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Chinese Family Language Policy in The Context of Trilingual Schools in Surabaya

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Abstract. Chinese language education is becoming popular in the world, including in Indonesia. Since the end of the New Order government in 1999 and the establishment of the strategic partnership between Indonesia and China in 2005, more and more Indonesians are starting to learn Chinese. Apart from being a foreign language, Chinese is also considered as a heritage language for Chinese Indonesian. With the increasing interest in learning Chinese, trilingual schools that offer Chinese, English, and Indonesian language learning have started to appear in various cities in Indonesia, including in Surabaya. Within the context of trilingual schools, this study uses a qualitative method to explore family language policy (FLP), related to multilingualism and the efforts to preserve the heritage language, in the Surabaya Chinese family. Data were obtained by interviewing eight participants who are parents of trilingual school students from various levels of education: kindergarten, elementary and secondary school. Three core components of FLP, namely: language ideology, language management, and language practice were used as guidance to code the interview data. We found that the language ideology of the parents is linked with the global and economic value of the language and the imagined multilingual person they hope their children to be. The parents consider English and Chinese as the important languages in relation to today's globalized world. They imagine their children to be multilingual persons who have the necessary linguistic capital for communicating transnationally. But, due to the lack of Chinese and English language skills of the parents, the language practice at home is rather limited to the Indonesian language. They still rely heavily on trilingual schools to provide a language environment and linguistic capital of English and Chinese language. Although parents' language ideology is supportive of their children being multilingual, it turns out that trilingual schools have a fairly important and central role in forming multilingualism in children.

Keywords: *family language policy, trilingual schools, Chinese Indonesians*

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INTRODUCTION

The development of China's economic and political power in the recent years has strengthened the position of Chinese language in the world (Ding & Saunders, 2006; Sharma, 2018). Numerous people estimate that Chinese will become a global language and will compete with English. More and more people in the world become interested in learning Chinese (Kelleher, 2010). Sima (2017) named this phenomenon as “Mandarin fever” (中文热), a phenomenon that is also felt in Indonesia, especially since the strategic partnership between Indonesia and China was established in 2005 (Hoon & Kuntjara, 2019).

Chinese language education in Indonesia experienced a “tremendous boom” and became very popular after the end of the New Order government in 1999 (Hoon, 2007), especially after the revocation of Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 regarding the religion, beliefs, and customs of Chinese people in 2000 by President Abdurrahman Wahid (Sutami, 2007) and the statement of support of President Megawati for the implementation and development of Chinese language education in Indonesia in 2002 (Hoon & Kuntjara, 2019).

Now, according to Sutami (2016), Chinese language education in Indonesia is implemented in various forms, ranging from informal, to nonformal, to formal at various levels of education (p. 213). Kaboel and Sulanti in Setijadi (2015) stated that the number of institutions that provide Chinese language education in Indonesia has also continued to increase from year to year and that the number has now reached thousands. Several universities in Indonesia are also working with the Chinese Language Council Office (Hanban) to establish a Mandarin Center, also known as 孔子学院 or Confucius Institute. In addition, there are numerous trilingual schools (三语学校) that uses Chinese, English, and Indonesian languages as teaching languages in several big cities in Indonesia. The use of various languages in trilingual schools is in accordance with the definition of multilingual education explained by García and Lin (2017), where multilingual education itself is actually an extension of the concept of bilingual education.

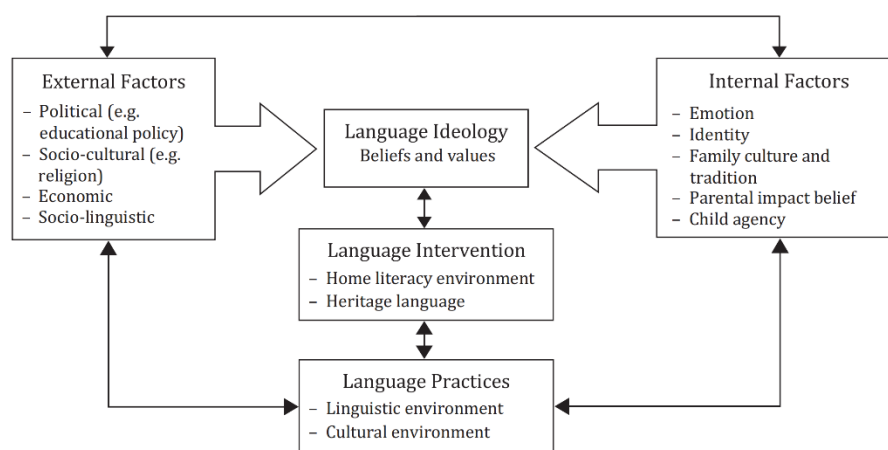
Although using Chinese as one of the teaching languages, the concept of trilingual schools is very different from Chinese schools in the pre-New Order era. The curriculum in trilingual schools has now been adjusted to the character and characteristics of Indonesia and aims to educate students to have a nationality and love for Indonesia. These schools are no longer exclusive to Chinese ethnic but also open for non-Chinese ethnic students (Hoon & Kuntjara, 2019, p. 574 & 581–586).

Besides being a foreign language, according to Budiyan (2017), Chinese is also a heritage language for the Chinese ethnic community in Indonesia. However, 32 years of restrictions on Chinese language education has made Chinese ethnic, who were born and grown up during this period; lose the opportunity to learn their heritage language. Consequently, most of them do not understand Chinese (Suryadinata, 2008). This, according to Setijadi (2015), made them want their children to learn Chinese to “reconnect” themselves with their identity as Chinese people (p. 141). Because schools are also considered as a productive site that reflects the diversity and complexity of language ideologies (Figueroa & Baquedano-López, 2017), hoping that their children will become proficient in Chinese, many of the

parents who are a part of this generation choose to enroll their children in trilingual schools.

Nevertheless, the dominance of English as a global language remains very strong among the people (May, 2013), including the Chinese ethnic family in Indonesia (Luli & Budiman, 2018). Therefore, language learning, either Indonesian, English, or Chinese, for ethnic Chinese children is also considered a process of selection and negotiation influenced by various things, including their national identity as Indonesian citizens, their global identity as global citizens, and the reconstructing process of their Chineseness (Tan-Johannes, 2018).

The concept of FLP was used to explore this complexity of Chinese family language use. Curdt-Christiansen & Huang (2020) developed a dynamic FLP model that relates external and internal factors to language ideology. FLP has three core components: language ideology, language management or language intervention, and language practice (Fig. 1).



Source : Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020, p. 176

Figure 1. Dynamic model of FLP

Zhou (2019) underlined the contrast between ideology and reality, and the relation between them. He applied this difference to language and stated that language ideology is different from language order. Language order is seen as a linguistic reality, a hierarchical relation between languages in society. Through this approach, he defined language ideology as “a system of ideas, presuppositions, beliefs, attitudes, and values regarding languages, their status, and their use in society” (2019, p. 36). Language ideology is the driving force in language policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Language practice is language usage in reality. Language practice is different from beliefs or ideology, just like reality differs from ideology. Language ideology is not always directly and perfectly realized in language practice. This discrepancy between language ideology and language practice can be interpreted as an ongoing process, which means language ideology is influencing language practice (Zhang & Shao, 2018). On the other hand, language practice can also influence language ideology (Li & Sun, 2017), and contradictions can happen between practice and ideology (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016).

Language management is the effort of a “language manager” to change or influence other’s language practice (Spolsky, 2009). Spolsky (2019) then added to this concept “advocates” role, a person or a group who does not have the authority, like a manager, but wants to change language practice. Curdt-Christiansen (2014) specifically highlighted family language management as family literacy. Family literacy relates to three things: home environment, parents’ involvement, and various family capitals. Home environment includes resources related to literacy; parents’ involvement includes formal and informal literacy activities; and family capitals consist of physical, human, and social capitals, which can be changed into children’s educational achievement (p. 39). Besides parental agency as the deciding factor of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018), FLP studies lately also showed the important influence of child agency (Smith-Christmas, 2020).

In Indonesian context, Chinese as a heritage language is positively perceived by ethnic Chinese (Budiya, 2017). In relation to FLP, heritage language preservation efforts in Chinese family home varied, ranging from explicit multilingual policy to the implicit or informal one, and also depended on multigenerational family structure (Duff et al., 2017). FLP was generally defined as “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (King et al., 2008); however, according to Curdt-Christiansen (2009) and King (2013), FLP is also implicit and covert. Additionally, insufficient studies concerning trilingual schools in Indonesia and the shortage of researches on multilingualism and heritage language in nonimmigrant societies, especially among Chinese Indonesian, are the background for this study. The purposes of this study are to investigate how does parents’ language ideology underlie their children’s language education and how do trilingual schools and family language management operate in the children’s language education.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Approach

To investigate how the parent’s language ideology, learning practices in trilingual schools, and language management in families operate in children’s language education in order to reveal the covert aspects of FLP, this study used a qualitative approach.

Participants

Data were collected by conducting semi-structured and in-depth interviews to eight Chinese ethnic families (whether with father or mother) who send their children to trilingual schools in Surabaya. Each of these eight families represents every level of education in each school, from kindergarten (TK), to elementary school (SD), to high school (SMP-SMA). Table 1 shows the demographic information of participants.

Table 1. *Participants' demographic information*

Family (Pseudonyms)	Children's education level (grade)	Parents							
		Father				Mother			
		Education background	Age	Occupation	Language	Education background	Age	Occupation	Language
Sylvie's Family	Kindergarten-A	Undergraduate (bachelor)	38	General employee	Indonesian, Javanese	Undergraduate (bachelor)	37	Housewife	Indonesian, Javanese
Yeni's Family	Kindergarten-A	Graduate (master)	40	Chinese teacher	Indonesian, Mandarin, English, Javanese	Undergraduate (bachelor)	35	Chinese teacher	Indonesian, Mandarin, English, Javanese
	Kindergarten-A								
Flora's Family	Elementary 1	Undergraduate (bachelor)	46	Distributor	Indonesian, Javanese	Undergraduate (bachelor)	42	Housewife	Indonesian, English, Javanese
	Elementary 6								
Priska's Family	Junior high 2	Undergraduate (bachelor)	40	Entrepreneur	Indonesian, Javanese	Senior high school (SMA)	37	Housewife	Indonesian, Banjar language
	Elementary 2								
Denis's Family	Junior high 1	Undergraduate (bachelor)	40	Entrepreneur	Indonesian, Javanese	Senior high school (SMA)	37	Housewife	Indonesian, Banjar language
	Junior high 2								
Denis's Family	Kindergarten-A	Senior high school (SMA)	36	Ride-sharing driver	Indonesian, Javanese	Undergraduate (bachelor)	36	School admin	Indonesian
Cecilia's Family	Playgroup	Graduate (master)	36	General employee	Indonesian, English, Javanese	Senior high school (SMA)	28	Housewife	Indonesian, Javanese
	Kindergarten-A								
Arif's Family	Kindergarten-A	Undergraduate (bachelor)	35	Entrepreneur	Indonesian, English, Javanese	Undergraduate (bachelor)	35	Housewife	Indonesian, English
	Elementary 4								
Lisa's Family	Senior high 2	Undergraduate (bachelor)	43	Music teacher	Indonesian, English	Undergraduate (bachelor)	46	School admin	Indonesian, English
	Elementary 2								

Procedures and data analysis

Each interview session lasted 45–60 minutes. To maintain data validity, after transcribing the interview, the transcription was given back to participants for member checking. In addition, the interview data among parents in the same school were compared and checked for validity. Pseudonyms are used to protect participant anonymity.

Data analysis is guided by dynamic FLP model and by coding of interview data to obtain emerging themes (McCarty, 2015). The three core components of FLP (language ideology, language practice, and language management) provided guidance for initial coding. Following the initial coding, we look for new categories based on emerging themes. Table 2 displays the coded themes. As we found that the trilingual schools provide language environment (especially Chinese) for the children, themes were organized based on two environments: home and school.

Table 2. Coding themes

Theme			
Environment	Ideology	Management	Practice
Home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Language of global value Language of economic value Importance of heritage language Beliefs in multilingualism Advantages of being multilingual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children's books Video and audio Extra language tuitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents' competency Communication habits Siblings' interaction Communication with grandparents

• Contestation with nonlanguage ideology			
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural values • Cultural knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on Chinese language • Cultural activities • Language competition • Language exams 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication with teachers • Language-related homework • Teachers' support • Communication with other students

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the result of coding the interview transcript, two main themes were obtained: (1) language ideology and (2) language management and practice. Language ideology theme includes two subthemes: language value and its relationship with heritage language, and the prospect to be a multilingual person.

Language Ideology: Global and Economic Values, Heritage Language

In line with languages taught in trilingual schools, parents expect their children to at least master Indonesian, English, and Chinese language. Ideologically, parents still put forward their Indonesian identity. They do not deny the Indonesian language as the national language and as an identity marker of Indonesian. However, since they presume that Indonesian is already commonly used, they feel the need to emphasize on foreign language learning instead. Our findings show that all families consider English and Chinese as the important languages to be learned by their children.

The families stated that English is the most important foreign language to learn, and almost all families concur that Chinese language is the second most important. In terms of language choice, trilingual schools offer similar languages the parents considered important. Ideologically, Indonesian language represents *luodi shenggen* (rooted locally) concept of Chinese Indonesians, an awareness that they are Indonesian nationals and rooted in Indonesia as their home (Hoon & Kuntjara, 2019, p. 585).

Parents' view that English and Chinese possess more value is based on both languages' global and economic value. English is considered to have more global value because of its international nature. Chinese is perceived to have huge economic potential because the China economy is rising fast. Parents who have international experience or communication experience with Chinese speaking foreigners admit that Chinese is important, as stated by these two parents:

"Yes, because it is undeniable now that all is related to China, and I think whatever path my children take in the future ... I mean whatever the career is, if they master Chinese language, it will definitely ... definitely give them advantage. Absolutely ... my sister who went to college in Shanghai ... got graduate degree in Taiwan.... I know Chinese helps her a lot in her job." (Flora)

"Because English is more global, I mean a lot of countries accept English, more acceptable. ... Even when I communicated with Chinese people, we

used English. ... because we import goods from China. I have been using English to communicate with them, but it will be better if I can speak Chinese with them. They can listen more clearly because their English were not quite good.” (Arif)

Flora, who has a sister who studied abroad and mastered Chinese, concluded that Chinese language was very useful in her sister’s career. Arif made direct contact with his Chinese business partner. His experience showed that English and Chinese were much needed in the communication. Beliefs that English and Chinese have global and economic value were supported by their personal experiences.

One of the external factors shaping ideology about the economic value of Chinese language is China’s economic rise. Positive perception on the rise of China (Kurniawan & Suprajitno, 2019; Hananya, 2020) and political power Chinese language brings in global arena (Curd-Christiansen & Huang, 2020) motivated parents to realize this ideology, although they have had no contact with Chinese nationals before.

“I mean, you should master English first. Chinese later. Like that. I don’t know; people’s opinions differ. But indeed, if we look at the situation now, I have a feeling that Chinese will be number one ... the economy, looks like Chinese is rising fast.” (Lisa)

Lisa showed her opinion about the rise of China, and she assumed that Chinese language can be a global language, along English. According to her, the language order of English and Chinese tends to be economically on the same position.

On the other hand, cultural aspects related to preservation of heritage language remain present in parents’ language ideology. Most of the parents presume that Chinese language is not a marker of Chineseness (at least in Indonesia, because some of the parents’ experience showed that their Chineseness was questioned abroad for their inability of speaking Chinese). Nonetheless, parents still see Chinese language as heritage language demands to be maintained. This is linked with grandparents who infer that Chinese language is a highly valuable heritage language and a marker of identity. This belief is commonly accepted by the parents; hence, in these two generations, ideology about language inheritance is still noticeable.

“... if our kids spoke Indonesian, their grandpa would still speak Chinese. Because I know their grandpa was very proud when they went to (trilingual school). He said this was what he wanted, for his grandchildren to master Chinese language. ... My mom in the past was also annoyed when I didn’t want to learn Chinese. ... I was worried then whether my kids can follow the lesson. My mom said they should be able to follow if they learn from young age. And finally, when my kids went to trilingual school, she was very relieved.” (Priska)

Priska emphasized grandparents’ hope in maintaining Chinese as heritage language. Her inability to speak Chinese made her hesitant at first to get her children into trilingual school. Her mother convinced her to do it. Here language practice based on linguistic competence contributed in shaping ideology. Contestation

happens between insufficient linguistic capital of the parents and the efforts in maintaining heritage language. In the end, the ideology to preserve heritage language became the driving force of FLP.

Although Chinese language was not considered as an identity marker by most of the participants, there are participants who remain interested in Chinese culture, although limited in ideological and symbolical extent, like Priska, who stated the following:

“People said Chinese is not only about the language, but it is rich in culture. A while ago, my daughter talked to me about our house’s *fengshui*. She said there is something wrong about the *fengshui*. I wonder where did she learn about this. ... I finally found out the school taught it. ... Well, they prefer Western rather than Chinese culture. But the school taught them these Chinese cultural things.”

Therefore, cultural aspects as an identity marker only symbolically appear. Their children prefer Western pop culture. However, to them as ethnic Chinese, these cultural things are not foreign because of the heritage facet, like the Chinese language.

Meanwhile, it was found that there were competitions and negotiations between language and nonlanguage ideology. For example, Flora plans to move her daughter from trilingual school when she enter high school, to have a wider socialization environment beyond trilingual school, because her daughter already went to trilingual school from prekindergarten to junior high. Here, the ideology on the needs of socializing of the children and their social capital become more prominent. This is aligned with what [Curd-Christiansen & Huang \(2020\)](#) stated, in which there are sociological ideologies contested with FLP. Most of the families affirmed that they will give their children more freedom when they grow up, to choose any language they like to learn. These show that things indirectly related to language may influence FLP development.

Language Ideology: Imagined Multilingual Person

All parents presume that being a multilingual (or at least bilingual) is important for their children. The parents hope that their children can code-switch according to interlocutors, such as switching from Indonesian to English and Chinese, as needed. Similarly, but in different context with migrant family, such as studied by [Restuningrum \(2017\)](#), the parents interviewed here are also motivated to make their children multilingual. Although they are not planning of moving to other country geographically, ethnicity and globalization context are still able to push them to make their children multilingual.

“ ... I think it is okay, because in the end when they face a fully English speaking person, they will speak fully English. If they face a fully Chinese speaking person, they will speak fully Chinese. Except if there are some words they cannot articulate, they will use English to express them.”
(Flora)

“He will adapt. When I speak Indonesian, he replies in Indonesian. If his father speaks English, he replies in English. If his grandma speaks Chinese, he replies in Chinese. So, he is already able to place himself when to speak a particular language.” (Cecilia)

Flora and Cecilia revealed the hope that their children can adapt with their interlocutors. Borrowing from investment model in language learning proposed by [Darvin & Norton \(2015\)](#), which consists of ideology, capital, and identity, comparable with imagined identities concept (p. 46), here, the parents imagine the multilingual person in their children. Although conceptually, the families interviewed here cannot be regarded as multilingual families (they do not have one parent one language system in practice), the aspiration to be multilingual does exist. Pragmatically, being a multilingual person can provide opportunities for their children to go international, weaving transnational connections. This is consistent with the study of [Zhu & Li \(2016\)](#), in which maintaining high level of multilingualism will enable them to develop transnational networking, which is an imagined opportunity in itself. In comparison to the study of [Piller & Gerber \(2018\)](#), which also showed the projection of benefits from becoming a bilingual in the long term, what were expressed by these Chinese families in Surabaya are also similar; however, [Piller & Gerber \(2018\)](#) also exposed the worries in practicing bilingualism in short term, which is, in contrast, unnoticed in our participants.

Trilingual school here plays the role of actualizing the imagined multilingual person. This was presented by the statement of Cecilia above. Here, the child has already been adaptable to his or her interlocutors' language. Hence, the insufficiency of multilingual reality at home can be supplemented by multilingual environment at school. Besides the presumptions regarding the global and economic values of English and Chinese languages, motivations for the child to be multilingual are also affected by the optimism surrounding the bright future of English and Chinese learning in Indonesia. Beliefs that the society will gradually understand more the importance of being bilingual or multilingual made the parents certain that, although the language environment is currently still dominated by the Indonesian language, the hope of being multilingual can be realized. Although the gap remains between ethnic Chinese and non-Chinese, the future of the Chinese language is believed to be bright.

“Neighbors, friends all were supportive. They support, everybody knows it is impossible now, to learn only one language. Even ordinary schools begin using Cambridge books, just look at those elementary schoolers, they use Cambridge books now.” (Flora)

In Indonesian context, the challenges faced by Chinese language education, which were often exposed, are as follows: insufficient teachers, inconsistent curriculum, inadequate language environment, scarcity of Indonesian relevant resources, and external factors such as politics ([Hoon & Kuntjara, 2019](#)). Conjointly, the “unseen” sides of FLP are also worthy to be explored and should be included in painting the whole picture of Chinese language education in Indonesia. The parents' views enrich our understanding on FLP as one of the bottom-up inputs toward

national curriculum planning. As [Lanza and Gomes \(2020\)](#) suggested, FLP discussion focusing on the global South remains scarce; hence, this study gives a different perspective from studies focusing on the global North (p. 166). Here, we obtained input from the “covert” aspect of language ideology in the family. Different from the 2013 Indonesian curriculum, which emphasizes on Indonesian language and does not include English as a subject in elementary schools ([Kosonen, 2017](#)), the “covert” aspect of FLP reflected otherwise the important position of English and Chinese languages.

Language Practice and Management

Children’s language education starts from the family; therefore, in addition to the parent’s language ideology, the development of children’s language skills also greatly depends on the involvement and guidance of parents to children ([Zhang & Shao, 2018](#); [Beecher & Van Pay, 2020](#)). [Ye & Gao \(2016, p. 99\)](#) describe family language practice as “the language chosen by family members to use in daily life.” This family language practice is also closely related to the parent’s language skills. All interviewed parents said that their mastered best and most spoken language is Indonesian. Regarding English and Chinese languages, most of them claimed that their English is better than their Chinese and some said both are poor.

This then led the participants to choose Indonesian as the first language to be taught to their children. Some of the participants who have good English skills also admit that they also give their children a little introduction to English vocabularies. However, due to their limited Chinese skill, most of them chose not to teach Chinese to their children before school age. Children only start to know and learn Mandarin after they started school.

“(The first taught language) of course is Indonesian. ... after the Indonesian is fluent ... we began to introduce English. ... (but for Chinese) ... no, not (be taught to children) before school.” (Arif)

“Yes (the first language) is Indonesian, but for videos, I give him videos in English ... Not yet (to introduce Chinese). (He started to know Chinese) only when he attends the school trial.” (Sylvie)

Some parents who have quite good Chinese language skill said that they also introduce Chinese to their children even before school, such as Yeni’s family.

“From birth to the age of 2, their (daily) languages were mixed. I mean ... sometimes Indonesian, sometimes Chinese.” (Yeni)

Nevertheless, participants admitted that the introduction of a foreign language was still limited to introducing vocabulary, and its use was still mixed with the use of the main language, which is the Indonesian language.

Besides choosing the child’s first language, the practice of family language can also be observed from the daily-used language. Contrary to the parent’s views and assumptions of the importance of foreign languages for children, most of the interviewed participants admitted that they still use Indonesian as the main language to communicate at home, although some also said that they mix it with English.

“(About the language at home) we usually mixing it too. ... (but) we use Indonesian more often ... (and mixing it) with English. Sometimes also speak Chinese.” (Priska)

“We use Indonesian the most. Sometimes, with our firstborn, their father lately likes to speak English, to make a habit. (but) Not too often, maybe only 15%.” (Cecilia)

It can be concluded that, although the participants have a positive view of the importance of multilingualism in children and the desire to educate children to become multilingual, and although they are also aware that a good and supportive language environment, especially at home, has a very good effect in helping the development of children’s language skills, in fact, it was found that there were no families that actually practiced multilingualism in the family. This is mainly due to the limited language skills of the parents. This is in line with the findings of [Zhang & Shao \(2018\)](#) in their study, in which it turns out that the language ideology may not match the reality of language practice. This phenomenon can also be seen as a process of mutual influence between ideology and language practice in the family.

In addition, another phenomenon related to language practice that can be observed from the interview results is that children can influence the family language practices, as what happened to Flora and Lina’s family whose children are already in their teens (age of high school).

“No ... the elder was ... was too big, he has grown up and ... I don’t know, maybe he is shy or what, but now he always refused to speak English when we asked him to.” (Lina)

“When they were little, they always speak English with me, but the bigger they get, the more they speak Indonesian. Even after I switched it back to English, they will back again (to speak Indonesian) ... I think it’s because they already have their own view. The more we ask them to speak Chinese, or English, the less they will do it.” (Flora)

It was as [Li & Sun \(2017\)](#) found in their study, in which children, especially those who are older, also have an influence on family language policies. They found that, the older the children are, the more they play a role in the decision to use language in the family. In fact, they can even change the policy that has been set by their parents. This is due to the third or external factor (social environment) that makes children have their own views and ideology of language.

Although environmental conditions and language practices are not ideal for supporting children’s multilingualism practice at home, we found that trilingual schools play an important and central role in the formation of multilingualism in children, especially those at early age (kindergarten to elementary level), as told by Priska and Cecilia, who were amazed at the speed of their child’s Mandarin development since attending school:

“When they were in kindergarten, their Chinese was practically zero, they barely knew at all ... but since they attend this school, they can speak Chinese with their grandparents at home.” (Priska)

“I even got confused. Because ... no one can teach him Chinese at home ... (but) in school, he can speak Chinese fluently.” (Cecilia)

This is mainly because of the school curriculum that focuses on Chinese language education. According to the participants’ information, the frequency and percentage of use of Chinese in the trilingual schools attended by their children is also greater than in other languages, as told by Yeni:

“The school is ... they use more Chinese at school. I mean, if there’re 3 school days, 2 days (the teaching language) will be Chinese and 1 day will be English ... so, the percentage is more Chinese ... they also use English but ... they use more Chinese.” (Yeni)

Consequently, a Chinese language environment that supports children’s language development is formed. The education system and curriculum implemented in this trilingual school have proven effective because they can make children accustomed to using Chinese language not only at school but also at home.

“So, when they play together, they speak Chinese language more ... the communication between them is mostly in Chinese ...” (Yeni)

“Sometimes when he plays by himself, he speaks a lot Chinese ... when he is telling story, sometimes he will do it in Chinese, or sometimes will mix it with English.” (Cecilia)

From their story, we can see that the school has succeeded in making children accustomed to communicating in Chinese outside of school, without even knowing it.

Some children are also able to teach their parents the Chinese language and evaluate their parents’ performance. Some of the participants also became influenced by their children and started to learn Chinese to support and teach their children.

“I joined Chinese language tutorial class, for the vocabulary so that I can teach [son’s name].” (Sylvie)

“Little by little, I also started studying with my mama papa, *nainai*, *yeye* ... so at least now, want it or not, I also had to start learning Chinese and English too.” (Cecilia)

This proves that children’s better language skill can make them socialize the language to their parents, either by teaching them or influencing them to learn the language (Li & Sun, 2017). This was positively responded by the participants. Because, the decision to send children to this trilingual school was based on the participants’ desire to master the Chinese language, they supported the education system implemented in schools and were satisfied with the current results.

The management of language by the schools and the language environment the schools provide has contributed to the accumulation of linguistic capital by the children. The language environment also acts as a linguistic market for the children to put it to use. The linguistic capital also serves as language socialization tool to influence parents’ language ideology, which enacts the beliefs in multilingualism. Hence, we can see that, in a family scale, the negotiation between FLP imposed by

the parents (top-down) and the agency of the child (bottom-up) (Smith-Christmas, 2020) is a process related to and influenced by the schools.

In addition to schools, to support children's language development, especially in foreign languages, participants also provide additional language exposure to their children through various media and activities, such as reading books, watching videos, and sending their children to tutoring class both in institutions or private courses. These management efforts by the parents demonstrate the alignment of their language ideology and management with trilingual schools' policy, which in turn also enhance the effectiveness of trilingual schools, at least in short term.

CONCLUSION

There is a gulf between the ideology and practice of implementing the FLP. The desire to be multilingual seems to be strong enough, but it is constrained by the language skills of the parents; therefore, in practice at home, this multilingual policy is only limited to ideology and has not been realized. This is where trilingual school plays a role in bridging the gap. FLP, which is ideologically synchronized with the language policy of the trilingual school, has had its realization, at least temporarily, and is generally practiced in a limited way within the school. As they get older, there is a tendency for children to use the Indonesian language more. This is coupled with the parent's limited Chinese and English skill and the contestation with nonlanguage ideologies, so in the long term, the projection of parents about the imagined multilingual person still need further investigation.

Suggestions for further research are as follows: apart from comparing the context of a trilingual school with a non-trilingual school, as well as comparing areas where Chinese ethnic live (e.g., outside Java), another thing that is no less important is examining further child agency, because of the development of children who attend trilingual schools will be a rich source of data to see how are the roles their linguistic and cultural capital play out as they become more mature.

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