

Early 21st-Century
Power Struggles
of Chinese Languages
Teaching in US
Higher Education

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By

Ya-chen Chen

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgments.....	vii
Chapter One.....	1
Changes in Chinese Language Teaching in US Higher Education: From China’s Feudalist Dynasties to the 21st Century	
Chapter Two	42
Institutional Power Struggles: To Be or Not to Be the “Best (Fit)”? As You Like It!	
Chapter Three	75
Sun Zi’s Strategy of “Covering a Dagger within a Smile and Murdering without Spilling Blood Drops”: Anonymous Students’ Teaching Evaluations and Special Students’ Cases as Personnel Decisions	
Chapter Four.....	106
Power Struggles of Romanization Systems and Initial Handwriting: Pinyin, Wade Giles, Yale, and Phonetic Systems of Romanization as well as Etyma and Ancient Chinese Characters in Initial Handwriting	
Chapter Five	161
Power Struggles of Handwriting Systems: Traditional and Simplified Chinese Characters and Ancient Chinese Calligraphy	
Chapter Six.....	192
Confucius Institutes and Taiwan Academies	
Chapter Seven.....	217
“Strange Events of the Last Twenty Years” in TCFL/TCSL of US Higher Education: Forty Junior-Level Anonymous Interviewees’ Personal Experiences from 1996 to 2016	

Chapter Eight..... 262
Multi-Layered Power Struggles among Communities, and Their
Connections to TCFL/TCSL in US Higher Education:
The Glass Ceiling and Conflicts in Chinese Language Programs

Index..... 295

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

US sociocultural, political, military, financial, and legal attitudes toward Chinese languages teaching in American higher education have been changing over time. Although the number of American people who learn Chinese is boosting, book-length publications to investigate how the sociocultural, political, financial, legal and military conflicts, communications, or connections between innumerable Chinese, American, and Chinese American communities have been influencing Chinese languages teaching in US higher education are not frequently seen. This academic monograph, therefore, aims to be the first or at least one of the earliest book-length research projects exclusively focusing on visible and under-the-table problems about Chinese language teaching in US higher education.

My gratitude goes to all the anonymous interviewees, people who referred me to them, and people who offered help to this book project. I would like to also thank people who are willing to open-mindedly listen to all the anonymous interviewees' experiences and cordially understand these experiences regardless of whether they are too lucky to personally witness anything similar to these anonymous interviewees' true experiences in their daily life.

Ya-chen Chen

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CHAPTER ONE

CHANGES IN CHINESE-LANGUAGE TEACHING IN US HIGHER EDUCATION: FROM CHINA'S FEUDALIST DYNASTIES TO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY¹

Currently, the earliest history of the Chinese written language can be traced back to archeological discoveries revealing that Neolithic communities in the Danwenkou culture (大汶口文化 about 4100–2600 BC; roughly 6,300–4,000 years ago) had their own marking signals and written language.² This history may be extended further to the era prior to the Danwenkou culture if earlier archeological records are found. *Lüshi chunqiu* (呂氏春秋) said, “Xizhong created vehicles; Cangjie created the written language” (奚仲作車，倉頡作書). According to oral history regarding Huangdi (黃帝 from approximately the second century BC, around 4,000 years ago), Cangjie (倉頡) started the Chinese written language system, and the systematic learning and teaching of Chinese language ensued. In the Qin Dynasty, Li Si (李斯) unified characters based on various types of previous writing styles. Throughout the Chinese feudalist dynasties, one of the most influential records of Chinese language teaching in foreign nations was probably the Tang Dynasty’s teaching of the Chinese language to elite Japanese monks. Even in the twenty-first century, most educated Japanese people can read and write some Chinese characters. Chinese-language teaching was also influential in Korean and Vietnamese sociocultural and literary history. Political, military, and sociocultural differences across national boundaries strongly affected the outcome of the teaching of the Chinese language to various foreign countries, however. Chronologically speaking, US attitudes and policies toward the Chinese and Chinese-language teaching in higher education have varied from racial and linguistic discrimination during Chinese feudalist dynasties, military comradeship against Japanese invaders during WWII, and political alliance of democratic nations against

communist countries during the Cold War, Korean War, and Vietnam War, to the current mixture of racism and welcome in the twenty-first century. This chapter aims to chronologically outline the history related to changes of Chinese-language teaching in US higher education by taking political, military, sociocultural, institutional, financial, diplomatic, ethnic, linguistic, educational, and governmental power struggles into serious consideration.³

China's feudalist dynasties and US discrimination against the Chinese

The US government's earliest official records of Chinese-heritage people arriving in its territory are from 1785; however, Chinese people may have been to America during China's feudalist dynasties or even before the ancient Chinese dynasties. For instance, Gavin Menzies's book entitled *1421: The Year China Discovered America* kindled archeological and historical firestorms about the "1421 history," arguing that the royal Ming-Dynasty Chinese ships directed by Zheng He (鄭和) discovered America seventy years before Christopher Columbus.⁴ In 1761, J. de Guignes (1721–1800) thought that Chinese people arrived in America early in the Tang Dynasty because of his equation of the place called Fusang (扶桑) in Yao Silian's *Liangshu* (梁書 *The Book of Liang*; published in 626 during the Tang Dynasty) with either Mexico or the west coast of America. Recent archeological and linguistic discoveries imply that Chinese-heritage people probably arrived in America in 1300 BC, nearly 2,800 years before Christopher Columbus.⁵

Early Chinese-heritage immigrants have been unwelcome in American history, however. The San Francisco gold rush in 1848 and the United States' first transcontinental railway construction (including the California Central Railroad, the railroad from Sacramento to Marysville, and the San Jose Railway) in 1858–1885 brought southern Chinese men to the Pacific Coast of the US. Their willingness to accept low wages (average monthly earnings: 28 USD; ranging from 24–31 USD per month; roughly one quarter of American laborers' wages at that time)⁶ and their hardworking attitude resulted in jealousy and anti-Chinese hostility in US laborers. English language racial slurs against Chinese-heritage people pervade US history, including "Chinese Must Go!," "John Chinaman" (variations of this phrase: "the ugly Chinaman," "Chinaman," "Chinese boy," or "Chinee"), "the yellow peril" (derived from "Die Gelbe Gefahr" by a German painter named Hermann Knackfuß in 1895), "sinophobia,"

“pan-face” (variations of this word: “pan-cake” or “flat-face”), “anti-Chinese,” “zipper-head” (variations of this term: “zip” or “zipper”), “dragon lady,” “coolie,” “yellow monkey” (variation of this phrase: “red monkey” after Chinese Communism), “ching chong,” “baby-muncher,” “banana,” “slant eyes” (variations of this phrase: “slant,” “coin slant,” “slot machine,” or “two strokes”), “chink” (variation of this criticism: “chinky” and “chinkie”), “honky,” “gook,” and so on.

American legal and political discrimination against the Chinese began in the nineteenth century, with the Commutation Tax and Foreign Miners Tax Law (California law in 1850), Cubic Air law (California law in 1850), Page Act (in 1875), Chinese Exclusion Act (first version in 1882), Chinese Exclusion Act (revised and worsened version in 1884), Scott Act (in 1888), Geary Act (inclusion of the discriminatory word “Chinaman” in US laws in 1892), Scott Act (in 1902), Magnuson Act (in 1943), and so forth.

The period from China’s feudalist dynasties to WWII

During the period from China’s feudalist dynasties to WWII, US acceptance of Chinese-language teaching and learning was extremely limited. The possible exception was perhaps American missionaries or politicians who would have had or did have Chinese connections. Prestigious American universities started offering Chinese-language teaching regardless of mainstream American society’s discrimination against Chinese.

Yale University

Yale University’s Chinese-heritage employee Addison Van Name,⁷ who worked as a librarian in 1865–1905, seemed to touch upon “elements” of Chinese and Japanese when teaching Hebrew in 1863–1866, but the university’s first Chinese-language professor Samuel W. Williams (衛三畏), one of the earliest American missionaries who returned from China to the United States, did not begin his teaching job until 1877. Enrollment was a serious problem at that time, however, because nineteenth-century Americans’ discriminatory attitudes could hardly motivate a considerable number of US students to learn Chinese.

In 1943, Yale University’s sinologist George Kennedy developed the Yale romanization system. Its original goal was to improve the American army’s communications with front-line Chinese military allies on the

battlefield. It is more accurate in terms of Mandarin Chinese pronunciations than the Wade-Giles system of romanization. The Yale system of romanization was included in US textbook materials of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL) and teaching Chinese as a second language (TCSL) from the 1940s to the late 1970s.⁸

Harvard University

In October 1879, Harvard University responded to Francis K. Knight's request and employed its, and the United States', first official Chinese-language faculty member Ge Kunhua (戈鯤化 Ko, K'un-hua). With Edward Bangs Drew as his reference person and *Huazhi yingwen* (華質英文 *Chinese Verse and Prose*) as his first Chinese textbook,⁹ Ge Kunhua won this teaching position, had Martin Lane, his English teacher, as his first Harvard student, and taught fewer than a dozen Harvard students from October 1879 to his death in February 1892. Always wearing his Qing Dynasty governmental uniform during class time helped Ge Kunhua successfully provide an authentic Chinese flavor to Harvard University's initial Chinese languages and cultural studies courses. In 1880, Harvard University's chronicle recorded his participation in the commencement. After Ge Kunhua's death, *Rushoutang shih chao* (入壽堂詩鈔 *Anthology of Poems in Rushou Hall*), an anthology of his own poems, was donated to Harvard University as the first Chinese-language item in the library collection. Even in the twenty-first century, a black-and-white photo of Ge Kunhua in his Qing Dynasty governmental uniform remains at the entrance of the Yen-ching East Asian library of Harvard University.

University of California in Berkeley

The University of California at Berkeley's first official Chinese languages faculty member, John Fryer (傅蘭雅 1836–1928), taught Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese from 1892 to 1914.¹⁰ He was also the first, only, and founding faculty member of the East Asian Languages and Cultures Department at UC Berkeley.

Columbia University in the City of New York

The first Chinese-language classes at Columbia University began in 1901.¹¹ According to Wm. Theodore de Bary, Dean Lung's (丁龍) letter

to Columbia University President Seth Low in 1901 was one of the key points in making Chinese studies possible in Columbia University.¹²

Stanford University

Stanford University's first appointed instructor of Chinese was Shau Wing Chan (Mandarin Chinese pronunciation of his name: Chen Shou-yung 1907–1986). He finished his PhD in 1937, initiated his Stanford teaching career in 1938, was promoted to Assistant Professor of Chinese and English in the 1939–1940 academic year, and retired as a professor in 1972.¹³ Shau Wing Chan's textbooks included *Chinese Reader for Beginners* published in 1942 and *Elementary Chinese* published in 1951. In addition to these two textbooks, Stanford University Press also published Shau Wing Chan's English-Chinese dictionary in 1946.

University of Chicago

The University of Chicago started its first China-related classes in 1936, but it did not substantially begin its Chinese-language courses and Chinese cultural studies classes until the 1950s. According to Tung Ping-cheng's (佟秉正 P. C. Tung) international academic conference presentation, the University of Chicago's earliest textbook of conversational Chinese was probably *Conversational Chinese*, authored by Teng Ssu-yu and published by the University of Chicago Press in 1947.¹⁴

Initial teaching of Chinese dialects

On the western coast of the United States, a colossal number of immigrants from southern China motivated non-prestigious schools, Chinese-language schools, evening classes, and weekend schools to offer various southern Chinese dialect classes, such as Xiguan-style Cantonese (西關粵語) including the Guangzhou dialect (廣州話) and Hong Kong style Cantonese (香港粵語), or Siyi dialects (四邑方言) including the Taishan dialect (臺山話) which contains influences of the Southern Min dialect (閩南語). John Fryer, for instance, taught not merely Mandarin Chinese but also Cantonese at the University of California in Berkeley.

The US-China/US-Taiwan military comradeship during WWII

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii removed a great deal of US political hostility against the Chinese, although residual animosity remains today. Soong Mei-ling's southern American accent of English language speech at the US Congress in 1943 did not result in American audience members' linguistic discrimination against Soong Mei-ling, such as teasing criticism of "ching chong" or "Chinglish," and confirmed the US-China military friendship. From then on, US mainstream society's attitude toward the Chinese became a mixture of acceptance and disrespect. The Chinese War Bride Act in 1946, for example, permitted Americans' Chinese-heritage wives and biracial offspring to enter and live in the United States and seemed to be welcoming of Chinese people yet ideologically locked the image of Chinese American women into the stereotypical vulnerable role of war brides, just like the female protagonist in the opera *Madame Butterfly*.

The period from WWII through to the Cold War

During the period from WWII to the Vietnam War, Japan's attack of the United States—and Republican China's and Taiwan's military friendships with the United States to fight against communist countries, including Russia, Communist China, North Korea, and North Vietnam—encouraged Americans to learn Chinese languages. The American need for Chinese-language teaching in higher education accelerated enormously due to governmental, military, political, ideological, and diplomatic reasons; therefore, college-level Chinese-language teaching served a bodyguard-like role in the United States' homeland security and in protecting the nation-state. For example, Chinese was one of the United States' critical languages according to American government's National Defense Education Act in 1951. This is why, although mainstream American people continued their original bias against Chinese people and the Chinese language on the one hand, the US government made friends with the Republican Chinese government and the Taiwanese government, and sped the growth of Chinese-language teaching in American higher education, on the other.

The People's Republic of China's closed-door policy

The People's Republic of China's closed-door policy resulted in difficulties for Chinese Mainlanders' in freely reaching America. The large number of simplified Chinese characters and the pinyin system of romanization, which the Chinese Communist Party created during its closed-door period, did not pervade Chinese language teaching in American higher education during this period. That is to say, the Chinese language taught in the US during and before this period was mainly traditional Chinese characters as well as the Wade-Giles system and phonetic system of romanization.

The Mandarin Training Center

Of the Chinese-speaking areas, Taiwan was the top choice for American students' summer, winter, semester-long, or year-long studies abroad in the period from WWII to the end of Cold War.¹⁵ For instance, in 1956 the National Taiwan Normal University established its Mandarin Training Center. According to the Mandarin Training Center's official records, every semester, around 1500–2000 students from more than 100 countries arrived to sharpen their Chinese-language abilities and personally experience Taiwan. This Mandarin center became Taiwan's biggest Chinese-language teaching center for American and other foreign students. In 1959, a group of overseas students, university professors, and researchers from Taiwan founded the AACS (American Association for Chinese Studies). At that time, it was “the only academic society in America devoted exclusively to the general area of Chinese studies.”¹⁶

Taipei Language Institute

The Taipei Language Institute derived from the Taipei branch of the Missionary Language Institute (基督教語文學院), established by Marvin Ho (何景賢) and Rev. Egbert W. Andrews in New Jersey in 1956. The name “Missionary Language Institute” was replaced by the TLI (Taipei Language Institute 台北語文學院) in 1958. From 1959 to 1979, the TLI offered Mandarin Chinese-language training to non-Chinese-heritage missionaries, diplomats, embassies, governmental officers, or military troops from the US. The Ministry of Education, Taiwan, changed its Chinese name to be “Zhonghua yuwen yanxi suo” (中華語文研習所) but

kept the same English name in 1976. From 1996 on, the TLI founded branches in Toronto, Hong Kong, Shanghai, New York, Beijing, Tokyo, New Deli, and San Francisco. Since then, it has been teaching not merely Mandarin Chinese language but also Chinese culture. It has been including not only US military staff, missionaries, governmental officers, and politicians but also white-collar people who need Mandarin Chinese language and knowledge about Chinese culture from all over the world. Even now, Marvin Ho is proud of his editorial work of the Chinese-language dictionary, which simultaneously contains the phonetic system of romanization, the pinyin system of romanization, traditional Chinese characters, and simplified Chinese characters. He is interested in the possible use of an AI (artificial intelligence) chatbot to help learners practice conversation and strengthen the quality and quantity of drill sessions of Mandarin Chinese-language abilities.

US students' counter-cultural movements and the rise of area/ethnic studies

The sociocultural problems around the period of the US government's participation in the Korean War and the Vietnam War entailed American college students', hippies'¹⁷ (who were also identified as yuppies, flower children, or flower people), and young people's "counter-cultural" social movements¹⁸ and the rise of ethnic studies programs and area studies programs¹⁹ on American university campuses in the 1960s. In California, Bay Area Asian American students, for example, had similar kinds of social movements in 1968–1974.²⁰ Chinese-language teaching, Chinese cultural studies, sinological studies, (East) Asian studies, (East) Asian languages and literary studies, Asian American studies, Chinese American studies, and Oriental studies,²¹ therefore, became rising stars among all the area studies and ethnic studies in American higher education of the 1960s.

The Stanford Center and the IUP

In 1961, Stanford University founded the Stanford Center (史丹福中心) at the National Taiwan University, bringing American students from Stanford University to the National Taiwan University to advance their Chinese-language abilities and cultural studies. In 1963, the Ivy League²² connected with the National Taiwan University and started the IUP (美國

各大學中國語文聯合研習所 Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies). The tuition was around 3,500 USD (approximately 12,000 NTD) per semester, and the teacher-student ratio ranged from 1:1 to 1:4.

Taiwanese universities established by Western missionaries

Three Taiwanese universities established by Western missionaries initiated their TCFL/TCSL centers early in the 1960s and 1970s. Fu Jen Catholic University founded its language center and included TCFL/TCSL in 1964. Tung Hai University and Feng Chia Christian University also did the same thing in 1971 and 1975.

Mandarin Daily News

The *Mandarin Daily News* (國語日報) started its TCFL/TCSL in 1973. Chang Hsi-wen (張希文 Zhang Xiwen) was the first expert in charge of the Chinese-language teaching to non-Chinese-heritage learners. The unique teaching methods efficiently strengthened students' listening and speaking abilities. From 1973 to the middle of the 2010s, the number of its students, who came from 112 nations, was over 130,000.

The US stereotype of the model minority

In the 1960s, sociologist William Peterson used the term “model minority” in the *New York Times* to refer to Asian-heritage Americans, including Chinese-heritage Americans, meaning that the image of Asian Americans had transformed from that of cheap laborers to educated and hardworking middle-upper classes. This term was seconded by US mass media's reports of Asian American people's successful life stories. Because of the burden of the model minority, female Chinese American students, for example, tend to be “raced as smart Chinese girls, gendered as the Chinese sorority sitting in the back of the room, and classed as low-income kids at a ghetto school.”²³ Some critics pointed out the true reason why this term was popular in mainstream white America at that time, however. For instance, the mainstream white US society aimed to alleviate African Americans' collective fights against racism; therefore, the creation of the “model minority”²⁴ seemed to help white Americans discourage black Americans'

social movements against racial discrimination by telling them to have Asian Americans as role models of all the US minorities. This term, in this sense, implied white Americans' stereotypical belief that most Asian Americans were subservient and tolerant without fighting voices, not as good at uniting to fight for their own rights as black Americans were, and thus labeled as better controllable "models" than African Americans. The word "model" in this term looked honorable and wonderful, but the US definition of the Asian American model minority as people bad at fighting for their own rights and welfare was actually disdainful and terrible. In other words, this term signified the mixture of American mainstream society's acceptance of and discrimination against the model minority at the same time. Fruit Chan's death offered a stereotypical example of American whites' anti-Japanese hostility in US legal history, although mainstream US society praised Asian Americans as their model minorities and would like African Americans to follow in the footsteps of Asian American models. Fruit Chan was biologically Chinese but was mistaken as Japanese and killed in a restaurant by two white American male laborers who worked for a Japanese car factory and hated wealthy Japanese Americans. Regardless of US politicians and Asian American attorneys' efforts and petitions, the US court never punished these two white American men.

The World Chinese Language Association and the earliest TCFL/TCSL certificates

In 1973, Taiwan inaugurated the World Chinese Language Association (世界華語文學會). In 1974, this association issued the world's first quarterly magazine of TCFL/TCSL. In 1977, this association opened the world's first "cram school" of TCFL/TCSL qualifications (華語文師資研習班), offering the world's earliest TCFL/TCSL certificate.²⁵

An American shift from Taiwan to Mainland China: The era after the Cold War and post-Maoist open-door policy

During the era after the end of the Cold War and Mainland China's post-Maoist open-door policy,²⁶ Mainland China replaced Taiwan as the top choice for American students' Chinese-language studies abroad. In 1997 Beijing's IUP appeared. It instantly replaced Taiwan's IUP, turning Taiwan's IUP into the ICLP (International Chinese Language Program) in

1999.²⁷ On average, every year, more than 70–80,000 foreign students who had learned some basic Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese traveled to Mainland China to sharpen their Chinese-language abilities.

The growth of the Chinese-heritage population in American universities

Since the 1980s, the increase in the arrival of Chinese Mainlanders in the United States has been changing American higher education and academic society. Chinese programs, Asian studies programs, foreign languages departments, and programs related to TCFL/TCSL in the US university setting have been receiving more and more Chinese Mainland students compared to Taiwanese and Hong Kong students. Departments, graduate schools, and colleges related to management, economics, finance, science, and engineering in US universities are full of Chinese Mainland students now. American law schools and medical colleges also have more and more Chinese-heritage students. English language academic journals in the above-mentioned research fields have more and more Chinese-heritage editors, reviewers, and consultants. Current US higher education has a much-larger number of students, researchers, faculty members, and staff who are Mainland Chinese than of other nationalities. More and more on-campus Chinese populations have either attracted Americans to learn and like Chinese languages and dialects or ignited Americans' anti-Chinese antagonism.

Tuition from and enrollment of on-campus Chinese-heritage students

American universities' and colleges' attitudes toward their on-campus Chinese populations and Chinese-language teaching are affected not merely by American students' emotional ups and downs when facing more and more Chinese peers and teachers but also by practical concerns related to budgets. Tuition from Mainland Chinese students and the enrollment of students from Mainland China have become more influential in terms of the budgets of American colleges and universities. In other words, US higher educational institutions are depending financially more and more on Mainland China. If the Mainland Chinese government one day resumes its closed-door policy, US higher educational institutions will probably suffer enormous financial damage because of the loss of enrollment and

tuition of Mainland Chinese students.

Confucius Institutes

Further affecting American college campuses financially is the People's Republic of China (PRC) governmental funding for TCFL/TCSL via Confucius Institutes. From the establishment of the PRC in 1949 to the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, Chinese communists fought severely against Confucianism, but later on, the renaissance of Confucianism²⁸ took place in Mainland China. The PRC replaced its original communist power struggles against Confucianism with the current honoring of Confucianism and launched more than three hundred and fifty Confucius Institutes in more than one hundred nations, including fifty-five in the United States in 2009. Every Confucius Institute hinted at providing great budgets and (semi-)free faculty resources from the Mainland Chinese government.

Some American universities accepted the money and faculty resources that accompanied the agreement to create on-campus Confucius Institutes, but some institutions rejected them. From the late 1990s to the early 2010s, Confucius Institutes seem to have been created in US and Canadian higher educational institutions.²⁹ The “Chinese bridge” (漢語橋) contests, hosted by the PRC governmental branch “Hanban” (漢辦) office and Confucius Institutes, began in 2002, attracting more than 300,000 non-Chinese-heritage participants outside of Chinese-speaking areas and more than 1,000 non-Chinese-heritage student-level participants who learned Mandarin Chinese in Mainland China. From the early 2010s to the present, however, there came denials of opening or continuing Confucius Institutes on US campuses.³⁰ The University of Chicago, for instance, signed a five-year contract (2009–2014) for a Confucius Institute with the Hanban, but in 2010 more than one hundred faculty members expressed their objection. In 2014, the University of Chicago officially closed its on-campus Confucius Institute.³¹ Later, Penn State University also shut its on-campus Confucius Institute.³² The AAUP (American Association of University Professors) urged that academic freedom and institutional autonomy were perhaps what managers of Confucius Institutes should have paid attention to. According to news reports outside of Mainland Chinese areas, Confucius Institutes are like a part of the current PRC government's dreams to “buy up”³³ the entire globe, including Beijing-based Superior Aviation Airline's hope to acquire the Hawker Beechcraft,³⁴ the PRC

state-run company's plan to purchase the Mediterranean port of Pireaus in Greece,³⁵ and so forth.

Other institutes and academies

Aside from Confucius Institutes, many organizations, institutes, and academies are related to Chinese-language teaching. The International Han Institute was established in 2005.³⁶ The IA TCSOL (International Association for Teachers of Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages 全球漢語教學總會; 全球漢教總會) was established in Delaware. With branch offices in New York, Houston, and Los Angeles, Taiwan Academies were established. They hold various sorts of cultural activities, such as speeches related to Chinese-language teaching or Chinese cultural elements.

The Faculty of Education, Hong Kong, also has different types of Mandarin Chinese-language drama and singing contests. Summer immersion programs in Mandarin Chinese and conferences about Mandarin Chinese-language teaching are also frequently seen.³⁷

100,000 Strong initiative in Chinese-speaking areas

Outside of scholarly circles, the rise of the Mainland Chinese economy boosted Chinese-language teaching in US higher education. In 2009 and 2010, US President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hilary Clinton launched diplomacy in action: the 100,000 Strong China:

Citing the strategic importance of the US-China relationship, in November 2009, President Barack Obama announced the “100,000 Strong” initiative, a national effort designed to dramatically increase the number of and diversify the composition of American students studying in China. Secretary of State Hilary Clinton officially launched the initiative in May 2010 in Beijing. The Chinese government strongly supports the initiative and has already committed 10,000 “Bridge Scholarships” for American students to study in China. The 100,000 Strong Initiative has transitioned into an independent, non-profit organization external to the State Department.³⁸

Flagship programs

As well as the 100,000 Strong Chinese initiative, there are Chinese flagship programs at the Arizona State University, Western Kentucky

University, Indiana University, Hunter College of CUNY (City University of New York), University of Mississippi, University of Oregon, University of Minnesota, University of Rhode Island, and University of Hawaii in Mānoa.

Military needs

Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) programs and military universities also emphasize Chinese-language teaching. Politically and militarily speaking, Chinese has undoubtedly been one of the critical languages from the US government's viewpoint. From 2005 to 2009, Condoleezza Rice served as the sixty-sixth Secretary of State of the United States; she learned Chinese and requested national encouragement for governmental officers and military staff to learn Mandarin Chinese and other critical languages. Arizona State University's Navy ROTC program, for example, emphasizes its Chinese-language teaching to military students:

Flagship ROTC students are highly motivated; they foresee Chinese as a defining component of their careers paths [sic] both within and outside of the military. Through rigorous study and cultural immersion, these students graduate to become the next generation of global professionals and leaders of character of service to the nation. Captain David Price, commanding officer of ASU's Naval ROTC Program, commented in the ASU CLAS Magazine, "Programs like Chinese Flagship are critical in providing the level of expertise needed to understand the peoples and cultures in areas we operate in." With advanced understanding of China's language and culture, Flagship ROTC students are a vital resource in addressing issues of national security.³⁹

US President Barack Obama apparently encourages his children to learn Mandarin Chinese and to practice Chinese conversation, as well.

President Barack Obama's daughter Sasha, 9, is learning Chinese in school. And like any encouraging dad, the president helped her find opportunities to hone her skills. This week, the 9-year-old had the chance to practice her phrases with Hu Jintao, the administrative head of the Chinese Communist Party and the PRC government.⁴⁰

Some of them even stress the importance of students' learning both simplified characters and traditional characters. For instance, in a job posting, Norwich University, the United States' oldest private military

university, highlighted the desire for a new hire to provide balanced Chinese-language teaching of not merely simplified characters but also traditional characters in the 2012–2013 academic year:

The Department of Modern Languages at Norwich University invites applications for a tenure-track position to begin in fall semester 2013. Teaching responsibilities include language courses at all levels, especially advanced language and content-based courses (literature and culture). Duties include a teaching load of four 3-hour courses per semester at all levels, participation in Modern Languages department activities, student advising, and other service activities.

Requirements: The desired candidate must have a PhD in Chinese or Chinese literature. Teaching experience at the college level in North America, excellent language teaching credentials and outstanding skill in and enthusiasm for teaching all levels of Mandarin Chinese are essential. Also required are native or near-native proficiency in Chinese and English, a good command of simplified characters and the pinyin phonetic system, a working knowledge of traditional characters, well-versed in both modern standard Chinese and ancient classical Chinese, and a scholarly background in language and/or literature. Must be authorized to work for any employer in the US. To apply: Please send a cover letter, current CV, three recent letters of recommendation (including at least one that addresses teaching effectiveness), transcript and Norwich application to Chinese Faculty Search.

Some nonmilitary US universities have also mentioned the need for new hires to be able to teach traditional Chinese characters. For example, the University of Hawaii in Hilo underscored its requirement for job candidates to be proficient in writing traditional Chinese characters:

Position number 83971, UH Hilo, College of Arts & Sciences, tenure-track, full-time, general funds, nine-month appointment to begin approximately August 2014, pending position clearance and availability of funding.

Duties: Further develop a recently approved Chinese Studies Certificate Program; teach all levels of Chinese language and culture and related courses to native speakers of English; teach Japanese language and/or Japanese studies courses; design, develop and implement curriculum materials in Mandarin Chinese and Chinese culture; conduct assessment of student learning in Chinese language and culture courses within department and university program review framework; apply up-to-date and innovative pedagogy in language teaching in online (DL) and non-traditional modes; provide service in areas of expertise to the

University and larger community through non-credit bearing courses; help develop stronger interdisciplinary ties with the College of Business and other units in the College of Arts and Sciences. Related activities include, but are not limited to, advising students on academic matters, sustaining an active and productive research agenda, participating in faculty/administrative committees, community service, and in-service training.

Minimum Qualifications: PhD from a college or university of recognized standing in a field appropriate to the requirements of the position; native fluency in Mandarin Chinese with demonstrated knowledge of traditional and simplified script as well as the pinyin spelling system; experience and documented success in teaching Mandarin Chinese language and culture at the college level; practical experience in integrating technology into language teaching.

Desirable Qualifications: Proven productivity in academic research; scholarship that is highly interdisciplinary in nature; experience teaching artistic or literary aspects of Chinese culture; experience in developing students' insights into Chinese grammatical structures, the development of the language through history, and improving their skills in speaking, listening, reading and writing Chinese; fluency in Japanese and experience in teaching Japanese language at the college level; experience in and commitment to rigorous and continuous student learning assessment; experience working with non-traditional credit hour teaching of language and DL instruction; a demonstrated history of success in developing and/or sustaining a Chinese cultural studies program.

Standardized examinations of Mandarin Chinese and China-related dialects

Currently there are different kinds of standardized examinations of non-Chinese-heritage people's Mandarin Chinese-language proficiency. The PRC government started the HSK (漢語水平考試 Hanyu shuiping kaoshi) examinations in 1992. Compared with the HSK examinations, the C. TEST (實用漢語水準認定考試 Test of Practical Chinese) examinations hosted by the Beijing Language and Culture University pay more attention to examinees' listening comprehension and practical usage of the Chinese language. The PRC and Hong Kong government's standardized examination, the PSC (國家普通話考試 National Putonghua Proficiency Test) examination, was initiated in 1994. The Taiwanese government's standardized examination, the TOP (華語能力測驗 Test of Proficiency-Huayu) examination, began in November 2005.

Since 2003, the Hakka Affairs Council has been hosting standardized

examinations to determine examinees' Hakka language abilities in Taiwan. Since 2010, the Ministry of Education in Taiwan and National Cheng Kung University have been holding standardized examinations of the Southern Min dialect in Taiwan. Harvard University, Stanford University, Williams College and the CCNY (City College of New York)⁴¹ have been offering Southern Min dialect courses (also called Taiwanese classes) to US students for years. The Hong Kong Chinese University hosts standardized examinations of the CPT (Cantonese Pronunciation Test). Regular Cantonese dialect courses can be found at academically prestigious US universities, such as Stanford University. Some American higher educational institutions, such as UC Berkeley and Stanford University, provide language classes or tutorial sessions of Tibetan or official "content courses" related to Tibetan Buddhist cultural studies or religious studies; however, information about standardized examinations of Tibetan is currently not as frequently seen as about those of Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese, Hakka, or the Southern Min dialect. Sometimes lamas invited from Tibet to US universities or colleges refuse to communicate with people on American campuses in Mandarin Chinese because of their political or other concerns. In spring 2005, some junior lamas, for instance, were invited to Union College in Schenectady, New York, yet communicated with people in English, rather than Mandarin Chinese nor Tibetan, when they were there.

Qualifications of Mandarin Chinese language teaching

TCSOL (teaching of Chinese to speakers of other languages) certificates are currently the globally recognized qualification for Chinese-language teaching. According to the IA TCSOL, other certificates related to Chinese-language teaching include the TCFL Certificates, TCYL Certificates, and TCBP Certificates. Established in 1995, the ICA (International Chinese Language Teachers Association) hosts qualification examinations in Mainland China, Hong Kong (Asian Pacific branch), New York (North America), and Paris (European branch).

The Ministry of Education in Taiwan holds annual examinations for TCFL / TCSL certificates. Similar to how the PRC government's Hanban office and Confucius Institutes offer free Chinese-language teaching staff to foreign countries, the Taiwanese government provides free Chinese-language teachers, who are either licensed or certified, to foreign nations, such as the US, Russia, Thailand, Poland, Indonesia, India, France,

or Germany.⁴² For instance, every year Columbia University in the City of New York and Duke University in Durham accept at least one Chinese language instructor, whose salary comes mainly from Taiwan, not from American universities. American schools spend no money to hire the free instructor but provide free lodging and health insurance for a year to the instructors.

Majority of the population in cities on the west coast of the US

Although the stereotype of the model minority continues in American society, some cities on the western coast of the United States have had Chinese-heritage, Japanese-heritage, Indian-heritage, and/or other Asian-heritage people as the largest portion of the population from the late 1990s to the present. That is to say, the Asian-heritage model minority became the majority in some cities on the west coast of the United States, while whites became the minority in those places. For instance, 77.48% of the population in Arcadia City, one of the fifteen best cities to raise children in according to *Business Week*, was Chinese from 2006 through to 2010. In the 2010 census data and historical racial data, the approximate rate of Chinese-heritage population in other California cities was around 47.7% in Monterey Park, 43.4% in San Marino, 42.1% in San Gabriel, 41.5% in Temple City, and 38% in Rowland Heights.⁴³ The number of Chinese-heritage mayors in California also increased, to include Jean Quan in Oakland, Ed Lee in San Francisco, Evan Low in Campbell, Lisa A. Wong in Fitchburg, and so on. A byproduct of these cities' acceptance of Chinese-heritage administrative heads or of the Chinese population as their majority population is the popularity of Chinese-language teaching and cultural studies, on the one hand, and mainstream Americans' fears of Chinese people's occupying jobs and positions of power, on the other hand.

Bamboo ceiling

Although Chinese-language teaching prospers in US higher education, the “bamboo ceiling”—namely, the “glass ceiling” for Chinese-heritage people—remains. US society's acceptance of Chinese-language teaching, Chinese people's achievements, Chinese characteristics, or anything Chinese is probably not a cordially welcoming one but an ironic mixture

of jealousy, hatred, xenophobia, approval, fondness, appreciation, fancy, trendiness, exoticism, and practical needs resulting from current or recent international changes. Whether Chinese people, Chinese language and “Chinese-ness” are truly respected and loved by mainstream Americans remains an unsolved mystery. Chinese-heritage people with equal or better contributions or rankings as Americans may still receive less respect, encounter disparate treatment, and bump into the bamboo ceiling.

For example, in the 2000s and 2010s, American-born Chinese-heritage people’s English was still criticized as “Chinglish,” while no particular denigrating term is used to mock Americans’ spoken and written Chinese. According to analytical data about the American Ivy League universities’ admission of new students, experts at Princeton University concluded that Asian American students, when measured on an all-things-being-equal basis, have to score at least 140 points higher than Caucasian-heritage American students and approximately 450 points higher than African-heritage and Latino-heritage American students on standardized tests, to be admitted to academically prestigious universities. In 2006, a Chinese American student named Jian Li filed a complaint against Princeton University for racial discrimination because she was not admitted to Princeton University despite the fact that she scored high in almost every part of her transcripts. On January 17, 2006, the *Daily Princetonian* ridiculed Jian Li under the penname of “Lian Ji.” It parodied Jian Li:

I so good at math and science ... I the super smart Asian. Princeton the super dumb college, not accept me ... My dad from Kung Pao province. I united 500 years of Rice Wars ... I love Yale. Lots of bulldogs here for me to eat.

After Princeton faculty, students, and staff criticized the publication of such a bigoted falsification, the *Daily Princetonian* website removed this racially prejudiced sarcasm, but the information about this racist parody can be found in newspaper archives. Responding to the racist parody in the *Daily Princetonian*, another parody appeared to tease the anti-Chinese racists:

Hi! Princeton! Remember me? ... I so good at math and science. Perfect 2400 SAT score. Ring bells? Just in cases, let me refresh your memories. I the super smart Asian. Princeton the super dumb college, not accept me... What is wrong with you no color people? Yellow people make the world

go round. We cook greasy food, wash your clothes and let you copy our homework.⁴⁴

Even Chinese-heritage Americans with academic admission to “Ivy League” or academically prestigious universities did not escape US racism. The US-born Taiwanese-heritage basketball player Jeremy Lin (林書豪), for instance, was admitted to Harvard University, yet American mainstream mass media called him “chink in the armor,” “yellow mamba,” “two-inch penis,” “fortune cookie,” “kung fu grip,” and “FOB from Taiwan,” while Euro-American-heritage or African-heritage basketball players were never referred to with such discriminatory phrases.

The “Big 10” universities in the US Midwest are not nicer to Chinese-heritage people, either. The female Chinese-heritage chancellor of the UIUC (University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign),⁴⁵ Phyllis M. Wise (王斐麗), was a good example. She encountered countless racist and sexist insults after her decision to not close her university on a snowy day while nearby male Caucasian chancellors faced no criticism after making the same decision on the same snowy day.

In an interview during summer 2014, Rose Y. Tseng (Mandarin Chinese name: Chang, Yun-li 張蘊禮) disclosed the ugly fact that an anonymous American called her and told her that this kind of people, like her—namely, female Chinese-heritage first-generation immigrants to the US—were not welcome in the local communities on the day she commenced her administrative position as the first female Chinese-heritage chancellor of the University of Hawaii. She chose to not file any official complaint at the local police station though people surrounding her mentioned the possibility of leaving a formal record of this racist phone call at the Hawaii police office.

This anti-Chinese hostility of adult Americans in US universities may be traced back to their childhood. Jimmy Kimmel’s TV show on ABC, for instance, included a six-year-old white American boy’s intention to “kill all the Chinese” in order to avoid the American government’s responsibility to return the 1.3 trillion dollars that the United States owe to China, but nothing about American children’s attempts to slaughter people in other countries. If American children express such a desire to terminate all Chinese people early when they are as young as six, and no appropriate correction and education follows, they may continue with the same anti-Chinese disposition and behave similarly to people in the above-mentioned cases at Princeton University, Harvard University, University of Hawaii, or University of Illinois. There is no guarantee that

Chinese-language teaching in US higher education can alleviate such a decades-long anti-Chinese bias beginning in American students' childhoods.

In spring 2016, Chris Rock criticized white Americans' anti-black problems in the Oscar Award ceremony but joked about Asians by arranging three Asian-heritage children to play stereotypical Asian roles defined by mainstream Americans. Both Jeremy Lin and Ang Lee publicly expressed their dissenting opinions; unfortunately, Chris Rock simply said that he had no time to respond to Asian-heritage people's viewpoints. This reaction implied that Chris Rock felt that it was unnecessary to pay any attention to Asian-heritage people's perspectives and concerns.

In summer 2016, numerous African-heritage people retaliated against white policemen by attacking or shooting them in different American cities, such as Dallas in Texas, because some white policemen killed African-heritage people. Barack Obama, the first African-heritage President of the United States of America, claimed that these African-heritage people's retaliation against white policemen did not represent all the African Americans' wish to divide the entire country into white and black. However, African-heritage people, on average, tend to be more courageous than Asian-heritage people throughout the US in terms of activist parades or social movements to shout out their voices against racial bias.

Conclusion

In brief, Chinese-language teaching in US higher education began early in China's Qing Dynasty. From China's feudalist dynasties to Japan's attack of America in WWII, US universities played a major role in making Chinese-language teaching possible on their campuses. From the later stages of WWII to the end of the PRC's closed-door policy, Taiwan played the most influential role in assisting American higher educational institutions' promotion of Chinese-language teaching. After the PRC's open-door policy, Mainland China replaced Taiwan in playing the prominent role, though some backlash against Confucius Institutes appeared in US higher education. Sometimes, people from Mainland China skipped the Taiwanese parts of Chinese-language teaching in the United States. Sometimes, people from Taiwan dropped the Mainland Chinese aspects of Chinese language in the United States. Sometimes, Americans learn Chinese languages and dialects but continue to hold age-old anti-Chinese biases.

This chapter has tried to provide an historical overview with a balanced viewpoint, including both Mainland-oriented standpoints and Taiwan-centered stances. This chapter has also pointed out subtleties of Americans' psychological concoction of amity and abhorrence when facing the ups and downs of different Chinese powers from China's feudalist dynasties to the twenty-first century.

After the introductory chapter in this book

After the introduction, this book analyzes the following aspects: institutional power struggles, anonymous students' teaching evaluations as personnel decisions, differentiation of romanization systems (pinyin, Wade-Giles, Yale, and phonetic systems of romanization) as well as etyma and ancient Chinese characters in handwriting, traditional and simplified Chinese characters in ancient Chinese calligraphy and modern written systems, comparisons and contrasts of Confucius Institutes and Taiwan Academies, and forty anonymous interviewees' valuable experience of TCFL/TCSL in US higher education from 1996 to 2016.

In Chapter Two, the idea that numerous US employers have a magic phrase as their legal escape from suffering the responsibilities of discriminating: "search for the 'best fit'" (not the "best") is discussed. This means that even the best candidates may be not chosen because the best may not be the best-fitting or the best-liked according to the deciders' subjective feelings, personal preferences, or emotional ups and downs. Current US laws require only job openings to be publicly advertised. As long as employers publicly advertise their job vacancies and keep files to verify their initial phone, conference, or Skype interview sessions of applicants, US laws cannot do anything about employers' tricky strategies to escape their legal responsibilities to not discriminate. For instance, an anonymous female Chinese American interviewee with a doctoral degree in Chinese literature competed with a male candidate with a PhD in architecture for a tenure-track position to teach Chinese language, literature and culture. Although a degree in architecture does not look like the right academic fit for teaching Chinese language and literature, the employer and deciders identified the male candidate as a better fit than the Chinese American woman and hired the male architect only five working days and a weekend after the deadline of his references' feedback to the employer.