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**Students' Understanding of Values Diversity:
An Examination of the Process and Outcomes of Values Communication in
English Lessons in a High School in Mainland China**

Chuanyan Zhu

**A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**School of Education and Professional Development
University of Huddersfield**

January 2011

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Dedication

To my parents, Mingxue Zhu & Tangqun Sheng

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Abstract

The recent transformations in Chinese society are creating a society with diverse values where individuals suffer values conflict and values confusion generally. The socialist core values system is still consistently promoted by the government, and transmitting these core values to students is the main goal of moral education in schools. In the recent curriculum reform, this goal has again been stressed. These values are built into all the academic subjects and extra-curricular activities and the implementation of values education has been advocated through every element in schools. However, Confucian values are also deeply engrained in Chinese society, while at the same time increased economic activity is generating a greater openness to the influence of western values. Against such a social backdrop, this study explores what values are communicated in the English lessons in a class in a senior high school in Beijing and how the students understand values.

The processes and outcomes of the communication of values in the English lessons are examined from a symbolic interactionist perspective. The focus of this examination is the discourses of the students and the English teacher, through which the values in their communications and their personal values are manifested. Observation and interviews are used to collect the discourses of the students and the English teacher. The values communicated in the English lessons and the personal values of the students and teachers are analyzed through comparisons with the values promoted through the educational system, with those communicated in the English lessons in three other classes and with the personal values of their counterparts. The analysis reveals that: a) the English teachers do convey the values which they are expected to transmit to the students through the English curriculum, while they also subconsciously convey the values which they take for granted as commonsense; b) the students do understand the values communicated through the curriculum and the hidden curriculum in the English lessons, while their understanding reflects the individual differences in their personal values systems and the diverse values in society.

A constructivist lens is used to examine further the process of understanding and to clarify the relationship between students' understanding of values and the processes and outcomes of the values communication, and the relationship between students' understanding of values and their cognitive background, moral judgement, moral decision making, and moral development. Based on the analysis and interpretation, a new approach to assessing moral development is discussed and suggestions for moral education in schools are given in the conclusion.

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Chapter I: Introduction

This thesis is a reflection and exploration of the confusion that a Chinese individual encounters in a culturally diverse society: how does an individual understand values diversity and how does s/he deal with it?

1.1 The social context of the current study

As a country with 56 ethnic groups, 34 municipality cities, provinces, or areas, and many political or religious groups, China has long history of diverse cultures and values. The strategy that the Chinese emperors used in the past was ideological authority. Confucianism was established as the orthodox ideology which every individual in society should conform to. Nowadays, the Chinese government still depends on ideological authority to deal with values diversity. The socialist core values system has taken the place of Confucianism as the orthodox ideology since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. A wide range of institutions in society, especially the educational system, transmit the core values system to individuals with the intention of influencing their actions. This transmission process is always under challenge from other values. The challenge seems more serious recently.

Since China opened its door to the world in the late 1970s, what flew into the Chinese market included not only capital and advanced technology and ideas, but also cultural products such as movies, TV programmes, books, music and the arts. The developed countries have advanced information technology, wide media coverage, rich cultural products and skilful marketing promotion. As a result, the flow of media influence between China and Western countries is unbalanced, mainly from the West to China (Zhang, 2003). The Western values, such as individualism, consumerism and hedonism, have a great impact on Chinese society. Although the Chinese government tries to block Western values through strict regulation and censorship of imported cultural products, the internet and smuggled cultural products facilitate the spread of Western culture and lifestyle as well as Western values.

The Chinese government never stops its efforts to tackle the expansion of Western values in China. In the political sphere, Western values are considered as opposed to socialist core values (Deng, 1985). In the 1980s, bourgeois liberalism was criticized and the students' democratic movement was suppressed. In the 1990s, money worshipping and hedonism were criticized as the root of corruption. When the new century arrived, the stress on the socialist core values system with the Chinese national spirit was used to oppose the influence of Western values and strengthen the CPC's (Communist Party of China) orthodox ideology. In the early 2000s, the CPC conducted a new rectification movement through which all CPC members and public servants were requested to study

socialist theories and reflect on their own actions. More recently, the new Confucianism has been introduced to maintain the harmony of society.

Nevertheless, the above effort to promote the socialist core values system is not exactly effective. The social problems arising from the economic reform such as the gap between the rich and the poor, the corruption of public servants, the high population, the environmental pollution and so on have become worse and worse in the past 20 years. The most serious problem is that Chinese people have lost their spiritual home when they value money and profit more than other things (Zhou, 2008). In a society with diverse values, individuals suffer values conflicts, especially the conflict between individualist values and collectivist values. Individuals pursued their values for the purpose of society or the collectivity in the past, while nowadays they care more about their own social economic status, income, life quality and individual development (Hu, 2000; Li, 2001). Adolescents and young people are thought to suffer more confusion than others when they encounter values conflicts, because their personal values systems are still developing. Some of them question the values transmission in the educational system (Qiu & Zhao, 2000) and intend to isolate themselves from the mainstream values of society (Li, 2001). In a survey of 1,000 high school students, Li (2001) found that 35.1% students had no idea of the relation of Marxism to the socialist construction, reform and opening-up policy in China while 13.3% students thought that Marxism was out of date. Nie's (2008) case study conducted in the late 1990s also reported that most of the students in an ordinary high school showed their alienation from the core socialist values. Individualism and hedonism have become the mainstream values in the sub culture of adolescents and young people (Li, 2001).

Educational researchers and practitioners have different opinions on the practice of values education in schools although the consensus is to help the students conform to the socialist core values system. One of these opinions is that schools should combine patriotism and collectivism with individuals' self development and achievement, and guide the students to internalize the core socialist values (Duan, 2004; Sheng, 2003; Liu, 2003; Yue & Zhao, 2000). Another opinion is that schools should respect students' autonomy in their moral development, facilitate their social interactions with others, and guide them to understand the relationship between the individual and the world and the meaning of life through experience (Liu, 2005; Mei & Liu, 2003). The above opinions are both presented in the recent curriculum reform which has been promoted since 2001. On the one hand, moral education in schools and schools' function in moral education are stressed in this reform. A significant change in this reform is that moral education is to be built into every academic subject, while moral education was previously related only to the Ideology and Politics subjects in high schools. On the other hand, the student's autonomy in learning is highlighted in the curriculum reform, which is expected to 'change the orientation of over emphasizing knowledge transmission in the courses! Stress personal initiative in studying! Make the process of acquiring essential knowledge and skills the one through which students learn how to learn and to form the right values' (MOE, 2001).

The current research was conducted in the spring of 2008 when the curriculum reform had been implemented in senior high schools for nearly one year. The research interest was driven by my concern about individuals' values conflicts and values confusion in a society with diverse values. English was presumed to be the subject which might cause most values conflict because language is the vehicle of culture and values so that the students might be confronted with values from English speaking countries which are different from those from Chinese culture. The students in senior high school are regarded as in the crucial period for the formation of their personal values by the educational researchers and practitioners in China, while they are also in the age group when participants in Kohlberg and others' moral development research (Snarey, 1985) on average reach stage 4, an indicator that individuals can understand the importance of law and core values to the stability of a society. To explore how the students in senior high schools understand values in English lessons can provide empirical knowledge to educational practitioners, researchers and policy makers from the aspects of a) individuals' experience of cross-cultural values conflicts, b) individuals' conformity to society, and c) individuals' moral development. Since the communication of Western values might not be applicable because English teachers might still focus on transmitting knowledge rather than values as a result of the examination oriented teaching and learning process still being overwhelming in English lessons, I decided to examine the general values rather than the cultural values communicated in English lessons. The research questions are:

What kinds of values are communicated in English lessons in a high school in Mainland China?

How are values communicated in English lessons and what factors may affect the process and outcomes of values communication in a broad social context?

How do students understand and respond to the values?

These questions will be answered through a sociological approach. The data analysis and interpretation involve the social and cultural context in China. To facilitate the understanding of the research design, data analysis and interpretation of the study, I will briefly introduce the Chinese social structure and educational system in this chapter and then explain the social phenomena and cultural elements involved in detail in the chapters of data analysis and interpretation.

1.2 The social structure and educational system in China

The social structure in China

The social structure in China has been changing since the economic reforms were implemented in the late 1970s. Before the reforms, both political power and economic power were highly centralized. The Communist Party of China (CPC) controlled the society through a single hierarchical system in which every work-unit or production team had a position while every individual belonged to a specific work-unit or production team. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCCCP) and the

State Council were at the top of the hierarchy with the functionally specialized ministries, such as education, health, transport, and so on. The local government in municipality cities, provinces or areas were under the leadership of the central government with their functionally specialized departments which were under the leadership of specific ministries. Then the local government in cities or counties with functional specialized departments were led by those in municipality cities, provinces or areas. Near the bottom of the bureaucratic hierarchy was the local government in towns or communes. Work-units in towns or cities and production teams in communes of the rural areas were at the bottom of the hierarchy. There was a CPC committee in every local government, every functionally specialized department and every functional unit 'to ensure conformity with political demands as well as with specialized commands' (Stockman, 2000: pp.131-132).

Such a social structure is called a vertical structure by Chinese sociologists (Xu & Shi, 2008) in which the units were linked together through the vertical chain towards the central government while horizontal relationships between units were rare. Ideologically, the core values were transmitted to individuals through the chain from the top to the bottom while education was regarded as the tool for the socialization of the next generation. Politically, the working class was the constitutionally decreed 'leading class' and the peasantry, the 'semi-leading class'. Economically, the working class and the residents in towns and cities were protected by the social insurance system while the peasantry in rural area were not, which caused one of the social problems in China, the gap between the cities and the rural areas.

The economic reforms broke the economic chain between some units and the government. The political power is still centralized but the economic power is decentralized to some degree. For example, the funding of each school used to depend completely on the distribution of educational funding from the central government to local governments at different levels. As the local governments got more financial autonomy because of the economic reforms, the educational funding of a school partly or completely has come to depend on a local government since the late 1980s. The transformation of state enterprises to private ones in the 1990s caused a lot of people in the working class to lose their jobs and also their social insurance benefits which were linked to their jobs and were paid by their units. More peasants moved to the cities to look for jobs because lots of land was taken for the development of industry and the extension of cities. The so-called 'leading class' and 'semi-leading class' lost their strong link to the CPC because a lot of them lost their units. The workers who lost their units and the peasants both suffer marginalization within the social structure and have actually become the lowest class in Chinese society in terms of their social economic status (He, 2002; Shun, 2003). As a result of the decentralization of the economy, the local governments, the functionally specialized ministries and departments, and the state units have become the authorities with power. The resources that used to be distributed through the vertical hierarchical structure have now come into the free market. The mutual links between units, departments of local governments,

and private enterprises have increased dramatically. The horizontal social structure is forming while the vertical structure is still functional politically (Xu & Shi, 2008).

Nevertheless, the social control which used to mainly depend on the vertical power structure is weakening because of the decentralization of the economy and the marginalization of the working class and the peasantry. The legal system does not fulfil its full function in terms of social control. The reason generally given by the Chinese government and scholars is that legislation is not complete yet to meet the needs of the market economy, but this is only one of several reasons. This is only a minor reason to me. The major reason is that the legal system has not yet gained an independent position to fulfil its function of social control without influence from the political or economical authorities. Without efficient social control, public resources are put into the market by new authorities with power to control the public resources, resulting in 'power-money exchanges' and corruption. While some Chinese sociologists use statistical data to prove that the social structure of class in China is changing from the pyramid shape to an olive one (Lu, 2008), the cyber citizens in China are talking about the rise of a new 'black collar' class (Lang, 2010). The public servants, who use the public resources to do 'power-money exchanges', are grouped into this class. It seems to me that the gap between this new class and the marginalized working class and peasantry is more dangerous than any other gaps in China, because it touches the moral bottom line, justice.

The educational system in China

Education is regarded as the main tool to transmit culture and values (Hu, 2000). In the social structure of China, the function of the educational system is to cultivate qualified socialist constructors. The educational system itself is structured in line with its function. I will briefly introduce its bureaucratic structure and academic structure here.

The Ministry of Education (MOE) is at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy of the Educational system. Through the national curriculum, the censorship of text books, the guidelines for examinations and policy making, the MOE controls the educational system to fulfil the aims of education. The Department of Education in the municipality cities, provinces, or areas are led by the MOE and the local governments while they in turn lead the Department of Education in cities and counties. The universities are under the leadership of the MOE directly or the Department of Education in local governments. The high schools, primary schools and kindergarten schools are under the leadership of the Department of Education of local governments at different levels. Compared with other social systems, the educational system is still highly centralized in terms of its power, although its financial responsibility is decentralized to some degree. The power comes from the control and distribution of educational resources. The MOE controls the best universities in China and distributes the university entrance quota to each municipality city, province, or area.

The academic structure from bottom to top consists of kindergarten schools, primary schools, junior high schools, senior high schools or technical secondary schools, colleges or higher vocational colleges, and universities. Normally, children go to the kindergarten schools at the age of 3. Kindergarten schools are not included in the compulsory basic education and are not controlled by a national curriculum. They have autonomy to organize their teaching and learning activities. Children at the age of 7 have to go to primary schools compulsorily. They normally spend 6 years in primary schools and 3 years in junior high schools (5 years in primary schools and 4 years in junior high schools in a few areas). At the end of the 9-year compulsory education, all the students have to take part in the entrance examinations to senior high schools or technical secondary schools which are organized by the Department of Education of the local governments. The students who fail in the examination have to retake it the next year or leave school. The students who pass the examination are enrolled by the senior high schools or technical secondary schools according to their scores in the examination. After three years study in the senior high schools or technical secondary schools (equal to 'A' level in the UK), the students have to take the Entrance Examination to Universities. The students who fail in the examination have to retake it the next year or leave school.

The students who pass the examination are enrolled by the colleges or universities mainly according to their scores in the examinations. Some special courses such as music and arts have extra tests in specific subjects. About 25% of students in senior high schools can pass the examination to go to colleges or universities; however, those in good universities or colleges are more likely to get good jobs after graduation. Therefore, the Entrance Examination to Universities is highly competitive and very crucial to the students in senior high schools. The subjects in the examination include: Chinese, maths, English, physics, chemistry, biology, ideology and politics, history, and geography. All the students need to take Chinese, maths and English, while those who major in science need to take physics, chemistry and biology and those who major in the arts need to take ideology and politics, history and geography. Accordingly, these subjects are the main subjects that the students study in the senior high schools and junior high schools.

There are two big problems in the educational system. The one is that the distribution of educational resources is not balanced among the municipality cities, provinces, and areas. Big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai get a considerably higher quota of the entrance to universities than others. The other problem is that education at all levels is oriented by utilitarianism. The aim of education is to achieve certain economic goals and the educational practice in schools is geared to the Entrance Examination to Universities. Linked to this problem, there are two other hierarchies apart from the bureaucratic hierarchy in the educational system. The one is the hierarchy of the schools. Taking high schools as an example, in line with the authorities that the schools are linked to, the high schools are classified as national key state high schools, key state high schools in municipality cities, provinces, or areas, key state high schools in cities, key state high schools in districts or counties, and educational funding and other resources are distributed to them according to their place in the

hierarchy. The other hierarchy lies among the academic subjects. The scores of Chinese, maths and English take bigger portion of the total score for all the subjects in the Entrance Examination to Universities. Therefore, more attention is paid to and more efforts are put into these subjects than other subjects.

1.3 The structure of the thesis

This brief introduction only draws a sketch of the whole picture of Chinese society and its educational system. The literature review in the following chapter starts from the review of general sociological theories, and proceeds to different perspectives on values communications in schools, moral education theory and recent research on values communications in schools. It will explain why I do not take a structural functionalist approach as I did in the introduction but a symbolic interactionist approach to explore the students' understanding of values diversity. Chapter III on methodology explains the research approach further and the methods that I have used to conduct the field work and analyze the data. Participant observation in the English lessons and interviews with the students and teachers are used to collect data and discourse analysis in social language approach is used to analyze the data. In chapter IV, the English teachers' discourses are examined to reveal what values are conveyed in the English lessons and what personal values the teachers have. In chapter V, the students' discourses are examined to reveal what values they communicate in the English lessons and what personal values they have. Chapter VI examines the process of the students' values communication and explain how the students understand values and what factors influence their understanding. The research questions raised in this chapter will be answered in the final chapter, Discussion and Conclusion. The discussion will focus on two topics, the theory of moral development and moral education i.e. De Yu in China.

Chapter II: Literature Review

As discussed in the introduction, values communication happens in the classroom setting and is linked to the ongoing education reform and the social transformation in China. A sociological approach can explain individuals' understanding of values communication in English lessons in the social context more fully. In accordance with this approach, the theories relating to values communication in schools will be reviewed in order of their relation with values communication, i.e. from the general sociological theories about values communication to the specific theories about values education in schools. Underpinned by these theories, the research relating to the practice of values communication in schools will be reviewed.

2.1 Theories underpinning values communication in school

This section will start with a review of the discussion of values communication in general sociological theories, then move to the arguments of different perspectives on socialization and cognitive development, and finally focus on specific theories about values education or moral education in schools. This is an ambitious plan. However, there are many advantages in taking this approach to a review of the literature. Through a review of general sociological theories, different perspectives on values communication in society can be introduced to explain why and how values communication is interpreted, which can facilitate the understanding of the methodological approaches to exploring the process of values communication. The socialization and cognitive development theories, which explain individuals' understanding of values and their development in society from different angles, have an impact on the aim of education. The socialization theories focus on how the values in society are internalized by individuals and how individuals conform to society, while the cognitive development theories focus on individuals' processes of understanding values and what are the indications of their development. The specific theories about values education or moral education are always regarded as the theoretical guidance for education in schools. They are influential on the content of values education in schools. By putting these theories together, values communications in schools can be presented in a multi-dimensional way.

2.1.1 Values communication and general sociological theories

The general sociological theories are reviewed for two purposes: first, through their descriptions and interpretations of society, individuals and their relationship, the general sociological theories explain what values are communicated in society and why; second, a brief review of the main points of structural-functionalism and constructionism related to a social system and values communication can facilitate the understanding of the social context of the values communications in English lessons that

were observed in the current study. To these ends, only the main writers' opinions on the relationship between individual social behaviour and society are reviewed here.

2.1.1.1 Structural functionalist perspective on values communication

In terms of the structural-functionalist point of view, society is objective and can be studied with the scientific method like the physical world. Spencer, Durkheim, Parsons and other scholars who were grouped into the structural functionalist camp, adopted and took forward Comte's idea that societies were organic systems. According to Durkheim (1925/1961: p.60), society is not only a collection of individuals but also the normal goal of moral conduct: 'Morality consists of a system of rules of action that predetermine conduct. They state how one must act in given situations; and to behave properly is to obey conscientiously' (Durkheim, 1925/1961: p.24). If individuals conduct themselves morally, society will be stable, but otherwise it will be in a state of anomie. Parsons defined society as an opening system, a collectivity of 'concrete interacting human individuals, which is the primary bearer of a distinctive institutionalized culture' (Parsons, 1961: p.44). What Durkheim called 'a moral community' is a single collectivity in Parsons' term. Such a society is related to 'three fundamental imperatives' (Parsons, 1961: pp.44-45): a unitary system of institutionalized values, a relatively consistent system of norms, and functional differentiation. In such a social system, structured units have specialized functions which maintain a common values system, and norms which take the form of an integrated legal system support the implementation of these values for different units. Merton and Parsons developed the definitions of two social situations: anomie and equilibrium. Merton made a distinction between society and culture through his definitions of social structure and cultural structure. In his view, cultural structure is the 'organized set of normative values governing behaviour which is common to members of a designated society or group, and social structure is meant that organized set of social relationships in which members of the society or group are variously implicated' (Merton, 1968: p.216). Anomie is 'conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure' (*ibid.*) when the cultural structure and the social structure are mal-integrated, in other words, the actions of the members in social structure deviate from the values in cultural structure. Taking Parsons' single collectivity society as an example, anomie happens when the norms turn against the common values system rather than supporting the implementation of these values for different units of the society. If the normative values are maintained without essential change in its cultural structure, the social system is in equilibrium in Parsons' term (Parsons, 1961: p.37).

Durkheim, Parsons and Merton all agree that moral norms or values though expressed in different ways form a key system in society which influences individuals' behaviour and that such a system is crucial to social stability ('equilibrium' in Parsons' term and 'conformity' in Merton's). Parsons and Merton's arguments about society and culture imply that culture is the carrier of the moral or values system. Culture may or may not share the same collectivity as a society. However, the anthropological sources of society in Durkheim's writing are probably drawn from the European

countries where the political collectivity is supported by an established state religion and the common values system of the society, morality, derives from religion. 'Moral community' and 'society is the end of morality' in Durkheim's writing have the same meaning of the single society in Parsons' writing.

Nowadays, most Western countries are multiple collectivities and are made up of multiple political parties, multiple religions and multiple ethnic groups. If a country is regarded as a single society, the multiple collectivities operate within a system of cultural pluralism, which in turn allows for the coexistence of diverse values systems. The society is not a 'moral community' anymore so that the 'society is the end of morality' seems problematic too. The terminology change from Durkheim's 'morality' to Parsons' 'values' suggests that morality hardly refers to the normative system which controls and maintains the social structure in a society made up of multiple collectivities. However, Parsons' perspective is still limited by the structural view. Although the meaning of values in society is broader than morality, their functions are similar to each other. In Parsons' writing, values in society 'cut across all concrete collectivity-membership differences' and influence individuals' actions through role expectation.

Parsons and Merton use 'role' to describe the relationship between society and the individual. Parsons (1961: pp.42-43) defines a role as the 'normatively regulated complex of behaviour of one of the participants' which 'governs the participation of individual persons in given collectivities'. According to Parsons, there is a hierarchy among values, norms and roles in the social system. Values are institutionalized and provide the pattern of desirable orientation for the system as a whole. Norms are legitimized by values and define the expectations of the roles. Thus, a values system manifests itself through the norms and expectations of the roles. Individuals internalize values by behaving in accordance with the expectations of their roles. Socialization occurs when individuals completely internalize these norms and values and decide autonomously to behave in conformity with them. Therefore, values are transmitted through the expectations of roles by the institutions of society, families, schools, the media and communities etc.. Values communication in schools is regarded as a process which is involved in individuals' socialization in schools.

Although Parsons' theory is considered as a defence of capitalism from Marxism's criticism (Layder, 2006), its interpretation of the social structure and its function is suitable for understanding the Chinese society too. In contrast to most Western countries, China, though a multi-ethnic country, can be considered as a single collective society for the following reasons: all the ethnic groups are subject to the central political leader (the emperor in the ancient times and the CPC nowadays) who controls all the institutions in society, and all the ethnic groups follow the same values system (Confucianism

and Three People Principles¹ in the past and socialism, collectivism, and patriotism nowadays). Being similar to what Durkheim and Merton state, normative values in the core values system in China traditionally govern the behaviour of the Chinese people. A harmonious society, the social goal for 2020 set by the CCCPC, is described as one that is in equilibrium in Parsons' term and will be achieved through improving the legal system to maintain the core values system. For this reason, a structural functionalist perspective on values and society is helpful to analyze the values system in China and the related policies. Schools have the function of cultivating students to take on the roles that are expected in society. So values communications in the school setting are regarded as the process of transmitting social values to students from a structural functionalist perspective.

The main criticism of Parsons, Merton and other theorists of structural functionalism is that they ignore the power of the individual's action. As Garfinkel (1967/1984), Blumer (1969) and other theorists of constructionism have pointed out, individuals are described as passive followers of the normative values of the social structure in a structural functionalist perspective. Giddens (1976) comments that Parsons is successful in 'accounting for the manner in which social institutions persist over time through the activities of the people who operate them' but 'neglects the very important "productive" aspects of people's activities'. The theories under the constructionist camp, on the contrary, focus on the individual's participation in social interaction.

2.1.1.2 Phenomenological and ethnomethodological perspectives on values communication

The question which the theorists of structural functionalism ignore — where do the values come from — is answered by Berger and Luckmann from a phenomenological perspective. They claim that 'society does indeed possess objective facticity. And society is indeed built up by activity that expresses subjective meaning' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991: p.30). Transmission of knowledge and values generation by generation is the key point to understanding why social reality is objective and also subjective. Society is constructed and social reality is given meaning by people through institutionalization and legitimation. Legitimation explains the institutional order with its cognitive element, knowledge, and its normative element, values. The institutions of the society (in other words, social structure) can be maintained when the knowledge and values of the legitimation are transmitted to the next generation. For the next generation, such a prestructured meaningful world is the taken-for-granted reality. Berger and Luckmann indicate that it is human beings who construct values and the objective property of values derives from institutionalization, legitimation and language. Nevertheless, according to their writing, individuals' power to construct values shows only during the

¹ Three People's Principles means nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood. It is a political philosophy put forward by Dr. Sun Yat-sen who is the founder of the Republic of China (1912-1949).

process of legitimation and institutionalization. Once legitimation and institutionalization are constructed, individuals are regarded as powerless and passive in the face of the social structure, which is not particularly different from the point of view of structural functionalism. Berger and Luckmann (*ibid.*) state that 'institutions are embodied in individual experience by means of roles... By playing roles, the individual participates in a social world. By internalizing these roles, the same world becomes subjectively real to him'. This point of view implies that an individual's action is subject to institutions (to which values and norms attach) in society through that individual internalizing and playing a role.

The criticism of structural functionalism from Berger and Luckmann focuses mainly on the claim that society is subjective because it is constructed by people. They do not deny the objective property of society because they explain that social reality is taken for granted as objective by people who internalize the social structure which have been constructed already. Garfinkel (1986, 2002), the father of ethnomethodology, further criticizes structural functionalism for ignoring individuals' action on constructing social order. Garfinkel and his students' social experiments demonstrate that take-for-granted social reality provides the background of common understanding for individuals to communicate and interpret each other. He holds that individuals have shared methods in their daily practical experience of constructing social order. According to Garfinkel, individuals continually create and recreate their social reality, especially their local order. Garfinkel takes a new perspective to look at individuals' experience and its impact on social order, which is not only an important contribution to sociological theory but also sheds light on research methodology. His perspective implies that individuals' interaction can change social order, hence values communication is a mutual process based on common understanding. This perspective is valuable to explain some phenomena in Chinese social reforms. For example, the most important reform, the Household Contract Responsibility System in rural areas, started from an autonomous social experiment by a group of farmers, which set a successful example of reform from the interaction among individuals, resulting in a change in the local order and in turn a change in the universal order in society.

2.1.1.3 Symbolic interactionist perspective on values communication

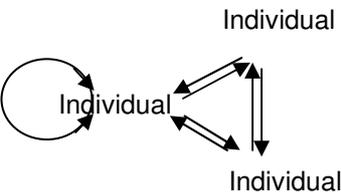
The symbolic interactionist approach is diametrically opposed to that of structural functionalism. As Blumer claims, the main difference between the two approaches is that

'Under the perspective of symbolic interaction, social action is lodged in acting individuals who fit their respective lines of action to one another through a process of interpretation; group action is the collective action of such individuals. As opposed to this view, sociological conceptions generally lodge social action in the action of society or in some unit of society'. (Blumer, 1969: p.84)

In the symbolic interactionist perspective, individuals in society are autonomous actors rather than passive role takers. According to Mead (1934/1967), a human being possesses a self, therefore he/she can act towards himself/herself and guide his/her action towards others. Culture derives from human beings' action and society refers to relationships which derive from human beings' interaction. Through action and interaction with others, a human being's self plays an important role in creating social reality. The action of a human being is constructed through making an indication to his/her self. 'Self-indication is a moving communicative process in which the individual notes things, assesses them, gives them a meaning, and decides to act on the basis of the meaning.' (Blumer, 1969: p.81) Thus, human beings give meaning to things and act on the basis of meanings. Nevertheless, established meanings are not something immutable. When human beings interact with each other, meanings which they give to things are modified through interpretation, 'a formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance and formation of action' (Blumer, 1969: p.5). To sum up, social reality derives from human beings' action and interaction through self-indication and interpretation, and it might vary from individual to individual.

From structural functionalism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology, to symbolic interactionism, the perspective of which to observe and examine society and individuals changes accordingly from the macro end to the micro one (Layder, 2006). According to this change, they give different interpretations of why and how values communications in society happen. In the structural functionalist perspective, the purpose of values communications in society is to transmit social values to individuals and the process of values communication goes in a top-down single direction (from the institution to the individuals); in a phenomenological perspective, apart from transmitting social values, the other purpose of values communication is legitimation, and therefore, the process of values communication goes either in a top-down direction or the opposite (in which case the individuals' interactions contribute to the legitimation, and in turn the social structure); in an ethnomethodological perspective, individuals' communication is the main process to construct local order and the process is a dual-way interpersonal communication; in a symbolic interactionist perspective, social reality derives from individuals' interactions (most of them are communications) and the process links interpersonal communication with self-communication (in another word, self-indication). As a summary, the following diagram shows the different perceptions of the process of values communications in society.

Diagram 1: The perceptions of values communication in different perspectives

The general theories	The perceptions of values communication
Structural functionalism	<p style="text-align: center;">Institution ↓ Individuals</p>
Phenomenology	<p style="text-align: center;">Institution ↕ Individuals</p>
Ethnomethodology	<p style="text-align: center;">Individuals ↔ Individuals ↔ Individuals</p>
Symbolic Interactionism	<div style="text-align: center;">  <p>The diagram illustrates two types of communication. On the left, 'Self communication' is shown as a circle with two arrows forming a loop around the word 'Individual'. On the right, 'Interpersonal communication' is shown as a triangle with three 'Individual' labels at its vertices. Each vertex has a circular arrow around it, and double-headed arrows connect every pair of vertices, representing reciprocal communication between all individuals.</p> </div> <p style="text-align: center;">Self communication Interpersonal communication</p>

2.1.1.4 The concept of values

'Values' is a frequently used term in general sociological theories, but its connotation varies in different writings. Especially in structural functionalist and symbolic interactionist writings, the properties of values are opposite to each other. Values are part of social reality. As has been reviewed previously, social reality is objective in a structural functionalist perspective but subjective in a symbolic interactionist one. Therefore, the property of values is objective in structural functionalist writings while subjective in those of symbolic interactionism. Nevertheless, such a deduction might be problematic because it ignores the standpoint of the two schools. Parsons (1961: p38) claims that 'the focus of pattern-maintenance lies in the structural category of *values*... In this connection, the essential function is maintenance, at the cultural level, of the stability of institutionalized values through the processes which articulate values with the belief system, namely, religious beliefs, ideology, and the like'. Structural functionalists focus on the values in the values system in a social structure rather than those in personal values systems. Although Parsons (1961: p.41) agrees that 'as personalities, each individual may be considered as a system with its own values, goals, etc.', he stresses that the individuals internalize the values of society to their personality through socialization. So to a large degree, the personal values system and the social values system overlap. However, according to the viewpoint of symbolic interactionism, an individual interprets rather than internalizes values from others and give meaning to it through self-indication which might change the values in society through interaction and negotiation.

The two schools take opposite positions with different lenses to study society and social reality. Society is studied as a whole structure in a structural functionalist perspective while the individuals who construct society are the focus in a symbolic interactionist perspective. Therefore, the viewpoints about values, culture and society are different in the two schools. If their standpoints are taken into consideration, their different viewpoints about values, culture and society are not in conflict with each other. It seems to me that the whole picture of the values systems in society will be clearer by combining structural functionalist and symbolic interactionist perspectives together rather than by looking at them separately. In a structural functionalist perspective, there are multi-level values systems in a relative stable society. At the macro end is the common values system of the whole society which is deemed as relatively stable and has the function of maintaining the stability of society. At the micro end are individuals' personal values systems. Between the two ends are values systems in all kinds of collectivities which link to all kinds of cultures and subcultures. The force from the common values system at the macro level pushes shared values to be internalized by individuals through socialization. In a symbolic interactionist perspective, values in personal values systems are constructed through individuals' interpretation and understanding in social interactions with others rather than the internalization of shared values in the common values system in society. If both perspectives are adopted to interpret the values transformation and social structural change introduced in the previous chapter, we can see that the core values system is promoted and stressed

by the Chinese government to maintain social order while diverse values are constructed in personal values system by individuals through social interactions and are reflected by cultures and subcultures. For this reason, both viewpoints in the two schools will be adopted to examine values in different situations. For example, structural functionalist viewpoints are taken to analyze the values in the educational system and in society in China while symbolic interactionist viewpoints are used to explore values that students understand through their communications in schools.

The macro vs. micro perspectives on values from the two schools can also be used to assess the definitions of values in different disciplines because these definitions are based on their standpoints between society and individuals. Rokeach (1973: p.5) holds that 'A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence'. His claim that 'all men everywhere possess the same values to different degree' and 'the antecedents of human values can be traced to culture, society and its institutions, and personality' clearly shows that the values in his research are common values in a personal values system. Some other definitions of values focus on general personal values on which judgement and decision making is based. For example, Shaver and Strong (1976: p.15) state that 'Values are our standards and principles for judging worth. They are the criteria by which we judge 'things' (people, objects, ideas, actions and situations) to be good, worthwhile, desirable; or, on the other hand, bad, worthless, despicable.' Similarly, Halstead (1996: p.5) deemed values as 'principles, fundamental convictions, ideals, standards or life stances which act as general guides to behaviour or as points of reference in decision-making or the evaluation of beliefs or action and which are closely connected to personal integrity and personal identity'. Values discussed in the current study are influenced by all these definitions and are examined from different angles.

2.1.2 Values communication and socialization theories

Generally, socialization is the process of turning a natural being into a social being. Nevertheless, because the perspectives and viewpoints of society are different, the meanings of socialization vary accordingly. In a structural functionalist perspective, socialization means the process by which the values of a society are transmitted to individuals and are internalized by them. In a symbolic interactionist perspective, society is constructed by individuals through their interpretation of meaning. The competence of interpretation is essential to be a social being; thus, socialization does not mean the process for individuals to internalize the values in society, but the process of developing self.

As argued before, a structural functionalist lens looks at society from the social structural end, hence, when it zooms in on the individual, the details that can be observed clearly are the individual's actions. It hardly makes a clear picture of the individual's self or explains how important self is to an individual's action. A symbolic interactionist lens focuses on the individual and shows clearly how an individual's self forms and how it works on an individual's actions and interactions with others.

2.1.2.1 Social roles and self

Generally, in a structural functionalist perspective, roles are conceived as shared, normative expectations that guide individuals' behaviours (Biddle, 1986: p.70). Linton (1936) describes roles and status as links between individuals and the social structure. Each person in society inevitably occupies multiple statuses and each of these statuses has an associated role. Socialization, therefore, is the process through which individuals learn how to perform social roles. In order to achieve socialization successfully, individuals need to learn norms attached to roles and behave in accordance with the expectation of the roles. Merton (1968: pp.356-357) assumes that individuals will identify and learn behaviour and values from the reference individuals who they select as role-models, and the social and cultural structure systematically patterns individuals' selection through these social and psychological mechanisms. The structural functionalist role theory has been criticized for overstating the degree of consensus that exists over role expectations and ignoring individuals' action on roles. Individuals have considerable freedom to act out their roles (Turner, 1962). Roles may not reflect normative expectations because society is far from stable (Biddle, 1986).

According to structural functionalism, socialization is an top-down process in which the social structure determines individuals' behaviour through social roles. For symbolic interactionism, socialization involves a move from awareness of self to awareness of others. The central part of socialization is to develop self. Mead (1934/1967) elaborated on the concept of self in psychology and contributed his own insights on the relationship between development of self and socialization. Through interaction with others, individuals' development of a full sense of self needs to pass through two stages.

'At the first of these stages, the individual's self is constituted simply by an organization of the particular attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another in the specific social acts in which he participates with them. But at the second stage in the full development of the individual's self that self is constituted not only by an organization of these particular individual attitudes, but also by an organization of the social attitudes of the generalized other or the social group as a whole to which he belongs' (Mead, 1934/1967: p.158).

At the first stage, individuals take roles of others (from single role to multiple roles) in their imagination through observation and imitation, and understand other people's attitudes towards them. In this way, they learn rules and the expectations from others. At the second stage, individuals begin to take the attitudes from the generalized others, in another word, others in communities or society. Mead (1934/1967: p.155) explains that 'it is in this form that the social process or community enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking'. Once individuals acquire an image of their selves and others, they are able to constantly interpret and reflect upon social interactions in which they are involved.

2.1.2.2 Language, communication and socialization

Through the structural functionalist lens, we can see that communication has the important function of transmitting values, but we hardly have any detailed view on individuals' activity in communication. Through the symbolic interactionist lens, communication is a fundamental process in socialization, as an individual's self develops, and part of an individual's social interactions with others. According to Mead, once an individual acquires symbols and has a sense of self, communication with others is always accompanied by that with himself/ herself, i.e. self-communication. In the process of self-communication, an individual communicates with his/her self though analyzing responses from others, reconstructing them, and working out his/her own response to others. On this view, the process of communication is crucial to the development of self because it 'puts the intelligence of the individual at his own disposal' (Mead, 1934: p.243). Nevertheless, only in a society can an individual develop such a self by being a social individual. Therefore, an individual's development of self links to the process of communication with others. Through communication with others, an individual is involved in social interactions with others, takes others' attitude directly or by taking the role of others, and responds to or acts on others.

According to Mead (1934: p.149), the essential condition of communication between individuals is that the symbols used during the communication must be universal to the individuals who find themselves in the same situation. The symbols should stimulate the same effect on one individual as they do on another. Language is the most important symbol system used for communication. Mead (1934: p.260) regards language as 'a principle of social organization which has made the distinctively human society possible'. He regards language as a tool for communication between individuals but ignores its relationship to social structure. Berger and Luckmann (1966: p.82) explain language's essential function to society in these terms: 'Language provides the fundamental superimposition of logic on the objectivated social world. The edifice of legitimations is built upon language and uses language as its principal instrumentality.' Thus, language is also the tool through which individuals learn the legitimation of the institutions in social structure; moreover, it is the carrier of values through which values are conveyed. Language acquirement is necessary for an individual's socialization. Individuals must acquire not only general language to understand the instructional order and to communicate with others in society, but also role-specific language to understand the roles and to communicate with others linked to the roles (Berger & Luckmann, 1966: pp.157-159).

2.1.2.3 Social learning theory

Learning theories concern how individuals acquire language, skills, attitudes, role expectations, rules, values, and others which are required by a successful socialization.

Stimulus-response approaches to social learning inherit the behaviourist tradition of structural functionalism, holding that social behaviours are under the control of social stimuli and people learn

new behaviour through reinforcing the social stimuli which can generate the expected response of the behaviour (Gewirtz, 1969). In other words, reinforcement and punishment help people to learn. This theory had a deep influence on education in the USA when structural functionalism dominated sociological theory in 1960s. Even now, it is still used to evaluate learning outcomes through behaviour change (Olson, 2003). Its impact on education in China has lasted even longer. Its dominant position was not shaken until the new curriculum reform began to be implemented in the new century.

What underpins the current education reform in China is constructivist social learning theory, especially Bandura's. Bandura (1977) holds that individuals learn positively rather than accept what is transmitted to them passively. He emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between cognition, behaviour, and environment. He suggests that not only environment influence individuals' thoughts and behaviour, but also individuals' thoughts and behaviour play a role in determining the environment. For example, hostile thoughts can result in hostile behaviour, which can affect the environment by making others hostile and evoking additional hostile thoughts. In his view, people learn from interactions with others, via observation, imitation, and modelling. 'Most human behaviour is learned observationally through modelling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action.' (Bandura, 1977: p.22)

Nie (2008) points out that the Chinese approach to moral education falls within the camp of social learning theories. The evidence to support her conclusion is that 'In contemporary China, as well as in Confucian China, moral learning has always heavily relied on indoctrination through modelling and imitation, which is central to moral socialization theory' (Nie, 2008: p.18). Nie only notices the social learning theories in the structural approach but ignores those in the constructionist approach. Additionally, her observation of the moral curriculum in a Chinese secondary school happens at the end of the 1990s which is 3 years before the recent curriculum reforms in China. If social learning theories are to be used to interpret the practice of moral education in present-day China, both structural functionalist and constructionist lenses should be utilized to examine what happens in schools.

2.1.2.4 School and Socialization

In a structural functionalist perspective, schools are essential bureaucracies to the modernized societies. Schools systematically transmit values, knowledge and skills to individuals to help their socialization and integrate them into the sophisticated social structure. Durkheim's (1925/1961: p.79) view of school is an example of this perspective: 'as for the nation --- as here understood --- the school is the only moral agent through which the child is able systematically to learn to know and love his country. It is precisely this fact that lends pre-eminent significance to the part played by the school

today in the shaping of national morality.' Obviously, this view is wrong in present-day Western societies because it overlooks not only the influence on individuals' morality from other social agencies but also the individuals' autonomy to acquire morality. However, its stress on the function of schools is exactly right in China. Even nowadays, policies on moral education show that school is still regarded as one of the most important agencies that transmit core values to the next generation.

In a constructionist perspective, school is a social setting where students interact with others and construct their understanding of values. What matters is not what values a society tries to transmit to students through school, but how students interpret and understand the values communicated in schools, especially in classrooms. One of the interesting findings of this approach is the so-called hidden curriculum which reveals that the students can perceive those values that are not considered in the curriculum but hidden in the communications in schools. This will be discussed more in the final section of this chapter.

In Nie's (2008) research into the students' attitudes to the moral curriculum in a secondary school in China, Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of human development is employed to analyze the impact of the ecological environment. School is deemed an important ecological system close to students in this theory. Like the social learning theories influenced by the structural functionalist theories, the ecological theory stresses the ecological systems' influence on the students but ignores the students' autonomous actions. Recent researchers on socialization consider schools to be 'complex systems that can provide students with multiple affordances, as a function of the school itself as well as through social interactions and interpersonal relationships that are embedded in the educational process' (Wentzel & Looney, 2006: p.383). This view combines the structural functionalist lens with the interactionist one to look at the school's role in students' socialization. It takes both the school's function and interaction among teachers and students into consideration. Through this double lens, the influence of the social structure on values communication in schools and the influence of social interactions among individuals on values understanding can be captured.

2.1.3 Values communication and cognitive development theories

Cognitive development theories are regarded as part of socialization theories (Goslin, 1969, Hughes & Kroehler, 2009), although they are generally classified within developmental psychology which studies the social and mental development of children. Unlike other socialization theories in sociological approaches, cognitive development theories do not locate their perspectives in a stationary scene of the process of socialization, rather, they dynamically trace the individual's cognitive development along with part of or the whole process of socialization. Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory is one of the most influential cognitive development theories on individuals' socialization in school.

Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory is underpinned by phenomenology, structuralism and constructivism. A phenomenological approach to moral psychology is the methodological foundation of Kohlberg's theory. It suggests that 'moral judgements and rational argumentation are central to moral psychology' and a 'subject's moral judgements are taken seriously and interpreted as referring to moral reality' (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: p.1). Following Piaget's structural approach, Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory assumes that 'there is a pattern of connections within the subject's meaning' (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: p.2). On this view, moral judgement relies on how the subject constructs the meaning of moral reality. The subjects' meaning reflects a structural development in stages and 'each new stage of development represents a qualitative reorganization of the individual's pattern of thoughts, with each new reorganization integrating within a broader perspective the insights achieved at prior stages' Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: p.5). The theoretical root of moral judgement in Kohlberg's theory derives from Kant's claim that 'mature moral principles are morally universalizable in the sense of the categorical imperative' (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: p.10). Kohlberg regards justice as the basic universal virtue in all societies and builds his moral reasoning development theory on the development of justice reasoning which he assumes to underlie all the moral orientations reflected in responses to his hypothetical dilemmas: '(1) general and normative order or impartial following of rules and normative roles; (2) utilitarian maximizing of the welfare of each person; (3) perfectionistic seeking of harmony or integrity of the self and the social group; and (4) fairness, balancing of perspectives, maintaining equity, and social contract' (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: p.11). Based on people's judgement on the four moral orientations, the moral reasoning development involves increasing use of more advanced reasoning and shows different levels of understanding moral rules or norms. It is classified into three levels and six stages (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: pp.18-19):

Table 1: Six stages of moral judgement

Level	stage	Content of stage
Preconventional	Heteronomous morality	To avoid breaking rules backed by punishment, obedience for its own sake, and avoiding physical damage to persons and property.
	Individualism, instrumental purpose; and exchange	Following rules only when it is to someone's immediate interest: acting to meet one's own interests and needs and letting others do the same. Right is also what's fair, what's an equal exchange, a deal, an agreement.
Conventional	Mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and interpersonal conformity	Living up to what is expected by people close to you or what people generally expect of people in your role as son, brother, friend, etc. "Being good" is important and means having good motives, showing concern about others. It also means keeping mutual relationships, such as trust, loyalty, respect, and gratitude.
	Social system and conscience	Fulfilling the actual duties to which you have agreed. Laws are to be upheld except in extreme cases where they conflict with other fixed social duties. Right is also contributing to society, the group, or institution.
Postconventional	Social contract or utility and individual rights	Being aware that people hold a variety of values and opinions that most values and rules are relative to your group. These relative rules should usually be upheld, however, in the interest of impartiality and because they are the social contract. Some nonrelative values and rights like life and liberty, however, must be upheld in any society and regardless of majority opinion.
	Universal ethical principles	Following self-chosen ethical principles. Particular laws or social agreements are usually valid because they rest on such principles. When laws violate these principles, one acts in accordance with the principle. Principles are universal principles of justice: the equality of human rights and respect for the dignity of human being as individual persons.

At level 1, moral rules are something external to the self; At level 2, they are identified with and accepted by the self; At level 3, they are differentiated from the self and At the final stage 'all human beings should take toward one another as free and equal autonomous persons'. The higher the stage an individual is in, the more s/he understands the rules, values, expectations, legitimation, institutions and social structure, the more autonomous s/he is to make moral judgements according to 'self-chosen ethical principles'. At the highest stage, the individual's perspective on morality is beyond values and the social contract in a particular society but focuses on the moral end of justice.

2.1.3.1 Some critiques of Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory

Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory has been criticized for decades since the 1960s. The earlier criticism mainly focuses on Kohlberg's ignorance of gender difference and cultural difference. It also involves the argument that more factors rather than justice alone should be used to assess individuals' development of moral judgement. Gilligan (1982/1993) argues that moral reasoning includes justice reasoning but also care reasoning which is just as important as justice reasoning. She argues that there is a gender difference in moral judgement. Man is more justice reasoning oriented and woman more care reasoning oriented. However, Kohlberg and his colleagues defend themselves in *The Measurement of Moral Judgement* (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987) by claiming that findings across cultures support their hypothesis and that there is no significant difference between males and females. A recent cross-cultural test (Vikan, Camino & Biaggio, 2005) of Gilligan's hypothesis shows that the scores in the Ethic of Care Interview (ECI) are not gender-related but culture-related. Snarey (1985) reviewed 45 cross-cultural studies of moral reasoning in 27 culture areas in which Kohlberg's model and method (include Kohlberg's original one) are used to measure moral development. He found that Kohlberg's stages 1 to 3/4 could be regarded as universal but not the higher stages. Snarey (1985: p.226) claims that 'nearly all samples from urban cultural groups or middle-class populations exhibited some principled reasoning but that all folk cultural groups failed to exhibit any postconventional reasoning' and 'other values, such as collective solidarity, that are commonly stressed in either traditional folk cultures or in working-class communities are missing from the theory's explication and the scoring manual's examples or reasoning at the higher stages.' Basically, Snarey's comparative study supports Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory, while it also corroborates Gilligan's critique of Kohlberg's theory as being based on the values of the middle-class white American. Ma (1988) criticizes the view that Kohlberg's theory is based on Kantian philosophical thought rather than on the thought of other western or eastern philosophers. Ma proposes a new 6 stage moral judgement development theory based both on Piaget's and Kohlberg's work and on Confucianism and Taoism in China. In his proposal, the first three stages are the same as those in Kohlberg's theory, and the last three stages are divided into stages in Chinese sub-structure and those in Western sub-structure. According to Ma, such a revision is in accordance with the difference between social structures in Western countries and those in China. Western societies are individual oriented while the Chinese one is collectivist oriented. The concept of morality in the

West derives from the moral values in Judeo-Christian religion and those in Greek Philosophy which stress the individual's autonomy and responsibility for his action, while that in China is related to *Ren* in Confucianism which means love, benevolence, sympathy, etc. Western people depend on institutionalized law to maintain justice and social order while Chinese people believe in moral conscience, ethical principles and human nature.

2.1.3.2 Recent discussion and development

The recent research in cognitive moral judgement development not only reflects the previous criticism of Kohlberg's theory but also attempts to measure moral judgement development in a new way. Rest and his colleagues (Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau and Thoma, 1999; Rest, Narvaez, Thoma and Bebeau, 2000) seem to agree with Gilligan's opinion that reasoning based on justice is not the only factor that should be used to assess moral judgement. However, they have no comment on Gilligan's claim of gender difference although their research shows there is no significant difference between men and women. They also disagree with Kohlberg's universality at the highest stage, and rather, hold that morality is a social construction by claiming 'morality that is relative to group deliberation is not tantamount to the mindless moral relativism or moral scepticism that Kohlberg feared, nor does it pave the way to Nazi atrocities' (Rest *et al.*, 2000: p.385). Rest and his colleagues also try to improve the method of measuring moral judgement. They use a multiple choice task (Defining Issue Test) instead of Kohlberg's interview task to explore the participant's implicit understanding of morality. Having a different understanding of morality and using a different measurement tool, the so called Minnesota's Neo-Kohlbergian approach which Rest and colleagues propose is a complement to Kohlberg's theory. Reed (1997) scrutinizes all Kohlberg's publications and claims that Kohlberg's moral reasoning development model is not consistent with his later 'Just Community'. In his moral reasoning development model, Kohlberg and Gilligan's opinions seem opposite to each other, but in Just Community, they are capable of forming a harmonious whole (Reed, 1997: p.214). From Kohlberg's early work, Reed (2008) finds two theoretical resources which underpin Kohlberg's moral development research: Piaget and Mead. Kohlberg's original cognitive-development approach is influenced by Mead's theory about self and social interaction. Reed claims that Kohlberg's early work rather than the later six-stage moral reasoning development model enlightens him to improve the moral development theory. He proposes a new model of stages following Kohlberg's early approach.

2.1.3.3 Behind the criticism and discussions

This brief review of Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory and the main critiques and discussions within a cognitive development approach has revealed only a sketch of Kohlberg's theory and the critics' viewpoints. More details around some arguments will be added through the following discussion.

- **Universal morality**

Borrowing Jorgensen's (2006) metaphor on Kohlberg and Gilligan's debate, the criticism and discussions about moral judgement development show a symphony orchestra rather than several soloists. Kohlberg states clearly that his definition of moral judgements is first, 'judgements of value, not of fact'; second, 'social judgements'; third, 'prescriptive or normative judgements, judgements of ought, or rights and responsibilities, rather than value judgements of liking and preference' (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: p.10). They are the premise on which Kohlberg builds to characterize his stage scheme as the development of reasoning on the basis of justice. Gilligan, Rest, Reed and Ma make similar comments on Kohlberg's moral domain and suggest a more comprehensive approach which, of course, puts Kohlberg's moral reasoning development model in a fallible situation. Other critiques, whether from a gender or a cultural perspective, seem to focus only on Kohlberg's claim that the stage scheme is culturally universal, and root their criticism in the notion of universal morality and relative morality. Rest *et al.* (1999, 2000) reject universal morality completely, drawing on evidence from new philosophical argument on common morality. Ma (1988) suggests combining a Confucian core moral element to evaluate the moral judgement development of the Chinese. However, their proposals still leave Gilligan's question aside: what does universal morality mean to people? Gilligan's (1998) reflection of her experience in anti-racism and her opposition to the Vietnam War together with her friendship with Kohlberg are helpful in understanding her critique of Kohlberg. Gender difference in the development is just a superficial point in her critique. What she is concerned with deeply is the problem of using white middle class males' values as the universal ones to evaluate females or people in different ethnic or cultural groups. In that case, it is unjust to social groups other than the white-middle-class-male. Actually, what Gilligan cares about and what Kohlberg does is directed to the same purpose, justice. Nevertheless, this universality in Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory is ignored by the critiques mentioned above.

- **Individual development and socialization**

If we look at the whole picture of Kohlberg and his critics, what is sound and what needs to be improved in Kohlberg's development theory are self-evident. Reed's (1997, 2008) scrutiny of Kohlberg's early work is helpful to understand the whole theoretical foundation that underpin Kohlberg's theory — the cognitive development approach in psychology, Kantian universal morality in Philosophy, and structural-functionalism and symbolic interactionism in sociology. The third influence on Kohlberg is overlooked by most critics, however, it is just the starting point of Kohlberg's theory. In one of Kohlberg's early works, *The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization*, he regards moral development as a strand of social development and all the strands 'are united by their common reference to a single concept of self in a single social world' (Kohlberg, 1969: p.349). His later moral reasoning development model, as Colby *et al.* (1987: p.16) explain, shows 'three different types of relationships between the self and society's moral rules and expectations'. Kohlberg's hypothetical

dilemmas are not only justice-oriented, but manifest four moral orientations associated with the individual's understanding of self and society's moral rules and expectations:

(1) General and normative order or impartial following of rules and normative roles; (2) utilitarian maximizing of the welfare of each person; (3) perfectionistic seeking of harmony or integrity of the self and the social group; and (4) fairness, balancing of perspectives, maintaining equity, and social contract. (Colby et al., 1987: p11)

There is a consistency rather than inconsistency in what Reed (1997) claims to find in Kohlberg's early work and his late one, and also between his moral reasoning development model and his Just Community practice. That is the individual's moral development and socialization.

However, the aim of the individual's moral development and that of socialization can be the same or be different from each other. On the one hand, in order to be a social being, every individual need to understand basic moral rules and form a pattern of moral thought to guide his/her behaviour; on the other hand, after the individual understands the relationship between self, others, the group and society, s/he is capable of acting autonomously according to her/his own principles, which might be different from the core values of the society. Therefore, socialization is not the end of the individual's moral development.

- **Cultural difference or educational difference?**

Because socialization is universal across cultures, Kohlberg's claim that the stage scheme is culturally universal is correct to some degree. From stage 1 to stage 4, an individual completes the process of socialization; in Parsons' (1961) terms, 'the values of the society are internalized in his personality'. Kohlberg's first three stages are proved to be universal by the cross-cultural studies using his model (Snarey, 1985) and are agreed on by other researchers (Ma, 1988; Rest *et al.*, 1997, 2000). Theoretically, stage 4 should be universal too, though it is not supported by the cross-cultural studies. The reason probably is that Kohlberg's social system described in stage 4 is based on a modern Western country which, as discussed in the section on structural functionalism, is different from other societies e.g. P.R. China. This might help to explain why there is evidence from some research studies that people in some villages or religious groups, which are detached or isolated from the mainstream values of their society, seldom reach stage 4. For example, the moral reasoning development of children, adults, and Buddhist monks from Tibetan Ladakh of India ranges from stage 1 to stage 3 (Gielen & Kelly, 1983, cited by Snarey, 1985: p.209). By contrary, highly educated people in societies, say college or university students, always reach stage 3 and above: Male and Female students in Helsinki University, Finland, stage 3-5 (Holkama, 1981, cited by Snarey, 1985: p.208); College students in Hong Kong stage 3- 5 (Grimley, 1973, 1974, cited by Snarey, 1985: p.209); Indonesian University students stage 2-4 (Setiono, 1982, cited by Snarey, 1985: p.210); College students in Japan stage 3-4 (Grimley, 1973, 1974, cited by Snarey, 1985: p.210); College, and

graduate students in Taipei, Taiwan, stage 3-4/5 (Lei, 1980, 1981; Lei & Cheng, 1984, cited by Snarey, 1985: p.212). These findings show the differences in moral reasoning development of people in different educational backgrounds to some degree. Kohlberg deems that moral reasoning development is correlated to the individual's social perspective taking (from self and others, to small social groups, from the country or politically autonomous region to different countries, until it extends to the whole of humanity) and logimathematical thinking (Colby, 1987: p.12). Well educated people are more likely to have a wider social perspective and better logimathematical thinking by acquiring knowledge and skill through education, and as a result, they are at a higher stage in Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory.

The findings of the cross-cultural studies support rather than reject Kohlberg's model. Why do people seldom reach stage 6? Rest *et al.* (2000: p.392) explain that it is a global, coarse-grained, abstract level of morality from which 'one may not be able to deduce solutions for problems in specific contexts'. This opinion is echoed by the research about moral decision making in real life dilemmas (Haviv & Leman, 2002; Turner & Chambers, 2006). They hold that moral judgement and decision making are situation-related. Kohlberg's definition of moral judgement is too narrow to apply in real-life situations and his theory is not based on real-life dilemmas.

- **Moral judgement: narrower or broader**

As mentioned before, Kohlberg's critics have the similar opinion on using a more comprehensive theory of moral judgement development or moral development to take place Kohlberg's moral reasoning development. Taking Ma's (1988) proposal as an example, he suggests using Confucianism to evaluate the moral judgement development of Chinese people. The key moral value in Confucianism which guides individuals' behaviour is *Ren*, which means love, benevolence, sympathy, etc. For Chinese people, *Ren* is essential for both government and individuals to maintain justice and social order. Therefore, emotion such as sympathy is unavoidably involved in moral judgement. No matter through which approach to evaluate moral judgement development, the following simple questions need to be answered: what is the end of morality? and what kind of moral judgement is higher than others? It seems to me, only Kohlberg but none of his critics answers these questions. After an individual reaches the highest level in Kohlberg's theory, s/he is a morally autonomous person, s/he knows the principles for self, others, groups, countries and the human beings, and s/he has freedom to make choices. In an ideal society, the end to self is the end to human beings. Indeed, Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory is limited on application in real life because moral judgement is evaluated in a narrow way in his research. However, his research reveals the universal characteristics of moral reasoning development, from self, others, to society, finally the world. On this point, Noddings' (1984/2003) caring ethics theory and Confucius' philosophy have the similar perspective which will be argued in the following section.

2.1.4 Moral/values education theories

Generally, the theories of moral education or values education specifically concern the aim and means of implementing moral education in schools. Rooted in different disciplines (philosophy, psychology, sociology, education etc.), these theories intend to answer the same question: how to help individuals become a moral person in society. Their opinions occupy various positions along the spectrum between individual and society. Some hold that individuals should be trained to accept specific values in society, others argue that individuals should be encouraged to develop their own values instead of being equipped with a bag of virtues, and still others hold mixed opinions in between. This section will review the most influential moral/ values education theories in the post-war USA and the UK, and then other theories which influence moral education in China.

2.1.4.1 Influential moral/ values education theories in USA and UK

- **Values clarification**

Values clarification is initiated by Rathes and his students Harmin and Simon in their book published in 1966 and developed by Simon, Kirschenbaum and others into a moral education movement in 1970s. More than 400,000 teachers had been trained in the methods of values clarification in USA (Hunt & Mullins, 2005: p.181). Influenced by Allport, Metcalf and Rogers's humanistic psychological theory ((Raths, Harmin & Simon, 1966/1978: p.11), values clarification theory is built on the premise that an individual's values system impacts on his/her conscious decisions and actions. In other words, an individual's understanding of their values can influence their decision making and behaviour. Hence, the values clarification approach to moral education suggests that teachers should encourage students to think about their values and make their own choices, rather than introducing the core values of a society to students or guiding them with their own judgement.

'Our approach to values education is to train students to think about values on their own – to train them in the process of valuing and thinking.' (Raths, Harmin & Simon, 1966/1978: p.200)

Values clarification initiators, as they claim above, think the competence of reasoning is important for students to understand their own values and make autonomous decisions. They also stress the importance of caring and feeling in moral education. Rathes *et al.* (1966/1978) points out that teachers' caring about values clarification can help the students' understanding of values. Kirschenbaum (1976: p.102) claims that 'feelings can be an aid or an obstacle to effective thinking, deciding, and living'.

Values diversity emerges in the USA in 1970s along with multi-ethnic immigration, the pervasion of individualism and the human rights movement. The values clarification approach to moral education is helpful to students to deal with the values conflicts generated by rapid social change. However, it is criticized for its ethical relativism (Hunt & Mullins, 2005: p.186; Qi, 1995: pp.320-324). For the critics, the values clarification approach does not differentiate moral values from non-moral values. Encouraging individuals to choose their moral values according to their own individual preferences

might lead to moral collapse in society. The critics' worry is plausible but problematic. The theorists and practitioners of values clarification believe that the resolution of values conflicts and the development of personal values systems rely on reasoning. When reasoning is triggered by reflection or discussion, students can find a way to solve their values conflicts. Indeed, the outcome of reasoning *could* be anti-social values. But the possibility of such an outcome is quite rare. As will be discussed later, the social interactions in schools involve values education through the hidden curriculum. Even though teachers do not teach any particular values in schools or guide students to learn any values in a values clarification approach, their interactions with students can influence students' understanding of values. The real weakness of the values clarification approach is that it ignores the impact on students' personal values system from the interactions in schools and from factors other than reasoning.

- **Just community**

The Just community approach is a way of implementing the moral reasoning development theory in moral education in practice in schools. The first just community programme was conducted by Kohlberg and his colleagues in the Cluster School in the USA in 1974 (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008). It has been adopted by more schools later. Some of them have insisted on the original programme for more than 30 years (Oser, Althof & Ann Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008). Since Kohlberg and Higgins introduced the approach to Europe in 1985, dozens of schools have run this programme or similar programmes based on its ideas (Oser *et al.*, 2008). The aim of the just community is to promote 'moral character development and responsibility: (a) through participation in moral discussions and exposure to new and different points of view, (b) through living in an atmosphere of fairness and developing relations of loyalty and trust, and (c) by taking responsibility for making and enforcing rules on oneself and other members of the group.' (Kohlberg, Kauffman, Scharf & Hickey, 1975: p.248) Although this approach is based on the moral reasoning development theory and the outcome is assessed with the 6 moral reasoning stages, what is promoted through the programme is more than reasoning. Recent research on the just community defends Gilligan's critique of Kohlberg for ignoring care in moral judgement by pointing out that both reasoning and care are stressed in Kohlberg's just community approach (Jorgensen, 2006; Oser *et al.*, 2008). Kohlberg's colleagues explain that Kohlberg emphasizes the primacy of care that goes beyond the demands of justice in his description of the just community (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008: p.234). Care for each other in the just community is considered an important condition for maintaining justice in the group. Because a democratic atmosphere is created for the students in a just community in which they can discuss issues affecting their life equally and make their own decisions, the just community approach is used to conduct democratic education and citizenship education in some European schools (Oser *et al.*, 2008).

The just community and values clarification have similar answers to two basic questions in moral education: what kind of morality or values should students learn in schools and through what means should they learn? Both approaches emphasize students' moral reasoning and disagree with

indoctrinating particular values into students. Both of them realize that care is important because a caring atmosphere is helpful to reasoning. However, neither approach explores theoretically the conclusive factors which are decisive to students' moral development. John Wilson fills the gap.

- **John Wilson's moral education theory**

John Wilson's theory is compatible with both values clarification and Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory. Being similar to them, Wilson's moral education theory stresses the individual's autonomous development of morality and regards reasoning as an important factor in moral development. In the practice of moral education, John Wilson also has similar viewpoints to those of the values clarification approach and of Kohlberg's just community approach. They all take a stand against the teacher's authority over the students and advocate that teachers should act as models (in Wilson's opinion) or supporters (the other two approaches) in moral education. They all agree that a collective environment can help students' moral development, although the discussion group suggested by values clarification is free from any commitment to keep its form while the just community promoted by Kohlberg and the family model in schools promoted by Wilson have a commitment to regular meetings or other activities.

The key difference between Wilson's theory and those of the other two lies in the explanation of morality. Values clarification does not distinguish moral values particularly from non-moral ones. The values clarification approach to moral education does not mean to promote particular values but encourage students to think, clarify and choose values from the multi-values society in which they live. In Kohlberg's perspective, morality is attached to the normative values in society and also independent from normative values in society; therefore, the individual's moral reasoning development from stage 1 to stage 4 is towards socialization while from stage 4 to stage 6 is towards universal moral values. Wilson holds that morality is independent from any society, culture and group, so that 'moral education will not be the private possession of any one culture, creed, country, ideology, political party or anything else'. 'Education in morality' will be an attempt to enable ourselves and our pupils to stand (so far as possible) outside our own and other people's cultures, creeds and ideologies, and become initiated into a form of thought which will allow us to accept or reject, endorse or criticize, this or that element in any culture' and 'it will be international and time-free, not based on the particular views or values of any one social group' (Wilson, 1990: p.4). The key characteristics of Wilson's concept of morality are neutrality and universality (Qi, 1995: p.232). From this viewpoint, Wilson argues that morality can be taught but not any specific virtues, and it is to be taught through cultivating moral reasoning.

In this sense, Wilson and Kohlberg head in the same direction through their different approaches. Both regard autonomous moral judgement as the way to assess moral maturity, both stress reasoning in moral judgement, and both hold a moral universalism point of view. Nevertheless, Wilson's perspective on moral judgement is more comprehensive than Kohlberg's. As mentioned before, Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory is criticized for ignoring other factors in moral

judgement such as caring, situation, etc. In Wilson's theory, all these factors are taken into consideration. He suggests 15 moral components as the 'qualities in respect of which people can be trained or educated' (*ibid*, 1990: p.151):

Table 2: 15 moral components

PHIL(HC)	Having the concept of a 'person'.
PHIL(CC)	Claiming to use this concept in an overriding, prescriptive and universalized (O, P and U) principle.
PHIL(RSF)(DO)(PO)	Having feelings which support this principle, either of a 'duty-orientated' (DO) or a 'person-orientated' (PO) kind.
EMP(1)(Cs)	Being able, in practice, to identify emotions, etc. in oneself, when these are at a conscious level.
EMP(1)(Ucs)	Ditto, when the emotions are at an unconscious level.
EMP(2)(Cs)	Ditto, in other people, when at a conscious level.
EMP(2)(Ucs)	Ditto, when at an unconscious level.
GIG(1)(KF)	Knowing other ('hard') facts relevant to moral decisions.
GIG(1)(KS)	Knowing sources of facts (where to find out) as above.
GIG(2)(VC)	'Knowing how' – a 'skill' element in dealing with moral situations, as evinced in verbal communication with others.
GIG(2)(NVC)	Ditto, in non-verbal communication.
KRAT(1)(RA)	Being, in practice, 'relevantly alert' to (noticing) moral situations, and seeing them as such (describing them in terms of PHIL, etc. above).
KRAT(1)(TT)	Thinking thoroughly about such situations, and bringing to bear whatever PHIL, EMP and GIG one has.
KRAT(1)(OPU)	As a result of the foregoing, making an overriding, prescriptive and universalized decision to act in others' interests.
KRAT(2)	Being sufficiently wholehearted, free from unconscious counter-motivation, etc. to carry out (when able) the above decision in practice.

(*ibid.*: pp.130-131)

The above 15 moral components can be classified into 4 aspects: principles built on humanity (PHIL), emotion (EMP), knowledge relating to moral decisions (GIG), and competence to carry out the moral decisions in practice (KRAT). In each aspect, the moral components are not at the same level or

stage. From PHIL (HC) and PHIL (CC) to PHIL (RSF) (DO and PO), it shows the individual's perspectives on moral principles to be at different developing stages. From EMP (1) to EMP (2), it shows the individual's emotional development to move from insight into one's own feelings to insight into other people's. The moral components in GIG and KRAT show different levels of knowledge or competence relating to moral decisions or actions. Not all these moral components play the same role in moral decisions. According to Wilson's description, it is reasoning (the moral component of KRAT (1) (TT)) that brings information about a situation, his principles, emotion and knowledge together to enable a moral decision. Such a comprehensive concept of reasoning is echoed by Gilligan's (1982) proposal that moral reasoning should include care reasoning in addition to justice reasoning. The critiques of John Wilson's theory relate to his philosophical methodology of morality, the concepts of morality and moral education, and the methods, process and assessment of moral education (Mclaughlin & Halstead, 2000). For Straughan (2000), John Wilson's efforts to combine both philosophical moral theory and educational practice and the fact that they ('speak simultaneously to both teachers and researchers' in his words), are the main reason why his moral component framework has not been followed and extended by both researchers and education practitioners. This comment is interesting but one-sided. It ignores another possibility. John Wilson's moral education theory is an integrated theory rooted in three fields, philosophy, sociology and psychology. Limited by the strict disciplinary structures nowadays, hardly any research has a similar background to him to understand his theory fully and to carry it out in educational practice. The evidence to support this viewpoint can be found in Mclaughlin & Halstead's (2000) review. The line of criticism in their paper shows that most critics are limited in their understanding either of educational philosophy or of the field of moral education. They agree that there are 'distortions and misunderstandings' (*ibid.*: p.261) of Wilson.

- **Care theory**

Care theory has been developed by Gilligan in psychology and Noddings in philosophy since the 1980s. Based on gender difference, Gilligan (1982) claims that care should be put in the same position of importance in moral reasoning development. Inspired by her work, Noddings redefines the concept of care and develops it into care ethics theory. Care is not women's ethics in Gilligan's early work, rather, the ethics of all human beings. In the debate on justice and care in moral reasoning, Noddings (1984/2003, 2002) argues that care is what links to emotion where justice locates its roots in rationality.

In care theory, the key concept is the 'caring relation'. The 'caring relation' is established with two parts, the 'carer' (or one caring) and the 'cared-for'. What makes care ethics theory different from virtue ethics theory is that in such a caring relation, virtue ethics theory gives moral credit to the 'carer' and nothing to the 'cared-for' while care ethics theory treats both parts equally. For Noddings, the carer who seeks moral credit is a virtue-carer who might have the best interests of the cared-for at

heart, but s/he might care for the cared-for in a way that meets her/his need for moral credit rather than what the cared-for needs most and is happy with. Therefore, to seek moral credit for any part in a caring relationship is not important. What is important is to maintain caring relations. To maintain caring relations depends on care and trust from both parties. Carer and cared-for are not permanent labels, rather, they are just temporary positions in different situations.

According to care theory, to establish a climate in which caring relations can flourish is more important to moral education than to teach moral virtues. 'To care is a moral expectation in any encounter, and caring relations form the foundation of moral life in every domain' (Noddings, 2008: p.166). Similar to John Wilson's suggestion, the practice of moral education in schools that follow Noddings' model relies on teachers acting as caring role-models for students. Teachers should respect students' diverse talents equally; teachers should listen to students' needs; teachers 'must acquire a broad expanse of knowledge' to understand students' needs; etc. Through caring for students, teachers demonstrate how to care. Being cared for is the first step in learning how to care.

If students learn to care, care relations can be extended from the people who are close to them to all human beings. Noddings used the concepts 'care for' and 'care about' (2005: p.7) to describe such kind of extension. In order to maintain the care relation, 'care for' requires the carer to respond to the needs of the cared-for and monitor the effects of their response and actions to make sure that the cared-for's needs are met. Such kind of care is limited to the people with direct contact. 'Care about' requires carers to work towards the establishment of conditions under which 'caring for' can flourish. This kind of care can cross boundaries such as culture, race etc., to all human beings and the whole world.

- **Character education**

Character education in the USA nowadays is an umbrella term that includes not only Kohlberg's cognitive approach and Noddings' care ethics approach but also many other approaches to moral education (Althof, & Berkowitz, 2006). However, the main meaning of character education is some new theories based on Aristotelian virtues ethics and psychological behaviourism.

'A character state concerned with choice, lying in the mean relative to us, being determined by reason and the way the person of practical wisdom would determine it.' (Aristotle, 1107/2002, cited by Wren, 2008: p.18)

This quotation is the key to understanding the meaning of character education promoted in the USA nowadays and also the difference between it and the traditional moral education based on the same theories before the Second World War. Character relates to choice which is part of decision making. There are three things involved in decision making — self, reason and practical wisdom. Therefore, the core idea of character education is to develop individuals' ability to make decisions which requires the development of competence in awareness of the situation (both self and the environment), reason

and practical wisdom. Wren (2008) explains that Aristotelian virtues ethics includes two aspects: the good and practical wisdom. Neither of them is dispensable. Because of the translation and the ambiguity in Aristotle's use of reason, the practical wisdom in Aristotelian virtues ethics was ignored in the traditional character education approach to moral education.

Focusing on the good or on virtues only, and being based on stimulus-response learning theory, the traditional moral education approach was criticized by Kohlberg (1970) as indoctrination in 'a bag of virtues'. However, based on retranslating and reinterpreting Aristotelian's virtues ethics and influenced by cognitive development theories, virtues are not a non-cognitive bundle of habits in character education nowadays. Teaching virtues not only aims at transmitting the core values of society to students but also at developing students' competence in reasoning and practical wisdom to make moral decisions. Character educators have a host of proposals on the content of character education and the way to conduct it. For example, Rusnak (1998: pp.3-4) advocates 'an integrated approach to character education on the basis of: 'thinking what is to be done or learned, feeling appreciating what is learned, and action experiencing through deed and not only discussion what is being learned'. Ryan and Lickona (1987: 20ff) provide an even more integrated model in which moral reasoning, decision making, the ability to gain self-knowledge, feelings of sympathy, care, and love for others are all considered essential to character development. Although character educators' opinions are diverse, most of them take behaviour as one of the goals of character education, regard both reasoning and emotion as key elements to cultivate students' character, and emphasize the importance of the school ethos (Arthur, 2008).

2.1.4.2 Moral theories and aim of moral education

No doubt, all the theories on moral education reviewed above are concerned with students' development of morality. None of them agrees with moral relativism, so none of them holds that students can develop morality in any direction according to their free will. However, they have different opinions on the aim of moral education. In John Wilson's moral education theory, the aim of moral education is to cultivate the morally educated person; in the care theory, it is to maintain caring relations; in the moral reasoning development theory, it is to help students develop their moral reasoning to the highest stage and be morally autonomous people; in the just community, the post-Kohlbergians regard the aim of moral education as achieving a moral atmosphere in schools and helping students to learn justice; in character education, the aim is to transmit the core values of society to the students; in the values clarification approach, it is to help students to make their own values choices and moral decisions through reasoning. According to their aims, the theories can be grouped into three approaches. For values clarification and John Wilson's theory, the aim of education is to encourage students to think for themselves instead of passively absorbing the moral values that the society promotes. On the other hand, character education aims at helping students internalize the core values of society. Finally, moral reasoning development theory, the just

community and care theory stress that students should learn the social normative rules or caring in order to maintain a particular social order, but their individual development should not be limited to socialisation.

The aims of moral education in these theories also link to their perspective on morality. According to Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory, moral education should help individuals develop their morality through learning the normative values of society and then go beyond it in the postconventional level towards the universal principles of justice which include the equality of human rights and respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons. John Wilson holds that morality is necessary for human flourishing and is independent from any society, so moral education in his view should help individuals acquire the moral components rather than teach the normative values of any society. Care is universal in care ethics' theory. Moral education should help individuals to learn how to care and how to maintain caring relations. For Noddings, care relations include not only the social interactions which inter-personal communication can reach but also the relations between the individual and the world. Noddings deems the maintenance of caring relationships as the most important element in global citizenship education. No doubt, these theories are very different from postmodern ethics (Bauman, 1993) which denies the universality of morality and are criticised for making universal claims. The real meaning of postmodern ethic's opposition to moral universality is to support individual freedom. In a highly structured society (no matter whether local or global), if the values of a group of people or countries is promoted to all in name of universal morality, it will threaten individual freedom. What postmodern ethics is concerned with is that the concept of universal morality can hardly avoid being influenced by political authorities. Therefore, there is no universal morality above all societies and cultures. This point of view just renews what Marxism holds: morality is always attached to a collective. However, what postmodern ethics and Marxism ignore is that there are common moral elements across all societies and cultures which are crucial to human beings' survival and development. Without these essential moral elements, human flourishing is impossible. Wilson's morally educated person and Kohlberg's highest stage have the same insights: well developed moral reasoning can avoid an individual's blind obedience to authority and collective unconsciousness, hence avoid the tragedy of repetition of world wars. Noddings' perspective shows the possibility to resolve the global crisis through the pursuit of universal morality.

These universal morality oriented moral education theories encounter more or fewer dilemmas when they are tried in practice. Taking John Wilson's theory as an example, his intention to use the moral components to assess the morally educated person, his suggestion of teacher providing a moral model for students, and his family model of moral education in school, etc. involve a lot of social interactions in school, which may lead students' moral or values development to be compatible with the social values. If it is linked to a particular goal in the society, the assessment and role model can come to represent authority or the 'right answer' to the students, with which Wilson disagrees. The practice of moral education in China, which will be reviewed in the following section, provides

evidence of how moral assessment can come to represent authority and the right answer to the students. Therefore, Wilson's stand on neutrality and universality in morality and his proposal for the assessment of a person's moral level using moral components can be contradictory. This dilemma lies in Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory too. His postconventional level was criticized as too absolute to practise. The key issue is that if it is concretized it will be linked to a particular society, culture, religion etc. In that case, it returns to the conventional level and is no longer exactly the postconventional level. This dilemma is perhaps caused by the existence and interaction between different levels of values systems.

As reviewed and argued in the previous section, there are different levels of values systems from personal values systems at the individual end, group values systems, cultural values systems, society-based values systems, to universal values systems. Not all values are equally shared by all values systems, neither are the moral components or moral values. Universal values attach to the survival and development of human beings and manifest themselves in two ways: the first, common values shown in most values systems; the second, fundamental values associated with all human beings. Allport, Rokeach and other psychologists try to explore these values via the first approach while Kohlberg and Wilson focus more on the second. These values can be excluded from the core values system in a society over a period of time, but cannot be from personal systems in society; otherwise, human beings' survival and development will be threatened in the long term. When fascism was promoted to the core values of society in Germany during World War II, most Germans were in a state of collective unconsciousness and followed it blindly. If these people could reach the postconventional level in Kohlberg's moral reasoning development scale or the state of being moral educated in Wilson's term, they would make their judgements according to universal values in their personal values system rather than fascism in the social values system, and they would be against the distorted social order through their interactions with other people. However, when the fundamental values argued and claimed by Kohlberg and Wilson are linked to a particular moral education project, it can hardly avoid the influence of the core values of the society, because schools, as part of the social structure, are embedded with the core values through both curriculum and hidden curriculum. Thus, a new question comes into focus: if the fundamental values in Kohlberg and Wilson's theory are not compatible with the core values of society how can moral education based on a universal approach really help individuals to develop universal values? There is still a gap between the practice and Kohlberg et al.'s theoretical suggestions. Autonomy, mentioned but not explored completely in Kohlberg's work, might be the bridge to fill the gap.

2.1.4.3 Personal autonomy and moral development

Influenced by Piaget's heteronomy-autonomy typology in children's moral development, Kohlberg's early work in moral development focuses on autonomy. However, the findings of the empirical work suggest a six-stage moral reasoning development which is more useful for explaining the moral

development from child to adult. After the revisions to the moral reasoning development theory, moral autonomy gradually loses its central place in Kohlberg's theory. Following his early path, Kohlberg's colleagues explore the relationship between autonomy and moral development. Underpinned by Piaget, Baldwin and Kant's argument on moral autonomy, Tappan *et al.* (1987: p.328) draw nine general criteria to distinguish their ideal-typical formulation of autonomy-heteronomy, each of which represents an important aspect or characteristic of moral autonomy: '*freedom, mutual respect, reversibility, constructivism, hierarchy, intrinsicness, prescriptivity, universality, and choice*'. Each criterion is given a specific explanation, for example: (Tappan *et al.*, 1987: p.349):

1. Freedom: Autonomous judgements are made without reference to external parameters, such as authority, tradition, or law, for justification or validation.

...

9. Choice: In response to a particular moral dilemma, the individual who makes autonomous moral judgements is much more likely to choose and justify the solution to the dilemma that is generally seen as just and fair from the standpoint of the postconventional stages of moral judgement than is the individual who makes heteronomous judgements.

The hypotheses based on Piaget's heteronomy-autonomy typology of moral development theory are examined with the nine criteria of autonomy in six studies using Kohlberg's moral reasoning development approach. The findings support the hypotheses i.e. first, the heteronomy-autonomy moral typology is developmental, which means 'there is a natural push toward the stable equilibrium of autonomy with increase in age, according to Piaget' (*ibid.*: p.333); second, the development of autonomy in moral judgement is influenced by the sociocultural environment and the social relationships an individual is exposed to; third, persons who make autonomous moral judgements will be more likely to engage in what might be called 'moral action' than persons who make heteronomous moral judgements.

This research suggests that autonomy leads to the universal morality attached to humanity because according to Kant, the principle of autonomy is the sole principle of ethics and in his ethics humanity is the end. The criteria of autonomy are also a bridge to link the abstract concepts of universal morality to concrete moral judgements. Autonomy links to the higher moral reasoning development stage, but influenced by environment, the individual's development towards autonomy may vary along with the cultural or social context and the social relationships s/he is involved in. For the same reason, the nine criteria of autonomy do not develop equally. The same person can show autonomy in one criterion but heteronomy in another. The research also suggests that the heteronomy-autonomy typology is universal across culture and gender.

Some of these results are compatible with the arguments in support of 'personal autonomy' in the field of education philosophy. The criteria of autonomy such as freedom and choice, are stressed in most

of the definitions of 'personal autonomy' in the context of western liberal education (Reich, 2002; Levinson, 1999; Bonnett & Cuypers, 2003). Halstead argues that cultural factors such as the way to bring up children may hinder their growth towards autonomy (see Halstead, 1986, pp. 33–44). He suggests the typology of 'strong autonomy' and 'weak autonomy' to distinguish the cultural effect on children's autonomy. However, a key question is ignored by Tappan *et al.*: is autonomy a natural quality of humans or something that is learnt?

According to Reich (2002), autonomy is 'a person's ability' which citizens can acquire by being educated in political virtues. Kant, Mill and many others within the liberal tradition, regard autonomy as a natural quality of humans which is embedded in the self (Olssen, 2005: p.368). Autonomy for Kant links to the freedom of rational human will, which consists not in being bound by law, but by laws that humans give to themselves. The core of Kant's theory of moral autonomy is summarized as follow: first, an actor must have an intrinsically moral motive to act according to his or her obligation; second, moral action must be done on the basis of knowledge, both of the fact that the actor is obligated in general, and of what the actor's particular obligation is in any particular circumstance; third, the actor must be seen as responsible for his actions, if the power to act were not his to employ according to his own choice (Hawes, 1983: p.33, cited by Tappan *et al.*, 1987: p.347). For Mill, autonomy is 'one of the elements of well-being' (Mill 1859/1975, ch. III). Both Kant and Mill regard autonomy as something intrinsic and universal. However, a question is still not clear. If autonomy is intrinsic, is the human being born to be autonomous? The empirical research of Piaget, Kohlberg *et al.* and other psychologists prove that autonomy is a process and people cannot make autonomous moral judgements until they are at a particular developmental stage. Following Kant's theory of autonomy, Kohlberg *et al.* were convinced of the relationship between the development of moral reasoning and that of moral autonomy, but they did not explore the possible factors which might influence moral autonomy except for reasoning. If we agree that autonomy is embedded in self, the factors that influence the development of self can also influence the development of autonomy.

Mead (1931) explains that the human self includes 'I' and 'me'. Self develops through interaction with the social environment, especially communicative action. Self involves communication with others and that between 'I' and 'me'. Communication with others is part of social interaction, self-communication is the process involved in evaluating, analyzing, interpreting and judging situations encountered in social interactions and making decisions or planning actions. Without participation in the social act of communication, thought and mind will not arise, and self hardly develop.

Mead did not explain the relationship between self and autonomy, but according to Blumer (1969/1998: p.63-64)'s argument in relation to self, autonomy seems like the natural result of self development:

The process of self-interaction puts the human being over against his world instead of merely in it, requires him to meet and handle his world through a defining process instead of merely responding to it, and forces him to construct his action instead of merely releasing it.

The process of self-interaction requires the human being to be independent from the environment and construct his action according to his own will, and hence, breeds personal autonomy. Freedom and obligation, the core of Kant's autonomy theory, is explained in the requirement of self-interaction and social interaction. The social interaction, which fosters the development of self, unavoidably plays an important role in the development of personal autonomy. The factors influencing self development, language, knowledge, emotion, reasoning etc., also influence the development of autonomy. Tappan *et al.* prove the relationship between the development of moral reasoning and that of autonomy, but the question, which factors influence the development of autonomy, still needs more empirical research. Autonomy, as Piaget and Kohlberg *et al.* claim, which involves moral judgement and decision making, have mutual influence with the self and personal autonomy. For the communication process, autonomy manifests its influence on the choices of whether to receive a message, how to interpret and understand them, and how to express one's own messages.

Based on the argument on personal autonomy above, two conclusions could be made. First, personal autonomy exists generally in any society where human beings live when their self development reaches a particular level. Second, personal autonomy can be observed in the communication process through the autonomy criteria.

2.1.4.4 Moral theories underpin Chinese moral education

Contemporary moral education in mainland China is influenced by moral theories from three origins: Western countries, the Soviet Union and Confucianism.

Influenced by Kant's theory of moral autonomy (Shen, 1991) and Piaget's moral development theory (Dong, 2000; Feng, 2004), the Chinese moral education curriculum is established at the basis of the cognitive development of individuals and focuses mainly on the transmission of knowledge. Based on the theory that the direction of moral development is from heteronomy to autonomy, moral education in primary schools and middle schools stresses discipline from teachers and that in colleges and universities encourages self-regulation and self-discipline.

Two education theorists in the Soviet Union, Makarenko and Sukhomlinsky, have a great influence on Chinese education, especially moral education (Dong, 2000). The core elements of Makarenko's theory include collective education, discipline and labour education. Makarenko regards collective education as the primary goal of socialist education. As a cell of a society, a school must be a healthy collective. Education in school should be conducted through the collective, in the collective and for the collective. Guided by this principle, he suggests that a teacher should not influence students personally but through the collective, e.g. a class or a school. For Makarenko, discipline connects to a

collective organically. Discipline is the end of education rather than the means of education. Rather than a method of ruling members in a collective, discipline should be obeyed autonomously by each member in a collective. Labour education is indispensable to collective education and the cultivation of discipline. If Makarenko's theory sounds like structuralism, Sukhomlinsky's is more like interactionism. Sukhomlinsky treats students as subjects in education rather than objects to be educated. He stresses the importance of enabling every student to attain all-round development in the domains of morality, intellect, physique, labour and aesthetics. He holds that a collective is not attractive at all without creative individuals in the collective. The aim of education should be to enlighten students' interest to explore the world in which they live and enable them to develop harmoniously. To achieve this goal, moral education should be the key issue of education. He distinguishes three stages of moral education: first, the stage of moral habit education under the stimulus of sensitivity and sympathy; second, the stage of moral belief education under the stimulus of emotion; third, the stage of life view and world view education under the stimulus of spirit. He also suggests practical moral education methods such as education of the emotions based on love, empirical education based on activity, aesthetic education based on appreciation and reflectional education based on reading etc Makarenko and Sukhomlinsky's theories are still influential on contemporary moral education in China. Collective education, discipline, and labour education are still important parts of moral education in mainland China. Sukhomlinsky's suggestions on the aim of education and moral education are accepted and embedded in all aspects of the educational system.

Confucianism, suffering two overwhelming criticisms in modern China², is not embedded in the core structure of moral education in mainland China, but some of the moral virtues of Confucianism are still included in the content of moral education (Zhan & Ning, 2004). Its powerful influence on social order and hierarchy is still significant in contemporary Chinese society and also influences the moral climate in schools (Luo, Huang & Najjar, 2007). The core viewpoints of Confucianism which are seen in Chinese education and society across more than 2000 years of history include the following points: first, men can cultivate themselves to be perfect men who are united with heaven (such men are called *Sheng Ren*); second, human beings are born good and human nature develops through habit; third, social order can be maintained through the implementation of this rule — 'Let the ruler be ruler, the minister minister, the father father, and the son son' (Confucius, personal communication with Duke Jing, 516 B.C.) ; fourth, filial piety is the first among all the virtues to cultivate the self. These theories are inter-linked together to serve the purpose of peaceful world as *The Great Learning* claims: 'The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons' (Confucius, 500 B.C. a). The Confucian viewpoint

² One criticism of Confucianism originated with the New Cultural Movement from the middle of 1910s to 1920s, the other with the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976.

about how to cultivate a person strikes a chord with Wilson to some degree. In *The Analects* (Confucius, 500 B.C. b), *The Great Learning* and other works, Confucius and his disciples claim knowledge, thought, emotion and action are important elements in a person's cultivation. About the relationship between knowledge and thought, Confucius explains that 'Learning without thought means labour lost; thought without learning is perilous'. About emotion and action, Confucius regards them as something essential for self-cultivation and for the maintenance of social order. Emotion in Confucian terms is *Ren* which Confucius explains as loving all people, and filial piety was the foundation of practising morality in order to fully realise *Ren* (Wang, 2004). With filial piety, people should show their respect to parents and older family members, in addition to the people in a higher position in the social hierarchy structure. Action in Confucian perspective is habit. *Book of History (Shu King)* (Confucius, 500 B.C. c), a textbook for students of Confucius, claims that long practice makes habit second nature. 'If habit is cultivated when one is young it becomes like one's own nature, habit is then the second nature' (Wang, 1991). Learning and practice (especially ritual) are regarded as the most important way to cultivate habit. For Confucianism, self-cultivation is not only beneficial for personal development towards *Sheng Ren* (sainthood) but also for social order. This perspective is deeply embedded in Chinese education and politics, so education in China always serves a particular political purpose. Another influence on Chinese moral education from Confucian theories is that moral education is integrated into all aspects of education: the content, the teaching methods, the relationship between teachers and students, the conduct of teachers and that of students, etc. This will be discussed more in the following section about the hidden curriculum.

2.2 Values communication in school

According to the viewpoint of structural functionalism, normative values, especially the core values of society, should be embedded into a particular curriculum and be taught in school. For example, when Confucianism was established as the orthodox ideology by the Chinese government in the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), mastering Confucian ideology was the criterion to judge if an educated person was qualified to be a governor. Therefore, the curriculum at that time was teaching Confucianism, and the works of Confucius and his disciples were used as text books in school. According to the symbolic interactionist point of view, on the other hand, all communications in school involve conveying and learning values. Through normal communication between teachers and students or among students, the values outside the curriculum can be conveyed and learned in schools. These values include both moral values and non-moral values. Because of this, education researchers and practitioners have gradually come to use the term 'values education' in preference to take over 'moral education' and classify it into two types: values education in the curriculum and values education in the hidden curriculum.

2.2.1 Values education in the curriculum and the hidden curriculum

Values education is used as a 'new umbrella term for a range of common curriculum experiences: spiritual, moral, social and cultural education, personal and social education, religious education, multicultural/antiracist education, cross-curricular themes, especially citizenship, environment and health, pastoral care, school ethos, extra-curricular activities, wider community links, collective worship/assembly, and the life of the school as a learning community' (Taylor, 2006: p.115). Taylor's explanation of values education in the curriculum is inclusive as far as the practice of values education in the UK goes, but it might be broader or narrower than the meaning of values education in other countries. Halstead & Xiao (2010) suggest the need to distinguish values education in the hidden curriculum from that in the curriculum based on Hirst's definition of curriculum, 'a programme of activities (by teachers and pupils) designed so that pupils will attain as far as possible certain educational ends or objectives' (Hirst, 1980: p. 9). After a scrutiny of the definitions of and research into the hidden curriculum, they argue that the hidden curriculum links only to the learning process and define it as 'all the learning which occurs through the experience of attending school but which is neither authorised by the school nor intended as a means to specified educational ends' (Halstead & Xia, 2010: p.307). From this perspective, values education in the curriculum can be defined as the process of teaching and learning values through a programme of activities designed for students to attain particular objectives in schools (i.e. to transmit particular values to the students), while values education in the hidden curriculum means the process of learning values which occurs through the experience of attending school but which is neither authorised by the school nor intended as a means to specified educational ends.

2.2.1.1 Values education in curriculum

According to this definition of values education in the curriculum, there are two types of values education in curriculum. The one means values education based on the particular curriculum for the subject, moral education, in mainland China; the other means values education based on the general curriculum for all subjects, because education itself is values-laden (Halstead, 1996; Taylor, 2006). For example, the mathematics curriculum contains values such as clarity, flexibility, consistency, open-mindedness, persistence, accuracy, efficient working, systematic working, enjoyment, effective organization, creativity and conjecturing (Clarkson et al., 2000). What will be reviewed here is the first type of values education.

Values education in the curriculum in different countries faces the same question, what kind of values should be included in the curriculum? Different answers to this question lead to different policies and practical strategies on values education in the curriculum where diverse names for values education in the curriculum are used in different countries: character education in the USA, *Deyu* in China, and moral education or citizenship education in some other countries.

Character education in the USA, as reviewed in the section on moral education theory, is promoted to resolve contemporary social problems, such as the youth crisis in the USA. It also reflects the expectations from American society. The public expect that schools should support students in acquiring particular values such as honesty, respect for others, democracy, and respect for people of different races and backgrounds etc. The conservatives regard the current era as a period of social decay and advocate sticking to traditional moral values and traditional character education, while the left 'view the movement toward traditional forms of socialization as an unjustified reaction to a period of social transition' (Nucci & Narvaez, 2008: P.1). Because of the different attempts to create a national agenda of character education from the conservatives and from the left, the movement of character education has included a wider range of pedagogical and philosophical perspectives (*ibid.*; Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). Accordingly, what the programmes of Character education promote includes a wide range of moral values and also non-moral values which serve both personal socialization and moral development.

Apart from character education, citizenship education is also part of values education in the curriculum in the USA. Citizenship education is implemented through the social studies curriculum and/or a stand-alone civics course (or set of courses). Although the aim of citizenship education is still in debate, a general consensus has already been achieved. Citizenship education is regarded as linked to the liberal democracy issue. No liberal democracy can flourish if its citizens do not hold and manifest certain moral and civic values (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). Traditionally, citizenship education has been knowledge based, but nowadays it is more competence oriented. The contents of citizenship education include:

'civic and political knowledge (such as concepts of democracy, understanding the structure and mechanics of political decision-making and legislation, citizens' rights and duties, current political issues and problems); intellectual skills (e.g. the ability to understand, analyse and check the reliability of information about government and public policy issues); social and participatory skills (e.g. the ability to reason, argue and express own views in political discussions; conflict solution skills; knowing how to influence policies and decisions by petitioning and lobbying, build coalitions and co-operate with partner organisations); and certain values, attitudes and 'dispositions' with a motivational power (e.g. interest in social and political affairs, a sense of responsibility, tolerance and recognition of own prejudices; appreciation of values on which democratic societies are founded like democracy, social justice and human rights)' (ibid.: p.510).

Obviously, the so called American values are embedded in citizenship education. Compared to character education, citizenship education focuses more on students' socialization than their character development, although both overlap to some degree and aim to achieve both purposes.

It seems that values education in the curriculum in the USA aims to transmit particular values to students, which is cautiously avoided in some other English speaking countries. Religious education, a statutory part of the basic curriculum in the National Curriculum in the UK (Taylor, 2006), 'aims simply to produce people who have knowledge and a sympathetic understanding of religion(s)' (Halstead, 2006: p.203). Citizenship education has been adopted in the National Curriculum in 2002 as a statutory subject in secondary schools and as non-statutory in primary schools. It takes a values-free approach transmitting the knowledge about citizenship (Halstead, 2006). Australia's approach to Citizenship education, named *Discovering Democracy*, is values-free too. It focuses on 'knowledge of the history and operation of Australia's political and legal systems and institutions, and of the principles that underpin Australian democracy' (Curriculum Corporation). Halstead (2006: p.204) points out the possible values conflicts that students might encounter in values-free citizenship education and suggests that it is 'better to bring the values into the open where they can become the subject of reflection and debate'. Australia's values education practice echoes his suggestion. The Values Education Study in 2003 summarizes the common values shared by multi-cultural communities and schools in Australia and set them out as resources for the schools to practise. Based on this study, *The National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* was released by the Australian Federal Government in 2005 (Anderson, 2008). Its implementation in schools is expected to improve social cohesion and students' behaviour. However, Anderson's research finds that it can have a negative outcome e.g. 'unimproved social fragmentation and behaviour of individuals' because of the influence from multi-factors such as school, teacher, parents, students, etc.' (*ibid.*: p.137).

Values education in the curriculum in the English speaking countries raises two questions: the first, can values education in the curriculum really be values-free? The second, can values education in the curriculum achieve its goals exactly as it is expected to? The answer to the first question is no, if we agree with Halstead's definition of values: 'principles, fundamental convictions, ideals, standards or life stances which act as general guides to behaviour or as points of reference in decision-making or the evaluation of beliefs or action and which are closely connected to personal integrity and personal identity' (Halstead, 1996: p.5). First, the goal of citizenship education in the UK is values-laden: 'contribute to pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development; promote key skills; and provide opportunities to promote other aspects of the curriculum' (Taylor, 2006: p.116). Second, the content of citizenship education in the UK is hardly values-free if it stresses 'three strands of citizenships: social and moral responsibility; community involvement and political literacy' (*ibid.*), because the knowledge of the three strands of citizenships involves normative values of society. Third, the decision to choose what kind of knowledge to present in citizenship education is values-laden. For example, the knowledge of a democratic political system contains the values of democracy. In summary, the so-called values-free approach to citizenship education is only in ideal rather than in reality. A relatively neutral approach can be taken in the curriculum of citizenship education to avoid promoting any values attached to any particular political party or social group. However, it is impossible to avoid any

common values shared in society such as democracy completely in the curriculum of citizenship education. Moreover, teachers' values are manifested and conveyed through teaching and other interactions with students in their practice of education (Cotton, 2006). Although the curriculum of values education is claimed to avoid a values-laden approach in the UK, the education in schools is criticized for conveying white middle-class values because most teachers come from the white middle-class (Halstead, 1996). Teachers' personal views are more influential in the civic education programme than any external policies (Kennedy, Jimenez, Mayer, Mellor & Smith, 2002; Anders, 2008). Based on the above evidence, the answer to the second question is more likely 'no' too. Because teachers' teaching might involve different values from teachers in their practice of values education in the curriculum, the values that students learn through the practice of values education in curriculum might be different from what they are expected to learn. Moreover, the research on the hidden curriculum (Halstead, 2006; Anders, 2008; Halstead & Xiao, 2010) reveals that students' learning process is decisive on the outcome of values education.

2.2.1.2 Values education in the hidden curriculum

How students perceive and learn values in the hidden curriculum is investigated by researchers in the areas of education, sociology and psychology. Although the perspectives for defining the hidden curriculum are different in different disciplines (Halstead & Xiao, 2010), there are at least three types of hidden curriculum in normal school practice: the moral climate in the school (or school culture), the students' interaction with teachers, and their interaction with peers.

Johnson & Johnson (2000: p.16) claim that 'the value systems underlying competitive, individualistic, and cooperative situations exist as a hidden curriculum beneath the surface of school life'. Luo, Huang & Naijar (2007) find that the ethical climate in the school influences the students' school performance. Williams' one-year-long study shows that the best way to teach respect is through the positive moral climate in the school (Williams, 1993). Researchers also find that teachers convey social values and their expectations to students through interactions, including 'appropriate ways to respond to requests, appropriate contexts for different types of behaviour, and expectations for impulse control, mature problem solving, and involvement in class activities' (Shultz & Florio, 1979; Trenholm & Rose, 1981). According to Halstead, values communications are involved in almost all the activities between teachers and students and whenever 'teachers insist on precision and accuracy in children's work, or praise their use of imagination, or censure racist or sexist language, or encourage them to show initiative, or respond with interest, patience or frustration to their ideas, children are being introduced to values and value-laden issues' (Halstead, 1996: pp. 3-4). Thornberg (2006) finds that even the teacher's hush, a non-verbal communication, conveys a particular meaning which might cause a moral dilemma for students in the classroom. The influence of peers' on students' values is ignored in values education in the curriculum to some degree; however, it has been proved to have crucial effect on students' values development. Peers' approval, acceptance and expectations relate

to students' social behaviour and competence such as helpfulness, cooperation, sociability, self-assertion, etc., and also their academic performance (Grusec & Hastings, 2006).

According to symbolic interactionism theory, communication is the channel through which the hidden curriculum manifests itself in the classroom and symbols are the vehicles of values. Much attention is paid in research to who communicates the values and to how the values are communicated in the hidden curriculum, while less attention is paid to the outcome of the communication. Halstead & Xiao (2010) find that young children in a primary school get a lot of information from the hidden curriculum and have their own understanding. Thornberg (2006) finds that some students can discriminate the moral meaning of the teacher's hush while others cannot, and also that some might encounter the moral dilemma between their intention to help other students and teacher's intention to stop their noise while others might not. However, it is still not clear what factors predispose students' difference in their understanding of the values communicated through the hidden curriculum. Narvaez (2001) and Bock (2006)'s research on students' comprehension of moral texts and moral themes provides clues to understand the different outcomes of communication in the hidden curriculum. Dudley-Marling & Paugh (2004) suggest the need to consider students' initiative in the learning process in a constructivist perspective. They explain it with a quotation from Dyson (1993), 'staking a claim', which means students can use written and oral language to infuse their personal, social, and cultural identities into the curriculum. Hence, students' own experience and personal values involve their understanding of what is communicated through the curriculum and the hidden curriculum; meanwhile, their voice in the classroom and in their writings, as part of the interactions in the learning process, also contributes to the hidden curriculum.

2.2.2 Values education in China

In order to draw the whole picture of values education in China, a Chinese term needs to be introduced here, *De Yu*. *De* means morality and *Yu* means education. Therefore, *De yu* is translated directly into moral education in most literature. However, *De Yu* in Chinese has a broader meaning than 'moral education' in the western context (Chan, 2004; Li, Zhong, Lin & Zhang, 2004). *De* has been a political concept in China since the Zhou Dynasty (1046 - 256 BC). Zhougong, the famous prime minister of the early Zhou period, initiated the concept of 'ruling the country by *De*' (Li *et al.*, 2004, p. 450). Wang (2004) has traced the evolution of *De* in ancient China and has suggested that *De* was originally a political concept in the Zhou Dynasty which referred to competency and the means of obtaining and possessing fortune and slaves, and the strategies of ruling the country. During the Spring-Autumn and Warring States Periods (775-221 BC), the meaning of *De* was extended to include the morality which was helpful to rule the country and is gradually developed into what the ruling class proposed and requested both ruler and people to obey in order to strengthen their rule. Taking the cultivation of *De* as its core, the aim of education in Confucianism is politically oriented, and this view has dominated Chinese educational theory for nearly 3000 years and is still

influential on educational policies in the People's Republic of China. This interpretation of *De* represents the viewpoint of 'macro *De Yu*' in contemporary China. It can explain why politics, ideology, morality and mental health, as well as law and extra-curricular activities are all included in *De Yu* in China (Zhu & Liu, 2004; Li *et al.*, 2004), and also why the content of *De Yu* changes over time.

Observing *De Yu* from an outsider perspective, Western scholars regard *De Yu* as a means of transmitting ideological and political values by the central government in China (Meyer, 1990; Price, 1992; Bakken, 2000). Reed (1995a, b) compares the moral education policy in China to that in the USA from a sociological perspective. He deems that both Confucianism and socialism influence Chinese society and the moral education policies. Because beliefs of both Confucianism and socialism are human-centred in the Chinese social structure, it is one of the functions of the government and of the educational system rather than the function of churches or any religious group to transmit the core values. Additionally, because both Confucianism and socialism are collective oriented, there is less tension between individualism and commitment to the community in China than there is in the USA. Reed does reveal the important relationship between the personal values of individuals and the core values in society in China. However, he does not probe the key factor behind such a relationship. He ignores the fact that the authority of the government and the educational system in China on the transmission of values is much more powerful than that of any religious group or churches in the USA. Such authority in China is so powerful that it can engage all the institutions of the structure to promote the core values. Some other Western researchers have notice of the strength of the authority in moral education, but neglect moral education's function in the development of individuals in China. What Meyer (1990) claims, that moral education in the reform period is not directed towards individual development but towards nation building, is arguable. He ignores the fact that in the highly collective-oriented Chinese society, personal realization and social goals are strongly linked together, whether in a Confucian perspective or in a socialist perspective. Lee & Ho (2005) trace the policies of moral education in China and argue that contemporary moral education in China is disassociated from politics. Like Meyer, Lee & Ho only focus on *De Yu* in the curriculum, specifically political and ideological subjects in schools. However, political and ideological subjects are only part of *De Yu* in the curriculum. The whole system of *De Yu* in the curriculum is more complicated than what the researchers have observed from an outsider perspective.

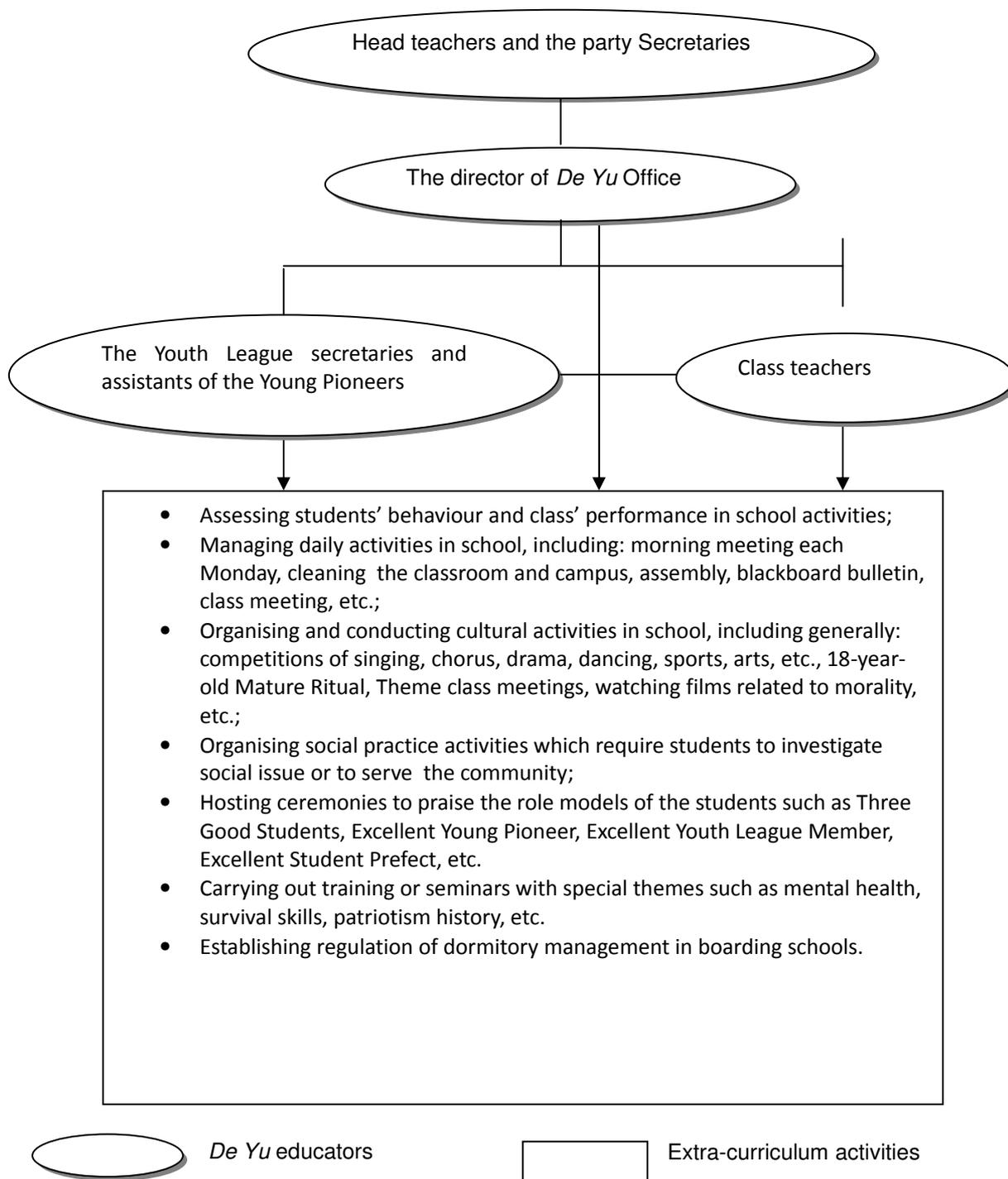
Zhu & Liu (2004) summarize the practice of *De Yu* in schools in Mainland China. Moral values are delivered through two approaches and by three groups of moral educators. The two approaches are the *De Yu* curriculum and extra-curricular activities. The three groups of moral educators include 'subject teachers of Moral Education (e.g. *De Yu*); the Party system, including the Party secretaries, the Youth League secretaries and assistants of the Young Pioneers, the director of the Moral Education Office; and class teachers' (Zhu & Liu, 2004: p.484). Generally, the subject teachers of moral education teach the knowledge-centred courses according to the *De Yu* curriculum. The other two groups of teachers are in charge of the extra-curricular activities in schools. Table 3 illustrates the

courses of *De Yu* from primary school level to university level. Diagram 2 illustrates the general extra-curricular activities in primary schools and high schools in Mainland China.

Table 3: Courses in the De Yu curriculum in Mainland China

Courses in curriculum	Content of the course	Students aimed at
Moral Character and Life	Year 3: I'm Growing Year 4: My Roles	The students aged 7-8 in primary schools
Moral Character and Society	Year 5: I'm a Modern Adolescent (I) Year 6: I'm a Modern Adolescent (II)	The students aged 9-12 in primary schools
Ideology and Morality	Issues in morality, law, national conditions and mental health	The students aged 13-15 in junior high schools
Ideology and Politics	Four required modules: Economics in Life; Politics in Life; Culture in Life; Philosophy in Life Six optional modules: General Knowledge of Scientific Socialism; General Knowledge of Economics; General Knowledge of the nation and International Organizations, General Knowledge of Scientific Thinking; General Knowledge of Everyday Laws; General Knowledge of Civic Morals and Ethics	The students aged 16-18 in senior high schools
* Principles of Marxist Philosophy * Principles of Marxist Politics and Economics * An Introduction to Mao Zedong's Thought * An Introduction to Deng Xiaoping's Theory * Contemporary World Economics and Politics * Introduction to Law and the Cultivation of Ideology and Morality		University students

Diagram 2: Extra-curricular activities and the teachers who are in charge of them³



³ In order to make sure the extra-curriculum activities are as inclusive as possible, the content of the Diagram 2 refers to the special issue of Journal of Moral Education 33(4) and the Chinese *De YU* Website, <http://1.gzsjzx.com/>, which provide rich practices of extra-curriculum activities in the schools.

Table 3 shows the recently revised courses in the *De Yu* curriculum which was released in 2003. Guided by the principle of 'return to life' of the new curriculum reform in *De Yu*, the courses are designed according to students' life experiences and cognitive development (Zhu & Liu, 2004). The *De Yu* curriculum for the nine years of compulsory education (primary school and junior high school) takes a socialization approach, stressing the knowledge of self identity, roles, social relationships, self-development and the responsibility to the motherland, the social and natural environment, law and national conditions. Through the nine-year compulsory education, the students are expected to get the basic knowledge of their role expectations and the social structure of Chinese society (Lu & Gao, 2004; Zhang & Ning, 2004). The *De Yu* curriculum for senior high school students is the extension of knowledge-centred citizenship education and political and ideological education based on Marxist philosophic, political and economical theories. The *De Yu* curriculum for university students is more ideologically and politically oriented than that for the students in high schools. For the senior high school students and the undergraduate students, *De Yu* subjects or modules are compulsory because both are listed in the Entrance Examination to the Universities and the Entrance Examination to the Graduate Schools.

The top half of Diagram 2 shows the hierarchical structure of the *De Yu* educators apart from the subject teachers of *De Yu* in any primary school or high school in Mainland China. The bottom half of Diagram 2 lists the extra-curricular activities for which these educators are responsible. According to the definition of values education in the curriculum, the so called extra-curricular activities in China should be considered part of *De Yu* in the curriculum, because these activities are intentionally values-laden and are designed and organized by particular educators in schools. Compared to the knowledge-centred *De Yu* subjects, these activities focus more on reasoning, emotion and action than on knowledge. Taking some general activities as examples, Theme Class Meetings encourage students in a class to discuss a particular social phenomenon or moral topic independently or supervised by teachers; the Patriotic Songs Singing Competition or school trips to the nursery homes are intended to generate students' love of the Motherland and sympathy for the disadvantaged; Social practices engage students to get them involved in social life and do something for society. Students' performance and behaviour in these extra-curricular activities are assessed as part of their assessment of character and morality.

Apart from *De Yu* subjects and extra-curricular activities, there is another kind of *De Yu* in the curriculum, e.g. *De Yu* in all other subjects. In the National Primary Schools and High Schools *De Yu* Conference held in 2004, the minister of from Ministry of Education advocated building the 'national spirit' into all other subjects such as Chinese, History, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography, Music, the Arts, etc. He suggests that

'Chinese Textbook should choose some classic texts which praise the Party's leadership, Socialist system, and Revolutionary Leaders and Heroes... Music subject should include a lot of patriotic songs, classic Chinese music and songs, and Chinese operas etc. as the content of art appreciation to let the students to feel the beauty of national culture...' (Zhou, 2004).

There is still another kind of *De Yu* in the schools in China which is stressed frequently but the result of which is not assessed. It is summarized as teachers' unconscious influence on the students by Wang (2004: p.437) which is an important method of Confucius to teach moral values. Confucius once said: 'the gentleman's morality may be compared to the wind, and the mean spirited man's morality to the grass. Under the force of the wind the grass will certainly bend in the direction of the wind.' (Yang, 1980: p.129). This metaphor shows the teacher's influence on the students' morality. Teachers are expected to be a moral model to the students in Chinese society. In the same speech by the minister mentioned above, the need is emphasized to build a *De Yu* system in the school which is by the head teacher, supported by the *De Yu* Office and conducted by all the staff and to strengthen the staff's morality in order to guide the students (Zhou, 2004). The speech also echoes Confucius' viewpoint that the environment influences one's moral development, by advocating that schools should cooperate with families and other institutions in society to build a good social environment for the students. According to the definition of values education in the hidden curriculum, the teacher and the social environment link to the students' learning process, so they are involved in *De Yu* in the hidden curriculum.

From *De Yu* in the curriculum to *De Yu* in the hidden curriculum, *De Yu* in Mainland China involves almost every aspects of the students' life in schools. However, most scholars only focus on the knowledge-centred curriculum of *De Yu* subjects. Chan (1997) found that the junior high school in her study failed to transform the students' moral framework into the desired socialist moral framework because of the pragmatic strategy which was adopted in the moral education in the school. In Nie's study in a high school in a capital city of a province in Southwest China, she found that a majority of students in the school 'respond negatively toward the regime-sponsored values and ideology in the intended morals education curriculum, such as collectivism, socialism, communism, and the CPC' (Nie, 2008: p.111) and 'do not believe teacher model the very regime-sponsored values that they are teaching' (*ibid.*: p.112). In Nie's view, the students' negative attitudes toward the moral curriculum result from the dilemmas which the school, the teachers and the students face. These dilemmas reflect the values diversity in contemporary Chinese society. Nie's use of the ecological environment lens to observe students' attitudes toward the moral curriculum might over-weigh the impact of social factors on the students' development while overlooking the impact of their autonomy on their development.

Unlike the above studies on the *De Yu* curriculum in the schools in Mainland China, the current study will focus on *De Yu* in the hidden curriculum. English is the only subject omitted when the minister

suggests embedding the 'national spirit' in school subjects in his speech. It is also the main subject which is expected to cultivate students' cultural awareness. According to symbolic interactionist theories, language is the most important carrier of values. Do English lessons carry some values from the English speaking countries? What values are communicated in English lessons? Do these values cause conflict to the students? How do the students understand these values? This study will observe the students' interactions in the English lessons and listen to their narratives to find out their learning processes through the hidden curriculum.

2.3 Summary

From the perspective of structural functionalism, values communication is the process of transmitting the core values in society to individuals, while from the perspective of symbolic interactionism, values communication is the most important part of the social interactions through which individuals interpret and understand the values of other people and construct their own values system. Accordingly, values communication in school is the process of values transmission in which the teacher teaches the values that are expected to be transmitted to the students and the student internalizes the values in a structural functionalist perspective; while values communication is the process in which students interpret and understand the values that they learn from the communication with others and construct their personal values in a symbolic interactionist perspective. Influenced by the two perspectives, one school of moral education theories holds that moral education should socialize the students with the core values of society while the other school of moral education theories maintains that moral education should help students develop their own morality instead of instilling particular values in them. In practice, both schools of moral education theories influence values education in school. On the one hand, no matter whether in schools in Mainland China or in those in Western countries, the core values of society (patriotism, collectivism and socialism in China and democratic values in the Western countries) are taught through particular subjects (De Yu subjects in China, civic education in the USA, citizenship education in the UK, Discovery democracy in Australia, etc.); on the other hand, the extra-curricular activities in China and the programmes named character education, values education, moral education, or whatever related education in Western countries are specially designed to foster the students' cognitive, emotional, reasoning development through values communication. As far as the outcome of values communication is concerned, not only values communication through the curriculum but also that in the hidden curriculum should be examined. The current study will take a symbolic interactionist perspective to examine values communications in the English lessons in a high school in Mainland China and to probe the students' understanding of the values.

Chapter III: Methodology

As clarified in the previous chapter, this study intends to explore the process and outcome of the values communication in English lessons in a high school in China. The tasks are to find out: first, what kinds of values are communicated in the English lessons, second, how the students understand the values communicated in the English lessons, and third, what factors influence the students' understanding of the values communicated in the English lessons. Although more attention will be paid to what other scholars ignore in their research on moral education in the schools in China, e.g. the values communication in the hidden curriculum and students' voice in the lessons, the study will take a broad perspective to look at both the macro end (the social context in which the communication process happens) and the micro end (the individual's understanding of the communication). Based on the facts above, the methodology paradigms, research methods and ethics issues are carefully evaluated in the research design and the problems raised in the field work are cautiously resolved. This chapter will explain how the study is designed and conducted.

3.1 Research design

In the literature review chapter, two camps of sociological theories, structural functionalism and constructionism, are reviewed and the values communication process from each perspective is explained. What links structural functionalism and constructionism are two methodology paradigms, the positivist paradigm and the interpretive paradigm. Cohen et al. (2000) summarize the divergent epistemological viewpoints of the two paradigms as: The positivist paradigm depends on the view that social reality is objective, 'human behaviour is governed by general, universal laws and characterized by underlying regularities' (*ibid.*, p.19) and the researcher is the detached, objective observer of the reality. The interpretive paradigm, on the contrary, holds that social reality is subjective, 'the social world can only be understood from the standpoint of the individuals who are part of the ongoing action being investigated' (*ibid.*, p.19), and 'individuals' behaviour can only be understood by the researcher sharing their frame of reference: understanding of individuals' interpretations of the world around them has to come from the inside, not the outside' (*ibid.*, pp.19-20). As argued in the literature review chapter, the structural functionalist perspective ignores the process by which individuals interpret and make meaning of the world while the symbolic interactionist perspective stresses the individuals' interpretation and meaning-making. The interpretive paradigm provides the tool to look at how the students understand the values communicated in English lessons in a High school in Mainland China in the symbolic interactionist perspective. Therefore, the current study takes the interpretive paradigm to describe the facts and the contexts of values education, to clarify the interactions and the meanings in the English lessons and beyond, and to explore the factors behind the facts.

Moreover, Cohen et al. (2000: p.19) also point out that positivism 'regards human behaviour as passive, essentially determined, and controlled' while anti-positivism agrees that 'their model of a

person is an autonomous one'. The contradiction between positivism and anti-positivism on this point can reflect the theoretical change underpinning the current curriculum reform which is reviewed in the introduction chapter: a shift from structuralism to constructivism in the educational ideas and practice. Based on structuralism, the students and their behaviour are both regarded as passive and controlled in the traditional educational system in China, while the on-going educational reform promotes constructivism which regards the students as autonomous learners. The term, autonomous learner, in the educational reform in China is opposite to the passive learner. It is linked to personal autonomy and moral autonomy which are discussed in the literature review chapter but different. The similarity lies in the fact that subjectivity is regarded as a property of a person. The difference lies in that the personal autonomy and moral autonomy relate to more properties and criteria other than subjectivity. The meaning of autonomous in the educational reform context in China is closer to that in the anti-positivism paradigm. As an important anti-positivism paradigm, the interpretive paradigm can provide a precise tool to examine the educational values in terms of the autonomous learner with its compatible perspective on the individual.

3.1.1 Case study

Case study is a flexible, inclusive and in-depth research approach. The case chosen for study can be as small scale as a single person and as big as a giant organization. It is the name of a wide range of separate research methods. Multiple methods and data sources can be used in a single case study. The theoretical roots of the case study are social interaction theories such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology (Atkinson *et al.*, 2001). 'Case study assumes that "social reality" is created through social interaction, albeit situated in particular contexts and histories, and seeks to identify and describe before trying to analyse and theorize' (Stark & Torrance, 2005: p.33). Because of the sociological perspective, a case study approach can explore deeper than an ethnographic one does, although it derives many of its methods from the latter. With strong links with anthropological traditions, ethnography sticks to the insider perspective and the participation. The researcher participates in the everyday lives of the society or the group which s/he studies. In a case study, the researcher can read the case from the outside or from the inside. Like ethnography, case study is particular, descriptive and inductive. Case study is engaged with reading, observing and describing the particular case and the discovery of the grounded theory. Unlike ethnography (traditionally, not including the recent approach named critical ethnography), which is criticized for neglecting of the influence of broader political and economic structures, case study not only looks at the micro social setting in which the interactions of the social actors happen but also interprets the meanings generated by social actors taking account of its association with the macro social structure (politic, economic, etc.). 'Case studies can establish cause and effect, indeed one of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects' (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p. 253). With such a characteristic, the case study can be used to investigate 'a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context when the boundaries

between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used' (Yin, 1984: p.23).

In the current study, the process of values communication in English lessons, especially that through the hidden curriculum, is not clear. As its context, the educational system, the political system and the economic system have all been in reform since 1978. The policies are constantly changing, and the values are in transformation with the trend of diversity. Multiple data are needed to explore the students' understanding of values and the possible factors which influence their understanding in the complicated social backdrop. The case study approach is an ideal option for this study.

3.1.2 Boundaries of the study

The students, whose ages range from 15 to 16 in a high school in Beijing (equal to year 10 in the educational system in the UK) in Class A as it is called in this research according to the request of anonymity from the teacher, were chosen as the participants of the case study. The boundaries of the space and the time can be described as the English lessons of Class A between 5th March 2008 and 25th March 2008.

This school was chosen because first, it is a state high school which possesses the general characteristics of any high school in Mainland China, second, it is a key state high school which has an exemplary effect on other high schools in the Mainland China, and third, it is an experimental base for researchers and the government to do research or test education policies. Its experience in implementing the curriculum reform may be typical of other schools, but its special position as a research school means that it may have an influence on the development of other schools.

Students of this age (15-16 years old) are chosen because they are likely to be at Kohlberg's Stage 5 of moral reasoning development, where they should be 'aware that people hold a variety of values and opinions, that most values and rules are relative to your group. These relative rules should usually be upheld, however, in the interest of impartiality and because they are the social contract' (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987: p.19). According to Piaget and Kohlberg's moral development theory, children in this age should be moving forward to a degree of personal autonomy. It is interesting to look at how they deal with values conflicts if there are any in the English lessons.

English lessons are chosen because they provide one of the main windows for students to learn about the values in English-speaking countries and become aware of values diversity among different cultures.

According to the research questions which this study intends to explore, the boundaries of the study should not be limited only to the English lessons. In order to explore what values are communicated in the English lessons, the focus of the study should fall on the interactions between the teacher and the students in the English lessons, the content in the textbook and the way that the teacher teaches

against the backdrop of the recent Curriculum Reform and the educational system in Mainland China. To explore how the students understand values involves exploring the students' personal values system and their solution of values conflicts. The depth of the study is not to trace the historical process and influence of a phenomenon, but to reveal the associations between phenomena in the micro level and those in the macro level in a broader perspective rather than focus on the one end or the other only. Thus, the current case study includes:

- the observation of the interactions which happened in the English lessons;
- the interviews with the students to probe their personal values and their understanding of the values communicated in the English lessons;
- the interviews with the teacher to reveal his/her personal values and the motivation of communicating values in the English lessons;
- the analysis of the English text books used in the English lessons;
- the collection and analysis of other data from the social settings related to the English lessons, such as the class culture, the school culture, the recent Curriculum Reform, the education policies and the educational system, etc. In order to have a better understanding of the educational context, another class in the same school with students in the same age group as Class A was chosen for their English lessons to be observed during the same period of time, and the other two classes in different schools with students in the same age group as Class A were chosen to be observed soon after the study of Class A.

3.1.3 Research Methods

The research methods in this study include the most commonly employed research methods, interviews, observation and discourse analysis. The choice of the methods is based on the approach and perspective through which the research questions are explored. The balance of these methods is in line with the suggestion from Stark and Torrance (2005). It is helpful to reflect on the work and the situation critically and to find out what are the important issues in the case.

One of the key issues in this case study is to find out what values are communicated in the English lessons. As far as the communication is concerned, typologies include verbal and non-verbal communications, linguistic symbol and non-linguistic symbol communications, interpersonal communication and self-communication etc. in any English lesson. Not all of the communications involve conveying values and also not all of the communications can be recorded, so it is necessary to locate what kind of communications in the English lessons are available and worthwhile to analyze. In the Literature Review, the framework of the values communication in the English lessons has already been located in the values education in the curriculum and in the hidden curriculum. In order to distinguish the values education in the curriculum and that in the hidden curriculum, the values communicated through the English curriculum include the values that the educators intend to transmit through the textbooks and the teachers' teaching, and the values communicated through the hidden

curriculum include what the educators has no particular intention to involve but the students perceive, interpret and take in through their interactions with the teacher, other students, and the invisible but existing educational system in the English lessons. For the former, we can find the answer through scrutiny of the content, say to analyze what values are embedded in the textbooks and in the teacher's teaching. For the latter, the answer is not shown straightforwardly in the process of communication; rather, it is hidden in the outcome of the communication, e.g. the students' understanding of the values communications. This study intends to look at the values communicated both through the curriculum and the hidden curriculum, so multiple research methods are needed. Observation is used to record the communications involving values in the English lessons, mainly the teacher and the students' dialogues. Interview is used to explore the teacher and the students' personal values system, the teachers' perspective of values education and the students' understanding of values communicated in the English lessons. Discourse analysis is used to analyze all the transcripts of the records of observations and interviews and the text materials such as the textbooks, the educational policies and documentaries related to the values education or education in values, the students' writings. More detail of why and how to use these methods will be explained in the following pages.

3.1.3.1 Interaction, hidden curriculum and observation

The communications in the English lessons are regarded as the most important interactions in such a social setting. The teacher and the students are regarded as mutual performers in their interactions. If a single communication process is defined as an actor expressing his/her meaning through verbal or non-verbal symbols to another actor, and the other actor catches the meaning, interprets it and responds to it or ignores it, the communications in the English lessons include huge numbers of communication processes linked together. On the one hand, it would be good to record all these processes as fully as possible, but on the other 'the impossibility of making a complete record of all the researcher's impressions is recognized (Jones & Somekh, 2005: p.138). In this study, the researcher faces two problems on observing the English lessons: how to observe and how to record.

The first problem is linked to what to observe. As mentioned previously, the focus of the study is the values communications in the English lessons. The communication processes in the English lessons in which values are implied in the meaning expressed by the teacher and the students should be paid more attention in the observation. What are they? Previous research on values education in maths class, music class, language class etc. (Bills & Husbands, 2005; Cotton, 2006; Veugelers, 2000) and that in the hidden curriculum (Halstead & Xiao, 2009; Barone, 2004) provide the clue to trace the values communications in the English lessons. Bills and Husbands (2005) clarify the values a mathematics teacher intended to convey through observing what she emphasizes in her teaching practice. They classified the values conveyed by the teacher into general values, educational values and subject values (e.g. subject-specific pedagogical values (Bills and Husbands, 2005: p.8)). Cotton

(2006: p.227) finds that in order to enact their beliefs of a balanced and neutral role on teaching, three A-level teachers in the UK use three teaching strategies in their geographic teaching practices: eliciting students' personal views, enabling students to discuss their own views and challenging students' views. Veugelers (2000: p.42) distinguishes four instruction strategies in teaching value-loaded topics: 'a) the teacher tries not to express his/her own values; b) the teacher makes explicit which values he/she finds important; c) the teacher stresses differences in values without expressing the values he/she finds important; d) the teacher indicates differences in values, but also expresses the values he/she finds important.' He finds that the students prefer the teacher to indicate the differences in values but also expresses the values he/she finds important. However, for the values communicated through the hidden curriculum, even the teachers themselves are hardly aware of them. In order to figure out these values, observation is the best tool to researchers. Through the observation and the interviews with the primary school students, Halstead and Xiao (2010) find that the routines such as how the teacher use the space of the classroom and take the register are interpreted in different ways by the students. For Halstead, everything in the classroom is value-laden: 'when teachers insist on precision and accuracy in children's work, or praise their use of imagination, or censure racist or sexist language, or encourage them to show initiative, or respond with interest, patience or frustration to their ideas, children are being introduced to values and value-laden issues' (Halstead, 1996, pp. 3-4).

Inspired by these research findings, the observation in the English lessons in the current case study focus on the following actions of the teacher and the students:

- a) What does the teacher emphasize in the English lessons?
- b) What and how does the teacher express her opinion?
- c) How does the teacher evaluate the students? How and why does the teacher praise and criticize the students?
- d) Does the teacher use her experience to label or categorize the students or not?
- e) How does the teacher respond to the students?
- f) What opinions do the students express and how do they express their opinions?
- g) How do the students respond to the teacher and other students?
- h) How do the teacher and the students deal with the discussion, argument, or conflicts if there are any in the English lessons?

Bearing in mind the suggestion of recording as fully as possible and the focused observing tasks, the researcher uses two methods to record the English lessons: an mp3 recorder is used to record all that

is spoken in the English lessons and field notes are made by the researcher to describe briefly the key episodes related to the above tasks.

3.1.3.2 Understanding and interview

In a symbolic interactionist perspective, understanding values happens in the process of self-communication of an individual. In this process, information is exchanged between 'I' and 'me', the meaning is interpreted, and finally the decision is made to guide the response. Although how the self interprets the meaning and makes decision is far less than clear, the outcome of understanding can be perceived by others through the response. The response can be verbal or non-verbal symbols, or nothing (which means without any action but still a kind of response with meaning embedded). To explore how the students understand the values communicated in the English lessons, the researcher can observe the natural responses of the students in those communication processes involving values and also interview them afterwards to get their responses.

In the recent research on understanding moral values, there are three approaches exploring people's understanding of moral values. The first approach is the structural approach. Hardy *et al.* (2008) use the model of internalization of values to measure the degree of internalization according to four forms of values-regulation: external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation and integrated regulation (*ibid.*: p.206). The problem of this approach is obvious. Firstly, the individuals are treated as the robots who accept the values transmitted to them without thinking. Secondly, the model focuses only on the measurement of regulations. It is arguable whether self-regulation alone can indicate the outcome of internalization. The second approach is the cognitive development approach. Moral constructivist theory assumes that an individual interprets the moral values based on previous experience or knowledge. Rest *et al.* (1999, 2000) deem the transformation in an individual's moral development as changing moral schemas (conceptual understandings). 'Cognitive Schema Theory (CST) suggests that when an individual is presented with information, a schema or knowledge structure is activated to interpret the information' (Narvaez, 2001: p.43). Underpinned by this theory, Narvaez uses narrative method to measure moral conceptual understanding. For her, through probing the participants' recall of narrative and their thoughts in their real life, the participants have to 'think over a decision situation while trying to sort out the reasoning and reconstruct what happened' (*ibid.*: p.46). Because recall unavoidably involves reconstruction of the experience, this method is criticized by Marx *et al.* (2007: p.202) as an 'indirect measure of comprehension'. They also criticized the interview approach to measure moral comprehension which Walker *et al.* (1984) use in their research because of the problems of interpretative subjectivity in any interview approach. Instead, Marx *et al.* revise Cooper's measure of 'comprehension of socio-moral concepts' (1972, cited by Marx *et al.*, 2007, p.202) to get objective results. Marx *et al.*'s critiques on the recall of narrative and the interview is reasonable; however, there is no convincing evidence in their research to prove that the quantitative approach they use is the best way to explore individuals' understanding of moral values. Each research method has advantages and disadvantages in any particular research. The cognitive development approach is not the best option to the current case study because it only focuses on the

individual's psychological process and overlooks the interactions between the individual and others or the social environment. The third approach is the so called transactional approach which Ohman & Ostman (2007) suggested in their research. The significant difference between the transactional approach and the cognitive development approach is that for the former there are two processes, inner and outer, linked to the moral meaning-making, and for the latter only the inner process of meaning-making is in their research perspective. Of course the meaning-making in Ohman & Ostman (2007)'s research is different from the moral comprehension reviewed above, and also is different from the understanding of values in the current study. However, according to the symbolic interactionist perspective, all these different concepts are intertwined in the self-indication (Blumer, 1969: p81) which is regarded in the current study as the process of self-communication. The moral meaning-making and the moral comprehension, the understanding of values are different aspects in the same process. Generally, interpretation, understanding and meaning-making overlap each other.

What underpins the transactional approach is still moral constructivist theory but in a sociocultural perspective where 'moral actions are understood in relation to the communicative processes and circumstances prevailing in different events in an individual's life' (Ohman & Ostman, 2007: p.152). In the sociocultural perspective, the moral agent's thought and action evolve through the participation of communications with others in a moral discourse. The individual transforms the social moral dialogue into the inner dialogue and creates new forms of moral reasoning. For Ohman & Ostman, most researchers taking this approach admit to a mutual relationship between culture and psychological processes (outer and inner) but still regard them as separate entities rather than define them as mutually interdependent units or elements. They summarize two crucial points of the methodology in the sociocultural perspective: both the outer and the inner process should be considered as an integrated process in the research, and both the process and the content of individuals' meaning-making should be analyzed. They argue that tests or interviews are the proper methods to find out how the individuals think and feel and that Wittgenstein's first-person perspective on language is the way to link the outer process and inner process together. The main methodological point which Wittgenstein makes is that 'we do not usually make a distinction between what we mean and what the meaning represents' so 'we do not have to make empirical or philosophical investigations to connect meaning with the empirical world' (Ohman & Ostman, 2007: p.156). From John Dewey's transaction approach, Ohman & Ostman finally find the philosophical foundation to support the methodology. In this approach, 'language is treated as an aspect of human actions: language and things connected with language (talking, thinking, etc.) are accordingly synonymous with man in action' (Ohman & Ostman, 2007: p.157).

Ohman & Ostman's exploration of the methodology of moral meaning-making is applauded for the intention to find a way to examine the outer and inner process of moral meaning-making as integrity and to analyze the process and content together. However, the solution they find, the first-person perspective on language, is still problematic. The main pitfall of this approach is that it over-simplifies the outer and inner process of moral meaning-making rather than clarifies the integrity of the two

processes. Indeed, the process of meaning-making is not only an inner process but also intertwined with the outer process of social interaction. But without the distinction of what we mean and what the meaning represents, the inner or outer process of the meaning-making might be overlooked. According to our daily experience, only if both the inner and outer process of the meaning-making are considered, can the process and the outcome of understanding be clarified. When somebody else talks to us, we might make multiple interpretations as options to understand the meaning, to assess them and to pick the most appropriate one according to our experience of similar situations, and finally make a decision to respond. This is still a simple version to describe the process. In reality, the situation might change during our interpretation of the other's, then we might find a meaning which is against our real thinking. In some situations, keeping silent conveys meaning too. For example, the spiral of silence theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1993) reveals that individuals would like to keep silent when their opinion is opposite to that of the majority of the group in case of isolation. Therefore, the first-person perspective on language approach ignores the meaning-making through non-verbal communications too. However, Thornberg (2006) finds that teacher's hushing conveys moral meaning and the students interpret it in different ways and make their own meaning of it.

In the current case, the process of understanding will be regarded as part of the process of self-communication which links both the social interaction and the individual's psychological process. In this process, information is interchanged between the individual and the environment or between the individual and other people in a particular situation, and therefore, the individual's understanding or meaning-making can be perceived by his/her verbal or non-verbal expression. Interview and observation are used together in this study to catch as much of the participants' expression as possible.

3.1.3.3 Discourse analysis

The other suggestion of the study in a sociocultural perspective which Ohman & Ostman (2007) propose is to focus on both the process and the content of the meaning-making. What they use in the research is the *in situ* analysis of the dialogues in a classroom discussion between the teacher and the students. According to Johnstone (2002), it is still a kind of discourse analysis. Generally, discourse analysis is considered as a method which can analyze any text produced by communications or other social interactions. Discourse analysis looks not only at the text but also at the social or cultural context in which the text is produced. Johnstone (2002: p.9) distinguishes the six levels of the context and suggests a typology of discourse in the context:

- 1. discourse is shaped by the world, and shapes the world;*
- 2. discourse is shaped by language, and shapes language;*
- 3. discourse is shaped by participants, and shapes participants;*

4. *discourse is shaped by prior discourse, and shapes the possibilities for future discourse;*

5. *discourse is shaped by its medium, and shapes the possibilities of its medium;*

6. *discourse is shaped by purpose, and shapes possible purpose.*

Gillen & Petersen (2005, p.148-149) suggest discourse analysis in different approaches can start from the different levels in this list. For example, the perspective of a poststructuralist approach operates more probably at level 1 and embraces all the others, and the conversation analysis might restrict itself to levels 5 and 6. Ohman & Ostman's *in situ* analysis of the dialogue seems likely to work at the levels 3 and 4. In the current case study, the students in the English lessons are regarded as initiating actors who can not only produce discourses with their interactions in the classroom but also can perceive and react to the ghost of the social structure in the discourses. Hence, a broader perspective will be adopted in the discourse analysis.

The discourse analysis will be used to analyze all the data collected in the field work, including all the transcripts of the observations and interviews, the documents of education policies, and all the other texts which the students produce.

3.2 Field work

When I planned the field work, I presumed that I would work as an outsider, because I left the high school nearly 20 years ago and had no idea of how the education reforms had shaped the schools. However, when I went back China to conduct the field work, I realized that I could not be an outsider completely. I was involved into the interactions with the people and the local orders⁴. Accordingly, I had to revise the plan in order to conduct it smoothly and make the influence from my involvement to the reality as little as possible. No doubt, my presenting shaped the discourse too. The comparative presentation of how I planned the field work and what happened in reality should be helpful to explain how I shaped the discourse and the possibility of bias it might cause.

3.2.1 Field work plan

The field work plan in my research proposal is quoted here without changing any single word:

There are three kinds of high schools in mainland China: key state high school, ordinary state high school and private high school. The English teaching in the key state high school in

⁴ Local orders here indicate the hidden rules in a particular social setting which are formed through the interactions of the people in such a setting and are always treated as golden rules that must be obeyed. Such kind of hidden rules generally lie everywhere in Chinese society.

Beijing has a significant influence on the schools nationwide. The research will choose one class in a key state high school in Beijing as the main target to research. In order to explore the influence from different teachers and different schools, another class in the same key state high school, a class in an ordinary state high school and a class in a private high school will be selected. This research focuses on exploring factors of effects, so it will not be nationally representative. All the three schools will be chosen from Beijing.

The sample distribution is shown as follow:

Observation

(Time for preparation, data collection and translation will be 30 workdays)

<i>School</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Times</i>
<i>Key state high school</i>	<i>class A</i>	<i>9 (13.5hours)</i>
	<i>class B</i>	<i>2 (3hours)</i>
<i>Ordinary state high school</i>	<i>class C</i>	<i>2 (3hours)</i>
<i>Private high school</i>	<i>class D</i>	<i>2 (3hours)</i>

Interview

(Time for preparation, data collection and translation will be 60 workdays)

<i>School</i>	<i>class</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Teacher</i>	<i>Head Teacher</i>
<i>Key state high school</i>	<i>class A</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>class B</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>Ordinary state high school</i>	<i>class C</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Private high school</i>	<i>class D</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>

Data will be gathered in the following stages:

Phase 1: Text analysis will be conducted on the textbooks used by each school.

Phase 2: Four kinds of documentation will be analyzed: files about the conception of education, the policies of the school, the curriculum and the teaching plans.

Phase 3: The head teachers in three schools and the English teachers in the four classes will be interviewed.

Phase 4: First interview with English teacher. The information about the class, the teaching plan and background and basic values of the teacher will be collected. Students in the main class will be sampled.

Phase 5: First interview with the students sampled in the class. The background, the values and media use habits of the students will be explored by asking the students to talk through their life narratives.

Phase 6: English lessons in the three high schools will be observed.

Phase 7: Second interview with English teacher. The data about how the teacher understand the meaning of the textbook, what values S/he intends to convey and how S/he understands and conducts values education in English lessons will be collected.

Phase 8: Second interview with students. The data about how the students understand what the textbook and the teachers convey in English lessons will be collected.

3.2.2 Data collection

In the early January of 2008, I went back to Beijing. Knowing nobody who works in the high school, I had to ask friends to help me to find the schools which match those in the research design. It was just the end of the autumn term, and all the schools were busy with end-of-term examinations. I was told to wait until the beginning of the next term. There is always a winter holiday between the autumn term and the spring term of the next year. It starts about one week before the Chinese Spring Festival (the start of the Chinese New Year) and lasts about one month. I went back to my hometown and conducted a pilot research in the high school where I used to study.

3.2.2.1 The problem generated in the pilot research

The pilot field work was not designed in the research plan, but it was conducted for two purposes: to practise the interview skills and to get more information about the educational system. Because of the winter holiday, I could only manage to interview one head teacher and one student whose age was the same as the participants in the research. The head teacher used to be my teacher, so he was happy to be interviewed. The interview was conducted in his daughter's flat and both of us were in a relaxed mood. According to the research design, the interview with the head teacher should be semi-

structured. So I kicked off the interview in a relaxed way with private greetings and then led the topic to the questions planned. However, as the head teacher started to talk about education, his talking became an official style and he treated me like a journalist. He tried to provide all the materials which he presumed I needed. His talking warned me. First, the official style of talking is quite usual for the people with official authority in China. They often use it when they are interviewed by journalists. On the surface, they cooperate with the journalists to provide the information in which the journalists are interested, but in fact, it is also a strategy to use the general information or the good points about themselves or the units they are in charge of to cover what they are reluctant to tell. The journalists in China, especially those who try to dig out the reality, of course, have their strategy to avoid this too. It is called 'secret investigation', which is quite popular in China. The journalists hide their identity to do investigation and record what they see and hear secretly. The researcher in this kind of case study is similar to the journalist in that both of them collect information from an outsider perspective. If I were treated as a journalist by my own teacher, I would more likely be treated as a journalist by those head teachers and English teachers who did not know me at all. In that case, everybody would show off in these areas I was interested in observing and asking questions. The second point is that the head teachers, especially the head teachers in the key state high schools, are very difficult to contact. They suffer huge pressure from the bureaucratic system and the parents. On the one hand, since the key state schools get more funding from the government, they are expected to show better academic achievement (the students' score in the Entrance Examination to Universities and the Entrance Examination to the Senior High Schools) than the ordinary schools; on the other hand, the parents of the students who are not qualified to study in the key state senior high schools like to try their best, including asking the people with more authority in the bureaucratic system to influence the head teachers, or bribe the head teachers, or both, to push the head teachers to open the schools' door for their children. The head teachers are in a dilemma. If they opened the door for the students who are not qualified to enter, the students' average score probably would decline. If they closed the door, they would offend some people with higher authority. To avoid the dilemma, most head teachers in the key state high schools simply turn off their mobile phones and let the secretary answer the landline of their office.

The interview with the head teacher and that with the student also told me that the students are more dependent on the high schools now than twenty years ago when I was a high school student. Because of the pressure of the Entrance Examination to Universities, the students in the high school are requested to do homework in the evening in the school under the teachers' supervision, and they also have to attend some extra lessons at weekends and in the holiday.

The pilot field work made me realize how difficult the case study would be. I would probably encounter at least three problems in the formal field work: the first, the teachers and the head teachers treated me like a journalist and showed off in their lessons or the interviews; the second, the head teachers were unavailable to interview; the third, the students had no time to have an interview with me.

3.2.2.2 Ethics dilemmas

In the approved research proposal, I considered the ethical issues related to the research and made the following claims according to the ethical guide lines of the University of Huddersfield:

The research methods adopted in this research will not disturb the normal order of the school or interfere with the teaching and learning in the classroom. The head teacher and English teachers will be fully informed of what will happen in the process of data collecting in the school in advance. The consent of the teacher and students in the English lessons to be observed and interviewed will be sought prior to the observations and interviews. All the participants will be informed of their right to withdraw at any time and of their right to control the tape recording of the observations and interviews. The researcher's right to cite the words of participants in the thesis and publications will be sought. All the cited participants will be presented anonymously.

Both ethical issues related to organizations and individuals (the schools and the teachers and students in the study) are considered before conducting the field work. These issues include the order of the schools, permission to conduct the research, fully informed consent from the participants, and confidentiality. However, I encountered ethics dilemmas on two of these issues, permission to conduct the research and fully informed consent from the participants.

According to Oliver (2003), the permission from the head of the organization with agreement to access all the potential participants is ideal to researchers. First, because the highest level of the management in the organization agrees to the members being involved in the research, the members will be not so cautious about their comments; second, the picture of the organization won't be distorted if the researcher gets the permission to access all the potential participants freely. All in all, such kind of permission is helpful to the research to reveal the true reality. However, none of the permissions in this study was from the head teacher of the school, and none of them was without any access conditions.

Near the end of the February 2008, with friends' help, I got the permission to access the high schools and conduct the research. The permission from the key state high school was from the head of the Senior High School English Teaching Group. I had no chance to choose which class as the case in my study. What he recommended was one of the best classes in all the 10 classes in year 10. The students who got better scores in the entrance examination were picked out to form two dragon classes, Dragon A and Dragon B. Dragon A was the target class in my case study and Dragon B was chosen as the referent class. The head wrote a note as my passport to access to the school at the door keeper of the school's request. I was permitted to access the school for three weeks to conduct the research. The second school from which I asked permission was an ordinary high school. I was introduced to the head teacher by a Chinese teacher who was the friend of my friend. The head

teacher listened to my presentation and finally decided to refuse me. He explained that his school was not good enough and he did not feel comfortable to be researched. He suggested that I find a better school to research. Influenced by this experience, another friend made direct contact with an English teacher in an ordinary high school in Xuanwu District. The English teacher's word to the door keepers seemed the equivalent of the passport. I got permission to observe the English lessons for one week. The third permission was from a private school. I was introduced to the director who was in charge of the facilities, accommodation, and the café. He treated me as a journalist and offered me to live in the hotel on campus for free and to eat in the café for free for a week. He asked his colleague, the director of the teaching department, to give me permission to observe the English lessons. It is not surprising that I was offered to observe the best class out of all the three classes in year 10 in the school.

Although I was successful in getting all the permissions which the field work needed, I faced an ethics dilemma related to the different culture. I would like to argue that according to the social order in Chinese society, it is ethically acceptable to conduct the research in a class with permission from the teacher rather than permission from the head teacher. It is also ethically acceptable to get the students involved in the research with permission from the teacher and the students only. The former links to the rules of duty distributions in the hierarchical system of authority in an organization, and the latter relates to the teacher's role in Chinese society.

In China, not all the duties are the responsibility of the people in the highest position in the hierarchical system of authority in an organization. Normally, the duties are distributed so that the macro and important ones go to the people in the higher position and the micro and trivial ones to those in the lower position. The people in the higher position can direct a trivial duty to those in the lower position, but if the people in the lower position ask the opinion or permission of a trivial thing from those in the higher position, they might run the risk of being regarded as not competent enough to manage their own business. It is impossible for any organization to distribute the duties clearly, so people in the organization have to make their own judgement. My research involves only one or two classes in each school. It can be treated as a trivial thing which the teacher can deal with autonomously. A friend explained why he didn't try to get permission from the head teacher. He said: 'It is not a big deal. If you insist on getting permission from the head teacher, it can become a big problem. That might make the teacher who tries to help you embarrassed. If the head teacher's answer was no, the whole school would close the door on you and you would have to contact another one. That might take ages to get the job done.' Actually, my experience of getting permission proved that he was right.

The teacher plays a special role in Chinese society. Traditionally, when students are sent to school, the educational duty is transferred from their parents to their teachers. The students are expected to obey their teachers as their parents. The old saying, 'A teacher for a day is a father for a lifetime',

indicates the parent-child-like relationship between teachers and students and also the general respect due to teachers. In the schools, the teachers have the authority to decide what kind of activity is suitable for the students and to get the students involved without informing the parents. Because this kind of social contract has already been taken for granted, a formal letter to the parents asking for agreement regarding interviewing their children not only is redundant but also can possibly generate parents' misunderstanding or worry.

To strictly obey the research ethics regulations of the university means that the field work would hardly be conducted in a year, because the time needed to get permission from the head teachers, the teachers and the parents would be several times more than that needed to conduct the field work, and it would probably be in the school holiday again when I could have got all the permissions. To obey the social order means efficiency and smooth work but goes against the research ethics regulation. What should I do? Finally, I made the decision in line with the principles underpinning the research ethics regulation rather than the rules of the regulation. As argued earlier, the principle behind the permission regulation is to make sure the research reveals the true reality. In the study, the permission from the teacher or the head of a department is the equivalent of that from the head teacher, and will not generate uncomfortable feelings for the participants to get involved in the research. Although the access to all the potential participants is limited in this study, the classes observed and the students interviewed in the study are not expected to represent to the general reality of the schools or to make any generalized conclusion. So the limitation will not influence the study's ability to reveal the reality in the chosen classes.

The second dilemma that I encountered is the requirement that the consent from the participants be fully informed. As I found in the pilot field work, head teachers and teachers were likely to show off if they knew what my research purpose was. In order to make sure the data I collected was from ordinary daily life rather than a show, I decided not to obey the ethical rule strictly. I informed the English teachers how I would conduct the field work and told them that the research purpose was about the communication rather than values communication in English lessons. After I finished the field work and came back from Beijing, I told my supervisor that I didn't tell the English teachers about the research purpose. He was surprised that I didn't fully inform them of the research purpose and asked me to apologise to them. I wrote an email to the teacher whose English lessons were used as the case in my study to make an apology. In her reply, she expressed her disappointment and blame. She wrote 'If you told me the whole research purpose, I would have provided more materials for you that related to your research purpose'. I appreciated her kindness and good intention to help; however, I did not wish her to provide any additional materials in the English lessons because of my research.

3.2.2.3 Revision of the field work plan and data collection

Considering the difficulty of contacting the head teachers, the field work plan was revised. The interviews with the head teachers were put into the last phase in the plan. Finally, only the head teacher of the private school was available for the interview. His talking was exactly the official tone which I did not want.

Soon after the field work was conducted in the key state high school, I found the plan needed to be revised yet again to be more practicable. First, the students hardly had any spare time for themselves. The day in the school started at 7:40 am and ended at about 5:00 pm. However, since the students had lots of homework to do and also some of them got involved in some school activities, most of them stayed behind at school for an extra hour. The time for me to interview the students was only the lunch break (which was from 12.00 pm to 1.30 pm and quite a few students took this time to do their homework) and after school. Considering the limitation of the time, I decided to change the two interviews for each student in the plan to one interview for each. I tested the questions planned for the students in a group interview with several students taking part in the interview together on the first day. The students were very cautious about talking about themselves. They looked at each other and hesitated to be the first one who answered the questions that I asked. Some questions were too specific to encourage them to talk freely. Although I got their agreement to use the mp3 recorder, they felt uncomfortable with it. Everybody looked at it every now and then. Thus, I decided to forget the semi-structured nature of the interview. For the students who did not like the mp3 recorder, I turned it off and used my memory to record and write their answers down afterwards.

In case that one interview with each student was not enough to gain insight into his/her personal value, Rokeach's Value Survey questionnaire was used to examine how the students weigh the basic values. All the students in the four classes were asked to arrange the values described in the questionnaire in order of their importance to the students. The order of the values could provide extra information to check the reliability of the values revealed in the student's interview and to help correctly interpret his/her judgement, decision making and understanding.

When I observed the English lessons in the two parallel classes in the key state high school, I found that there were still some differences between the students in the two classes. Although the intention of observing the English lessons in the other three classes was to treat these as background information rather than as serial cases, it would be helpful to explore a bit more how the students in the other three classes understood the values communicated in their English lessons. So I did some interviews with the students in Class B, C and D.

In order to make best use of the time in the school, I sat in the class teacher's office to observe students' interaction with the English teacher after the class, the English teacher's interaction with other teachers, and the English teacher and other teachers' interaction with me. I also observed the

classroom of the classes in which I did my research and the environment of the school. I took photos of everything which related to values education and wrote field work diaries almost every day to record what I observed and thought.

The data I collected from the field work include:

- Observation record from the four classes in the three high schools;

Table 4: Summary of the observations in the four classes in the field work

School	Class	Times	Date
Key state high school	class A	9 (13.5hours)	5 th – 25 th March, 2008
	class B	2 (3hours)	5 th – 25 th March, 2008
Ordinary state high school	class C	2 (3hours)	14 th – 18 th April, 2008
Private high school	class D	2 (3hours)	7 th – 11 th April, 2008

- Interviews with ten students in Class A and two students in every other class;
- Value Survey data from all the students in the four classes;
- Interviews with four English teachers of the four classes;
- Interview with the head teacher of the private high school;
- Documents about the students, teachers, classes and the schools, including: the students' composition, publications and school projects, the teachers' publications and chat record, the photos of the classes and the schools, the documents downloaded from the websites of the schools;
- The field work diaries;
- The textbooks the students use;
- Documents of the educational policies and the educational reform.

3.3 Data analysis

From the social constructivist perspective, a discourse is 'a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)' (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002: p.1) or 'an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception that brings an object into being' (Phillips, 2002: p.3). The former stresses the structure of discourses and the latter the content of discourses. Discourses include these two aspects. Through the structure, the links between discourses and those between discourses and context can be revealed. Through the content, the social interactions can be understood with reference to the discourses. All the spiritual and material products constructed by human beings can be regarded as a variety of discourses. They

are embodied in texts which take the form of written text, dialogue, speech, non-verbal language, picture and symbol.

As reviewed in the research design section, because the meaning of discourse is far more than its original connotation in the linguistics field, there is a wide range of approaches towards discourse analysis, from the critical discourse analysis at the macro level to the conversation analysis at the micro level. The approaches at the macro level focus on social meaning emanating from the discourses and their links with the contexts rather than the individual's meaning making and interpretation. The approaches at the micro level, on the contrary, focus on the meaning of the individual's discourses but ignore the links with the social context. In this study, the analysis approach will take a 'social languages' approach, because the current study shares the same theoretical root, social constructivism, with Gee's discourse analysis model in a 'social languages' approach. The discourses in this case study can be considered as (to the Gee's definition),

'Discourses' with a capital 'D'. It means different ways in which we humans integrate language with non-language "stuff", such as different ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects in the right places and at the right times so as to enact and recognize different identities and activities, give the material world certain meanings, distribute social goods in a certain way, make certain sorts of meaningful connections in our experience, and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over others'(Gee, 1999: p.13).

The term, 'social languages', reveals the role of language in discourses. According to Gee, when we are communicating, we have to fit the language to a situation or context, while the language we use is constructing the situation or context too (*ibid.*: p.11). Situations involve five inextricably linked aspects: a semiotic aspect, an activity aspect, a material aspect, a political aspect and a sociocultural aspect (*ibid.*: pp. 82-82). Thus, through analyzing the language that an individual uses in a particular situation, the internal process of communication (i.e. interpreting, meaning-making) and the external process of communication (i.e. responding, acting) can be manifested. The individual's personal values system, emotion, character, personality and his/ her social relationships and background can be revealed.

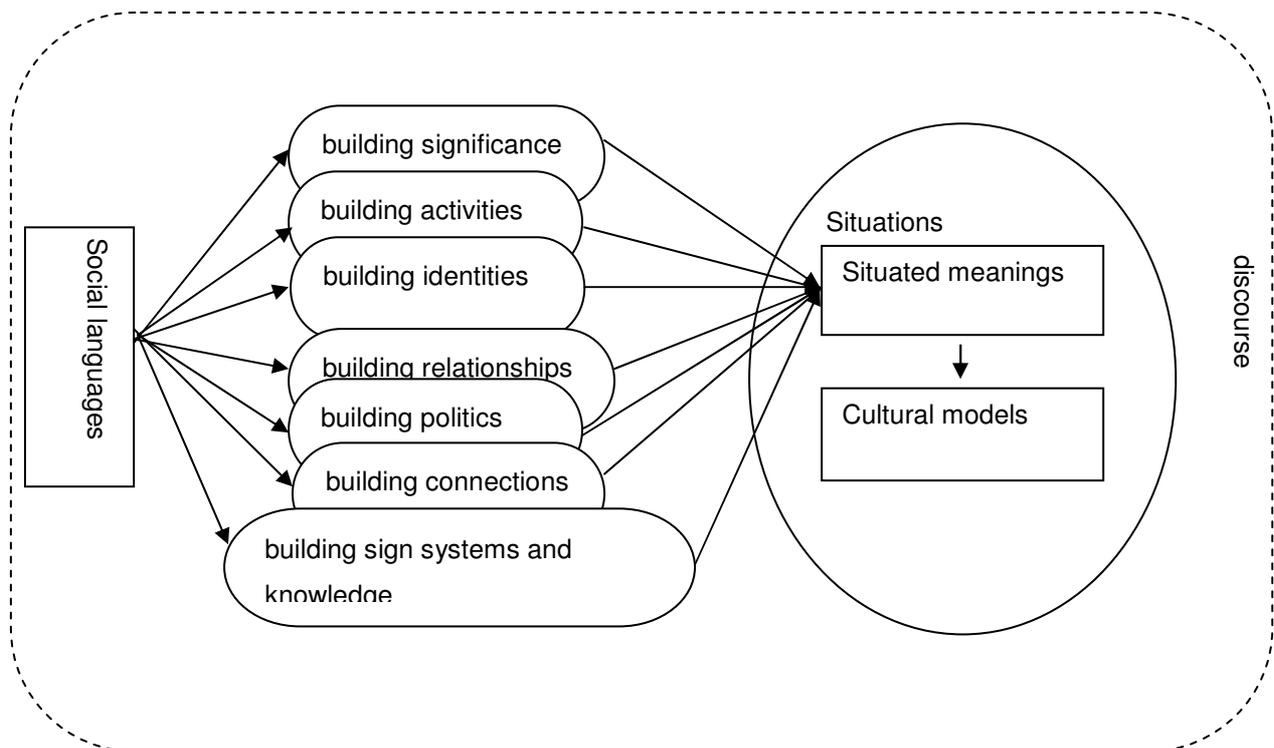
In Gee's second edition in 2005, he narrowed the definition of discourses quoted above, focusing on language-in-use which means language used in speaking and writing. However, as argued in the 'understanding and interview' part in section 3.1.3, non-verbal expression such as silence, hush and body language used in the communications should be counted. For this reason, Gee's 'social languages' theory in the first edition in 1999 rather than 'language-in-use' theory in the second edition in 2005 is adopted in the current study. When the term, 'social languages', is borrowed and used in this study, it includes both verbal language and non-verbal language used in communications.

In both editions, Gee's discourses analysis method is underpinned by his theory tasks of language, situated meanings and cultural models. As a communication tool, language is used to build part of reality. Gee (2005: pp.11-13) summarizes it as seven building tasks from micro level to macro level: significance, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, sign systems and knowledge.

The meaning of any unit of language is multiple and flexible, but is situated in particular situations. People's mind is a 'pattern-recognising' device. Therefore, people can find the patterns in the situations which they experienced before (*ibid.*: pp.48-52). In this way, people can understand the situated meaning in communications. People also have cause-effect theories or models to make sense of the patterns unconsciously. 'Because these theories are rooted in the practices of socioculturally defined groups of people, I will refer to them as cultural models' (*ibid.*: p.43, citing Holland & Quinn, 1987; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; D'Andrade, 1995; Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). Thus, through the seven building tasks, we use language to construct the situation network, in which the cues or clues in the language help assemble specific situated meaning that in turn generates certain cultural models. All the social languages, situated meanings and cultural models help people to recognize the different discourses.

The analysis model can be described in the following diagram:

Diagram 3: Theoretical model of discourse analysis used in the current study

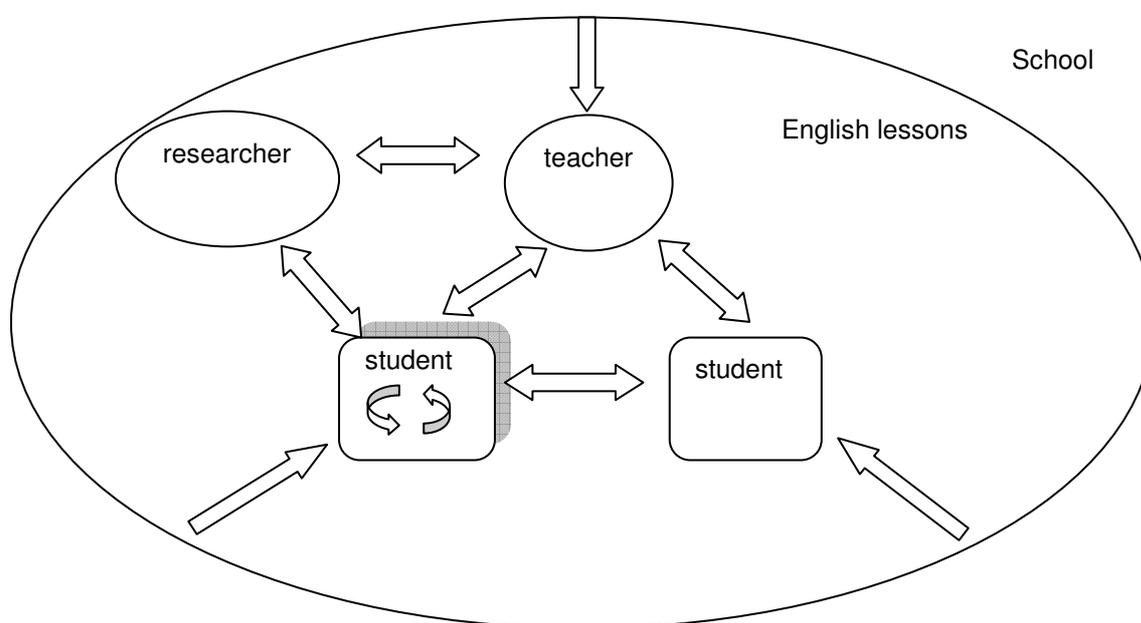


If Johnstone's discourse typology is used to evaluate Gee's discourse analysis model, it will be located at the second level ('discourse is shaped by language, and shapes language') and links to the first level ('discourse is shaped by world, and shapes world') and the third level ('discourse is shaped by participants, and shapes participants'). When this model is used in a critical perspective, its connection with the first level is stressed. In Anders (2008)'s research, she mainly focuses on the political building and cultural models of the values education discourse in Australia. In the current study, the focus is on the participants and their communication processes. Following this model, the

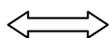
discourse analysis in the study will be used to find out: first, how the teachers and the students use the languages to make things significant, to enact activity or activities, to take on a certain identity or role, to build social relationships, to make one thing relevant or irrelevant to another, and to construct status and power; second, how the teachers and the students convey and understand the situated meanings; third, what cultural models the teachers and the students use to suggest and confirm the situated meanings in the situations. Through the seven tasks building, the personal values of the teachers and the students can be revealed. Through the situated meanings in particular situations and the cultural model involved, the common values in the social context can be revealed.

The following diagram illustrates the whole picture of the discourse analysis in the study.

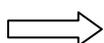
Diagram 4: Discourses in the communications that a student has in the English lessons



Discourses from the self-communication of the student, such as composition and assignment in the study, show their independent thinking.



Discourses from the inter communication between the students, the students and the teachers, the students and the researcher, including communications in the English lessons, in the daily activities, in the interviews, etc.



Discourses from the communication between the students and the school: including the regulations, the rituals, the routines and other activities of the school, and the educational policies and curriculums which are passed to the students through the school.

3.4 Validity

Among the arguments about validity of qualitative research, Mishler (1990) holds that validity relies on exemplars of scientific practice rather than on abstract rules or categories. He echoes Brinberg and McGrath's (1985: p.13) point, 'validity is like integrity, character, and quality, to be assessed relative to purposes and circumstances'. Based on their argument, Maxwell (1992: p.42) argues that 'validity is not an inherent property of a particular method, but pertains to the data, accounts, or conclusions reached by using that method in a particular context for a particular purpose'. He proposes the categories to assess the validity of qualitative research: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, generalization, and evaluative validity. The validity of the current case study is checked according to the typology.

- **Descriptive validity**

Descriptive validity is defined as the factual accuracy of an account. For the purpose of accuracy, the English lessons were recorded by both mp3 recorder and the researcher's field notes. The record and the field notes for each lesson were compared to make sure the transcript is correct. Some interviews with the students were not recorded with the mp3 recorder but from the researcher's memory. This might influence the accuracy of the transcript. However, using a recorder might cause the students to be nervous and cautious which may prevent them from expressing their opinions freely. As far as the accuracy of the reality is concerned, not using the mp3 recorder is a better choice than using it in the interviews with the students who do not like their words being recorded. For the same reason, not informing the English teachers of the whole research purpose is better than doing so.

- **Interpretive validity**

Interpretive validity refers to the meanings of the account to the people involved. In order to make sure that the participants' meaning and other social meaning presented in the school are interpreted correctly, first, the transcript and the translation were double checked to keep true to the original language they used; second, multi data related to the participants were collected and the data from different resources were used to assess if the interpretation of the meaning from the different data was consistent or not.

- **Theoretical validity**

The theoretical validity is the account's validity as a theory of some phenomenon. In the current case study, the consensus of the theoretical foundation is concerned with reviewing the literature to search for the proper theoretical approach to the research questions, from evaluating the methodology and research methods used in the study, to choosing the suitable frame to analyze and interpret data.

- **Generalization**

Although different types of high schools were chosen to provide a broader phenomenon than the case study school, the geographical limitations in this research determine that it is improper to formulate any generalization.

3.5 summary

This case study is underpinned by the social constructionist theory, especially symbolic interactionism. Communication in the English lessons is regarded as one of the important interactions happening in the classroom through which the students interpret and understand meaning and make a decision about how to respond. Students' understanding of values communicated in the English lessons involves the process of interpreting meaning and decision making. In order to reveal the process of understanding and its links to social meaning, multiple research methods including observation, interview and documentary scrutiny, have been used to collect the data about the communication in the English lessons and that related to the social context where the communication happens. Discourse analysis has been used to analyze the data.

Chapter IV: Teachers' Discourses in the Values Communication in English Lessons

4.1 Introduction to the data analysis and interpretation

4.1.1 Research perspective

In the literature chapter, two perspectives are introduced through which the communications in schools in mainland China can be examined, the structural functionalist perspective and the symbolic interactionist perspective. The main differences between the two perspectives are linked to the positions they take up and the lens that they use for observation. In a structural functionalist perspective, researchers look down at the communications in schools from a higher position, and their focus falls on the structure and the institutions upon which the communication processes are built. In a symbolic interactionist perspective, researchers stand alongside the individuals who are the actors of the communications in schools, and their focus falls on the individuals' interaction. It is explained in the introduction chapter that the structural functionalist perspective is helpful to illustrate how the core values of the country are intended to be transmitted to students through the educational system in China. From this chapter onwards, the symbolic interactionist perspective will be utilized to observe and analyze the communications which happened in the English lessons that are the research focus.

It is argued in the methodology chapter that two linked processes in students' interaction with others (self-communication and inter-personal communication) should be considered to explore students' understanding of the values communicated in English lessons. The communications and the language used in the communications fit into a specific context and also are involved in constructing that context. Through discourse analysis within a social languages approach, students' attitudes, beliefs, values, identities, social relationships, worldview, culture and social reality can be revealed through the language used in the communications.

In terms of the questions raised in the introduction chapter, this chapter and the following two chapters will answer what values are communicated in English lessons and how students understand them through analyzing the data collected in Class A. This chapter will reveal the values in the discourses of the English teachers that occur in the communications in the English lessons and explain how these values are communicated by the teachers. In Chapter V, the students' values communicated in the English lessons and the reasons for communicating them will be examined. Chapter VI will explore and interpret how the students understand the values communicated in the English lessons, what factors influence their understanding, and the relationship between their understanding and their moral development.

From this chapter to chapter VI, the strategy of combining data analysis with interpretation will be adopted to answer the research questions in order of their depth. With limited space, not all the data and the analysis will be presented in the three chapters. A sample record of observation of an English lesson and a sample transcription of an interview will be included in the appendices.

4.1.2 Data in the English lessons

The communications in the English lessons which I observed in this study can be grouped into four categories: first, the teacher speaks and the students listen; second, the teacher asks a question and the students respond; third, the students ask a question and the teacher responds; fourth, the students communicate with each other. According to the observation record, more than 90% of the communications in the English lessons fall into the first and the second categories. The communications in the third category are less than 5%. Generally, the teachers' discourses are overwhelming in the English lessons, but in one special debate practice in Class A, the students' discourses take up almost the whole lesson. Not all of the discourses are counted as values-laden. The teachers' general teaching about the English language such as explaining the meaning of a new word and the simple questions and answers about the English exercises between the teachers and the students are not regarded as specific values-laden communication. Secret chats or discussions between the students and discourses requested by the teachers but conducted in a group, where individual voices can hardly be recognized from the recording, are not included in the data in the current study. So the discourses of the teachers and the students in English lessons analyzed in this chapter and the following chapter mean those which happen in the public sphere which everyone in the classroom can hear and which contain specific values. Thus, the focus of the teachers' discourses is on the situations in which she explains tasks, assigns homework, makes comments, emphasizes something or generates responses. The focus of the students' discourses is on how they respond to the teacher or other students, how they raise a question and how they present their opinions.

4.2 Values in Mrs Hong's discourses in English lessons

In this section, the discourses of Mrs Hong, the English teacher of Class A, in her English lessons will be analyzed to reveal the values she conveys in a conscious or sub-conscious way. Before exploring these values, I will give a typical example using the social languages approach to analyze her discourses and examine the values behind them. With Gee's discourse analysis model in mind, the episodes which from the situations are analyzed to find first, what building tasks construct the situations and how; second, what situated meanings are accomplished through the building tasks; and third, what cultural models are activated.

4.2.1 An example of discourse analysis: The statements about tasks

According to the new curriculum, there are various language-using tasks in each unit. There is a brand new task in the textbook which can be regarded as a significant change caused by the recent

curriculum reform — the practice debate. The textbook gives the basic information needed for the debate, such as the topic and some language tips to help the students prepare for it. It's a difficult task for the students in year 10 because first, the students' competence in speaking English is limited, and second, debate is not common in real life in Chinese society. The English teacher in Class B (the other dragon class) decided not to undertake the task. But Mrs Hong was excited by this challenge. She decided to carry it out. The following statement is from Mrs Hong's introduction and explanation of the task. Because it includes background information which is helpful to understand the students' discourses and values in the Chapter V, almost the whole episode is quoted here.

Mrs Hong: "Hurry, then. You see, there is a completely new exercise. ... This time, we are supposed to be residents of Dolwyn Bay. Residents. You are villagers of Dolwyn Bay. You have a small passage here (in the book). These are information about your hometown. It's really a beautiful tranquil place. That means it's very quiet. You might be a retired person. You have just bought a beautiful cottage, wishing that you could spend the rest of your life in a quite peaceful way. You might be a fisherman. You have a very beautiful boat fishing every day. You might be an unemployed person. You might have three or four children. You are unemployed. You really need a job. You might be young people with ambition. You might want to be great faces. But this is a small town. You really find it difficult. So all you have is a town committee headed by Iain, Joanne. They will ask three more students. They are the committee. They will publicly decide whether or not oil refinery, oil refinery, 炼油厂, a factory where oil is produced. They will decide whether or not an oil refinery will be built in the beautiful hometown. And Mike will head a company, the oil company. He will have four assistants, right? Tomorrow, they are going to give you a presentation of this project. All you have to do is to think carefully what your decision is. You need to, first of all, when you speak, tell about your background. You need to say: 'My name is York, I am unemployed recently. I still have three children.'

The students burst into laughter.

Mrs Hong laughs too and keeps going: "They are going to school. I really need a job. I think this company can provide me with a good job, so I can support my family. And so on. OK, just an example. So, you need to, first of all, tell your background, then you will say I am in favour of, in favour of, 我支持, or I object to, strongly, because it will bring us, will cause so much damage to our beautiful town. You will find all the language support here..."

"Each of you will have an opportunity to speak in the meeting. You can ask the oil company to do things you would want them to do. Finally, the committee will make a big decision to say what will happen in your beautiful hometown. And, if you take this seriously, you will learn in a real life way. Pretend that it is really happening. OK, I hope you can take an active part in

your life. You don't just think it's an exercise. You won't have any other homework to do. I won't give you another assignment these days. You are concentrating on it. If you want to make a very good statement, you would read as much as possible. And of course, there's another suggestion. If there is the other assignment, it is the Reading Weekly of course. You are expected to bring it here tomorrow. We will read every Friday and spend some time on this. OK, understand what we are going to do?"

The students keep silence.

Mrs Hong asks again: "understand, everybody? If you are not quite clear, you can ask Joanne, because at present, they are your leader. They are the heads of the town and villages. You could go to them, ask them all about this. And if you are really good at it, you could also write on banners. You can make it stormier, banners, a lot of flags. Like, York says "JOB! I NEED A JOB!"

Both the teacher and the students laugh.

Mrs Hong goes on: "and the other side will say 'Go, Protest, Against...' next, we will go to grammar.

(7130302)

Mrs Hong makes the whole statement mainly in English. The researcher hasn't changed any word or corrected any grammar mistake in the transcription except for the necessary translation of a few sentences that Mrs Hong uses to explain what is new or difficult to the students. In the whole statement, Mrs Hong tries to make the task significant to all the students with her words. At the very beginning of the statement, she tells the students that it is 'a completely new exercise'. Near the end of the statements, she emphasizes twice that she will not assign any other homework to the students and asks them to be 'concentrating on it' and to 'read as much as possible'. In Mrs Hong's statement, we can also see the activities, identities, relationships, politics and other building tasks.

She uses a pile of 'you might be' statements to set the roles for the students. She uses York as an example to show the students the right way to play the role. She also uses 'you can ask the oil company', 'you could go to them' and 'you could also write on banners' to give suggestions to the students about how to act in the debate. The identities of the students in the debate are decided by Mrs Hong too. She directly announces the identities as 'You are villagers of Dolwyn Bay', 'all you have is a town committee headed by Iain, Joanne. They will ask three more students. They are the committee', and 'Mike will head a company, the oil company. He will have four assistants'. She uses the future tense here to introduce the undecided members in the committee and the oil company. It shows that she authorizes Iain, Joanne and Mike to assign the members they need. Before closing the statement, Mrs Hong encourages the students to ask help from Joanne because 'they are your

leader. They are the heads of the town and villages'. She sets a hierarchical structure for the students in the debate.

The politics building is clear in this statement too. Mrs Hong intends to encourage every student to get involved in the debate. She stresses that the speaking opportunity is open to all equally, by saying 'Each of you will have an opportunity to speak'. But just following this, she says 'Finally, the committee will make a big decision to say what will happen in your beautiful hometown'. With the hierarchical structure in the debate, there is a conflict between the equal opportunity to speak and the unequal power to make the decision in Mrs Hong's statement. It sounds like the students who play the ordinary villagers can speak in the debate and request something from the oil company, but they have no right to make the decision.

In her statements, Mrs Hong also shows her authority above all the students. Firstly, Mrs Hong follows a pattern to make her request in this task and also other tasks. She always uses several imperative sentences or a set of 'you need to ...' statements or both to present her requirement, followed by at least one concrete example or simplified questions to guide the students to conduct the tasks in the way she expects. She is the one who knows the right answer. Secondly, Mrs Hong's statement suggests that she is the teacher who is supposed to be more knowledgeable than the students through her constantly explaining and repeating the meaning of the words. Thirdly, soon after Mrs Hong expresses that she won't assign other homework in order to encourage the students to concentrate on preparing the debate, she remembers the routine homework, weekly reading. So she stresses the routine again: 'We will read every Friday and spend some time on this'. Mrs Hong has the authority to make and keep the rules for the English lessons.

In the specific situation, Mrs Hong stresses how significant the debate is, what actions she expects the students to perform, what roles the students are supposed to play, what the relationships are between different students, what power structure lies behind the identities, and what interactions the students will get involved with in the coming debate. She suggests some situated meanings in such a situation. 'Dolwyn Bay' is not the name of a Chinese village. It sounds like a village in the UK. As the editor explains in the introduction, all the texts in the English textbooks are from original English sources — literature, newspapers or magazines. The symbols of money and time suggest that original English materials mean original British English materials. Dolwyn Bay is more likely somewhere in the UK rather than in other English speaking countries. However, Mrs Hong suggests the students treat it as their hometown. In Chinese, the meaning of hometown is not exactly flexible. It means where a person was born. If a person is born in a place but moves to another place and spends most of life there, the latter is called 'the second hometown'. Thus, there is a meaning conflict between 'Dolwyn Bay' and 'hometown'. Mrs Hong hopes that the students accept 'Dolwyn Bay' as their 'hometown' and act in the debate in 'a real life way'. Do the students understand and accept her suggestion of the meaning of 'Dolwyn Bay'? I will answer this question later, in Chapter VI. 'Dolwyn Bay' and the debate also suggest the situation of a democratic decision making procedure. In such a situation, 'village committee' means a group of people who are elected by the villagers to represent them and to work for their benefit, and 'the head of the committee' means the one who is in charge of the committee.

The village committee and the head of the committee do represent the villagers to make a decision. But if the decision is made based on the debate which all the villagers are involved in, it is villagers' opinions and votes that are counted in the decision making rather than the village committee making the decision. However, Mrs Hong repeats three times that the committee will make the decision. Thus, Mrs Hong suggests that there exists a power structure in the relationship between the committee and the villagers. In such a situation, the committee and the head of the committee mean that these people have more power than the ordinary villagers. How do the students think about this? The students' discourses in the interviews will be examined in Chapter VI. Because they are connected with the committee and the head of the committee, the students' names mentioned by Mrs Hong are also imbued with the meaning of power and special position. The students are aware of this meaning and also have their own interpretation, which will be explained more in the next two chapters.

A cultural model activated by the situated meanings in this situation is the hierarchical structure in any relationship of Chinese society. As noted in the literature review, the rectification of names⁵ in Confucianism, 'let the ruler be ruler, the minister minister, the father father, and the son son', manifests two basic hierarchies based on power and age in all kinds of social settings. The power hierarchy is the decisive hierarchy in the society, and is decided by positions linked to career, knowledge and competence. A young person in a higher position in the power hierarchy is more privileged than an older person ranked lower in the power hierarchy. If people are in similar positions in the power hierarchy, the age hierarchy works. In any social setting, people's relationship is built on such kinds of hierarchical structures. People are given appellations according to their positions in the hierarchical structure, and they are expected to behave and act accordingly. In a company, colleagues call each other either their titles or age related appellations such as 'old brother so-and-so', 'old sister so-and-so', 'elder so-and-so' or 'little so-and-so'. In Mrs Hong's statement, when she introduces the members of the oil company, she says, 'Mike will head a company, the oil company. He will have four assistants'. She uses 'assistants' rather than 'colleagues'. It is a significant clue to show how the cultural model of hierarchy shapes Mrs Hong's discourses.

4.2.2 Values in Mrs Hong's discourses in the English lessons

The above example shows how the method of discourse analysis can reveal the values hidden in Mrs Hong's discourses. Through this approach, the values in Mrs Hong's discourses are summarized as general values and pedagogical values.

⁵ *Zhèngmíng*, in the Confucianism doctrine means to know one's roles in society, and behaving accordingly so as to ensure social harmony.

4.2.2.1 General values in Mrs Hong's discourses in the English lessons

- **Authority and the right answer**

In the section 4.2.1, the analysis has indicated how Mrs Hong shows her authority over the students through her statements. The teachers' authority is linked to their special position in the hierarchical structure in the educational system. The old saying 'Once your teacher, always your father' sets the principle of a teacher's position in the teacher-student relationship. Traditionally, teachers are authorized to have authority over their students like that of a father over his son by the educational system. At present, since the educational reform advocates transforming the traditional teacher-centred teaching style to a student-centred one, the teachers' authority is expected to be reduced. However, the authority of the teachers is still significant in the English lessons observed. As analyzed above, Mrs Hong's authority is shown through the way she makes requests, makes and keeps rules, and guides the students to the 'right answer'.

Mrs Hong has a pattern to guide the students to the 'right answer'. The second type of communication in the English lessons mentioned at the beginning of section 4.1 (the teacher raises a question and the students respond) is used by Mrs Hong to test whether the students know the right answer or not, or to review the right answer if they do not know it. The pattern she uses in this kind of communication is: ask a question, and then repeat the students' answer (sometimes plus praise) to confirm the answer if it is right, or repeat the students' answer in a different tone to question the answer if it is wrong until the students give the right answer, or else she gives the right answer herself directly to the students after they give a wrong answer.

The following conversation happens at the beginning of the English lesson after Women's Day⁶. Mrs Hong asks the students to do some conversation practice about what they did for their mother on Women's Day.

Mrs Hong: "and... What did you do?"

Ruby: "I did nothing."

Mrs Hong: "you did nothing?"

Ruby: "I did dish washing as usual."

Mrs Hong: "You washed dishes. Good!"

7100301c

⁶ International Women's Day (8 March) is a global day celebrating the economic, political and social achievements of women past, present and future. In China, IWD is a national holiday of women. Women always get special benefits from where they work and sometimes special treats from their families.

It is the typical pattern that Mrs Hong uses to guide the student to give the right answer. In this situation, the student Ruby's answer, 'I did nothing', is not the answer Mrs Hong expected. What Mrs Hong expects is that the students show their love and care to their mothers on Women's Day. So she repeats Ruby's wrong answer in a surprised questioning tone. Ruby's reply, 'I did dish washing as usual', shows that she does care for her mother and always shares house work with her. Her simple reply contains two basic values advocated in Chinese society, filial piety and loving labour. That is exactly the right answer that Mrs Hong expected. So Mrs Hong repeats her answer in a confirmatory tone and praises her.

Most of the right answers which Mrs Hong shows to the students are the usages of English language. Although language's meaning and usage are flexible according to most linguists (Gee, 1996: p82), the usage of language in Mrs Hong's English lessons seems to have a fixed right answer.

Mrs Hong: "Let's answer a question from the Entrance Examination to Universities."

She reads and writes: "This is a point we disagree." Then writes four answers on the blackboard: A which B where C what D that.

She tells the student: "I don't remember. But perhaps it is that."

A few students laugh.

Mrs Hong asks: "Which one, Jan?"

Jan thinks quite a few minutes but does not answer.

Mrs Hong: "Just now you tell me 'I disagree with you'." She says while writes another question on the blackboard: This is we don't agree with.

Jan still thinks. Some students speak in low voice: "What." Others discuss the question. Mrs Hong finishes her writing and turns to the students. She answers a student's question: "It is a question about grammar." Then she looks at Jan: "Which one?"

Jan: "Er... I really don't know."

Mrs Hong: "You really don't know. Make a guess."

Some students laugh.

Mrs Hong: "No one will prevent you from guessing, right?"

Jan hesitates to answer: "Er... I guess..."

Mrs Hong: "Quick."

At the same time, Jan provides her guess: "Where."

Mrs Hong: "Where. Smart guessing!"

7170305

In this episode, Mrs Hong asks the students to answer a difficult grammar question from the Entrance Examination to Universities. Even Jan, a student who always gets good scores in English, has no idea of the right answer. Mrs Hong guides her to get the right answer by enlightening her with a similar question and encouraging her to guess. Mrs Hong spends several minutes on this question while normally less than one minute on other questions, because it is 'a question from the Entrance Examination to Universities'. There is another cultural model behind the Entrance Examination to Universities. Its meaning is not just an examination to assess the students' knowledge and academic skills. It is decisive in determining whether or not the students are qualified to go to good universities, in turn decisive whether or not the students can have a good career in the future. It is also a tool used by the educational authorities to assess the quality of the senior high schools and the quality of the teachers. Nie (2008: p.51) mentions that the school's status was decided by the students' academic performance and achievement in late 1990s. It is still the same in 2008. In the pilot study, the head teacher told me how the high schools were assessed and ranked in order of the students' performance in the Entrance Examination to Universities. In the structure of the educational system, the Entrance Examination to Universities plays an important role in deciding the hierarchies of schools, teachers and students. The schools whose students perform better in the examination can be promoted to become key schools, and in turn get priority in student recruitment, more funding, better facilities, and opportunities. The teachers who are good at guiding the students to get better achievements in the examination can be promoted to higher academic or management positions, and in turn get more power and income. The students who perform better in the examination can go to the key universities, and in turn get better opportunities to be recruited by wealthy units of the government, famous companies or overseas universities. In a word, the Entrance Examination to Universities is an authority in the Educational system to the schools, teachers and the students. Because the Entrance Examination to Universities has such an important function, the standard answer of the examination is set as the right answer. In another situation, Mrs Hong personally thinks both answers are acceptable because the native English use it in both ways, but she requests the students to remember the usage which is regarded as the right answer in the Entrance Examination to Universities.

- **Other general values**

In the 'authority and right answer' section, the example shows how Mrs Hong uses her 'right answer pattern' to guide the students towards the answer which contains two basic Chinese values: filial piety and loving labour. In this section, I will summarize the other general values that Mrs Hong shows in her English lessons and the way she does that.

Normally, she stresses most of the general values directly in her teaching. When Mrs Hong teaches the word 'count', she makes the sentence, 'every minute counts', to tell the students to value time. When she leads the students to read values-laden materials about beauty, confidence and humour, she confirms the importance of these values and encourages the students to think about them. Through praise, she tells the students that she values creative ideas and an honest character.

Through her actions of thanking the student who helps her resolve a computer problem in an English lesson, guiding the student to find the right answer patiently, shows concern for students' health and wellbeing and giving advice, and others, Mrs Hong shows her gratitude, patience, caring and other values.

Compared with the values mentioned above, some other values are more hidden in the English lessons. Probably Mrs Hong does not realize that she shows these values in this way.

➤ **Inequality and Hierarchy.**

In the interview, Mrs Hong shows her concern for every student. She hopes that every student can perform well in English and have the opportunity to develop competence in communication. But in the English lessons, the students are not given equal opportunities to answer the questions or make performances. In her interview, Mrs Hong tells me: 'Mostly, I call the students' names according to the difficulty of the question. If it is an essential question or something I talked about frequently and they are familiar with it, I call a student whose English is not so good.' However, those simple questions are always gone through quickly. It takes less than half a minute per question. The difficult questions are what the teacher and students focus on. It is more impressive for the students to answer such kinds of questions than to answer the simple ones. Not only the difficult questions, but also the special tasks in the text book are assigned more to the students of the higher level. All of these suggest the unequal opportunities to the students according to the hierarchy of their English performance.

As analyzed in the 'pedagogical values' section before, Mrs Hong classifies the values about writing into different levels in episode 7140302a. She does the same to the student in the same episode. She speaks to the students:

Some students such as Bill, Sue, Ursula and Henry have reached this level, complexity. I do not mention Jan, Iain, Joanne and Mike here because they have already built a firm base for this.

7140302a

After she takes Mike's composition as a good example, she says:

We can see that his argument is very clear here. You would say that he can do that, but I hardly match him. But we can see. There is another example. It is from York.

7140302c

Here, she groups the students into three levels: Bill, Sue, Ursula and Henry are at the level that she expects, Jan, Iain, Joanne and Mike are above that level, and all the others are below the level. 'You' in the quotation of episode 7140302c indicate the students below the level. The underlying

meaning is: if the example at the highest level is unreachable by you, you can follow another example of your level. Such a classification of students in the hierarchical levels according to their academic performance in English is regarded as evidence of inequity by the students. It will be examined and explained in chapter VI which is about students' understanding of values.

Besides such a direct classification of students, the way that Mrs Hong mentions the students in her discourses also suggests inequality.

Mrs Hong: "You use sick, you don't use ill. But some students such as Joanne or Iain maybe will response immediately 'No, I saw this usage, ill man.

What does this mean?"

Joanne: "distaste."

Mrs Hong: "distaste man. So do not say... When someone is ill, the other day, Ted is ill, you do not say ill Ted."

The students burst into laughter.

Mrs Hong goes on with smile: "You say sick Ted, all right?"

She laughs too, and then warns whose attention is distracted: "Do you understand? Pay attention! Be very careful."

7120308

Apart from Mrs Hong's inaccurate English usage, her discourses in the episode are meaningful. The way Mrs Hong mentions Joanne and Iain here is similar to what she does when she makes the comment on the students' composition which I analyzed above. Joanne and Iain take extra English training out of the school. They are more knowledgeable in English than the other students. The way Mrs Hong mentions them in the discourses confirms that they are knowledgeable in English. Mrs Hong also mentions Ted and uses his name to make a sentence in the same episode. However, it is quite different from the way she mentions Joanne and Iain. Ted's English score is always at the bottom. He is also easily distracted. Mrs Hong uses this method to catch his attention. This episode provides another piece of evidence to confirm Mrs Hong's hidden values of inequality. It also reveals a hidden stratagem of class management in schools in China, focusing on the students at the top and the bottom and ignoring those in the middle. Because there are usually 40 to 60 students in each class, the teacher hardly pays equal attention to all the students. The students at the top are hopeful of getting a good performance in the Examination to the Universities and earning a good reputation for the school and their teachers. Teachers like them. The students at the bottom can put the class down with their bad behaviour and poor academic performance. The teachers have to pay more attention to them to make sure that the order in their lessons is all right and the students' average academic performance keeps to a particular level. The students in the middle always have a stable academic performance and are well-behaved. Teachers normally pay less attention to them.

➤ **The power and the autonomy of the local authority**

As argued in the previous section (statements about tasks), Mrs Hong establishes her authority through the rules she makes for the English lessons. In a few episodes, Mrs Hong's rule seems to be above the rule set by the school.

It's time to do some exercises now. Music is broadcasting to remind the students to assemble in the playground. The lesson is still on. Mrs Hong gives the assignment to the students. But some students begin leaving the classroom. Mrs Hong criticizes them in a loud voice: "Hey! Hey! Hey! Look at page 17. Hush! How strange you are! The English lesson is still on. How dare you to leave! Ted is not here now, you see. There is a speaking debate on page 17. Please prepare it..."

7120313

According to the school's rule, the bell announces the end of the lesson. According to Mrs Hong, she has the authority to decide the time of the beginning and the end of the English lessons. There is a conflict between the local authority, Mrs Hong, and the higher authority, the school, in this episode. Mrs Hong stresses her authority by requesting the students to stay in the classroom after the class. It suggests that the local authority has the power and authority to make a rule which carries more weight than the rule made by the higher authority.

➤ **Democracy**

The debate exercise in the English lesson contains democratic values in that the villagers' voice can be listened to and their opinions count in the final decision. However, as analyzed in the previous section, the way that Mrs Hong arranges the debate does not give equal rights to the village committee and the villagers. The village committee is described as an authority above the villagers. In practice in the debate, the villagers have less chance to present their opinion than the WS Oil Company. The democratic values are misinterpreted in the debate.

4.2.2.2 Pedagogical values in Mrs Hong's discourses in the English lessons

Chin and Lin (2000) define the pedagogical values of mathematics as 'a teacher's pedagogical identities concerning mathematics, teaching, learning, and the curriculum. They reveal the principles or standards of each teacher's choices and judgements concerning the importance or worth of using certain pedagogical identities in his or her classroom teaching of mathematics' (2000: 91). If 'mathematics' is replaced by 'English', this definition is suitable to the pedagogical values of English. In the English lessons in Class A, the pedagogical values are quite often mentioned by Mrs Hong in her communications with the students. At the beginning of an English lesson, she praises Peter and asks him to read his composition. Then she makes a statement:

“Of course Peter’s not the best one though, his progress is so obvious that I would like to give him a chance to show how good he can write. The merits of his composition are fluency and unity. When you prove your opinion, make sure the argument is harmoniously united. Last term, I marked the composition according to the accuracy of the language. This term, I will shift to the unity of your opinions. It’s at a higher level. I am very pleased that most of the compositions of yours are fluent and accurate on language usage. There are some problems with accuracy, but they are not the main problems. The main problem is the unity of the opinions. Let’s look at...” She begins showing the slides. “Accuracy means the language you use is proper and correct, Complexity means the language you use is diverse. They are the key aim of our composition.

7140302a

More frequently, Mrs Hong makes comments after the students answer the questions she raises, which directly presents the pedagogical values. For example, after a question and answer session about exercises, she says:

“The students who didn’t do the exercises before may find it difficult to understand. You hardly have any harvest. The students who do the exercises earnestly can get big harvest today. They raised the questions which they felt difficult to answer. We resolved them together in no more than 10 minutes.”

7170309

In episode 7140302a, Mrs Hong directly presents some English subject-specific values such as fluency, unity, accuracy and complexity. She also praises Peter’s progress in English composition. ‘Progress’ can be regarded as a general pedagogical value related to the requirements of the curriculum across different subjects. It also can be regarded as a general value in Chinese society. In a fast transforming and also high competitive society, no progress equals moving backwards. Students are specially expected to make progress since they are at the stage of physical and mental development. ‘Harvest’ in episode 7170309 is the same. The connection between ‘exercises’ and ‘harvest’ reveals a cultural model in Chinese society. It is similar to the English saying, ‘no pain no gain’. In Chinese educational tradition, practice is considered the essential way towards academic achievement. Practice and diligence are built into the basic traditional learning method, ‘repetition, reviewing and rote memory’ (Rao, 2006: p.495). Mrs Hong stresses this cultural model several times in the English lessons by using the connection between ‘doing homework’ and ‘making progress’ or stating directly that ‘practice makes perfect’.

Through directly emphasizing the values, praising or criticizing the students' work, Mrs Hong conveys the pedagogical values to her students. The pedagogical values presented in Mrs Hong's English lessons can be classified into two groups: English subject-specific pedagogical values and general pedagogical values that apply across subjects. The English subject-specific pedagogical values can be grouped into values related to writing, speaking and reading. According to Mrs Hong's comments on the students' compositions in episode 7140302a, there are different levels in the pedagogical values related to writing. Accuracy of using words is the basic level for the junior high school students, complexity of using words is a higher level, and values related to organizing thoughts is higher than those related to using words. The following diagram shows the pedagogical values I observed in Mrs Hong's English lessons.

Table 5: Pedagogical values in Mrs Hong's English lessons

English subject-specific pedagogical values		general pedagogical values
Pedagogical values related to organizing thoughts in writing	Good idea Convincing reasoning Clear argument Concise expression Unity of opinion Fluency of writing	Progress Practice Reviewing Memorizing
Pedagogical values related to using words in writing	Formal written language complexity accuracy	
Pedagogical values related to speaking	Oral communication skill	
Pedagogical values related to reading	Feeling the emotion	
Pedagogical values related to communication	Cultural awareness	

- **Cultural awareness**

Cultural awareness is specially stressed by the New English Curriculum for Senior High Schools. The New English Curriculum aims to help the students to 'develop capacities of independent thinking and decision making, communication and cooperation, cross-cultural understanding and communication,

acquire a correct life view, worldview and values, enhance social responsibility and cultivate humanity through English study' (MOE, 2003). It is clarified in the senior high school English books that the purposes of the textbooks are to help them enjoy learning language, learn how to learn, develop communication skills, enrich knowledge in arts and science and possess basic cross-cultural communication awareness and competence. Cultural awareness is regarded as the important value in cross-cultural communication in the New English Curriculum for Senior High Schools and the English textbooks. Mrs Hong shows her cultural awareness several times in the English lessons:

Mrs Hong invited the students one by one to give their answers to the grammar exercises.

Mrs Hong: "Scot No. 7."

Scot hesitates for a while and speaks something in a very low voice.

Mrs Hong: "Which one?"

Scot answers a little bit louder: "C."

Mrs Hong repeats: "C. To attack those children. Do you agree?"

She pauses, but nobody answers, then she goes on: "What about 2b to beat.

Sit down please. Peter."

Peter stands up but keeps silence.

Mrs Hong: "What does beat mean?"

Peter: "打."

Mrs Hong: "Hit continuously. 他父亲打孩子, to beat the children. But that's the different culture, you see. In America, it's also a crime to beat children. But, in Chinese culture it's not a crime. But in Western culture, it is crime. But to attack the children, it is a crime, you see."

7130305

Mrs Hong introduces the cultural difference between China and Western countries when she explains the difference of meanings between 'beat' and 'attack' in a grammar exercise. In Chinese culture, the meaning of 'parents beating children' is linked to a strict way to teach the children by giving a lesson rather than abusing children, but in Western culture, it is more likely suggested that 'the children are abused by their parents' rather than 'the children are disciplined by their parents'. In episode 7130306, when she emphasizes the importance of translation she also tells a joke about the misunderstanding between a Chinese ambassador and an English gentleman in a dinner party because of the different etiquette of greeting and the interpreter's awkward translation. In several dialogue practices, Mrs Hong requests the students to use English style titles rather than Chinese style titles to greet each other. When explaining a point of grammar (in episode 7120312), she also uses an example from Spanish classic literature, *Don Quixote*, to show the humour caused by a grammar mistake.

Generally, Mrs Hong shows her awareness of cultural difference related to the language and introduces it to the students. However, she is cautious in expressing her own judgement and opinion on the cultural conflict.

York did it very well here. The opposition said that we should consider the convenience of the visitors and 'visitors will be thirsty'. Well then, we can resolve these problems in this way, yeah? It solves the problem and also other saying 'Building a modern café' and 'Starbucks is not in harmony with the Palace'. He argued further that it actually was not in harmony with the Palace Museum. 'Building a foreign café in the ancient Chinese Palace is kind of worshipping and having blind faith in things foreign.' York, Can you tell what this means please?" York: "Chong Yang Mei Wai". Teacher nods: "yeah. It means Chong Yang Mei Wai, OK? It is his opinion, OK?"

The teacher smiles and some students smile too.

7140302c

Mrs Hong does not show her opinion in the conversation with the students. She specially stresses that it is York's opinion. However, she specially asks York to translate 'worshipping and having blind faith in things foreign' into Chinese and confirms it by repeating. She might intend to make sure that every student can understand the meaning. She stresses York's opinion and then smiles to the students. It might be a subtle suggestion that she agrees with York. The values clarification in her interview shows that she does support York's opinion.

4.3 Values in English lessons and Mrs Hong's personal values

Mrs Hong's personal values are examined through her articles, the interview with her, and the observation of her conversation with the students and other teachers in the office. Not all of the values that she conveys in the English lessons are compatible with her personal values.

4.3.1 Mrs Hong's personal values

4.3.1.1 Values in Mrs Hong's discourses in the office setting

In my field notes, Mrs Hong has quite a few conversations with her students, colleagues and me. Most of these conversations are associated with English learning and competence in communication. These values-laden conversations provide a chance to look at Mrs Hong's values in the way she approaches the English lessons.

On 11th March 2008, Mrs Hong initiates a conversation with Xavier, a student, when he walks into the office with me. She asks him in a blaming tone why he has made a mistake in his homework. Xavier explains that it is caused by his carelessness. Mrs Hong reviews the exercise with Xavier until he understands. In this situation, Mrs Hong uses the same pattern that she always uses in the English lessons to teach the right answer and also stresses the value of carefulness.

On 19th March 2008, Joanne, the English representative, comes to the office to help Mrs Hong sort out the unit test papers. She asks a lot of questions about how to get along with the American exchange students who will visit them the next week. Mrs Hong answers her questions patiently while marking the test papers.

“American students are the same as you. You treat them in the way that you want them to treat you. Nothing is special. But don’t force them if they don’t like something. For example, if they don’t like a dish, don’t persuade them. When you go to the USA, you should note this too. If you say no when you are asked whether you want dinner or not, you will have no dinner to eat. They don’t like Chinese who insist on persuading others.”...

“You may ask them how they organize community activities. Their community activities are brilliant, from which the students can profit. They organize the activities themselves in the communities and get them sponsored.”...

“China is stronger and stronger. American students might regard Chinese students as their potential rivals. In the last welcome meeting, their teacher says to the students: ‘They are your rivals in the future’.”...

“Don’t specially give up your own business to accompany them. When you go to the USA, you will find that they won’t change their routine for you. An American child needs to work at the weekend. He still does so.”

“I don’t want my study to be disturbed because of them.” Joanne says.

“So you keep studying as usual.” Mrs Hong says.

Joanne thinks for a while and says: “But maybe I still need to sacrifice a little bit.”

Note1903

As she does in the English lessons, Mrs Hong introduces the phenomenon of cultural difference to Joanne in the office setting without explanation. What is different is that Mrs Hong shows her personal opinions here. Behind the phenomena that Mrs Hong introduces, that Americans don’t like to persuade or be persuaded, that American students make profits through community activities, and that the American students stick to their routines without being specially concerned for their guests, there lies the typical Western value, individualism. Mrs Hong encourages Joanne to think about herself. This action shows that Mrs Hong encourages her students to be compatible with individualism. Behind the encouragement of thinking about oneself, there is another storyline linking to equality and reciprocity. Starting with ‘American students are the same as you’, then the reciprocal advice on social interaction, then the introduction of rivalry between the American students and the Chinese students, and finally another piece of reciprocal advice, this storyline is about her belief that American students and Chinese students are equal to each other. What values does Mrs Hong convey to Joanne? Mrs Hong might not be aware of it herself. She suggests Joanne should ask American

students about their community activities and praise them for their profit-making. This action echoes a cultural model about learning from the advanced. There is a national slogan linked to the opening-up policy, 'to learn from the advanced countries', learning their advanced technology and advanced management practice. This cultural model also links to the tradition of learning from the models. Any person or group which has advanced experience conforming to the social goal becomes a role model for others. By learning from role models, individuals are expected to play the social roles in the same specific way as the role models do. In the current situation, Mrs Hong sets the American students as role models for Joanne in terms of their experience of organizing community activities to make a profit.

When I eat lunch with Mrs Hong on 18th March 2008, a young lady comes to talk with her. The young lady is the English teacher of another class in Year 10. She suggests organizing the students in Year 10 to conduct a Model UN activity. Mrs Hong shows no interest at first. However, the young lady tells Mrs Hong that another famous key state high school nearby has already conducted a similar activity and a famous key state high school in Shanghai did it last year. She also makes suggestions in detail how to make the activity successful and also helpful to the students' English study. Mrs Hong is persuaded and finally shows a strong interest in it. She authorizes the young lady to organize the activity and also adds two points: reporting it to the Moral Education Department to get support because the activity is a case that combines English study with moral education, and finding a sponsor to pay for lunch so that the activity can last the whole day. The next day, the young lady comes to talk with Mrs Hong again. She says that she did very well on the extra-curricular activities last year but was blamed for the unsatisfactory academic performance of her class. She worries that history will repeat itself if she organizes the Model UN. Mrs Hong confirms the importance of prioritising their responsibilities for students' academic achievement. She also comforts her and helps her to set a realistic goal to make the activity practicable and achievable. Mrs Hong's responses to her young colleague show that she is open-minded and supportive towards the extra-curricular activity in which the students can be involved and develop their competency. She suggests getting the activity sponsored. It is echoed by her suggestion to Joanne the next day. It seems that Mrs Hong does value the way American students conduct the community activities and hopes her students can do the same. Both Mrs Hong and her young colleague are concerned about the relationship between the students' academic achievement and the extra-curricular activity. Mrs Hong's response shows that the former is the most important of all and the extra-curricular activity must not work against it.

4.3.1.2 Values in Mrs. Hong's interview and articles

I put Mrs Hong's discourses in the interview and those in her articles together to analyze because these kinds of discourses are not produced in natural daily settings but generated by the professionals, educational researcher or editor.

Before her articles her principles of teaching are introduced: 'Love students without condition, but with wisdom' and 'Give opportunities to the students to develop self, to develop altruism and to learn how to survive'⁷. In her articles, she tells two stories about how a class teacher can help the students learn from a conflict or a mistake. In the first story, the students made an oral contract with an assistant in a sport centre, but the assistant didn't keep his promise, so the students argued angrily with him and the coach in the sport centre. Mrs Hong didn't criticize them but helped them analyze the whole event to learn how to deal with it wisely rather than lose their temper so that a little conflict became a big issue. In the second story, two students talked to each other during the ritual of raising the national flag. When they were criticized, they didn't realize what was wrong. Mrs Hong asked them to search The Flag Code on line and the events related to the Code, then requested them give a presentation about their findings to all the other students in a class meeting, and finally organized all the students to discuss it together. All the students realized that it was a serious mistake to talk during the ritual of raising the national flag. In both stories, Mrs Hong encouraged the students to think and to make a judgement. Her guidance also helped the students to conform to the social rules.

In her interview, Mrs Hong talked about her choice of career, her English learning and cultural awareness, her awareness of conflict between the educational system and the students' freedom to make choices, her expectation of the students' moral development, and her management experience as an English teacher and also a class teacher. In her talking, she always uses a comparative narrative pattern to present her choice, preference or opinion. For example, she compares the experience of teaching the senior high school students and the undergraduate students, finally coming to the conclusion 'Probably because I got on with the senior high school students at the very beginning, I think the senior high school students are innocent. The undergraduate students are more oriented to their own needs than them'. By the comparison, she shows that her personal values are shaped by both the Chinese culture and the Western culture, and also illustrates the hierarchical structure of her personal values. As a teacher trained under the highly structuralized and planned educational system in early 1980s, she is obedient to the system and thinks it's better for her students to obey the system than to rebel. She is influenced by the utilitarian tradition in Chinese culture, being achievement oriented and believing that a person with the highest degree should work in a related field. Her belief in the importance of English and her value of achievement are also linked to her motivation to be a teacher in a senior high school, 'because English belongs to one of the most important subjects in the Entrance Examination to Universities. I felt very good about that'. Her

⁷ Because of the need to protect her anonymity, the information about the author and the book is not listed in the bibliography. The original photos of the article can be found in appendix vii.

discourses suggest that there is even a hierarchy of the subjects in the Entrance Examination to Universities⁸ and that she is proud that what she teaches has a higher position in the hierarchy.

She is open-minded to diverse cultures. She uses 'appreciate' and 'enjoy' to show her attitude to Western cultures. She believes that learning the language is the tool to enjoy the beauty of the culture. She attributes human civilization to Confucian theory in the East and Democracy in the West. When she mentions Confucius, she connects it to the values of hierarchy, the golden mean and social systems; and when she mentions Democracy, she connects it to the Roman Senate and to argument. Therefore, her principles and beliefs in Education are influenced by both the Confucian tradition and Western values. Her beliefs about the teacher's social responsibility, the teacher as a role model and her principle of teaching students according to their individual differences might come from the Confucian tradition, and her belief that students should have freedom to choose to learn or not to learn might come from Western values.

When Mrs Hong talks about her work as a class teacher in the interview, her discourses also reveal that she holds the general collective values such as cherishing the collective honour. Moral values are essential to Mrs Hong. She expects her students to keep the 'moral baseline' formed with sincerity, kindness, honesty, and other moral characters with a social conscience.

4.3.2 The compatibility of values in the English lessons and Mrs Hong's personal values

The values that Mrs Hong conveys in the English lessons are summarized into general values and pedagogical values in the section 4.2. Her personal values that are revealed in the interpretation of the English lessons and clarified in her interview show the influence of both the traditional Chinese culture and the western culture. As argued in the introduction chapter, although the socialist values system is considered the orthodox values system of Chinese society and is promoted as the core values system by the Chinese government, there are actually three influential values systems in Chinese society: the socialist values system, the traditional values system, and the Western values system. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, these values systems are interpreted independently by the individuals in society. The common understanding forms the taken-for-granted reality on which the daily communications are based. Cultural models behind the discourses of daily communications are party of the taken-for-granted reality. The analysis in the previous sections has already revealed some of the cultural models behind Mrs Hong's discourses. This section and the

⁸ Because of the reform of the Entrance Examination to Universities, the scores of Chinese, Maths and English take a greater proportion of the total score than those of moral education, history, geography, physics, chemistry and biology.

following section will discover more associations between the values conveyed by Mrs Hong in the English lessons and the social reality revealed by her personal values.

The general values conveyed by Mrs Hong in the English lessons include: authority, inequity according to the hierarchy, filial piety, loving labour, honesty, gratitude, patience, caring, beauty, confidence and humour. These values are also found in her personal values.

Her career choice shows that she is used to obeying authority. Her stress of the importance of the Entrance Examination to Universities and how crucial it is to help the students pass it is another piece of evidence to show her conformity to authority. In the interview, hierarchy is the taken-for-granted reality among the universities, the subjects in the Entrance Examination to Universities, and the students. Because of the hierarchy, the inequity is taken for granted too. It is natural for her to ask challenging questions of the students whose English performance is better than the others. The authority and hierarchy seen both in the English lessons and in her interview are compatible with Mrs Hong's clarification of the influence of the traditional Chinese culture, because authority, hierarchy and filial piety are the core values of Confucianism which is the orthodox ideology in traditional Chinese society.

Loving labour is linked to the traditional value of diligence, but is specially stressed by contemporary moral education. As the most important socialist values, 'love the motherland, love the people, love labour, love science and love socialism' are included in the Article 24 of the Constitution of People's Republic China (1982). In the interview, Mrs Hong clarifies her collectivist values in her class management. She expects her students enjoy collective life and honour their achievement as a collectivity. Collectivism, patriotism and socialism are considered as the foundation of the socialist values system by the CPC, which is the core value system promoted by the educational system.

Honesty is stressed by Mrs Hong in the English lessons when she praises a student. It is also considered the basic moral virtue in her personal belief system. Gratitude, patience and caring, which Mrs Hong shows naturally through her communications and other interactions with the students are also compatible with her awareness of the expectations of a teacher from society, that a teacher should be a role model for the students. Beauty, confidence and humour, which Mrs Hong guides the students to appreciate during the reading exercises, are compatible with her open-mindedness as revealed in her interview.

Although the democratic values are misinterpreted in the debate, Mrs Hong's enthusiasm in promoting the debate is compatible with the appreciation of Western democracy, she showed in the interview.

In summary, the general values conveyed in the English lessons are linked to the values in Mrs Hong's personal values system. According to her interview, she is influenced by both traditional Chinese culture and Western culture. The values that she conveys in the English lessons confirm the

connection with the values in Confucianism, the socialist values, the basic moral values, and the Western values.

Checking the pedagogical values that Mrs Hong conveys in the English lessons in the same way, the compatibility of the values conveyed in the English lessons and those of Mrs Hong's personal values is still confirmed. Cultural awareness and competence in communication are promoted by Mrs Hong to the students in the English lessons and are also presented to the students and colleagues in other settings. The cultural awareness is compatible with Mrs Hong's open-mindedness and appreciation of Western culture. Her efforts to help the students to improve their competence in communication and academic performance are compatible with her respect for authority and her conformity to the educational system.

4.3.3 The incompatibility of values in English lesson and Mrs Hong's personal values

In the English lessons, Mrs Hong does not introduce any Western values directly. She talks about cultural difference without any explanation. However, in her conversation with Joanne, she introduces the fact that the American students' behaviour is underpinned by individualism and encourages Joanne to use the reciprocal principle to get along with them. Mrs Hong suggests that Joanne should think about herself. This suggestion is not compatible with Mrs Hong's collective values. The incompatibility of values conveyed in different settings reveals the conflicts in Mrs Hong's personal values system.

The first conflict showed in her interview is the cultural conflict between China and the West. She intends to keep neutral on students' arguments whether or not Starbucks should be moved out of the Palace Museum, but subtly shows her position in the English lesson. In the interview, she claims that 'the values in Western countries are reasonable, but it doesn't mean that China should accept them'. For her, the way to resolve the cultural conflict is 'to assimilate and reform them, I mean, something advanced and good' and 'to appreciate the cultures with critical thinking'. Actually, she repeats the words and opinions from the Chinese media on how to learn from the West.

The second conflict is the tension between the examination oriented educational system and the students' free will. Mrs Hong does not agree with the educational system completely, but she knows that the students would struggle to achieve their goals without passing the Entrance Examination to Universities. Therefore, she chooses to respect the authority of the Entrance Examination to Universities and requests the students to bear in mind the right answers for the examination. The strategy she uses to resolve the conflict is to generate the students' motivation rather than force them to learn.

In the above two conflicts, Mrs Hong's values and beliefs from Chinese culture and social structure are prioritized in the English lessons. However, outside the English lessons, she deals with the second conflict differently. This conflict can be regarded as the conflict between the collective values and the individualist values. In terms of the traditional Chinese collective values, the authority in the collectivity is above the free will of the individual. If the individual's will goes against the authority, the individual's free will should be sacrificed. In the English lessons, Mrs Hong criticizes the students who did not do their homework and engages everybody to study hard. She does not give the students the opportunity to choose to study or not freely. However, outside the English lessons, she suggests that Joanne should exert her free will. Joanne can do what she wants as the American students do. In the extra-curricular activities without strong links to the examinations, Mrs Hong encourages the students to act autonomously. She gives the students the opportunity to organize the activities according to their own will. It seems that authority is a key factor which influences Mrs Hong's judgement on values conflict. If the authority is overwhelming, she prioritizes the authority. If the authority is not influential enough, she shows her respect for the individual's free will.

There is still something hidden in Mrs Hong's personal values but not conveyed in the English lessons. Even in the interview and in the articles, she never mentions it directly. However, through her communication with Joanne and her colleagues in the office, she shows it naturally. She suggests Joanne should learn from her American counterparts who get involved in the community activities and make profits. When her colleague proposes the plan for the Model UN, Mrs Hong suggests getting a sponsor. She talks with another colleague about the price of the reference book which they will ask the students to buy. All these discourses indicate the outstanding value in contemporary China, money. It lies neither in the traditional values system nor in the socialist values system. In fact, it has expanded rapidly in society since the opening-up policy has been in operation. Underpinned by the slogan of constructing the socialist market economy, money has become one of the symbols of success or achievement which most people in society pursue. The Chinese government never stops its effort to fight with the value of money. Money-worshipping was criticized seriously in the middle 1990s by the government and all its propaganda machines. It is strictly forbidden in the law and rules for the public services to make money with their power; for example, the teachers are not allowed to sell anything to the students. However, as a matter of fact, money-worshipping is more and more powerful in society. Some governors' corruption is never stopped. The schools become a big market attracting teachers, publishers, sponsors and many others to make easy money.

Mrs Hong does not talk directly about her hidden value of pursuing money, but when she tells a story about a PhD student's lone journey of study, she mentions in the interview that she has a part-time job as an editor of English reference books. The values that she does not convey in the English lessons, money and individual free will, are those that are incompatible with the core values promoted by the Chinese government.

4.4 Values in English lessons and values in social context

Through the cultural models behind Mrs Hong's discourses, the social values are reflected by Mrs Hong in her communications in both the English lessons and other social settings. In this section, other English teachers' discourses will be examined to reveal what values they convey in the English lessons and what social context their discourses reflect.

4.4.1 Values in other English teachers' discourses

Mrs Lu is a colleague of Mrs Hong. She teaches Class B, another dragon class of year 10 in the key state school. Mrs Huang teaches Class C of year 10 in the ordinary school. Mrs Lan teaches Class D of year 10 in a private school. All of the teachers majored in English and got a Bachelor of Arts degree. Mrs Hong graduated in the early 1980s, Mrs Huang and Mrs Lan in the early 1990s, and Mrs Lu in the early 2000s. Mrs Hong, Mrs Lu and Mrs Huang got short-term training in the universities in the UK in the 2000s. According to their background, the four English teachers whom I observe and interview in the case study share little similarity except for their education.

Although in different age groups, Mrs Hong, Mrs Lu and Mrs Huang show similar patterns in guiding students to the right answer, stressing practice, setting an example and encouraging creative ideas and achievement. Most of the general and pedagogical values conveyed by Mrs Hong also appear in the discourses of Mrs Lu and Mrs Huang in their English lessons.

4.4.1.1 General values

Like Mrs Hong, both Mrs Lu and Mrs Huang are aware of their authority as teachers and respect the authority of the educational system. Mrs Huang always uses imperative sentences to make requests to the students. She always makes decisions assertively without space for negotiation. Her discourses clearly show her authority in the class. Mrs Lu is much younger than Mrs Hong and Mrs Huang. In her interview, she is not confident about her authority because she is a young teacher. However, she loses her temper once criticizing two students who did not hand in their homework which was expected a month before. She states seriously that 'I won't ask for the homework of the two of you from now on', 'I won't mark it', 'I don't care', and 'I won't accept the homework of the two of you from now on'. The stress on 'I' in her discourses shows her anger that her authority is not respected, because 'I have given you so many chances to change your behaviour! There is a bottom line for a human's ability to put up with things. Teachers should be generous and tolerant to their students. However, as a student, you should fulfil your responsibilities.' The explanation of her anger shows that she believes that it is the students' responsibility to do their homework and to hand it in. Her tolerance towards the students might come from this belief. The reason why she is not sure about her authority might also be linked to her awareness of students' independent effort in their English studies. However, in Class C, Mrs Huang's criticism of students who do not finish their homework stresses her authority rather than the students' responsibility, 'There is one of you who owes me

vocabulary. It's a shame to mention the name.' From this, we can see that Mrs Lu's sense of authority is weaker than that of Mrs Hong and Mrs Huang while Mrs Lu stresses the students' independent effort in English study more. This conclusion is supported by other evidence in the English lessons. Both Mrs Hong and Mrs Lu use PowerPoint Slides in which the grammar points in the Entrance Examinations to the Universities are summarized by the educational researchers in the Department of Education in the District. Mrs Hong takes a lesson to explain it to the students while Mrs Lu just sends it to her students by email and reminds them to review it themselves.

All the English teachers are observed criticizing the students who do not hand in their homework in their English lessons. As analyzed before, homework is not only linked to the traditional values in education but also to the final performance in the Entrance Examination to the Universities. The stress on homework represents conformity to the educational system and respect for its authority.

In Mrs Hong's English lessons, she groups the students into different levels in English writing. In Mrs Lu's and Mrs Huang's English lessons, they directly make comparisons between students and classes. After students describe their preferences in extreme sports, Mrs Lu asks the students, 'which one do you think is the best one?' After the unit test, Mrs Lu ranks the students according to their score and sets the best three as the role models in English academic performance. In Mrs Huang's English lessons, she asks the students to mark their unit test papers, to count their scores, and to congratulate the one whose score is the highest. She also shows her disappointment directly after finding out that the students in another class have performed better than those in Class C. The discourses of Mrs Lu and Mrs Huang show an important cultural model, comparison, which is combined with the cultural model of hierarchy. Achievement is linked to the two cultural models too. The students' achievement is defined by getting a comparatively better position in the hierarchy of academic performance. The cultural model of comparison is also found in Mrs Huang's discourses in the interview. When she tells a painful story about dealing with a difficult student, she mentions her feeling after talking with a doctor in a famous hospital, 'I am better off than a doctor. A doctor's job is more painful. Only a few students whom I deal with are ill.'

Mrs Huang shows more similarities with Mrs Hong. Except for the strong sense of authority which is analyzed above, they share other similarities too. Both of them are honest about their mistakes and treat them in a humorous way. Both of them make rules to manage the order of the English lessons. Both of them show their sense of social responsibility in their interview. The similarities between Mrs Huang and Mrs Hong and the difference between them and Mrs Lu might reflect the values change that has occurred because of the social transformation. I will explain this in the next section.

Equality is the value that especially concerns Mrs Huang in both the English lessons and the interview. She stresses students' equal opportunity in answering questions in the English lessons. She explains in the interview that she realizes how sensitive the students are regarding the opportunity to answer questions according to her own experience and her students' feedback. In order to make sure that

she treats everybody equally, she ticks the student's name on the list after s/he answers her/his questions. She also stresses students' gender identity.

4.4.1.2 Pedagogical values

Although not all the pedagogical values in Mrs Hong's discourses in the English lessons are observed in Mrs Lu and Mrs Huang's English lessons, the effort to help the students improve their competence in communication and cultural awareness is made in the English lessons of all the English teachers in the study. Some of the pedagogical values conveyed by Mrs Huang in her English lessons are the same as those of Mrs Hong. These values include progress, reasoning and feeling.

4.4.2 Values in the educational system and society

4.4.2.1 Values in the social structure

The introduction chapter notes that both the Chinese society and the educational system in China are based on the structural functionalist theory. In the social structure, all the systems have their functions. For example, the educational system serves the political and economic system, and all the systems serve the common social goals. Through the social goals and the core values, the systems are bound together in the whole structure and keep the equilibrium. In such a society, the core values are transmitted in a top-down sequence. Documents are the vehicles for transmitting the core values in society. In order to examine the core values in contemporary Chinese society, the recent documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and that of those Ministry of Education are scrutinized.

The most important document in the structure is the report which the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (the CCCPC) makes in the National Congress of the Party. It is the foundation and guidance of all the policies in China. The most recent report was released on 24th Oct. 2007. Compared with the three previous reports, the key discourses related to education and values have some changes in words but the situated meaning and cultural model behind the discourses do not change. All the reports stress the associations between 'education' and 'economic development', 'national power', 'culture' and 'socialist morality'. Education is prioritized in social development and is supposed to cultivate human resources to meet the social goals: 'an innovative country on economy', 'a nation with competitive power', 'building up the system of socialist core values', 'fostering a culture of harmony', and others. The students are expected to be equipped with knowledge, competence and morality through the educational system to be 'qualified socialist constructors'. In different periods in the past, the meaning of 'qualified socialist constructors' might change, but the core values that they are supposed to have, patriotism, collectivism and socialist ideology, do not.

There are two notable points in the latest report in the National Congress of the Party, the stress on innovation of economy and that on cultural exchanges with foreign countries. These discourses are

not new. They have already been mentioned in many other policies of the Central Government and the CCCPC, including those related to the reforms of the educational system.

Two important reforms of the educational system influence the students in the current study. One is the quality education promoted in the late 1990s and the other is the recent curriculum reform starting in 2001. The purpose of the quality education is to cultivate students with an innovative spirit and practical competence. It means to change the examination-oriented and knowledge-centred educational trend to promoting students' all-round development in morality, intellect, physique, aesthetics and labour. In the Programme on the Reform of the Basic Education Curriculum (Experimental) released by the Ministry of Education in 2001, 'innovative spirit' and 'practical competence', combining the traditional discourses of the aim of education, form the new version of the aim of basic education: 'cultivate students to have the spirit of patriotism, collectivism and socialism, to inherit and promote the historical achievement and revolutionary tradition, to possess the knowledge of socialist democracy and law, to obey the law and norm, to form a right view of the world, life and values; to take on the social responsibility and make effort to serve for the people, to have the essential spirit of innovation, competence of practice, awareness of science, arts and environment, to get the basic knowledge, skill and method for life-long learning, to be physically and mentally strong, to live with a healthy sense of beauty and lifestyle, and to be the new generation with lofty ideals, moral integrity, a better education and a good sense of discipline.' (MOE, 2001) The primary goal of the recent curriculum reform is 'to foster the attitude of autonomous learning and to make the process of acquiring basic knowledge and skill to be that of forming right values'. The national curriculum standards are required first, to build in moral education according to the content of the subjects in order to cultivate the students to get the right view of the world, life and values, and second, to advocate scientific spirit, attitude and method for the aim of guiding the students to create and practise. The recent curriculum reform 'involves not only obvious issues, such as content, structures and institutions, but also affects deep-seated cultural issues, including educational concepts and values, and cultural traditions' (Zhu, 2007: p. 226). The significant changes include 'from a teacher-centred to a student-centred approach, from the delivery of knowledge to the fostering of students' creative competence, from paying attention to the commonalities of students to paying attention to their individualities, from paying great attention to "good learners" to paying great attention to students with learning difficulties, and from a rigid and examination-oriented type of assessment to a formative and "value-added" assessment system' (Yang, 2007).

Based on the general guidelines in the curriculum reform, The New Senior English Curriculum Standard aims to 'promote autonomous learning capability', 'help them develop capacities of independent thinking and decision making, communication and cooperation, cross-cultural understanding and communication, acquire a correct life view, worldview and values, enhance social responsibility and cultivate humanity through English study', and 'meet their needs for individual development' (MOE, 2003).

Guided by the standard, there are about 10 different versions of senior high English textbooks. The students in Class A, B and C in the current study use the version of the Beijing Normal University Press, and those in Class D use that of the People's Education Press. I collected all the textbooks of the two versions and made a comparison. Although the materials used in the textbooks are different and are edited in different ways, the topics and themes of the content are quite similar; for example, there are introductions to festivals worldwide, different kind of heroes and heroines in human history, customs and manners, and many others in both versions of the textbooks. The similarities of the textbooks might be because all the textbooks have to be examined and censored by the Minister of Education. Only those which meet the standard can be approved for publishing. Values are embedded in the textbooks through the editor's expectations and the text.

In the very beginning of each textbook published by the Beijing Normal University Press, there is a letter to the student written by the editor, Professor Wang Qiang in the Beijing Normal University. In the letter, the professor tells the students that the purposes of the textbooks are to help them enjoy learning language, learn how to learn, develop communication skills, enrich their knowledge in the arts and science and possess basic cross-cultural communication awareness and competence. After giving some advice on how to use the textbooks, the professor presents his hope and expectation: 'You will have more autonomy and choice. You will learn to set learning targets for yourselves, choose content, develop learning methods, take part in self-assessment and learn to cooperate with others. It is the beginning for you to be an autonomous learner'.

Apart from cultivating autonomous learners, other important values underpinning the way of editing the textbooks include diversity, cross-culture awareness and competence in communication. There are eleven modules with thirty three topic-based units in which cross-cultural communication might be involved, covering most aspects of human beings' life. In each unit, the text is values-laden to some degree. For example, when I observe Class A, the unit that they are learning conveys the values of protecting the sea and sea animals.

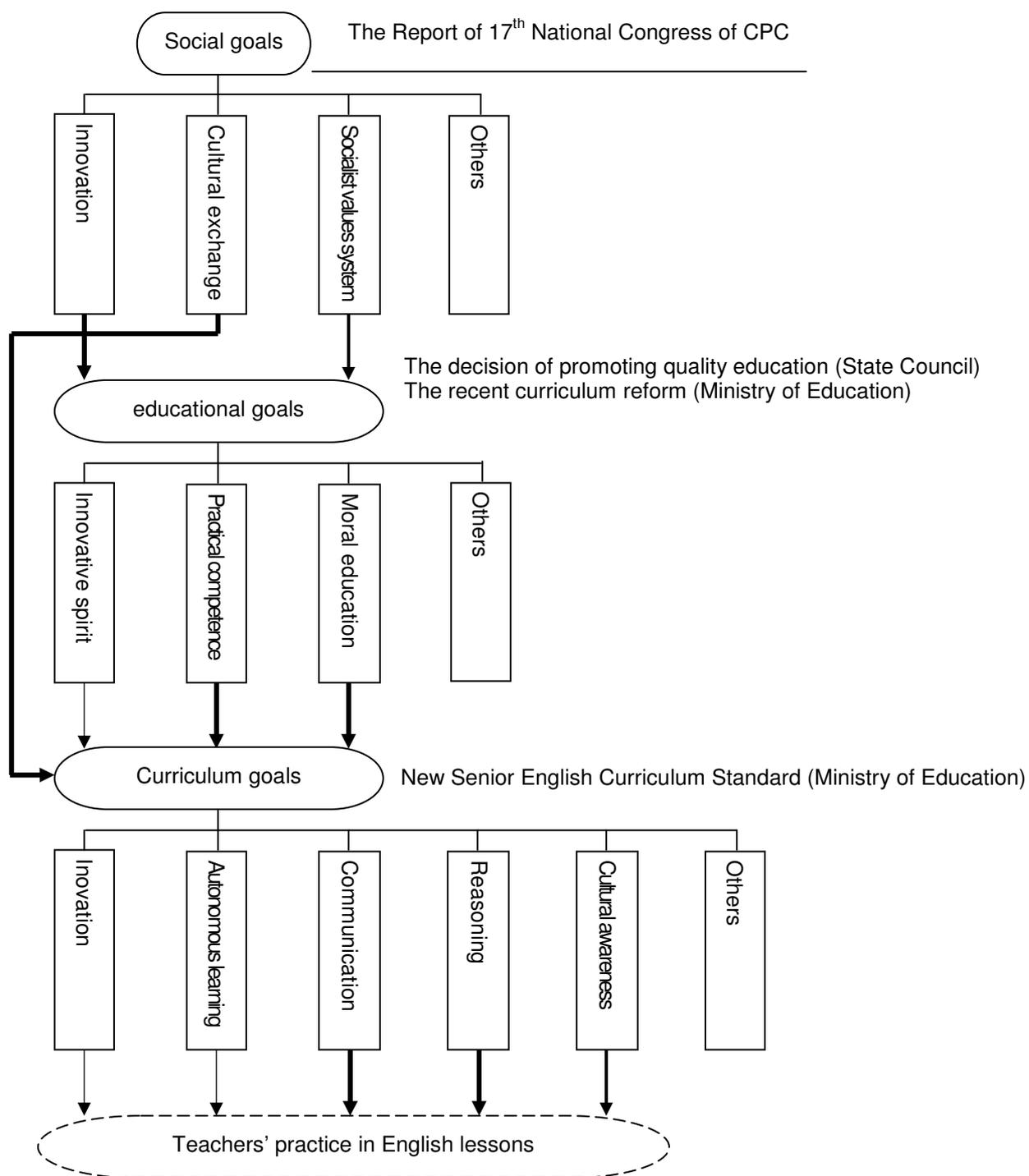
4.4.2.2 The compatibility of values in the English lessons and values in the structure

In Chinese society, the core values attached to the social goals are transmitted to the educational system from the authority at the top of the hierarchy. Because the teachers respect their authority, the values conveyed in the English lessons are compatible with the values in the social structure. Taking 'innovation' and 'practical competence' as an example, we find that innovation is highlighted in the fifth part of the Report, Promoting Sound and Rapid Development of the National Economy, in the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Hu, 2007). They are considered as the key elements to enhance the economy and the strength of the nation. An innovative country depends on innovative personnel, which is the goal of education. The value, innovation, in the social goal is transmitted into the discourses of the documents of the recent educational reforms and expressed as 'quality education' and the purpose of 'quality education', to cultivate students with

'innovative spirit' and 'practical competence'. In the curriculum reform, 'innovative spirit', 'practical competence' and 'values' which moral education is built on, are regarded as the targets of the learning process. In the New Senior English Curriculum Standard, 'practical competence' is defined as the competences of collecting and dealing with information, analyzing and resolving problems, thinking and expressing in English, learning autonomously, thinking and making judgements independently, communicating and cooperating with others, understanding and communicating across cultures, and planning one's own life and self-development autonomously. 'Innovative spirit' is defined as the competence of innovation and explained as creativity and imagination in the Standard. Culture exchange, which is not mentioned in the documents of the recent educational reforms, is highlighted in the New Senior English Curriculum Standard as related competences such as cultural awareness, cultural understanding and cross-cultural communication. Comparing the key values contained in the Standard with those in the documents of guidelines of educational reforms, autonomy is highlighted in the description of the practical competence and the change of language teaching and learning strategy in the Standard. For the values in the English textbooks, they are highly compatible with those in the Standard.

The key values in the New Senior English Curriculum Standard, autonomous learning, reasoning, communication, cultural awareness and innovation, are stressed to some degree by all the English teachers in the English lessons. Although as Mrs Hong says, the students have no choice in deciding to learn or not to learn because of the Entrance Examination to the Universities, she and other English teachers offer the students freedom to choose their own roles or tasks in some communication exercises and to decide how to play their roles or fulfil their tasks. They all respect the students' independent thinking by giving opportunities to the students to present their different opinions. They all help the students to develop their competence in communication. They all encourage the students' creativity and imagination by praising their new ideas. They all introduce some cultural differences between China and the Western countries in their teaching. The following diagram shows the links between the values in the social goals, in the documents of the educational system and in the English lessons (The lines with the arrows start with the values in the documents and point to where they are presented. The weights of the lines with arrows are in direct proportion to the degree that the values are stressed in the discourses which the arrows point to.)

Diagram 5: The reflection of values in the educational system through teachers' discourses



4.4.2.3 The incompatibility of values in the English teachers' discourses and values in the structure

From the analysis in sections 4.3 and 4.4.1, we can see that there are some individualist values in both Mrs Hong and Mrs Lu's discourses. Mrs Hong thinks that the students should have free will to make their own choices. Mrs Lu thinks that the students should fulfil their responsibility for their own study. Mrs Hong's individualist values are not practised in the English lessons. Although she does not force the students to study, she reminds them all the time. She does not tolerate the students who do not finish their homework. Mrs Lu shows more tolerance on this point but finally still loses her temper when the students ignore the homework which should have been handed in several weeks ago. Individualism is not promoted as the core values system in the social structure. On the contrary, it is criticized by the government and the propaganda machine. This can explain why Mrs Hong and Mrs Lu hold the value of individualism but neither of them gives real freedom to the students in the English lessons. This can also explain why Mrs Hong values money but she never shows it in the English lessons. Mrs Hong's understanding of Western values is influenced because of the overwhelming power of the core values system promoted by the authority. As analyzed in section 4.3, Mrs Hong only takes the form of democracy rather than the principle of democracy. She thinks that every person has the opportunity to present opinions and has the right to vote, but she ignores the aspect that every person should be treated equally and it is the person who makes the decision. Her understanding of democracy exactly reflects the interpretation of democracy in the political discourses in China.

The incompatibility of values in the English teachers' discourses and values in the structure reveals the values diversity in contemporary Chinese society. Although the English teachers in the case study prioritize the core values in society in the English lessons, they do themselves hold values which are not promoted in the social structure but are accepted widely by individuals in society. The pursuit of money and individualism are two examples. As a traditional society with a collective culture, individualism is regarded as a new value during the social transformation. The development of private enterprise and foreign enterprise brings personal responsibility to the foreground, and therefore leads to the expansion of individualism (Faure). In fact, the growth of individualism is linked not only to personal responsibility but also to consumerism. Consumerism is the mainstream value of the market economy. The growth of the economy mainly depends on increased consumption. Consumerism is criticized rather than promoted by the Chinese government. However, the prioritization of economic development in the social goals encourages the expansion of consumerism, and in turn individualism. The connection of individualism, consumerism and the socialist market economy can explain the question raised in the previous section, why Mrs Lu considers study to be the students' responsibility and gives more freedom to the students than Mrs Hong and Mrs Huang. Mrs Lu was born in the early

1980s and got most of her education during the 1990s. She went to university in 1999 and graduated in 2003. She grew up with the development of the socialist market economy in China. Mrs Hong and Mrs Huang graduated from university before the socialist market economy was promoted. Mrs Lu is influenced by individualism more than Mrs Hong and Mrs Huang. The difference between them reflects the changes in society and the changes in values.

4.5 Summary

The English teachers dominate the communications in the English lessons. They convey directly or indirectly a lot of values which can be grouped into general values and pedagogical values. Most of the values that the English teachers convey in the English lessons are compatible with the values which are expected to be transmitted to the students through the educational system. Some of the values are not compatible with those in the educational system but reflect traditional values such as hierarchy and authority in the mainstream values system which is crucial for maintaining the social order. There are still some other values which are conveyed unintentionally by teachers. These values are the hidden curriculum values which can be traced to the teachers' personal values system. They are hidden because the teachers take them for granted as the common sense. The values in the hidden curriculum are manifested through the cultural models in teachers' discourses. They reflect the mainstream values in society.

Chapter V: the Students' Discourses in the Values Communication in English lessons

In this chapter, the students' discourses in the English lessons setting and in other settings will be examined. The discourses include those produced in the process of communication in the English lessons, those generated by the researcher in the interviews, those written by the students, and those recorded by the researcher during the conversations between the teachers and the students in breaks.

5.1 Values in the students' discourses in the English lessons

5.1.1 Values in the students' discourses in the English lessons of Class A

In the English lessons, the students' values are mainly shown in their discourses in the third and the fourth types of communication mentioned in the beginning of 4.1.2, 'the students ask a question and the teacher responds', and 'the students communicate to each other'. As mentioned before, students have hardly any opportunities to communicate with each other in the English lessons, and the students' group discussions are too noisy to recognize individuals. Therefore, what are analyzed here include a communication workshop in the English lesson on 18th March 2008, the debate about whether the oil company should be permitted to build a factory in the fishing village, and several episodes in which the students propose questions in the English lessons⁹.

5.1.1.1 Values in students' questions

In an ordinary English lesson, students seldom have the chance to generate a question, to discuss or to present their opinions. There are only six episodes in which the students start the communications in all the English lessons that I observed in Class A. In episodes 7120310 and 7170309, students point out the mistakes that Mrs Hong makes. In both cases, Mrs Hong accepts the students' correction immediately and carries on her teaching. In episode 7120308, when Mrs Hong tells the students the different usages of 'sick' and 'ill', a student suggests 'patient' means 'a sick man' too. However, Mrs Hong ignores it. She might not hear it clearly or might think that it has no direct link to the point that she wants the students to remember, that when 'sick' and 'ill' are used as adjectives they have different meanings. According to her skilful control of the students' responses after the student's suggestion of 'patient', it is more likely that she does not want to be interrupted. This can

⁹ The students speak English in the debate workshop, but Chinese most of the time in other lessons. The English discourses of the students are transcribed directly without correcting the mistakes. I will give additional notes if the quotation of the students' discourses is translated by me.

explain why the students hardly have any opportunity to generate a communication in the English lessons.

Out of the other three episodes, Ted, who is not good at English and is easily distracted in the English lessons, generates discussions in two of them.

Ted: "May I use..."

Mrs Hong: "Sorry?"

Ted: "May I use 'in the class'?"

Mrs Hong: "'in class', not 'in the class'."

Ted: "If it happens in a particular class, can I use 'in the class'?"

Mrs Hong: "Ok, if you want to emphasize it, you could. 'in this class'." She emphasized 'this'.

Ted: "but..."

Mrs Hong: "You have to emphasize it in THIS class."

Ted: "But If I am not sure it happens in this class..."

Mrs Hong: "It should be concrete."

More students discuss the question. Another student asks: "If there has been a class?"

Mrs Hong: "Yes, you can say that. What he means is a general statement."

7100304¹⁰

When Mrs Hong tells the right answer to the students, Ted interrupts with a question. He tries to figure out in what situation 'the' is needed before the noun. His discourses show that he has been listening to the teacher talking and he has been thinking. Ted's suggestion, 'If it happens in a particular class, can I use "in the class"?', is acceptable. But Mrs Hong insists on using 'in this class' instead of 'in the class'. Her discourses sound like defending the authority of her right answer rather than explaining the language usage in different situations. Ted is not satisfied with Mrs Hong's answer. He keeps asking 'but...' His question is interrupted by Mrs Hong once, but he still manages to ask his question. This time, Mrs Hong does not follow the new situation that Ted suggests. She states 'it should be concrete' in an authoritative tone to stop Ted. In the other two episodes, Mrs Hong also acts as the authoritative voice giving the right answer.

In summary, through pointing out the teacher's mistakes and presenting their opinions in the English lessons the students show their autonomy. Mrs Hong does not defend the obvious mistakes that she makes in the English lessons but she ignores or defends herself when the students' questions

¹⁰ Ted's discourses in this episode are translated by me.

interrupt her teaching or challenge her authority. From this perspective, the students' autonomy is not encouraged by Mrs Hong in the English lessons. Her authority is above the students' autonomy.

5.1.1.2 Values in the students' debate

Although Mrs Hong is the organiser of the debate and she gives order through the chairman of the debate, Iain, to control the process of the debate workshop, the students' voice is overwhelming during the debate. Their discourses in the debate reflect not only the mainstream values that are embedded in the educational system but also the diverse values in society.

- **Economic development, an mainstream values in the society**

In episode 7120313 quoted in section 4.1.1, Mrs Hong asks the students to prepare for the communication workshop in the unit, an English debate. She also encourages them to take the roles voluntarily as the members of the village committee or the representatives of the oil company. The next day, Joanne makes an announcement about the coming debate. Rather than keeping a neutral position, she presents her opinion directly in the announcement by listing the advantages of building the oil factory in the village.

First, it should be great advantage for the economy. ... Second, it will encourage the employment rate. Third, the service will grow. Restaurant, shopping centre, entertainment facilities will be more and more. Four, it will welcome young injecting blood, such competition will rise the industry. Five, it will promote tax income. Six, it will interest the tourism. Since they come, we can make some fishing occasion, and we can introduce our culture habit to the people around the world. I could believe our town can be like a small Hong Kong, if you can make the oil factory more advantages.

7130301

Every point Joanne makes on the advantages of building the oil factory links to the values of economic development. 'Employment rate', 'service', 'industry', 'tax income' and 'tourism', all the concepts she uses are from a macro perspective of the economy. All the advantages she lists aim at benefiting the village, a collective, rather than benefitting the villagers, individuals. The 'young injecting blood' comes from a media cliché, 'the economy is injected with new blood', which is frequently used in the reports about new investment accelerating the speed of economic development. 'A small Hong Kong' is another media cliché. Hong Kong is a metaphor for economic prosperity. In the media reports, the city, town or even village where the economy is developing rapidly and prosperously is always named a 'small Hong Kong'. In her discourses about 'tourism', she builds a link between the economy and culture. This connection also echoes the point of view in the media

and political documents, that economic development is decisive to cultural prosperity and influence. The way that Joanne makes the announcement shows that she is aware of her authority as the head of the village committee. This style of discourse is what I called the 'official tone' in the methodology chapter. Because of the official tone which Joanne uses in her announcement, I can hardly judge if the values behind the discourses are her personal values.

- **The balance between economic development and environmental protection, and the balance between collective benefits and individual benefits**

In the English debate, the manager of the oil company, Mike, makes a presentation to introduce the oil factory project and to persuade the members of the village committee and the villagers to support it. The first point that Mike makes in his presentation is the balance between economic development and environmental protection. He claims 'we are going to find the best place to build our factory, where is convenient to get oil and also protect the environment'. The evidence he uses to support the point include that the oil company has high technology and advanced equipment to make sure their oil refinery is environment-friendly, they will perform 'proper administrative' work, and the buildings of the factory are designed for long-term use, not only for the oil refinery but also for other uses after the oil has run out. Second, he thinks that making best use of the oil resources is of benefit to both the economy and also the individuals' life. He takes York as an example and promises that 'We can provide citizens with no jobs a place where they can work and earn money to maintain families' basic needs'. Third, he suggests that the work opportunities that the oil factory brings can attract young people to settle down and turn the village into an economic prosperous place. He also uses a similar metaphor to Joanne, 'the next New York' to describe the village's future. Finally, he uses a host of comparisons to generate the villagers' imagination of the prosperous future:

So just imagine, today we are still running a bicycle to school, tomorrow we will be sitting in a BMW. Just imagine, today we are just living in a flat. Tomorrow we will live in our own house. Just imagine, today we are very poor. What we care about what we eat today. Tomorrow we care what to give out to other people. Just imagine, the future of the Dolwyn Bay will be with wealth and happiness. However, all this is just a dream, just an illusion, just an inspiration. But dream can come true. Illusion can become reality. Inspiration can become action. So all this can become your future. And your destiny will depend on your decision.

7180303

He connects bicycles, flats, and caring about one's own food only to the poor, and links BMWs, houses, and giving out to others to the rich. Through such connections, he makes bicycles, flats and caring about one's own food the symbols of poverty and BMWs, houses, and giving out to others the

symbols of wealth. Mike's discourses reflect the transformation of social values. From the planned economy to the market economy, the equal distribution system was broken and the gap between the poor and the rich enlarged rapidly in the last 30 years. The consumerist trend symbolizes the rich and makes it more outstanding than any other values. Mike's presentation reflects the value of money in the changing society.

The two elements in Mike's presentation reflect the major values conflicts in society. The debates between the oil company and the villagers and the debates among the villagers also reflect these conflicts.

- **Values diversity and values conflicts in the students' debates**

In the debate, the students who play villagers sit in three groups according to their attitudes to the oil company: supporters, opponents, and neutral. Their position, opinions and arguments show some of their basic values and how they deal with the values conflicts.

The key words in the supporters' discourses in the debate are mainly money, high technology and family. York, the boy whose name is mentioned by Mike in his presentation, claims that he has many children to support and he needs a job and money. Bob, a member of Mike's friendship group, repeats the same story but makes it more concrete.

I tell you all. I have five children. ... It is not just pollution. On the other hand, I want to say. We need nothing, just more money! My wife needs new clothes. My children need improved education. It's unfair. My homeland didn't give our children what they required. If the Oil Company can give us some money, I will even call them God! (He makes it in more exaggerated tone. A few students laugh.) Oh! Give me money! I need money! Money! Money! W.S. Oil Company! Give me money...

7180308

Bob's short speech contains rich meaning. He reveals the values conflict between pollution, the economy and the people's survival. Behind the conflict, there lies the relationship between industrial companies, government and people. Although he uses an exaggerated tone and strange voice to make it sounds unreal, he does tell a true story of Chinese society. The government stresses economic development but the effort to improve people's living is not enough. Economic development calls for more industrial investment, which makes environmental pollution a serious issue in society. Compensation from the investment is the main way to resolve such a problem. For the ordinary people, to get compensation is better than nothing. Bob directly presents the values of 'money worship' as Mike shows in his presentation. However, in Bob's discourses, the meaning of money is linked to family life, while in Mike's discourses the meaning of money is linked not only to the villager's

living but also to the village's economic achievement. Behind the discourses of Bob and York, there is a significant concern for family. Another girl, Olivia also presents the values of family. To be together with the family is the main reason that Olivia supports the oil company. She believes that with more work opportunities brought by the oil company the family can work and live in the same village. Although Joanne questions how the oil company can refine oil without pollution, she finally supports the oil company because she believes in the high technology and values economic development.

More students challenge Bob and the supporters' opinions and show diverse values. The key issue that concerns most of the opponents is the environmental pollution that the oil factory might cause. Nevertheless, they have different perspectives. Qiana plays a female pensioner who moved from a city to the village to enjoy a tranquil life. George plays an old fisherman who cannot live without fish. They reject any change in their lifestyle caused by noise, air pollution and sea pollution by the oil factory. Helen and Henry do not adopt any special roles but are villagers using reasoning and critical thinking. They question Bob's claim that the oil factory is environment-friendly with the high-technology equipment. Henry also challenges Bob's statement of financial guarantee to the poor.

Henry: "Who will control the machine?"

Mike: "Well. It's a technique work. We need people who actually know how to make the machine work to do the job. We will provide"

...

Henry: "what about the salary?"

Mike: "It's depends actually. It depends on what they do and how they do. We can give a financial guarantee that they can maintain their family's basic needs. Of course it's not a stable salary."

Quentin: "If they can do more jobs, they can get more salary."

Henry: "Such as comrade Bu (York) and comrade Ban (Bob), what kind of jobs can they do?"

Mike: "For example York, he can do any jobs we provide."

Henry: "If he just carries something, you wouldn't give him good salary, right?"

Mike: "Of course we are, because he works for us, he earns money for us."

Henry: "If he just carries something, do you give him 10,000 dollars?"

Mike: "Of course not. Carry is still a hard work. Hard work deserves salary. We will give him salary."

7180310

Henry generates the question about the principle of distribution. Henry holds the principle of distribution according to the level of competency which the job requires. Mike agrees with Henry but he has to defend his position on providing financial guarantees to the poor. Mike's colleague Quentin suggests another distribution principle, more pay for more work. But, because Mike and Henry hold the similar distribution principle, their debate always focuses on whether simple labour deserves a

high salary. Henry's discourses also reveal an interesting cultural issue. The content of the English textbooks comes from original British English materials such as books, newspapers, and other sources. All the money in the textbooks is marked with '£'. The village's name, Dolwyn Bay, also suggests that it is a place in the UK. However, all students who mention some money in the debate use 'dollar' rather than 'pound'. But the amount of money he suggests to pay for the simplest labour, '\$10,000', and the title he uses for York and Bob, 'comrade', show that the context of the debate is in China rather than the USA or the UK.

Several girls who play villagers present their opinions through judgements about which values to prioritize. Sue says 'As you mentioned, of course, we can earn more money. But money is not everything. We can buy a house at once maybe. Compare to the money, er, compare to the money and job, we need healthy life. If we don't have healthy life, we can do nothing. Of course we can build a factory, but pollution do harm for our health by air, by water or some other things we do not realize.' There is also a conflict between the benefit for the family and that for the community. After Olivia presents her opinion that the family can stay in the village as the oil factory provides more work opportunities for the villagers, a girl criticizes her as selfish. 'I don't agree with you. You are too selfish. If you want to earn more money, you can go out to find a job. If you resist the factory and get a better life, you can enjoy the town's environment. You can find a job anywhere, but the good environment can be bad, a total disaster for all of us.' For her, a good environment benefits all the villagers but the work opportunities are only good for some of them. Protecting the benefits for the whole community is more important than for some of its members. Most of the villagers care about their own life, but one girl does care about the sea animals. She says 'How's the fish? We live far away from your factory. But the fish in the whole sea, and sea animals of course, how about them?' Unfortunately, the representatives of the oil company do not answer her question. The most extreme situation is imagined by Bill, the class monitor.

Bill: "I am eighty years old now. I have no wife and no child. I used to be a worker. The dream I only have is to enjoy my retired life in the beautiful nature. If you set the Oil Company in the town, the development of the town will cause the increase of the daily use (daily expense). As you see, I am not young now to get a new job. And I am very poor. I don't have money. How can I imagine the increase cost every day?"

Mike: "Well, I am thinking about your questions. Everybody has his difficulties. The Oil Company can't save your life actually...."

...

Quentin: "Few people like you are in this situation. So your situation is excluded."

7180313

Bill thinks about the consequences of building the oil factory more than the others do. There are broader links in his discourses, not only the link between building the oil factory and the economic development which other students mention, but also that between the economic development and the rise of prices, and in turn, the increase of the daily expenses. As an old man who lives alone, his standard of living might decline because of the building of the oil factory. Such an eventuality has not been prepared for by the representatives of the oil company. Mike has to agree that the oil company cannot bring benefits to everyone. Quentin announces he will exclude Bill's case because his situation is very rare. What underpins his exclusion is the principle of utilitarianism in Chinese society.

By observing the debate and analyzing the discourses of the students, I find some interesting things which deserve further exploration. First, awareness of the environment, which is one of the purposes of the curriculum reform stressed in the Programme on the Reform of the Basic Education Curriculum (Experimental) released by the Ministry of Education in 2001, does become common sense from the presentation of the students. However, it is put in different positions in the students' personal values system. Some students prioritize the values of the environment over those of money and a job. But even if the students hold the same position they might have different starting points. Some of them connect the environment with the benefit of the community, while others with their own lifestyle. Those who prioritise economic development do not ignore the environment completely. The representatives of the oil company explain again and again that they have considered the environmental issue and promise to reduce the pollution to the lowest level with their high technology and administration. Actually, they and their supporters seek a balance between the environment and economic development. They believe the high technology can result in a win-win situation. The result of the votes shows that the majority of the villagers agree to build the oil factory. Economic development is prioritized by most of the students as it is by the Chinese government. Second, only one student mentions the animals' right to survive in the debate even though they have just had an interesting lesson about sea animals and also made a bulletin about sea animals. It seems that they enjoy the beauty of the sea animals but do not value their right to survive. This might reflect the decline of the influence of Buddhism and Taoism in society. Animals' rights are respected according to Buddhist values. The harmony between nature and human beings is valued in Taoism. Neither Buddhism nor Taoism puts human beings at the centre of the world ignoring nature and animals. Third, nobody mentions the government in their debate. Limited by their life experience, the students might use something they are familiar with as the evidence to support their opinions. It sounds like the village is regarded as somewhere in China by the students. However, it is unusual for the villagers in China that nobody mentions the government. Does this mean the students have no idea that what the role government plays in the reality or the students think they have the autonomy to deal with it? It is not clear. Fourth, friends have similar view points in the debate. Mike's friend, Harold, and partners in the school debate competition, Quentin and Ursula, are chosen as his colleagues in the oil company. His other friends, Bob and York act as unemployed fathers of two big families who support the oil company. Good friends, Qiana and Helen, both question whether the oil company can refine oil without pollution. When Qiana is too excited to remember her question, she looks to Helen for help.

Helen stands up to ask questions. Fifth, the students' discourses also show their reasoning at different levels. For example, both George and Bill play retired old men, but George only thinks that his traditional lifestyle might change because of the pollution while Bill thinks about the link between economic development and the increasing living expenses and the possibility of the standard of living declining. Sixth, the students' role play in the debate shows that their imaginations of the roles' social relationship or world view are diverse. Some only think of the benefits of the roles they play, some think of their family, some think of the community, some think of the village's possible influence worldwide in the future, and only one thinks of the sea animals.

5.1.2 Values in the students' discourses in the English lessons of other classes

There is no English debate workshop in any of the other three classes which I observed. However, there still are students who like to ask questions or to present opinions as Ted does in the English lessons in Class A, for example, Sam in Class B (the other dragon class in year 10 in the key state school). Sam's English score is very low in Class B. He is considered to be a badly behaved student by his English teacher Mrs Lu.

In the English lesson on 17th March, Mrs Lu is explaining the meaning of an uncompleted paragraph which needs the students to fill in the proper words in the blank. Sam asks why.

Mrs Lu: "So what's your version? Maybe your version is OK. You just read your version. Sam."

Sam: "Why is it luckily? Why isn't it unluckily?"

Mrs Lu: "Because the fish is so huge....."

Sam interrupts her in Chinese: "But the fisherman found it was a dead fish."

Some students laugh.

Mrs Lu: "Ah! Unluckily, Hum... You are reasonable. So from different aspects...maybe from one aspect this one means this kind of creature, if it is alive, it maybe attacks human being, all right? But from this one, Sam's aspect, the fisherman cannot make money. Sam, OK? So it is unluckily."

3170303¹¹

The reasoning of the right answer is that the huge unknown creature caught by the fisher men was dead so that it was no harm to the human beings, while that of Sam is that if the creature was alive it could be more valuable than a dead body. The students in Class B are quieter in the English lessons than their counterparts in Class A. However, Sam is an active member. He shows both critical

¹¹ Sam's discourses in this episode are translated by me.

thinking and the courage to challenge the teacher's authority here. He and Ted have quite a few similarities. Both are not good at English but both ask questions actively in the English lessons. Both are considered as sort of badly behaved boys by their English teachers but both present their opinions bravely in the English lessons and show special reasoning through their discourses. They also show some similarity in their answers to the Rokeach Value Survey Questionnaire. The most important terminal values for Sam are wisdom, freedom and mature love, while those for Ted are salvation¹², wisdom and freedom. The most important instrumental values for Sam are 'Courageous', 'Intellectual' and 'Imaginative', while those for Ted are 'Intellectual', 'Broadminded' and 'Cheerful'. 'Obedient' is the least important value for both of them. However, although they are permitted to let their voice be heard in the English lessons, their teachers do not like their voice to challenge their authority. As analyzed in the section 5.1.1.1, Mrs Hong ignores Ted's suggestion of a new situation to control the conversation in episode 7100304. In the quotation above, Mrs Lu uses a similar strategy to control the conversation. She makes a summary to end the conversation and turns to another student immediately. The way Sam connects 'unfortunately' with 'a dead fish' can be interpreted in different way. He might suggest that the 'dead fish' may be less valuable than the living fish, but even 'valuable' can be connected with science research, entertainment rather than money making as Mrs Lu interprets. Unfortunately, Sam is not given the chance to express his meaning further. Maybe Sam and Ted can still be counted as fortunate, because no student presents his/her voice in the English lessons that I observed in Class C in the ordinary school. There is a boy in Class D in the private school who always presents his opinion actively but is ignored often by his English teacher, Mrs Lan, who explains that 'that boy is a big mouth, speaking rubbish without thinking'.

In summary, because of the teachers' authority in the English lessons, the students seldom have the chance to present their opinions. The students who bravely challenge the teachers' right answer in the English lessons are considered badly behaved students by the English teachers. However, when the students are encouraged to present their opinions in the debate workshop, most students do so. This suggests that the structure of the English lessons might be a factor which influences the students' action of presenting their opinions.

5.2 Values in the students' discourses out of the English lessons

5.2.1 Values in the students' discourses out of English lessons of Class A

In this session, students' values will be examined through their discourses in the interviews and the Rokeach's Value Survey Questionnaire. Some background information about the participants in the interviews in Class A is listed in the following tables in the sequence in which they are interviewed.

¹² The term, 'salvation', in the Rokeach Value survey Questionnaire means 'saved, external life'. It was translated into 'detachment to secular' in the Chinese version.

Table 6: The participants ' background information and results in Rockeach's Value survey

Participants	accomm odation	Parents' occupations	Rockeach's Value Survey Result	
			Top 3 Terminal values	Top3 Instrumental values
Mollie	Living at home	University lecturers	Family security; Salvation; National security	Loving; Cheerful; Intellectual
Joanne	Living at home	Owner of a chemical company	(didn't hand in or didn't write down her name in the questionnaire)	
Xavier	Boarding	Government officers	Mature love; A comfortable life; Happiness	Imaginative; Cheerful; Intellectual
Helen	Boarding	Government officers	Inner Harmony; True friendship; Wisdom	Obedient; Responsible; Independent
Zed	Living at home	University lecturer; government officer	National security; A world at peace; Family security	Cheerful; Broadminded; Honest
Quentin	Living at home	University lecturer; doctor	Self-respect; True friendship; National security;	Broadminded; Responsible; Loving
Rose	Living at home		A sense of accomplishment; True friendship; Freedom	Imaginative; Intellectual; Independent
Harold	Living at home	Army officer (Father)	Pleasure; Freedom; Self-respect	Cheerful; Capable; Honest
Yazmin	Living at home		Freedom; Wisdom; A sense of accomplishment	Independent; Self-controlled; Honest
Sue	Living at home	University lecturers	Happiness; A comfortable life; Family security	Honest; Loving; Forgiving
Bill	Living at home	University lecturers	Salvation; Happiness; Inner Harmony	Independent; Ambitious; Self-controlled

Mollie

Mollie is the only girl in the class who comes from a different junior high school. She is proud of her achievement in successfully passing the competitive Entrance Examination to the Senior High Schools and becoming a member of the dragon class in a top senior high school in China. She describes herself as a kind, honest, and rational young lady who is capable in most aspects but does not gain the favour of others. She admires the people who are responsible, capable, enthusiastic about learning, and caring about the benefit of the nation and the society. She has three good friends in the class who play different roles in her life. Two are listeners to her and the other needs her as a listener. One is funny while another one is spiritual. She is eager to get involved in the class activities, but is disappointed by the selection procedure of the participants in the recent debate competition. She says,

My speed of speech is very fast and I really like to debate. It is said that most of our classmates want me to be selected. But, you know, it is the class monitor who is in charge of the selection. Those who have close relationships with the monitor can get the opportunities. Actually, the monitor had made the decision, but s/he¹³ said whoever was good at debating could take part in the second round... I found that it was not like that... They just use it (the mock debate) to pretend to be fair.

Mollie06

It seems that equality is very important to Mollie, because she also notice this issue in the relationship with her teacher, Mrs Hong. She thinks Mrs Hong is in favour of the students whose academic performance is outstanding. Therefore, her capability is misjudged by Mrs Hong because her academic performance is just so-so in the class. She gives an example, 'I was voted by the classmates to be a class prefect. She didn't agree until I was voted. She probably thought I was not capable in all aspects.'

Mollie shows deep love for her family in the interview. She cannot stop crying when she talks of her concern about death and her grandparents' age. She has good communications with her parents who share their experience of dealing with relationship problems with her and give her advice on communicating with others. Mollie's struggle in relationships seems linked to her conflicting values on honest and equality. She says that she was encouraged by the school to be honest but found that it was harmful to the relationships with classmates in reality. She learns to 'use human beings' words to

¹³ Because the pronunciation of 'he' and that of 'she' in Chinese are the same, I have no idea which monitor she indicates as there is a female monitor, Sue, and a male monitor, Bill.

speak to the human being and use the ghost's words to speak to the ghost'. 'Ghost's words' means lie while 'ghost' means dishonest people in Chinese.

Joanne

Joanne describes herself as 'a sunny girl', being happy, kind and considerate. She has many friends in the class. Some of them have similar interests to her and some of them have something special which she would like to learn. She admires people who are outstanding in some aspects. Joanne takes the Chinese teacher as her role model because 'she loves life very much'.

Researcher: How does she love life? Could you give me more details?

Joanne: She is always happy no matter in what kind of difficult situation. She knows how to look after herself. She enjoys her life. I want to live like her.

Researcher: Could you give an example, what kind of thing impresses you?

Joanne: There is one which impressed me deeply. She left home on the Chinese New Year's Day. She went out, by herself, to see the peony flower in Luoyang, something like that. She enjoys her life very much. She always says that I love the life so I will assign some homework.

Researcher: (laugh) Do you like her assignments?

Joanne: She is a skilful teacher.

Joanne18

In this episode, Joanne explains why she admires her Chinese teacher. She stresses the teacher's character, 'happy', which she identifies as her own character. She repeats 'she enjoys her life' twice and links it to 'look after herself' and 'went out by herself' respectively. It suggests that the reason why Joanne regards the Chinese teacher as her role model is that she can enjoy life by herself, in other words, independently. Joanne owes her good performance in English and chemistry to her parents. However, she claims that she is closer to her mother because she does not like her father's preaching, 'The more I learn the more I don't like it. My Dad always intends to teach me if he knows a bit of something. Then I always argue with him, because I don't want to lose'. Joanne's relationship with her father shows her desire for independence and achievement. Her relationship with the class also shows the way she values achievement. She makes a comparison between her experience in the class in the junior high school and that in Class A. In the previous class (an ordinary class in the same school), the classmates 'didn't integrate at all', 'just played, had fun, and did something silly', and 'knew nothing', while Joanne 'studied alone, powerless' and 'hardly made better progress'. In the present class, Joanne 'found there were so many excellent students' and 'studied with them'. As a result, she 'made progress with my classmates'. In her discourses of comparison, she repeats 'progress' three times and connects it with 'happy', another value that she stresses. As I analyze in

section 4.2.2.2, progress is what Mrs Hong encourages students to achieve, behind which is the value, achievement. Joanne shares the same value, achievement, with Mrs Hong.

Joanne's values conflict comes from culture and society. Because she is from a rich family, she has hired several foreigners as her private English teachers including an American, an English man, a Dutch man, and a Canadian. She describes the English young man, who is from London, as 'very friendly, happy all the time, very pure', but the American, who is from Alabama, as 'too critical'.

Joanne's cultural conflict is generated by the American lady:

She thinks she is a white, so she looks down upon the Chinese. As a Southerner, she always looked down upon others. She also said that the American reacted negatively to Chinese. They were yellow-phobic: there were so many Chinese, markets of some small industries which were almost completely taken by Chinese products, for example, a lot of products were made in China. Also I read some reports about the US in the newspaper. They always criticize Chinese government as not good, out of order. They said... how to say, even their government used 'out of order' to belittle China. Also, Japanese made a so called poison dumping event. It intended to belittle China, rejecting the trading from China. The US rejected China like this. They were afraid of China. I was not happy with that.

Joanne12

Although Joanne dislikes the criticism from a foreigner or a foreign government, she makes quite a few negative comments on some important aspects of Chinese society. For her, the educational system in the USA is better than that in China, because 'Chinese education is examination oriented. That in the US stresses the characteristics of individuals'. She is not happy with the 'terrible' traffic in Beijing, the poor facilities and confused order in the hospital, and the disorder of the share market caused by the Chinese government. She presumes that the USA and the UK are much better than China in those aspects. However, when I point out that there is a conflict between her criticisms of China and her anger at the American teacher's criticism, she says 'China is not perfect. It needs to improve. That's true. But if the criticism comes from an American, you would not like to accept it. Actually, she debases China. I don't like to hear it'. Behind her discourses, there is an important cultural model in Chinese society, the value of face. The value of face links to the difference between insiders and outsiders. The insiders do not hide the shortcomings from each other and can criticize it themselves, but they cover the shortcomings from outsiders and are defensive of outsiders' criticism.

Joanne's plan for the future is much clearer than her classmates, even though she has not made the final decision about what to major in. She plans to pass the TOEFL exam and apply to study in a

university in the USA. After that, she will come back to China to improve the society and to make money for herself.

Xavier

Xavier is a boarder in the school. He only goes home at the weekend. His lifestyle is simple and lonely. According to his description, his weekends are always taken up by TV, play station and homework. Although he has a good relationship with his classmates, being called 'happy brother' by boys, he has no communication with them out of the school. He does not have real communication with his parents either. For him, his parents have two faces, praising him in front of guests while criticising him when guests leave. His parents seldom supervise him. He presumes that his parents have no expectation of him because they know he is not good. But he used to be good. He passed the entrance examination to study in the Olympic Mathematics Class in the best primary school in Beijing and also studied in the best junior high school.

Researcher: How do you come here?

Xavier: I used to study in the High School I. I messed up the Entrance Examination. So I am here. Actually my total score qualified me for the High School II, but I messed up the maths examination. If two students' total score are the same, the one whose maths' score is higher gets priority to enter the school. Because I messed up the maths examination, I came here.

Researcher: It sounds like the High School I is better than the High School II, and the High School II is better than here.

Xavier: Yes, Yes.

Xav02

Xavier repeats his story twice and stresses 'messed up' several times when he explains the reason why he came to that school. He also tells the whole story in a comparative fashion. His comments on the current school is 'rubbish' because it is not the best one in the hierarchical structure of the schools, but his comments on the current class is 'pretty good' because 'It is the best class here' and 'The studying environment is much better than that in the classes ranked in the middle in the other two high schools'. Xavier has no plans for the future at all. He uses an old saying to explain why he has no plan so far, 'It is said that the industry has its direction and the man has his expertise. I am not good at any subject. My performance in no subject is outstanding'. It seems that Xavier would like to do something in which he can be outstanding. The hierarchical structure and his pursuit of the outstanding in his discourses show that he values achievement which is linked to the hierarchical structure of society.

Xavier has poor understanding of the social phenomena which have no direct connection to his life. The social practice organized by the Branch of Communist Youth League in the class, selling roses on Valentine's Day, was expected to earn some money but ended with all the participants losing money because a gang used fake money to buy their roses. This event changes Xavier's view of the people in society: 'from then on I realized those people are of a poor character'. He watches a lot of TV at the weekend, but he has no interest in the world outside China.

I think Chinese like to gather together and to put their nose in others' business. For example, somewhere else in the world has some problem, which is not our business, but the media always reports it. A country fights with another country. Their fighting is not our business. How can we care about it?

Xav08

He does not think about taking part in the exchange student project either, because he does not like anybody to live in his room.

Helen

Helen is the public relations prefect in the class. For her, 'prefect means working'. In no more than 2 months, she has already been in charge of designing and producing one blackboard, three posters and one bulletin board. Helen's parents work abroad. She is a boarder at the school. Although she does not spend time on the way home every day, time is still limited. She describes their lifestyle as follows:

We are always busy. There are always endless things to do. For example, because of the curriculum reform, it is difficult to get credits. There are a lot of activities. The first half of the last term was OK. In the last half of the term, there were lots of activities, Choir Festival, 129 Short Drama, etc. I was wondering when it could finish at that time. Now I realize that it will never finish.

Hel12

Helen's discourses reveal what impact educational reform has made on the senior high school students' life. The new curriculum requires the students to get credits by choosing their own subjects except for those in the Entrance Examination to the Universities. The quality education requires the students to take part in activities outside the academic curricula. Thus, the students are almost fully occupied by the educational system. Helen copes with the educational system very well. She

performs outstandingly in both academic work and extra-curricular activities. She gained an award as the best actress in the English Film Dubbing Competition in the school. She has a clear target for the future, to study in the Tingshua University, the best university for science in China. However, she is confused as to the purpose of getting education. She asks 'what I should do after I go to university? Even if I pursued the doctoral degree, one day it would still finish. I think and think, but still have no idea what I should do'. She consulted her parents and her class teacher in the junior high school, but she was advised to make a decision according to her own will. She has a role model who is a cartoonist, failing in the entrance examination to the senior high school but still managing to go to university and finally publishing a book. Helen gets her 'self identity' from the role model, an ordinary person. She follows what the role model said, 'there is nothing impossible', and works hard, and as a result, she has become a member of the dragon class. She regards herself as a careless and agreeable girl, which she is not happy with. Therefore, she likes to have friends who are careful, determined and decisive. Helen is thoughtful regarding her future and also towards society. After she visited the prisoners' children who live in the Sun Village collectively, Helen realized 'the dark side behind the positive propaganda of the Chinese government'. She started to think if there is another side darker than this. Her father told her about the corruption of some government officers who embezzled the donation for the victims of the Snow Disaster in early 2008. Helen feels powerless to help the poor children.

I hardly do anything for them. For example, book donation, how many people can be benefitted from my donation? Or I donated money to them, or I became a volunteering teacher to teach them, I might change a child, but hardly change the situation of the children alike. It's a problem of China.

Hel08

Helen was thinking what she can do for the society and the responsibilities. She realizes that she can only fulfil a limited responsibility to society.

Helen's father works in the Arab countries most of the time. She has been to some of these countries with her parents. Her perception of the Arab as stubborn and fearless is mainly from her parents. Helen's comment on such character is 'lovely'. She has positive opinions of the faithful Arabs who keep their tradition, but she disagrees with the custom that women must cover their faces with a black veil. For her, 'such a custom is lagging behind today's world', and hinders the economic development in those countries. Her comments show the influence of consumerist values and the pursuit of the most modern for development.

Zed, Harold and WS team

When I interview Zed, I do not know that he is one of the WS team. The so called WS team includes Harold, Mike, Zed, Bob and another boy in another class. They spend most of their limited spare time in the school together, having lunch and playing football together. According to the brief self introduction in the bulletin in the class room, Harold is the leader of the WS team. Harold suggests that I have lunch with him and then interview him. So I meet all the boys in the WS team during and after lunch.

Zed's interview is conducted in the teacher's office. He sounds cautious during the interview. He passively answers whatever I ask but seldom actively talks of something. However, when I talk with Harold after lunch several days later, Zed talks very actively. He seems have two sides. In the classroom, he is quiet. He keeps silence during the English debate workshop although all the other three members of the WS team get involved in the debate actively. In the private situation with friends, he is talkative and presents his opinion loudly. Probably, I am considered an authority figure like his teacher by Zed when I interview him in the teacher's office but a friendly adult when I have lunch with them and interview them informally.

Zed describes himself as extrovert, considerate and warm-hearted. He has no clear idea for the future, but he is interested in applied science and wants to study in the Tsinghua University although his father expects him to be a lawyer. The topics of his communications with friends are mainly football, games and homework, while those with his parents are mainly about the life in the school. Zed's discourses show that his perception of China and foreign countries is limited and he is less knowledgeable in this aspect than most other participants.

Harold's perception of China and foreign countries is quite similar to Zed's. He thinks 'China is pretty good... At least I am familiar with it. It's more convenient to make friends. I adapt to such an environment'. About the foreign countries, Harold claims that 'I don't know much about them. But somebody else tells me that the foreign countries are very good, even better than China in many aspects. I think probably they are similar to China'. 'Somebody else' means Harold's parents and their colleagues' children who have been to foreign countries. In this aspect, Harold holds his own opinion rather than following the general opinions of others around him. About his plans for the future, Harold's reply seems utilitarian oriented. He says 'It's no use to think about it so early. It might be hardly realized if I thought about it so early ... It depends on how my study goes. If my studying is good, I will go to a better university'. Harold values money and the good life. He presents those values in one of his English compositions in which he describes his ideal house and life in the future. In the conflict between economic development and environmental protection, he backs the economic development without hesitation. Although he claims that he takes the role as a representative of the oil company in the debate because Brother Mike needs help, he has his standpoint in the debate.

Researcher: How do you plan to persuade the villagers to agree with your factory project?

Harold: For example, let's take Daqing as an example. Daqing used to be an unknown city (in fact, it used to be just a bare field). After the oil was discovered and developed, the economy boomed, the people became well-off, and their quality of life was improved. It definitely brings benefit.

Researcher: What if the natural environment was polluted? Did you think about this?

Harold: If the environment was polluted, we would have to accept it. Anyway it will be polluted at the end. Human beings conquer nature for a long time. Nature is destroyed sooner or later. It makes no difference to destroy it earlier or later.

Har04

The pollution is regarded as the result of human beings' conquering nature, which is taken for granted by Harold.

The other two members in the WS team, Bob and Zed, also claim that they will support Brother Mike in the debate. Zed stresses repeatedly 'We must protect our little brother's benefit'. Harold adds 'Little brother has a problem. Big brother must try his best to help'. Bob believes that the WS team will definitely win the debate by sticking together. Their discourses show the cultural model of brotherhood in a Chinese gang. The gang of 108 men in Chinese literature, the Water Margin, is a typical Chinese gang with this kind of values, a significant hierarchy in the gang, the integrity of the brothers, and the responsibilities: the big brother must protect the young brother and the young brother must respect the big brother. In WS team, Harold is the big brother while Mike is the little brother. However, there is disagreement about how the hierarchy is formed. Harold explains that he is the most handsome one, while Bob explains that the hierarchy is the opposite to the age order. The Boys also talk about the potential for extension. York is hopeful to be one of them.

On the way to the classroom, we meet Mike by accident. I get the chance to talk with Mike. He tells me that it is Mrs Hong who has asked him to be the leader of the oil company. This information helps me to understand how Mrs Hong's authority works in the debate workshop. She assigns the students' role in the debate according to their position in the hierarchy of academic performance in English.

Comparing the boys' results in the Rokeach' Value Survey. I find that the boys put some of the values in similar positions in terms of the importance of the values to them. What are marked red and aqua in

the following diagrams show the similarities of the positions. It seems that the boys are closer to each other in the instrumental values than they are in the terminal values. According to the result, those marked red, 'Pleasure', 'Freedom', 'Family security', and 'Inner harmony' are important terminal values to the boys in WS team, while 'Cheerful', 'Honest' and 'Responsible' are important instrumental values. 'Equity', 'A sense of accomplishment', 'Obedient', 'Polite', 'Courageous', 'Logical' and 'Self-controlled' are considered not so important (marked aqua).

Diagram 6: Terminal values of members in WS team in Rockeach's Value survey

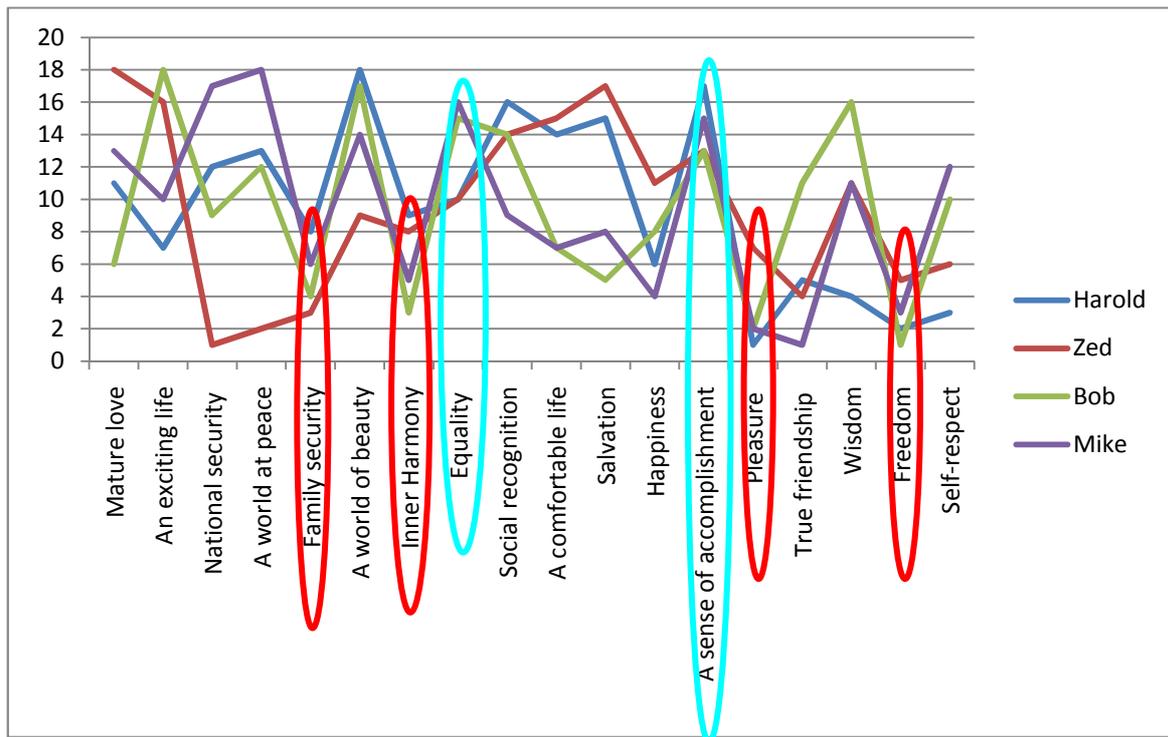
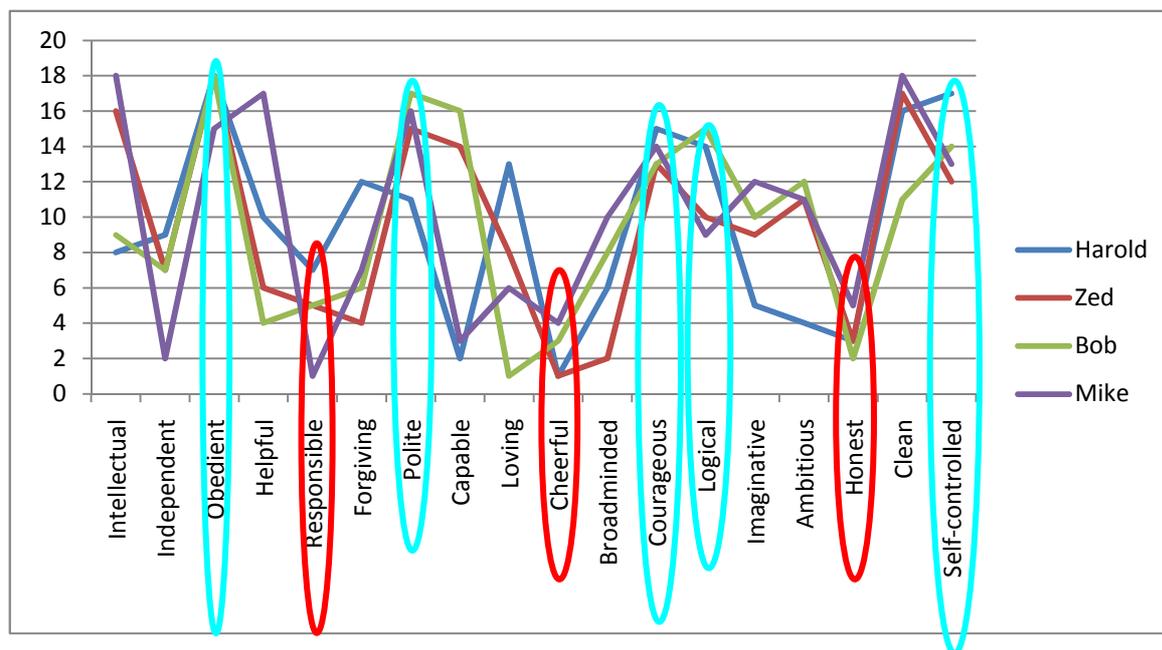


Diagram 7: Instrumental values of members in WS team in Rocikeach's Value survey



Quentin

During the interview, Quentin spends 90% of the time talking about others, parents, classmates' achievements, a football star he admired, and his perception of foreigners and foreign countries. When I ask about him, he tells me what he achieved in the sports, extra-curricular activities and academic work, among which his extraordinary progress impressed him best. At the end of year 8, his total score in all subjects ranked 133 in the grade in the junior high school. He was told off by his teacher and his mother. He says 'Because it was close to graduation at that time, my feelings were complicated. I felt I grew up suddenly, and I made great progress in my study'. He became No. 1 at the end of the next term. This change earned attention and reputation for him.

A lot of excellent students, including those in the Dragon Classes noticed me. They knew me for my performance on football field before. They didn't know I was able to achieve in other areas. From then on, I got high prestige in the grade. If others don't know you well, they will judge you according to your performance in studying, because others hardly know your character better than your study. I got more and more friends, and a high reputation among the students. I counted the students in the group photo of the graduation ceremony, I knew 367 students out of a total of 567.

Quen10

Like Joanne, Quentin did a brilliant performance in the entrance examination and became a member of the dragon class. He is surprised by his classmates' excellent performance in studying, in extra-

curricular activities and in various hobbies. He is proud of the class. He stresses 'Our class, I'd like to say our class instead of Dragon Class, can be counted as "One plus one more than two". If the power of each of us equals one, the power which is added up the 44 students in my class is inestimable'. Then he lists all the awards Class A got in all kinds of competitions and extra-curricular activities. His discourses show his strong spirit of collectivity and honour. He has two role models. The one is his father and the other is the No. 1 football star at that time, Kaka. Quentin gets his self identity from both of them because his father and Kaka were good at academic work and football when they were Quentin's age. His father even took a similar duty in the Branch of the Communist Youth League in his university as Quentin does in his class. Both role models are admired by Quentin because of their outstanding achievement. Kaka is the highest paid football player in the world, with a 'determined', 'tough' and 'amusing character'. 'He is outstanding for his personal life too... without scandal at all', and he is loyal to his religion and to his football club. Kaka is perfect professionally and morally from Quentin's perspective. So is Quentin's father. He is successful in his academic career. He is the vice director of a new energy research institute. He works on high technology research projects at the top level in China. He is the only representative from China to take part in an annual conference of an international organization. What makes Quentin admire his father most is that although his father is very busy he can still help Quentin to resolve difficult problems in his homework. Quentin is expected to exceed his father by his parents. Quentin thinks it is possible but he needs to conquer his shortcoming, 'enjoying play too much', and work hard at his study.

Quentin knows foreigners and foreign countries through his foreign neighbours, football games and films. He finds that the football teams in different countries have different characteristics. He also finds that the educational methods in the west are different from those in China. 'The Chinese always tell you what you should do directly, while the Americans will influence you in the daily life... They will encourage you to think about it, and understand it'. He takes education in patriotism in the two countries as an example.

In Chinese films, patriotism is always expressed in a straight-forward way. But in American films, even in those which have no direct connection with patriotism, such as Spider Man, in the last, the final scene is that when the Spider Man flies up to the sky, An American national flag is waving in a high place. There will be a certain degree influence on the children. The subtle influence will root deeply into children's heart gradually.

Quen03

Quentin plans to visit Europe with his parents in the summer of 2008 and to visit the USA as an exchange student in the winter of 2008. He is going to know more about Western culture.

Rose

It is not easy for me to interview Rose. As one of the debaters who represent the Class A in the on going debate competition, she is defensive about every question I ask.

Researcher: As a member of the class, how do you think of your class?

Rose: How do I think of it? How can I just say I think of it? When I am in such an environment, I am blended in it. I think I hardly tell how I think of it with an outsider's perspective. It's blended in my blood.

Researcher: Do you mean the class is blended in your blood? What is it?

Rose: At first I was not contented by it. Initially, Class A, during the military training, such as the choir competition of the military songs, the march, its scores were not satisfactory. I thought of my class in the junior high school. That was a perfect class. I could not help comparing the two classes. The comparison made me dissatisfied with the class A. But what I thought about most was how to make it to the class which I wanted. I suppose everybody think so.

Rose06

Rose has strong emotion towards Class A. Her claim, 'how to make it to the class which I wanted', shows that she not only attaches herself to the class closely but also has a strong will to change it. However, as an individual, she feels powerless. She mentions her powerlessness twice. When she explains why she supports the oil company, she says 'The villagers are powerless while the oil company is powerful. The oil company can change a lot of things including the improvement of the environment, but the villagers are not capable of doing so'. She also felt powerless in the face of cultural conflict. Rose's powerless feeling can explain her strong attachment to the collectivity. For her, the individual is powerless and the collectivity is powerful. She needs to get power from the collectivity by being attached to it. Rose talks about her disappointment in Class A when she entered the senior high school. The disappointment came from Class A's poor performance in the military training and also the comparison between the Class A and Rose's class in the junior high school which was also a dragon class and out-performed the other dragon class in most aspects. These connections show that power in Rose's perspective is linked to achievement. According to the reasons that Rose lists to support the oil company, power is also linked to capability to change the things, no matter whether to foster economic development, or to improve the environment. Her sense of the power struggle between the collectivity and the individuals reveals a cultural model in present-day China. The social structure, policies, education and media constantly tell the same story that if individuals are integrated and work hard, the socialist collectivity is powerful and undefeatable. The individuals are encouraged to trust the collectivity, to depend on the collectivity and work hard for it. Rose is probably influenced deeply by such collective values. However, there is a conflict between her strong will to change her

class and her compliant attitude towards the cultural conflict. It might link to several factors. First, there is a difference between insider and outsider. As an insider of a collectivity, she knows how to work for it. As an outsider in relation to Western culture, she has no idea how to deal with it. Second, she is not confident enough to deal with cultural conflict. She repeats several times that her English is not good and she knows little about foreign countries. Third, Rose has a values conflict. Rose has no interest in Western culture. She explains that because her English is not good, she is 'ignorant' of foreign countries, and because of her ignorance, she intends to be 'against it'. Therefore, Rose's compliance in the discussion of whether the Starbucks Café should be moved out of the Palace Museum probably shows the way that she deals with the values conflict. She regards it as a conflict between 'the traditional and the imported' rather than the conflict between Western culture and Chinese culture. She explains 'it is not necessary to take it too seriously. You can consider it as a modern element that impacts on the traditional classic element'. As China opens the door to the world and lets aspects of foreign culture in, Rose's collective spirit might help her to change her attitude to foreign culture.

Yazmin

Yazmin is cooperative in the interview and answers every question. But her answers are very short and direct. Like most of the participants, she has no clear plan for the future. Her mother wants her to study architecture or science but she has different ideas. She likes the arts and is learning to edit pictures with Photoshop software by herself. She has quite a few friends in the class. Like most other participants, Yazmin normally talks about daily school life with friends. With her parents, they sometimes talk about some world events which they watch on TV. Yazmin likes the integrity of Class A. She takes part in some of the extra-curricular activities such as the debate and the editing of the Youth League Journal. As for the inequality of opportunities in the Extra-curricular activities which Mollie mentions in her interview, Yazmin has her opinion, which will be discussed more in the next chapter.

Sue

Although Sue has not decided what to major in at the university in the future, she has a plan, doing her first degree in science and technology in a university in China and a postgraduate degree abroad. She describes herself as having no ambition and no potential to achieve something extraordinary. Her long term plan is an academic career in a university as her parents have. She seeks help positively from her parents and friends if she is bothered about something. But she always keeps part of it to herself. She intends to talk through her problems with a friend who is not in her class. A student in a higher grade suggested she find a friend who has some distance to her and with whom she can talk over everything. However, she is still looking for such a kind of friend. I ask her if the opinions from parents and friends were in conflict with each other which she would follow. Her reply is 'I will follow myself'.

Sue reads news through the internet. She has her own opinion about the criticisms of China. She says 'Their criticisms are reasonable, but I think that there are reasons for China to act like this... For example, the generation born in the 1980s are criticized as ego-centric, apathetic, and lacking in a spirit of integrity, and because their values are breaking down. But I think there are reasons behind this. Because they are the only child in their family, facing a fast-developing and diverse world, they become like that. But they have their merits. They are more open-minded, more active and more adaptable to the diverse world (than the older generations)'. As a member of the generation born in the 1990s, Sue thinks that they share similar characteristics. However, the pace of fast development is not something Sue feels happy with. She explains the reason why she chose to visit France as an exchange student rather than the USA. France 'is not in a mess like the USA is. I think that the USA is in a mess like China is'. I asks her what 'in a mess' means, she says that it means 'the economic development is too fast'.

Sue's opinion shows that she is different from most other students in the class. She is not keen on the economic development because she connects the social problems to the fast pace of economic development. She has an independent judgement rather than following the mainstream values. Sue is one of the two monitors in the class. I ask her about the procedure of selecting participants to take part in the extra-curricular activities in the school. Her perception of equality will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Bill

Bill is the male class monitor. Like Sue, Bill studied in a dragon class in the junior high school and was a class prefect before. He was assigned by Mrs Hong as a class prefect at the beginning of his senior high school life, and was elected by his classmates soon after. For him, the duty of a class monitor is to help the class keep its integrity, to communicate with the classmates and the teachers, and to 'guide the class properly'. His comments to his classmates are 'versatile, with high competence, and active' and to Class A are 'Emulative¹⁴ most of time, with a strong desire to make progress'. For Bill, achievement is the common value of the students in Class A. Because of this, the atmosphere in Class A is competitive. According to Bill, the pressure sometimes can be 'huge', especially when an examination is coming up or some activities such as debates happen. 'For some activities, not all of the students can take part, and when somebody performs outstandingly, more or less you will feel yourself a bit inferior to them'.

Bill had a clear career idea when he was a junior high school student, but it changed because he was not interested in it any more. For him, there is 'only the sort of very abstract, very big, and very empty idea' in his mind.

¹⁴ Always want to win.

The first one is to make China the No. 1 economic power in the world in a short period of time, maybe in 50 years, of course not only an economic power but also others, basically a big nation based on a powerful country. The second, China's environmental problem is very serious. Basically, China's development is based on severe pollution of the environment. The clearing up of the environment should bring China back to picturesque scenery. ...The third, because China has a period of shameful history, a lot of valuable national treasures were taken out of China. Shall we use a peaceful or a slightly threatening method to bring those national treasures back in the future?

Bill14

Bill does not find a clear link between his concrete plan for his career and his big ideas. But he has decided not to do his first degree abroad. The reasons are, first, 'it's hard to adapt to a foreign country' for a student who cannot look after himself and whose life view and world view are not relatively complete; second, the Chinese government pays a lot for the students' education. He does not finish his second point. But he explains that this point is from the geography teacher. In a population immigration lesson, the students were told that education is the long term investment of the government but a lot of students studying abroad never return back to China which is not good for China. He explains that his first point is from a documentary TV programme which reports the misfortunes of the junior students studying abroad. Behind his big ideas and his acceptance of the points of view from the media and the geography teacher is the value of patriotism. His three ideas are all about a powerful China and he wants to work for it. His decision whether to study abroad or not depends on his concern for what is 'good for China'. He leaves his decision open until he has a mature life view and world view. He shows he is aware of cultural difference and values diversity in his discourses.

During the interview, Bill constantly mentions his Dad. Bill's Dad is a researcher in the same university as Quentin's Dad. However, the father-son relationship between Bill and his Dad is different. Bill's Dad is not a role model but a friend and mentor for Bill. Bill seldom watches TV, but Bill's Dad talks about the news on the CCTV (Chinese Central Television Station) with Bill every day. Bill discusses his big ideas with his Dad. His Dad tells him that every young man should have such kind of idea and if anyone can realize one of these ideas he can be counted as a great man. Bill's Dad suggests Bill should focus on his competence development apart from preparing the examination. He gives some advice on developing memory and physical competence to Bill, but Bill is still thinking about it because he does not fully understand the meaning of competence. Bill relies on both teachers and his parents to help him in different aspects, but if their opinions conflict. Bill relies on himself.

Bill's perception of China and Western countries can be summarized as China needing to learn from Western countries and to keep developing. Unlike Joanne, Bill does not concern himself with the

specific aspects of China such as education, traffic and medicine. He focuses on China's power and international relationships. He makes the conclusion, 'Although the economy is at a high level as a whole in China, but it does nothing for the average per capita income. Additionally, the waste of resources and the pollution are very severe. In fact, the economic strength of China is not so powerful. Also, China's political influence is not as good as the USA and some other Western countries'. Bill is the only participant who mentions socialism in the interview. A lot of things seem strange to him because 'it is called socialism, but it advocates democracy too, while it changes from the planned economy in the past to the market economy nowadays'. His confusion echoes that of the whole society. The so called socialist democracy leaves limited freedom to the people in practice. That is why Bill thinks that China should learn from the Western countries to be democratic and free. According to Bill, the great leap in economic development in Japan and German, the high technology and its application, and the social welfare system in the West offer valuable lessons for China to learn too. It is his knowledge of and his concern for the Chinese society that leads him to play a very special role in the English debate lesson. I will discuss this more in the next chapter.

Summary

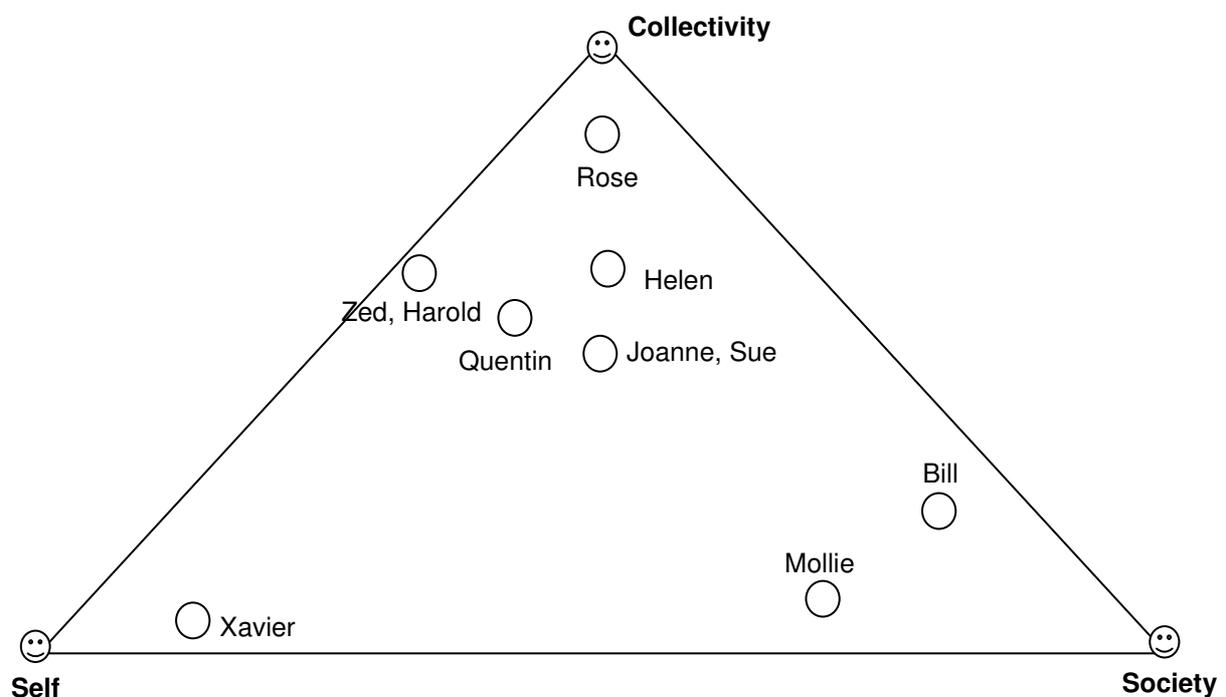
From the discourses of the interview participants in Class A, we can see that the students have diverse values but also share some common values. All of them are proud of Class A and have a spirit of collectivism. All of them are keen to achieve and consider both examination and extra-curricular activities as the way to evaluate their achievement. Making progress is the common goal for all of them. Although they have no clear career idea yet, all of them follow the same way towards their future, passing the Entrance Examination to Universities and doing their degrees. These similarities are compatible with Mrs Hong's expectation. As analyzed in the previous chapter, Mrs Hong values collectivism. She encourages the students to get involved in the collective life through their duties in the class and through taking part in extra-curricular activities. She always stresses the importance of making progress and achieving a good performance in the Entrance Examination to Universities in the English lessons. These values are also what the educational system and the government promoted through the core values system. This finding is different from that of Nie who found that, a majority of students in the school 'respond negatively toward the regime-sponsored values and ideology in the intended moral education curriculum, such as collectivism, socialism, communism, and the CCP' (2008: p.111). At least collectivism is positive in the students' personal values system in the current study.

Patriotism and socialism, the other important parts in the core values system promoted by the government and the educational system, are also reflected in the students' discourses in the interviews. Bill shows his strong patriotism through his description of his big ideas. Quentin thinks about the practice of patriotism education in China, which means he agrees with patriotism education. Joanne's wish to make a contribution to the motherland reveals that patriotism is in her personal values system. Rose, Harold, Xavier and Sue do not directly show their patriotism but show their emotional connection to China. Only Bill talks about his confusion about socialism. But his attitude is

positive rather than negative, because his discourses reveal that he is thinking and exploring the meaning of socialism and democracy. The above evidence in the current case study seems to contradict Nie's finding. The reason will be discussed in the final chapter.

The students' discourses also reflect other mainstream values which are not promoted as the core values in society such as consumerism and individualism. Joanne is a typical example. Pursuit of money for herself is considered as her goal in the future which is parallel to her contribution to the country. Her discourses show that patriotism, consumerism and individualism lie together harmoniously in her personal values system. In the students' discourses, their diverse values are connected to their interactions with friends, parents, teachers, the media and others in the society. Their discourses show their perspectives of self, the collectivity which they belong to and society.

Diagram 8: The participants' perspectives of self, the collectivity and society



Xavier lives his own world and cares little about the society, all the terminal values related to the society such as 'National security', 'A world of beauty' and 'A world at peace' are put at the bottom of his values list in order of importance. He is near the self end. Rose strongly attaches herself to the class collectivity. She is very close to the collectivity end. Bill cares about China and its power and intends to contribute himself to China's benefit. He is more close to the society end than the other students. Joanne and Sue are both concerned about the social issues in China and also have a good balance between their attachment to the class and their self-content. They are at the equilibrant point in the triangle of self, collectivity and society. Zed, Harold and Quentin care less about the social issues than Joanne and Sue, but they keep a good balance between self and collectivity. They have

good relationships in the school. Mollie is still struggling to achieve a balance point between self and collectivity. Her confusion over the relationships in school seems to be a result of her personal values.

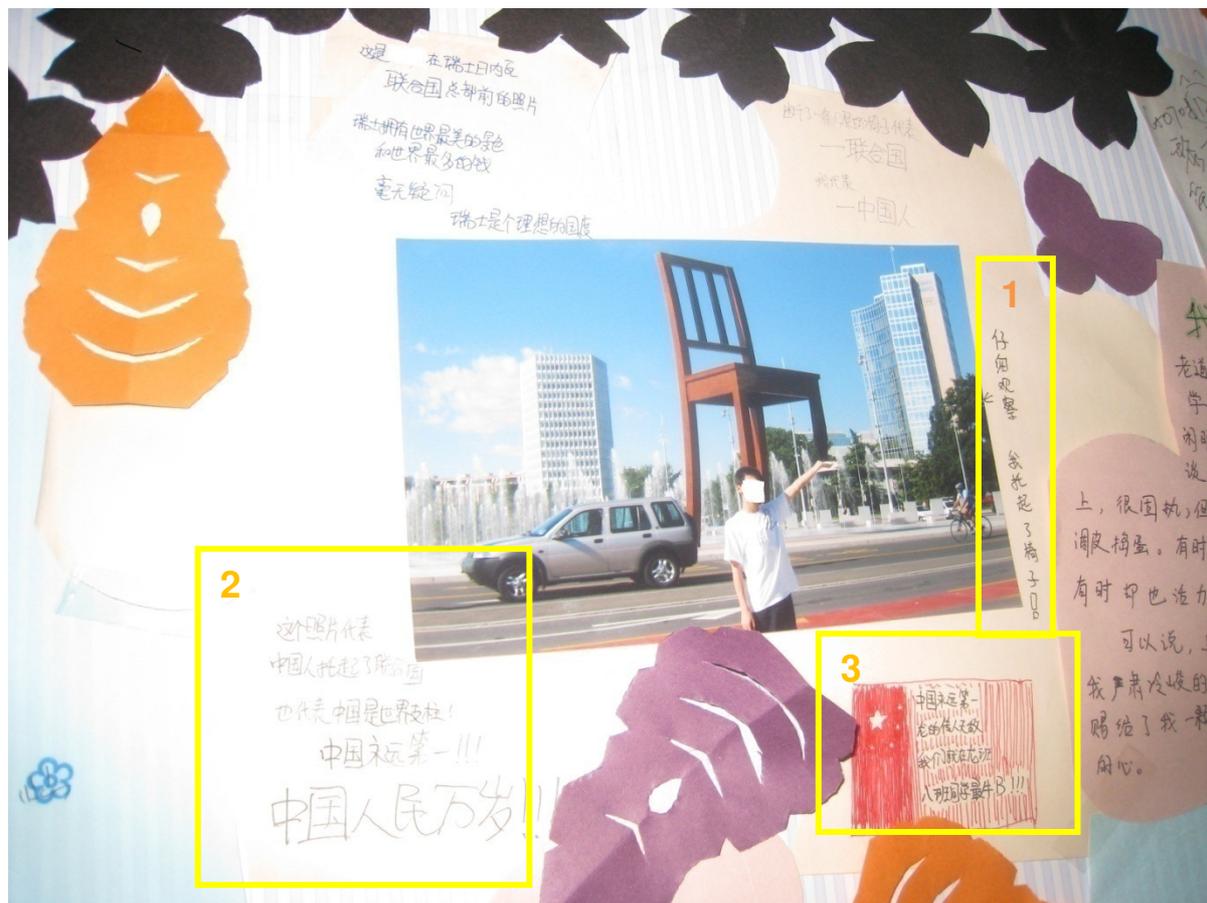
This map shows not only the students' differences in their personal values but also their differences in development which will be discussed fully in the next chapter. In addition, their discourses in the interviews also reveal that different participants have different ways of understanding and interpreting the same information. The TV reports about military action in foreign countries are interpreted as 'Putting one's nose into others' business' by Xavier, but as international power competition by Bill. In the next chapter, the similar phenomenon in the English lessons will be analyzed.

5.2.2 Values in the students' discourses out of English lessons in other classes

The students in Classes B, C and D also show diverse values in their interview, bulletin board and compositions.

The boy in Class B, called Mr Big by his classmates, uses 'weird' to describe the competitive relationship between the two dragon classes. He tells me 'We have different subject teachers in all the subjects except for history, do you know? I suppose the school wants us to compete with each other'. He tells me how cold the relationship is between the students in Class B and their counterparts in Class A. The negative words such as 'weird' and 'cold' show that he disagrees with this kind of competition. I notice that he speaks like an outsider without emotional attachment to his class. The reason is probably that his lawyer parents will support him to go to a university in the USA after he graduates from the senior high school. He has already finished the training course for the TOEFL and is going to take the test soon. When the students are asked to complete the Rokeach Value Survey Questionnaire, Mr Big asks me loudly if it is OK to answer anonymously. I confirm that to him. As a result, half of the questionnaires from the students in Class B cannot be identified. Of course, I did not find Mr Big's name. Although Mr Big does not like competition, some of his classmates do not mind. The following picture is taken from the bulletin board on which the students put their self introductions.

Photo 1: Tim's self introduction in the bulletin in Class B



Above the picture, the boy introduces himself as Tim and the picture is taken outside the UN Headquarters in Switzerland. On the right side of the picture which is marked as 1, it says 'Look carefully, I lifted the chair!' In part 2, it is said 'this picture symbolises that the Chinese raised the UN and that China is the pillar of the world! China is No.1 forever!!! Long live the Chinese!!!' In part 3, it is the national flag of China with the text, 'China is No.1 forever. The dragon's descendants are undefeatable. We are in the dragon class. Classmates in Class B are the best'. His introduction gives special meaning to his action in the picture. It shows his ambition. His perception of the relationship between China and the world reveals his patriotism and also a sense of competition. He compares the relationship between the dragon class and the students in the Class B to that between China and the dragon's descendants (i.e. the Chinese), which reveals the connection between his patriotism and collectivism. The whole text suggests that he would like to encourage his classmates to win the competitions in the school just as Chinese work hard to make China the No. 1 country in the world. His collectivism is quite similar to Rose, while his patriotism is similar to Bill in Class A.

The Rokeach Value Survey Questionnaires are handed out to the students in Class C in an ordinary school in a similar situation to Class B. The teachers take 10 minutes of the English lesson to let the students work on it. However, unlike Class B where half the students leave their names blank, all the

students in Class C fill in all the blanks in the questionnaire with tidy handwriting. I interview two students in Class C, Gill and John. Gill is from a village outside Beijing city centre. She is a boarder in the school. Her father is a farmer which means that he is in a lower position in the political and economic hierarchy in Chinese society. Gill's parents divorced a couple of years ago and she lives with her father. When she talks about the unhappy experiences in her life, she is calm and peaceful, keeping a good balance between emotion and rationality. Like Bill in class A, she has a big idea and also hopes to connect her big idea with her career. She wants to become a general to protect China. Her result in the Rokeach Value Survey shows that she has thought carefully through all the values and evaluated their order of importance to her. She makes a lot of changes to the order of importance of values ranked in the middle or the bottom. But she is pretty sure which values are the most important three to her and makes no changes at all. She regards 'A world at peace', 'National security' and 'Equality' as the top three terminal values, and 'Ambitious', 'Self-control' and 'Honest' as the top three instrumental values.

When I observe the English lessons in Class C, I sit at a student desk in the last row which allows me to mix with the other students. John sits next to me on the left side with a narrow aisle between us. We talk in our seats in a lunch time break after lunch and before the English class in the afternoon. He is from a middle class family in the city centre of Beijing. His father is a computer engineer. His academic performance is good. Everything looks fine on the surface, but he is worried. Similar to Mollie in Class A, John worries about his relationship with his English teacher, Mrs Huang. John says 'she doesn't like me, I don't know why'. He is the only one who mentions the boyfriend/ girlfriend relationship in all the interviews. He says 'If I have the problems with my girlfriend I can never talk with my parents or the teachers. I can only talk with my best friend'. I am surprised that he has a girl friend of such a young age and ask him to confirm that. He says 'You should ask who in this class has no boyfriend or girlfriend'. Our talk is interrupted by Mrs Huang, who walks into the classroom before the English lesson. She asks John in a joking tone from the platform, 'Are you saying something awful about me to Miss Zhu?' John jumps from his seat and explains embarrassedly. He feels very upset afterwards. Mrs Huang tells me later in the interview that she likes boys such as John because they are sunny and broad-minded. John does think 'broad-minded' is important. His most important instrumental values are 'Loving', 'Forgiving' and 'Broad-minded'. Most terminal values in the top 5 for John, such as 'True friendship', 'Family security' and 'Mature love', relate to interpersonal relationships.

On the bulletin board in Class D in the private school, are presented the recent compositions of the students, a letter to Mum. All the compositions have the same theme, mother's love. 8 out of all the 9 compositions describe the conflicts between them and their mothers. All of them learn to understand mother's love from the conflicts. The only exception without conflict is because one mother is a so called 'successful career woman' and is too busy to have any time with her daughter. It seems like all the compositions are related to poor communications between the students and their parents, either because the parents have no time to communicate with their children or because they simply tell the

children how to do everything without listening. Lyn's mother is a successful lawyer. Lyn has been going to the private boarding school since she was 7 years old. In her composition, she describes a conflict with her mother who told her to study harder. Lyn was very angry because her academic performance was at the top of her class, so she argues 'I am good enough' and 'I have tried my best. I don't want to live in your shadow'. Her reaction made her mother think and finally her mother said sorry to her. Lyn was touched by her mother's apology. In fact, beneath the conflicts described, the students tell another story of their need for love. When Jessica agrees to participate in the interview she insists on doing it with Lyn, her best friend. Both of them value friendship and also share similar interests. They like animals very much so that both of them want to run a pet shop to protect animals. Jessica also wants to be a philanthropist when she grows up. Both of them use 'boring' to describe their time at home, because their parents are very busy, usually leaving home early and coming back late and having business trips quite often. Jessica and Lyn have nothing to do but watch TV, surf online and do homework. They like the life in the school because there are caring friends and teachers and interesting activities. They also like the peaceful environment in the private school. According to Lyn, the competition in the state schools is so intensive that the students are not as pure, simple, loving and considerate as those in the private school. Jessica finds there are huge difference between the school and the society which she learns about from the media. She describes it as 'complicated'. Like Xavier, Jessica does not understand what she learns from the media, why some adults do not care for their parents, why there are cheats in society, why some people allow others to suffer without any help, why terrorists fight, why some Taiwanese want to be independent, and so on. She hopes the school will arrange for them to do some social practice and help them to learn more about society. Lyn does not think so. She thinks they will naturally know how to deal with the complicated society in the future. Jessica has already travelled around the world with her parents or through the exchange student projects. Lyn has not been abroad so far but she knows something about Australia from her parents' friends. She plans to study in Australia after she graduates from the senior high school. Their general perception of the foreign countries is a 'good environment'. However, they have a better perception of China and the Chinese. For them, the Chinese are kind and diligent. Chinese parents will earn money for their children while that is not possible for the parents in foreign countries. China is big. China has good policies, encouraging people to earn more money.

The students' discourses out of the English lessons in Class B, C and D also show the core values promoted by the government and the educational system such as collectivism and patriotism, as well as diverse values connected to society. There seems a significant difference between the students in the state schools and those in the private schools in this case study. The students in the private schools do not show any broad perspective about society, China and the world, although some of them have travelled a lot in the world. Their limited perception of social reality probably is the result of their simple boarding lifestyle and poor communication with their parents. The students in the private school also show less ambition than their counterparts in the state schools. As the children of multi-millionaires or billionaires, they have more choices in their life paths rather than passing the Entrance

Examination to Universities to go to universities in China. They are less attached to society than their counterparts in the state schools.

5.3 Summary

If it were not for the opportunities provided in the debate workshop, the students hardly have any opportunity to present their opinions in the English lessons. Whether in the debate workshop or in the interview or in their writing, the students' discourses show diverse values including both the core values promoted by the government and the educational system and other values such as individualism and consumerism which have boomed with the marketing economy. Although sharing some similarities, each student's personal values system is special. The students' have different interactions with peers, parents, teachers, the media and some others in the society. Their connection to society varies individually. They have different perceptions of self, the collectivity and society. Their interactions with society and their understanding of social reality show that there is a connection between their understanding of values and their moral development.

Chapter VI: Students' Understanding of Values and Their Moral Development

An important finding in chapter IV is that the values that the English teachers convey in the English lessons are compatible with the core values promoted by the government and the educational system. In chapter V, I found that the students have some common values which are compatible with the values that the English teachers convey and with the core values in the educational system. Do these findings mean that the students understand and accept the core values in the educational system conveyed by the English teachers? The findings in the previous chapters also show that each teacher or student has a unique personal values system and that each individual's personal values connect to multiple factors such as parents, peers, teachers, the media, social practices and others, the compatibility of the students' values with the English teachers' values might not indicate that the students' values come from their teachers directly. In this chapter, the lens will focus on the students' discourses, which connect the inside (their personal values) and the outside (their social interactions), to examine how the students understand values in the English lessons.

6.1 Students' understanding of values

As argued in the research methodology chapter, in the current case, the process of understanding is regarded as a part of the process of self-communication which links both the social interaction and the individual's mental process. Self-communication in the current study can be regarded as 'self-indication' which Blumer (1969: p.81) explains as 'a moving communicative process in which the individual notes things, assesses them, gives them a meaning, and decides to act on the basis of the meaning'. However, the symbolic interactionist lens alone cannot show a clear picture of understanding. A constructivist lens is also needed to examine the process of understanding. From the cognitive constructivist perspective, learning is regarded as the integration of 'new' knowledge with 'old' knowledge (Bruner, 1966; Piaget, 1972). Therefore, a student's background knowledge, experience, culture and other things are involved in the process of understanding new knowledge. From the social constructivist perspective, the essential aspects of mental functioning derive from social life and context plays a powerful role in influencing understanding (Vygotsky, 1978; Hollins, 1996). According to cognitive constructivism, it is the students' previous knowledge, experience and other background which help the students to interpret the meaning of discourses in the English lessons; while according to social constructivism, it is the students' perceiving of the context of the communication which facilitates their interpretation of meaning.

6.1.1 The students' interpretation of meaning

In the first quotation in chapter IV, Mrs Hong makes a statement about the on-coming English debate. She asks the students to imagine a seaside village called Dolwyn Bay as their hometown and to take different roles in the debate. As analyzed previously, 'Dolwyn Bay' and 'hometown' have situated meanings which might conflict in Chinese culture. This raises the question whether the students understand Mrs Hong's suggestion, accepting 'Dolwyn Bay' as their 'hometown' and acting in the debate in 'a real life way'? As analyzed in section 4.2.1, Mrs Hong's suggestion is underpinned by rich values from her personal values system, from the educational system and from society. She believes that communication skill is an important competence so that she expects every student to take part in the debate and act in a real life way. She admires the democracy in Western countries while taking the social hierarchical systems in China for granted. Her connection of 'Dolwyn Bay' and 'hometown' shows a complex mixture of 'Western democracy' and 'Chinese culture'.

How do the students interpret the meaning behind her discourse? The answer is explored through the observation of the debate and also is confirmed through the interviews before and after the debate. As analyzed in section 5.1.1.2, Qiana, George, Helen, Henry, Sue, Olivia, Bill and several others actively participate as villagers who argue how a new oil factory will influence their life and the environment. They use their right to present their opinions in the debate. These discourses and actions show that they understand the meaning of democracy in Mrs Hong's discourses. Bill creates the role of an old man in an extreme situation who cannot get any benefit from the oil factory but has to pay higher prices for the development. His inquiry to the oil company shows that there is a premise underlining his discourses, that disadvantaged people have an equal right to get benefit from the economical development. He confirms his understanding in his interview. According to his understanding, the debate is a play, so he treats Dolwyn Bay as a virtual place where Western democracy principles are practised in society rather than as his hometown. However, from his description of the role we can see that his real life background helps him create the role. That the development of the economy causes rocketing prices and an increasing gap between the poor and the rich does happen in Chinese society nowadays. As a young person who cares about China, Bill witnesses such a kind of change in reality.

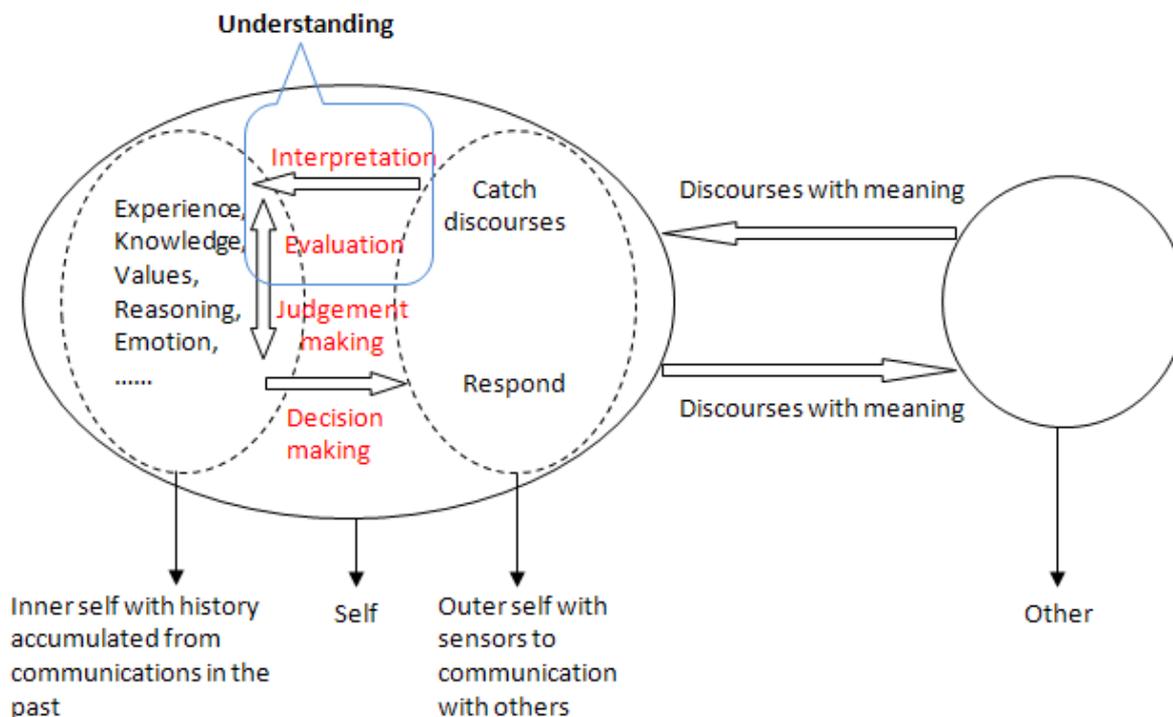
Joanne acts as the head of the village committee and Rose as an ordinary villager. Joanne uses an official tone to make an announcement to all the villagers in which she presents only the advantages and ignores the disadvantages that the oil factory will bring to the village. She thinks only about the benefit to the village as a collectivity rather than to the villagers as individuals. Rose decides to support the oil company because she thinks the villagers are powerless and the oil company is powerful. She trusts the oil company and believes that it is capable of protecting the environment and will do so. Joanne is assigned by Mrs Hong to play the head of the village committee because her English is very good while Rose does not get such a chance. Both of them understand their positions

in the hierarchy of English academic performance in Class A. Their backgrounds are reflected in their action in the debate. Joanne speaks a lot while Rose has no voice at all in the whole debate. Joanne seems to resemble a typical Chinese public servant of a village while Rose is a typical Chinese villager. There are also some other students who act as villagers who tell me before the debate that they will agree with the majority and voice no opinion in the debate. Most of them might be like Rose and Joanne, who do act in the debate in a real life way, treating it like real life in China. For these students, they accept Mrs Hong's suggestion to treat Dolwyn Bay as their hometown and act in the debate according to the social order of real life in China.

Mike plays the role of the manager of the oil company. He delivers the presentation with PowerPoint slides and uses Western style speech to encourage the villagers to vote for the oil company. He looks like a manager from a Western country. However, some promises that he makes to the villagers in the debate show that the oil company has power just like the government. He sounds like a manager of a state oil company in China. Bob and York act as villagers who show a democratic spirit when they ask for their rights, but their motivation to take such a position is to support Mike, their 'little brother', so does Harold who tells me that he has no interest in the topic of the debate at all but plays a member of the oil company because of Mike. Even Mike himself does not volunteer to be the manager of the oil company. According to him, it is Mrs Hong who asked him to take the role. Mike and his 'brothers' play their roles as a simulation rather than in a real life way.

Through these responses and actions in the English debate and in the interviews, we can see that the symbols, 'Dolwyn Bay', 'hometown' and 'real life way', and their connection in Mrs Hong's discourses are interpreted in different ways by the students: first, considering Dolwyn Bay as real life and practising democracy in the debate; second, considering their hometown as real life and complying with the social reality in China; third, considering Dolwyn Bay as their hometown in a simulated way and acting as in a play. No matter how the students interpret Mrs Hong's discourses, their responses show that both their perception of the social context and their background constructed by their previous knowledge, experience, values, reasoning and emotion are involved in the process of understanding. Taking Bill as an example, he is aware of the debate as an English speaking assignment from Mrs Hong which every student is expected to conduct. He is also aware that Dolwyn Bay is a symbol of a place in a Western country. The connection between the symbol and his previous knowledge about democracy in Western countries is triggered. Thus, he treats the debate as a play in which he can behave according to the principles of Western democracy. As he intends to create an extreme role, his logical reasoning and his sympathy for the disadvantaged get involved. The analysis of Bill's understanding of Mrs Hong's discourses indicates that a new lens combining the cognitive constructivist perspective and the social constructivist perspective can show a clear picture of the process of understanding. It can be illustrated as the following diagram.

Diagram 9: Understanding in the process of communication



The process of understanding includes awareness of the meaning of discourses, interpretation and evaluation as in this diagram, on which decision making is based. Through this lens, we can examine the students' understanding of the values communicated in the English lessons.

6.1.2 The students' understanding of the values in the English lessons

In this section, I will examine the students' understanding of the values conveyed through the curriculum and the hidden curriculum in the English lessons.

6.1.2.1 The students' Understanding of values from the curriculum

- **Awareness of environment**

Awareness of environment is one of the values in the aims of education which are set out in the Programme of Reform of the Basic Education Curriculum (Experimental) released by the Ministry of Education in 2001. In the textbook which the students in Classes A, B and C use (the version produced by Beijing Normal University Press), environmental issues are discussed in two units: (a) pollution of sea in unit 7, the Sea, and (b) energy saving in the unit 9, Wheels. The importance of the environment is built into the textbooks but is not exactly stressed by the English teachers. During the English lessons that I observe, none of the English teachers presents the importance of the

environment directly. It seems that they keep a neutral position on environmental values. However, the students present their concern for the environment.

In the English debate workshop in Class A, the environment is the key point that the representatives of the oil company and the villagers debate. The manager of the oil company, Mike, uses 'environmentally friendly' to describe the oil factory. He tries to convince the students that the high technology can make it possible for the oil factory to be environmentally friendly. Behind his presentation, there is a premise: the oil refinery industry can cause environmental pollution. The premise is based on knowledge given from listening to materials from unit 7 in which a volunteer from an environment protection project says that the oil industry is one of the factors causing sea pollution. Apparently, this information has already been comprehended by Mike and become the knowledge on which his strategy of persuasion is based. Knowing it is common knowledge to all the students in the debate, Mike has to connect the oil factory with high technology to make his point of 'environmentally friendly' convincing. The villagers do have the common knowledge that the oil industry can cause pollution, so quite a few villagers question the possibility of the oil factory being environmentally friendly. Qiana, Sue and several other villagers are suspicious of Mike's claim that the oil factory will be environmentally friendly. Helen especially questions whether high technology can reduce the pollution. Joanne also questions high technology but her concern is different from Helen's. Joanne doubts whether the oil company would like to use high technology to protect the environment because it is expensive. She doubts whether the oil company can really keep their promise to bring benefit to the village. The first doubt might come from her experience outside the English lessons. Her father runs a chemistry company while her mother is an accountant. According to her interview, both of her parents have a lot of communication with her. She might get information from her parents about the cost of using high technology to control pollution. Her second doubt is connected to her awareness of her role and position in the hierarchy. As a head of the village committee, she cares about the collective benefit rather than personal benefit. As analyzed in section 5.1.1.2, quite a few students make value judgements in their arguments about environmental issues. Sue's argument weighs 'money' against 'pollution' and 'healthy life'. She values a healthy life. Olivia weighs 'the fish', 'money', 'the environment' and 'the family'. She chooses the family. Another girl prioritizes the environment over the benefit for the family. Still another girl thinks of the right of fish to live in the sea.

Through the students' arguments in the debate workshop, we can see that, first, most of the students in Class A have an awareness of the environment as they are expected to understand the values built into the English curriculum and the textbooks; second, their previous knowledge about sea pollution, their experience, personal values, reasoning and maybe other elements in their background get involved in their understanding of the value of environment; third, the understanding of the value of environment is linked to their values judgement. Through weighing the environment with other values, the value of the environment might be rearranged within their personal values system, which might influence their understanding and judgement in the future. When I interview Bill after the debate

workshop, I find that he cares about the environment in China deeply. There is no direct evidence to show this is the result of the English lessons. However, his discourses in the English debate workshop and those in the interview show that there is a strong link between his action in the debate and some aspects of his personal development such as reasoning, care and values judgement.

- **Cultural awareness**

Cultural awareness is stressed in both the English curriculum and the English textbooks to meet the requirements for 'cross-cultural competence in communication' from the quality education policy and 'cultural exchange' from the highest guideline of the CCCPC. Cultural awareness is imbedded in the English textbooks through 32 units related to the topics in cross-cultural communication and texts related to etiquette, custom, festival, music, movies, the arts, heroes and heroines, history, science and other aspects of diverse cultures in the world.

Culture is defined in different ways by the researchers. However, they agree on two points: first, culture includes not only visible cultural elements such as ritual, etiquette, custom, festival, the arts, music and so on but also invisible values; second, values are manifested through cultural elements (Williams, 1961: p.57; Hofstede, 2000: p.1). Mrs Hong is enthusiastic to encourage the students to understand the visible cultural elements but cautious about the invisible cultural values as analyzed in section 4.2.2.2.

Mrs Hong asks Henry: "Henry, do you have a question?"

Henry nods.

Mrs Hong speaks loudly to all the students "hey, listen! Hush.....Henry has a question for you."

Henry says he'd like to ask Joanne and begins his question.

Mrs Hong interrupts him: "No, no, no, don't look at your book! Excuse me, Madam. Excuse me, Sir, right?"

The students burst into laughter.

Henry: "Excuse me, Manager"

The students laugh again.

7120303b

Mrs Hong asks Henry to play a tourist who needs information about an aquarium from a member of staff. Henry speaks directly to Joanne, who plays the staff member, without any form of address. Mrs Hong stops him and reminds him to start the conversation in an English style and use an English form of address. Henry uses a Chinese style of address, 'manager', instead of the English form, 'Sir' or 'Madam', to create a laugh. It shows that the students who laugh as well as Henry understand the different styles of address in different cultures. In the debate, Henry also uses the old fashioned Chinese style of address, 'Comrade York' and 'Comrade Bob', to make his classmates laugh. He

seems to be good at using a Chinese form of address in an English conversation context to show his sense of humour. Because Henry refuses to be interviewed, I have no idea if his insisting on Chinese form of address in an English conversation context has any link to his cultural values.

The composition practice requests the students to argue whether the Starbucks café should be moved out of the Palace Museum. The students' statements of their opinions show their understanding of Western culture. Mrs Hong uses several examples from the students to demonstrate how to use words, how to present their opinion, how to reason and how to develop their argument in the composition. Half of these examples are from the students who agree that the Starbucks café should be moved out of the Palace Museum, while the other half are from those who disagree. Qiana argues that Starbucks café should be moved out of the Palace Museum because it breaks the harmonious atmosphere. Mike applauds removing the Starbucks café because he regards the Palace Museum as 'a representative culture, a heritage of ancient and prosperous civilization of the Chinese' and thinks that it 'symbolizes the tradition and culture of the country'. York asks in his composition, 'Why can't we start a tea house or something that goes well with the Palace?' In his opinion, 'building a foreign café in the ancient Chinese Palace is kind of worshipping and having blind faith in things foreign.' The underlying meaning of the above arguments is that the cultural values of Western culture and those of China are not harmonious together. From Qiana, Mike to York, their arguments show different degrees of understanding of cultural values. Qiana does not indicate that the harmonious atmosphere is broken by Starbucks at the level of symbol or at the level of cultural values. Mike points out that the Palace Museum is the symbol of 'the tradition and culture' of China. He is clearly aware of the cultural values behind the symbol, the Palace Museum. York generalizes the specific event to a cultural conflict by using the forms 'a foreign café' and 'the ancient Chinese Palace' to indicate Starbucks and the Palace Museum. His discourse, 'worshipping and having blind faith in things foreign', shows that he is critical of both the symbols and the values from foreign countries.

Rose's opinion is mentioned by Mrs Hong as one of the representatives who disagree with moving Starbucks out of the Palace Museum. However, Rose agrees that there is disharmony between the Starbucks café from Western culture and the Palace Museum of Chinese culture. Rose does not regard the disharmony as a cultural conflict, but regards it as a disharmony of cultural elements, or different artistic styles. Her suggestion is that 'decorating Starbucks as a classical place or a frame house may be a better way to solve the problem'. Behind her support for Starbucks staying in the Palace Museum, she does not exactly accept foreign culture open-mindedly. Her suggestion reflects the feeling of powerlessness in conflicts which she presents in the interview. Yazmin seems to welcome Western culture more than Rose does. She deems Starbucks as a cultural symbol of Western culture which can attract more foreigners to visit the Palace Museum. She has a similar idea to Rose, which is to design Starbucks in a way to combine Chinese culture and Western culture. Yazmin's suggestion reflects the economic values of the transforming society: the aim of cultural communication is to stimulate economic development. Bob, at the other hand, welcomes Western culture open-mindedly. He writes, 'Starbucks has been open for many years. It is a culture from America. We could make the different cultures live in harmony... The glass Pyramid in the Louvre was called trash in the beginning, but now it is one of the most beautiful buildings in all of the world'.

Bob thinks it is all right to let the Starbucks café stay in the Palace Museum based on the comparison between the Louvre and the Palace Museum and that between the glass Pyramid and Starbucks. In fact, the glass Pyramid in the Louvre represents the collision between the modern and the classical cultural elements. Although Bob does not intend to change Starbucks, he might still regard the conflict between Starbucks and the Palace Museum as a collision between cultural elements rather than an issue of cultural conflict which involves not only collisions between cultural elements but also conflicts between values. Although the students who agree that Starbucks can stay in the Palace Museum show their cultural awareness from different angles, they are all aware of the disharmony between Starbucks and the Palace Museum. Their interpretation of the disharmony as a collision between cultural elements shows that they accept Starbucks only as a symbol of Western culture but not the values of Western culture. Such an interpretation reflects the general attitude to Western culture in society. Elements of Western culture such as food, music, the arts, Christmas etc. are accepted, while Western values are criticized.

Although the students show diverse understandings and judgements of the cultural issue generated by the Starbucks café in the Palace Museum, they agree that the Starbucks café and the Palace Museum are not harmonious together. At the symbolic level, some students agree to accept Starbucks, but at the values level, none of the students worships Western culture. Such a consensus is compatible with the core values promoted by the government and society. It might result from different factors: first, the students are aware of the consequence if their opinions in the composition are not compatible with the core values which means that they cannot get a good score; second, the students take the core values for granted because of collectivism, patriotism, socialism and other cultural values are built into the educational system and the social structure through all kind of channels. As analysed in Chapter V, core values have already existed in some students' personal values. The students' cultural awareness shown in their composition might be influenced by their personal values and their strong connection with China.

6.1.2.2 The students' Understanding of values from the hidden curriculum

- **Inequality and hierarchy**

As analyzed in Chapter IV, Mrs Hong conveys the values of inequality and hierarchy in the English lessons without being aware of it. However, the students' actions in the English lessons and their voice in the interview show that they are aware of it. I notice that Mollie, Xavier, Zed, Rose and Yazmin do not speak in the English debate workshop. All of them claim that their English is not good in the interview. Even Quentin, Bill and Helen who actively take part in the English debate workshop also claim that they are not good at English, although their performance is excellent. Bill's discourses in their interviews can explain their awareness of the hierarchy of English academic performance in Class A.

Researcher: Your oral English is brilliant! Great!

Bill: They are brilliant.

Researcher: You are good too.

Bill: I am just so-so.

Bill02

There are two possibilities in interpreting Bill's discourses: first, he is humble, and second, he is aware of the hierarchy of English academic performance in Class A. In episode 7140302a quoted in Chapter IV, Mrs Hong classified the students into three levels. Bill, Sue, Ursula and Henry belong to the middle level while Jan, Iain, Joanne and Mike belong to the top level. 'They' in Bill's discourses in the episode Bill02 indicates Iain, Joanne and Mike who play the chair of the debate, the head of the village committee and the manager of the oil company in the debate. According to the cultural model of humility in China, the response to a direct compliment is denial of the compliment, just as in Bill's second response, 'I am just so-so'. As the researcher praises Bill directly, it is unusual for him to mention 'they' rather than 'I' in his first response. So his response to the compliment, 'your oral English is brilliant! Great', shows that his understanding of the researcher's compliment is probably influenced by his awareness of the hierarchy of English academic performance in Class A. The hierarchy is emphasized again and again through Mrs Hong's classification of the students, through the unequal opportunities for the students to answer questions or get involved in the language practice in the English lessons or to take part in the extra-curricular activities, and through the results of the homework, tests or examinations. Therefore, Bill has a strong sense of the hierarchy so that it overwhelms the cultural model of humility to influence his instinctive response to the compliment to him. Bill's response to the question about pressure later in the interview confirms the assumption.

Researcher: Do you feel any pressure in the dragon class?

Bill: Yes, I do. Sometimes the pressure is very huge.

Researcher: How is it?

Bill: The pressure is huge when the Middle Term Examination or the End Term Examination is coming. At some other times there is a pressure to take part in the class activities like today. Because for some activities not all of the students, but a part of us, can take part in them, when somebody performs outstandingly, more or less you will feel yourself a bit inferior to them. He can perform so well, but I... (laugh)

Bill25

Bill's explanation of the pressure shows that he has a clear sense of the unequal opportunities and the hierarchy of English academic performance. He realizes the link between the unequal opportunities and the hierarchy. Probably because of this, students in the lower level such as Mollie,

Xavier, Zed, Rose and Yazmin give up their opportunities to speak English in the English debate workshop. It seems that there is a common belief underpinning the discourses from Mollie, Xavier, and Rose in their interviews, that a student is not good enough if s/he cannot perform outstandingly.

Hierarchy is not only linked to inequality, but also linked to authority. As analyzed previously, when Joanne and Mike are assigned by Mrs Hong to play the head of the village committee and the manager of the oil company, their discourses in the English debate workshop reflect their sense of their authority. The following section will be used as an example from the interview to reveal how the students' understanding of authority influences their judgements.

- **Authority**

In Chapter V, I mentioned Mollie's sense of inequity in the process of choosing the participants in an extra-curricular activity. In the episode Mollie06 quoted in Chapter V, Mollie is confident about her competence in debate, but she is disappointed that the principle of justice is not demonstrated in the process of selecting the debaters. The students who have a close relationship with the class monitor are selected to take part in the debate competition. Mollie's judgement reflects her sense of authority and injustice. The class monitor who has authority gives the opportunities to the students who are close to them rather than to those who have better competence. Mollie does not indicate whether she is referring to one or both monitors in her discourses. I ask several students about this event in their interview.

Bill, the male class monitor, explains that there is a mass selection¹⁵ conducted in the class and 10 students are selected to take part in a mock debate after which the five debaters who will represent the class are chosen. He describes the process of selection objectively as he is not involved. It sounds fair enough, but when I ask for more details, Bill tells the truth:

¹⁵ 'Mass selection' means candidates are selected from mass. It is a new term in China which is used in two situations with two situated meanings. In the political situation, it is used to describe the democratic procedure for the selection of the head of a village. It is a kind of democratic experiment in the smallest units in Chinese society. In such a situation, 'mass selection' means everybody has the right to nominate the candidates of the head of the village and everybody has the opportunity to be nominated in the nomination process, and the head of the village is selected through the vote process in which every villager has the right to vote. In the other situation, the TV reality shows in China which are similar to the *X Factor* in the UK, 'mass selection' means the judges choose the candidates from the mass participants.

Researcher: How did you conduct the mass selection?

Bill: Mass selection? (smile) Mass selection, actually, it is not so proper. Mainly Rose, Olivia and several others were in charge. They are active in speaking in the class and also in activities. They decided who went into the next stage.

Bill08

Bill's immediate response to the question is to make the event sound as if it is compatible with the democratic principle. He uses the term 'mass selection' to describe the first stage of selection of the debaters. As explained in the footnote, the meaning of 'mass selection' in the political situation links to the democratic principle, while that in the TV reality show links to the authority of the judges. Bill's response to the researcher's further inquiry shows that he suggests the political meaning to the researcher but actually intends the second meaning. Rose, Olivia and several others act as judges who have authority. The term, 'mass selection', that Bill chooses and his intention to suggest the democratic meaning to the researcher show that democracy is involved in his personal understanding and decision making. His denial of 'mass selection' and his admission that specific students are in charge and make decisions shows that he is aware that the authority on which the decision is based is not exactly just. Bill's responses justify Mollie's understanding of the injustice in the selection of debaters. The specific students that Bill mentions are the friends of the female class monitor. It seems that the monitor in Mollie's discourse indicates mainly the female monitor.

Sue, the female class monitor, answers my inquiry skilfully:

The classmates volunteer to take part in the activities. We try our best to make every classmate have an opportunity to get involved. For example, this classmate takes part in the activity this time, and then others will take part next time. So far, not everybody has had an opportunity in such a short period. But in the three years, the opportunities for all the students should be equal.

Sue02

Sue does not mention any specific student in her response. 'We' in her discourses is a vague authority who can decide the students' opportunity to take part in the activities. It seems that she takes the authority for granted but not the students' free will. She stresses the equal opportunity for each student in the long term, which shows that her understanding of justice is equal opportunities for all students. She suggests making the judgement in the perspective of what happens in the long term rather than what happens in a single event.

Like Mollie, Yazmin is involved in the selection of debaters. Unfortunately, she was not selected as a candidate to take part in the second round selection as Mollie was.

Researcher: For example, the debate competition, is there a standard to make choices fairly?

Yazmin: Those who intend to take part discussed together. They used a topic to debate and then finished.

Yaz05

'Those' and 'they' in Yazmin's discourses show that she is an outsider. She uses 'intend' to describe the students who take part in the second round selection. It seems that she has no sense of the authority of the monitor or other privileged students but the sense of participants' free will. The event is more just than unjust to her.

In contrast to the English debate workshop, the event of selecting the debaters to represent Class A in the school's debate competition happens in reality where each student acts upon his or her true self. The students' descriptions of the event show their understanding of values and their moral judgement. Through the analysis above, we can see that the students' understanding of authority is different. Mollie and Bill deem that the authority in the event goes against the principles of justice and democracy. Sue takes authority for granted. Yazmin does not notice the authority in the event. These values led them to make different judgements of the event.

6.2 Understanding of values and moral judgement

The above analysis reveals that the students' understanding of values influences their judgement. In this section, I will explain how the students use the values in their personal values system to interpret an event and to make a moral judgement.

According to Mrs Hong, she encourages the students to take part in the extra-curricular activities voluntarily. The discourses of Mollie, Bill and Yazmin in their interviews prove that the selection of debaters has been based on the principle of volunteering at the beginning. The students' free will has been respected before the selection goes to the second round. Yazmin does not get into the second round while Mollie does. Their judgements of the event are different.

The mock debate between the candidates in the second round was presumed by Mollie to be the assessment to decide who can represent the class to take part in the debate competition in the school. However, she found that the decision had already been made by the class monitor (it seems to have been the female class monitor) before the mock debate. The candidates who could not take part in the competition were still asked to take part in the mock debate just because their ideas were needed. Mollie's comment is 'they just use it (the mock debate) to pretend to be fair'. It is very clear that Mollie

made a moral judgement. Through her discourses in the interview, her understanding of values and the values conflict can be traced. In the episode Mollie06, she uses three pieces of evidence to show her competence in debate, 'my speed of speech is very fast', 'I really like debating', and 'it is said that most of our classmates wanted me to be selected'. These discourses also show her will and most students' will. The connection that she builds between her competence and the will of most classmates and herself reveals the democratic principle in her personal values. According to her result in the Rockeach Value Survey, 'equality' is listed 12th out of all the 18 terminal values by Mollie. It seems that she does not think equal opportunity for all means justice. What she counts as just is that respect for the people's will and the candidates' competence should underpin the selection of the debaters. Next, she emphasises that 'it is the class monitor who is in charge of the selection' to create a transition of meaning. It builds a tension between the free will of most students and the power of the class monitor. What underpins the tension is that the democratic values in Mollie's personal values system, free will and justice, conflict with the values of authority that she sensed from the situation. This is a conflict which Mollie hardly resolves, because the anti-authority values are very strong in her personal values system. Her opinion of the teachers confirms the anti-authority values: 'in fact, teachers are not better than others in all aspects. In one aspect, they study earlier than us and then tell us this knowledge. In fact, in the aspect of judging people or something else, they are not better than us'. This is also revealed in the result of the Rockeach Value Survey. Among the 18 terminal values, she puts 'Freedom (independence, free choice)' the 5th most important one and 'Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)' the 7th, while 'Social recognition (respect, admiration)' is the 16th. Among the 18 instrument values, she puts 'Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)' 4th and 'Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)' 3rd, while 'Obedient (dutiful, respectful)' is the least important one. It seems that Mollie does not regard the teachers as an authority. She does not think the teachers can make better judgements than the students do. She values independent thinking. However, Mollie is against one of the important values of the educational system, authority. As I analyzed before, authority is the hidden value everywhere in the school setting. Mollie knows that authority is involved in all the selection of the candidates to take part in the extra-curricular activities. She does not conform to this social value in the school. That is probably the reason why Mollie hardly resolves the relationship problems with Mrs Hong and other students caused by her values conflict.

As analyzed in the section 6.1.2.2, Bill's suggestion of the democratic meaning of 'mass selection' and his denial of 'mass selection' show that he understands democratic values. After he tells me the students who were in charge of the selection, he explains that these students are capable of doing it. His discourses reveal that he shares the same democratic principle as Mollie, that the candidates' competence rather than social relationships should be used to select the debaters. Like Mollie, he is anti-authority, which is revealed by his actions in the English lessons. He does not exactly follow Mrs Hong's assignments or orders sometimes. His result in the Rockeach Value Survey also proves that he is anti-authority. Being similar to Mollie, he values 'Freedom' and 'Independent' but not 'Social recognition' and 'Obedient'. However, he is different from Mollie in the values of 'Wisdom' and

'Intellectual', which are put 16th and 10th respectively in his result. According to Rockeach's definitions of these two values, both of them are linked to reasoning. Probably, because Bill is one of the class monitors who is in a position of authority (although it seems that he is not the one who is in charge of the selection), and because he does not value reasoning as Mollie does, he might not regard the conflict between the democratic principle and authority as seriously as Mollie does. Therefore, he can keep a balance between himself and the relationships with Mrs Hong and other students.

Sue has no values conflict between the democratic principle and authority. Her discourses show that she regards equality as justice. In fact, according to her result in the Rockeach Value Survey, she puts 'Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)' in a less important position (11th). About the values of 'Freedom', 'Wisdom', 'Social recognition', and 'Independent', her result is quite different from Mollie's.

Table 7: Comparison of Sue, Bill and Mollie's result in Rockeach's Value Survey

	Social recognition (respect, admiration)	Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)	Freedom (independence, free choice)	Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)	Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
Sue	6	13	12	5	11
Bill	17	13	5	10	1
Mollie	16	7	5	3	4

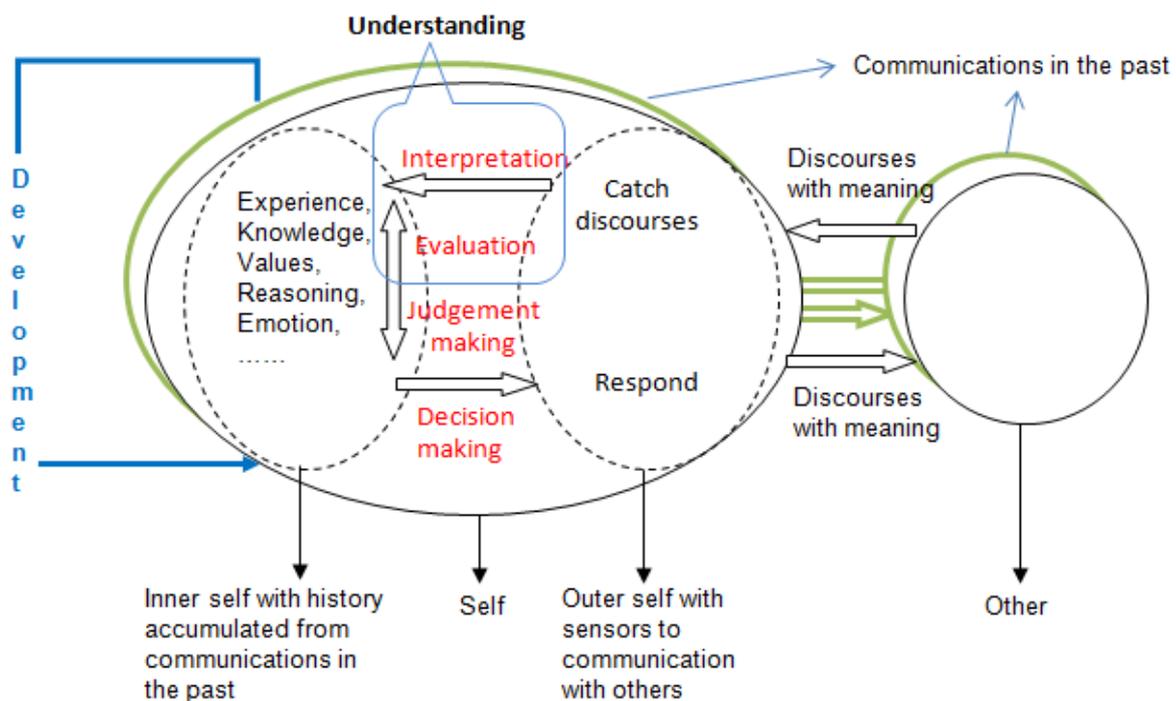
That Sue values 'Social recognition' rather than 'Freedom' and 'Independent' is compatible with her conformity to authority and balanced social interactions with teachers, students, friends and parents. On the one hand, she takes authority for granted. On the other hand, she has independent opinions about the fast economic development and the new generations. Her moral judgement about the selection of debaters shows that authority and justice are harmonious in her personal values system according to her understanding.

6.3 Students' understanding of values and moral development

The above example shows the relationship between the students' understanding of values and their moral judgement. According to Piaget's and Kohlberg's moral development theories, moral judgement is the main factor which can indicate a person's moral development. Therefore, there is a relationship between students' understanding of values and their moral development. Through a combined lens of the symbolic interactionism and constructivism, we can see how the students' understanding of values and their moral development link together. According to Mead (1934/1967), once individuals acquire an image of their self and others, they are able to constantly interpret and reflect upon the social interaction in which they are involved. In other words, the individuals are able to understand

and learn the meaning of the social rules and values. With experience and knowledge accumulated, with reasoning and emotion developed, and with their view of the world extended, the individuals' competence of understanding, judgement, decision making and communication is in development. According to constructivism, development is not a completely transformation of the old but an update. The new experience in a new situation is interpreted, assessed and judged within the formation of the old knowledge, experience and values and with the involvement of either reasoning or emotion or both, and then a decision or response is made. The feedback of the response will enter the self-communication circle again. Meanwhile experience and knowledge are accumulated, reasoning and emotion are developed, their view of the world is extended, and the individuals' competence of understanding, judgement, decision making and communication is developed. Thus, as part of the inner process of self-communication, understanding of values reflects the individuals' moral development and also has a mutual effect on moral development. The relationship between the understanding of values, self-communication and the individuals' moral development can be illustrated by Diagram 10. It is based on the model of understanding and communication shown in Diagram 9. Diagram 9 only illustrates the relationships of understanding, judgement making and decision making in the process of self-communication, while Diagram 10 reveals how development occurs on such kinds of processes in the past.

Diagram 10: Relationships between understanding, communication and development



In the current study, the students' moral development which is reflected by their understanding of values shows a diverse and complicated picture which is hardly explained by any one of the moral development theories alone which are reviewed in Chapter II. Diagram 8 in chapter V shows the

students' perspective of their social relationship with the tri-dimensions of self, collectivity and society. It can reflect the students' moral development to some degree, but the students' moral development is much more complicated than this. In fact, the students who are close to the 'self' end up having different orientations. Xavier cares little about society, lacks profound communications with his peers, teachers and parents, and aims only at outstanding academic achievement. He is self-centred. Mollie cares about the country and human beings and her ideal is to invent the medicine to help people to keep young forever. Her struggles with the relationships reveal her values conflict between conforming to the local order of Class A and insisting on her democratic values. Her insistence on her own values does not result from being self-centred but from autonomy. In this map, the collectivity means Class A. If the collectivity is changed into the family, Mollie will be at the balanced point while all the other students' positions on the map will change too.

According to Kohlberg's theory, if an individual draws on universal values to make moral judgements and takes all human beings' rights into consideration, s/he is in the highest stage of moral reasoning development. As reviewed before, the Neo-Kohlbergian approach which is developed by Rest and his colleagues shifts away from taking general human rights as the moral end because Rest *et al.* believe that morality is social constructed. The moral development theory proposed by Ma (1988) suggests using different standards to measure the higher stages of moral development based on Chinese philosophies and Western philosophies. Ma does not deny Kohlberg's moral universalist point view. However, such a discrimination of moral development between Chinese and Western people is theoretically similar to what Rest *et al.* propose. The moral end in their theories is related to a specific society rather than to the general human rights of human beings. Gilligan does not criticize Kohlberg's moral universalism but suggests that care should be considered in the evaluation of moral development because males and females have different reasoning. The different philosophical standpoints of the moral development theories suggest different moral ends and utilizing different tools to evaluate the individuals' moral development. The results can be very different.

If Chinese society is taken as the moral end, what values should be considered as the fundamental values on which a healthy society is based to pursue its social goals? Socialism, patriotism and collectivism which are considered as the core values of society by the Chinese government? Or individualism, consumerism and money worship which actually stimulate the fast economic development in contemporary China? Or authority, hierarchy, *Guanxi* and other pragmatic values which are decisive to the social interaction in the Chinese society? Or democratic values which were used to break down the feudalist social structure one hundred years ago and were rejuvenated in the 1980s? History provides much evidence to support the view that if the moral end is an unhealthy society and the mainstream values of such an unhealthy society are regarded as the moral norms which all the social members should follow, this will cause the collapse of the society and the people. None of the values mentioned above can be regarded as the terminal values which can guide a society and the people to keep a healthy and sustainable development. In the current study, each individual student constructs their personal values through interactions in the society. Each student has his or her unique development.

6.4 Influence on students' values

The students and the English teachers' values communications in the English lessons reflect the students' personal values and their understanding of the values in the society to some degree. The interviews with the students show more evidence that the students' social interactions shape their personal values and their understanding of values as analyzed previously. I will summarize these social interactions here and explain how they influence the students' values understanding.

6.4.1 Peers

Mollie talks about her communications with her close friends. She especially mentions Dianna in her interview. She said: 'Dianna and I like to talk about life and philosophy. I always feel lofty and pure after such a talk.' Her discourses reveal that good friends with similar values can enhance their beliefs and values through communication. Although Helen admits that friends with different characters to her own are more attractive, her best friend Qiana seems share a lot of similarity with her in the Rockeach Value survey.

Diagram 11: Helen and Qiana's terminal values in Rockeach's Value Survey

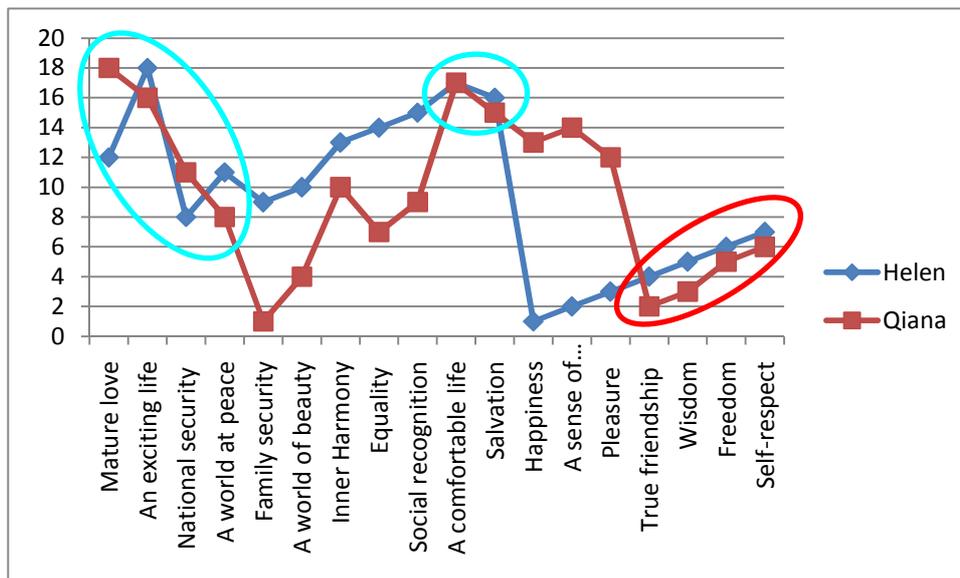
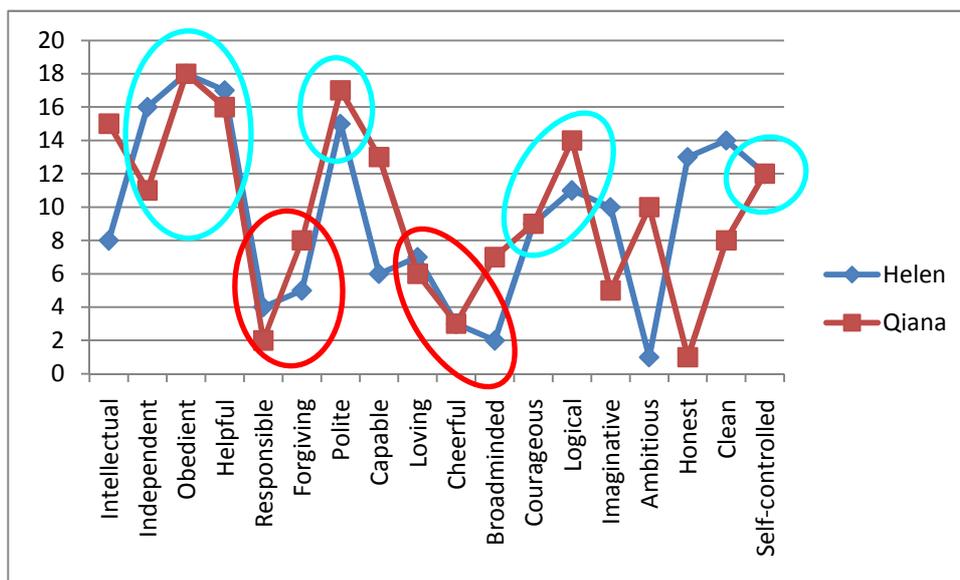


Diagram 12: Helen and Qiana's instrumental values in Rockeach's Value Survey



The values circled in the diagrams above are evaluated as in similar positions according to their importance to Helen and to Qiana. The terminal values which both Helen and Qiana consider as important are 'True friendship', 'Wisdom', 'Freedom' and 'Self-respect'. The instrumental values which both Helen and Qiana evaluate as important are 'Cheerful', 'Responsible', 'Broadminded' and 'Forgiving'.

Mollie and her friend Dianna also share a lot of similarities on evaluation of the 18 terminal values and 18 instrumental values in the Rockeach Value Survey. Both of them regard 'Salvation' as the second most important terminal value to them. Mollie puts 'Family security' in the most important position. These arrangements confirm what she shows in the interview. She and Dianna have similar spiritual pursuits. She cares for her family very much. She depends a lot on the communication with her parents to resolve her confusion about relationships in the school. The following diagrams illustrate the similarity of values between Mollie and Diana.

Diagram 13: Mollie and Dianna's terminal values in Rockeach's Value Survey

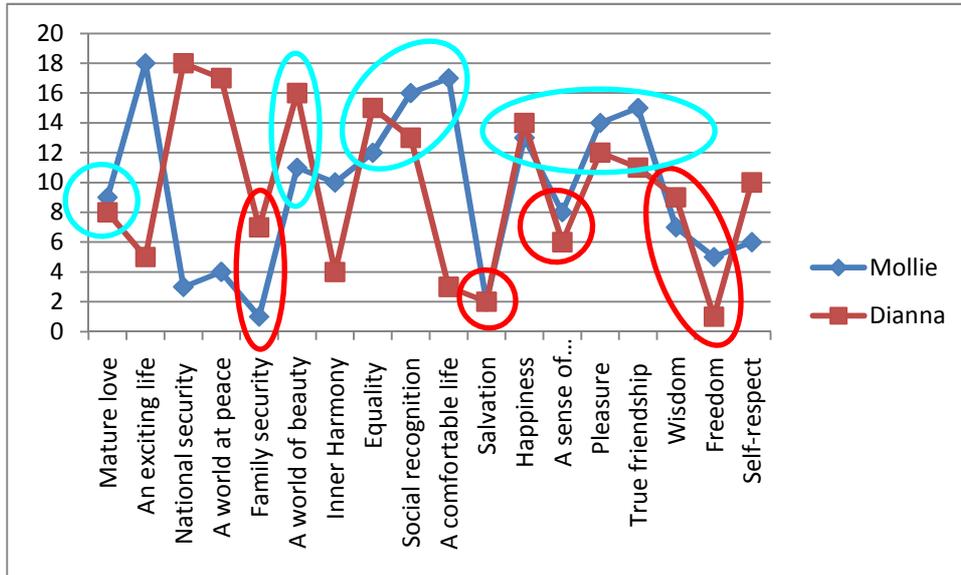
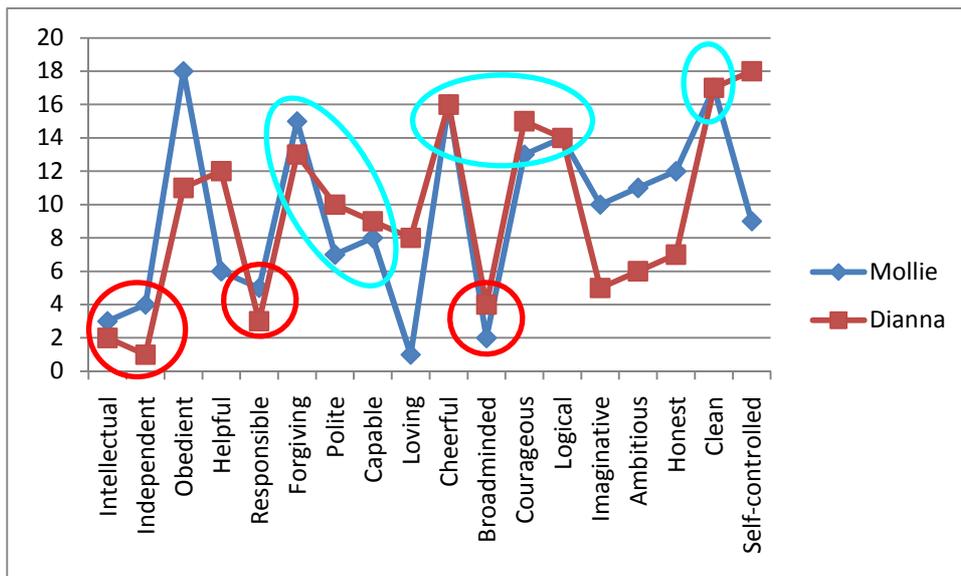


Diagram 14: Mollie and Dianna's instrumental values in Rockeach's Value Survey



Apart from 'Salvation' and 'Family security', Mollie and Diana also value 'Freedom', 'Wisdom', 'A sense of accomplishment', 'Intellectual', 'Independent', 'Responsible' and 'Broadminded'.

I did not examine all the friend relationships among the students in Class A. According to the three group of friends which I analyzed above and that in chapter V (the WS team), friends share a lot of similarities in the evaluation of the importance of values to them.

6.4.2 Teachers

Teachers are expected to be role models for the students in the educational system in China. Traditionally, the teacher is expected to be not only an academic tutor but also a moral mentor. This tradition is summarized by Han Yu (768~824 AD.) in his famous article, *On Teacher*: 'Since ancient times to learn all men must have teachers, who pass on the truth and dispel ignorance'. The teachers' role in cultivating the students' values is also stressed in the Programme for the Reform of the Basic Education Curriculum (Experimental) in 2001: 'Teachers should...cultivate students' independence and autonomy, guide them to question, investigate, explore and study from the practice, and encourage them to study actively and in a personalized way under the teacher's instruction' (MOE, 2001).

In the current study, Mrs Hong shows her awareness of her role and her moral guidance through her daily work and class meetings not only in her articles but also in the interview and in the interactions with the students. Helen owes the spirit of collective integrity to Mrs Hong's expectations. Because Mrs Hong expects the students to work together to win honour for the class, the students in Class A actively take part in the extra-curricular activities and are proud of their achievements. Teachers' opinions also influence the students' thinking and understanding. Both Bill and Joanne mention their geography teacher's opinion on the emigration of well-educated Chinese. Bill mentions it when he talks about whether he will go to a university in China or overseas. The reason why Bill is not keen to study abroad and why Joanne stresses to return to China and to reward China after finish her study overseas probably relates to the geography teacher's opinion. Teachers are taken by the students as their role model too. One example in the current study is the Chinese teacher whom Joanne regards as her role model. She agrees with the Chinese teacher's moral judgement in a patriotism education event, though that judgement seems not exactly proper to me.

6.4.3 School

Extra-curricular activities are considered an important part of moral education in the educational system in China. The students talk a lot about their involvement in extra-curricular activities in their interview. The students in all the three schools where I conduct the field work mention that the competitions between classes improve their spirit of class collectivity. For example, the sports competitions between classes organized in the schools encourage the students to cooperate with their classmates and make an effort together to win the games. Mrs Hong encourages all the students to take part in extra-curricular activities not only for the honour of the class but also for the students' development of competencies. Some activities such as the ritual of raising the national flag and theme class meetings are values-laden. Bill talks about the theme class meetings. He seems not very interested even though it is his responsibility to organize or to help organize these meetings. The reason is probably that 'it was the school's arrangement' and the themes are decided by the school.

6.4.4 Family

The students talk a lot about their communication with their parents in the interviews. Helen's attitude to charity is influenced by her father who told her how the corrupted government officers embezzled donations to charity. Bill's big ideas about China are related to his father who always talks about the international political issues reported in the media with him. Quentin regards his father as a role model. Sue decides to follow her parents' career. Mollie depends on the communications with her parents to resolve some of her confusion about the relationships in the school. There are also some students who do not have effective communication with their parents, for example Xavier in Class A and Jessica and Lyn in Class D. According to the students interviewed in this case study, those who have good communications with their parents care about social issues more and understand social phenomena better than those who have poor communications with their parents.

Astill, Feather and Keeves (2002) found that the values held by parents and peer groups had a much greater influence upon the students' values than the schools and their teachers. The evidence in the current study cannot prove this conclusion, but it does show that peers and families have similar values. Ursula and Olivia in Class A are identical twins. They are sisters and also classmates. Like similarity of peers' values which I analyzed previously, Ursula's and Olivia's results in the Rockeach Value Survey are very similar too, especially their terminal values.

Diagram 15: Twins' terminal values in Rockeach's Value Survey

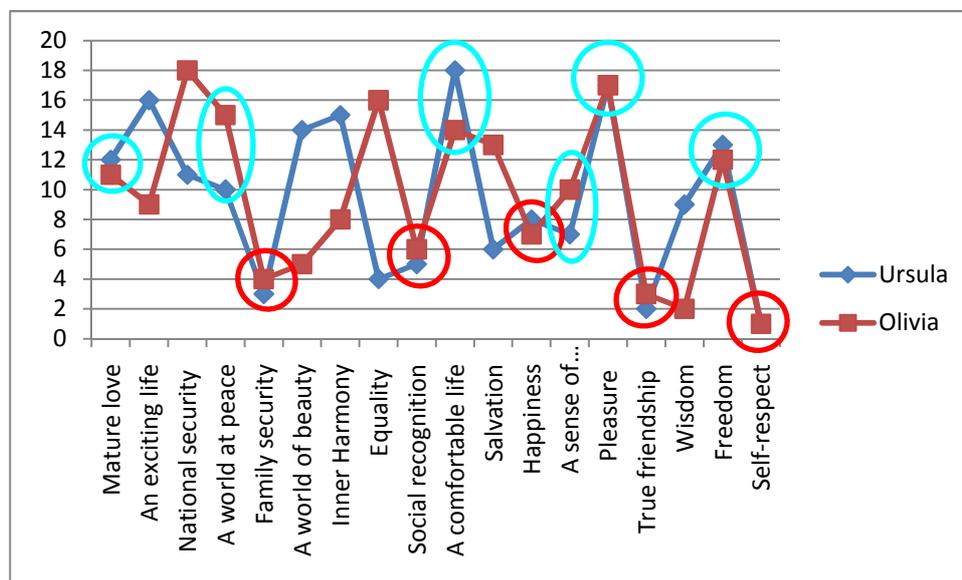
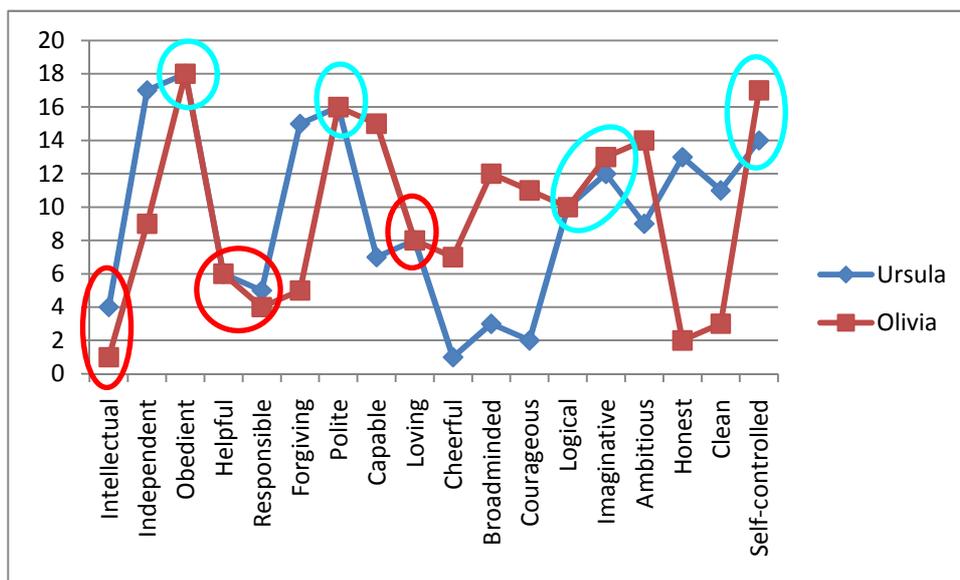


Diagram 16: Twins' instrumental values in Rockeach's Value Survey



However, even though they are brought up by the same parents, study with the same group of classmates in the same class, and are taught by the same teachers, there are still some significant differences in their personal values. Olivia thinks 'A world of beauty', 'Inner Harmony', 'Forgiving' and 'Honest' are important values while Ursula does not think so. Ursula thinks 'Equality', 'Capable', 'Broadminded' and 'Courage' are important while Olivia does not. The difference of the identical twins' personal values suggests that the factors that influence individuals' personal values are more than peers, teachers, schools and parents.

6.4.5 Media

The students hardly have time for the media because of their full schedule occupied by the academic work and extra activities in the schools. However, some students still manage to use the media. Bill, Sue and Xavier in Class A and Jessica and Lyn in Class D mention their usage of the media. Sue surfs the internet sometimes. Her insight about the characteristics of the generation born in the 1980s is what she gets online. The other students mainly watch TV. Bill's father likes to talk about the reports in TV with Bill. It seems that Bill can understand the opinions behind the reports very well. When he explains his opinion about studying overseas, he talks about a TV documentary programme which describes some miserable experiences of some teenager Chinese students studying overseas. His preference to study overseas as a mature student is apparently influenced by the TV programme. Xavier, Jessica and Lyn watch a lot of TV at weekends or in the holidays. They always watch alone without any communication with their parents. They seem to have difficulty understanding the reports about some social phenomena.

The above analysis shows how the social interactions with peers, teachers and family influence the students' understanding of values. Schools and the media provide the channel to convey value-laden messages, but the students might not understand these messages if their knowledge, reasoning and other background factors are not enough and if they do not engage in interactions with others. Students' interactions, especially communications, with others are essential to their understanding values. In these interactions, the students are not passive accepters or followers. They are active subjects of the interactions. They decide whether to make friends with others or not. They choose their own friends. They choose their own role models. They choose whether to get involve to the activities in the schools or not. They choose what kind of activities to take part in. They choose which media and what content for themselves. Although the compulsory subjects and lessons are out of their choice and although their parents are not always available when they need to talk, they can control most of their interactions autonomously. This evidence from the current study can provide support for what is argued in the literature review, that personal autonomy is intrinsic and it manifests itself when an individual's self-development reaches a particular level. What cannot be explained by the above external factors, why the identical twins have different personal values, can be explained by the internal factor, personal autonomy.

6.4.6 Personal autonomy

Underpinned by Kant, Mill, Piaget and Kohlberg's research and theories on autonomy, Tappan *et al.* (1987: p.349) draw nine general criteria to represents an important aspect or characteristic of moral autonomy: '*freedom, mutual respect, reversibility, constructivism, hierarchy, intrinsicness, prescriptivity, universality, and choice*'. The explanations of the nine criteria (Tappan *et al.*, 1987: p.349) provide a tool to evaluate the students' personal autonomy through their moral judgement. As personal autonomy is considered an intrinsic quality of all human beings in any society, the nine criteria can be used in cross cultural research although some of them might be influenced by cultural factors as Halstead (1986: pp. 33–44) points out. In the current study, such influence will be ignored.

Not all the judgements the students make in their English lessons or talk about in their interviews are moral judgements. None of them involve moral dilemmas like those in Kohlberg's research. However, they can reflect the students' understanding of values. The nine criteria can still be borrowed to evaluate their personal autonomy.

Mollie, Bill and Rose make their moral judgement on the selection of debaters as analyzed previously. Their judgement will be evaluated in terms of the nine criteria of autonomy. None of them makes their judgements with 'reference to external parameters, such as authority, tradition, or law'. As analyzed before, they make their judgements according to their understanding of justice. Thus, three of them meet the criterion of 'freedom'. They all meet the criterion of 'mutual respect' too, because all of them are aware of 'cooperation among equals in coming to just and fair moral decisions'. About 'Reversibility', Mollie and Bill meet the criterion while Sue does not. Mollie and Bill realize that all the

candidates in the event do not play equal roles, while Sue takes for granted that the inequality of the roles in the event is acceptable because she has the authority and is going to give every student an opportunity in the long term. She does not take the students' interests into consideration. Mollie, Bill and Sue all understand that rules and laws are constructed by the human mind, so they meet the criterion of 'constructivism'. The judgements that Mollie and Bill make do reflect 'a clear hierarchy of values' and place moral values above pragmatic values. Sue places the pragmatic value, *Guanxi*, above the moral value of justice. Mollie and Bill meet the criterion of 'hierarchy' while Sue does not. The criterion of 'Intrinsicness' means that 'autonomous judgements are based on a fundamental valuing of persons as ends in themselves, tied to a basic respect for moral personality, personal autonomy, and human dignity'. It is difficult to tell if Mollie and Bill meet this criterion or not through their judgements in this event. But according to Mollie's idea of benefiting all human beings and Bill's role playing in the English debate workshop, they might meet or have the potential to meet this criterion. Sue does not meet this criterion because her judgement is based on 'a much more pragmatic and instrumental view of the person'. According to their judgements, the moral duty of Mollie and Bill is based on 'inner compulsion, moral necessity, or conscience', while that of Sue is a hypothetical one which can be manipulated by authority. Mollie and Bill meet the criterion of 'prescriptivity', while Sue does not. As analyzed in the previous section, the judgements Mollie and Bill make seem to be based on a universal principle according to which every individual's interests and rights are respected equally while Sue's judgement is relative to instrumental self-interest. Again, Mollie and Bill meet the criterion of 'universality', while Sue does not. For the last criterion, 'choice', it is not applicable in the judgements about the selection of debaters. As cited in chapter II, choice is related to 'a response to a particular moral dilemma'. The judgements that Mollie, Bill and Sue make are not about a moral dilemma but about the conflict between the principle that every individual's interests and rights are respected equally and the mainstream pragmatic values in Chinese society, '*Guanxi*'.

In some other judgements that the students make in their interaction with their English teacher, the students seem meet the criterion, 'freedom'. In the episode 7120313 cited in Chapter VI, Ted runs out of the classroom after the bell but before Mrs Hong's announcement that the class is over. He makes this judgement that the class should be over without reference to Mrs Hong's authority. In the episode Note1903 cited in Chapter VI, Joanne asks Mrs Hong's opinion about how to get along with the American students who are going to visit them. Mrs Hong suggests that she should not break her routine especially for the American students. Joanne thinks about her suggestion but respond that 'maybe I still need to sacrifice a little bit'. Mrs Hong is the English teacher, the authority whom Joanne consults. Joanne's decision shows that her judgement does not exactly conform to Mrs Hong's suggestion. Helen, the propaganda representative of Class A, starts to question the positive propaganda of the media. She realizes that 'the society looks peaceful everywhere, but you don't know that in some corners there might be some people who can't afford to go to school or suffer starving'. Her judgement is based on the facts that she observes relation to the children whose

parents are in prisons and that she hears from her father rather than referring to any external parameters.

With the nine criteria of autonomy proposed by Tappan *et al.*, we can see that the students are different in terms of meeting the criteria when they make judgements. For some of them such as Xavier, there is no evidence that they meet any of the criteria. For some of them such as Joanne, Ted, Helen and Sue, they meet at least one of the criteria, 'freedom'. For some of them such as Mollie and Bill, they meet most of the criteria. The above evidence suggests that first, the development from heteronomy to autonomy is a gradual development with some of the criteria being observed in an individual's judgement first and then all of the criteria, and second, there are mutual influences between the intrinsic autonomy and the extrinsic social interactions. The social interactions with other people, the media and collectivities are decisive to an individual's development of autonomy, while the development of autonomy can influence an individual's further social interactions. The understanding of values interconnects with the development of autonomy and social interactions. As an indicator of moral development, moral judgement is underpinned by personal autonomy, the background accumulated in the historical social interactions, and the competence of understanding values, and is made during at least one social interaction; therefore, moral development is reflected by personal autonomy, the background accumulated in the historical social interactions, and the competence of understanding values.

Because each individual is involved in different social interactions and each individual's development of autonomy is different, each individual's understanding of values is also different, and so is their moral development.

6.5 Summary

A lens combining symbolic interactionism, social constructivism and cognitive constructivism is used in this chapter to examine the students' understanding of values and its relationships with social interaction, moral development and personal autonomy. The research suggests that:

a) Although understanding of values is part of the mental process of self-communication, it is linked to and influenced by social interactions through the process of interpersonal communication;

b) The background of an individual, including values, knowledge, experience, skills, reasoning, emotion, and other elements related to cognitive development, is constructed through his/her understanding of values in the constant processes of self-communication and interpersonal communication;

c) Moral judgement and decision making are influenced by an individual's understanding of values underpinned by his/her background;

d) An individual's moral development is manifested through his/her understanding of values, backgrounds, moral judgement and decision making in a historical dimension;

e) Moral autonomy, an intrinsic factor which emerges gradually in an individual's moral development, can transform an individual's moral judgement and decision making.

In the next chapter, the above relationships will be discussed more fully in terms of moral development theory.

Chapter VII: Discussion and Conclusion

The current case study takes a sociological approach to examine what and how values are communicated in the English lessons in Class A and how the students understand values. A lens combining symbolic interactionism and constructivism is used to probe the process and outcome of values communication and the relationship between understanding of values and moral development. The study answers the research questions proposed in the introduction. Moreover, the findings and interpretation of the study suggest the need to rethink the influential moral development theories reviewed in the literature review chapter. The study also reflects some hot points in the current educational system and society which are discussed widely in the academic field, in the political sphere, and in the media. This chapter will summarize the research findings first, and then discuss the new approach to examine moral development, and finally give my suggestions of policy for moral education and curriculum reform based on a comparison of the current study and Nie's (2008) research. A reflection on the whole study will be presented as the end of the thesis.

7.1 A summary of the findings and the interpretation

The first question that concerns me in the current study is what kinds of values are communicated in the English lessons in Class A. Through the observations of the English lessons and the scrutiny of English textbooks and curriculum, the following findings have been discovered:

- The communications of the English teachers in the English lessons in the current study are value-laden. Diverse values are conveyed in the English lessons. Most of the values reflect those that are promoted by the government and the educational system, such as authority, the right answer, and creativity which are set by the educational system; filial piety and loving labour which are advocated by the government in the whole society; and pedagogical values built into the curriculum and the educational system. Some of these values reflect those that are built into the English textbooks or reference books, such as beauty, confidence and humour. Some of them reflect the values from the teachers' personal values systems, such as honest, cherishing time, gratitude, patience, caring, hierarchy and democracy. Individualism can be perceived in the youngest English teacher's discourses in her English lessons in the current study.
- The textbooks and the curriculum are value-laden. Firstly, the English lessons and the textbooks are expected to cultivate the students' cultural awareness and competence in cross-cultural communication; secondly, general values such as environment, courage, and other values are built into the contents of the textbooks.

- The values embedded in the English textbooks which can be identified as values from Western countries are learner autonomy and democracy. However, in the English lessons, the English teachers' authority is still overwhelming. The students have no chance to set learning targets, to choose content, to develop learning methods, or to take part in self-assessment as the textbook editor expected. The English debate workshop conveys the value of democracy in a way which is different from that in the Western context. What is conducted in the English debate workshop is similar to what exists in Chinese society, the form of democracy rather than the principle of democracy.

Another question is about how the English teachers convey these values. Observing the English lessons through the symbolic interactionist lens, I have found that not all of the values are communicated consciously by the English teachers.

- The values communicated consciously by the English teacher in Class A, Mrs Hong, are compatible with the values that are promoted by the government and the educational system and are also compatible with her personal values.
- Some values, such as hierarchy and inequality, in her personal values system, are conveyed to the students in a hidden way that Mrs Hong is not aware of.
- No matter whether the values are conveyed by Mrs Hong consciously or in a hidden way in the English lessons, they reflect the three main values systems in the contemporary society in China: the core values system underpinned by socialism, collectivism and patriotism, the traditional social values underpinned by Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, and Western values underpinned by individualism and consumerism. Schools are expected by the government and the educational system to transmit the core values to the students. However, even though the English teachers are aware of this social expectation of their roles, they can hardly avoid conveying any traditional values or Western values in the English lessons. Outside the English lessons, more traditional values and Western values have been noted in the English teachers' communications with their students.

A joint lens combining the symbolic interactionism and constructivism is used to examine the students' understanding of values through the observation of their communications in the English lessons, through the interviews with them, and through their writings. The findings include the following:

- The students in Class A can perceive and understand the values that are conveyed by Mrs Hong directly or indirectly. Through Mrs Hong's comments, assigning tasks and asking questions, the students can perceive the hierarchy of English academic performance, which is hidden in Mrs Hong's discourses, and respond accordingly. The students at the top of the hierarchy show their authority in the English debating workshop while those who think their English is not good enough keep silence.

- The understanding of values is not uniform for the students in Class A. They have different interpretations of the meanings suggested by Mrs Hong. The students' background such as their knowledge, experience, values, reasoning and emotions, accumulated and developed from previous social interactions influence their interpretation and understanding.
- Each student has a unique background because of the different social interactions that s/he got involved in. Peers, family, teachers, school, the media and other things which are related to social interactions are the external factors and autonomy the internal factor that influence a student's understanding of values through his/her background. Social interaction and personal autonomy have a mutual influence on each other.
- The students' understanding of values influences their moral judgement and decision making, which can reflect their moral development.

7.2 A discussion of moral development

The analysis of the selection of debaters in the previous chapter shows that the students' understanding of authority and justice influences their moral judgements, through which their moral development is reflected. The students, Mollie, Bill and Sue, have made their moral judgement about the event of selection and all of the moral judgements are based on justice. However, in Sue's perspective, justice can be achieved through authority to distribute equal opportunities to each individual; while for Mollie and Bill, justice is built upon the fundamental principle through which individuals' free will can be respected and each individual has an equal right. If conformity with society is deemed as the moral end, Sue seems mature while Mollie not. Sue's personal values which have got involved in this judgement, authority, *Guanxi*, equality and justice, are compatible with the values in contemporary Chinese society. Sue conforms to it well and has good relationships both in her family and in the school. Mollie resists authority and *Guanxi*, and hence finds it difficult to keep good relationships with teachers and some other students. She needs her parents' help to resolve her values conflict to achieve the conformity with society. If Kohlberg's moral reasoning development theory is used to assess Sue and Mollie, Mollie is more likely in a higher stage than Sue. Mollie meets more criteria of autonomy than Sue does. Mollie is probably in the postconventional stage while Sue in the highest conventional stage. This case suggests that if different moral ends are used to assess individuals' moral development, the results can be different. The following questions are raised by this case study: Does individuals' morality develop towards the same direction? What moral end should a moral development theory be based on?

The cognitive approach moral development theories which were reviewed in the literature review chapter all considered that there is a law behind individuals' moral development. Piaget, Kohlberg and Tappan *et al.* believe that individuals develop from heteronomy to autonomy (Piaget, 1932/1965; Kohlberg, 1958, 1973, 1976; Tappan *et al.*, 1987). Kohlberg's theory indicates that individuals'

morality develops in the same direction, from blindly obeying rules to avoid punishment to having a social conscience, and from contributing to a society to acting autonomously according to universal ethical principles. Ma (1988) agrees with Kohlberg's moral universalism but suggests that different philosophical theories on which reasoning is based should be considered. Actually, his proposal for moral development indicates that individuals in Western culture and those in Eastern culture have different directions of moral development. Although the three-schema moral development theory proposed by Rest *et al.* does not follow Kohlberg's moral universalism, it keeps Kohlberg's development sequence from conventional to postconventional thinking. In other words, Rest *et al.* agree that individuals' morality develop towards the same direction. In Rest *et al.*'s moral development theory, the characteristic of postconventional thinking is defined as 'rights and duties are based on sharable ideals for organizing cooperation in society, and are open to debate and tests of logical consistency, experience of the community, and coherence with accepted practice' (Rest *et al.*, 2000: p.41). The definition suggests that Rest *et al.*'s moral development theory is taking a society as the moral end rather than human beings as Kohlberg does. Ma is the same case. In his proposal of moral development, the postconventional stages of the people in Eastern culture are underpinned by Confucianism. As introduced in the literature review chapter, Confucianism contains some universal values. Indeed, what *The Great Learning* advises, 'cultivating the person', 'regulating the family', 'ordering the state' and 'illustrating virtue throughout the world', are similar to what Kohlberg's moral development suggests, from self to society and to the world. However, the reason that Confucianism is adopted as the orthodox ideology in the long history of feudalism across so many dynasties is that it takes the stability of society as the moral end. Therefore, the moral development which Ma proposes is based on society as the moral end. If society is regarded as the moral end, individuals in different societies will develop their morality in different directions. In that case, it will lead to moral relativism and moral corruption.

China is considered a united society in the political sphere. However, there are different societies economically and ethnically in China. Each province, each ethnic group, and even each collectivity can be a society. No matter which society is regarded as the moral end, moral dilemmas and values confusions are unavoidable. A big problem in the contemporary Chinese society is moral corruption (An, 2009). Because the marketing economy is driven by individualism and consumerism, money worship is eroding social conscience. On the one hand, the legal system is not comprehensive enough to cover all conduct in Chinese society, and on the other hand, law and rules are not respected since pragmatic values such as authority, hierarchy, and *Guanxi* are dominant in people's conduct in their social interactions. As a result, individualism and consumerism are fostered by the pragmatic values in Chinese society. Personal achievement and success are evaluated in terms of money and position in the social economic hierarchy. People are driven by their desire for achievement and success. They care only about themselves or the people who are related to them, but ignore most others in society. They serve the interests of themselves or of small collectives related to them. In such a social context, even though the whole Chinese society is set as the moral

end and socialism, collectivism and patriotism are regarded as the core values system, the result of encouraging people to conform to society will probably result in different interpretations of society and lead to different ends. Therefore, I disagree with Ma and Rest *et al.* whose moral development theories are based on society as the moral end.

Another question that needs to be discussed is how to assess moral development. The major criticism of Kohlberg's moral development theory is that he only uses one component of moral judgement to evaluate moral development. I agree with the criticism. Moral development should be evaluated in a more comprehensive way. John Wilson's moral theory does not take a developmental perspective but the 15 moral components that he identifies suggest that the morality of an individual can be subject to a development process (Wilson, 1990: p.151). In terms of John Wilson's morally educated person, moral decision making is an important component to assess whether an individual is morally educated or not. Thus, another question rises. Which should be used to evaluate moral development, moral judgement in Kohlberg's theory or moral decision making in John Wilson's theory? Bill's moral judgement and decision making in the current study might answer this question. About the event of the selection of debaters, Bill's judgement of the selection is unjust. However, his decisions are different. His first decision was made during the event. He knew that the selection was not just to most classmates but he did not change it. His second decision was made when I asked him about the event. He tried to hide his judgement and described it as a selection according to democratic principles. His first decision means that he does not perform his moral duty. His second decision, helping to hide the truth, results in an immoral action. In contemporary Chinese society, a lot of people like Bill, whose moral judgement seems lofty but whose moral decisions do not result in moral conduct. It is moral conduct that should be the consequence of morality. Therefore, I agree with John Wilson to assess moral development in terms of moral decision making.

Based on the above arguments and those in the literature review, I will suggest a new model to assess moral development. In this model, moral development will be evaluated according to five components: moral knowledge, moral decision making competence, moral reasoning, care and emotion.

Table 8 A new model to assess moral development

	Moral Knowledge	Moral decision making competence¹⁶	Moral reasoning	Care	Emotion
Lower stage	An individual only has the knowledge of rules in his/her home, school, and community.	An individual makes moral decision to avoid punishment or to get credit.	An individual can only build a strict link between a certain rule, conduct and consequence.	An individual only cares for self and others who have close relationships with him/her.	An individual present his/her sympathy through caring words or deeds only when s/he can sense other people's pain directly.
Higher stage	An individual can understand moral codes in different social sittings and the law system in a society.	An individual can use some instrumental principles such as utilitarianism, pragmatism, or democracy to make moral decisions to the moral end of a society.	An individual can understand and think through more complicated relationships between rules, laws, norms and values, conducts in different situations and consequences.	An individual cares for people in the same collective with him/her, and understands that the relationship between carer and cared-for is not simply giving-and-taking.	An individual can show their sympathy to other people even s/he cannot sense their pain directly.
Highest stage	An individual can understand that all social rules and laws are constructed, which can conflict to each other and conflict to the natural law, so that an individual can choose to follow all of them, some of them or none of them and be aware of the consequences of his/her choice.	An individual can skillfully evaluate a situation and use any necessary ethic principle to make sure his/her decision is compatible with universal moral principles.	An individual can autonomously build links between information from a situation, specific moral knowledge, proper conduct and prediction of the short term and long term consequences according to the universal moral principles.	An individual cares about human beings, the social world and the natural world, and understands that carer and cared-for have an equal relationship.	Emotion becomes subconscious and benevolence is naturally involved in an individual's moral decision.

¹⁶ It means the competence to evaluate situations, to make moral judgements, and to conduct moral deeds.

The five components form the background on which values understanding, moral judgements and moral decisions are based. These components do not develop separately; on the contrary, they link together and influence each other. As the five components develop, the criteria of personal autonomy gradually appear; finally a fully developed moral person is an autonomous person. This model and the above assumptions need extended empirical research to test them.

7.3 A discussion of *De Yu* in China

The content of *De Yu* in China has changed over time while the aim of *De Yu*, transmitting socialism, collectivism and patriotism to the students has never changed since the founding of the P. R. China. If the core values were transmitted successfully, socialism, collectivism and patriotism should have been seen in the students' personal values anytime in any schools in China. As reported in Chapter V, collectivism and patriotism are detected in the personal values system of some students in Class A and socialism is thought about by Bill. This finding conflicts with what Nie (2008) summarized in her research conducted in 1998 that the students respond negatively towards collectivism, socialism, communism, and the CCP. The difference in time is not the main factor that causes the difference between the findings in the two case studies. The main factor is probably the different social classes that the school in Nie's study and the schools in my study represent. Central High School in Nie's study was an ordinary school in a capital city of a province in Southwest China where most students came from working class families. The key state school in my research is at the top of the hierarchy of high schools in China where most students come from well-off middle class families while the students in the private school in my study all come from rich families. The students' families in Nie's study were below the average in the social economic hierarchy in China while the students' families in my study are further up. The students' families in Nie's study were the people who suffer the pain of the economic reforms in China while the students' families in my study are the people who enjoy the fruits of the economic reforms. The students in Nie's study were suspicious of socialism, collectivism, communism and the CPC because most of their parents lost jobs because of the transformation from state enterprises to private ones. The students in my study show their collectivism and patriotism because 'China has good policies' (Lyn) and their parents benefit from it. The students understand values based on their background accumulated from social interactions. That is why they have different responses to the *De Yu* in schools. The different findings in the two studies reflect the biggest social problem in contemporary China, the growing gap between the poor and the rich. Because of such a social reality, *De Yu* in schools encounters a big challenge. A question need to be discussed: should *De Yu* insist society as the moral end and the transmission of core values promoted by the government?

The recent curriculum reform stresses the embedding of *De Yu* in all academic subjects in schools. All the subjects are expected to have an impact on the students in three areas: knowledge and skills, processes and methods, and emotions, attitudes and values (MOE, 2001). This change enhances *De*

Yu in schools from focusing on the transmission of core values only to combining the transmission of core values in the curriculum with the influence of the hidden curriculum. Meanwhile, it also advocates cultivating the students' learning autonomy through the change from teacher-centred teaching to student-centred learning (Yang, 2007; Halstead & Zhu, 2009). This change is motivated by the need for human resources in the market. The transformation from 'made in China' to 'created in China' needs creative human resources who have the autonomy to create rather than have the knowledge and skill to make. The current study is conducted against the backdrop of the curriculum reform. The English teachers do convey values which are compatible with the core values. However, under the pressure of the Entrance Examination to Universities, teachers pay more attention to the pedagogical values rather than explain the values embedded in the curriculum such as environmental protection. The values conveyed through the hidden curriculum such as hierarchy and authority are not compatible with the core values system but belong to the mainstream values which influence the social interactions in society. The current study reveals that the students do not passively internalize values. Their background is decisive to their understanding of values. Although the students in the current study have to spend most of their time in school, they still have various social interactions with family, friends, and others through the media or other channels. Each individual accumulates a unique background through social interactions. For the values conveyed in the English lessons, the students have different interpretations and understandings. The research findings suggest that the intention to cultivate the students' values through curriculum and hidden curriculum in schools might not be successful because students' social interactions are not limited in schools. The positive findings about collectivism and patriotism in the students' personal values system in the current study are more likely an outcome of the students' comprehensive interactions in society rather than an outcome of their interactions in schools. Moreover, schools do not only reflect the core values but also the other mainstream values. The hierarchy of the schools, from national key state schools at the top to ordinary schools at the bottom, reflects the social and economic hierarchy in society. The fee that the schools charge the students who are not qualified to enrol varies according to each school's place in the hierarchy, which reflects consumerism in the educational system. Under such circumstances, the *De Yu* that the recent curriculum reform promotes is hardly fruitful. It is the time to think about changing the aim of *De Yu* from influencing the student with core values promoted by the government and cultivating the students' morality for the purposes of society to creating an atmosphere that will encourage the students to develop autonomously for the purposes of universal morality.

7.4 The reflection of the current study

Like any other research, there are limitations in the current study, which come from the research design and the researcher.

The first limitation of the research design is that the time spent on the field work is not long enough. According to the research design, 13.5 hours have been spent on the observation of the English

lessons in Class A. During that period of time, only one and a half units of the English textbook have been taught. It is not long enough to trace the students' understanding of the values embedded in the textbook. Mrs Hong and I have talked about the effect of teaching and learning one day during the field work. She has presumed that there is a time lag effect between teaching and the students' internalization. She has given an example about the lesson of Chinese traditional paper arts. The students had shown no particular interest in the lesson. Half a year later, when Mrs Hong accompanied the students to visit the USA, she was surprised that one of the students made beautiful PowerPoint slides to present the Chinese paper arts to the American students. During the three weeks in the key state school, I have dug out the event of the selection of debaters on which different students made different moral judgements. If I could spend a whole term as Nie did in the Central High School, I could not only have the chance to test the time lag in understanding values but also discover more natural moral judgements in daily life.

The second limitation of the research design is the choice of the schools. When I planned the research, I did not realize that the hierarchy of the schools had been developed and the gaps between the schools had become so huge. The ordinary high school where Class C is observed in the current study is not low enough to reveal the gap between the key state high school and the real ordinary high school. I should have chosen another ordinary high school in the suburb or rural district of Beijing.

Although the current study has these limitations, the triangulated research design and the proper use of discourse analysis can ensure the reliability of the research. The findings can help moral education researchers, practitioners and policy makers in China and also in other countries to rethink the aim and implementation of moral education in schools.

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Appendix I: A transcription of observation

Class A- 13 March

Episode 1: announcement about debate

Joanne stands on the platform and speaks to her classmates when the class begins: “Everyone keeps quiet please. I have an announcement to make. Do you imagine your village is in a small town called Dolwyn Bay. Please turn to page 17. There is some information about the Dolwyn Bay. Dolwyn Bay is a small fishing town. The population is 8,000. The people enjoy a beautiful life. There’s also some wildlife in this area. The main supportive fishing industry is no longer successful anymore. So, as we have to think. There is a big oil factory in this area, because they discovered oil under the sea near Dolwyn Bay. So here, we have to vote, to discuss, to debate whether we should permit the factory in the downtown or not. (Bell is ringing.) The advantages and disadvantages are as follow. First, it should be great advantage for the economy. Since we have the old population for the younger go to the city for job, we only have old people here. The fishing industry needs young men support. So it gets worse. So we have little support. The oil industry should be good economy support. It will cause very large investment. Oil factory will be the first factory in our downtown. Second, it will encourage the employment rate. Third, the service will grow. Restaurant, shopping centre, entertainment facilities will be more and more. Four, it will welcome young injecting blood, such competition will rise the industry. Five, it will promote tax income. Six, it will interest the tourism. Since they come, we can make some fishing occasion, and we can introduce our culture habit to the people around the world. I could believe our town can be like a small Hong Kong, if you can make the oil factory more advantages.” Joanne finishes her announcement. She sighs and waits. The teacher reminds her there’s something more: “Now this time, you can make it. You can tell them what will happen tomorrow.” Joanne: “Tomorrow we are going to have a debate.” The teacher: “No! not tomorrow. Oil Company ...” Joanne: “Oil Company?” The teacher: “The oil Company will give us their presentation.” Joanne continues her announcement: “The oil Company will give us a presentation tomorrow. Our villagers have to keep our eyes clean to make sure whether you are applauding it or not. There are wide varieties of advantages and disadvantages. Please think about it.”

Episode 2: Teacher’s explanation of debate

The teacher: “Hurry, then. You see, there is a complete new exercise. Last time we had the exercise of real life project. As you know, debate. Do you know the word debate? Argument, debate. This time, we are supposed to be residents of Dolwyn Bay. Residents. You are villagers of Dolwyn Bay. You have a small passage here (in the book). These are information about your hometown. It’s real a beautiful tranquil place. That means it’s very quiet. You might be a retired person. You have just

bought a beautiful cottage, wishing you could spend the rest of your life in a quiet peaceful way. You might be a fisherman. You have a very beautiful boat on fishing every day. You might be an unemployed person. You might have three or four children. You are unemployed. You really need a job. You might be young people with ambition. You might want to be great. But this is a small town. You really find it difficult. So all you have is a town committee headed by Iain, Joanne. They will ask three more students. They are the committee. They will publicly decide whether or not oil refinery, oil refinery, 炼油厂, a factory where oil is produced. They will decide whether or not an oil refinery will be built in the beautiful hometown. And Mike will head a company, the oil company. He will have four assistants, right? Tomorrow, they are going to give you a presentation of this project. All you have to do is to think carefully what decision will make. You need to do first of all tell about your background. You need to say: 'My name is York, I am unemployed recently. I still have three children.' The students burst into laughter. The teacher laughs too and keeps going: "They are going to school. I really need a job. I think this company can provide me with a good job, so I can support my family. And so on. OK, just an example. So, you need to, first of all, tell you background, then you will say I am in favour of, in favour of, 我支持 or I object to, strongly, because it will bring us, will cause so much damage to our beautiful town. You will find all the language support here." She read the words suggested by the textbook. Then says: "You need to write out your statement. You see. Next week. You do not have to worry. Next week, most likely on Tuesday, We will have this assembly. Meeting, conference, assembly means just come together to have a mass meeting. 群众大会 is called assembly. A-S-S-E-M-B-L-Y. assembly." She writes it on the board. We are going to hold the assembly. Each of you will have an opportunity to speak in the meeting. You can ask the oil company to do things you would want them to do. Finally, the committee will make a big decision to say what will happen in your beautiful hometown. And, if you take this seriously, you will learn in a real life way. Pretend that it is really happening. OK, I hope you can take an active part in your life. You don't just think it's an exercise. You won't have any other homework to do. I won't give you another assignment in these days. You are concentrating on it. If you want to make a very good statement, you would read as much as possible. And of course, there's another suggestion. If there is the other assignment, it is the reading weekly of course. You are expected to bring it here tomorrow. We will read every Friday and spend some time on this. OK, understand what we are going to do?" The students keep silence. The teacher asks again: "understand, everybody? If you are not quite clear, you can ask Joanne, because at present, they are your leader. They are the heads of the town and villages. You could go to them, ask them all about this. And if you are really good at it, you could also write on banners. You can make it more stormily, banners, a lot of flags. Like, BYH says "JOB! I NEED A JOB!" Both the teacher and the students laugh. The teacher goes on: "and the other side will say 'Go, Protest, Against...' next, we will go to grammar.

Episode 3: Examination

The teacher: "Now let's listen to Henry." Henry asks: "Reading?" The teacher: "Yeah. Read aloud." Henry: "My kid is the most intelligent in his class." The teacher: "and?" Henry: "My kid is more intelligent than any other student in his class." The teacher: "I'm sorry! Any other students (she emphasizes [ts])," Henry: "OK." The teacher: "student, you have any here. You could also say other students (she emphasizes [ts] again.) You must do that in the examination. But, in fact, English people use 'any' and 'plural' under many circumstances. However, do remember in the examination, 'any student', OK?"

Episode 4: different opinions

The teacher asks the students to do grammar exercises. One minute later, she asks the students to give their answers: "Dick No.1. What is your choice?" Dick speaks in very a low voice hesitantly: "er, two two." The teacher: "Which one?" There's no response at all. The teacher says: "Keep the good habit when you do exercises !Look through ABCD completely." The students discuss in a low voice. Somebody reply in a low voice: "C." The teacher hears and asks: "C?" Another student says: "D." The teacher asks: "Only C?" More students answer loudly: "C." The teacher: "OK, watch out means 当心 be careful also means 当心 look out still means 当心 All the above, get off the 'of'..." A student laughs but tries to hide. The teacher doesn't notice, and keeps going: "so all the above." Another student speaks in a low voice: "It is irrational." The teacher goes on: "I worry..." She notices the student's opinion and stops. Henry speaks loudly: "All the above they study..." The teacher asks: "What" Henry: "It is irrational! Who speaks like this?" The teacher: "All the above were correct if the 'of' had been get rid of." The students laugh. The one who tried to hide his laugh just now laughs more loudly than others. Henry: "No. I mean, who speaks in that way? Somebody says: "Hey! All of the above they are study..." More students laugh, the teacher laughs too. She laughs for a while then says: "Yeah. This is the grammar, all right?"

Episode 5: Culture

The teacher asks the students one by one to give their answers to the grammar exercises. The teacher: "Scot No. 7." Scot hesitates for a while and speaks something in very low voice. The teacher: "Which one?" Scot answers a little bit louder: "C." The teacher repeats: "C. 'To attack those children'. Do you agree?" She pauses, but nobody answer, and then she goes on: "What about 2b 'to beat'. Sit down please. Peter." Peter stands up but keep silence. The teacher: "What does 'beat' mean?" Peter: "打." The teacher: "Hit continuously. 他父亲打孩子, to beat the children. But that's the different culture, you see. In America, it's also a crime to beat children. But, in Chinese culture it's not a crime. But in Western culture, it is a crime. But to attack the children, it is a crime, you see."

Episode 6: Culture difference; special for a student

The teacher asks students one by one to give their answers to the grammar exercises. The teacher: "Then No. 11. Walter." Walter stands up and thinks a little bit, then answers with confidence: "2b." The

teacher repeats: “2b, Do you agree?” Nobody proposes a different opinion, the teacher goes on: “According to the context, we are half and half, 我跟你一样做得不好. According to the grammar, ‘A’ looks reasonable too, but according to the context 2B is better. You, comma, half and half. Please pay attention to the translation. There was an ambassador in Qing dynasty who attended a party with his wife in a foreign country. The host said: “Your wife...” It is the etiquette in the Western culture. ‘You are beautiful.’ Somebody praised his wife. It was translated to the ambassador by the interpreter. The ambassador replied “哪里!哪里!”. Do you think how the interpreter translated?” The students seem to know the story, so quite a few of them answer: “where, where.” The teacher laughs and goes on: “The host didn’t know how to respond at all. How should this be translated? The students begin to discuss and try to provide answer. The teacher: “How do you think it should be translated?” The students keep discussing but nobody provide a clear answer. The teacher: “Eh? Joanne, how do you translate the ambassador’s reply?” Joanne hesitates and says: “She...” The teacher: “She is beautiful.” Joanne: “She is not more beautiful than any other ladies in this party.” The teacher: “Do you think so?” The students discuss again but nobody provide the answer. The teacher raises her voice: “The host said ‘you are beautiful’. How should you reply?” A student answers in loud voice: “Thank you.” The teacher repeats it in exciting voice: “Thank you! Right? The host said ‘your wife is very beautiful’. How should you respond? Thank you! The response of 哪里哪里 shows the humility in Chinese culture. ‘Thank you very much’ is the proper response in the Western culture, right? However, the interpreter translated as “where, where”. Do you know how did the host reply? ‘Every where’.” The students burst into laughter. The teacher: “That’s the translation, all right? er Where are we? No. 12, go on. Xavier.” Xavier answers without hesitation: “B.” The teacher: “Too small a car, do you agree?” Xavier: “yeah.” The teacher: “Why not choose D?” Xavier tries to explain. The teacher: “Such a small car sounds right too. Qiana How do you think?” Qiana thinks a little while then answers: “It should be that according to the context.” The teacher smiles and repeats: “You judge it according to the context. We know what the meaning of ‘too...to...’? 太怎么样以至于不怎么样 OK? What he said just now is ‘Peter won’t drive us to the bus station’, Peter不会把我们带到bus station去了, why? Because his car is too small to carry us all, right? Too small to carry us. Such a small car can carry so many people. It is possible. The extent of small does not reach what is not able to carry us all, OK? Too...to...如此 以至于. And, specially for Dick, we learn a little bit more about ‘too...to...’ which I planned to talk about in the next unit.” Some students talk about this with a big smile. Teacher speaks while writing on the board. Then she provides some examples of ‘too...to...’.

Appendix II: Sample interview with an English teacher

Interview with Mrs Hong

MRS HONG: I am one of the people who accept the Party's appointment. It was not necessary for our generation to find a job by yourself. You have to do whatever the Party tells you. It is the appointment policy. Because I studied in a teacher training college, I was assigned to be a teacher. Then I became a teacher. That is the reason at first. I had several opportunities to change my career after that. But I thought that if I chose another career, I would not feel as good as to be a teacher. An advantage of being a teacher is that the pupils you get on with are very innocent. I am innocent to some degree, so I prefer to get on with innocent people. That's why I gave up the opportunities to change my career. I had some experience of teaching undergraduate students, but I felt it was not as good as teaching in the secondary school. I prefer to teach students in senior high school. I don't like to teach junior high school students.

RESEARCHER: Why?

MRS HONG: Because I like culture, the arts, politics, history, etc. etc. They are too profound for the junior high school students. You can only teach them language such as words and vocabulary. But you can talk a bit more with the senior high school students. If you help them to build a solid base on vocabulary in grade one, you can lead them to enjoy literature, the arts and articles in newspapers or magazines and communicate with them at the level of thought. Besides, the students at this age can understand the meaning of English education, because English belongs to one of the most important subjects in the Entrance Examination to University. I felt very good about that. You hardly feel good if you teach English as a public course in the universities, unless you teach English literature in the foreign language schools. Probably because I got on with the secondary school students at the very beginning, I think the secondary school students are innocent. The undergraduate students are more oriented to their own needs than them.

RESEARCHER: Have you any expectations of the students?

MRS HONG: The students who I teach hope to enter the good universities. They have the motivation, so they are willing to study. My teaching style is special. I will use the cultural context of the language to influence the students and generate their interests in the countries and cultures. In this way, except

for passing the Entrance Examination to University, they are interested in enjoying the culture. I hope my students are able to enjoy the countries in the end.

RESEARCHER: Cultures in what countries do you appreciate?

MRS HONG: All of them. I mean all cultures which I don't know. I read Sanmao's books long time ago. (Sanmao: a famous Chinese writer whose books tell the story of her experience on travelling around the world) I was very interested in the exoticism in her books. I thought that I can learn it from foreign languages. Sanmao writes in Chinese of course. But she visited a lot of countries, so she wrote about a lot of local customs and practices in those countries. I like that very much. After I learned English, I found that I can understand the culture in other countries more profoundly. You can appreciate the beauty of the culture through language. For example, when you read Shakespeare's plays, of course what I read is modern English instead of ancient English, you can enjoy the beauty of the rhythm, which is different from the translation.

RESEARCHER: What do you think of the cultures of the English speaking countries?

MRS HONG: (raised her voice) I think the East and the West contributed to human civilization in the world. Among the East, China is outstanding. Confucius has the whole theories about social systems, social organization and ideology such as the relation between the king and the ministers and the golden mean etc. It is a huge system on which the political system is based. The Western countries provided a completely different social system for human history. It is parliamentary democracy which derives from ancient Rome. In my point of view, it develops gradually from the ancient Roman Senate. The final decision making of the country comes from arguments between different opinions. It is different from the East fundamentally. As far as the contribution to the human social system is concerned, I think the Western countries do better than the Eastern ones. Though Japan is influenced by the West especially USA on its political system, it is influenced by Chinese culture essentially. The influence of the golden mean on Japan has a long history, which other influences hardly match. Gradually, Japan has several parties now. Although its political system is Westernized, it is based on the Eastern culture, especially the characteristics and ideology of the citizen. As an easterner, my opinion about the system of the West is ... They are different anyway.

RESEARCHER: When I was talking with the students, some of them said we should resist worshipping foreign culture and insist on our own. What do you think about this?

MRS HONG: They are right! I think that the values in Western counties are reasonable, but it doesn't mean that China should accept them. In fact I have the same point of view as my students. I am very pleased that they showed their critical thinking, because a nation should not lose its root to accept those from other nations. They are not able to be accepted. We would be better to assimilate and reform them, I mean, something advanced and good. The students held the point which our education

aims at. They learnt how to appreciate the cultures from other countries with critical thinking. I think it is very good.

RESEARCHER: There was a debate in the English class about whether the Starbucks should move out of the Palace Museum. You made positive comments on both sides, why?

MRS HONG: Because I am not the person who makes the decision, my aim is not the decision as such, but helping students to learn how to express the thought reasonably and substantially. If his or her presentation is reasonable, I should give a positive comment to him or her. We always talk about helping the students to learn how to think and how to present. So, if what they present is reasonable and self-justified, it deserves praise. Besides, it is good for developing students' critical thinking. In fact, nobody can make the judgement which is right and which is wrong. I think it is very good what the student proposed, 'it should not break the harmony of the traditional atmosphere of the Palace Museum.' He made a good point. He argued that China might lose its cultural identity. He used the word 'identity', but his argument needs to improve. I think he touched on the crisis of culture itself. Another student said that it is all right leaving it there. Culture should be diverse. The fusion of the cultures is all right. New things, like glass pyramid in front of the Louvre, designed by I. M. Pei can lie harmonious together, so do those in China and those from other cultures. He can use this to support his point. I think that might not be unreasonable. The final decision depends on the decision makers. How do they think about the cultural heritages of our Motherland?

RESEARCHER: what kind of people would you expect your students to be?

MRS HONG: I never think about this. When I teach them, I will make it clear whether they want to learn or not and what do they want? For example, some students hope to improve their oral English particularly. I will give them the chance to improve it. Some students are reluctant to improve their oral English but prefer English reading. Then I will persuade them not to give up oral English, otherwise they probably can speak nothing. But I think that the characters of the students are different. If they are willing to improve their reading skill, that is all right. Some students don't want to study English at all. A student who I taught many years ago did not want to study English. Then I told him that if he decided after serious thinking, I would not urge him, but if he did not learn English, he could not get enough score on English to pass the Entrance Examination to University, it was a realistic problem. To be honest, I have my opinion about the present English education in the senior high school (her underline meaning is the examination oriented English education). The students in XXXX (the school she teaches) are different. They are at the elite education level. If I taught the students in an ordinary senior high school, my expectation for them would be different. If they can meet the basic need of the examination, it's OK, really, because not everybody has the chance to communicate with foreigners. If he is reluctant to learn, then tell him why he should do so. If he still does not want to learn, then teach him how to learn. That's fine. Someday, when he works, he will realize he should learn, he will learn more efficiently than now. Take one of my students as an example. When he entered the senior high

school, his English was very poor. I just helped him reviewing the English which he should have learned in the junior high school. I told him that if he could grasp the essential knowledge, that's OK, at least he could pass the Entrance Examination to University. However, he failed. Then he made appointments with me frequently. He asked me to help him with his review. He realized how important English was. Finally, his English score was the top of his grade. I thought that if I forced him to learn when he entered the senior high school, I was afraid that he would feel disappointed by English, probably he would hate English for his whole life. However, I let him to make the choice himself. It seems that he was delayed for one year to enter the university, but his enthusiasm generated in the end was good for his personal development. That is the choice I made. I think that the worst of the education in China is that the students can't make choices for themselves and they can't make mistakes. They are reluctant to study. As a teacher, you should urge them and force them to study hard, which give them pain. Why can not the students make their own choices? I don't want to learn now, but I can learn when I realize the importance of study. Confucius' education theory is not like this, is it? You would be better to enlighten them. Even enlightenment should be at the right time when they are eager to know but are not able to resolve the problems themselves. If you enlighten them at this moment, they can study well. If they do not want to learn, the teacher's work is not to teach them but to generate their desire to learn. You should help them understand why they should learn, not force them to learn, say sitting by the side of the students and monitoring their study. To be honest, not every student can change by talking. I talk to the students every day. Most of them can change their attitude of study. But some students won't repent until the last moment. If they can't wake up until they fail, why not give them a chance to make choices? The advantage of giving chance to them is that they can keep the enthusiasm for study, isn't it? If you force them, they may lose their enthusiasm. Study is something lifelong. I have a good friend. When she was in junior high school, she didn't want to study. She had fun. Everybody persuaded her of course. After she lost her enthusiasm of having fun, she noticed everybody around was study well. What I mean by giving the choice not to study does not mean giving up or forcing them to the teacher's office to teach English though the teacher is aware of their reluctance. In that way, the students will hardly learn. Finally, she realized that she should study hard. However, it was a little bit too late to catch up with her friends. She entered an ordinary university. She majored in accounting. When she decided to pursue the master's degree, she passed the entrance examination of the Central University of Finance and Economics (the best finance school in China). When she decided to pursue the doctor's degree, she got an offer to study in the UK. I think she is a typical example. She didn't loss her interest in study in her secondary school. Though she was urged by others, she still studied in her own way. This helps her to keep the enthusiasm of study and to have the confidence to study well. Then she studied very well step by step. There is another example. She was always the most excellent student anywhere. She was appointed by our country to study nuclear physics in USA. After that, she did her post doctoral research in Taiwan for three years. She studied overseas for eight years and then came back. Can you imagine what she does now? She can enter any university in China according to her CV, but

she chooses to stay at home to be a housewife. One reason is that her health condition is not good, and the other reason is that she abhors study. She said that as a woman she lost a lot. She had no childhood. She spent all her childhood on study. She had no youth. She spent all her youth on study. In her golden age, she did not know how to have a date. Finally, she came to herself and found a husband. Her husband is much older than her. Anyway, she abhorred study. She came back in 2002. It was six years till now. She just stays at home to be a housewife. The only work she does is teaching a little English. I knew her because of this. I think her experience proves that she had no choice but study and finally lost interest. She got her doctor's degree, she had the experience of post doctoral research, she spent most of her life on study and our country spent a lot of money on her study. Finally she gave up the career related to her study. I told her it was a kind of waste. She did not agree with me. She said that there was no waste for her. She said 'when I edited English books for the secondary school students, my speed was faster than others and the articles I chose are better than others did'. But she studied nuclear physics. She should be an expertise in that area. Do you think it is waste or not? I think it a waste of life and resources.

RESEARCHER: Probably yes. You talked about the study. How about students' moral development? What kind of people do you wish them to be? I noticed you always mentioned in the class, say XXX did not hand in his assignment, but he was honest. What kind of characters would you like your students to have?

MRS HONG: What I talked just now means what the students should study is according to their own will, and I act as the role model who helps them and supports them. But I do hope my students are sincere, honest, kind. These are basic human characters. What to say? They are the base line of human society. I read a book named *Moral Baseline* which was recommended by *The Reader* (a popular magazine in China). The family name of the author is Gu. He argued that there was no human moral base line in the Chinese society nowadays. It was several years ago. I was impressed by the book. When people are not honest to their families, when the teachers tell lies and when what the doctors say is not true, the whole nation will be hopeless. He mentioned inferior rice, inferior cotton, poisonous moon cakes, etc. Poisonous vegetables were reported not long ago. The aubergines were poisonous when they grew on the field. Then lots of people were poisoned. The investigation revealed that the farmer's neighbour who failed in the marketing competition of producing aubergines, used poison on the farmer's aubergines. The farmer did not know what happened on his aubergines. He sold them in the market as usual. The students who ate the aubergines were poisoned. That's why I talked about honesty in the class. It was a class meeting before the final examination. I said that you should be honest and try to influence all the people whom you can influence. Otherwise our country and our nation probably will be subjugated. At first they thought it's incredible. I said, for example, when you go to the hospital to see a doctor, if the doctor was not honest, he would prescribe a lot of expensive medicine to you (the context is that some doctors make money by prescribing expensive medicine for patients), which was not good for you.

However, even if you were clever enough, you have no professional knowledge about medicine. You ate them up. That was horrible. I think it is a kind of conscience. Apart from fulfilling my obligation as the tutor of the class or teaching English, I always remind my students to be somebody with a social conscience. Of course, I know my influence is tiny. However, I think the students will understand a little bit later if I insist on doing so. I have no idea about the effect, but I will go on because of my conscience.

RESEARCHER: I noticed that you will call the student to answer questions in the English lessons. Do you have a rule for calling? Sometimes it looks like when the students' attention was detracted, you called them. Sometimes you called them in a kind of order. What order is it?

MRS HONG: Yes, you are right. When somebody can't concentrate on the English lesson, I will call them. In that case, the question is always very simple, say let them look at a sentence in the textbook, ask them to explain the meaning or to read a sentence, etc. Actually, the students are very tired in the lessons in the afternoon. They are too sleepy to listen to the lesson. They will be all right if you call them and let them stand for a while. This is one kind of situation. The other is, when they are too exciting to listen to the English lesson, you call them and let them concentrate. It is a kind of teaching method. These situations are not the majority of course, because the students concentrate during most of the English lessons. Mostly, I call the students according to the difficulty of the question. If it is an essential question or what I talked about frequently and they are familiar with, I call a student whose English is not so good. The question about 'disagree' which I asked in today's English lesson, I didn't talk about before, so I asked Jean to answer. Jean's English score is the top in this class. Though she didn't learn it from the English lessons I teach, she answered the first question very well. She can use it. But she is not good at using 'disagree' in the attributive clauses. It is new knowledge for him anyway. If I called somebody else whose English is not good to that question, he or she would hardly answer.

RESEARCHER: Some students felt regret that you were not their tutor this term. When you were their tutor, how do you cultivate their team spirit?

MRS HONG: It's a long story. According to my own experience, it was my golden time to make friends in the senior high school and in the university. In the junior high school, I was still very young. It was hard for me to remember the friends I made at that time. But the friends you made in the senior high school and in the university usually will accompany you in your whole life. That's why I hope they can have valuable friendship. It's my starting point. Another point is that the students normally spend 10 hours each day in the school. Yes, almost 10 hours. You can calculate. Some students go to school at 7.00 am, most of them at 7.30 am, they will stay at the school until 6.00 pm or later. About 10 hours, isn't it? In other words, during the period of their senior high school, their life is mainly linked to the school. If we do not manage to provide a good environment for them to live happily, you can imagine their senior high school life... I think that what kind of collective the class is decides the quality of the

students' senior high school life for the three years. Do they live a busy and stressful life style, or a busy and happy style, or a happy and achievable style? I attach importance to helping the students to enjoy a colourful and achievable life in the senior high school.

RESEARCHER: I noticed that a lot of students in the class are prefects. It seems that only a few are not.

MRS HONG: No, only a few are not. Hopefully, the prefect election will keep going in the next term and everybody can have the opportunity to be a prefect during the three years in the senior high school. When they leave the school, they have to take on different social roles. The ability to organize is needed by everybody instead of a few students.

RESEARCHER: The student prefects are appointed by you or elected by the students?

MRS HONG: They put their own names forward. Then the students voted. If somebody was reluctant to be a prefect and the students didn't vote for him or her, I would encourage him or her. For example, the male English representative was reluctant to take the responsibility when I appointed him. The reason I appointed him is that he is the most introverted student in the class. He never smiled and never communicated with other students at that time. His parents told me that he felt depressed in this class because most students in this class had great capabilities. He was under great pressure. After the military training, I invited him to be the English representative. He was against this at the beginning. He said, 'My English is not good, I don't want to be the English representative.' I said, 'Just because your English is not good, you'd better be the English representative.' He asked, 'If I become the English representative, what can I do?' I said, 'You can collect all the information of the students whose English is not good. Why is your English not good? Please tell me the reasons.' I told him, 'The second, I noticed that you seldom talked with other students. I am your tutor. You must talk with me.' He said, 'Even my mum I seldom talk with her.' I said, 'You say, you are reluctant to talk with your mum. But you must talk with me in the school.' Finally, he accepted the appointment. I said, 'The people who love you most in the world are your Mum, Dad and I. Your Mum and Dad are responsible for you at home and I am responsible for you in the school. If you don't talk to me, who will you talk to?' (She laughed) At first I pushed him in that way. At that time when he came to meet me, he always lowered his head and didn't smile. He just dropped the homework notebooks. I said to him, 'I found that you didn't smile.' One day, he smiled. I said, 'you are handsome when you smile.' Now he smiles happily when he meets me. (laugh) The children, I tell you, they are very lovely. His English is better now.

RESEARCHER: How about the activities? I noticed that there are a lot of competitions and activities in the school. How do you decide who take part in these activities?

MRS HONG: They volunteer. It mostly depends on their self-recommendation, I will encourage them too. If I know some students have particular ability but they do not put their name forward, I will

encourage them to take part. I always say, 'I think you are good, why not take part in?' In the 9th December Revolution Drama, a student who does not get along with others was recommended by other students. They said he could play the violin. I had a talk with him. I said, 'I heard that you could play the violin, but I never heard your playing.' He said, 'That is long time ago. I am not good at it now.' I said, 'As I know, you are the only one in this class who can play the violin. If you do not take part, nobody can act in this particular episode. The score of the drama probably will be influenced by this.' He thought about it for a while, and agreed to take part. His playing was not so good, but the other students thought it was all right. He practiced for 10 days and played. Anyway, that's it. Volunteer and encouragement, if it can't work, let it be.

RESEARCHER: Thanks a lot! I felt very happy talking with you. I was inspired by your talking.

MRS HONG: In fact I always think about it. You live with the children every day. If you do not get along with them happily, how do you live?

Appendix III: Sample interview with a student

Interview with Quentin

RESEARCHER: How do you think about today's English lesson?

QUENTIN: Today's English lesson? Nothing is special.

RESEARCHER: How about other English lessons? Is there anything which you feel interesting?

QUENTIN: I didn't think about this. Today's English lesson looked no different from other English lessons, almost the same. I seldom think about this. Today's English lesson? Oh, handwriting paper.

RESEARCHER: Handwriting paper means the bulletin behind the classroom, doesn't it?

QUENTIN: Yes. Each group made one for the bulletin. That is pretty new.

RESEARCHER: What did you mean 'it's new'?

QUENTIN: We seldom made such kind of handwritten paper, painting, and so on. The assignments before were usually text.

RESEARCHER: I noticed your teacher always said "shout out your answer." How do you think about this?

QUENTIN: Most of my classmates are shy about speaking English. Most Students keep silence in the English lesson. The ones who speak English voluntarily are always a few specific students. Most of us are not good at speaking English. If somebody is requested to speak English, s/he is able to do that. There's no problem on the ability of oral English. But she/he will not to speak actively. So, the teacher encourages us to speak English by "shouting out your answer".

RESEARCHER: When the teacher says "shout out your answer", how do you respond usually?

QUENTIN: Me? ...

RESEARCHER: Yes, What is your response to it?

QUENTIN: If I know the answer, I will answer it. If I have no idea about the answer, I will keep thinking about the answer.

RESEARCHER: Under what circumstances do you speak English reluctantly without the teacher's request?

QUENTIN: Speak English? Willing to speak without the teacher's request? er ... when I met foreigners, for example, on the way home. I live in Xueyuan Road. There are a lot of Universities in the road. Some foreign students rent apartments in our community. There are quite a few foreigners who live in the same building as me. If we meet in the lift, I always talk with them in English. Sometimes, I speak in English and he speaks in Chinese. We talk in different languages.

RESEARCHER: What kinds of foreigners are they?

QUENTIN: Some of them are university students, others are residents, probably. I always meet an American couple with a little baby in the community. When I meet both of them together, they always talk to each other. I hardly get a word in. Then I listen. The baby's talk, I mean, I can understand the talk between the parents and the baby. But I can't understand what they are talking about between themselves. They speak too fast for me to catch the meaning.

RESEARCHER: What is your perception about the foreigners?

QUENTIN: Foreigners? The foreigners in China look outgoing and extroverted. Foreigners are more extrovert than Chinese. They will say hello to you first under most circumstances when it's OK to keep silence. The foreigners I met normally can speak some Chinese. They take every chance to practise Chinese. It is the same with those Chinese who practise English when they meet the foreigners.

RESEARCHER: How do you think about the difference between the foreigners and Chinese?

QUENTIN: Difference? Because the cultures are different, and the education is different, foreigners are absolutely different from Chinese people.

RESEARCHER: Would you give some examples?

QUENTIN: For example, foreigners, eh, sometimes, don't think about others as well as Chinese people do. In other words, Chinese people always come down to the bedrock, and always wonder if there anything hides behind the words. Chinese people have good ability of imagination. But foreigners won't think much about the meaning between the lines. If both of them have no problem with language, it's OK for them to understand each other properly.

RESEARCHER: Why do you have such kind of perception?

QUENTIN: If you meet a Chinese stranger in the street, you hardly talk with her/him as easily as with a foreigner. Maybe the reason comes from different situations. They (the foreigners) are in a foreign country, and we are in our own country. If Chinese are in a foreign country, they will talk to the natives actively as well. They are probably reluctant to do that. If the natives in that county talk to other natives, they perhaps behave the same as us. However, I have never been to any foreign country before.

RESEARCHER: Did you sign up for the Exchange Students Activity?

QUENTIN: Yes, I did. I want to go to USA. Because our family are going to travel to some European countries this summer, it's not necessary for me to take part in the activities there. The USA one will be in the next Winter Holiday. Besides, it is not easy to travel USA personally. So I prefer to go to America.

RESEARCHER: When will you go to USA?

QUENTIN: Next Winter Holiday. They will come this Summer Holiday. It is the kind of one to one exchange. A student will stay in my home for a weekend with my family, and stay somewhere else for the remaining time in China. It's the same when we go to America.

RESEARCHER: Do you have some idea about America?

QUENTIN: Some idea about America ... It is ... eh ... films. My perception about America comes mainly from the films, apart from some books.

RESEARCHER: What kind of perception do you have?

QUENTIN: It's not so clear, because I have never been there before. I think that they have different education method compared with China. The Chinese always tell you what you should do directly, while Americans will influence you indirectly in the daily life. They won't use the words which they want you know. They will encourage you to think about it, and understand it. Younger kids in China seem to have a stronger sense of patriotism that their counterparts in America. The difference will be smaller and smaller along with the increase of age. Probably, at a specific age, there is no difference between the age groups in China and in America. In the elder age groups, it's hard to judge whose passion for patriotism is stronger, the American one or the Chinese one. Take the film as an example, in Chinese films, patriotism is always expressed in a straightforward way. But in American films, even in those which have no direct connection with patriotism, such as *Spider Man*, the final scene is the one when the Spider Man flies up to the sky, An American national flag is waving in a high place. There will be a certain degree of influence on the children. The subtle influence will root deeply into children's heart gradually. The education methods are different, but the aims are the same. Which effect is better? It's difficult for me to evaluate.

RESEARCHER: Eh, It seems that you have thought a lot about this. How about the European countries?

QUENTIN: European countries, I knew them mainly through football, because I like football and watch a lot of league matches in European countries. I understand Europeans by their playing football. European football players are different from their Chinese counterpart in professionalism. The German treat football playing as an enterprise. If they can't play well, they will be very sad. The

Italians treat football playing as an art. They play football like appreciating a work of art. That's their attitude to football. If they break the work of art, they won't be happy either. The British players aspire after a kind of speed and enthusiasm. They realise their personal worth through fierce competition. It is quite different from those in South America. South American players treat football as an entertainment. You see, football means a career for Brazilian players, but they seldom treat it like a job. They treat it as an entertainment instead. The African's playing is not as good as their European counterparts in terms of subtlety, but is more enjoyable for the audience than the European's, because they PLAY football, really PLAY. I understand Europeans mainly from these things.

RESEARCHER: Brilliant! I know little about football, but I will watch a little bit. You are quite right in your comment on British players.

QUENTIN: Americans play basket ball. North America and South America are colonies in history. Their cultures are different from Europe's. The basket ball players in NBA play freely in the field. Their teamwork is more flexible than their Chinese counterparts in CBA. They follow their inclination. It seems like, the stratagem of training is to attack in this direction and there is no centre in the other direction, however, if this direction is defended by the rival, the centre or other team member will attack in the other direction, and there is still someone who makes a push on the rival. They do not play as individuals, but as a team. Their playing is enjoyable, and is very good.

RESEARCHER: Who is your favourite star?

QUENTIN: Among the football stars, I admire two. The one is Pato, the other is Kaka. I am a fan of AC Milan. Pato and Kaka are the new power of this team. Kaka has had tough experience in his life. He is a Brazilian. More than 1,500 Brazilian football players make their living abroad per year on average. When they are children, they play everywhere. I watched a documentary before. It was said there are footballs in all the streets. Almost every child can play football. The ones who can't play are alien. Playing football is their gift. No matter if they will take it as a career or not, everybody possesses the ability of playing and they are able to play well. Under such circumstances, although Kaka is good at playing football, he seems not the outstanding one among his peers, because almost all the peers are excellent. Most Brazilian players were born of humble parents. Their families are poor and they have to make their living by playing football. Kaka's father is an engineer and his mother is a professor. He was born in an upper middle class family in Brazil. He has a younger brother. It's not necessary for him to make a living by playing football. He got a good education as well, while most football players in Brazil didn't go to school at all. Their families can't afford their education, so they play with tins in the streets and lanes in their childhood instead of education and training. Kaka got not only formal education but also formal football training. He got excellent grades in his high school too. After he graduated from high school, his parents choose football as his career finally. Before the decision, a famous football club named St. Paul invited him to join in because he took part in the youth training there. There is similar training in China as well. Several students in my school got

training in a football club in Beijing. Youth training is common. Every club has a scout who evaluates the potential of the young trainees. The club regarded Kaka as a talent and invited him to join them by offering a professional contract to him. So, he became a professional football player. Besides, Kaka is a Catholic. He believes in God. Because, when he was young, maybe younger than I am now, about fourteen or fifteen years old, he went to swim and jumped into the pool with his head downward. His neck was hurt on the bottom of the pool which probably would make him as an invalid all his life, but he is not. It can be considered a sort of miracle! He recovered completely. Then he becomes God's son. It is his special experience which differentiates him from other football players. After he became a professional player, he attracted supporters all over the world in his first season. At that time, all the senior star-hunters thought his prospects were beyond measure. It was the first time in history that all the senior star-hunters in the world thought he had potential. He was famous in Brazil at that time, and four rich and powerful football clubs whose history went back more than a century in Europe invited him at the same time. Some clubs gave up on him at only several hundred thousand euros. They didn't realize his true value, because several hundred thousand euros is only a small proportion of a football star's transfer rate. Some gave up at five hundred thousand euros, and finally he was engaged by AC Milan at six million euros. His salary reached one million in his first season's contract, and increased year by year. He changed to AC Milan in 2003. Now, his salary is 9 million, the top salary in the world. He got the highest salary of all the football players in the world. He works hard. He is a genius! His playing is enjoyable too. When he gets the ball, he moves very quickly. He entertainment factor.

RESEARCHER: Which aspect of him do you admire most, his gift, or his personality?

QUENTIN: Both. He is determined and tough. He is a leader in spirit. There are a lot of football players who have the same character as him, of course. He is outstanding in his personal life too. Although Kaka is only twenty six years old, he has got all the awards and honours he can achieve. Normally, when a football player reaches the peak of career like Kaka does, he will feel empty to some degree. He will be self-abandoned in his private life, and have lots of scandals. But Kaka has no scandal at all. It is because of his faith. He kept his virginity before he got married. It's rare for a foreigner, especially a football player. I suppose there is no example of this before and it is rare after. That is him. He is also sort of loyal. Normally, when a football player gains all the glories in a club, he will request a transfer, to conquer the world by a transfer to another club. Kaka requested the club to raise his salary as other players usually do. But AC Milan is a democratic club, probably the most democratic club in Europe. A survey will be conducted in the club before buying a new player. What's your opinion on buying the player? Because once the player is under contract, he will be a member of the team, and it maybe cause a negative effect on the whole team if the newcomer can't get along with others. There was a player called Katano (sound). He is talented but his temper is bad. He hardly got along with other colleagues. While AC Milan planned to buy him, the survey showed that 80 percent of the players disagreed with the deal. Then the club stopped the negotiation of the deal.

There is a democratic atmosphere in AC Milan. About Kaka's salary increase, He got the highest salary at that moment, six million euros after tax, excluding his income from advertising. It's extremely high, ranking the second among the football players' salary in the world. Kaka's father was his agent. Because the agent was his father, he worked for him wholeheartedly, not like those agents who work for themselves more than the players. Because his father became his agent, his father requested the club to raise Kaka's salary. Kaka didn't express any opinion on this. He just said that it's up to my club. I suppose he hoped to increase salary in his real meaning. A player who achieves the same position as his should be paid more, even though his salary is higher than others. The club conducted a survey as usual, do you think if Kaka's salary should be increased? His salary was already the highest in the team, but one hundred percent of the players agreed on increasing Kaka's salary. Even though Kaka is the No.1 star, AC Milan's performance was not good enough that season. As the spearhead of the attack, Kaka absolutely should fulfil that sort of responsibility. He was criticized by the media in that he preferred holding the ball to attack himself instead of passing the ball to his team mates. However, the survey showed that he was good at personal relationships in the club. He had a good relationship with his team mates. Otherwise, even if you play well, your team mates will not agree to your salary rise, because your salary was much higher than them. He performs well both in the field and off the field. A football player's value should be evaluated on his behaviour as a whole instead of just on his performance in the field. Besides, a club named Real Madrid, almost the richest club in the world, proposed formally to engage in Kaka with a one hundred million Euros transfer fee not long ago. It's the deal which every football player dreams of. Why does it want to buy Kaka in such a high price? Mijatovic answered this question in the media: If I spend 100 million to buy him now, he will bring 400 million in the following 4 years. A good player means more than his performance both on the field and off the field, but in his marketing value as well. The sales amount of his shirt lists among the top rank. Kaka is an advertising image as well. There is one of his advertisement in China. The most estimable point is that his business activities do not influence his performance in the field. He is happy to take part in charity competitions. The International Football Association organized several charity competitions and recruited football stars around the world to take part in them. Kaka is always available. Sometimes, he didn't get the invitation. He sent an email to ask if he could take part in them. He is an angel!

RESEARCHER: I know how you evaluate a football player now. How about the student? How do you evaluate a student?

QUENTIN: Evaluate a student ... I think ... eh ... I think ... I think personality and morality are important to evaluate a student. How does the student deal with others? How does he/she deal with friends and strangers? How does he/she deal with the teacher? That's very important. If he/she does well, it proves that he/she is a good person firstly, and a good student secondly. Besides, I think ... eh ... if he/she behaves morally ... I think morality is the most important of all. If he/she is excellent more than that, I think his (her) grade and work ability are excellent too. Academic grades and social

work ability rank the second equally in my point view, because a student will go nowhere after graduation if he/she fails on either of the two. So, both academic grades and social work ability are important, especially the ability of working for others and social responsibility. The third is the student's other characteristics, for example, health, sport capability, breadth of interests, etc. I evaluate a student in this way.

RESEARCHER: Who can be called a good student in your class according to your evaluation?

QUENTIN: Eh? In my class? My class is a Dragon Class. It is formed by bringing good students together by serious selections. So, in my class, this is no ... It is safe to say that every one of us is excellent student. If he/she is not excellent enough, he/she has no chance to join in. Besides, after the class was formed ... Because, my secondary school is the same school, and I was in an ordinary class when I was in the secondary school. I didn't get a high enough score to be a member of the dragon class because I didn't perform well enough in the Secondary School Entrance Examination. When I was in the ordinary class, I thought that the students in Dragon Classes did nothing except for studying. I thought that studying is the only hobby for them, and they have no interest in other hobbies. However, when I joined in the Dragon class, I realized that the students in the dragon class are excellent not only in studying but also in other aspects. My class, I'd like to say my class instead of Dragon Class, proves the point that 'One plus one more than two'. If the power of each of us equals one, the power which is added up from the 44 students in my class is inestimable. Take the activities we took part in as an example, from last September, in the school's annual sports game, which tests students' physical quality, we got the highest score in grade one in high school. After that, there is the poetry performance, in another word, poetry recitation. The school requested each class to compose a class song, which means we have to create a song ourselves, composing the music and write a poem. It's difficult for the ordinary middle school students. However, the song we created is absolutely wonderful. The poem is beautiful and so is the melody. My classmates played the piano and flute as an accompaniment. Our performance is absolutely perfect. We won the championship with 20 points higher than the runner-up. There followed an English Film Dubbing Competition. Each class chose an episode from a film, 5 to 10 minutes, turned off the audio, and dubbed it with their own actors or actresses. The film we chose is High School Musical, because it is close to our life. Our actors and actresses not only pronounced perfectly and imitated vividly, but also sang and danced on the stage, just as the real actors and actresses did in the scene. Their performance was as excellent as that in the film! Patrick, Helen, Qiana, Mike and Joanne, whose English score ranks the top in my class took part in the performance. Moreover, Patrick and Helen got Best Actor and Best Actress respectively. In fact, all the awards were taken by my classmates. The poster for the competition was made by my classmates as well. We designed it on the computer and printed it. The next one was the 9th December Revolution Drama. Each class was balloted for a piece of revolution history on which our drama was based. We could choose a ready-made story or write one according to the history and perform it. My class got the First Prize. Although our score was listed the second, because there was

a Special Prize in that competition, our score was only 0.5 less than that of the top one. It was the only competition we didn't become champions. But it was all right. My classmates got the Best Actor and the Best Actress award too.

RESEARCHER: What did you do for your class?

QUENTIN: Me? I got a place in the 100-meter race and the runner-up in the 200-meters in the sports game. In the poetry performance, I acted a farmer in the poem named Appreciation. It gives high praise to the labour. I did nothing but be part of the audience in the English Film Dubbing Competition. But I took part in the 9th December Revolution Drama. I acted the part of a villain, a Kuomintang spy. Because I watched some films and read some books to understand this role, I acted him vividly. After that there came a Relay Race. My contribution in the race was not significant, because I was the last runner, and our team had already taken the lead before me. I kept leading till I won of course. I did what I could do. The branch of Communist Youth League in my class started a journal which aimed to record our high school life over the three years. I am the Secretary of the Branch of the Communist Youth League in my class. Although I am not good at art design, I am the editor. Besides, I arranged the binding in the university. Our journal got the first prize. What is on now is the Debating Competition. We won in the first round. We defeated the strongest rival, I mean the other Dragon Class. There are two Dragon Classes in our school.

RESEARCHER: Yes, I know.

QUENTIN: Yes! We defeated the other Dragon Class. I am the first debater. We are preparing the next debate now.

RESEARCHER: In today's English lesson, I noticed you were divided into four groups and do some dialogue practice. What role did you act in the dialogue?

QUENTIN: Oh, do you mean the Sea World? I asked questions. I acted as a visitor to get some information for the guide.

RESEARCHER: What questions did you ask?

QUENTIN: Each of us asked a question. My question was ... let me think ... My question is 'Where are the whales from?' The answer was from Caribbean, Atlantic, etc.

RESEARCHER: Does everybody talk actively in such kind of practice?

QUENTIN: Not everybody is active, but most of us are.

RESEARCHER: Do you talk extemporaneously in such kind of practice or according to previous preparation?

QUENTIN: We were told about the practice yesterday and did it today. We did some preparation yesterday, then practised it today.

RESEARCHER: Can I ask you what kind of topics do you usually discuss with your friends?

QUENTIN: With my friends? Since we are friends, we talk about everything, such as fun. Friends have similar hobbies. We are interested in the same thing, enjoy the same topic and we can talk a lot. We mainly talk about sports, something in my class, something that happened around, something funny, and recent activities.

RESEARCHER: What kind of topics do you talk about with your parents?

QUENTIN: That is what happened in the school today, or what kind of activities I was involved in. Because there are a lot of social activities in the school, my parents care whether the activities influence my study or not. We talk about my study too. That's what we talk.

RESEARCHER: Do you know what kind of person do they expect you to be?

QUENTIN: They hope I will exceed them of course. But I think there is no hope to exceed them.

RESEARCHER: Why do you think so?

QUENTIN: Because my father is the one I most adore. Yes, I adore my father more than others. Because when he was in the school, he was excellent not only at studying but also at other things. He is the kind of perfect person I said just now. He was one-hundred meter champion in his high school, though my speed is faster than him. He was outside-right in his football team when he was an undergraduate student, and won a silver cup with his colleagues in Tsinghua University Football Championship. His hobbies are similar to mine. He was vice secretary of his Branch of the Communist Youth League in the university, which is a high-ranking cadre among students. His social work ability is excellent. The best point among those which made me admire him is that he still remembers what he learned in the high school. He is responsible for a lot of things and is very busy. He represents China at a meeting of the ...¹⁷ each year. There is only one representative from each country. He has to attend that meeting you see. He is so busy (smiles proudly), however, he can answer the questions I ask him. So I think it's impossible for me to exceed him. But I will try my best to be as good as him. With such a good example in my life, I will follow him.

QUENTIN: What does he do?

¹⁷ An international organization. The name is omitted for confidential reasons, and so are his work place and research projects in the following conversation.

QUENTIN: He is the vice director of He conducts the research of ... when I was in the primary school, he was working on ... research. When I was in the secondary school, he was working on the ... I don't know what he is working now, because I didn't go to his office any more. When I was in the primary school, my home was far away from the school, and I was not able to ride my bike to school, so I usually went my father's office after school. That's why I knew what he was doing at that time. Recently, I seldom care about what he is working on. I was very busy after I went to the high school.

RESEARCHER: How about your mother?

Z: My mother works in XXX Hospital¹⁸. Do you know XXX Hospital?

RESEARCHER: Yes, I do.

QUENTIN: My mother is a chief physician in the Department of Paediatric Cardiology & Cardiac Surgery in XXX Hospital. She is a famous specialist nation-wide. When a patient sees a specialist, he/she needs make an appointment with the specialist. My mother is this kind of specialist.

RESEARCHER: I understand why you think it's hard for you to exceed your parents now. But I believe you will.

QUENTIN: If I do, I need to work harder. If you didn't work hard all the time, it's impossible. However, the greatest shortcoming of mine is enjoying playing too much. I am not as conscientious as my parents are. So I thought it's difficult for me to exceed them. I know myself very well.

RESEARCHER: What do you plan to do after the high school?

QUENTIN: I will go to university of course. Because I am in the grade one now, I have no clear idea about which university. Maybe it will be clear one year or one and a half years later, at least before I am in grade three. Besides, once I am in grade three, some latent capability will be tapped into. This happened when I was in secondary school. Because I was in an ordinary class, though I was the No. 1 in the class when I was in Grade one and Grade two, I always ranked around 100 in the whole grade. Ranking 100 in the whole grade means I hardly enter the high school in this school. Who will notice a student in 100th place in the whole grade? Even worse, I watched too much Football World Cup in the second term in Grade two, and my final score in that term was listed as 133 in the grade.

RESEARCHER: Are you OK for the temperature now¹⁹?

¹⁸ One of the most famous hospitals in China.

¹⁹ The temperature was dropping during the interview, so I asked the question to check if Quentin was OK to continue the interview in the playground.

QUENTIN: I am fine. I was not conscientious that term, when I was ranked 133. That is the worst score I ever got during my study in secondary school. After that, the teachers talked to me and my mother talked to me too. I studied hard in the summer holiday after. When I was in the grade three, I felt the pressure from entrance examination. Because it was close to graduation at that moment, my feeling was complicated. I felt I grew up suddenly, and I made great progress in my study. In the final examination of the first term in grade three, I got the first place in the grade. A lot of excellent students, including those in the Dragon Classes noticed me. They knew me for my performance on the football field before. They didn't know I was able to achieve in other areas. From then on, I got high prestige in the grade. If others don't know you well, they will judge you according to your performance in studying, because others hardly know your characteristics better than your study. I got more and more friends, and a high reputation among the students. I counted the students in the group photo of graduation ceremony, I knew 367 students from a total of 567.

RESEARCHER: Wow! Your memory is brilliant!

QUENTIN: There was an election of Beijing's 'Three-good' Students in my school at that time. I took the second place in the vote in the grade. It was hard for me to take the first place, because the guy who got highest votes always was never out of the Top 5 in the grade in any examination.

RESEARCHER: Did you think about what would you like to major in in the future?

QUENTIN: Major? I am not bad on all the courses now, but none of them is outstanding. My Maths is good, but I am pretty sure I won't major in Maths, because I think research on perception is good to human beings. Maths is a self-enclosed theory research. It's boring. I like Physics. My father majored in engineering physics. However, if you want to get an outstanding performance in Physics, you need extra training out of school as well as the study in school. I am unwilling to do that. I didn't think about this carefully. Society changed greatly nowadays. The situation is almost different every year. Even if I make the decision now, it will maybe have to change according to the situation at that moment. I'd better to work hard on improving my overall quality, because the society in the future needs all-round elite. If I make an effort to be part of this elite, I can get more opportunities and a better life in the future no matter what I major in.

RESEARCHER: Is there some factor that will influence of your decision? What is it?

QUENTIN: It must be my capability at that moment. For example, suppose I want to be a lawyer, I can't realize it if I'm not qualified to it. The same if I want to be a doctor. That's the main effect. The second effect may come from the people around ... My parents absolutely will influence my decision, but it's not the definitive influence. If I determine to do something, I am sure they won't discourage me from it. My decision depends on me, because it's my life. It absolutely depends on my choice. They just give me some advice. There will be some influence from my friends as well.

R: Thank you very much for your time! It took you too much time. I plan to send some gifts to you after all the interviews are over. Do you prefer me to send a gift to each of you or to your class?

QUENTIN: Eh ... to be honest, it's not necessary for you to send us gifts. If you insist on doing it, I think you'd better send something special to my class. Because, first, the number of classmates you have interviewed is quite high, and second, if you send something to my class we can hang it up or store it. If you send something to each of us, the meaning of the gift to the individual is not as good as to my class. The certificates of awards hanging on the back wall of the classroom are those we won in the last half year, I mean, term, we have been in high school for only one term. We recorded each competition by digital video and camera. In the winter vacation, we organized classmates to sell roses on Valentine's Day (smile). We recorded even that in detail too. We have a lot of materials to save as testimony to my class's development. If you send something it is more meaningful to send it to the whole class.

RESEARCHER: Do you have some suggestion?

QUENTIN: (smile) I have no idea about this.

RESEARCHER: Is there something you need?

QUENTIN: We have everything we need. We had nothing at the beginning. Everything in this class was accumulated by us step by step. There is nothing special we need.

RESEARCHER: I see. You talked about the event of selling roses just now. What was the result?

QUENTIN: Selling rose? We prepared it very well, but we encountered some trouble when we were selling the roses. There was a gang in that area who bought our roses with forged notes. We lost quite a lot of money on that. If it hadn't happened, we would have earned some money.

RESEARCHER: Were you supposed to earn money for the class or for yourselves?

QUENTIN: The plan was that a classmate bought the roses, we sold them separately and had a party if we earned some money. However, we lost money. So we shared the loss between us then left.

RESEARCHER: Did this event influence your mood?

QUENTIN: Not at all. The intention of social practice is to get more social experience. If you help somebody cleaning the class or house, you hardly get some social experience, just some labour experience at most. However, the lesson we had made us realize how complicated people are in the society. Not everything is perfect as you expect. It can be called a valuable experience for us. So I was not bothered by it. Each of us just lost a little bit more than ten Yuan.

RESEARCHER: Good! You have a positive attitude. Thank you! I suppose it's time for you to go home.

QUENTIN: Eh, not yet. I will play football for a while.

RESEARCHER: Play football? I am sorry! I took too much of your time. It's 18:15 now.

QUENTIN: You are welcome! You are welcome!

Appendix IV: Rokeach value survey questionnaire and the translation

Rokeach Value Survey Questionnaire

Name: _____ Date of Birth: _____ Gender:

Nationality: _____ Boarding or not :

There are 18 values listed in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life. Please write down the sequence number of the values. "1" means the most important value to you and "18" means the least important value. Think carefully what the most important value is to you.

Values	Sequence number of the values in order of importance to you
Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	
An exciting life (a stimulating, active life)	
National security (protection from attack)	
A world at peace (free of war and conflict)	
Family security (taking care of loved ones)	
A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)	
Inner Harmony (freedom from inner conflict)	
Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)	
Social recognition (respect, admiration)	
A comfortable life (a prosperous life)	
Salvation (saved, eternal life)	
Happiness (contentedness)	
A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)	
Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	
True friendship (close companionship)	
Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)	
Freedom (independence, free choice)	
Self-respect (self-esteem)	

There are another 18 values listed in alphabetical order. Please arrange them according to the previous instruction.

Values	Sequence number of the values in order of importance to you
Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)	
Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	
Obedient (dutiful, respectful)	
Helpful (working for the welfare of others)	
Responsible (dependable, reliable)	
Forgiving (willing to pardon others)	
Polite (courteous, well-mannered)	
Capable (competent, effective)	
Loving (affectionate, tender)	
Cheerful (lighthearted, joyful)	
Broadminded (open-minded)	
Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)	
Logical (consistent, rational)	
Imaginative (daring, creative)	
Ambitious (hard-working, aspiring)	
Honest (sincere, truthful)	
Clean (neat, tidy)	
Self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined)	

Thank you very much for your cooperation! Please put your questionnaire into the envelope and seal it. Only the researcher can open it.

罗克奇 (Rokeach) 价值观调查问卷

姓名：_____ 生日：_____ 性别：___ 民族：___ 是否住校：___

说明：下面是按音序排列的 18 个价值观，请你按照对你而言作为指导原则的重要性排序，并将序号填写在旁边的空格中，最重要的填写 1，最不重要的填写 18。请仔细思考，什么是你认为最重要的价值。

价值观	你心目中的重要性序号
成熟的爱（男女间性与心灵的结合）	
多采多姿的生活（生动、有刺激性的生活）	
国家的安全（保卫国家、避免遭受攻击）	
和平的世界（没有战争和冲突）	
家庭的安全（能照顾亲人、使全家团圆和乐）	
美丽的世界（具有自然和艺术的美）	
内心的和谐（没有内心的压力和冲突）	
平等博爱（有同胞爱、人人平等）	
社会赞许（能得到别人的尊敬和赞赏）	
舒适的生活（富裕的生活）	
心灵超脱（没有罪恶感，能得永生）	
幸福（感到满足）	
有成就感（对人类有持久性的贡献）	
愉快（一种有乐趣而且悠闲的生活）	
真诚的友谊（有亲近的同伴）	
智慧（能了解生活的真谛）	
自由（能独立、自由选择）	
自尊（尊重自己）	

下面是另外 18 个价值观，和前面一样请你按照重要性排序。

价值观	你心目中的重要性序号
聪明（有才智、能思考）	
独立（依赖自己、自给自足）	
服从（守本分、恭敬）	
服务（能为别人谋福利）	
负责（可靠、可信赖）	
宽恕（能原谅别人的过失）	
礼节（谦恭有礼、仪态优雅）	
能干（有才干、有效率）	
亲爱（有情感、温和）	
爽朗愉快（心情轻松愉快）	
心胸开阔（思想开明、没有偏见）	
勇敢（坚守自己的信念和立场）	
有条理（思想有一贯性而且合理）	
有想象力（果断、有创造性）	
有志气、有抱负（勤劳奋发）	
真诚（真实诚恳）	
整洁（整齐清洁）	
自制（自我约束、自我管理）	

非常感谢你的参与！你所填写的内容只有研究者本人可见，填好后请将问卷放入信封中。

Appendix V The list of the participants in the interviews

Participants	Identity	accommodation	Parents' occupations
Mollie	Student in Class A	Living at home	University lecturers
Joanne	Student in Class A	Living at home	Owner of a chemical company (father); accountant (mother)
Xavier	Student in Class A	Boarding	Government officers
Helen	Student in Class A	Boarding	Government officers
Zed	Student in Class A	Living at home	University lecturer (father); government officer (mother)
Quentin	Student in Class A	Living at home	University lecturer (father); doctor (mother)
Rose	Student in Class A	Living at home	
Harold	Student in Class A	Living at home	Army officer (Father)
Yazmin	Student in Class A	Living at home	
Sue	Student in Class A	Living at home	University lecturers
Bill	Student in Class A	Living at home	University lecturers
Big brother	Students in Class B	Living at home	Lawyers
Lily	Students in Class B	Living at home	
Gill	Students in Class C	Boarding	Farmer (father)
John	Students in Class C	Living at home	Computer engineer (father)
Lyn	Students in Class D	Boarding	Lawyer (mother)
Jessica	Students in Class D	Boarding	Estate Developer (father)
Mrs Hong	English teacher of Class A		
Mrs Lu	English teacher of Class B		
Mrs Huang	English teacher of Class C		
Mrs Lan	English teacher of Class D		

Appendix VI Sample of the field work diaries²⁰

3月19日办公室

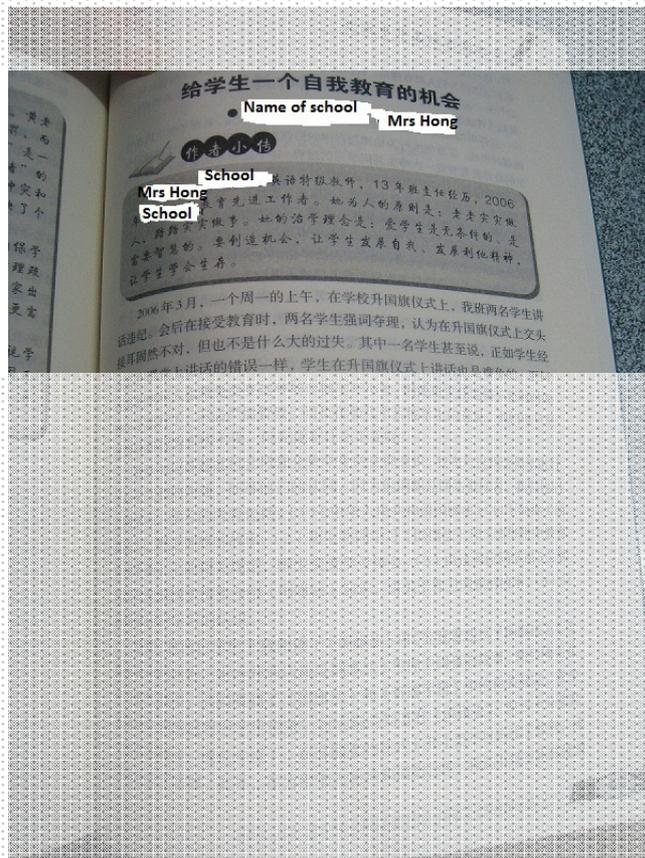
下午，H老师一直在办公室批改两个班的单元测试卷子。刷刷刷，她批改得很快。下午第二节课后，Joanne过来帮助H老师整理，一边做一边问H老师，“美国的学生下个星期就要来了，我应该注意些什么呢？”“他们有什么喜欢的吗？”“他们喜欢学习吗？”“我可不可以和他们聊学习？”“我是不是要请假陪同他们？”Joanne有好多问题。H老师一边批改作业一边耐心地回答，她说：“美国学生跟你们一样啊，你希望他们怎么对待你，你就怎么对待他们，没有什么特别的。不过美国学生不喜欢的，你千万不要强迫。比如他们说不喜欢吃什么，就不要劝。你到了美国也一样，如果问你吃不吃晚餐，你说不吃，他们就真的不给你吃了。他们不像中国人，非要劝说别人怎么样。”“美国学生也喜欢学习的，你当然可以和他们讨论学习，不过也要多安排他们感兴趣的活动，让他们多看看。”“你可以向他们请教他们的社团活动。美国学生的社团活动搞得特别好，都是盈利的。他们都是自己组织，在社区搞很多活动，拉赞助什么的。”“中国渐渐强大起来了，美国学生也会把中国学生当成他们的潜在对手，我们上次去，在欢迎会上，他们的老师就说这些孩子就是你们未来的竞争对手。”“你在陪同他们的时候也不要刻意放弃自己的事情，你到美国后他们也一样该做什么还做什么，有个美国孩子周末要去打工，他也照样去打工的。”“我不想为他们耽误学习。”“那你就还是照常生活学习。”“不过可能还是得要放弃一些的吧。”Joanne想了想说。“美国学生喜欢看英语名著吗？我可不可以和他们讨论英语名著呢？”“你可以问问他们啊，如果他们也喜欢，就讨论吧。不过北京即将举办奥运会，你也可以给他们介绍奥运会的一些情况。”“对了，我可以带他们去看鸟巢。不过鸟巢好像还没有对外开放，不能进去看啊。好的，我做些准备吧。”上课铃响了，Joanne征得H老师同意后离去。

下午后两节是学生的模拟研究课题活动，每个班的学生都参与了各种模拟的研究课题，比如设计一个桥梁啊什么的。这个D老师上午告诉我的，她是高一的班主任，自然也就去了自己管理的班看孩子们的活动。昨天和老师说“模联”活动的那个女老师走了进来，她告诉H老师自己心思很重，担心自己吃力不讨好。因为去年课外活动搞得好，但是却并没有收到表扬，领导反而有批评的意思，因为她授课的班级成绩不是特别理想。H老师说，不管做什么课外活动，首先要把份内的事做好，不然领导当然有意见。H老师又耐心地解释，为什么她建议“模联”首先搞成年级的活动，因为这样比较好调动，也好请求上级的支持。如果做成校级的，则学校负责“模联”的老师会认为你做了他所负责的事，可能反而得不到支持。看得出，H老师对下级是一片赤诚的爱心，既尽可能保护下级的工作积极性，又用自己的社会阅历来帮助她确定合适的目标，以保证取得成功。学生的观察没错，H老师的确是一个修养很好的人。

²⁰ This is part of the diary written on 19th March 2008. The first paragraph of the diary was encoded as 'note1903' and was quoted in section 4.3.1.1: p.103. The second paragraph of the diary was mentioned in the same section on p.104.

Appendix VII Sample of Mrs Hong's article

Title of the article: Give the students a chance to educate themselves²¹



²¹ This article is mentioned in section 4.3.1.2: p.105.

Appendix VIII Sample of the students' compositions

name of a student

As the company has announced to build a factory right here in our town, no matter the different people hold distinction ideas to agree or not, I, a retired person who has just bought a cottage in this peaceful town, am so eager to say that if the plan is carried out in the nearly future, there will be more disadvantage outweigh the advantages. My arguments for this point are listed as follows.

Firstly, the most realistic reason is the pollution which bring out from the factory. A famous Chinese environmentalist once said: if we protect the environment, we are like protecting ourselves. Although the development of the technology is at a high speed, however, the newest tech has not grow to the factory of securing its mass production without the slightest pollution to the environment. Just imagine if once a factory enters my town which keeps a clear sky, green fields, and sweet smelling flowers, tiny trash of pollution will be piled up to a dangerous degree that ultimately cause a series of problems that people in the town may feel unwell, even suffer from it. no one would like behold the air of his or her town is no longer clean, or to find his or her town totally removed of hush.

Secondly, despite the pollution, there is a visible fact threat to my town, an immediate problem that a large factory will force to confront with is that occupying a large area of our town, which should be more likely exploited as a public site that benefit all residents in the town. For instance, if we have such a big place to use, we would definetly put it into a park or something that can enhance the standard of health of every resident in the community, than smelling the disgusting things from the factory or seeing the fishes die in the river.

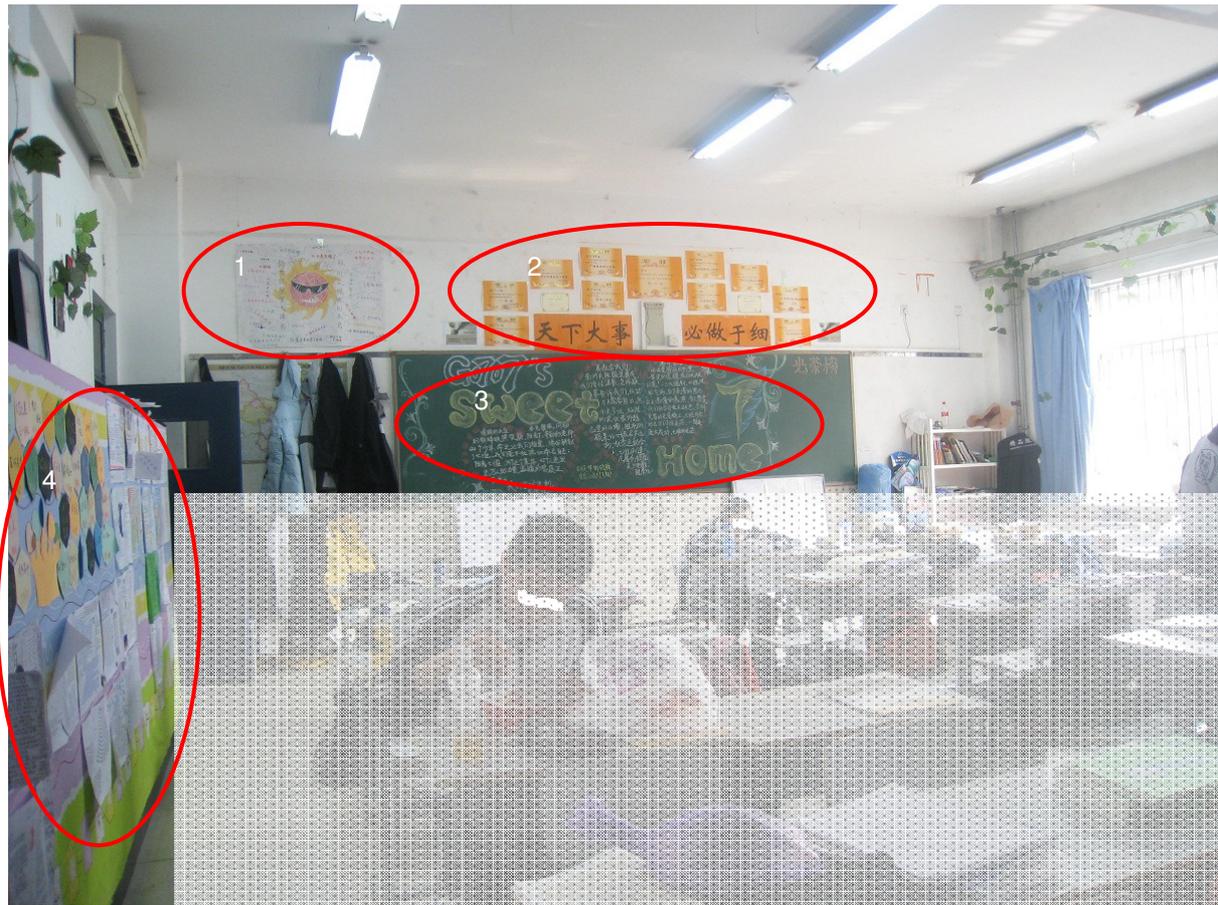
Although there are no shortage of disadvantages to build a factory in our town, benefits for us are also exist. for example, during these years' high unemployment rate, introducing of such a large factory will consume unemployed workforce in some respects. It helps the economy in our town develop at a high speed.

Taking into account all these factors, I still find more disadvantages than advantages. Therefore, I strongly hold the idea that a factory should not be built in our town.

Appendix VIV Photos of the classroom of Class A



1. All the students' desks and chairs are set in line and the students sit facing the teacher. The teacher's platform is higher than the floor and the teacher's desk is specially equipped.
2. The broadcasting on the wall can make sure the students can be informed and can act at the same time according to the instruction over the broadcast.
3. Chinese saying written by a student' parent.
4. World map.



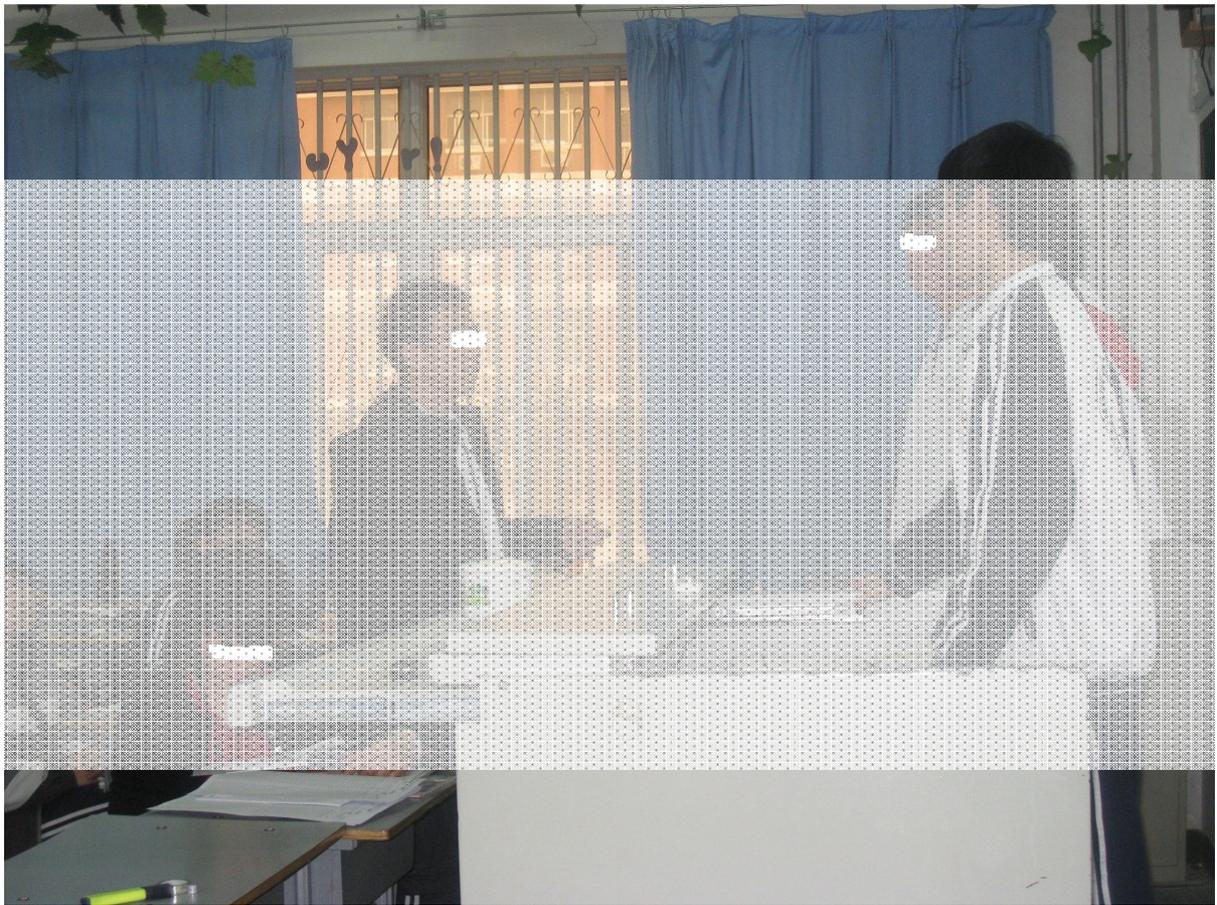
1. Rules of housekeeping in Class A discussed and agreed by the students.
2. A slogan surrounded the certificates of awards.
3. The blackboard with emotional words such as: 'Under the blue sky in the bright spring, brilliant eyes shine in our smiling face. A diligent teacher and 44 teenagers meet in sunshine. It's our destiny to be together. We named ourselves 'Sunshine Class A'. In this collective and for this collective, 45 people together can have the power more than that of 10,000 people. Our warm family is growing'; 'We suffered failure and enjoyed success together. The shining Class A is pretty warm to us all'.
4. Bulletin board with students' names and nick names and their presentation of homework in the winter holiday.

Appendix VV Photos of the debate workshop in Class A

Figure 1: The head of the oil company, Mike, is delivering the presentation



Figure 2: Henry is questioning the representatives of the oil company

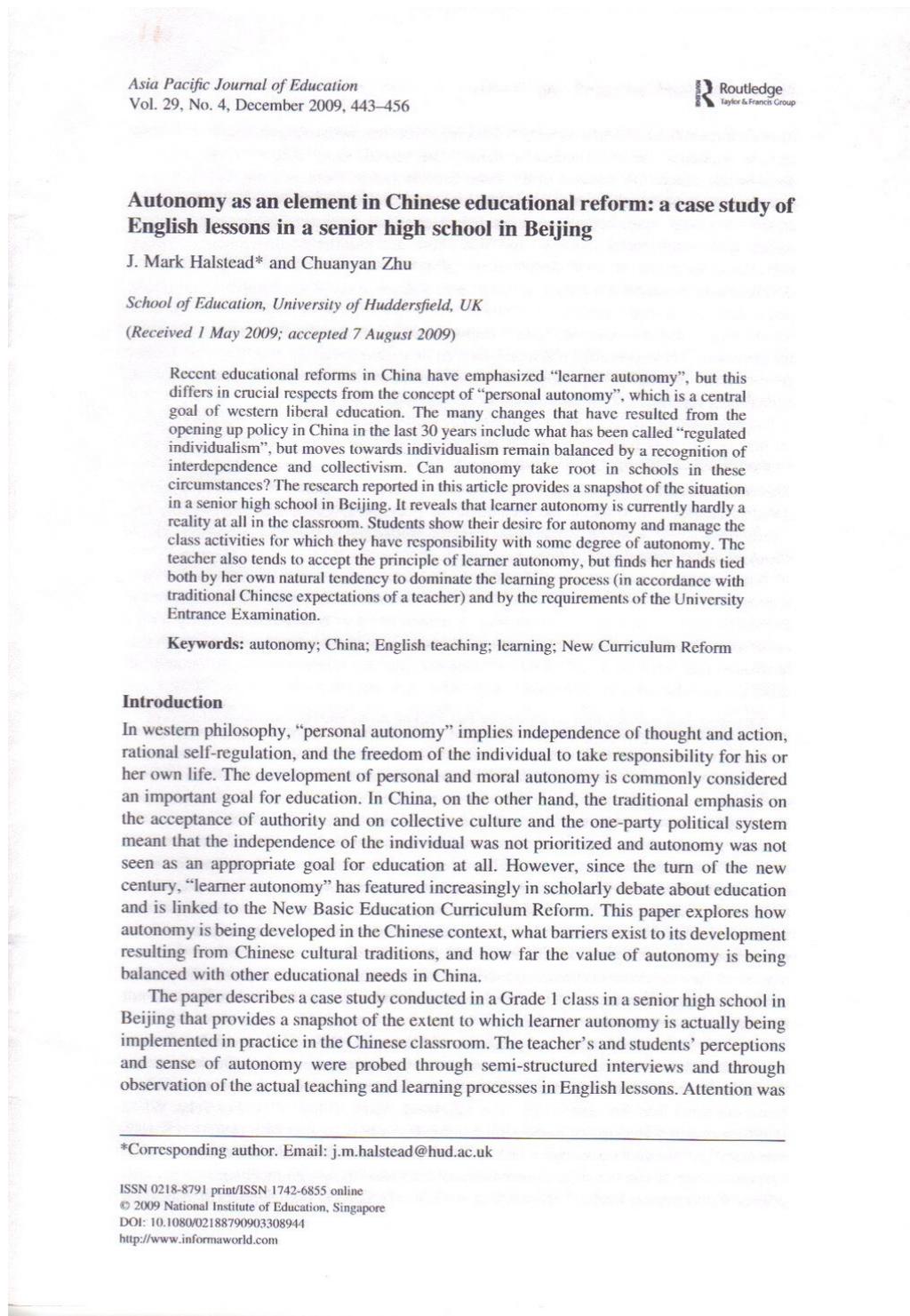


Appendix VVI Sample of documents in schools

Figure 3: Etiquette in the private school



Appendix VVII Sample of my publications during the PhD²²



²² This article can be downloaded at <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a917831723~db=all~jumptype=rss>

focused in particular on three aspects – learning; class management and school activities; and the students' personal values systems. The results show that students may not demonstrate autonomy equally in all three aspects (since there is comparatively little autonomy in their actual learning); that although students' autonomy may be limited in the classroom setting, their behaviour in English lessons has no direct link to their personal values and desire for autonomy; and that there are significant differences between individuals in terms of their development of autonomy. Two main obstacles to the development of learner autonomy are identified: the tendency of the teacher to dominate and control the learning process (perhaps in line with traditional Chinese expectations of the teacher) and the overwhelming importance given to the University Entrance Examination. These powerful obstacles seem to be undermining the likelihood of further development of students' personal autonomy in line with the recent programme of educational reform.

Conceptions of autonomy in China and the West

This section explores the relationship between "personal autonomy", which is arguably the central value in western liberal education (Levinson, 1999; Morgan, 1996), and "learner autonomy", which is the main form of autonomy in Chinese education (Ho & Crookall, 1995; Littlewood, 1999).

The term "personal autonomy" is a contested concept even in the West (Foucault calls it a myth; see Marshall, 1996; Olssen, 2005) but in general it refers to the capacity of the individual to make free, informed, rational decisions and thus to take responsibility for his or her own life. Robert Dearden's famous definition is a useful starting point, though this has sometimes been criticised as too rational, too individualistic, too masculine and too dismissive of the centrality of community and culture (Bonnett & Cuypers, 2003):

A person is autonomous, then, to the degree that what he thinks and does in important areas of his life cannot be explained without reference to his own activity of mind. That is to say, the explanation of why he thinks and acts as he does must include a reference to his own choices, deliberations, decisions, reflections, judgments, planning or reasoning. (Dearden, 1972, p. 453)

The English word "autonomy" derives from the Greek *autonomia*, which refers to the capacity of a Greek city state to govern itself free from outside interference, and in fact all uses of the word outside a political context are metaphorical. Thus "professional autonomy" refers to the freedom of a profession to regulate itself and set its own rules, "institutional autonomy" refers to an institution's freedom to develop its own policies without undue external constraint, and "moral autonomy" prevents a person from unthinkingly accepting the moral rules of others. The key conditions for "personal autonomy" are (a) that individuals operate freely and independently and (b) that they make choices and regulate their own lives through rational deliberation and reflection, not through impulse or injudicious desire.

So why is the development of personal autonomy singled out as a goal for western education rather than, say, the virtues of conformity or obedience? A Kantian answer would be that autonomy defines personhood: it is a human characteristic to bind ourselves by moral laws that our own reason has validated (Kant, 1785/1991). For John White (1990), autonomy is a sign of human flourishing. For others such as Mill (1869), it is self-evidently preferable to construct one's own unique way of life rather than to exist in a perpetual state of conflict or to accept without question "the pronouncements of parents, priests or community leaders" (Kymlicka, 1999, p. 91). Liberal philosophers of education

have therefore been concerned to explore the best way to ensure that children grow up as independent, rational individuals, though western schools do not always find it easy to implement this goal in practice. Initiating children into the skills of rational deliberation and judgment (through a broad and balanced curriculum that is the same for everyone) is seen as more important than teaching them specific moral beliefs and values (see Kohlberg, 1984). Indeed if children are brought up to accept substantive conceptions of the good (to acquire strong political or religious commitments, for example), this can culturally encapsulate them and hinder their growth towards autonomy (see Halstead, 1986, pp. 33–44).

China's growing openness to western ideas, which is seen in the opening up policy of the last 30 years as well as in inescapable trends like globalization and the spread of the mass media (Qi & Tang, 2004, pp. 469–470), has been reflected in increasing use of the term "autonomy" in different contexts – in reference to regionalism, university management, the structure of other institutions, and the values of teachers and students, for example – though it is only the last of these that we are concerned with in this article. However, autonomy is not a new word in China, and long before the new curriculum reforms, both moral autonomy (*zi li*, literally "self-control") and personal autonomy (*zi zhi*, literally "self-management") were already a subject for discussion among Chinese scholars. W. Shen (1991), for example, argues that an individual's moral actions are determined by his or her mental processes, driven by moral beliefs. It is the sense of social responsibility that motivates the subject to "transform heteronomy to autonomy and to make his action consistent to his intention" (Liu & Xia, 2001, p. 338). The Chinese moral education tradition, which stresses self-control and self-discipline, is built in. However, moral autonomy is not a key goal of moral education at any stage of Chinese schooling. It is found only in university-level moral education textbooks, not in middle schools or primary schools. Personal autonomy was first advocated in China by Tao Xingzhi (1984), a famous Chinese educationist. As a student of Dewey, he was influenced by Dewey's theory of democracy and education (1916). Tao defined autonomy in terms of the students in a school organizing themselves into a union as a way of learning to manage their own affairs. In his opinion, student autonomy can help students to learn and practise democracy, to develop morality and to improve self-discipline. He put his ideas into practice in the schools he founded and had a significant influence both on his own generation and on educational practitioners even today in China.

However, it is increasingly clear that China is not adopting western terminology uncritically – there is an awareness, for example, that an autonomous individual can become "isolated and alienated" (see Li, Zhong, Lin, & Zhang, 2004, p. 458) – but rather adapting some concepts to its own particular needs and circumstances, in the light of its own rich heritage. Thus student autonomy has been defined by Yuan as "respecting the students' subjective status and letting them carry socialist democracy forward to decide the class affairs and manage the class activities self-determinedly" (1992, pp. 434–435). From this perspective, the students, under the class teacher's supervision and instruction, have the right to fulfil their responsibility for class management, whether it is the supervision of students' attendance, monitoring of students' acceptance of rules and discipline in school, or the arrangement and conduct of class activities such as cleaning up and decorating the classroom, editing class bulletins, checking students' homework and organizing class activities. Li, Taylor, and Yang thus write about "a new model of moral education with Chinese characteristics" (2004, p. 419, emphasis added) and Cheung and Pan write about "conditional autonomy for... students" (2006, p. 37, emphasis added). By this, they mean that the increase of individual autonomy has been accompanied by "the

increasing means of regulations that serve as the bottom line of individual freedom allowed by the state" (p. 47).

It is "learner autonomy" (*zi zhu*, literally "self-determination") that features most strongly in all recent discussions about autonomy in China. Learner autonomy has been defined as "the ability to take charge of one's own learning" (Holec, 1981, p. 3), which, according to Little, involves the "capacity for detachment, critical reflection, decision-making, and independent action" (1991, p. 4). Learners are thus expected to assume greater responsibility for their own learning. Learner autonomy has been interpreted as freedom from the control of the teacher, from the constraints of the curriculum, even freedom to choose not to learn, and it has been argued that these freedoms must be confronted and discussed in any serious consideration of learner autonomy (Little & Dam, 1998, p. 2). Holec's and Little's theory about learner autonomy has been widely quoted and discussed in China at all levels of education from university to primary school, sometimes, perhaps, uncritically (Pang, 2000; H. Shen, 2004; Sun, 2008; Xu & Zhan, 2004; Y. Zhu, 2007; Zhu & Wang, 2002). Indeed, as we note below, learner autonomy has come to be regarded as the foundation and main aim of the new curriculum reform. Recent research by a number of scholars reveals that Chinese students also have a strong desire for learner autonomy (Sun & Liu, 2003; Xu & Zhan, 2004), but it remains an open question how compatible learner autonomy is with Chinese cultural traditions and how far learner autonomy is actually being implemented in practice in the Chinese classroom. These are the main themes of the present article.

Clearly there is some overlap between "personal autonomy" as used in the West and "learner autonomy" as used in China: both involve self-regulation, making informed choices, engaging in rational deliberation and reflection, and taking responsibility for aspects of one's own life. However, "personal autonomy" is also an educational aspiration, based on western liberal values of individual freedom, the need to subject all beliefs to rigorous rational criticism and the refusal to accept anything merely on authority, whereas "learner autonomy" has the more limited aim of encouraging students to take responsibility for their own learning (Littlewood, 1999, p. 71). This may take a *strong* form (setting learning goals for oneself, self-education, developing a personal learning agenda) or a *weak* form (open discussion, independent thinking, using initiative, working independently on tasks in order to achieve the goals set by the teacher). Littlewood calls the former "proactive" autonomy and the latter "reactive" (pp. 75–76), and draws attention to the pedagogical impact of these approaches, particularly with reference to language learning (see Ho & Crookall, 1995; Zhang, 2003). It is clear that learner autonomy can be adopted as an underlying principle of classroom practice without any intention of encouraging students to become personally and morally autonomous in the western liberal sense.

Individualism and collectivism in Chinese society and schooling

Prior to the opening up policy, which began in 1978, Chinese society could be described as "closed, conservative, authoritarian and hierarchical" (Qi & Tang, 2004, p. 466). These values have long roots that reach back as far as the Confucian teaching of the "Three Principal Relationships", according to which the subject should serve the sovereign, the son should serve the father, and the wife should serve the husband (X.S. Wang, 1998, p. 466). The total obedience and submission that this moral worldview demands of all subjects, sons and wives sounds like the complete antithesis of personal autonomy, though it is also true that Confucianism emphasized self-cultivation and self-evaluation

(F. Wang, 2004, pp. 438–439, 442–443), and insofar as these practices involve making one's own judgments and choices, they can be interpreted as the first step towards autonomy. A similar tension can be seen in Chinese society following the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. On the one hand, the aim of the new republic was to liberate the peasants and to "allow the labouring majority of the country to become 'masters' of their own affairs" (Li, Zhong et al., 2004, p. 457), which sounds like a further step towards autonomy. But on the other, the central government saw the need to exercise tight control over the workers in order to maintain unity and improve economic output. New social structures, such as the village commune and the work unit, were put in place and had the effect of emphasizing interdependence over independence and the group over the individual. The control at first was social and political, but gradually became cultural as well. Creativity, free discussion and open thinking were discouraged, and the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) were marked by persecutions, public confessions and the collapse of normal life. In such a context, as Qi and Tang point out, "it is impossible for modern ideas of freedom and independence to be generated... not to mention respect for personal dignity and individual interests, or a social atmosphere of tolerance, harmony and democracy" (2004, p. 466).

With the end of the Cultural Revolution and the start of the opening up policy in the late 1970s, however, the pendulum began to swing the other way, away from a society based on class struggle towards one based on economic reconstruction. China began to play a bigger role internationally. Economic goals became a higher priority than in the past, and there was an increase in private ownership, material consumption and private enterprise as well as in standards of living, lifestyle and quality of life for many Chinese people. Many restrictions have gradually been lifted, and increased contact with the rest of the world has led to changes in the way people think and behave. Especially in the more prosperous urban centres of eastern China, personal interests are starting to be prioritized alongside collective interests, resulting in what Cheung and Pan have called "regulated individualism" (2006, p. 37). The most significant feature of "regulated individualism" in their view is the "conditional adjustment of the state-defined individual-collective relationships in line with the changes of social circumstances", but always bearing in mind the distinction between "learning useful ideas from the West" and "wholesale westernization" (p. 43). Autonomy, in this view, needs to be balanced with a sense of interdependence or human relatedness if human self-realization is to be achieved. It is recognized that this increased recognition of individual interests and rights may lead not only to greater engagement and civic responsibility but also to more dubious values such as excessive materialism, the loss of traditional family values and deteriorating human relationships. In the words of Qi and Tang, "changes in the economic lifestyle are making people rethink the relationship between morality and utility, the self and others, competition and cooperation, making contributions and making gains", and "individual rights, interests and values" are increasingly acknowledged and respected (2004, p. 469).

It is hardly surprising that education, too, is changing in line with these economic, social and political trends. A series of educational reforms, beginning in 1977, put more stress on personal responsibility and the individual's right to education. The restoration of the University Entrance Examination in 1977 served the dual purpose of making better use of human resources for China's economic development and increasing equal opportunities, since individuals no longer had to wait for their unit to recommend them for a university place. The introduction of 9 years of compulsory education in 1985 gave every child the right to education. The abolition of the college student assignment policy

in 1993 further increased individual freedom of choice, as did the expansion of enrolment to universities and colleges in 1998. Further reforms in 1999 sought to improve the quality of education at all levels of the education system by encouraging creativity, using discussion in teaching to develop independent thinking, developing health awareness, aesthetic appreciation and practical skills, and developing *deyu* (political and moral education) from its former emphasis on ideological indoctrination and traditional morality to include new elements such as citizenship, personal development and character education (State Council of P.R. China, 1999). Though the development of learner autonomy had been mentioned in some official documents as early as the 1980s (Lee, 1996, pp. 7 & 9), it was made much more explicit in the Programme for the Reform of the Basic Education Curriculum (Experimental) in 2001: "Teachers should...cultivate students' independence and autonomy, guide them to question, investigate, explore and study from the practice, and foster them study actively and in a personalized way under the teacher's instruction" (Ministry of Education of P.R. China, 2001). The significance of these reforms was not lost on commentators. M. Zhu (2007) pointed out that this programme "involves not only obvious issues, such as content, structures and institutions, but also affects deep-seated cultural issues, including educational concepts and values, and cultural traditions" (p. 226), and Yang (2007) emphasized the extent of the changes:

from a teacher-centred to a student-centred approach, from the delivery of knowledge to the fostering of students' creative competence, from paying attention to the commonalities of students to paying attention to their individualities, from paying great attention to "good learners" to paying great attention to students with learning difficulties, and from a rigid and examination-oriented type of assessment to a formative and "value-added" assessment system.

These expectations are expressed in the curriculum standards of all subjects for both primary and middle schools. The New Senior English Curriculum Standard, for example, states the principles of the new English curriculum as follows:

1. Build a firm language foundation for students' future development, for example, their pursuit of higher education, career and lifelong learning;
2. Provide various choices for the students to meet their needs for individual development;
3. Improve students' approaches to learning and promote their capacity for autonomous learning;
4. Recognize students' emotions and help them to develop the capacity for independent thinking and decision making, communication, co-operation and cross-cultural understanding, to acquire an appropriate worldview, set of values and way of thinking about life, to enhance social responsibility and to cultivate humanity through the study of English;
5. Construct a variety of systems to assess students' performance in order to promote their all-around development, stressing the assessment of the students' capacity in language usage and their emotions, attitudes and values in learning. (Ministry of Education of P.R. China, 2003)

Both the expectations of the Programme and the principles of the Standard are built into the English textbooks for senior secondary school and teacher training. Though there are more than 10 versions of the English textbook edited by different presses, they all adopt a task-based approach to develop students' capacity in communication, cooperation and autonomous learning, and they all stress a variety of content to enrich students' cross-subject knowledge and improve their cross-cultural awareness. In order to help teachers to update their teaching ideas, improve their teaching methods and enhance their capacity to

implement quality education and the curriculum reform, teaching training has been compulsory for all teachers since 2001.

Nevertheless, although the government and policy makers have shown their determination to promote these wide-ranging curriculum reforms (including learner autonomy) and have provided support for pre-service and in-service teacher training, the implementation of the Basic Education Curriculum Reform is still encountering some difficulties in practice. The reform ignores the differences between city and rural education and between majority and minority ethnic students, which means that "many aspects of the curriculum guidelines are ill-defined or vague" (Carney, 2008, p. 42) for some minority ethnic areas. The old assessment system, such as the entrance examinations to senior secondary schools or to universities, becomes an obstacle to the promotion of quality education for students (Research Department of Lanzou No. 1 Middle School, 2009). A common difficulty faced by every teacher is how to foster students' autonomy instead of simply asking them to complete some superficial tasks in class (Han & Ma, 2005). Ways of improving learner autonomy in the classroom setting have received a lot of attention but the gap between academic debate, policy making and teaching practice in relation to autonomy still remains. This phenomenon generates two questions: Can the western concept of learner autonomy (as defined by Holec, 1981, or Little, 1991, for example) be successfully adapted to fit the Chinese context? And if not, what concept of learner autonomy can be considered as a guideline for implementing the new curriculum reform in the classroom and a foundation for the forthcoming evaluation system? It is clear that any interpretation of learner autonomy should be considered against the backdrop of lessons in the classroom setting with links to the socio-economic context. The present article seeks to provide a snapshot of the current situation at the classroom level, and to capture some of the complexities of combining learner autonomy with other educational goals, such as meeting parents' (sometimes traditional) expectations, maximizing students' potential to pass the university entrance exam, and implementing the new curriculum reforms.

Methodology

The original intention of the research was to explore Chinese students' exposure to (and response to) different cultural values, and the development of autonomy only gradually emerged as an issue of particular interest. An ethnographic case study was conducted during the English lessons of Class 7 in Grade 1 (i.e., the first year) of TS Senior High School in the Haidian District of Beijing. This is the highest achieving class in one of the most famous senior high schools in China and most teachers there have a high level of expertise and competence to implement the new curriculum reform. This school was chosen because it possesses both the general characteristics of a secondary school in mainland China and special characteristics as an experimental base for researchers and textbook editors in secondary English teaching. Its experience in implementing the curriculum reform may be typical of other schools, but its special position as a research school means that it may have an influence on the development of other schools. Students of this age (16 years old or more) were chosen because they are likely to be at Kohlberg's Stage 5 of moral reasoning development, where they should be aware of values diversity and should be moving towards a degree of personal autonomy. English lessons were chosen because these provide one of the main windows for students to learn about the values in English-speaking countries and become aware of values diversity among different cultures. In addition, English teachers were one of the first groups to introduce

and test the concept of learner autonomy in China. For these reasons, English lessons were likely to present more opportunities for learner autonomy than other subjects. Case study methodology was used because "case studies can establish cause and effect, indeed one of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 253).

Twelve English lessons were observed between 6 and 21 March 2008 (only three weeks' observation was permitted) and recorded using both an MP3 recorder and field notes. Of these, 11 were typical English lessons and one was a special debate. The typical English lessons included one or all of the following procedures: teaching, dialogue practice, listening practice, reading, question and answer, discussion, and quiz. The debate was a mock local council debate in which the students played different roles. The non-participant observation focused on the activities of both teacher and students. The field notes were made in episodic style in chronological order and revised by checking with the recording. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with 10 randomly selected students and the English teacher. The participants were encouraged to talk freely as the researcher raised a few questions to start the conversation. These methods were chosen rather than surveys and questionnaires to allow for more comprehensive probing of the topic with due attention to the complexity and ambiguity of the findings. The research was carried out in accordance with standard ethical procedures and principles, including informed consent, privacy and confidentiality (pseudonyms have been used throughout), the avoidance of risk, the right of participants to withdraw, and the avoidance of leading questions or undue influence. It was intended that students' understanding of autonomy should be presented naturally by the participants themselves without any intervention from the researcher, and that the findings should be objectively recorded, analysed and interpreted within the socio-economic context, so that the probable factors influencing the students' autonomy could be identified.

Findings 1: evidence of developing autonomy

At first glance, there is no dramatic change in the English lessons in terms of teaching and learning. It is still textbook-based and the teacher dominates the process. The teacher explains and illustrates the new words, grammar points and language usage, sets exercises, leads the students to complete the tasks in the textbook, and finishes the unit with a traditional paper-based test to assess the students' learning. There is hardly any space in the English lessons to promote learner autonomy as defined by Holec (1981) and Little (1991), let alone more western notions of personal autonomy. However, compared to the English lessons before the new curriculum reform, there are more oral English practices and active tasks during English lessons. In each unit, the students are asked to do several dialogue practices, design a bulletin board, do a debate or some other tasks. Although these tasks are from the textbook instead of being chosen by the students, they do appear to promote the students' autonomy in Littlewood's sense of "reactive autonomy", which "does not create its own directions but, once a direction has been initiated, enables learners to organize their resources autonomously in order to reach their goal" (1999, p. 75). In the unit which the researcher observed (dated 12 March 2008), the oral practice task required the students to act as guide or manager of the aquarium to introduce the service to the visitors and answer their questions.

The teacher asks the students: "What question they asked interests you most?"

A student answers: "Can we touch the shark?"

The teacher: "Yeah, Can we touch the shark? Very interesting question. Well, this time I have another two minutes for you to raise a question which you think is the most interesting one to ask the group. You can name who you'd like to answer the question. Do you have any question to ask them?" ...

THZ says he'd like to ask the girl SJN and begins his question.

The teacher interrupts him: "No, no, no, not look at your book! Excuse me, Madam. Excuse me, Sir. Right?"

The students burst into laughter.

THZ: "Excuse me, manager."

The students laugh again.

THZ goes on: "What's the food of your shark? human or animal?"

SJN: "You can mixture yourself, it's half human being and..."

Her answer is interrupted by the students' laughter.

THZ: "and also, can I kiss your sharks?"

SJN: "Kiss? We have several lady sharks for your choice."

The students laugh and laugh.

The teacher laughs too: "Very interesting questions and very interesting answers. You see. THZ asked if he could kiss the shark. How do you pronounce these two words anyway?"

She writes "kiss" and "keys" on the board.

Students: "[KIS]".

The teacher: "[kis], this one?"

Students: "[ki:z]".

The teacher: "[ki:z]. Yeah. When THZ asked SJN whether or not he could kiss the shark, what about SJN's answer?"

A girl answers with smile: "We have several lady sharks. You can choose anyone."

The students laugh again ...

The teacher: "So, sit down. Excellent questions and excellent answers! Limited by time, we have not enough time for you to do this kind of dialogue. But I am really interested in finding more time to do this kind of conversation. When you are abroad, I am sure you are no difficult to communicate. No difficult at all. Good! And in this lesson we will come into grammar."

In this incident, the teacher starts by urging all the students to think creatively, and their ideas are encouraged by the teacher with positive comments. She interrupts once during the students' conversation to remind them to use the correct form of address before starting a question. The student uses a Chinese style of address, "manager", instead of the English "Sir" or "Madam" to create a laugh, which shows that the students have cultural awareness of different styles of address. The teacher appears to be implementing the principle of the curriculum reforms in her practice: the students are not taking charge of their own learning, but are encouraged to use their language knowledge and imagination autonomously to carry out the task set by the teacher. The extract shows them taking

the lead in the lesson for a few moments and demonstrating some independence of judgment.

The interviews also provide some hints of developing autonomy, though the next extract is closer to what Yuan (1992) called "student autonomy" than to "learner autonomy". In an interview, the class teacher expressed the view that it is important to develop the students' organizational ability, and this was the main reason she provided opportunities for the students to be prefects and share the responsibility for managing their class. The class public relations representative explained that she was in charge of "endless tasks" such as beautifying the classroom, editing the bulletin and producing posters, but at least she could decide how to act and how to organize some students to work together. Both the class monitor and the branch secretary of the Communist Youth League talked about school activities. The students felt they had more autonomy in those activities than in other situations. For example, in the English Film Dubbing Competition, the students chose the actors who represented the class in this competition, chose the film that they wanted to dub, and directed and rehearsed the performance themselves. Here the Communist Youth League secretary describes the students' freedom to make decisions in some school activities:

Boy 1: ... The school requested each class to compose a class song, which means we have to create a song ourselves, composing the music and writing a poetry. It's difficult for the ordinary middle school students. However, the song we created is absolutely wonderful ... What followed was an English Film Dubbing Competition. Each class chose an episode from a film, 5 to 10 minutes, turned off the audio, and dubbed it using our own actors or actresses. The film we chose is High School Music, because it is close to our life ...

Outside the classroom some of the young people felt more freedom to express independent critical judgments of the lesson, as the following two extracts from interviews show, though they would never express such opinions to the teacher directly.

Researcher: What do you think of today's English lesson?

Boy 2: There was a statement about the debate at the beginning of the lesson, wasn't there? I think that the statement was not clear. There are three parties in the debate. Each party will argue. I don't think it's very good.

Researcher: Why do you think so?

Boy 2: Three parties argue. It must be chaos. Besides, the opinions of the three parties are affirmative, negative and neutral. I think that there's no point in debating. It is difficult to debate in English, and it is set in such a situation. I think that it will be very chaotic.

Researcher: How about the topic? Is it interesting?

Boy 2: No. I don't think so.

Researcher: Why?

Boy 2: About oil, there must be advantages and disadvantages. Nobody can convince the other no matter how much they argue. All debates are the same, aren't they? The topic is not so good, I think.

Researcher: What do you think of the teaching style of our English teacher?

Girl 1: Er ...

Researcher: Feel free to present your opinion. Don't worry! I won't tell your English teacher.

Girl 1: Because, the first of all, I don't think much of the English lessons in the school. I treat it as a happy game. I don't think much of how to learn real knowledge here, for example, real oral English or some tips, because the teaching level of the teacher in senior high school is limited. I am not keen on ... English lessons are easy for me. It is the easiest course I do in the school.

Researcher: Do you take some other English lessons?

Girl 1: I have private foreign teachers. I talked with them.

Boy 2 actually played an important role in the English debate, and never showed his dislike of the debate in the English lessons. Girl 1 by her own account does not take the English lessons seriously, but improves her English through special training out of school. She is able to attain a higher level of independence and proactive autonomy than the other students because she has private tutors and aims to study at an American university. She is thus not so dependent on the University Entrance Examination in China.

Findings 2: obstacles to developing autonomy

The observations and the interviews also reveal the limitations to the practice of learner autonomy in the classroom setting. The two main obstacles to increasing student autonomy are the fact that the content of the lesson is largely prescribed by the textbook and the teacher, and the fact that the University Entrance Examination dominates everything else in the lessons.

There was no occasion during the English lessons observed where the students had any choice of the content, and most of their work, including topics for dialogue practice, was drawn directly from the textbook. The teacher controlled the whole procedure by her dominant presence and by guiding the pace and content of each activity, the grammar she would like to illustrate, what the students should read or listen to, what topic the students should talk about, and what exercises the students should practise. Although she was patient when the students raised questions or expressed their own opinions, she never encouraged those who raised questions to explore the answers themselves. Also they had no freedom to make a study plan for themselves. And although the teacher claimed in an interview that the students had the right to decide whether or not to learn, this claim was not confirmed by the observations; indeed, she adopted several strategies to get them to learn. First, she criticized a student who did not concentrate on his lesson. Second, she criticized the students who did not finish their assignment or hand in their homework. Third, she asked the students to follow the standard answers for the University Entrance Examination. Fourth, she tended to answer their questions directly instead of encouraging them to explore the issue. In sum, the students had very few opportunities to develop learner autonomy in practice. However, it is not easy for teachers to change from a traditional teacher-centred role to a student-centred style of teaching.

The other main obstacle is the University Entrance Examination, which clearly weighed heavily on the teacher's mind (though it is two years and three months ahead for the students) and the need to follow the guidelines of this examination is a constant refrain in her explanations of points of grammar and style, as this extract from the field notes (dated 13 March 2008) makes clear:

The teacher asks Boy 3 to read aloud.

Boy 3: "My kid is the most intelligent in his class."

The teacher: "and?"

Boy 3: "My kid is more intelligent than any other student in his class."

The teacher: "I'm sorry! 'Any other students'." (she emphasizes [ts])

Boy 3: "OK."

The teacher: "student, you have 'any' here. You could also say 'other students'. (she emphasizes [ts] again.) You must do that in the examination. But, in fact, English people use 'any' and 'plural' under many circumstances. However, do remember in the examination, 'any student', OK?"

In this situation, the teacher thinks both "any other student" and "any other students" are correct answers, but she reminds the student that only one counts as a correct answer in the entrance examination to universities. For most Chinese students in China, the score in this examination is still the only criterion for entry to higher education. A good score means a good chance to be enrolled in a good university, and in turn a good chance of getting a good job after graduation. The students' performance in the University Entrance Examination is also the main way for society to judge the quality of the senior middle schools and its teachers. For this reason, the examination places the students, teachers and schools under the same yoke and forces them to follow whatever direction it points to.

Conclusion

Both the teacher and the students show their desire for autonomy to some degree, especially through the independent judgments they make. Their interviews provide evidence in support of Sun and Liu's (2003) conclusion that Chinese students want autonomy. However, there is a big gap between their desire for autonomy and their practice of autonomy in the classroom setting. But why and how does this gap exist? The teacher's words and actions provide a clue to the factors at work in the classroom setting. She gives some freedom to the students to manage their class affairs, but hardly any freedom in making choices about what to learn and how to learn. The reason for this difference seems to lie in the different way these two elements are evaluated. There is no specified way to evaluate class management, but in terms of their learning, this is assessed more or less exclusively through the University Entrance Examination. The latter therefore becomes the dynamic force which causes tension between teachers' practice in the classroom and the goal of enhancing learner autonomy as advocated in the curriculum reform. With the examination in mind, teachers hardly dare risk changing the traditional teaching-learning model. The risk is not only to the students' future, but to the reputation of the teachers and the schools as well. This explains the common phenomenon where some teachers change their textbooks without changing their teaching methods and others change their teaching methods superficially without changing their dominance of the learning process.

Though this is only a snapshot of practice in a single classroom in a senior secondary school in Beijing, it reveals a common problem facing the Chinese education reform. Learner autonomy is currently hardly a reality at all in the classroom, let alone personal autonomy in the western sense. Students show their desire for autonomy and manage the class activities for which they have responsibility well. The teacher also accepts the principle of learner autonomy to some degree, but finds her hands tied both by her own expectations of the role and by the requirements of the University Entrance Examination. All this generates more questions to explore. As we have seen, autonomy has a different meaning in the Chinese context from its normal western meaning, but does the re-conceptualization of autonomy represent something that is easier to achieve in the Chinese context? Should the assessment of students' learning and the assessment of the way class affairs are managed be unified in order to maximize opportunities to practise autonomy in the classroom? Should the University Entrance Examination be reformed to allow more scope for learner autonomy, and if so, how? These questions are merely touched on in this paper, but deserve further exploration elsewhere.

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