foreign language policy provision, programs and funding in higher education

After 9/11 of 2001, the US Department of Education (ED) Title VI and Fulbright-Hays programs formed the vital infrastructure of the federal government's investment in the international service pipeline. These programs support the foreign languages and international studies infrastructure (buildings at US colleges and universities) and ensure a steady supply of graduates with expertise in less commonly taught languages (LCTLs), world areas, and transnational trends. Title VI primarily provides domestically-based language and area training, research, and outreach, while the Fulbright-Hays supports on-site opportunities to develop these skills (US Department of Education 2008:1-3).

The President's budget request for Financial Year (FY) 2008 awarded Title VI/Fulbright-Hays \$105.175 million and increased funding of the Foreign Language Assistance Programs (FLAP) to \$23.8 million. As part of the new National Security Language Initiative (NSLI), \$24 million in new funds were requested for Advancing America through Foreign Language (K-16) Partnerships (Edward 2007:3). Today National Resource Centers (NRCs), Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships (FLAS), and International Research and Studies (IRS) remain central programs on the Title VI agenda, evolving and expanding their foci in reaction to and in anticipation of global trends and security needs. NRCs form the backbone of the US language and area expertise. They have proven and continue to be a dynamic force, keeping pace with the demands of a changing world. The following features pertain to the NRCs:

- Although fewer than 3% of the nation's higher education institutions that offer modern
  foreign languages have Title VI National Resource Centers, these institutions represent
  23% of all undergraduate enrolments in the LCTLs and 59% in the least commonly taught
  languages (CTLs).
- Title VI NRC institutions accounted for 45% of all doctorates, the nation's top-level expertise, in the LCTLs.

In addition to NRCs, FLAS and IRS, Title VI supports seven distinct yet interrelated programs. These include: the Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program (UISFL); the Business and International Education Program (BIE); Centers for International Business Education (CIBEs); Language Resource Centers (LRCs); American Overseas Research Centers (AORCs); the Institute for International Public Policy (IIPP); and the Technological

Innovation and Cooperation for Foreign Information Access Program (TICFIA) (US Department of Education 2009). The UISFL provides funds to institutions of higher education; this provision strengthens and improves undergraduate instruction in international studies and foreign languages.

In 2008 both Senate and House passed the Study Abroad Foundation Act, which expands nearly fivefold the number of college students who participate in overseas education. The goal is to send one million American students abroad each year within the next ten years. Currently only about 225 000 US students study overseas annually. The bill authorizes an appropriation of \$80-million annually for the Foundation. In 2009, the 111th congress passed the English-Plus Resolution. It declares that the US government should pursue English-plus policies that: (1) encourage all residents to become fully proficient in English; (2) conserve and develop the nation's linguistic resources by encouraging all residents to learn or maintain skills in languages other than English; (3) assist Native Americans, Native Alaskans, Native Hawaiians, and other peoples indigenous to the US, in their efforts to prevent the extinction of their languages and cultures; (4) recognize the importance of multilingualism to vital American interests and individual rights, and oppose English-only measures and other restrictive language measures; (5) declare English as the official language of the US (Lenker 2009). The significance of this legislation is that the former English-only policy has been opposed and been changed to English-plus.

# 3. The status of modern foreign language of higher education in the US

English is the official language in the US. English is spoken by about 82% of the population as a native language and is used daily by most citizens. Approximately 337 other languages are spoken or signed by the population. Spanish is spoken as a second language with 30 million speakers, roughly 12% of the population. Chinese is the third most-spoken language spoken in the US with over 2 million speakers, almost completely used by Chinese American populations and by immigrants or the descendants of immigrants, especially in California. The most common Chinese spoken is the Cantonese variety. In recent years, many young Americans not of Chinese descent have become interested in learning the Mandarin language which is the official spoken language in the People's Republic of China. French, the fourth most-common language, is spoken mainly by the native French (Wikipedia 2010).

In the US, the majority of institutions of higher education offer foreign languages as part of the curriculum and the enrolments in foreign language courses have increased steadily since 1998. However, the number of foreign language students is still small compared with total institutional enrolments. The MLA of US conducted a survey for foreign language enrolments in United States institutions of higher education in 2006. The total enrolment of students in institutions of higher education was 17 648 000 and the number of modern languages (ML) courses other than English was 1 577 810. Only 8.6 percent enrolments of the total number of students attending postsecondary institutions were in modern language courses. It is noticeable that of the enrolments, Spanish is far ahead with 54 % (Furman, Goldberg & Lusin 2007).

Table 1 shows the changes from 1998 to 2006 in enrolments in the fifteen most widely taught languages. The overall enrolments in languages other than English rose by 12.9 percent

between 2002 and 2006, and 17 percent between 1998 and 2002. Spanish remains the most taught language other than English in institutions of higher education; French is the second most taught language but with far fewer enrolments than Spanish. German ranks third, less than half the enrolments in French. Arabic continued its impressive expansion: from 1998 to 2002, it lifted its enrolments by 92.3 percent and between 2002 and 2006 by a remarkable 126.5 percent. Arabic almost doubled its enrolments in 2002 and more than doubled its figures again in 2006, bringing its latest enrolments to 23 974. Chinese is in the sixth position. There were 137 less commonly taught languages ('other languages') in 1998, 147 in 2002, and 204 in 2006. The student enrolment in less common taught languages is very small compared with the top 15 commonly taught languages but is increasing significantly both in languages offered and enrolments.

Table 1: Fall 1998, 2002, and 2006 Language Course Enrolments in US Institutions of Higher Education (Languages in Descending Order of 2006 Totals).

	1998	2002	% Change 1998–2002	2006	% Change 2002–06	
Spanish	656,590		13.7	822,985	10.3	
French	199,064	201,979	1.5	206,426	2.2	
German	89,020	91,100	2.3	94,264	3.5	
American Sign Language	11,420	60,781	432.2	78,829	29.7	
Italian	49,287	63,899	29.6	78,368	22.6	
Japanese	43,141	52,238	21.1	66,605	27.5	
Chinese	28,456	34,153	20.0	51,582	51.0	
Latin	26,145	29,841	14.1	32,191	7.9	
Russian	23,791	23,921	0.5	24,845	3.9	
Arabic	5,505	10,584	92.3	23,974	126.5	
Greek, Ancient	16,402	20,376	24.2	22,849	12.1	
Hebrew, Biblical	9,099	14,183	55.9	14,140	-0.3	
Portuguese	6,926	8,385	21.1	10,267	22.4	
Hebrew, Modern	6,734	8,619	28.0	9,612	11.5	
Korean	4,479	5,211	16.3	7,145	37.1	
Other languages	17,771	25,716	44.7	33,728	31.2	
Total	1,193,830	1,397,253	17.0	1,577,810	12.9	

Source: Furman, Goldberg & Lusin (2007)

# 4. Trends in the development of Mandarin instruction in the US

As mentioned above, the primary motivation of foreign languages policy making in the US is national security, which can be demonstrated by the enrolment in the study of Arabic which has increased by 126.5 % from 2002 to 2006 as a result of the US military involvement in the Middle East. However, as the National Research Council pointed out in 2007, it would be short-sighted to limit attention in foreign language development to the needs of government alone. Language skills and cultural expertise are also urgently needed to address economic challenges and the strength of American businesses in an increasingly global marketplace (International Education and Foreign Languages 2007).

The development of Mandarin Chinese is mainly the result of economic development in China and the policy of the foreign languages in the US. The policy towards Mandarin Chinese, as is the case with other language policy and provision in higher education, is always affected by political, economic and social factors as well as international relations and culture (Ager

2001:1). The People's Republic of China has for many years been a major player on the world's political stage by virtue of its size and military capacity, as well as its permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council. It was now beginning to emerge as a major market and trading partner for the West and Africa, as internal political change has made access easier. The growing importance of China on the world stage is generally recognized. China is now on course to overtake Japan and become the world's second-biggest economy (BBC News 2010). As the Chinese economy has grown and more and more countries have trading links with China, the Chinese language has become more important in the world and learning Chinese is the best way to gain a deeper understanding of China. International exchanges with China in many areas including economics, trade, science, technology, culture, education, art and tourism are greater than ever before and studying Chinese has become increasingly popular and necessary in today's world.

As China booms, so does Mandarin in US schools (USA Today 2007). China's development motivated by both market demands and national strategy has created a trend towards Mandarin study. From an individual family perspective, this partly reflects how parents increasingly see China's emergence as an economic power as something for which they should prepare their children (USA Today 2007). The rising popularity of Mandarin Chinese has been 'incredible,' says Cynthia Ning, director of the Chinese Language Teachers Association (BBC News 2006). She attributes the interest to communist China's economic boom as it emerges from decades of isolation, as well as the US economy's increasing trade with China. China is now the country's number two trading partner, behind Canada and ahead of Mexico. Mandarin Chinese study has grown so popular that an increasing number of families are looking to employ Chinese nannies, not so much for their child-rearing abilities, but more for their language skills (BBC News 2006).

Endeavours of Chinese linguistics in the US have been prominent in the last number of years. Since 1989 the North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL), which focuses on research in Chinese language and linguistics, has been held annually (Chan 2008). This includes both theoretical and empirical research from all subfields of Chinese linguistics; presenters include graduate students in addition to professors and other well-established scholars. The conference generally hosts talks both in Chinese and in English. The proceedings are published annually after the conference is finished; after NACCL-20 in 2008, the proceedings were published online for the first time (Wikipedia 2008).

As mentioned, an essential motivation for the development of foreign language study in the US is linked to effective foreign policy, expansion of international trade, national defence, and the enhancement of international communication and understanding (Edwards, Lenker & Kahn 2008). National economic interests have served to draw increasing attention to Mandarin Chinese. The main events in this regard are listed as follows:

1) The US classifies Mandarin as a 'critical foreign language'. Recent federal funding priorities have focused on the teaching of a limited number of 'critical' languages, which are defined in the National Security Language Initiative as Arabic, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Russian, and the Indic, Iranian and Turkic language families (Jackson 2009). In 2007-2008 about \$10 million was invested in Chinese-language programs. Such funding was historically

- directed to colleges, but is now moving into grade schools. In 2006, the Foreign Language Assistance Program of the US Department of Education allocated \$6.7 million to Chinese instruction and an additional \$2.4 million in 2007. There also were grants from the departments of Defense and State and from various state government and philanthropic groups (USA Today, 2007).
- 2) The National Security Education Program (NSEP) Chinese K-16 Pipeline Flagship was established and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) held a National Policy Summit in January of 2005 entitled 'An American Plan for Action,' where government and business leaders, language experts, and academics engaged in setting priorities for language and international education in the US. One of the major victories of this summit was the creation and implementation of the National Security Education Program (NSEP) Chinese K-16 Pipeline Flagship, a model for sequenced, articulated Chinese study beginning in elementary school and continuing through undergraduate study (National Security Education Program 2005). Introduced on May 25, 2005, the United States-People's Republic of China Cultural Engagement Act established grants for Chinese language and cultural studies at the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels. The use of funding was broad in scope and potential programs included language, art, and cultural studies; Asian business education center programs; educational and governmental exchange programs; and assistance to nongovernmental organizations that facilitate exchanges. Furthermore, this Act contained provisions to strengthen US-China diplomacy, revise visa requirements, and increase outreach to the People's Republic of China (Edwards, Lenker & Kahn 2008).
- 3) Chinese assistance program distribution is very high compared to other foreign languages in the US. The FLAS Fellowships support graduate training programs at many NRCs. They provide opportunities for intensive study of less-commonly taught languages and world areas both domestically and abroad during either summer or the academic year. FLAS Fellowships are allocated to NRCs so that eligible students may compete for opportunities to pursue advanced language and area studies at those institutions with nationally-recognized training programs. In 2006, FLAP added a competitive priority to its grant application, stressing the need for more programs in 'critical languages'. While these languages received the majority of the funding in 2006, Table.2 shows that grant applications for the more commonly taught languages were still funded (Edwards 2007:4). However, the foreign language which received major assistance was Chinese.

Table 2: Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) 2006 Recipient Language Distribution

Language	Arabic	Chinese	French	German	Japanese	Korean	Lao	Russian	Spanish	Total
No. of receiving Grant	5	50	5	3	7	6	1	6	19	102

Source: Edwards (2007:4)

4) Expertise in Mandarin Chinese is in urgent demand in the US government. Section 601(c) (1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA) requires that the Secretary of Education

consult with Federal agency heads in order to receive recommendations regarding areas of national need for expertise in foreign languages and world regions. A summary of responses from those Federal agencies responded to the Secretary's request for recommendations for Title VI competitions in FY 2010. The US Departments highlighted the languages, and their associated cultures as most vital to their country's future. Table 3 lists Mandarin Chinese in language priority in some Departments of the US (US Department of Education's Office of Postsecondary Education (OPE) 2010).

Table 3: Mandarin Chinese in language priority in the US Departments

Department of the US	Agriculture	State	Commerce	Defense	Housing and Urban
Mandarin Chinese in language priority order	1	2	2	2	1

Source: US Department of Education's Office of Postsecondary Education (OPE) (2010)

- 5) The US-China Teachers Exchange Program was established in 1996 with funding from the Freeman Foundation (National Committee 2010). The US-China Teachers Exchange Program sends American K-12 teachers to China and brings Chinese secondary school teachers to the US. As this paper focuses on higher education, the details are omitted.
- 6) A Chinese immersion program was created in public schools through K-16 (National Committee 2010). The Portland [Oregon] Public Schools (PPS) created a Chinese immersion program in 1997 in response to interest from the local Chinese heritage community. From kindergarten through high school, students spend half of the school day learning language and content in Mandarin Chinese. Now, with support from the Departments of Education and Defense, the partners are strengthening and expanding the program to create the nation's first K-16 Chinese Flagship Program. The program will provide scholarships for qualified high school graduates to the University of Oregon, where they will advance their Mandarin Chinese while earning a degree in a field of their choice.
- 7) US-China Language Engagement Act was passed at the 111th Congress in 2009. It created a federal grant program in the Department of Education that would award competitive three-year grants to local educational agencies for 'innovative model programs establishing, improving, or expanding Chinese language and cultural studies instruction' in elementary and secondary schools. Grants could also be used in purchasing communications technology to aid in computer-assisted instruction, distance education, and virtual exchanges with Chinese schools to advance the United States' global economic competitiveness in the 21st century. (Lenker 2009).
- 8) Mandarin Chinese is listed in STARTALK. The goal of the STARTALK program is to increase the number and expertise of students and teachers in critical languages (Ingold 2008). In 2010, the STARTALK project provided funding for programs that occur primarily in the summer in the following categories: programs that offer professional development opportunities for current or prospective teachers of offer Arabic, Chinese, Dari, Hindi, Persian, Russian, Swahili, Turkish, and/or Urdu. The language study for students is within the K-16 range.

Besides the active governmental schemes and language market demand, China is also promoting Chinese as a world language. The Office of the Chinese Language Council International, universally called Hanban (literally 'Chinese Office'), is in charge of promoting Chinese worldwide. Part of that effort is creating textbooks and materials for children and adults, as well as teacher training. Hanban also helps to set up Confucius Institutes in various countries, which work to promote Chinese language, literature and culture. To enhance the popularity of Mandarin and to satisfy the demand of Americans, certain US universities were chosen to set up 56 Confucius Institutes, such as Arizona State University, Chicago Public Schools, Miami University, North Carolina State University, San Francisco State University, University of Massachusetts, University of Maryland and The University of Memphis (Hanban 2010).

As a sequence of the acts mentioned above and language market navigation, the enrolments of Mandarin Chinese in the institutions of higher education in the US went from a 20.0% increase between 1998 and 2002 to a noticeable 51.0% jump in 2006. In terms of actual numbers, Chinese gained  $5\,697$  student enrolments between 1998 and 2002 and  $17\,429$  between 2002 and

2006. Not only the enrolments, but the number of institutions of higher learning offering Mandarin Chinese has also increased significantly (Furman, Goldberg & Lusin 2007). The development of Chinese enrolments from 1960 to 2006 is illustrated in Figure 1, in which the steep increase between 2002 and 2006 can be seen.

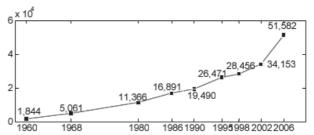


Figure 1: Chinese enrolments in from 1960 to 2006 Source: Furman, Goldberg & Lusin (2007)

Interest in and development of Mandarin is a reflection of the times. Interest in languages comes and goes. Latin was essential from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the 20th century. French has always been the language of culture. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, German was the choice among those interested in science (US Today 2007). In the 1950s and '60s, Russian gained popularity in colleges as concerns rose about the Soviet Union. Beginning in the 1970s, Spanish began to edge out French as the most popular language, a reflection of increasing Latino immigration into the US. Interest in Japanese jumped in the 1980s as Japan's economy ascended. In 1981, the US's oldest Mandarin immersion elementary school program was launched. The private Chinese American International School (CAIS) in San Francisco began with four students; it now has 420 from preschool through eighth grade. Setting up a Chinese-language program is expensive because it means buying new instructional materials. However, there is a lot of support, both inside the US and from China.

It is predicted that Mandarin Chinese will become a leading foreign language in the world as Chinese development escalates.

#### 5. Conclusion

The learning of Mandarin Chinese is booming in the US. The status of Mandarin study in the US is still behind from Spanish but far ahead of others: French, German, Italian and Japanese.

Moreover, the study of Mandarin in higher education is still at elementary levels, which can be seen from the few institutes offering degrees for undergraduate students and post-graduate students. Mandarin development has also paralleled foreign and ethnic language policy which was suppressed by the English-only policy in the past; all languages other than English developed slowly in the US in the past.

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# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

### Yuhua Wang Qi and Eleanor Lemmer

College of Education
University of South Africa
0003 Pretoria
South Africa
Email: yhqwang@gmail.com

Yuhua Wang Qi is currently a doctoral candidate in Comparative Education, Unisa, South Africa, working on a comparative study of the instruction of Mandarin as foreign language in higher education in South Africa and China. She received her Master degree in Arts with Major of Modern Chinese Linguistics in Heilongjiang University, China in 2000 and Bachelor in Arts with Major in Modern Chinese Linguistics. She was Associate Professor in Chinese Mandarin as a Foreign Language, Modern Chinese Linguistics and Chinese Culture and Literature at Tianjin University of Science and Technology, China from 2006 to 2008. She has published more than 10 journal papers as first author.

**Eleanor Maud Lemmer** is Research Professor in the College of Education, Unisa where she began her academic career in 1987. She has published widely as author, co-author, academic editor and author of journal articles and presented papers at international conferences. Her areas of specialisation are linguistic diversity and parent involvement in schooling. She is currently the supervisor of Ms Wang Qi's doctoral study.

