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HOW CAN CULTURALLY DIVERSE CHILDREN PRESERVE THEIR MOTHER TONGUE AND ENHANCE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE SKILLS-A STUDY OF FAMILY INVOLVEMENT FOR CHINESE MIGRANTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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ABSTRACT: This paper undertakes a review of international and national literature on bilingual education in order to reveal the extent of family involvement for purposes of good practice and further development of the language skills of bilingual children in Northern Ireland. The paper not only explores the present situation for the children of Chinese migrants, while highlighting the distinctiveness of the mother language and the particular opportunities and challenges of preserving it, but also concludes with recommendations for the ongoing development of their second language.

Keywords: family involvement, L1 and L2, children bilingual development, ER.

INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

There has been a dramatic increase in the number of Chinese migrants coming into the UK due to the effects of globalisation. The children of these migrants are growing up in two ethnic cultures, being able to communicate in two languages (bilingual language users). The key question here is the extent to which they are able to preserve their knowledge and use of Chinese, while still continuing to use and develop their second language which holds a clearly dominant position in the wider society and culture in which they live. This issue is a common concern of overseas Chinese communities and particularly parents (Mesthrie, 1999). In addition, English has been a significant foreign language and child learners are nowadays required to learn the language as they grow and progress through their schooling. A learner is required to be able to read, write and speak English fluently in order to succeed at university and in work environments. Therefore, language education has been a considerable tributary of mainstream education. Despite this importance given to learning the English language, the endeavour of bilingual parents' should be taken into account as well. Parental involvement in education is particularly important for elementary school children, whose native language is not English (Constantino, Cui, & Faltis, 1995; Swap, 1990). Therefore, I will conduct a small scale research project that will investigate the function and influence of parents in preserving their children's mother tongue and enhancing their English language proficiency within an overall curriculum. The reason why I chose this area for my project is because I believe that it is valuable and worthwhile to explore the impact of the family upon learners and instructors in terms of language education.

Purpose of the study

This paper intends to explore this overlooked strand of early childhood language education. This study proposes to use the awakening-to-languages approach as an alternative project that maps the future course of foreign language education based on an appraisal of the problems and challenges in this area. The research will focus on Chinese origin primary school students aged between 6 and 11. The possible benefits will emerge from family functioning related factors like (i) socio-cultural identity maintenance, (ii) family literacy, and (iii) guiding their children in extensive reading. For example, parents should first foster the national identity of the children, create a harmonious family atmosphere, and enhance communication with local schools. Secondly, parents should adopt knowledge of language transfer, such as vivid vocabulary teaching strategies consistent with British

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schools, encourage their children's phonetic learning strategies, construct their internal grammar, and finally guide their children in extensive reading, and providing available extensive reading materials to achieve a balanced bilingualism.

This paper critically discusses the efficacy of these methods, looks into their limitations and inherent potential, and evaluates the effects of providing both language and cultural support to children. My thesis focuses on the benefits of culturally and linguistically relevant bilingual programs for young immigrant children and their families in the hope of developing metalinguistic children's learning and fostering awareness of skill-based attainments.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The context and current situation of Bilingual Chinese Children in Northern Ireland

Language is at the center of human life (Cook, 2008). According to the European Commission (2005), the more languages you know, the more of a person you are. And for UNESCO (2003a), the first language that the child acquires is often the mother tongue. A second language is acquired by a person in addition to his/her mother tongue. Bilingual education refers to instruction in two languages and the use of one or two of them as the medium of instruction in the school curriculum (Anderson and Boyer, 1970). UNESCO (2003a) espouses: a. Mother tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality, b. Bilingual and/or multilingual education as a key element in linguistically diverse societies; as a means of promoting both social and gender equality, c. Language as an essential component of inter-cultural education to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights.

An increasing number of Chinese people have emigrated and settled abroad since the 1990s, and their children have become an important part of the overseas Chinese population. Unlike an ethnic survey conducted in England which showed ethnic Chinese to be the smallest ethnic group when compared with other Asian minorities, the Chinese community in Northern Ireland is the largest ethnic minority, and has a population of over eight thousand people (Holder, 2003; Chinese Welfare Association: Annual Report, 1998).

The current study of ethnic Chinese children requires more complex classification criteria. Swan (1985), for instance, classified them into Chinese immigrant children, British born children and adopted children. There are presently two groups of sub-ethnic Chinese children, namely those who are the children of parents who have migrated from Mainland China and Hong Kong respectively to Northern Ireland (Feng, 2009). Given the history of the colonial relationship between Hong Kong and the UK, most Hong Kong Chinese originally came to Northern Ireland to start catering businesses. Gradually, their families and relatives came over to join their businesses. However, the majority of the Mainland Chinese migrants came to Northern Ireland as students or researchers, as a result of the "Open Policy" brought forward by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s. Hundreds of Mainland Chinese students have come to the UK since then, including Northern Ireland and these numbers are increasing every year. Most of these students go back to China at the end of their courses, but some promising ones have managed to stay on to pursue professional jobs in Northern Ireland. They are regarded as part of a new immigrant group in the United Kingdom.

Chinese children are a significant group in Northern Ireland schools. They are socialised differently in the learning of their first language and in their family literacy practices from local children. Even second and third generation Chinese children experience very different literacy teaching and learning contexts within the immigrant Chinese community (Hu, 2005; Jin & Cortazzi, 2002; Liao, 2004; Savignon & Wang, 2003).

This means that Chinese children are exposed to an unfamiliar way of teaching and learning when they attend school. The imbalanced language development, the gradual decline and even partial fading of Chinese proficiency leads to miscommunication between parents and children, and ultimately leads to various problems within the family. The loss of Chinese language skills have made the children gradually lose a sense of their Chinese identity, and this results in a dilemma for parents forcing a hard decision to stay or leave the country (Gregory, 1993). Li (1994) contends that the most common pattern is one where the English-Chinese children's bilingual development model is a mix of English and Chinese, with their English language proficiency higher than Mandarin Chinese, and the ability to speak and listen surpassing their ability to read and write. This paper attempts to explore this issue by analysing the status of Chinese immigrant children's language education in Northern Ireland and the role parents play in their bilingual development. The following paragraphs will offer a brief summary of the limitations of Chinese schools in Britain as they endeavour to inculcate the Chinese language and culture in students.

First, Chinese schools in Britain are small-scale endeavours with limited teaching time. Thorpe (2011) points out that there are about 2059 weekend language schools, with 288 Chinese schools accounting for 14% of such schools. These are located mainly in large cities such as London and Manchester among others. Most Chinese schools are non-profit ventures, set up or organised by the local Chamber of Commerce Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA). The language of instruction is either Cantonese and/or Mandarin because the target student population for these schools is mainly ethnic Chinese children from Mainland China and Hong

Kong. The course content primarily consists of phonetics and simple characters. As a result, the cultural information input of these Chinese language schools lags far behind regular domestic schools in China.

Second, the sources of textbooks used for the weekend Chinese schools in Britain are not standardised. Creese *et al.* (2007), in their study of these Chinese schools, state that textbooks used by the Chinese schools are primarily “Yu Wen” published by the China People’s Education Publishing House, GCSE, A-level test materials, other donated textbooks and books from the local Chinese Embassy. These contain a large number of Chinese characters, and a limited number of new words with phonetic transcription rather than an English counterpart. These Chinese textbooks and their content, structure and format are aimed at a domestic audience (children based in Mainland China or Hong Kong). The poems and stories about Chinese history or traditional culture are therefore alien to and pose problems for ethical Chinese children in the UK.

Third, the teachers in the Chinese schools are insufficiently trained. Ma (2003) and Creese (2003) both contend that the overseas Chinese school teachers are usually part-time employees with an inadequate understanding of pedagogy and teaching philosophy. This in turn contributes to low proficiency in the Chinese language. In the UK, Chinese is a language with low usage potential as it is mainly used in everyday conversation within family circles and private correspondence. English is more prominent as it is used in official institutions, mainline media, and formal teaching situations, such as classrooms, educational publications and legal documents.

The impact of family involvement on Young Children’s Literacy Development in English and Chinese

Bilingual education simply refers to instruction in two different languages (Cook, 2008). ‘Young children learning L2 are one of the fastest growing segments of the global population.’ (Kan & Kohnert, 2005, p380). Fluency and literacy in the mother tongue lay a cognitive and linguistic foundation for learning additional languages. In every corner of the world, many initiatives provide support for children to continue to develop competence in L1 and self-confidence as learners of any additional languages. One way to counter linguistic and cultural loss is to encourage parents to teach their infants and young children the local language in the home, and to deliver primary and formal education systems in the second language (Jessica Ball, 2010). In the UK, Chinese is a minority spoken language when compared to English and yet Chinese parents attach a great deal of importance to it and insist that their children learn Chinese. Chinese parents today believe that given the increasingly frequent cross-border economic exchanges, bilingual capability will become the dominant priority for ethnic Chinese children’s future learning and work. Lu, Haworth and Edwards (2006) found that Chinese migrant parents were in general willing to make the effort and take responsibility for teaching their children Chinese at home in order to maintain and develop their children’s heritage, language and culture. They expect their children to learn English through schooling and the society around them. Lu and his fellow authors (2006) conclude that, for the children involved in their study, “bilingualism seemed to occur naturally in their daily lives” (p. 4). Wong (1994) observes that “the effort made for language maintenance of the mother tongue besides English remains the responsibility of the family” (p. 90). However, the reality is that many families may not be in a position to help their children make an effort in this regard.

In his bio-ecological model, Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggested that the relationship between the home and school is contributes a cohesive and effective learning environment for children. The parents’ perception of how their children are being educated in school, and the how they can be instructed at home is important to this relationship. This is particularly important for preschool children whose native language is not English, because the transition to school may be more stressful for young children learning in a new language. Parental support and close interaction with the school may ease some of these difficulties (Constantino, Cui, & Faltis, 1995; Swap, 1990). The current author, after having reviewed the theory and practices of the recent of bilingual research, concludes that Chinese parents can play a positive role in the development of three aspects: socio-cultural identity, literacy and reading skills.

Social and Cultural identity.

Ethnic Chinese parents must enhance and upgrade their children’s motivation to learn the Chinese language. This is not only confined to improving the child’s own preferences for Chinese, but coordinating them with complex surroundings, engaging them in miscellaneous diverse social and cultural practices and creating opportunities for the bilingual development of ethnic Chinese children. Nearly all of the Chinese immigrant parents from Hong Kong in Northern Ireland are engaged in the catering business, while most of the academic Chinese Mainland parents are engaged in long working hours. Such lifestyles have prevented many parents from establishing a more intellectual relationship with their children, from engaging in cultural pursuits or educational opportunities and ultimately, from integrating into the wider community (Watson and McKnight, 1998, 128). Cultural alienation for them refers to a subjective complexity which causes ethnic Chinese children living in Northern Ireland to dismiss their own ethnic Chinese culture as inferior to that of mainstream society. Such feelings can even transform into a sense of cultural embarrassment (Feng, 2009). An analysis of such discourse practices and strategies can help us see the process of their negotiation as they make sense of the meaning of ethnicity, identity and self-perception.

Family literacy

The term “family literacy” was forwarded by Taylor (1983) to describe the model of literacy practices that take place within families. Besides parent participants’ English proficiency and their knowledge and experience of instruction, parental beliefs, parental roles children’s achievement and communicating still have differences among them from diverse cultural backgrounds. All these differences make the provision of family literacy an issue which targets minority families as a single group in the UK. Kaushanskaya *et al.* (2011) asserts that native-language skills (L1) can influence second-language acquisition (L2). Likewise, the development of (L2) phonological inventory (Durgunoglu, Nagy, & Nancin-Bhatt, 1993; Harrison & Kroll, 2007), lexical skills (Ordóñez *et al.*, 2002; Proctor *et al.*, 2006), grammatical competence (MacWhinney, 1997; 2002), and literacy (Gottardo & Mueller, 2009) has been linked to (L1) skills. This study has proved that a family literacy level, adapted for use with Chinese preschoolers and their parents, can have a significant and positive impact on children’s bilingual literacy development, such as the children’s knowledge of the alphabet and their ability to produce letter-sounds. Their expressive vocabulary often improved significantly if their parents participated in the exercise.

The study has also shown that the provision of culturally and linguistically appropriate family literacy support goes a long way in helping diverse families to foster optimal literacy experiences for their young children at home. The information would also help schools get effective assistance from Chinese immigrant parents (Zhang, 2010).

Guiding their children in Extensive Reading

Learning to read is essentially learning both the spoken form and print form of the language (Adams, 1990; Perfetti, 1992; Treiman, 1993). Extensive Reading (ER) has been successfully implemented by EFL learners (Shlayer, 1996), who sometimes have a hard time finding appropriate reading material, maintaining discipline, and creating time to read and manage their schedules to include the learning of a second language (Leung, 2002). It is obvious that learners could get discouraged if they are not able choose suitable reading material and manage their time properly. The lack of reading time can result in a crucial difficulty in pedagogy. This could negatively impact the fulfilling of ER in the teaching process.

In numerous research findings, the positive impact of ER on language skills has been evidenced. In the following paragraph, I shall discuss ER advantages and enforcement within the home environment.

According to Renandya and Jacobs (2001), extensive reading helps develop sight words, general words and the knowledge of the language. Krashen (2004a) notes that it is powerful that develops vocabulary as well as grammar, writing and reading skills. Smith (2000) further suggests that ER enables children to learn not only words, sentences or stories, but also social values and attitudes.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- a. How do the ethnic Chinese parents maintain their children’s socio-cultural identity?
- b. How does family literacy influence the children’s bilingual levels?
- c. How is the extensive reading carried on in the home environment under parents’ guidance and instructions?

METHODOLOGY

Through a review of the literature and results from the findings of the last three decades of bilingual research, the present author contends that Chinese parents can play a positive role in the development of three aspects, namely, socio-cultural development, increasing language proficiency and reading ability. The family involvement is interpreted in words instead of numbers. Bryman (2012, p380) argues that qualitative research is a strategy that places emphasis on words rather than the collection or analysis of data. Methodologically, the paper has adopted the technique of in-depth interviewing and obtaining demographic information to achieve a more objective and overall understanding of these three aspects, keeping with the current general tendency of language education studies.

I have designed my consent form and the interview questions for each participant in order to explore how they improve their bilingual ability through the ER curriculum. I will discuss and explain my methodology in detail in the following sub-sections.

Participants /Subject

There are twelve participants involved in this research project, six parents, six young EFL learners from six to eleven-year-olds. The participant students are currently ethnic Chinese at primary school level, and they are from different regions of Mainland China and Hong Kong. Most of the learners were born in Belfast or have been living here for one or two years. The vast majority have been learning English as a foreign or second language in

this country, and they have also had experience of taking English reading courses in the past. However, some of them have high Chinese proficiency, while others have very little Chinese. The interviews were guided by a set of questions set in an open-ended manner. The author understands two languages, Chinese and English. All of the student participants and parent participants were free to choose English and/or Chinese based on their preference in the interviews.

Instruments and Tools

Qualitative research data is collected through observation, interviews, questionnaires, documents or reviews (Wheeldon & Faubet, 2009). Interview questions were adopted as the method for this research in order to ascertain the extent of family influence on the children's bilingual proficiency.

A consent form is required with the participant's signature and has to be provided before answering the three types of interviews namely, I, II, and III which consists of questions designed, and used for collecting data or gathering information for this research. In order to ensure the authenticity of my research, I then applied my strategy by applying for a paid part-time waitress job in a local Chinese restaurant (I am from Mainland China, so I speak perfect Chinese). The job that I finally obtained gave me a great opportunity to gain familiarity with primary school children as well as with their parents after school hours. I worked there for two days a week from December 2014 until February 2015.

Procedures

Firstly, the author obtained permission from the participants and checked if they had signed the consent form. The participants were being interviewed to assist the researcher in gathering information. The researcher sits beside them while they answer the questions and fills out the form using a pen. It takes approximately ten minutes to complete, and the information gathered is kept confidentially. The author is conscious of the rights of the participants, and endeavours to protect the identity of the individual participants, the families, and teachers. The purpose and potential value of the study to language education was explained clearly to participants.

RESULTS

As mentioned in the previous section, parents, and students were interviewed in order to investigate family involvement in the bilingual development of the children. The following is an analysis of the group interview between the interviewer and interviewees. Three main subjects emerged from this research, and these are: how ethnic Chinese parents maintain their children's socio-cultural identity, the influence of family literacy on the children's bilingual proficiency and the extensive reading carried out in the home environment under parents' guidance and instructions.

Interview 1: Ethnic Chinese children are a special group separate from both British mainstream culture and Chinese marginal culture. They have to deal with different and even diametrically opposed attitudes, values and behavioral tendencies from the two cultures both at school and within the Chinese community. The children and occasionally their parents are at a loss while trying to find a balance between both cultures.

Interview 2: As the dialogue indicates, Tony is in the process of building up his English language vocabulary very actively but repeatedly, which is an indication of how Chinese parents enlarge their children's vocabulary through rote learning. Many Chinese parents believe that repeating Chinese characters and phonetics is the best way to memorize them. To clarify further, the more repetition and recitation of words, the bigger the child's vocabulary. This unintegrated form of vocabulary learning between the family and classroom environment has obviously hampered normal English classroom teaching.

Interview 3: Wang *et al.* (2009) assert that children's books can help Chinese children learn about the culture of their newly adopted country. Picture books contribute uniquely to the language transition literacy of Chinese children. For example, parent 1 commented in interview 3: "I think the children's books carry so much practical meaningful information. Children can learn the knowledge, the value of life, how to enjoy lives, and how to deal with others" (Sonia). Independent reading at home also plays an important part in making the children good readers, and is popular with them. For instance, parent 2 noted that: "My son usually does independent reading stuff both Chinese and English at home. I bought him piles of books. He reads what stories he can, not only what the teachers wants him to read" (James). The amount of Chinese reading material at home had the greatest impact on the implementation and evaluation of the Chinese language family literacy program. At home, the parents read to their children nearly every day until they considered them to be capable of reading independently, which demonstrates the parents' appreciation of books, and their concern regarding their child's literacy levels. As parent 3 reported: "I am willing to help him choose books in order to adjust his reading choices. Visits to libraries or reading online certainly expanded the range of books my son is exposed to" (Chris).

DISCUSSION and ANALYSIS

Some Chinese parents are often confused about preserving their children's ethnic Chinese identity and developing their bilingualism in English and Chinese. This is because they are worried that such a development will generate an undue burden on the child or lead to logical confusion, and ultimately cognitive impairment of the brain (Ma, 2003). In short, several parents are confused about the need to prioritise the development of one language as opposed to two languages simultaneously. They believe that they can change their children's attitudes with regard to ethnic Chinese language and culture and this can help build their ethnic identity and self-confidence for the future. Conversely, when not handled properly, this has led to ethnic Chinese children indicating timid and sensitive psychological features that affect the formation of a wholesome identity, and results in them feeling that Chinese groups are not being respected by British mainstream society and are excluded by the UK. As far as developing their Chinese proficiency was concerned, the number of Chinese reading materials in the home had the greatest impact on children's Chinese receptive and expressive vocabularies. Conversely, the age at which the child was first read to in English had the greatest impact on the children's English expressive vocabularies, their letter-sound production knowledge, and their early reading ability.

Therefore, when Chinese parents encourage translation and interpretation on the home front, their children not only improve their English ability, but also ensure close and stable family relationships. Parents can also coordinate the relationship between children and schools as ethnic Chinese children play a role in the development of a bilingual bridge.

British-Chinese children are often exposed to Chinese audio-visual material brought into the UK from the domestic Chinese market for expatriate communities and families. These are usually Chinese story books, educational material and discs relating to daily life in China. There is very little cultural information in this material and it fails to arouse the interest of Chinese children to learn the language. In contrast, British-Chinese children come into contact with a wide range of English television programmes, films, novels, magazines, newspapers, flyers, e-mail and electronic games, through schools, the media and community. The information carried through the medium of English is available in large quantities and is rich in content. Therefore, the asymmetric quantity and quality of information in the two languages not only limits the development of the children's Chinese language level, but to some extent blocks their Chinese cultural ethnic identity (David, 2001).

CONCLUSION

It is worth mentioning that children are born ready to be bilingual. More than two thirds of children across the world are from bilingual background and learning more than one language. Several researchers have indicated that ER could beneficially develop language abilities, such as the reading skills, greater grammatical accuracy, rich vocabularies, enhanced writing strategies, higher levels of motivation, more positive attitudes towards FL, and so on (Mason and Krashen, 1997; Day, Omura and Hiramatsu, 1991; Nation, 1997; Nation and Ming-tzu, 1999; Wodinsky and Nation, 1988; Elley, 1991; Hafiz and Tudor, 1989; Tsang, 1996; Elley and Mangubhai, 1983; Lee, Krashen and Gribbons, 1996; Shin, 2001; Takase, 2002). However, Children of Asian immigrants who often have great expectations of life are depressed when they encounter poverty, generation gap crosscultural barrier, and loss. (Yeh, 2003; Yeh *et al.*, 2008). Many ethnic children and adolescents arrive in the UK with limited or no English language proficiency and are often faced with other problems to adjust in like the difficulty in assimilating into the peer culture (Kim & Choi, 1994; Yeh *et al.*, 2005). They are even burdened with balancing academic loads and family obligations such as translating for parents and caring for siblings (Fulgini, Yip, & Tseng, 2002; Yeh *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, the language barrier interfere immigrant parents' communication with involvement in the school (Bhattacharya, 2000; Gougeon, 1993). Low-income immigrant adolescents often find themselves with limited knowledge regarding access to resources (Louie, 2001) which would help them navigate the education system and make informed education and career choices (Ma & Yeh, 2005; Ma & Yeh, in press; Okubo, Yeh, Lin, Fujita, & Shea, 2007). These parents may be especially unable to participate actively in their children's education as they are intimidated by the linguistic barriers they face in the English-speaking school environment. Yet the lack of involvement of immigrant minority parents' is often misinterpreted by school staff as a lack of interest in their children's academic performance (Commins, 1992).

Government policy in the UK has for many years encouraged family involvement in their children's education. In response, most primary schools have developed a range of strategies assisting parents in supporting their children's learning at home, particularly in learning to read English. Nevertheless, it is a commonly assumed that parents from some social and ethnic groups are more difficult to reach than others and some do even not care about their children's education

This study has shown that culturally related family instruction and the literacy impact of the children's beneficial to both English and Chinese, when adapted for use with Chinese pre-schoolers and their parents, can have a significant and positive impact on children's literacy development.

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APPENDIX I

Interview Question 1.

How would you describe your identity?

Kid 1: Some people call you names. That's really annoying.

Interviewer: Yes? What happened to you?

Kid 2: Well last time, on the Boxing Day, mum went shopping with us in London Oxford Street, meeting two ladies who called us chicks being very offensive and insulting because my younger sister by accident knocked into one of them from the back in the crowd.

I Interviewer: Really? What do you do then?

Kid 2: My mum was very angry, so she argued with them.

I Interviewer: Did you dare to chase after them?

Kid 1: When you're angry, you can't control your anger ...

Interviewer: I know. And some of the Chinese kids tell me that they don't really fit in here because of the racial discrimination or bullying at school.. What do you think?

Kid 2: Not really... but yes, we do get name-calling.

Kid 3: That's why we have to learn martial arts to defend ourselves. [Laughs]

[All laugh]

Interview Question 2. (Gregory,1993).

Tony: What is his name?

Teacher: Mr Fussy.

Tony: Mr Fussy, Mr Fussy, Mr Fussy. Mr Fussy is in the house.

Tony: What is that? It's a glass Oh, no; it's a jar of marmalade. Jar marmalade?

Teacher: Yes, to put on your bread you know, in the morning.

Tony: Marmalade, marmalade, marmalade.

Interview Question 3

1. Mother's highest level of education. Please tick one of the following:

- Completed secondary/high school
- Completed community college or technical college
- Completed undergraduate university degree
- Completed graduate/advanced university degree

2. Father's highest level of education. Please check tick of the following:

- Completed secondary/high school
- Completed community college or technical college
- Completed undergraduate university degree
- Completed graduate/advanced university degree

3. Which of the following items are used in your home? Please tick all that apply:

- Children's books/Magazines/Newspapers/ Novels
- Computer /Board games/card games
- Religious books
- How-to manuals like Address book/Cookbooks/ Calendar /or day-planner
- Reference materials/encyclopaedias
- Other kinds of books/written materials

(Please specify _____)

4. In total, how many hours do you spend each week providing assistance or instruction for your child in extensive reading?

5. What kinds of things do you do to help your child learn about reading and writing?

6. What do you think are the major benefits of ER to your children's bilingual proficiency?