

# **Changes in Chinese-language Teaching in US Higher Education: From China's Feudalist Dynasties to the 21st Century**

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## **Abstract**

Political, military, and sociocultural differences across national boundaries affected results of Chinese-language teaching. US attitudes toward Chinese-language teaching in higher education have been varying over time: first, Chinese feudalist dynasties; second, from China's final dynasty to the US-China military comradeship against Japan during WWII; third, from the post-WWII period and Cold War to the end of the Chinese Communist Government's "Close-Door" Policy; fourth, from Mainland China's "Open-Door" Policy to the current US mixture of anti-Chinese racism and welcome of Chinese-ness in the 21st century. This article outlines changes of TCFL (teaching Chinese as a foreign language) or TCSL (teaching Chinese a second language) in US higher education by taking political, military, sociocultural, institutional, financial, diplomatic, ethnic, linguistic, educational, and governmental power struggles into serious consideration.

**Keywords:** Chinese-language teaching, US higher education, bamboo ceiling (glass ceiling), power struggles, model minority

## **1. Prologue and Importance of This Research Project**

People with different backgrounds and standpoints tended to present inadvertently incomplete or unconsciously biased versions of historical overview about TCFL/TCSL in the US higher education. Different tellers created different

stories. Sometimes people from Mainland China erased Taiwanese contributions of TCFL/TCSL in the United States, such as Chinese Mainlanders' harsh criticism on the inclusion of traditional Chinese characters in teaching contents.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes people from Taiwan dropped Mainland Chinese aspects of Chinese language teaching in the United States, mistook Chinese Communists for being initial creators of simplified Chinese characters, forgot that some characters were simplified in ancient dynasties and knew no details about the historical fact that Nationalist leader Kai-shek Chiang<sup>2</sup> (蔣介石) proposed to simplify Chinese characters in Mainland China during the 1930s and Taiwan during the 1950s. Sometimes Americans learn Chinese language and dialects but continue to hold age-old anti-Chinese biases. This article aims to offer a chronological overview in balanced viewpoints and highlight subtleties of spiritual conflicts between Chinese Mainlanders and non-Mainland Chinese-language native speakers who work on TCFL/TCSL in the US higher education as well as Americans' psychological concoction of amity and abhorrence when facing the ups and downs of different Chinese powers from China's feudalist dynasties to the 21st century.

## 2. China's Feudalist Dynasties and US Discrimination Against Chinese

The US government's earliest official records of Chinese-heritage people's arrival in its territory are from 1785; however, Chinese people may have been to America during China's feudalist dynasties or even before 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 He Zheng (鄭和) discovered America 70 years before Christopher Columbus.<sup>3</sup> In 1761, J. de Guignes (1721-1800) thought that Chinese people arrived in the west of America early in the Tang Dynasty because of his equation of the place called

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<sup>1</sup> See Raja Abdulrahim's report in *Los Angeles Times* on October 18, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Ya-chen Chen respects the journal editors' decision to place Chinese surnames in back of Chinese given names.

<sup>3</sup> Consult Menzies (2003). Also consult Salmon and Ptak (2005); Levathes (1996).

Fusang (扶桑) in Silian Yao's (姚思廉) *Liangshu* (梁書 *The Book of Liang*; published in 626 during the Tang Dynasty) with either Mexico or America in 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.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.1 Anti-Chinese Discriminatory Wording

Early Chinese-heritage immigrants were 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 prompted southern Chinese men to the Pacific Coast of the US. Their willingness to accept low wages (average of monthly earning: \$28 USD; ranging from \$24-31 USD per month; roughly 1/4 of regular American laborers' wages at that time)<sup>5</sup> and their hardworking attitude resulted in jealousy and anti-Chinese hostility in US laborers. English-language racial slurs against Chinese-heritage people pervaded the entire US history of melting pot or salad plate, including

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<sup>4</sup> For details, see Gray (2015). Also consult Phillips (2015). For details, see the online news report.

<sup>5</sup> On April 29, 1999, Hon. John T. Doolittle of California in the US House of Representatives expressed his gratitude for Chinese American people's contribution to California railroad construction. For details, see the website about his speech: <http://cpr.org/Museum/Chinese.html> (retrieved in July 2015). As a matter of fact, on the day for Americans to celebrate the completion of California railway, Chinese labors were excluded from the photo. The MOCA (Museum of Chinese Americans) in Manhattan, New York, posted this photo on its wall, and every tour guide explained the cruel and discriminatory fact that Americans included no Chinese in their photo after Chinese labors' influential contribution to the railway construction. It was probably because of the photo's inclusion of no Chinese people, Leland Stanford asked his painter to include Chinese people in a painting about the completion of California railway system. "Stanford University would not exist without the labor of these Chinese workers who built the railroad and created the wealth that Leland Stanford used to found Stanford University," said Shelly Fisher Fishkin, director of American Studies program in Stanford University. For details, consult Zi (2014). Also see the online information about the CRRW (Chinese Railroad Workers) in the North American Project at Stanford University as well as the CHSA (Chinese Historical Society of America): <http://web.stanford.edu/group/chineserailroad/cgi-bin/wordpress/timeline> (retrieved in July 2015).

“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.

## 2.2 Anti-Chinese Discriminatory Laws

American legal and political discrimination against Chinese began in the 19th 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.

## 3. The Period from China’s Feudalist Dynasties to WWII

During the period from China’s feudalism 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.

### 3.1 Yale University

Early in 1785, Yale University’s Chinese-heritage employee Addison Van Name,<sup>6</sup> who worked as a librarian in 1865-1905, seemed to touch upon

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<sup>6</sup> For details, consult Tsu (1970).

“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 19th-century Americans’ discriminatory attitudes could hardly motivate a considerable number of US students to learn Chinese.

### 3.2 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 Kunhua Ge (戈鯤化 Ko, K’un-hua). With Edward Bangs Drew as his reference person,<sup>7</sup> Kunhua Ge 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 Kunhua Ge successfully provide an authentic Chinese flavor to Harvard University’s initial Chinese language and cultural studies courses. In 1880, Harvard University’s chronicle recorded his participation in the commencement. After Kunhua Ge’s death, *Renshoutang Shih Chao* (人壽堂詩鈔 *Anthology of Poems in Renshou Hall*), an anthology of his own poems, was donated to Harvard University as the first Chinese-language library collection. Even in the 21st century, a black-and-white photo of Kunhua Ge in his Qing Dynasty governmental uniform remains at the entrance of the Yen-ching East Asian library

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<sup>7</sup> Some people said that Kunhua Ge’s first teaching material was a Chinese-language fiction. Some people believed that Kunhua Ge’s *Huazhi Yingwen* (華質英文 *Chinese Verse and Prose*) was the first textbook to introduce Chinese culture and poetry, including Kunhua Ge’s own 15 poems, at Harvard University. For details, consult Yu (2012). Also consult the following online information: <http://cul.qq.com/a/20150423/010401.htm> (retrieved in July 2015). Also see Harvard University’s online archive: <http://blogs.law.harvard.edu/yenching/?p=98> (retrieved in July 2015). <http://harvardmagazine.com/2008/03/ko-kun-hua.html> (retrieved in July 2015). Some people, such as F. Knight (聶德), regarded Thomas Francis Wade’s *Yuyen Zierji* (語言自邇集) as Kunhua Ge’s textbook. For details, consult the following webpage: [http://pbice.blogspot.tw/2006/01/tcsl\\_06.html](http://pbice.blogspot.tw/2006/01/tcsl_06.html)

of Harvard University.

### 3.3 University of California in Berkeley

UC Berkeley's first official Chinese language faculty member, John Fryer (傅蘭雅 1836-1928), taught Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese from 1892 to 1914.<sup>8</sup> He was also the first, only, and founding faculty member of East Asian Languages and Cultures Department at UC Berkeley.

### 3.4 Columbia University in the City of New York

The first Chinese language classes at Columbia University began in 1901.<sup>9</sup> 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 to make Chinese studies possible in Columbia University.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.5 Stanford University

Stanford University's first appointed instructor of Chinese was Shau Wing Chan (Mandarin Chinese pronunciation of his name: Chen, Shou-jung 陳壽永<sup>11</sup> 1907-1986). He finished his Ph.D. 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.

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<sup>8</sup> For details, consult the UC Berkeley's own files about John Freyer: <http://www.cshe.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/shared/publications/chronicle/Fryer.pdf> (retrieved in July 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Consult Chang (1979).

<sup>10</sup> For details, see Wm. Theodore de Bary's article in the following website hosted by Columbia University: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/alumni/Magazine/Spring2002/AsianStudies.html> (retrieved in July 2015).

<sup>11</sup> According to the information from Cornelius Kubler (顧百里) at Williams College, the Chinese name of Shau Wing Chan is 陳壽永。

<sup>12</sup> For details, see the historical record in the CEAS (Center of East Asian Studies) of Stanford University: <https://ceas.stanford.edu/about/index.php> (retrieved in July 2015). Also consult the website information at the historical society of Stanford University: <http://historicalsociety.stanford.edu/pdfmem/ChanS.pdf> (retrieved in July 2015).

### 3.6 University of Chicago

The University of Chicago started its first China-related classes in 1936, but it did not substantially spawn its Chinese language courses and Chinese cultural studies classes until the 1950s. According to Ping-cheng Tung'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 Ssu-yu Teng and published by the University of Chicago Press in 1947.<sup>13</sup>

### 3.7 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 Guangzhou dialect (廣州話) and Hong Kong style Cantonese (香港粵語), or Siyi dialects (四邑方言) including Taishan dialect (臺山話) which contains influences of Southern Min dialect (閩南語). John Freyer, for instance, taught not merely Mandarin Chinese but also Cantonese at the University of California in Berkeley.

### 3.8 The US-China/US-Taiwan Military Comradeship During the WWII

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii removed a great deal of US political hostility against Chinese, though residual animosity remains today. Mei-ling Soong (宋美齡)'s southern American accent of English-language speech at the US Congress in 1943 did not result in American audience members' linguistic discrimination against Mei-ling Soong, 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 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

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<sup>13</sup> For details, see Tung (2006). George A. Kennedy reviewed Shau Wing Chan's *Chinese Reader for Beginners* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Kennedy 1942). Stanford University Press also published Shau Wing Chan's *A Concise English-Chinese Dictionary: With Romanized Standard Pronunciation* in 1946. Also consult Hartwig (2010).

enter and live in the United States and seemed to be welcoming Chinese, on the one hand, 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*.

#### **4. The Period from WWII Through the Cold War and the Chinese Communist Government's Closed-door Policy**

During the period from WWII to 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 Communists, including Russia, Communist China, North Korea, and North Vietnam, encouraged Americans to learn Chinese language. American needs of Chinese language teaching in higher education accelerated enormously because of governmental, military, political, ideological, and diplomatic reasons; therefore, college-level Chinese language teaching served as a bodyguard-like role in United States homeland security and 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, though mainstream American folks continued their original bias against Chinese people and Chinese language, on the one hand, the US government made friends with the Republican Chinese government and the Taiwanese government and speeded the growth of Chinese language teaching in American higher education, on the other hand.

The People's Republic of China's closed-door policy resulted in Chinese Mainlanders' difficulties 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.



#### 4.1 The Mandarin Training Center

Taiwan was the top choice of American students' summer, winter, semester-long, or year-long abroad studies in Chinese-speaking areas during this period from WWII to the end of Cold War. For instance, in 1956 National Taiwan Normal University established its Mandarin Training Center. According to the Mandarin Training Center's official records, every semester, around 1,500-2,000 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 all the 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."<sup>14</sup>

#### 4.2 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 Vietnam War entailed American college students', hippies'<sup>15</sup> (who were also identified as yippies, flower children, or flower people), and young people's "counter-cultural" social movements<sup>16</sup> and the rise of ethnic studies programs and area studies programs<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> For details, consult the official website of the AACS (American Association for Chinese Studies): <http://aacs.ccny.cuny.edu/homepage.htm> (retrieved in July 2015).

<sup>15</sup> See Issitt (2009).

<sup>16</sup> For details, see Dickstein (1977:11-16); Foner and Garraty (1991:1118); Gitlin (1993:21); Rorabaugh (1989:19). Also consult the following journal article: Zhao (2000).

<sup>17</sup> The second wave of feminism, women's social movements, feminist activism, requests for sexual egalitarianism, and sympathy for female minorities were also introduced to the US mainstream society around the same time. The rise of women's and gender studies program on American university campuses ensued, therefore.

<sup>18</sup> See the poster of the Bay Area Asian American students' social movement in California: <http://aam1968.blogspot.tw> (retrieved in July 2015).

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,<sup>19</sup> therefore, became rising stars among all the area studies and ethnic studies in American higher education of the 1960s.

#### 4.3 The Stanford Center and the IUP

In 1961, Stanford University founded the Stanford Center (史丹福中心) in National Taiwan University, bringing American students from Stanford University to National Taiwan University to advance their Chinese language abilities and cultural studies. In 1963, the Ivy League<sup>20</sup> connected with 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 rate ranged from 1:1 to 1:4.

#### 4.4 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 the educated and hard-working middle-upper class. This term was seconded by US mass media’s reports of Asian American people’s

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<sup>19</sup> The word “oriental” denotes Euro-American colonial self-centered bias against Asian colonized people. The University of Chicago, for instance, established its Chinese studies program under the administrative umbrella of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures in 1936. For details, consult the CEAS (Center for East Asian Studies) website at the University of Chicago: <https://ceas.uchicago.edu/page/about-ceas> (retrieved in July 2015). The University of London keeps its use of the word “oriental” in the name of the SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies) now. Some American universities, such as Duke University, used the word “oriental” in the name of its old Asian studies department or program in the past, yet currently the use of the word “oriental” is removed. At Duke University, the current names are the Asian and Mideast Studies department and East Asian studies institute.

<sup>20</sup> In 1954, eight academically prestigious universities in North Eastern parts of the US formed the “Ivy League”: Harvard University, Yale University, Princeton University, Columbia University, Cornell University, University of Pennsylvania, Brown University, and Dartmouth College.

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.”<sup>21</sup> 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”<sup>22</sup> 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 Afro-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 though mainstream US society praised Asian Americans as their model minorities and would like Afro-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.

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<sup>21</sup> See Rodriguez (2015:205-230).

<sup>22</sup> Consult Hartlep (2015).

#### 4.5 The World Chinese Language Association and the Earliest TCFL/TCSL Certificates

In 1972, Taiwan inaugurated the World Chinese Language Association (世界華語文教育學會).<sup>23</sup> In 1974, this association issued the world's first quarterly magazine of TCFL (teaching Chinese as a foreign language)/TCSL (teaching Chinese as a second language). In 1977, this association opened the world's first cram school of TCFL/TCSL qualification (華語文師資研習班), offering the world's earliest TCFL/TCSL certificate.<sup>24</sup>

### 5. 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,<sup>25</sup> Mainland China replaced Taiwan as the top choice for American students' Chinese-language abroad studies. 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.<sup>26</sup> On the average, every year, more than 70,000 to 80,000 foreign students who had learned some basic Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese traveled to Mainland China to sharpen their Chinese-language abilities.

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<sup>23</sup> Founding members included Hsi-wen Chang (張希文), Liang-tung Tsung (宗亮東), Jung Ho (何容), Chu-Sheng Yeh (葉楚生), Tzi Kao (高梓), You-Pei Chao (趙友培), Chen-chiu Peng (彭震球), Shu-hsien Liu (劉述先), Yi-cheng Chang (張亦錚), Chien-pin Huang (黃建斌), Hsiao-yu Chang (張孝裕). Presidents of this association from the 1970s to the present included Hsi-wen Chang (張希文), Song-nian Mao (毛松年), Hsien Li (李鑒), Chih-lang Tseng (曾志朗), Kwang-shun Tseng (曾廣順), Ming-te Lai (賴明德), Pei-ying Pai (白培英), Wan-li Cheng (程萬里), and Kwang-cheng Chang (張光正).

<sup>24</sup> In 2004, the World Chinese Language Association issued its first academic journal: *Journal of Chinese Language Teaching*.

<sup>25</sup> In 1979 Xiaoping Deng (鄧小平) announced Mainland China's "open door" policy.

<sup>26</sup> Taiwan's IUP administratively belonged to the College of Liberal Arts in 1997, and was renamed as the ICLP (International Chinese Language Program 國際華語研習所) in 1999.

### 5.1 The Growth of Chinese-heritage Population in American Universities

Since the 1980s, the increase of 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 having more and more Chinese Mainlanders than Taiwanese and Hong Kongers. Departments, graduate schools, and colleges related to management, economics, finance, science, and engineering in US universities are full of Chinese Mainlanders now. American law schools and medical colleges also have more and more Chinese-heritage people. 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 an unbelievably larger number of students, researchers, faculty members, and staff who are Mainland Chinese than of other nationalities. More and more on-campus Chinese populations either have attracted Americans to learn and like Chinese language and dialects or ignited Americans' anti-Chinese antagonism.

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 more and more financially 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'.

### 5.2 Confucius Institutes

Further affecting American college campuses financially is the 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 Confucianism<sup>27</sup> 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 350 Confucius Institutes in more than 100 nations, including 55 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 did accept 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.<sup>28</sup> 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 1000 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.<sup>29</sup> 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 100 faculty members expressed their objection. In 2014, the University of Chicago officially closed its on-campus Confucius Institute.<sup>30</sup> Later, Penn State University also shut its on-campus Confucius Institute.<sup>31</sup> The AAUP (American Association of University Professors) urged that academic freedom and institutional autonomy were perhaps what managers of Confucius

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<sup>27</sup> See Fan (2011).

<sup>28</sup> Consult Howlett and Alphonso (2014). Also consult the following online news report by Ghoreishi (2013).

<sup>29</sup> “Toward the end of 2013, the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), which represents over 70,000 Canadian academic professionals, called on universities and colleges to cut their ties with Confucius Institutes, which it said are ‘subsidized and supervised by the authoritarian government of China.’” For details, consult Timm (2015).

<sup>30</sup> See Redden (2014).

<sup>31</sup> Consult Foster (2014).

Institutes should have paid attention to. According to news reports outside of Mainland areas, Confucius Institutes are like a part of the current PRC government's dreams to "buy up"<sup>32</sup> the entire globe, including Beijing-based Superior Aviation Airline's hope to acquire the Hawker Beechcraft,<sup>33</sup> the PRC state-run company's plan to purchase the Mediterranean port of Pireaus in Greece,<sup>34</sup> and so forth.

### 5.3 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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup>

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 K Strong China.<sup>37</sup>

Except for the 100K Chinese initiative, there are Chinese flagship programs

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<sup>32</sup> See Yueh (2013).

<sup>33</sup> Consult MacDonald (2012).

<sup>34</sup> See Yang (2015:122-124).

<sup>35</sup> For details, consult the website of the "Hanban" office: <http://www.haninstitute.com.tw/front/bin/ptlist.phtml?Category=120127> (retrieved in July 2015).

<sup>36</sup> For details, see the website of the Faculty of Education, Hong Kong: <http://hkpeac.edu.hku.hk/activities> (retrieved in July 2015).

<sup>37</sup> For details, consult the US governmental website: <http://www.state.gov/100k> (retrieved in July 2015).

at 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 Maona.

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 66th 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.<sup>38</sup> US President Barack Obama apparently encourages his children to learn Mandarin Chinese and to practice Chinese conversation, as well.<sup>39</sup>

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... Requirements... a good command of simplified characters and the pinyin phonetic system, a working knowledge of traditional characters...

Some nonmilitary US universities would also mention 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

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<sup>38</sup> For details, see the website information from the Arizona State University's ROTC Program: <https://silc.asu.edu/flagship/chinese-language-flagshiprotc-pilot-program> (retrieved in July 2015).

<sup>39</sup> For details, see the online CBS news report: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/sasha-obama-speaks-chinese-with-president-hu-jintao> (retrieved in January 2011).



proficient in writing traditional Chinese characters:

Position number 83971, UH Hilo, College of Arts & Sciences, tenure-track, full-time, general funds, nine-month appointment... Minimum Qualifications: Ph.D. from a college or university of recognized standing... native fluency in Mandarin Chinese with demonstrated knowledge of traditional and simplified script as well as the pinyin spelling system...

#### 5.4 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 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)<sup>40</sup> 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

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<sup>40</sup> In fall 2008, the Chinese language program and Asian Studies Program in the CCNY offered a semester-long independent studies course of Taiwanese conversation practice, including singing practice of popular Taiwanese songs.

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 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.

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.<sup>41</sup> 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

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<sup>41</sup> For details, see the Taiwanese website: <http://www.edu.tw/pages/list.aspx?Node=4029&Type=1&Index=3&wid=409cab38-69fe-4a61-ad3a-5d32a88deb5d> (retrieved in July 2015).

money to hire the free instructor, but provide only free lodging and health insurance for a year to the instructors.

### 5.5 Majority of 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 major 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, around 77.48% of the population in Arcadia City, one of the fifteen best cities to raise children according to *Business Week*, was Chinese from 2006 through 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.

### 5.6 Bamboo Ceiling

Although Chinese language teaching prospers in US higher education, the “bamboo ceiling”—namely, the “glass ceiling” for Chinese-heritage people—remains. For example, in the 2000s and 2010s, American-born Chinese-heritage

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<sup>42</sup> For details, consult the US census data: <http://www.census.gov> (retrieved in 2014). Also see the following website information: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_U.S.\\_cities\\_with\\_significant\\_Chinese-American\\_populations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_U.S._cities_with_significant_Chinese-American_populations) (retrieved in July 2015). Arcadia's Chinese-heritage population can be found in the 2006-2010 census data: <http://www.usa.com/arcadia-ca-population-and-races--historical-race-data.htm> (retrieved in July 2015).

people's English is still criticized as "Chinglish," while no particular denigrating term is used to mock Americans' spoken and written Chinese. According to analytical data about the 10 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.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> For details, consult Vassar College's library collection of newspaper archives: <http://newspaperarchives.vassar.edu/cgi-bin/vassar?a=d&d=miscellany20070202-01.2.6> (retrieved in July 2015). Also consult Arenson (2007).

Even Chinese-heritage Americans with academic admission to the “Ivy League” university 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,” “kungfu 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),<sup>44</sup> 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: Yun-li Chang 張蘊禮 with her spouse’s surname Tseng) 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 by 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 to leave a formal record of this racist phone call in the Hawaii polite 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

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<sup>44</sup> Because of the UIUC’s recent inclusion of more and more Chinese-heritage and Indian-heritage faculty and students (especially in its engineering division), a joke equates the UIUC with the phrase: the university of Chinese and the university of India.

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 follow, 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 the white Americans' anti-black problems in 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 the white part and the black part. However, African-heritage people, on the 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. For instance, Peter Liang, a Chinese-heritage New York policeman accidentally shot a black suspect and white judges punished him severely. Chinese-heritage judge Denny Chan in Brooklyn court "reduced the jury's conviction to criminally negligent homicide. Chun sentenced Liang to

five-year probation and 800-hour community service.”<sup>45</sup> Numerous Caucasian-heritage US policemen were sentenced to be innocent without any punishment in jail after mis-killing African-heritage suspects, however. This incident resulted in more than ten thousand people’s on-street protests.<sup>46</sup>

Donald Trump advocated xenophobia, racism, and sexism when competing for the US Presidential position with Hilary Clinton.<sup>47</sup> If he wins the US presidential election, few people in TCFL/TCSL of the US higher education would deem it a good news for the future Chinese language teaching, Chinese cultural studies, or Chinese women’s and gender studies in American colleges and universities.

## 6. 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 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. This article has tried to provide the historical overview with a balanced viewpoint, including both sides from Mainland-oriented standpoints and Taiwan-centered stances.

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<sup>45</sup> Consult John Bacon and Melanie Eversley’s news report in *USA Today* on April 19, 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Consult George Koo’s news report in *Asia Times* on February 15, 2016.

<sup>47</sup> See the news report in *BBC News* on July 22, 2016.

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# 美國高等教育界華語教學的轉變： 中國封建王朝時期到二十一世紀

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## 摘要

政治、軍事、社會文化差異影響對外（跨國）華語教學成效。美國高等教育界對於華語教學的態度隨伴時光流逝而多次易變更迭，約略四個時期：首先，中國封建王朝時期的排華歧視；第二，朝代滅亡到第二次世界大戰抗日聯盟；第三，冷戰時期民主陣線聯手對抗共產國家以及中共「門戶緊閉」政策時期；第四，中共改革開放「門戶洞開」政策時期到二十一世紀現今排華種族歧視與熱情迎擁中國經濟利益的雙面矛盾。本文主講美國高等教育界對於華語教學的種種改變，研究視角與方法採取多元考量，囊括政治、軍事、社會文化、制度機制、財經、外交、種族、語文、教育、政府權力消長等等層面。

**關鍵詞：**對外華語教學 美國高等教育界 竹子天花板（玻璃天花板） 權力消長 弱勢族群的模範