ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN CHINA: A CDA AND ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this thesis is based on my original work except for quotations and citations that have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been preciously and is not being submitted for any other degree at the Newcastle University or any other institution.

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Abstract

Despite the growing stream of literature about English language education in China, there has been relatively little discussion of primary English language education. Past research has focused almost exclusively on secondary and tertiary English education. This research seeks to address this gap by examining primary English education policy. More specifically, this research provides insights into the extent to which each instance of language policy and planning can be seen as a product of its specific context. This thesis is based on an ethnographic study conducted in local education bureaus and three primary schools in Yulin, a Northwestern Chinese city with 3 million people. Drawing on critical discourse analysis (CDA) of political discourse(s), ethnographic field notes, questionnaires, interviews and classroom observation, this study investigates the influence of macro and micro levels of policy actors in disseminating and implementing the language policy. It also evaluates the apparent match and mismatch between macro policy and micro levels of practice within the local language policy and planning context. As such, I offer a lens for studying primary English education policy in China. The combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and ethnography represents a methodological contribution of this research and is used as a way of seeing if there are gaps between policy and practice; and, if so, what kind(s)? Thus, the main contribution of this study to the literature on language education policy is a framework for analyzing the interaction between policy and practice. This framework combines CDA and ethnography. CDA is used to try and identify underlying ideology and power relations in politically determined educational discourse, whereas the ethnographic part of the study is used to examine and interpret the implementation of policy among local education officials and teachers. Additionally, this research extends the current literature on English education policy by identifying that a lack of communication between macro and micro policy actors is a significant reason behind poor English language education quality. On the surface, local officials and teachers follow the instructions in the political discourse, due to a somewhat rigid hierarchical structure of Chinese society. In some aspects, though, local officials and teachers might veer away from, abandon or even change policy consciously or unconsciously in their daily routines and classes. Importantly, the findings presented in this thesis try to bridge the research on language education policy and teaching and content and methods.

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Abbreviations

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CLT: Communicative Language Teaching

CLP: Critical Language policy

ELEP: English Language Education Policy

ELT: English Language Teaching

LPP: Language Policy and Planning

MoE: Ministry of Education

NCDC: National Curriculum Development Committee

PEP: People's Education Press

PPP: Presentation, Practice and Production

SCP: School Consolidation Policy

TBLT: Task-based Language Teaching

Transcription Symbols

The transcription symbols are adapted from, but not identical with, Koester, A. (2010)

,	Slightly rising in intonation at end of tone unit;
?	High rising intonation at end of tone unit;
!	Animated intonation
.	Falling intonation at end of tone unit
()	words in these brackets indicate non-linguistic information, e.g. pauses of 1 second or longer (the number of seconds is indicated), speakers' gestures or actions.
(2")	Timing of the pauses
(xxx)	cannot be heard clearly
**	for things said in Chinese
=	latching: no perceptible inter-turn pause.
Hehehe	indicates laughter, for each syllable laughed a 'he' is transcribed.
↑	Rising tone

Glossaries of key terms

The glossaries are adapted from Fairclough (2003, p. 212-216).

Dialogicality

In Fairclough's and Bakhtin's view of language, all texts (written, oral or other multimodal form) are dialogical, i.e. they set up, in one way or another, relations between different 'voices'. But all texts are not equally dialogical. Dialogicality is a measure of the extent to which they are dialogical relations between the voice of the author and other voices, the extent to which these voices are represented or excluded or suppressed.

Genre Chains

Different genres which are regularly linked together, involving systematic transformation from genre to genre (e.g. official documents, associated press releases or press conferences, reports in the press or on television). Genre chains are an important fact in the enhanced capacity for 'action at a distance' which has been taken as a feature of 'globalization'. Change in genre chains is a significant part of social change.

Mediation

Much action and interaction in contemporary societies is 'mediated', which means that it makes use of copying technologies which disseminate communication and preclude real interaction between 'sender' and 'receiver'. These technologies include print, photography, broadcasting, and the internet.

Nominalization

Nominalization is a type of grammatical metaphor which represents processes as entities by transforming clauses (including verbs) into a type of noun. For instance, 'employees produce steel' is a non-metaphorical representation of a process, whereas 'steel production' is a metaphorical, nominalized representation. As this example shows, nominalization often entails excluding social agents in the representation of events (in this case, those who produce). It is a resource for generalizing and abstracting which is indispensible in, for instance, science, but can also obfuscate agency and responsibility

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The English mania in China has been evident during the past several decades in many ways. On the national level, English has become a compulsory subject from the third year in primary schools in 2001 (MoE, 2001a). It has been a subject for national entrance examine since 1977, which makes it equally prioritized as Chinese and mathematics. English has been regarded as the requisite for the country's economic development and social construction (MoE, 2001a). On the personal level, English ability is crucially required for education and employment opportunities. Private education institutions attract English learners, ranging from kindergarten children, working professionals, to the retired. Over 30,000 ELT institutions and companies offer English lessons outside public schools in China by 2010 (Pan, 2015). In 2003, English Language Teaching (ELT) takes up to one quarter of the market share of the 37 billion RMB annual book sales (Niu and Wolff, 2003, p. 30). By 2010, the total number of people who had learnt English, both in public schools and private institutions, was said to have reached about 400 million, taking up to 1/3 of the overall Chinese population at that time (Wei and Su, 2012).

Contrast to the Chinese mania of English, academic research on English Language Education Policy (ELEP), especially in primary schools, is quite limited. There is a narrow focus on ELEP in terms of financial and enrollment figures, curriculum implementation, or historical document of ELEP development (Pan, 2015). While respecting the merits of these studies, I believe that measuring the scope, development, structures and financing mechanisms of English language education does not explain the totality of ELEP. Moreover, there is a lack of study on ELEP for primary education in China. 78% of the Chinese students are in primary and junior secondary schools, also known as basic compulsory nine-year education (Pan, 2015). Students also start systematic English learning from primary schools, where they develop their learning habits, thinking patterns and skills. As a result, understanding policies dealing with primary education is essential to understanding education in China.

Probably most acutely, I see a neglect of local policy agents in the ELEP process. Local schools and teachers are largely missed out of the policy process. They are regarded merely as 'implementers'. Yet, one can easily realize that the local agents are subjective

beings. They carry their emotions, interests, ideas, perceptions, and prejudices in their dealing with ELEP. The change that local agents bring can be significant/subtle, direct/indirect, overt/covert, *de facto*/*de jure*, and explicit/implicit.

There are different levels of policy agents in ELEP process, such as national governments, provincial governments, local education bureaus, teachers and parents. Implementation is not just what happens after policy is made. Rather, it is a link in the chain of policy process in which all actors potentially have input. Making connections across multiple layers of language policy activity has always been a big challenge within the Language Policy and Planning (LPP) field. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) metaphorically refer the different layers of language policies as 'the language policy onion'. Language policy moves and develops mainly in three levels: the macro (national), middle (local/institutions) and micro (individual) levels. It illuminates the development of language planning and policy in its various types- status, corpus and acquisition- across the cycle of creation, interpretation and implementation.

Johnson (2013) uses 'appropriation' instead of 'implementation' to describe what happens when a language policy is put into action at the local level. He argues that 'implementation' conceptualizes policy as a top-down process and foregrounding the intentions of policymakers. Appropriation, which includes implementation, re-crafting, ignoring and resisting, shows that local agents might exert some change and power to policy action. According to Johnson (2013), interpretation and appropriation are closely tied together in a sense that appropriation falls out of interpretation. That is, how a policy is appropriated depends on how it is interpreted. Anyone can interpret the policies, although some interpretation will privilege during appropriation process.

In line with the argument above, in this research, I argue that in order to understand Language Policy and Planning (LPP), there are some key areas to take account of:

- Governments' education policy texts;
- Governments' support for English education (financially and logistically);
- Language environment in the society;
- Areal context (e.g. socio-economic status, language environment);
- Teaching in classes (number of students, teaching methods, teaching purposes, teacher assessment and evaluation);
- Parental support;

- Students' learning experience (e.g. motivation, learning habits, learning methods, assessment).

ELEP is involved in a complex nexus of social, cultural and economic relations that involve the government, the local schools, teachers and students in differential positions of power. Yet, with the vast territory and socioeconomic diversity in China, it would be sloppy to generalize the provision of ELEP without giving full attention to the differences in sub-contexts across the country.

In this dissertation, I would study the provision of English education in one sub-context (Yulin, in Shaanxi Province, see section 1.3&1.4). I intend to examine the creation, interpretation and appropriation of the ELEP in local community. More specifically, I examine the tensions between the central policy and the local practice (see chapter 2 for details). In what follows, I provide the backdrop of this research, by analyzing the linguistic culture of ELEP in China from both national and regional perspectives, including Chinese education system, national English language environment, English education in China, regional education system and regional language environment. The background knowledge helps to understand the tensions between the central policy and local practice within ELEP, which is the focal point of this research.

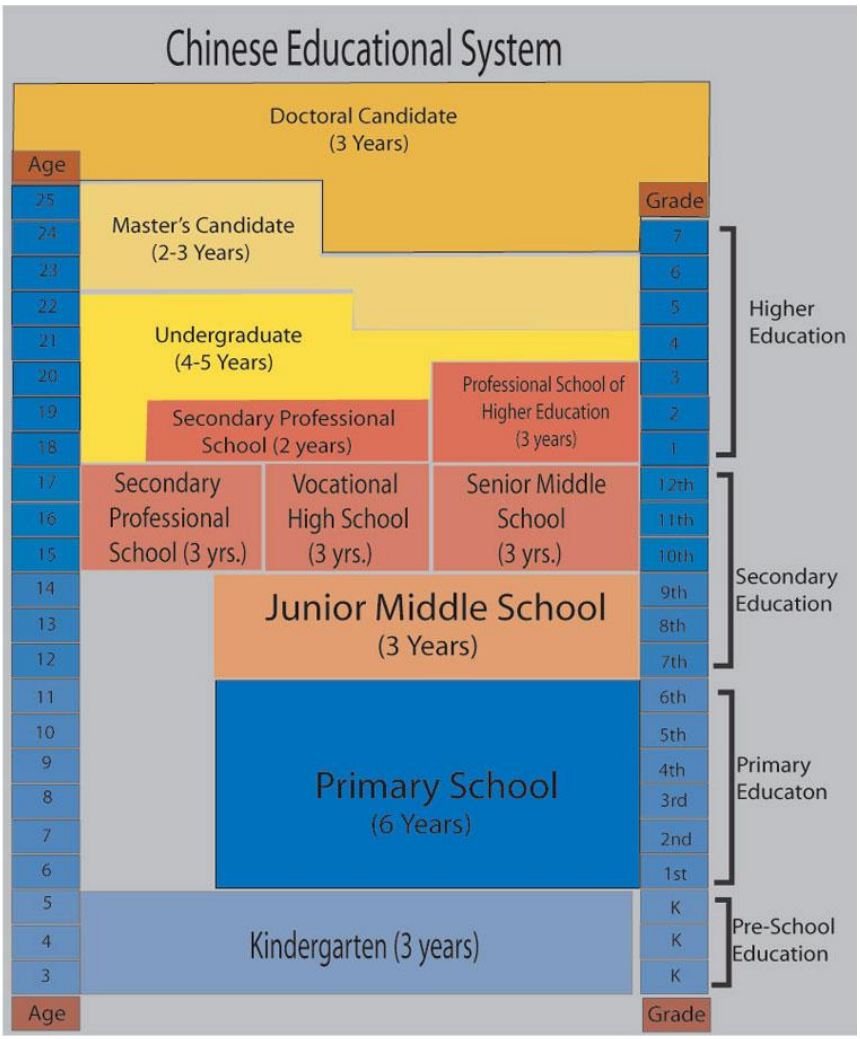
1.2 National Context of ELEP

1.2.1 Chinese Education System

Chinese formal education consists of pre-school, primary, secondary and higher education (Figure 1.1). In 1986, the government passed a compulsory education law, making nine years of education, also known as nine-year compulsory education, mandatory for all Chinese children. The government funds the compulsory education[1], which includes six years of primary education and three years of junior secondary education. By the age of 14 or 15, the majority of children would select three years of senior secondary schools; while some would choose secondary professional school (*zhongzhuan*) or vocational high school (*zhongzhi*), where they would learn some vocational skills to directly enter the workforce. Access to higher education is based on the national University Entrance Examination (or *Gaokao*).

[1]Parents pay very little for compulsory education, such as minimum administrative fees.

Figure 1.1 Chinese Educational system diagram by age, grade and institution. (Extracted from Chinese Education system site. Retrieved from http://202.207.160.15/english/educational_system.html)



Gaokao is held annually and takes the form of '3+X' in most provinces. 3 stands for the three compulsory subjects, namely Chinese, English and Maths (notice the leverage of English). X stands for either science (physics, biology, chemistry) or humanities (geography, history, politics) disciplines. In 2014, about 9.46 million students participated in *gaokao*, which makes it the most influential exam in China (Cui, 2014). The *gaokao* system is always at the center of controversy in Chinese education. Some believe the system is fair and transparent, for it provides equal and open opportunities for students to enter higher education (e.g. You and Hu, 2013). Some criticize that the system encourages rigid format and rote memory, undermines students' creativity and criticality and causes academic stress that hampers students' health (e.g. Zhao, 2014).

The management of the Chinese education system is hierarchical. The State Council (SC) and the MoE are responsible for policy-making, planning, reforms and regulations at the national level (Wang, 2010). Their policies and decisions are implemented through the devolution of educational management from the central to the local level (Figure 1.2). Educational departments from the central to the local level are responsible for steering schools in the direction mandated by the SC and the MoE. Especially in primary and secondary schools, there is a uniform standard for curriculum, textbooks, examinations, and teacher evaluation.

Figure 1.2 Devolution of educational management from the central to the local level

1.2.2 Primary Education in China

The Reform and Opening up initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s had brought about rapid economic growth and substantial improvement in the lives of the Chinese people. In response to the increasing demand from the growing economy for a well-trained workforce, the Law on Nine-Year Compulsory Education was launched (Dai and Hu, 2009; Lewin et al., 1994). It guaranteed all school-age children the right to receive at least nine years of education. It divided China into three categories: cities and economically developed areas (mostly in coastal provinces and some in the hinterland); towns and villages with

medium development; and economically backward areas[2]. Requirements and deadlines were set for people's congresses and educational bureaus at various local levels to attain universal education nationwide. The primary school education in China features in:

- *Devolution of management*

To improve the efficiency of the education system, reforms relied on simplification of administration and delegation of authority. This devolution of management meant local governments had more decision-making power to develop basic education. The SC and the MoE are in charge of policy-making, planning, reforms and regulations at the national level. Provincial-level authorities were to develop plans, enact regulation and allocate funds to counties. County education departments were to supervise education. They also need to manage their own senior middle schools, teachers' training schools, and exemplary primary and junior middle schools. Managing the remaining schools, township governments rely on funds distributed by the county government and also make up for any deficiencies with a percentage of township financial revenues.

- *The principle of proximity*

The Compulsory Law requires that students enter the nearby school, without being selected through exams. Although this rule has become increasingly strictly carried out in the past two decades, parents still try their best to send their children to better secondary schools, which are more likely leading them to better colleges and universities in *gaokao*. Firstly, wealthier schools have better teachers, facilities and students. They would get better test results in *gaokao*. Since the state appropriations depend largely on the academic performance of the schools, wealthier schools would get more funds. Secondly, state-owned enterprises, mass organizations, and individuals were encouraged to pool funds to accomplish education reform. Wealthier schools tend to attract more funds from private donors and alumni.

- *Uniformity*

Although there is considerable decision-making power for the local governments to develop basic education, Chinese primary schools carry out unified management in school

[2] This ethnographic study is taken in Yulin, Shaanxi Province, which was categorized as towns with medium development in 1990s. The city developed very fast in the last decade, with the exploration of mineral oils in the area. It now becomes the second developed cities in Shaanxi, right behind Xi'an, the capital city of Shaanxi province.

administration, teaching and education. Most primary schools provide six years of education.[3] Children enter primary schools at the age of six or seven. There are two semesters, lasting 9 months a year. In each semester, there are normally 20-27 classes. The classes are around 40-45 minutes. There is a uniform standard for curriculum, textbooks, and teacher qualifications and evaluation. For the curriculum, it consists of Chinese, mathematics, English, moral education, music and painting and several other subjects. Textbooks are compiled by the People's Education Press (PEP), which is a press under the direct leadership of the MoE. PEP was exclusively authorized by the MoE to preside over and participate in designing curriculum standards and publishing textbooks for primary and secondary school subjects. Since its establishment, a total of over 30 thousand titles have been published with total sales of 60 billion copies (PEP website, 2014). Teacher qualification is strictly related to the students' test results, published research paper, and working time.

1.2.3 Language Environment in China

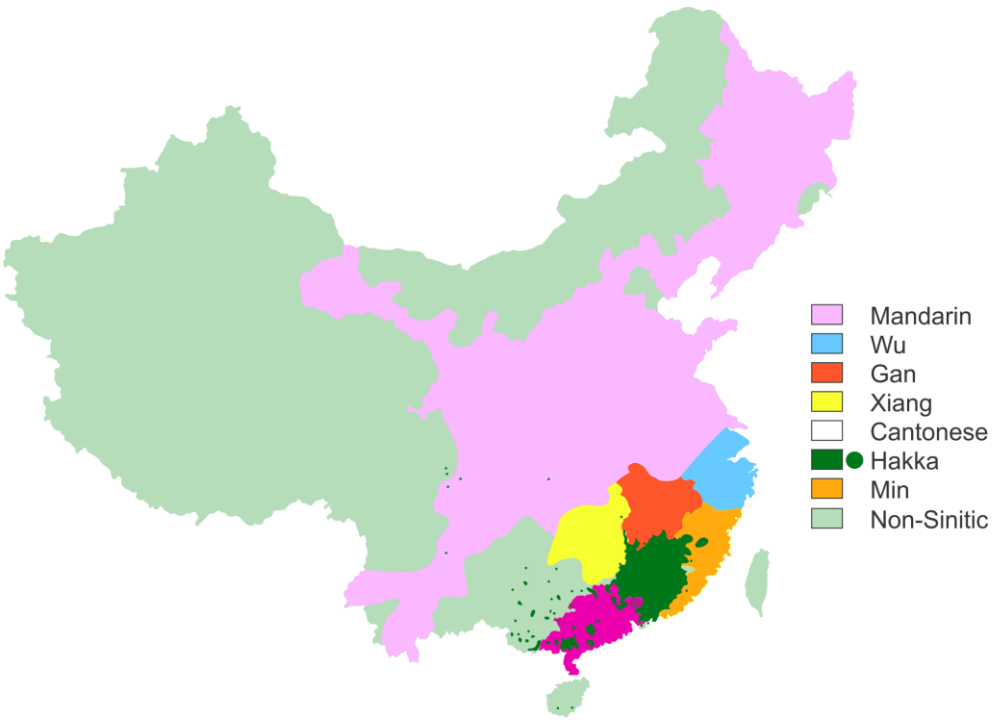
The language commonly referred to as Chinese is Mandarin, also called Putonghua or standard Chinese. It was introduced as the language of instruction in schools and in national broadcast media shortly after the foundation of People's Republic of China in 1949. By the 1970s and 1980s, Putonghua is in use throughout the nation, particularly in the government and in education. The Mandarin group consists of a wide range of local and regional dialects in the northern, western and central regions, complicating interregional communication. Besides mandarin, there are six major language groups, including Cantonese (Hong Kong, Guangdong), Hakka (Taiwan, Fujian), Xiang (Hunan), Min (Fujian), Gan (Jiangxi), Jin (Shanxi), and Wu (Shanghai, Jiangsu, Anhui). Approximately 95 % of the Chinese population (Han takes 92%) speaks Mandarin, taking up over one billion population in China. While others, mainly ethnic minorities[4], speak 80-120 kinds of non-Chinese language such as Tibetan, Lolo and Mongolian (Figure 1.3) (Zhou, 2003; Li, 2006; Lam, 2007).

The linguist context of China is a multilingual and multidialectal one, which becomes more complicated when English is brought in the picture. For most Han Chinese, English is taught as their first foreign language. For most ethnic minority Chinese, they need to learn both Mandarin and English. Some ethnic minorities, especially those in north-east of China that are next to Russia and Japan, can choose Russian or Japanese as the second language to

[3] Some provinces may have five years of primary school but four years for secondary schools, which is still 'nine year compulsory education'.
[4] China has 56 ethnic groups, in which Han takes up 92% of the population; the other 55 ethnic groups are considered as ethnic minorities.

learn. Hui students study literary Arabic. A very small number of primary and secondary foreign language schools, which are specialized language schools authorized by the MoE, can choose other languages, such as Spanish and German (Feng, 2012).

Figure 1.3 The Linguistic Map of China. (Map extracted from China Language Site. Retrieved from: http://www.chinalanguage.com.)



Despite its overwhelming popularity in public and private education (see section 1.1), however, English, at least at current stage, has very limited use in Chinese commoners' life, especially for those in hinterland China. Lu and Zhang (2012) conduct a survey of needs and abilities of foreign language use in several provinces in China. 90% of the interviewees (N=5500) have learned English for a span of time, yet 60% to 80% of them can hardly speak several sentences in English. 80% of the interviewees would use English solely for entertainment and leisure purposes, such as watching TV shows, listening to music and travelling abroad. It is believed among scholars and educators that the scarcity of opportunity to use English for social and vocational purposes among the commoners largely affects the teaching methods and learning effect for English education (Hu, 2003).

1.2.4 English Education in China

History of English education is not the focus of this research. Yet, it is important to have a brief historical review of English and its status in China. It is because the relationship between English learning and Chinese political tides has been influencing official and individual attitudes towards the English at various times in history, which is still closely relevant to today's China (Adamson 2002; Hertling, 1996). On one hand, there was and is long standing concern about its impact on Chinese culture. On the other hand, it was and is regarded as the channel for advanced technology and knowledge that would empower the country.

- *The Early Start of English Use in China*

English language found its early use in China around 1660s, when the British established the first trading port in Guangzhou (Pride & Liu, 1988, in Gil and Adamson, 2011, p. 28). The translation and interpreting services were provided by non-Han or social outcasts. Business between British and compradors develops Pidgin English, which was used for communication. In 17th and 18th century, China was caught in foreign invasions. The defeat in the 'Opium Wars' forced the country to sign a series of treaties with the western maritime nations, which gave rise to the opening of ports and rights to live in hinterland China. The local residents and domestic servants in these places began to develop an elaborate form of Pidgin English (Ross, 1993).

- *Early 20th century*

The foreign invasion, such as the following defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1895), made a group of scholars and officials realized China's inability to protect its territorial integrity. They believed that English would provide the channel to self-strengthening through technological improvement. A synthesis of Chinese and Western ideas was believed to let China 'learn the superior techniques of the barbarians to control the same barbarians' (Teng and Fairbank, 1979 in Gil and Adamson, 2011, p. 28). Foreign languages were included in the school curriculum, especially after the May Fourth movement, an intellectual revolution that rejected the conservatism of Confucian scholars and embraced new (particularly western) ideas (Adamson, 2004; Ross, 1993).

- *Early Start of PRC (1949-1956)*

After a century of political upheaval and foreign invasion, the foundation of People's Republic of China in 1949 provides the chance for the country to have a large-scale political, social, economic and educational reconstruction. Meanwhile, with the western's isolation of the communist China, China turned to Soviet Union for mentorship, which was latter referred by historians as 'leaning on one side'[5].

The diplomatic strategy had a strong impact on Chinese foreign language teaching as well. Russian became the prestigious and popular language to learn in schools and among individuals. English was condemned as the language of the enemy. Chinese Ministry of Education regulated that Russian was preferred in foreign language teaching (Adamson and Morris, 1997). Leaning towards Russian, MoE still accepted English as the subject to teach in schools. However, with a hasty rush to resemble his 'Russian Big Brother', the country saw a Russian learning fever that had no sign of waning. Higher education and basic education institutions started to offer Russian programs, although some schools and institutions did not have any solid financial or linguistic foundation to do so. A lot of English teachers lost their jobs or started to teach Russian instead, which was clearly a waste for the human resource for ELT (Dai and Hu, 2009).

The 'five-step instructional procedure' developed by Soviet educator I.A. Kairov was adopted in ELT in China, which put an overwhelming emphasis on grammar and vocabulary (Hu, 2002a). The procedure is: reviewing the old material, orienting the new material, explaining the new material, consolidating the newly learned material and giving follow-up assignments (C.C.Yu, 1984, in Hu 2002a, p. 18). To use Hu's (2002a, p.18) words, 'it fitted well into the tradition of L1 literacy teaching in China, thrived in the Chinese miliu and has become the hallmark of ELT practices in the PRC'. According to Hu (2002a), even at present, the five-step instructional procedure is frequently used in Chinese FLT classes.

The new China also had many more urgent issues to cope with, including isolation from capitalist countries and basic welfare of its citizens. Although it found some position in secondary and tertiary education, English teaching did not have many chances to develop.

- *Readjustment of FLT (1956-1965)*

As Ross (1992, p. 240) vividly describes, ELT in China is a 'barometer', whose fortunes have increased or decreased according to the China's priorities. The years 1956-1965

[5] 'Leaning to One Side': in PRC's early period, the country allied with Socialism Camp headed by Soviet Union and resisted Capitalism Camp led by the USA. Soviet Union provides technological support for the newly founded country. USA, on the other hand, had supported the nationalist during the Chinese Civil War (1944-1949).

saw China's strained relationship with Soviet Union. FLT policy adjusted again according to the nation's political affiliation. Russian was abandoned and English gained the priority back. A lot of Russian teachers lost their jobs or changed to become English teachers. The negative impact of this Russian-to-English adjustment could felt many years later (S.Y.Yang, 1987, in Hu 2002a, p. 19).

In terms of ELT, China began a series of important educational readjustments. In 1957, MoE regulated that English was taught in both junior and senior secondary schools. MoE also instructed PEP to develop curriculum standards and nationwide textbooks. Due to the lack of qualified English teachers in hinterland China, by the year 1960, there was another instruction given by MoE that allowed local education institutions (schools and local governments) to develop curriculum design and textbooks according to the local situation. However, the devolution of curriculum and textbook writing caused some problems, with the ELT being heavily politicized. Some English books would mainly teach political slogans written in unnatural English (Adamson and Morris, 1997).

In 1960, a National Cultural and Educational Conference was held in Beijing to discuss ELT and its adjustment. English became a required subject for entrance to tertiary education in the following year (Hu, 2005). In 1964, the MoE issued a seven-year program for FLT, establishing English as the dominant foreign language to teach. It also instructed that English was taught based on a combination of a structural and thematic approach. The importance of oral English was also mentioned. Some elite primary schools in Beijing and Shanghai were supported to teach English as well (Dai and Hu, 2009).

To sum up, China's ELT developed modestly and gradually from 1956-1965. The nation had stretched its muscle in curriculum design and textbook writing for a large-scale education system. Basic knowledge and basic skills in ELT was also promoted, with some most attention given to grammar and vocabulary. Although English has regained its legitimacy in ELT and was recognized as an important tool for engaging in economic, technological and social exchange with the world, it was still a tool for fighting with the capitalist enemies, such as America and Japan.

- *ELT in Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)*

ELT reached its bottom during the ten-year Cultural Revolution. Seen as the language of the enemy, due to China's poor relations with USA and other western countries, English was abolished in all the secondary and tertiary schools and imported foreign books were forbidden (Liu, 1993). All foreign broadcast were banned and all ELT programs were removed from the curriculum. ELT system ceased to function, with virtually no teaching or

learning went on. The negative of this disruption in ELT development was still felt several years after the Cultural Revolution (Adamson and Morris, 1997; Dai and Hu, 2009; Hu, 2002a).

- *ELT after 1978*

The year 1978 saw significant changes and readjustment in Chinese political, social and educational systems, with the opening-up and reforms in China. The new leadership led by Deng Xiaoping launched the modernization process. English was seen as an important tool in facilitating the modernization process, for it would provide the access to China's political, social and economic exchange with the world (Adamson and Morris, 1997). English regained its legitimacy once again in 1978, when the MoE issued the first unified primary and secondary curriculum and a trial English syllabus. The PEP compiled a new set of textbooks for secondary schools, which got rid of the politically charged texts and brought in more natural English texts. More important, English was introduced in primary schools from Grade 3, with allowances for the introduction of English at junior secondary Grade one in less developed regions (Gil & Adamson, 2011).

Since the new leadership believed that English provide the access to scientific technological advances and the knowledge base needed for national revitalization, ELT figured proximately in drive for modernization. Such a passion was also seen in the popularity of English radio and TV programs, in which the TV program *Follow Me* had 20 million audiences (Hu, 2002a). However, the English mania was overthrown by a serious shortage of English teachers and resources. A lot of places, especially small cities and rural areas, found it hard to open the English course in primary schools (Adamson, 2007). In 1982, MoE acknowledged that the quality of secondary ELT was deplorably low and it was not mature for English being taught in primary schools national wide (Dai and Hu, 2009).

As a result, a utilitarian approach was adopted to guide education reform. According to Lewin et al. (1994), the utilitarian approach brought several major changes in curriculum. Firstly, foreign language was no longer a compulsory subject in the 1984 national primary curriculum: English disappeared from the curriculum for rural primary schools and was restricted only to urban primary schools which had qualified teachers. Secondly, a more flexible approach to secondary EFL was adopted in response to increasing differences both in economics, social and cultural development. Between 1985 and 1997, the MoE allowed autonomous regions to develop their own English curriculums, syllabuses and textbooks for primary and secondary education (Lewin et al. 1994). These developed regions had been able to attract huge foreign investment and were enjoying economic prosperity. Consequently,

they had both the resources and the need for expanding English language education in their school systems.

- *From 2001 to Present*

The twin policies of opening up and reform remained as the guiding principles of national development. The Chinese leadership recognized the many educational deficiencies that would undermine national competitiveness and staged a new wave of educational reforms.

The beginning of the new century saw a renewed attempt to expand English into the primary curriculum. In January 2001, MoE issued a directive on ELT at primary school and a curriculum outline of primary English. The directive required that primary schools located in cities and county start to offer English classes at primary 3 from the autumn of 2001 and the rest start to do so in the following year (MoE, 2001a).

The policy initiative was promoted by several development. Firstly, China was gaining more importance on the world stage, for it was on the verge of joining the world trade organization. Out of a socioeconomic perspective, English was believed to help China to develop as an economic superpower. Secondly, there were several global activities going on in the new millennium. The APEC 2001 meeting and Expo 2010 would be held in Shanghai. Beijing led its rivals in the bid for the 2008 Olympic Games and was highly likely to win the bid. These developments led to a projection of rising demands for English proficiency (Jiang, 2003; Nunan, 2003; Pan, 2015). In this regards, English is again, out of a socioeconomic concern, accepted to restore China's self-esteem and prestige. A third contributing factor was that the efforts to improve the quality of ELT at the secondary level in the 1990s had not produced significant improvements. In its serve for a more effective recipe, the MoE endorsed early English instruction (Hu, 2002a).

From the historical review of English education in China, we can see that there are significant changes for the role and status of English in China. It is believed to bring economic benefits to the country and it has gained so much momentum in national curriculum. However, there are still some fundamental cultural and political tensions, for English is believed to bring about social, cultural and political transformation from the western countries. The tension between the economic gain and Chinese political tides has been influencing official and individual attitudes towards the English at various times in history, which is still closely relevant to today's China.

1.3 Regional Context of ELEP

This research is conducted in Yulin, a municipal-level city in the north part of Shaanxi Province, which lies in the northwest of China (dark grey area in Figure 1.4). It has an administrative area of 7,053 km^2 and a population of 430,000 (Yulin Government Website, 2015).

Here are my rationales for choosing Yulin as the site of the research. In the first place, I have some personal connection that provides me the access to the local schools. Grown up and educated in Yulin until I went to university in Beijing, I am acquainted with some English teachers, who are willing to introduce me more participants in this area. Secondly, since I am familiar with the cultural, historical and social background of the city, I have some 'insider' knowledge that allows me to fit in the local community. I also speak the local dialect, which is perceived as an expression of shared identity and can make my participants feel at ease. Arguably, English or standard Mandarin (Putonghua) might push my participants away.

Figure 1.4 Location of Yulin City in Shaanxi, China. (Map from Shaanxi Province administrative regions GIS data, Retrieved from: www.hua2.com)

Geographically, Yulin stands beside Inner Mongolia to the north, Shaanxi to the east and Ningxia to the west, which makes it a very important frontier in history. To the north and northwest of the city lies the Ordos Desert. Culturally, the city has pieces of the ancient Great Wall during the Qin Dynasty (221 BC-206 BC) and Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and the

largest troop fortress on the entire Great Wall. Due to relative isolation, these relics are preserved in good condition.

Economically, coal mining provides the predominant source of income, which makes Yulin gain the second largest revenue in Shaanxi Province[6]. From 1980s, rich natural resources, including coal, gas, oil and salt, are discovered and explored in Yulin. One of its oil-field projects (Shaanxi-Jing[7] No.2 pipeline 2005+) is the current largest onshore project cooperated by the PetroChina and International Energy Company (Shell) in Mainland China since 1999.

Politically, the city is listed as the National Powerhouse in 1999 by the national central government. It was upgraded from the county-level city to a prefecture-level city in 2000, which gave the city administrative power to lead 11 counties. Coal mining brought great riches for some people, yet most of the local people live in a nominal fashion. Half of its population earns less than the Chinese per capital GDP.

1.4 English Environment in Yulin

There are less than 5000 non-Han minority people among the 3.36 million Yuliners. As a result, mandarin (with a strong Yulin accent) is the only first language used by nearly entire Yuliners. Mandarin is used for educational, institutional, interactional and pragmatic purposes.

In Yulin, given the newly developed project of oil field and coalmine, English is used in the sub-companies of PetroChina and ShenhuaOil in terms of scientific and technologic research. However, there is anecdotal evidence to show that the use of English is limited to company policy documents and are only circulated among technicians, who are appointed by the head offices.

In terms of research, teachers from secondary and tertiary schools publish academic papers occasionally in English. Chinese academics need to be competent in English to undertake academic exchanges and publish articles in international journals, which is taken as an important criterion for promotion (Zhao, 2014). However, the publication in English in Yulin academia is limited, for the need for high competence in English creates a barrier (Yulin College Annual Report 2014).

[6] The first is Xi'an city, where used to be the capital cities for 11 dynasties in ancient China. The world-known Terra Cotta Warriors and Tang (618-907) Palace are in Xi'an. The Tang dynasty, with its capital at Chang'an (present-day Xi'an), which at the time was the most populous city in the world, is generally regarded as a high point in Chinese civilization.

[7] Jing stands for Beijing here. The project drills wells for natural gas just to the west of Yulin.

English is occasionally used in tourism in Yulin. Airport announcements and on-board announcements are made in Chinese and English. Some parks and scenic spots use tourist signs in English. English is used sometimes in joint ventures and business communications, yet only a very small number of people might involve in this work.

In terms of international connections, Yulin symbolically signed 'sister city' with Baytown, the first offshore well in Texas, America, for its economic reliance on fossil fuel energy. However, there is no contact between citizens in Yulin and Baytown. In other words, the 'sister city' is existed largely on the paperwork, with no substantial connection between the two cities.

In formal education, English is taught in primary schools, junior and senior secondary schools and tertiary schools in Yulin. In junior secondary schools, English takes up around 15% of the curriculum, whereas in senior secondary schools, English takes up around 20%-25% of the curriculum. In the tertiary school, English is required for both non-foreign language majors and foreign language majors. The former takes two-year English education, whereas the latter studies English for four years. College English Tests (CET) and Test for English Majors (TEM) are required respectively for the two groups, and these tests are believed to offer students better job prospects[8].

Informal English has gained so much momentum, although not without controversy. It is believed to change the patterns and functions of English teaching in public schools (You and Hu, 2013)[9]. Private associations such as language schools and training centers become big business in Yulin. They are more often described as *buxiban*, which has the connotation of 'review and supplementary education' in the Chinese characters. These schools tend to offer after-school services, such as checking homework, reviewing class lessons, reviewing exam papers or test preparation. A small group of institutions hire English native speakers for speaking tutorials, naturally with very high tuition fee. There is anecdotal evidence suggests that English tutorial fees would take up to 20-30 percent of a family's income. Since it is a very big investment, children would under a lot of pressure to 'pay off' their parents' endeavor.

The status and role of English, overall, are not very preeminent in daily life of commoners in Yulin. It stays largely as a compulsory subject in curriculum. However, given its leverage in all kinds of entrance exams, it has an enormous impact on the students and families. Besides, since English are increasingly associated with better employment prospects

[8] See Wang (2007) and Wang and Gao (2008) for more information on CET and TEM.
[9] As discussed in chapter 6, this research also provides evidence that informal education starts to have a big influence for formal English classes, although not without controversy.

for college graduates and academics, it starts to symbolize modernity and prestige, although not without controversy[10] (see section 5.4&5.5&7.3 for details).

1.5 Outline of the Research

Following the introduction in this chapter, Chapter 2 provides literature review in the field of language policy and planning (LPP) and English language education policy (ELEP) in China. It identifies the research gap that I intend to fill. The combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and ethnography is introduced as well as my research design. On one hand, CDA provides detailed reading of policy texts created, interpreted and appropriated in different levels. The power surpasses through different layers can also be identified. On the other hand, ethnography, which focuses on the close and personal understanding of culture, provides me access to the local context.

Chapter 3 analyzes my research methods. The combination of critical discourse analysis and ethnography has provided me data to set out the tensions within the ELEP. I also analyze the research questions, research stages and data collection methods. In particular, I explain the procedures of combining CDA and ethnography in my research.

Chapter 4 provides a critical discourse analysis of the policy texts produced by the national government. I focus on policies generated after 2001, it is when primary English education is implemented in Yulin. My research, drawing on Fairclough (1992, 2001) analyzes ELEP from three dimensions: a. the policy texts (written, oral or multimodal); b. the discourse practice (how policy texts are produced and interpreted by people or groups of people); c. the sociocultural practice, or the situational, institutional, societal contexts, which shapes the discourse practice and in which the policy texts is a part of. After introducing some policy documents in question, I introduce and explain my methods in identification of several themes within ELEP in national policy documents. The analysis of themes follows the three interrelated analysis of policy texts, the discourse practice, and the sociocultural practice.

The fifth and sixth chapters focus on the adaption of policy in local education bureau, schools and teachers. Through interview and field observation, I analyze local agents' interpretation and appropriation of the themes imposed by the upper level. The fifth chapter focuses on the perspectives of local education officers and the local community. The sixth chapter looks into teachers' classroom practice to identify the tensions between policy and practice. The analysis of the classroom practice provides a more informed base for filling the

[10] Since the need for high competence in English creates a barrier for a lot of people in exams and employment, there is some resentment and resistance to the tendency for competence in English to be used to judge a person's talent and value. See section7.3 for detailed discussion.

current literature gaps in our knowledge of English teaching in local levels, the influence of each policy level and tensions among different levels in policy process.

The seventh chapter is a further discussion on the tensions identified in ELEP in China. In this chapter, I synthesize my findings, by discussing the issues concerning tensions in ELEP. It further discusses the reasons for the perpetuation of the tensions.

The final chapter presents the implication and conclusion of this dissertation. This research has implication in both teacher practice and language education policy studies. Future interests in research are mentioned, together with the limitations of the research.

1.6 Research Aims

As I mentioned above, this research intends to examine the tensions between the language policy and its local practice, drawing on the MoE's 2001 policy to implement English education nationwide. Language policy, although mostly first created by an established institution, does not limit itself to the upper-level policy agents. Rather, it involves an ongoing negotiation between policy agents in different levels in creation, interpretation and appropriation of the policy. This process does not happen mechanically after the policy is made. It is a people system that involves surpasses of power throughout the policy agents. Finding the link and understanding the power relationship among the policy agents are always crucial focuses in Language Policy and Planning study (Ricento, 2006), as I come shortly in section 2.2.3. This research intends to find out the underneath power relationship among the policy agents, based on the analysis of the tensions between the language policy and its local practice.

'Tension' is different from 'difference'. Apart from realizing the mismatch between the policy and local practice, 'tension' also embodies power relationship and ideological control. In other words, 'tension' is not neutral in a sense that it includes the ideological control of the powerful over the less powerful (see section 2.2.3). As an ethnographer, I am keen to find out the way powerful groups use manipulative language to sustain and maintain their privilege and control over the less powerful ones, through language policy texts and the daily mundane. I am also interested in local reaction to the unequal power relationship (see section 2.2.4 for further discussion). Linking the analysis of the national policy with local practice is to understand the dialectical relationship between language and social life, which are mutually shaping. In this research, I hope to provide a close analysis of situated language use, which can provide distinctive insights into the mechanism and dynamics of social production in everyday activity.

As a powerhouse of English language teaching and learning, China is known for its linguistic variety and learner diversity (see section 1.4&1.5). The investigation of ELEP as a research field has great potential as it unveils the dynamics of schooling, policy process and power relationships. In this research, I hope that my research on experience of local agents, the tensions between policy and practice, and ideological implications in the policy will make critical contributions to researchers within LPP, teacher development education and ELT.

1.7 Summary

This chapter gives a brief introduction to the aim and outline of this research. It briefly provides the rationales for my research and maps out the structure of this research. It sees language policy as a social construct that is bounded in and shaped by national and regional contexts. On one hand, English is given great importance by national government; on the other hand, the local community has very limited linguistic resource to English.

This chapter also presents the role and status of English in the trajectory of Chinese history. The development of ELT in China is largely influenced by the political, economic, social and educational contexts at the certain stage. Support for foreign language training is high when sustained participation in global community is deemed commensurate with China's political and economic interests. Support for ELT is low when English is perceived as a threat to internal political and cultural integrity. English seem never truly been accepted or embraced in China on its sentimental level. In other words, the instrumental value of English still defines the status of English in ELEP. Such an attitude has led to the changes in ELEP created by the national government, which I discuss further in following chapters.

This research seeks to find out the tensions between the central policy and local practice within ELEP. In the next chapter, a literature review is used to analyze the research gap I intend to fill. It also examines the rationales behind my research methods.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review begins with an introduction to Language Policy and Planning (LPP) study (Section 2.2.1). It shows that the current work on LPP characterizes a) an understanding of LPP as a social construct engendered in and continuously shaped by the socio-political and historical contexts in which it exists (Section 2.2.2); b) the tension between structure and agency, or between the critical focus on power and ideology in macro policies and an ethnographic understanding of the roles that local practitioners play in language policy process (Section 2.2.2); c) an emphasis on the agentive power of micro policy agents in policy creation, interpretation and appropriation (Section 2.2.3) (e.g. Corson, 1999; Johnson, 2013; Tollefson, 2006). These features of current LPP field, as pointed out in section 2.3, are acutely needed in the study of English Language Education Policy (ELEP)[11] in China, which lacks attention in connection and disparities between central policy and local practice and the agentive role of local practitioners. The combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and ethnography is introduced, which addresses the traditional language policy research for neglecting the LPP as social construct that is grounded in and engendered by national and regional contexts, dichotomizing policy and practice, and for ignoring the agentive role of local participants.

2.2. Development of the LPP Research

2.2.1 Early LPP Approaches

Language policy and planning found its earliest tradition long way back the history, with the emergence of the nation states in 17th and 18th centuries. New nations would choose national knowledge, often seen as knowledge deriving from the majority group, for their citizens, in order to spread laws and create uniformity.

Yet, the theoretical and systematic study of LPP in academia only started around 1960s (Johnson, 2013). It gets through several major changes, and the direction of the field has changed several times as well. My research does not intend to give a detailed review of

[11] Cooper's (1989) acquisition planning refers to the important role of education in societal language policy and planning. Since then, educational language policy becomes one important area in LPP study. This dissertation regards educational language policy as part of LPP. LPP is used as an overarching term. For this reason, literature review and theoretical orientations in LPP is used to guide this research.

the development of LPP study[12]. Still, several key concepts and conceptions will be given here to identify the research gap and lay the theoretical foundation for this thesis.

Haugen (1959, p. 8) introduced the concept of 'language planning'. He used the concept to define 'the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community'. In his definition, language planning focused on the form of the language, which later developed into the concept of 'corpus planning' by others (e.g. Kloss, 1969; Johnson, 2013). The focus on form of the language had been a tendency in early linguistic tradition, since it reflects attitudes about ways in which languages are learned.

Haugen (1959) provided several planning steps to follow: Firstly, selection of a norm (i.e. selecting a language variety for a particular context). It is worth mentioning that the norm often is the variety of those speakers who are the most politically powerful, such as the London accent or Mandarin used by Beijing Han people. Secondly, codification, i.e. development of an explicit (usually written) form. Thirdly, implementation- attempt to spread the language form. Fourthly, elaboration- continued updating of the language variety to meet the needs of the modern world. Selection and implementation are status planning, since they reflect the decision procedures and spread procedures of a language. Codification and elaboration are corpus planning, since they are about standardization and development of a certain language.

The four steps in Haugen (1983) entirely put spotlight on the macro-level policy. The selection and codification were designed as a government job, with a consequence that those at the top got to decide what was acceptable and desirable officially. Even the popularization of the selected norm in grassroots was taken as a government order to follow. The updating of the language variety was also taken as a government response to the changing society. In other words, the interpretation, adjustment, alteration and appropriation of the language policy in lower levels were not the focus of the early LPP study.

Such a focus on the macro level in the early LPP study was manifested in the work of another field pioneer. Rubin (1977, in Johnson 2013, p. 31) stated that 'language planning is deliberate language change, that is, changes in the systems of a language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes'. In Rubin's definition, language planning was understood as deliberate (intentional and covert) behavior conducted and guided by established organizations (some

[12] To know more about the development of LPP study, readers might refer Ricento (2006a), Ricento (2006b) and Johnson (2013).

governing institutions). In this sense, language planning was believed and taken as top-down and intentional action in the early period of the LPP study.

2.2.2 LPP as a social construct

The early approach in LPP study laid solid foundation for further research, but it invited heated criticism as well (e.g. Cooper, 1989; Schiffman, 1996). Dominated by a structuralist or positivist epistemology, the early approach overlooked the sociopolitical context in which the language is planned.

Dell Hymes' ethnography of speaking (1962) timely inspires scholars in LPP to rethink about the social, political and economic contexts of the LPP. It borrows from the ethnographic tradition within anthropology. It believes that linguistics should not just focus on form or texts. It supports long-term participant observation within a community and a commitment to inductive discovery. McCarthy (2011a) notes that notion of communicative competence is fundamental to the field of LPP. It is manifested in today's focuses on the interaction between language planning and particular ways of speaking as well as the analyses of language policy as a sociocultural phenomenon (Johnson, 2013b, p. 32).

Schiffman (1996), for instance, starts to see language policy as a social construct. According to him, LPP is a social construct that rests on other conceptual elements, such as belief systems, attitudes, values, prejudices, religious strictures, etc. He refers the package of these conceptual elements as linguistic culture, which works as culture baggage that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their contexts.

Spolsky's (2004) work is another example of the understanding of LPP as a social construct. He distinguishes between three components of LPP in a society: a) its language practices, or the habitual selection of varieties that form language repertoire; b) its language beliefs or ideology, or beliefs about language use; and c) any intentional language management. Language practice and ideology are not necessarily intentional or planned. They can be implicit as well, for they are the habitual choices people make that form the linguistic culture of that context. The third refers to the traditional conceptualizations of LPP as intentional and government-oriented LPP. It is explicit and overt. In this sense, LPP is not only the matter of the intentional policy documents produced by the national government. It is also about the habitual selection and acceptance of languages in local area, which is always covert, implicit but can be substantial. In another occasion, Spolsky (2012, p. 5) eloquently points out that a national or official language management does not guarantee observance, just as speed limits do not guarantee that all cars abide by them.

In this sense, language policy is not only about the explicit policy documents provided by the national government. It is also about the local adaptation, habitual choices and language attitudes of the public. The latter might be implicit, so it is researchers' job to probe into local community's daily life to identify their habitual selection of the language and language attitudes. A close ethnographic study is needed to provide careful LPP research that does not make causative claims about implicit language practice and language ideology.

2.2.3 Critical Language Policy

The later development of LPP found a strong impact from critical sociolinguistics, which focuses on the relationship between language and power. More specifically, it focuses on how social structure and discourses form and inform individual behavior. Tollefson (2006) groups this branch within LPP as critical language policy (CLP). CLP draws heavily on critical theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA). It argues that the discourses of language policies can hegemonically normalize and legitimize what is acceptable and thinkable, while concomitantly delimiting others. Such an understanding of language policy soon attracted discussion on linguistic rights and problems to individuals (e.g. Johnson, 2011; Ricento, 2006a).

There was discussion on orientations of language planning. Ruiz (1982, p. 2), for instance, argued that orientations are basic to language planning because 'they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues… and they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes towards language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. Focusing on the way society treats minority language for majority language acquisition, Ruiz proposed three orientations of language planning in education. A language-as-problem orientation treats minority languages as problematic roadblocks for the linguistic and cultural assimilation for majority language education. In a language-as-right orientation, minority language students learn the majority language while maintain their mother tongue. A language-as-resource orientation celebrates linguistic diversity and regards multilingual education as resources to the society.

Ruiz (1982) is one example of critical study within LPP. Numerous studies have taken the assumption that language policies had ideological orientations. They argue that language policies create social inequality among dominant and minority language users. As a result, CLP determines to fulfill several purposes: it eschews apolitical LPP approaches and acknowledges that policies often create and sustain various forms of social inequality, and that policy makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups. Furthermore, it

seeks to develop more democratic policies that reduce inequality and promote the maintenance of minority languages. CLP is used to examine indigenous and minority language maintenance and education. For instance, Hill and May (2011) document the process that indigenous Maori language is revitalized by full immersion education among minority language users. The revitalization movement generated from grassroots helps to recognize Maori as one of New Zealand's official languages (1987), after a period in which Maori was declining due to colonization and assimilationist policies.

CLP promotes democratic policies and champion the rights of linguistic minorities. Yet, it has been criticized for being too deterministic and underestimating the power of local agency (Johnson, 2011; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996). Pennycook (2006) advocates what Foucault (1982, p. 92) argues, 'the focus is on how power circulates across various contexts, within micro-level practices and discourses'. He (Pennycook, 2006, p. 65) argues that LPP study should reveal how policies create inequality that takes the focus off 'the state as an intentional actor that seeks to impose its will on the people, and instead draws our attention to much more localized and often contradictory operations of power'. In other words, the power of local/micro level practices and discourses is what intrigues the ethnographers in LPP study.

2.2.4 Linguistic Ethnography of Language Policy

Ethnography is widely used in sociology, sociolinguistics, material culture study, and communication studies (Atkinston et al., 2007). There are several kinds of ethnography, such as classic ethnography, feminist ethnography, postmodern ethnography and critical ethnography (e.g. Atkinston et al,. 2007; Blommaert and Jie, 2010; McCarthy, 2011a, 2011b). The differences of these types of ethnography vary in the stand of researchers, methods, focus, etc. For instance, critical ethnography, not only like other kinds of ethnography that try to speak *about* the participants, attempts to speak *for* the participants in the same time. Besides, the characterization of kinds of ethnography is not clear-cut. A feminist ethnography, for instance, can also have a critical point of view about the discrimination and repression encountered by the participants. I focus on ethnography in LPP here, since it is used in my study.

According to Creswell (1998, p.18), 'ethnography is a description and interpretation of a cultural or social group or system. The researcher examines the group's observable and learned patterns of behavior, customs and ways of life.' In this definition, Creswell points out several characteristics of ethnography. In the first place, ethnography is an understanding and description of how participants understand certain things in their lives, such as interaction,

policy, rituals, behaviors, events and customs. Secondly, in order to form this understanding, the ethnographers need to spend an extended period of time with research participants and try to make sense of what is being studied through the participants' eyes. Blommaert and Jie (2010) further characterize ethnography as: a. what is being studied is context bound, which requires the ethnographers being immersed in a culture to better understand the observed people and events; b. the informants must believe they can speak freely and for themselves, which requires the ethnographers develop good rapport with the participants; c. ethnographers understand what is studied as a complex web of meaning that is depended upon its context.

Linguistic ethnography studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures. It is used to 'make the familiar strange', which needs the ethnographers to unfold the history and context of the language use through the institutions we know best, the routines we practice most, and the interactions we repeatedly engage in. It seeks to find connections between language practices and the very real conditions of people's lives.

Linguistic ethnography is based on a combined examination of language and cultural practices. On one hand, the way we use language always has an impact on social process. On the other hand, social processes also have an impact on linguistic ones. Linguistic ethnographers delve into people's daily routines and mundane practice to illuminate social process and generate explanations for why people do and think the things they do. For instance, Creese (2005) shows how different teacher roles attracted varying degrees of institutional support and the implication of this support to bilingual young people in London secondary schools. Her analysis includes teacher pronouns, language functions and speech acts, linking the micro recordings of classroom interaction to macro structures of educational power. She finds that classroom participants reproduce the transmission of subject content as more important and authoritative than processes of problem solving and facilitation, which has a significant negative impact on language learning opportunities.

Linguistic ethnographers pay attention to nonverbal, particularly gaze, gesture and posture, as well as the verbal language use. They understand the connections between language use and social structure, through mundane routines. It has been increasingly used in the study of language policy. Addressing the limitation within CLP and traditional LPP, linguistic ethnography of language policy is widely used by scholars to examine agents and contexts across the multiple layers of language policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. It marries a critical focus on the power of marginalizing policy with a focus on agency (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007, 2011). In other words, it focuses both on the macro

policy discourses as well as recognizes the power of local agency to exert influence to the LPP.

Sercombe (2006, 2008, 2010), for instance, provides detailed ethnographic presentation of interpretation and implementation of national LPP in local district. Focusing on Penan, a minority community in Brunei, Sercombe finds that the language behavior of local Penan community (Sukang Village) is relatively stable or unaffected by the national LPP that prescribes Malay and English as the institutional languages. Meanwhile, Sercombe provides a critical perspective of the macro or national LPPs and points out that they help to sustain the benefits and interests of the dominant groups. Penan children would have poor school performance since they have very limited use of Malay and English outside schools, which also limits their performance in classroom interaction. There are also ethnographic works that analyze multilingual education (e.g. Canagarajah 2006), language education and maintenance (e.g. McCarthy 2009) and English language policy in local contexts (e.g. Ramanathan 2005). In these ethnography studies, the agentive roles of teachers are put under spotlight. They exert their influence through their teaching methods, teacher talk and assessment methods.

Through the discussion in section 2.1, I have gradually presented the ongoing trend of LPP study. It features in a. an understanding of LPP as a social construct formed by the linguistic culture of the specific contexts (Section 2.1.1); b. a tension between structure and agency, or between a critical theoretical focus on power and ideology in macro policies and an ethnographic understanding of the roles that local practitioners play in language policy process; c. an emphasis on the agentive power of micro policy agents in policy creation, interpretation and implementation (Section 2.1.2 & 2.1.3). I argue in the next section that these features are acutely needed in ELEP in China.

2.3 ELEP in China

Since China reopened to the world in the late 1970s, English education has been increasingly given emphasis for its critical role in China's modernization and individual learners' access to new socioeconomic opportunities. English language education polices (ELEPs) exert great influence on the entire country, from individuals, families, schools, societies to the nation (see Section 1.2).

A lot of current studies within ELEP focus on the teaching methods used in English classes. Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is required in the national curriculum (MoE, 2001, 2011, see Section 4.5 for detailed analysis). Since the concept and principles of

CLT is crucial to this research, in terms of teachers' classroom practice and policy reading, I provide a brief discussion of CLT in this section.

2.3.1 Desired teaching methods in ELEP: CLT

CLT has been regarded as a harbinger of new era in language teaching, ever since it was introduced in revolt against the audio-lingual method. Its development can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s in Europe and North America. A large number of immigrants and international workers needed to learn a foreign language for work or for personal reasons. Since they were busy with work and cannot attend years of language study at schools, educators argued for an approach with a more immediate payoff to motive these students. Communicative needs of the learners were given priority in the target language programs.

The development of CLT was also helped by new academic ideas. In Britain, applied linguists such as Christopher Candlin began to argue that a need for students to develop communicative skills and functional competence in addition to mastering language structures (Koester, 2010). In North America, Dell Hymes argued that the knowledge of language does not only mean the grammatical knowledge, i.e. linguistic competence, but also the knowledge of how to use the language in different social situations. Subsequent authors have tied Hymes' concept of communicative competence to language teaching, such as Bachman and Palmer (1981) and Harley and Swaine (1984). Their promoted models make Hymes' stance on communicative competence (Ahmad and Rao, 2012).

Over the last several decades, CLT has evolved, derived from multidisciplinary practices that involve sociology, educational, linguistics and other fields. Its implication and characteristics in real and diverse classroom situations has made it complex and even confusing for the educators in different contexts (Stelma, 2010). In the following part, I choose two of the common features of CLT to analyze, namely meaning-based learning and learner-centered teaching.

- *Meaning –based learning*

There is always a tension between structural form and meaning-based models of instruction in CLT. Some arguments go to extreme as to whether or not to include the practice of language form in CLT, such as teaching of grammar and vocabulary (Ahmad and Rao, 2012). Krashen's input hypothesis and Long's interaction Hypothesis both emphasized instruction without form. The former argues that learners will integrate input into their inter-language systems when exposed to maximum meaningful input. The latter argues that giving

maximum opportunities to the learners to engage into interaction will help them become sufficient learners. Both hypotheses pave way for the development of CLT (Savignon, 2007). The natural approach and direct approach are typical examples of meaning-based instruction. They feature in natural communication and focus on meaning rather than on grammatical forms.

However, the lack of notice on form-based instruction creates problems as well. Take the error correction for example. In meaning-based instructions, teachers are able to tolerate learners' linguistic errors and errors are not corrected in the teaching process (Nazari, 2007). Yet, as Seedhouse (1997) points out, it might fossilize errors, if teachers accept every interlanguage form produced by the learners without correction. For instance, teachers' lack of correction of syntactic errors such as 'I very much like you', which will not result in breakdown in communication, will result students' lack of awareness of the existence of errors and accumulatively result in difficulty with the basic structures of the target language.

The recent CLT has reached a turning point. Many educators urge to include language form and structure to make CLT more meaning-based. For instance, Swain (1995) provides empirical evidence to show that to develop particular aspects of communicative competence, teaching need to focus on form (not just meaning) to develop acceptable levels of grammatical competence. Lyster (2004) finds that attention to the form of language in CLT with primary focus on meaning-based communication is important. Savignon (2007) also argues that the development of language is the core interest of CLT, which requires a shared set of assumptions about language between the participants in communication.

Still, the extent of meaning-based teaching and its inclusion or exclusion of form teaching vary according to contexts. For instance, Alptekin (2002) argues that Swain's native speaker grammatical competence is an inappropriate teaching goal for students who will use English with other non-native speakers. According to him, too much emphasis on the accuracy in the form of language persists a standardized native speaker norm that is utopian and unrealistic. Supporting the lingua franca status of English, Alptekin (2002) argues that a more appropriate aim is the kind of linguistic competence developed by successful learners of English, involving native-nonnative and nonnative-nonnative discourse participants.

- *Learner-centered teaching*

With the development of CLT, learner-centered teaching also gains its momentum, followed by the dissatisfaction with traditional teacher-centered teaching. Based on humanistic psychology and experiential learning, CLT values learner-centered teaching that meets learners' needs, focuses on their interests and values the interaction among learners.

Nunan (1988), among the first groups of scholars who discusses a learner-centered curriculum, argues that learners should be involved in decisions on content selection, teaching methodology and evaluation. It leads to more autonomous opportunities for the leaners. In terms of content selection, learners should be able to choose the teaching materials that of their interest and adopt learning strategies accordingly. For teaching methodology, learners can take more responsibility for their learning and those who interact with themselves. The kind of collaborative learning with peers reduces learners' reliance on teachers, as traditional teacher-centered learning would do. In terms of evaluation, portfolio assessment and peer assessment that combine classroom presentation, essay writing, narrative accounts and other forms of assessment are used to encourage learning.

However, as Tudor (1993) points out, Nunan's model of learner-centered learning are confined to a more commercial and adult education context in Australia. Contrast to Nunan's strong version of learner-centeredness with learners involved in making decisions concerning teaching contents, methodology and evaluation, Tudor pays more attention to the contextual factors that influence the extent of learner-centeredness in specific teaching contexts. According to Tudor (1992, p. 41), learner-centeredness is not a method nor can it be reduced to a set of techniques or activities types. Instead, it is an awareness of learning variability in contributing to the development of their learning programs. It is also an openness to accommodate learner input as far as the human and pragmatic constraints of the target-learning environment can allow.

It is to note that Tudor emphasizes both the contextual element of learner-centeredness and the cultivation of autonomous learners in process. There are at least two sets of factors that should be considered in the adoption of learner-centeredness in real contexts. The first is the learners' psychological and experiential readiness to assume a role as responsible learners who can determine their learning process. The second is the attitudinal and material readiness in the learning environment. Learner might not have the ability to conduct autonomous learning onset, rather it is a gradual process in which learners achieve a wide-range of control over their learning through the help of instructors and collaborative learning with the peers.

The development of learner-centered teaching in theory and practice also contribute to other models of CLT, such as English for specific Purpose and Needs Analyses (West 1994). As Stelma (2010, p. 54) points out: 'learners, across contexts and within any single classroom, may have widely different, and in some cases no clearly defined, future communicative needs.' As a result, the content selection, methodology and evaluation should be based on learners' communicative needs. For instance, as listed in Stelma (2010), various teaching contexts

around the global have shown that English teaching is to pass specific exams (Hu, 2002) or for social mobility rather than any real communicative purposes (Yong and Campbell, 1995).

The above notions within CLT suggest that communicative teaching includes not only grammatical competence, but also sociolinguistic and strategic competence. It puts an emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language. It is learner-centered, in which language teaching respects learners' communicative needs, focuses on learners' communicative competence and values the collaboration among learners. Moreover, CLT pays attention to the contextual factors that might facilitate or constrain the adoption of the notions of meaning-based learning and learner-centeredness.

CLT is advocated in the national English curriculum in Chinese secondary schools in 1990s (Hu, 2002a). As mentioned in section 1.2.4, ELT in China at that time was under several educational changes. One is to add more teaching time for secondary English classes. One is to introduce secondary English classes nationwide. The other is to change the traditional teaching methods that focused on form of language (e.g. grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation) to communicative use of language. CLT is required as the desirable teaching method in Primary English curriculum in 2001, though not without controversy. Researchers (e.g. Dai and Hu, 2009; Ellis, 2009; Hu, 2008) question the applicability of CLT in Chinese mainland, when most of the inland area does not have access to English outside of English classrooms (see Section 1.2.3 for more discussion).

In this research, I would not focus on the implementation of CLT in local classes, nor would I try to open teachers' eyes to the latest development within CLT. Rather, I intend to find out local teachers' perception of CLT and their classroom practices. I would argue that teachers should theorize from their own teaching practice what they theorize, instead of following the western-based teaching methods. The context-sensitive and local specific pedagogy also reflect an engagement with local context, needs and resources (Mahboob and Paltridege, 2013).

2.3.2 Other focuses within current ELEP

Apart from studies that focus on the teaching methods used in classrooms, there are other studies that address ELT and its policy on its macro policy level. To start, most of the Chinese ELEP studies focus on the historical review of curriculum change and education reform. Hu (2002a; 2005c), for instance, gives a thorough analysis of Chinese ELT development. He touches upon key issues within the trajectory of ELT in Chinese history, including unified English syllabus, influential teaching methods, Chinese cultural of learning,

and teacher training. The analysis provides an overall description of development of ELEP in China. Hu's papers also discuss a number of key issues that policy makers had to address in the promotion of the English language, including the introduction of content-based English instruction, the pressing needs of teacher education, and the gap of quality English education in various regions. However, Hu's analysis is not focused on primary education. It emphasizes overwhelmingly on secondary education. Such an emphasis is commonly seen in ELEP study in China, as I mention later in this section, since most scholars are affiliated with tertiary schools.

Dai and Hu (2009) is a government-funded research that contributes to the 60-aniversity of PRC. As a result, some of the dismal periods in Chinese ELEP history are missed, such as Cultural Revolution during 1960s (see Section 1.2.4). As for the rest, their study provides a very detailed description of Chinese ELEP, including basic education, secondary education, tertiary education and further education. Their analysis is also based on several themes, including teaching methods, education change, teacher development and curriculum design.

The biggest limitation I see in these ELEP studies is their understanding of ELEP merely as a set of laws or regulations enacted by the national government. As Cheng also sharply points out (2000, p. 29-30): 'Policy-related studies in education are often interpreted as little more than numbers-crunching exercises dealing with the manipulation of financial and enrollment figures, or as issues involving expanding education's scope in society, changing its structure, or studying its financing mechanisms.' In other words, previous ELEP studies in China tend to treat language policy as explicit texts enacted by a polity, while the implicit part of language policy is missed. Such a neglecting is found in early LPP study mentioned in section 2.1.1. As argued in section 2.1.2, LPP is a social construct that includes language beliefs, attitudes, values and ideologies and other cultural baggage that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their contexts (Schiffman, 1996). The linguistic culture might not be implicit, but it has a large influence on the creation, interpretation and implementation of the policy.

There are increasing studies in ELEP in China that regard ELEP as a social construct. Adamson (2002) reviews the role of English in Chinese schools, which reveals how the Chinese government selectively appropriated English for its sociopolitical goals, such as state construction and economic development. Hu's papers (2002b, 2003, 2005a) document recent policies and efforts related to English language education in China and the progress that the country has made in ELT at both national and regional levels. He also points out that Chinese culture of learning constrains the adoption of educational innovations in the Chinese context.

According to him, the traditional Chinese conception of education draws heavily on Confucian thinking, which features in accumulation of knowledge rather than practice, students' determination and perseverance rather than innate ability, and hierarchical but harmonious relationship between teachers and students (Biggs, 1996; Cheng, 2000).

These studies recognize the influence of cultural and linguistic factors in English education in China. They also recognize that there are multiple layers of agents within policy process, including national government, local government and teachers. However, I think there are still limitations: a. the lack of ethnographic perspective that testifies their findings in real contexts, such as teachers' positions and beliefs; b. a critical perspective of the power relation within layers of agents in policy process; c. a neglect of teacher agency in micro policy level. In other words, they still tend to treat LPP as a deliberate and intentional set of rules provided by the national government, although they have recognized that the linguistic cultural have a big influence on ELEP and have noticed that there are disparity in the practice and policy. Still, there are important questions unresolved. To name a few:

A. What does ELEP in national-level require or expect?

B. How do educational policies get created, interpreted and appropriated by i) local educational officials and ii) primary school teachers?

C. What are the tensions between macro-level policy and micro-level practice?

D. What are the causes and effects of the tensions between policy and practice?

These are the research questions I intend to answer. I believe my research would be a timely response to the current trend in LPP study, since the research questions focus on its three features presented in section 2.1 (see chapter 3 for details).

As argued previously, this research intends to identify tensions between structure and agency, or between a theoretical focus on power and ideology in macro policies and an ethnographic understanding of the roles that local practitioners play in language policy process. It is where the ethnography comes in. Ethnography can provide detailed interpretations of policy and practice in cultural and social contexts. Without the cultural and social contexts, data generated can provide little more than an overall picture of research setting.

The ethnographic research of ELEP and education in China is scarce. Ross (1993) firstly provides an ethnographic interpretation of English language education in Shanghai, China. Her contribution is substantial, for she raises concerns on schooling, moral education, and education equality, which are still relevant after two decades.

Liu et al. (2000) is a collection of ethnographic studies conducted in Chinese mainland. They provide interpretive studies of education in China and discuss numerous issues, including Chinese basic education, minority education, reformatory education, and missionary schooling. Their analysis is from a point of view from the 'other', namely Chinese education in the eyes of American scholars. They believe that examining a foreign situation (Chinese situation) makes them more aware of the 'hidden' curricular components that shape American educations. However, as they also admit, their lack of common language with informants creates a lot of problems. For instance, when translators are employed, meaning and intention become highly elastic after the subjective interpretation and presentation of the translators. According to Kelly (2001, p.16), one of the authors in the collection, translators tend to give researchers either responses they think the researchers want to hear or responses that adhere to the Communist Party.

Perez-Milans (2013) is a recent ethnographic study of English language education in China. It examines the implications of the education reform for urban schools in China. Although the ethnography is not mainly focused on the analysis of ELEP, Pérez-Milans sheds light on the linguistic culture and tensions between practice and policy for ELEP in China. It examines the way national, linguistic, and cultural ideologies linked to modernization are being institutionally (re)produced, legitimated, and inter-personally negotiated through everyday practice in the current context of Chinese educational reforms.

These studies have shown that Chinese ELEP study has engaged an ethnographic perspective that recognizes LPP as a social construct and the tension between policy and practice. The agentive roles of teachers are put under spotlight. They exert their influence through their teaching methods, teacher talk and assessment methods. These studies have proved to provide empirical evidence that facilitates our understanding of policy processes all over the world. They also provide detailed description of policy processes to promote minority and indigenous languages in schools and society. Most importantly, I believe, is their contribution of theoretical and conceptual orientation that combines the macro level policy and micro level practice, which is what I intend to do within this research in the context of Chinese primary English education.

Similar studies have conducted in other contexts as well, including USA, east Asia and UK. Johnson (2013a), for instance, delves into the school district of Philadelphia to study the power relationship across different educational contexts. He finds that the locus of power is not just contained in the policy text alone, but is enacted, interpreted and implemented in micro-level practices and discourses. He also finds that although some people behave as they are told to, a group of teachers resist dominant and marginalizing discourses. Cincotta-Segi

(2011) conducts an ethnographic work on language policy and education in the Lao People's Democratic Republic. He finds that although the national government has prescribed Lao as the official and legitimate language being used in education settings, teachers use other minority languages in teaching to suit their class contents, students' background and teaching methods. Sercombe (2010) also provides evidence that teachers help to sustain and facilitate the top-down language policies in assimilating the hegemonic intentions of those in authority. When teachers use primarily Malay and English to teach, it largely restricts the chance of participation from minority students. Nazari (2011) provides a CDA reading of the teachers' guidebook written for Iranian high schools. He explores the context in which the document is aimed, critiques how teachers are advised to teach, as well as examines how English is taught. He finds that education experts recontextualize the linguistic theories (i.e. communicative language teaching) and adapt it to a grammar-oriented modal in the teacher guidebooks. The recontextulization serves the interest of the wider education system that is exam-based.

As Ricento and Hornberger (1996) point out, multiple layers in policy process work as an onion of language policy. They metaphorically argue that local schools and teachers, the inside, micro and real-context of LPP, are the spiciest in the multiple layers of the LPP process. Hornberger and Johnson (2007, p. 509) believe that the interpretation and implementation provide local schools and teachers 'an implementational and ideological space' for supporting multilingualism as a resource for students. An ideological space is the empowerment of bilingual teachers to take ownerships of language policy processes and implement language policy in a way that benefits bilingual learners.

My research continues such endeavors by investigating the tension between policy and practice, drawing on an ethnographic study in Yulin, an inner land Chinese city. Grown up and educated in Yulin for 18 years, I believe the experience can bring me an insider perspective in conducting the ethnography. Rather than seeing ELEP from an outsider point of view, I see ELEP as a personal issue as well, for I used to be part of it.

Before I get into details of my research objectives, questions and methods in chapter 3, I present principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in the next section. Ethnography provides me the chance to analyze agency, or the roles that local practitioners play in language policy process; whereas CDA provides me with the theoretical foundation for dealing with the other part of the tension, namely structure, or a critical theoretical focus on power and ideology in macro policies.

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

2.4.1. A Brief Introduction to CDA

CDA's focus on language and discourse originated from the 'critical linguistics' that can be traced back to the 1970s (Chilton, 2005; Wodak, 2001). At that time, linguistics was heavily influenced by Chomsky, which focuses on formal aspects of language and tends to be theoretically isolated from specific instances of language use in real settings. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the 'emergence of a form of discourse and text analysis that recognized the role of language in structuring power relations in society' (Wodak, 2001, p. 5).

Halliday, among others (such as Fowler, Kress and Hodge), stressed the relationship between grammatical system and the social and personal needs that language is required to serve. He points out the three interconnected metafunctions of language. The ideational function is language concerned with building and maintaining a theory of experience. It includes the experiential function and the logical function. The former refers to the grammatical choices that enable speakers to make meanings about the world around us and inside. The latter sets up logical-semantic relationships between one clausal unit and another. The interpersonal function is the grammatical choice that enables speakers to enact their complex and diverse interpersonal relations. Textual function encompasses all of the grammatical systems responsible for managing the flow of discourse, which accounts for coherence and cohesion in texts. Halliday and his systemic functional grammar shed light on the issues of social hierarchy and power. His contribution is essential for a proper understanding of CDA in its many variants, including studying text in an interdiscursive and intertextual manner in the process of meaning making (Chilton, 2005, p. 21).

The work of Michel Foucault is another big influence for CDA. His contribution on language and power treats language as more than just a random linguistic process. In other words, discourse is given meaning in social action and takes place within a complex sociocultural framework.

Since 1990s, CDA has been picking up ideas and methodologies from different theoretical background, including classical rhetoric, sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Its eclectic and interdisciplinary characteristics have made CDA a flexible thought but rigorous in debate. One central topic of much of the early CDA work is to critically analyze the discursive construction of race (Lin, 2013). Key CDA research conducted by van Dijk (2004) critically analyzes the role of discourse in racialization processes, the discrimination of marginalized groups in society and the reproduction of ethnic stereotypes. Compared to

popular racism, elite racism provides both discursive resources and cognitive frameworks for the reproduction of radicalized identities in every talk of the popular masses (Van Dijk, 2004).

The recent development of CDA saw expanding domains of analysis and interdisciplinary methodologies, including educational settings, the popular culture, the new media and political discourse. It critically analyzes the discursive construction of these social and cultural categories, identities, and stereotypes that legitimate and reproduce discrimination against particular groups of people. It also focuses on the importance of considering the context of language use, since it is impossible to read discourse off the page and its underlying meanings may be taken for granted. As a result, data provided by other methodologies, in addition to textual data, are employed in CDA, such as participant interviews and other forms of ethnographic data.

2.4.2. Crucial Components of CDA

- *The 'Critical' in CDA*

One of the dominant tenets of CDA is its belief that language is social practice, meaning discourse can both sustain and reproduce the social status quo and it can contribute to transform it (Wodak, 2001). Discourse both shapes and is shaped by society. It is socially conditioned by the local and macro contexts in which it occurs, while at the same time, it also affects the social relationships and identities of people who are participated in these social events. It is constitutive because it helps to sustain and transforms the social status quo.

Fairclough (1985, in Wodak, 2001, p. 2) believes that since CDA analyzes discourse practices as socially conditioned and socially constitutive events, the word 'critique' denotes the interconnections and chains of cause and effects. Wodak and Meyer (2009) seem to agree with Fairclough when they argue that it is for CDA's particular perspective on discourse that the term 'critical' is used. It focuses not on linguistic unit *per se* but in studying social events in a problem-oriented and multidisciplinary manner. In other words, CDA is critical for its aims in demystifying discourse and power relations underneath the discourse.

The concept of power is a central notion in CDA, because discourse is socially consequential thus entwined in social power (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Power is signaled not only by grammatical forms within text, but also by a person or a group of people's control of a social occasion. As result, discursive practices can produce and reproduce unequal power relations between races, classes, genders and other majorities and minorities. CDA analyzes 'power' as central condition in social life that is manifested and challenged in discourse. As Wodak argues (2001, p. 11): 'language indexes power, expresses

power, is involved where there is a contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term.' It is CDA's aim to point out the hidden power relations behind the discursive practices and challenge unequal power relations in making conventionalized and stable discursive practices.

- *The 'Discourse' in CDA*

Both in popular and the academic use of the term, 'discourse' integrates a whole set of different meaning that are often appear contradictory or mutually exclusive (Wodak, 2001). My intention here is not to embark on this multi-layered discussion. Rather, I highlight several central uses of the term that are found in CDA.

Foucault's definition must be considered (1972, in Bhatia 2013, p. 3), which is three-fold: '(1) (discourse) sometimes as the general domain of all statements, (2) sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and (3) sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements'. In the first definition, discourse is a word used to describe communication including the use of spoken, written, signed language, visual and oral media. This definition is perhaps the most generally applicable at a theoretical level. In the second definition, discourse is described as internally structured and individualizable group of statements. It is worth pointing out here that discourse in this sense has coherence and a force in common. The third definition focuses on the conventions that produce statements and texts. In other words, discourse is not only about the linguistic practice, but also the reality and the practice of it. To Foucault, discourse is usually linked to issues of defining power and political conditions in nation-states, particularly postmodern or postcolonial claims of the oppressed groups. Foucault's definition of discourse also strengthens his belief of discourse as social practice.

Wodak's (2009) definition of 'discourse' differs slightly from Foucault, for her definition is more linguistically oriented as opposed to Foucault's formulation of 'power-knowledge'. She emphasizes the understanding of 'discourse' as 'structures of knowledge manifested in different kinds of (oral/written) genres and texts'. Discourse has its communicative conventions (i.e. linguistic features and organization) and ways of implying meaning. Wodak's perspective on discourse makes politics as her focal point. According to her (Wodak, 2006, p. 15), such an approach to discourse is designed to enable the analysis of indirect prejudiced utterances, and to identify and expose codes and allusions contained in prejudiced discourse. Texts create sense and shared knowledge and linked to each other, but they are also connected to particular audiences. As a result, a dialectic relationship between

producer and reader is needed and text should be contextualized. For this perspective to discourse, text and context, the major aim for Wodak is to produce guidelines for non-discriminatory language use towards men and women, for journalists, and between doctors and patients.

Van Dijk's definition of discourse is more inclusive. He defines discourse as a communicative event, "including conversational interaction, written texts, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other 'semiotic' or multimedia dimension of signification" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 98). He also points to one decisive aspect, namely that discourse should be understood as action, in which the act of communication is of central importance. As a result, according to van Dijk, those who control most dimensions of discourse and its action (such as preparation, interaction, participants, setting, and rhetoric) have the most power.

With its fluid and fast developing methodologies and theories, 'discourse' in CDA might mean different things to different scholars according to their slightly different theoretical or methodological preferences. However, it is safe to say that in CDA, discourse refers not only to texts, but also to the social process of creating meaning. To use Bhatia's words (2013, p.3), 'discourse, then, is the end product of the creation and interpretation of semiotic variables'.

Multimodal approaches to CDA have enriched the methodological tools available to CDA researchers. The recent development in CDA has embraced video-recordings, interviews and other ethnographical tools. Lin (2013, p. 2) provides an interesting example. The Playmobil toy for 'ethical family box' contains a family of four with the same brown skin and identical hair color; whereas its white family counterparts come with four figures with distinct hairstyles and clothes that suggest individuality.

2.4.3 Fields Studied in CDA

As analyzed in previous sections, CDA is interested in power and struggle in discourse. So far, CDA has found its use in many social studies, such as media discourse, political discourse, court discourse, CDA and metaphor, educational fields and medical fields. For the purpose of this study, I closely look at the two fields that are relevant to my study, namely the political discourse and critical applied linguistics.

- *CDA and Political Discourse*

Since CDA focuses on social problems and unequal social structures, one of the focal points for CDA in political settings is the analysis of the politician and those in power. CD analysts target the discursive reproduction of dominance, using the discourse of the powerful people as the main data to analyze.

CDA, in this sense, focuses on two aspects of the politician's discourse: revealing the unequal power and discrimination in politician's discourse and creating guidelines for future conduct by powerful groups. As Wodak (2001, p.10) writes, CDA 'often chooses the perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions'.

In the first place, CDA focuses on the discrimination and unequal power relations that are created, and reinforced in discourse of those in power. For instance, the early work of van Dijk critically analyzes the reproduction of ethnic stereotypes. He points out that compared to popular racism, elite racism provides both discursive resources and cognitive frameworks for the reproduction of radicalized identities in every talk of the popular masses. As the result, the discourse of the elite serves the purpose of radicalizing and discriminating the marginalized groups in society.

CDA also points out that politician and those in power have more access to media, which is the result of their powerful influence. For this reason, the early work of CDA focused on news discourse. The recent CDA has focused on political texts as speeches, interviews, public meetings, radio phone-ins, constitutions, debates, manifestos and treaties (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Wodak (2010), for instance, focuses on the European parliament debates and meetings, in which she investigates on issues such as unemployment, racism, immigration and unemployment. Their approach is ethnographic as well. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), ethnography provides the analysts the opportunity to venture *backstage*, which gives insight into 'politics as a profession' and into the complexity of political decision-making.

It is worth pointing out that it is not always a question of 'heroes and villains' (van Dijk, 1993, in Flowerdew, 2013, p. 1), although the gatekeepers control the discourse. The powerful might not be aware of their use of language and their abuse of discourse. It is CDA's job to reveal such naturalization. In a lot of cases, the embodying taken-for-granted discrimination and marginalization in naturalized discourse is more subtle but severe, since it might easily control people's mind (van Dijk, 2001).

Finally, CD analysts always have a more or less explicit political agenda, yet CDA is not always about negative evaluation of the discrimination and control in the discourse of the powerful. It also seeks a positive outcome. Some recent studies have focused on providing guidelines for future language use by powerful groups. In particular, Wodak (2010) has aimed to help provide neutral and correct language for communication between those traditionally more powerful and the less privileged, such as doctors/patients, men/women and interviewer/interviewees.

- *CDA in Applied Linguistics*

The use of CDA in applied linguistics focuses on issues of power as it is enacted, reproduced, reinforced, and challenged through fields associated with language studies, such as language policy, language codification, language testing and language teaching and learning (Mahboob and Paltridege, 2013). They analyze how power is constructed and exercised through language and also hope to provide guidelines for better conduct without oppressive practices. Pennycook (2010) also refers these critically oriented works as 'critical applied linguistics', whether they are labeled as such.

Critical language policies focuses on the policies, regulations and practices related to the use and functional distribution of languages. Tollefson (2006, p. 42) points out the three interrelated meanings of 'critical' language policies: a) its refers to work that is critical of traditional, and mainstream approaches to language policy research; b) it includes research that is aimed at social change, such as fighting against discrimination and marginalization of the minority language users; c) it refers to research that is influenced by critical theory, and the researchers also need to be critical of their existence and position in the study.

One of the focal points of analysis for critical language policy is to examine the function and dominance of English worldwide. Phillipson (1992, p. 2) claims that: '(critical language policy study) attempts to contribute to an understanding of the ways in which English rules, who make the rules, and what role the English teaching profession plays in promoting the rules of English.' Phillipson (1992) criticizes the way English plays a crucial role in the maintenance of power structures in a postcolonial context.

Some scholars analyze the relationship between English and development. Pennycook (1999) argues that the relationship between English and development is tenuous at best. In the first, the development of English is often at the cost of the local languages. Secondly, English education in these countries is always of low quality and efficiency. Finally, English education always uses up limited resources which could be spent on educating female students or other marginalized groups, or other crucial developmental projects.

Critical language teaching also concerns the production and reinforcement of power in language classes. Pennycook (1989) argues that teaching methods are not neutral, but reflect the interests of unequal power relationships. According to him, teaching methods developed in NABA (North America, Britain, and Australia) that are marked worldwide are not really appreciated in every context. Researchers in China, Japan, Pakistan, South Korea and Thailand provide similar findings s well. As a result, critical language teaching raises teachers' awareness of their local context and presents alternative principles in teaching: particularity, practicality and possibility (Mahboob and Paltridege, 2013). They argue that teachers should theorize from their own teaching practice and practice what they theorize, instead of following the western-based teaching methods. The context-sensitive and location-specific pedagogy also reflect an engagement with local context, needs and resources.

Similar findings are presented for critical language learning and assessment as well. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005), for instance, point out that the unquestioned causal variables such as personal taints and motivational factors overlook the fact that learners' identity are fluid and multiple, rather than constant or static. They argue for critical language learning that is based on learners' needs, resources, and context.

To sum up, CDA is actively used in political discourse and applied linguistics. It seeks to find the unequal power relations in social structures and provide positive solutions. My research is in line with this CDA tradition. It aims to reveal the power control and negotiation in national policies and local practices in Chinese primary school settings (see chapter 3 for details).

2.4.4 Combination of CDA and Ethnography of Language Policy

From the analysis of CDA in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2, it can be seen that CDA is a flexible school of thought, which may generates several distinct interpretations of CDA for different social studies and academic fields. However, some crucial components of CDA are common to all, such as focusing on language as social practice, aiming social justice, focusing on context of language use and analyzing power and ideology in society. This concurs with the focus of ethnography of language policy that I have analyzed in section 2.3. I summarize the common features of CDA and ethnography of language policy as follows:

In the first place, both CDA and ethnography of language policy focus on the contextual impact on the language use. To CDA, discourse is a social practice that is socially constituted as well as socially conditioned (Wodak, 1996). It focuses on a dialectical relationship between the discourse and situations, institutions and social structures that frame

it. The discourse is affected by the surrounding social structures and in turn helps to sustain the social status quo. According to ethnography of language policy, language policy is a social construct that is bounded in and shaped by the linguistic culture, which is a set of contextual elements such as language repertoire, beliefs, attitudes, and social systems (Ruiz, 1984; Schiffman, 1997; Spolsky, 2004). In sum, the dialectical relationship between discourse (language policy) and contexts is the focus for both CDA and ethnography of language policy.

Secondly, both CDA and ethnography of language policy focus on the language use as a fluid concept that involves multimodal data. To CDA, discourse involves the semiotic variables that can be written, oral, and in other multimodal modes. For ethnography of language policy, language policy includes the written or spoken form of policy texts. It also includes the multimodal data that can be retrieved from other semiotic forms, such as rituals, pictures and posters.

Thirdly, both CDA and ethnography of language policy focus on the multiple layers of social agents in language use. CDA intends to find out the way discourse constitutes situations, social identities of and relationships between people. It is interested in the way the dominant groups use discourse to maintain control and hegemony over the less powerful ones. For ethnography of language policy, policy process is the ongoing negotiation among policy agents in the process of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. It particularly aims to find out the agency power of the micro-level in exerting influence on the policy process.

Fourthly, both CDA and ethnography of language policy is keen to reveal inequality and control in the power relationship embedded in language use. In other words, both of them have the element of 'critique' in the core. CDA aims investigate social inequality that is embedded, legitimized and sustained in discourse. It also wants to raise people's awareness of their language use, which is too often underestimated for its production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power (Fairclough, 2001). Ethnography of language policy also critically focuses on the tension between macro policy (its hegemonic power and control) and micro agency power in exerting influence in the process of policy interpretation and appropriation (Johnson, 2011; 2013).

For the four common features above, I see a good chance to marry the two approaches together to guide my research. I see ELEP in China as:

a. Social construct bounded in and shaped by the regional and national contexts. It sustains the status quo in return. Language policy is not a set of stable documents written by the macro language policy makers. ELEP is a fluid concept. It changes according to the

contexts and continuously shape the contexts in return. It is my job to examine the dialectical relationship between the socioeconomic contexts and ELEP.

b. An ongoing process involving the multiple layers of policy agents in policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. It is worth recognizing that creation, interpretation and appropriation happen in very layer of policy agents. Since ELEP is multi-layered, it then requires a multi-sited ethnography that accounts the policy process in multiple settings. In this research, I take the macro-level policy makers as national government, whereas the micro level policy agents as the local governments, schools and teachers. It is my intention to examine the tension between national policy and local practice. Specifically, I look into the agency power of teachers.

c. Social construct that serves the interest of the dominant groups, which should be critically addressed for its embedded inequality, power relationship, hegemony and control. In other words, this research carries on the spirit of CDA and ethnography of language policy, by revealing the power relationship manifested, sustained and reinforced in the discourse.

d. Creation and production of semiotic variables. In other words, I see discourse as the written or oral policy texts that are generated by the national government but also other semiotic variables, such as posters on campus, photographs, interviews and other ethnographic data.

2.5 Chapter summary

This literature review is confined within the boundaries of currently emerging trends in LPP study. It supports the belief that: A. Language policy is bounded in and shaped by the contextual reality and mechanism, which is also the cultural baggage a speech community brings in dealing with language policy. B. Every decision in LPP goes through the process of creation, interpretation and appropriation. LPP features in tensions between structure and agency, between macro-level policy and micro-level policy practice. It is timely realized in current LPP study and acutely needed in ELEP study in China. C. The process of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation happens in each level. The agency power of the local participants should not be underestimated.

These features of current LPP field, as pointed out in this literature review, are acutely needed in the study of English language education policies (ELEPs) in China. There is a lack of attention in connection and disparities between macro level policy and micro level practice and the agentive role of local practitioners.

This chapter further introduces my research design. The combination of CDA and ethnography of language policy is introduced, based on the common features of the two: a.

both focus on the contextual impact on the language use; b. both focus on the language use as a fluid concept; c. both analyze the multiple layers of social agents in multimodal language use; d. both are keen to reveal inequality and control in the power relationship embedded in language use. Drawing on the principles of CDA and ethnography of language policy, I see ELEP in China as a. Social construct bounded in and shaped by the regional and national contexts; b. An ongoing process involving; c. the multiple layers of policy agents in policy creation, interpretation and appropriation; d. Social construct that serves the interest of the dominant groups, which should be critically addressed for its embedded inequality, power relationship, hegemony and control; e. Creation and production of semiotic variables.

Focusing on Yulin as a subcontext in China, this research uses the combination of ethnography and CDA to reveal the power relationship and negotiation in national policy and local practice in Chinese primary school settings. The next chapter presents the methodology of this research in details.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In chapter 2, I have mentioned the research gap that I intend to fill: in Chinese ELEP study, there is a neglect of tensions between macro-level policy and micro-level practice and the agency power of local policy agents. In other words, previous literature tends to fall short of fully accounting for the processes-creation, interpretation and appropriation- of language policy (section 2.2), i.e. how micro-level interaction relates to the macro levels of social organization. As argued, I propose a multi-sited ethnography that accounts for layers of policy agents in creation, interpretation and appropriation. It is multi-sited to suit the characteristics of the multi-layered structure of ELEP. I further propose the combination of CDA and ethnography to examine tensions between national policy and local practice.

This chapter presents my methodology in details, through the analysis of research sties (Section 3.2), research questions (Section 3.3), data collection (Section 3.4), research methods (Section 3.5), main participants (Section 3.6) and reliability and validity (Section 3.7).

3.2 Research Sites

There are 32 primary schools in Yulin, of which 15 are in urban areas. For the convenience of transportation and familiarity of the area, I chose the urban schools to conduct the research. However, it is to note that most of the primary schools in rural areas are in very poor conditions. In some rural schools, there would be only 2 or 3 teachers, who would teach over 10 subjects to somewhat 30 to 100 students (Yulin Education Bureau, 2015). Given the limited place of this research, I would not focus on the provision of ELEP in rural education. However, it does not mean that English education in rural areas is not important. In fact, it is so important that it deserves close academic and sociopolitical attention, for it is closely related to education inequality, education rights, government expenditure and other fundamental aspects within education and citizenship.

That said, to some extent, this research is also partly about education equality and education rights. Even in urban areas, schools vary diversely in aspects of status, teacher resources, student pool, and political importance, to namely a few. The three schools in this research are very different. I am curious whether the social, political and economic differences in schools would exert influence on English education.

After visiting several schools in the region and communicating my research intentions to school principals and teachers, I selected three schools for ethnographic work because 1) the staff expressed support for my research intentions, 2) the good possibilities of access and transportation to and from the schools, 3) the three schools are different in terms of economic and social status, which might affect teacher quality, student pool and education resources. The difference might shed light on social factors on English education and power relations of agencies in policy process, which is the central tenet of my study.

Schooling starts at age 7 and lasts for 6 years in the three schools. Chinese, mathematics, and English are the three subjects that dominate the curriculum. English is usually taught for 4-5 lessons per week, and it is the only primary school subject taught in English. Average student number in class in each school is approximately 60 to 70.

School A (Figure 3.1) is an experimental school. The experimental school is a special category in Chinese education system. They officially play a model role in a district. They are called experimental schools, for they are normally the first groups of schools that implement any education reform decision or new teaching methods introduced by the central government. More efforts, public fund and education resources, were focused on experimental schools, in expectation of proficient personnel who were needed in the nation's modernization process. Economically, these schools tend to have better support. Socially, they are models to follow for their counterparts in a district. Pedagogically, they are the labs and showcases of government decisions' in education reform.

Figure 3.1 School A

Like other experimental schools all over the country, new teaching facilities and methods are constantly introduced to School A. It is located in the more well-off area in the city, with Yulin government and Yulin Education Bureau stand right in front of the school. The school, opened in 2000 as the new suburban residential areas emerged, now has approximately 2600 students and 95 staff members. There are 36 classes, with six classes in each grade. There are 14 English teachers in this school, with an average of 5 years of teaching experience. Most of them graduated from English major in colleges or universities.

School B (Figure 3.2) has around 2000 students. It is opened in 1992 and currently has 89 staff members. There are 11 English teachers in this school, with an average teaching experience of 6 years. 7 teachers have BA degrees from teacher training colleges, with which 3 got their degrees through correspondence education or in-service training. 4 teachers have degrees from secondary professional schools or professional schools in colleges. Of the 11 teachers, 6 are English major graduates, 5 are education-related majors but not with English as focus.

Figure 3.2 School B

School C (Figure 3.3) is located in the northern downtown area of Yulin. Because of its location and the principle of proximity in Chinese education (see section 1.3.1), the socioeconomic status of most parents are low. Most families depend on the school exclusively for their children's education. Unlike schools A and B, students in school C do not have much access to extracurricular schooling and parental support (see Section 6.5.2). Most parents are immigrant workers who work in coal mine, restaurants and factories. Opened in 2006, school C is one of the youngest primary schools in Yulin. There are 8 English teachers in school C, with an average teaching experience of 3 years. 4 have bachelor degrees and 4 have degrees

from secondary professional schools. Two teachers are transformed from Chinese and Maths departments in school C, due to a lack of staff in English department. There are no access to TV or Internet in classrooms, which are available to classrooms in school A and B. Only a 'teachers' resource room' is opened with Internet access and have around 10 computers in it (shared by 100 teachers in the school).

Figure 3.3 School C

3.3. Research Questions

As mentioned in section 2.2&2.4, drawing on the current trend in LLP and CDA, I see policy as an ongoing process that involves multiple layers of policy agents in policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. I intend to try and understand the (de)construction of national policy in local practice, from the perspectives of teachers, local officers and parents. Further, I am interested in agency power of local participants. I ask the following questions:

1. What does English language education policy on Chinese national level require or expect?

The first question delves into some important official policy discourses that are created and compiled by the central government. It looks at the issues and emphases in the policy discourse created at macro-level. In most of the cases, central policies set the boundaries for local governments and schools to practice. Treating language policy as a social

practice, this research also intends to find out the hidden ideology and power relations behind the discourse.

2. How do educational policies get created, interpreted and appropriated by i) Yulin educational officials and ii) primary school teachers of English?

The second question focuses on the local creation, interpretation and appropriation processes involved in ELEP within Yulin, including (and in relation to question 1) the outside policy texts drawn upon, the distribution of language policy development power among various stakeholders, and the role of stakeholders' perception of ELEP. A focus on local perspectives in ELEP process is vital. Various stakeholders exert some power and change towards ELEP, consciously or sub-consciously. For this reason, the agency power of the local participants is emphasized.

Within the local implementation of ELEP, I divide my analysis into two parts. In the first place, it attempts to find out the interpretation of the policy in the local management level. In the arena of this research, they are the officers in the local education bureau and the management level in local schools. They interpret the policies that passed down by national government and then disseminate the policy to the teachers. Their understanding of the policy becomes very important in the process of the ELEP. Secondly, I look into the teaching practice in classrooms. As pointed out by Alright and Bailey (1991, in Wang, 2010, p. 84): 'It is whatever actually happens in the classroom that really matters, because this is when teaching can make a difference to our learners.' This research recognizes the local knowledge and its valid contributions to pedagogical practice and ELEP. It attempts to find out the local response to ELEP for their contemporary needs.

3. What are the tensions between macro-level policy and micro-level practice?

As analyzed in section 2.3, too often LPP is regarded as the rights and responsibility of the macro policy makers, namely national governments and other established institutions (Blommaert, 1996, 2006; Tollefson, 1991). Local agents, such as local education bureaus and teachers, are seen merely as implementers, who passively obey the instructions given by the national government. Teachers are expected and required to faithfully implement the externally and centrally developed curriculum and materials. Such a top-down model of policy process is a technological one (Canagarajah, 2005a). It is based on an assumption about the existence of universal knowledge and that an innovation that is effective in one

social and cultural context would also work well in another one. It disregards the contextual difference and the local educational practices.

My third research question caters the need for a reorientation in policymaking and recognition of the valid local contributions to the ELEP process. Local schools and teachers are always constrained by national language policies, which tend to set boundaries on what is allowed, expected or considered normal. Policies can thus create implementational and ideological spaces (Hornberger and Johnson, 2011), where the tensions among the layers of policy agents arise. In line with this argument, I am keen in finding out the tensions between structure and agency, or between a theoretical focus on power and ideology in macro policies and an ethnographic understanding of the roles that local practitioners play in ELEP.

4. What are the causes and effects of the tensions between policy and practice?

Every cause leads to some effects. The effects of the tensions between policy and practice are presented in local educational and social settings. My job is to investigate the effects of the tensions in Yulin and broader areas. While the results of my study cannot necessarily be generalized to other school districts in China, stories herein illuminate challenges potentially faced by other educators around the country.

3.4. Data Collection

My research is conducted in three stages (see Figure 3.4). In Stage One (Oct.-Feb., 2012), I collected national and regional ELEP documents to analyze (see Section 4.2.1). Policy documents are accessible on the Internet. Drawing on the principles of CDA, particularly intertextuality, I group seven texts as the national policy documents. They are also the only seven documents issued by the national government, regarding ELEP since 2001 (see Section 4.2). The reading of the policy documents and literature is essential in two ways. First, it makes me aware of the contextual features of ELEP so as to use the principles of CDA to analyze the policy documents. Secondly, I get to know what is acceptable and required in the national policy, which prepares me to identify the tensions between the national policy and the local appropriation.

In the second and third stages, I collect ethnographic data in the three schools. Data includes observation field notes, interviews, classroom observation and questionnaires (see Section 3.5 for detailed analysis of my research methods).

Figure 3.4 Research stages and mixed methods for this Research

Mixed Methods / Stages	CDA	Ethnography			
		Quantitative methods	Qualitative methods		
One (Oct.-Feb. 2012)	CDA				
Two (Mar.-May. 2013)	CDA	Questionnaires	Interviews	Field-notes	Classroom Observation
Three (Jun.-Nov, 2013)	CDA	Questionnaires	Interviews	Field-notes	Classroom Observation

More specifically, in the second stage (Mar.-May., 2013), I chose three schools in Yulin for ethnographic research and also arranged to interview policy administrators (in local education bureaus and schools) who have been involved in implementing the program. I interviewed the teachers during their class break and sometime after work. Some field-notes were written. Through these open-ended interviews, I managed to know more about the local context, teachers' beliefs and their teaching perspectives. I then conducted classroom observation of the teachers who participated in the interviews. Stimulated recalls were used to find teachers' instant feelings and teaching rationales. During the second stage, I developed good rapport with the teachers in the three Yulin primary schools, which built a solid foundation for my ethnography work in the later stages. At the end of the second stage, I identified some issues, problems and questions that are closely relevant to my research, such as some contextual constraints of ELEP in Yulin, teacher training, and teachers' perspectives on ELEP (details of the research methods see section 3.5).

In the third stage (Jun.-Nov., 2013), drawing on my observation and findings achieved in the first and second stages, I designed a questionnaire and distributed it to the rest 11 primary schools in Yulin (Appendix B). Teacher questionnaires gathered information from English teachers regarding their linguistic background, professional credentials, training and their beliefs about the English teaching in local area (see below for details). I did more ethnographic observation in the three schools. This time, with good rapport that I built with teachers during the second stage, I was able to investigate the local creation, interpretation and appropriation of ELEP in a closer and more detailed way. Unlike in the beginning of the research, teachers and students are more relaxed in the later stages for they see me not as a

threat, but a researcher who is genuinely interested in their opinions. They are able to be more frank and direct in the formal and informal interviews. As a participant observer in the three schools, I sat at the back of the classroom while the classes went on and occasionally gave them my feedback at the teachers' request. My filed work outside schools included attendance and sometimes participation at numerous teacher engagements including parents meetings and teachers' collegial events, such as dine out, teachers' competition and display classes. All these events provided important opportunities to gain insights from informal conversation with and among teachers.

My research design and research techniques, as analyzed above, draw heavily on a triangulation design. Triangulation design is one kind of mixed methods in applied linguistics, which is defined by Johnson et al (2007, p. 123) as; "the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration." Under this definition, this research adopts mixed methods in two ways (see Figure 3.4).

To begin with, I use the combination of CDA and ethnography as my research methodology throughout the three stages. Through CDA, I am able to become more familiar with the national and official regulations and texts that set the boundaries for LPP. Through ethnography, I am able to see how the LPP is implemented or abandoned in local contexts. I am aware that the implementation or abandon of the ELEP in local schools might not be binary or static. In other words, ELEP is followed in certain ways but not the others. My job is then to find out the constraints and rationales for the local creation, interpretation and appropriation of the ELEP in different situations.

In the second place, within ethnography approach, I choose both quantitative methods (questionnaires) and qualitative methods to investigate the local context. This allows me to see the smaller details in classrooms and a bigger picture in broader areas. For instance, during the second research stage, after I talked to local administrators and teachers, I began to have a basic idea about the contextual constraints that hamper the ELEP in Yulin, such as class sizes, student numbers, lack of English language exposure beyond the classrooms (see Section 5.5&6.5 for details). In some cases, English teachers need to teach one to three subjects other than English, such as moral education classes, calligraphy classes, etc. Teachers would shoulder a lot of workload and distract their time on preparing English classes. Drawing on this observation, I add a question on teachers' workload other than English classes in my refined questionnaire (see questions 8 and 9 in Appendix B). The mixed

methods provide me with the breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. As mentioned above, had I not conducted the ethnographic study, I might conceivably ask questions according to what I think is important, rather than what the informants consider important.

3.5 Research methods

In this section, I provide more detailed analysis of the research methods, which includes policy documents analysis, interviews, questionnaires and classroom observation.

3.5.1 CDA: A theory and method of analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) needs to be understood as both a theory and a method (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p.16), in that it offers 'not only a description and interpretation of discourses in social context but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work' (Rogers, 2004, p. 2). In section 2.4, I have pointed out the theoretical focus of CDA, which intends to demystify the underneath power relationship in the manipulative use of language of the powerful groups. It intends to find out the way discourse constitutes situations, social identities of and relationships between people. It is interested in the way the dominant groups use discourse to maintain control and hegemony over the less powerful ones. This brings in analyses of the social order. One 'point of entry' into this analysis can be semiotic, which entails selecting and analyzing relevant 'texts' and addressing the dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements.

In chapter 4, I provide both the detailed process of selecting and analyzing relevant 'texts' and comprehend the relationship between the level of social practices and the level of events. In this section, I introduce Norman Fairclough's approach (1989, 2001, 2010, 2011) as my method for the analysis of policy texts. Fairclough's three-dimension modal suits well with the multiple layers of language policy agents in policy creation, interpretation and appropriation (see Section 2.4.4.). As a result, I use it as my research framework. Below, I provide a detailed analysis of the three-dimension modal.

According to Fairclough's three-dimension model (2010), any specific instance of discursive practices, should be seen as:

a. A language text, spoken or written,
b. Discourse practice (text production and text interpretation)
c. Sociocultural practice

Each dimension requires different kind of analysis:

a. The linguistic *description* of the language text
b. *Interpretation* of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text
c. *Explanation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes.

The three dimensions are interrelated: discourse practice is the link between text and sociocultural practices. Let me break down the process: In the first place, the discourse practice (how a text is produced or interpreted) depends on the sociocultural practice in which the language text is a part of. Secondly, the discourse practice shapes the text and leaves 'traces' in surface features of the text.

The process is easier to understand if we put it back to the discussion of discourse in section 2.4.2. Discourse is both constituted and constitutive. It both shapes and is shaped by society: it is socially conditioned by the contexts in which it occurs (discourse practice) and it, at the same time, affects the social relationships and identities of people who are participated in these social events (sociocultural practices).

Let me explain the three-dimension modal further by providing an example:

A language policy document can be understood as:

a. The written *text* in terms of its linguistic features, such as syntax, modal words and argumentation.
b. The process of interpretation and production of this document, the *discourse practices*, among people or groups of people, e.g. a teachers' guidebook that explains the language policy document; a parents' meeting that interprets the document.
c. The *sociocultural practice* or the situational, institutional or social context surrounds the discourse practices, e.g. the economic situation of the country; the language environment; the education system of the country.

This research uses three-dimension model as the research framework, since it suits well with the multiple layers of language policy agents in policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. As Johnson (2013, p. 156) notes, 'any particular language policy text- the written or spoken product of language policy discourse- is a product of discourse practices that should be analyzed within multi-layered (discursive) contexts (of situation) (e.g.

institutional and societal discourses about language, language users, language education)'. Seeing language policy as a social construct (Section 2.2) is to recognize that language policy (oral, written or multimodal *text*) is bounded in and shaped by the situational, institutional or social context (*sociocultural practice*) through the *discourse practice* (the way of interpreting and producing the language policy). Recognizing the multiple layers of policy agents is recognizing that policy texts can be created (as *text*), interpreted (*discourse practice*) and appropriated (explained in *sociocultural practice*).

In the *text* analysis, I focus on the linguistic features of the policy documents, to find out the power relations, coercion and control embedded in the text. In the *policy practice* analysis, I draw on the analysis of some relevant texts and interviews, to find out the production and interpretation of the policy texts by people or groups of people (i.e. local officials and teachers). In the *sociocultural practice* analysis, I focus on the national and regional contexts and the generated social norms, language ideologies and attitudes. In particular, chapter 4 reads the policy *texts* in terms of their linguistic feature as well as the *discourse practice* manifested in some supporting documents. Chapter 5 presents the interpretation (*discourse practice*) of the ELEP by local officials in education bureaus and schools, who are the intermediate level between the national government and teachers. Chapter 6 presents the interpretation and appropriation (*discourse practice*) of the ELEP in teacher interviews and classrooms. Through chapter 4-6, I constantly refer and examine the *discourse practices* (how people interpret and produce the ELEP) and *texts* (written, oral and multimodal ELEP texts) in the wider *sociocultural context*.

3.5.2 Interviews

There are mainly three types of participants in my research. The first group is the English teachers in the three local schools (see Section 3.2). I conduct some semi-structured interviews. Interviews last from 5-60 minutes. Some are recorded as MP3 files. In interviews where there are no audio-recorders used, detailed notes were collected contemporaneously, including verbatim recording of key statements. Fuller notes were written up immediately afterwards. The length and format of the interviews depend on my familiarity with teachers, convenience of the interview sites and the contents of conversations. For instance, in the beginning of the research stage, teachers are not willing to allow me to record their interviews. In some cases, the interviews are taken in class breaks or our way to the classrooms. It would be more effective for me to write down their words in the field notes after our conversation. In

other cases, teachers are sensitive about their comments on school or government regulations and they would not be comfortable with audio recording.

The second interview group forms by my key-participants mentioned in the section 3.6. I conduct a series of semi-structured interviews, lasting between 30-45 minutes, with each of the five key participant teachers (see Section 3.6), totaling around 4 hours of interview data. In the first place, there are some baseline interviews for me to collect relevant background information about teachers and schools. I also conduct some post-observation interviews. They take place after I have observed teachers' classes or between the breaks of their classes, i.e. the stimulated recalls of teachers' classes. Teachers have fresh memory about their classes and I can interview them on some points written on my field notes. After several weeks of observation and analysis, I begin to form some questions and issues to probe into, such as teachers' understanding of school regulations, parental support in English education and habits in learning. To involve emic perspectives of teachers, some post-analysis interviews were also conducted, in which I interview teachers and seek respondent validation or disconfirmation of data analysis.

The third types of interviewees are the education officials in local governments and the three schools (see Appendix E for a full transcript and translation of one interview). Four officials are interviewed with two agree to be audio-recorded. I believe the content of the interview data is more important than recording methods. For instance, I find the officials who agreed to be audio-recorded would constantly look at my recorder during our interviews. Apparently, the recorder is part of the factors that shapes the direction of our conversation. For some more sensitive questions, the officials would dodge the answers with very general answers.

Group interviews are used as well, since teachers are willing to talk and discuss with their colleagues and tend to forget the presence of video recorders when they are used. In the beginning, interviews tend to be semi-structured and included questions about the teaching trajectory of the participants, how they entered the teaching program, and about their views on ELT. The later rounds of interviews, as I built good rapport with local teachers, become free or informal conversation about their practices in the program and their ideas about the challenges and possibilities of ELEP. Teachers are invited to ask me questions and to bring up any topic they consider important that I have not inquired about during the interview.

I would also let participants read the policy texts and ask their perception of the policy texts. I am not supposing that every teacher would know about language policy. In fact, finding out teachers' awareness or familiarity with the language policy is closely relevant to the policy process of the language policy. This is to follow the suggestion of Widdowson

(2004, p. 170), who suggests that ethnographic enquiries should invite the informants to read the policy texts and 'how far their responses provided evidence of the relative significance they assigned to different textual features'. In other words, I am interested in how my informants think about the ELEP written in national policy texts. This is, to use Fairclough (1992, p. 28), a better reflection of 'a textually oriented' discourse analysis that 'open to different interpretations depending on the context and interpreters'. Informants' perceptions of the policy texts provide some empirical evidence for my contentions on the impact of national ELEP in local community. It bolsters my observations and arguments on the tensions between the national policy and local practice.

In total, I collect six-hour audio-recorded interviews and pages of written field-notes. For some interview excerpts that are only written on my field-notes, I would try my best to recover the data shortly after the interview, when my memory is still fresh. With unwilling participants, sensitive topics or inconvenient interview site, the best option for me is to write down the words immediately after the interviews or every evening when I return home and sort out the field notes.

Interviews concerning language policy can be a sensitive matter for very obvious reasons. One might argue that officials and teachers might feel obliged to stay in line with their supervisors for fearing of being removed from their jobs. As a result, for the purpose of confidentiality, pseudonyms are used.

3.5.3 Classroom Observation

51 primary English classes are observed with detailed field notes. They aim at finding out whether/how teachers covertly or overtly construct/obstruct, obey/disobey, agree/disagree, or follow/abandon the language policy (or parts of it).

In the beginning of the research, I was not acquainted with some of my informants. Some of them would be unwilling to let me record data, especially when they saw me as a 'government servant' or 'whistle blower'. However, after I was more acquainted with them in the second and third weeks, I was allowed to video-record their lessons.

However, their willingness still depends on their teaching content. As I analyze in section 6.4, usually at the end of each unit, teachers would focus on revision, exercises and homework assessment. In these cases, teachers would refuse to let me record the lessons, for they believe there is nothing to see in these classes. Yet, the ritual, routine and the teaching schedule of teachers fascinate me. Still, as long as my participants are not willing enough, I believe it is my duty as a researcher to not force them. As a result, not all the classes, even for

my key participants, would be video-recorded. Overall there are 17 lessons video-recorded. In some cases, when teachers are having a display lesson, I would use the recording made by the schools, since it is of better quality and I do not want add more burden to the teachers by putting another camera besides the camera set by the schools.

I began analyzing the classroom recordings when the themes emerged after I analyzed the policy texts, drawing on the principles of critical discourse analysis (see Appendix F for a full transcript of one fifth grade class). I then systematically analyzed the ethnographic data using reduction and synthesis. Data from the 51 lesson observations was reduced using focused summaries pertaining to the research questions, themes and other emerging issues. Next, codes were assigned to the interview transcripts and the classroom observation summaries. From these codes, themes that I found in policy texts were identified, including policy initiatives, teaching methods, teaching content, power relations of policy agents and beneficiaries in ELEP. Besides these themes, I also group some common emerging issues mentioned in the ethnographic data. For example, a lot of teachers mentioned discipline tensions during student participation and group works. Once such anissue was identified, all data touching the issue from different research methods was pooled and further analyzed. Pooling all data on a given issue helped me to identify evidence that might support or disconfirm a particular line of argument.

3.5.4 Questionnaire

During the mid of my second research stage and drawing on the experience from prior interviews and classroom observation, I administered a preliminary questionnaire to teachers in these three schools (see Appendix D). Table 3.5 shows the number of preliminary questionnaires collected from English teachers in each school. I go through the preliminary questionnaire with my key participants (see next section), who provide useful insight for the revision of the preliminary questionnaire. For instance, a section of ‘open questions’ is added in the revised questionnaire (see Appendix B), which aims to invite more open discussion and participation from my informants.

Figure 3.5 Number of Preliminary Questionnaires for teachers

	School A	School B	School C	Total
Number of Qs	8	9	7	24

The revised questionnaire was distributed at the beginning of the third stage of my research (June, 2013). The questionnaire was distributed to 14 schools in Yulin. 127 questionnaires were collected, which ended up with 98 valid responses.

There are four parts in the questionnaire. Part one asks teachers' general information, such as gender, age, educational background and years of teaching. Part two and three contain closed questions, in which teachers are asked about their belief in the nature of English learning, the role of the teachers and their teaching methods. Most questions are adapted from the latest English Curriculum for Compulsory Education (NCDC, 2011), which is used as teachers' guidebook in practice and teacher development programs (see section 4.2 for details). Questions in these two sections use a five-point Likert scale with 1 referring to strongly agree and 5 strongly disagree. The two parts are designed to find out tensions between the macro LPP texts and local teacher practice. Part four contains three open-ended questions asking about the biggest challenges in teaching, the mismatch and match in government policy and teaching practice, and teachers' perspectives of the ideal ELEP.

In designing the questionnaire, I would deliberately use the linguistic terms from the original national policy documents to design the questions. For instance, question 22 (in Appendix B) asks whether teachers would introduce cultural knowledge of Chinese language in the English classes. This question is based on the requirement listed in the national curriculum. Another example would be question 15, in which I ask whether teachers think they would try to cultivate students' ability in 'using English to do things'. The expression 'using English to do things' is the simplification of Task-Based Language Teaching in the curriculum (see Section 4.6 for details). Designing the questions with the original expressions in policy documents serve to examine teachers' perception and evaluation of the policy texts. This would present valid observation on how teachers would think about the language policy, i.e. what teachers actually think about the policy, rather than what I thought the teachers would think.

3.5.5 Translation and Transcription of the texts

All these documents are written in Chinese and there are no official translations for these documents. The principles of CDA are produced in English-speaking academia and its usage is scarce in the context of Chinese language. It then generates problem for me, especially for the textual analysis of the policy texts. In order to draw on the principles, I translate the texts literally and faithfully to keep the original linguistic features of the Chinese

texts. To try to avoid subjective bias, I invite two of my colleagues (MA degrees in UK) to check my translation and to make sure the literal translations are as 'faithful' as possible.

Since my translation intends to be faithful and direct, some of the expressions might seem odd in English syntax. Although the 'good translation' (i.e. fluent or natural English) is scarified for research purpose, this process is, I believe, necessary and worthwhile. During the translation, I become more familiar with my data. Also, since CDA and its principles are rarely used in Chinese language contexts (as far as I know), my research can pave the way to adapt the principles of CDA in Chinese language context.

For interviews used in this dissertation, they are transcribed in Chinese first and later translated into English. I transcribed verbatim to deeply immerse myself in the data. Translation is checked by two of my colleagues in Newcastle University (MA degrees), which is to make sure that the translation is not affected too much by my subjective agenda. As mentioned earlier in this section, some expressions might seem odd in English syntax due to direct translation. Yet, it is worthwhile for presenting the informants' perspective as faithfully as possible. Readers might refer to appendix E for the transcription and translation of an interview excerpt.

3.6. Main Participants

There are totally 34 English teachers in the three schools. For research convenience and confidentiality, I code teachers as T1, T3 to T34 in my data. My contacts with the teachers are not evenly distributed. Five teachers are selected as the key participants for several reasons. In the first place, they show more support and interest towards my research and they are more likely to state their real perspectives. Secondly, these teachers, through prior observation and interview, prove to be more open-minded in responding to change and therefore willing to engage with my research. They are more confident in their teaching and feel more comfortable to let me record their lessons.

T3 is a trained and experienced teacher in school A. As the director of English department, she is responsible for the teacher development and teaching research in her school. Her job involves apprenticing new teachers or interns in her schools and distributing instruction from the management level in her school. She is also responsible for initiating research topics for young and new teachers. She would constantly refer to the policy texts or guidebook in our interviews, having been trained in provincial, municipal and school level teacher development programs.

T6 also comes from School A. He is in his late 20s and starts to teach in School A in 2010, right after his graduation in one of the normal universities in Xi'an. Majored in English,

he is very confident with his teaching. He received some in-service training on municipal level. According to him, however, his teaching competency and methods mainly develop in his school years. He is aware of some latest development in western methodology, such as communicative teaching or task-based learning. He is very fond of the concept of 'teaching and learning in fun'. He thinks that his class is not traditional, which he further explains as authoritative teachers, extensive use of drills and strict control of the class.

T14 in school B is teacher in her mid-30s. She used to teach in a rural school. She moved to Yulin to provide better education opportunity for her 10 year-old boy. Since her son is also of primary school age, she believes this experience helps her with classroom management. T14 is not familiar with the language policy, analyzed from our interaction. However, she is very hard working and cares about her students.

T15 in school B is in his late-30s, who is also among the first groups of primary English teachers in Yulin. We had known each other for years. This personal connection provides me a lot of valid data that is tangible to my research. He would tell me his first-hand experience on matches and mismatches in policy and practice. His answers and interviews are much more direct. He is willing to allow me to record his lessons and the observer's paradox fades out very quickly. I would also seek respondent validation or disconfirmation of data analysis from him, which proves very effective.

T23 is a young teacher in school C. Given her recent entry into the teaching profession, she does not have the background in communicative approaches that are required by national policy (NCDC, 2001). According to her, the most important thing in teaching is to provide adequate input to the pupils, such as vocabulary and grammar. She is not a big fan of communicative teaching and believes that it is not helpful for memorizing language points.

Narrowing down to several key teachers enables me to probe deeply into the teachers' viewpoints and actions, thereby helping me to understand the interpretation and appropriation of the language policy from their perspectives. I am able to observe their classrooms over an extended period and develop a rounded impression of English teaching. It also helps me to mitigate observer's paradox problems, as teachers and students become familiar with me. Around 10-15 classes are observed for each of these teachers and detailed field notes are written, which ends up to 45 classes together and 15 classes are audio-recorded.

3.7. Ethical Consideration, Reliability and Validity

To begin with, this research is conducted within the ethical guidelines provided by Newcastle University. Informants are recruited voluntarily and kept anonymous in the dissertation. The contents of the questionnaires and interviews are provided to the informants

in open access and they can withdraw anytime without giving a reason. All the collected data is kept in a confidential cabinet or researcher's personal computer. Data is not shared without the agreement of the informants.

Reliability concerns the replication of the study under similar circumstances. I derive consistency through coding the raw data in ways so that another person can understand the themes and arrive at similar conclusions. The ethnographic methods are well written and developed by many ethnographers in the field, such as Johnson (2007), Valdiviezo (2013), Sercombe (2006; 2010) and Ricento (2005). Ethnography can be as systematic and valid as other approaches. It is also humane, in that it treats people as people, not just as units; it is interested in the insider's perspective. This is a great strength of ethnography and thus strength of my study, methodologically.

Internal validity refers to the validity of a causal inference. From a social constructivist perspective, validation is the process of evaluating the 'trustworthiness' of reported observation, interpretation, and generalizations (Mishler, 1990, p. 419). In qualitative research, it is about the extent to which the investigator's constructions are empirically grounded in those of the participants who are the focus of the study (Flick, 2002).

The credibility on truth value of my findings is ascertained by spending sufficient time with participants to check for distortions, exploring the participant's experience in sufficient detail, videotaping interviews for comparison with the recorded data, clarifying tentative findings with participants, and revising working hypotheses as more data become available. The views and practices of the teachers that I portray in this paper, while not generalizable, are representative of the diversity of teaching approaches and implementation of ELEP in Chinese mainland classroom. In particular, textbooks in use, teaching hours and language environment in Yulin are the same with a lot of inland Chinese cities and towns. As a result, my research would have implication in larger areas than Yulin.

External validity refers to the generalizability of the findings of the study. My qualitative study emphasizes the 'thick description' of a relatively small number of participants within the context of Yulin. The descriptions of the participants or setting under study are sufficiently detailed to allow for transferability to other settings. Samples can change as the study proceeds, but generalizations to other participants and situations are always dependent on specific contexts.

Moreover, triangulation design of the research methods is another way to ensure the reliability and validity of my research. Triangulation design, according to Richards et al. (2012, p. 308), 'brings qualitative and quantitative methods to bear on a research problem in a single phase in order to better understand it. Typically, the research collects the data

separately but at the same time, then brings them to bear on the problem, gibing each element equal weight'. I use mixed methods in two ways (see Section 3.4). I use the combination of CDA and ethnography as my research methodology throughout the three stages. Within ethnography methods, I choose both quantitative methods (questionnaires) and qualitative methods (interviews, classroom observation and policy documents analysis) to investigate the local context.

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has analyzed my research methods, including data collection, research procedures, research design, validity and ethical consideration. In the following chapters, I analyze the data in parts. Chapter 4 analyzes central policy, drawing on the principles of CDA. Chapter 5 and 6 intend to find out the agentive roles in policy practice. Comparison is made to find out the tensions between the central policy and local practice.

Chapter 4 ELEP in National Policy Documents

4.1 Introduction

This chapter uses principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA, see Section 2.4) to examine the English Language Education Policies (ELEP).After introducing policy documents in question (Section 4.2), I explain my methods in identification of several themes within ELEP in national policy documents (Section 4.2.2). From section 4.3-4.7, I discuss these themes, including ELEP initiatives, ELEP objectives, teaching methods and contents, social actors in ELEP, benefitiaries of the policy and School Consolidation Policy. In each theme, I follow the three-dimension model (Fairclough, 1989; 2001) (see Section 2.4.5 for details) and other CDA principles (such as analysis of abstraction, presentation, genre chain and modality) to analyze the national policy documents through three interrelated processes: a. the linguistic description of the features of the policy *texts*; b. the interpretation of the *discourse practices*, or how people interpret and produce the discourse; c. the way policy practice and texts are shaped by the *sociocultural contexts*. These themes are compared to the interviews and observations in chapter 5 and chapter 6, in order to find out the tensions between the policy and practice.

4.2 Policy Documents in Question

As I have analyzed in section 1.2.4, the national government launched a series of policy documents aiming to implement ELEP in primary schools nationwide in 2001. The backdrop of this policy is briefly outlined as such: in the first place, China is gaining its momentum on the world stage. Chinese government believed the existing education system could no longer serve the fast development of the country (State Council, 2001). Secondly, ELT in secondary schools in 1990s was thought to fail its purpose of providing qualified human resources for the nation. As a result, the government decides to implement English language education nationwide from an early start. Thirdly, globalization is believed to have speeded up, which features in knowledge-driven economy, informationization of social life and neo-capitalism (I would refer to these concepts later in this chapter). Under these circumstances, the government issued several policy documents, requiring that English should be taught nationwide from the third grade in primary schools (see detailed analysis of its rationales in Section 4.3). In this section, I present the documents in question, identify themes and discuss the authorship of the documents.

4.2.1 Policy Documents

The ELEP process in China is very hierarchical (as discussed in Section 1.2.1 and further elaborated shortly in this chapter). It is built based on a top-down approach, with the upper level policy agents supervise, outweigh and guide the lower level policy agents. It follows the hierarchical order of the State Council, the MoE, the provincial education bureaus, local education bureaus, local schools and teachers (Figure 1.2). Following this order, there are different categories of policy documents that prescribe the boundary and requirements for ELEP in China.

To start, there are political orders given by the State Council, on the overall objective and requirements for the education reform. They give the instructions to the MoE, who give further and detailed requirements for the education reform in different subjects. The MoE then instructs National Curriculum Development Committee (NCDC), made up of subject specialists, professional textbook editors and government officials, to write curriculum for each subject. The curriculums also serve as the guidebooks for teachers, which further explain the teaching methods, objects and principles. Textbooks are also compiled by writers and published by institutions prescribed, allowed and instructed by the MoE, based on the requirements in the curriculums.

Since 2001, the national government and its institutions have issued seven policy documents concerning ELEP. Schematically, they follow the hierarchical order (top to bottom) as below (see Section 4.6 for more discussion on the hierarchical order manifested in the policy discourse):

Figure 4.1 Policy documents analyzed in this dissertation

Author(s)	National Policy Texts
State Council	• State Council's Decisions on deepening Education Reform and Fully Promoting Quality Education (1999, here after SC Decisions 1999) • State Council's Decisions on Reform and Development in Basic Education' (2001, here after SC Decisions 2001)
MoE	• Programme for Curriculum Reform of Basic Education (Draft) (2001a, hereafter Programme) • Guidelines for Vigorously Promoting English Language Instruction in Primary Schools (2001b, hereafter Guidelines) • The Basic Requirements for English Teaching (Draft) (2001c, hereafter Requirements)

NCDC	• English Curriculum for Compulsory Education (Draft) (2001, hereafter Curriculum 2001) • English Curriculum for Compulsory Education (2011, hereafter Curriculum 2011)

In this dissertation, I choose, categorize and analyze these seven policy documents as national policy texts concerning ELEP based on several reasons:

My first criterion is the intertextuality. Intertextuality is the interconnection between the texts (Lemke, 1992). We make meaning through texts, which always depend on other texts we recognize as having certain definite kinds of relationship with one another. There are three intertextual relations: thematic, orientational and organizational (Lemke, 1992). The thematic relations are construed between texts on the grounds that they are 'on the same topic' or 'about the same thing'. There are explicit devices for signaling the connection (e.g. citation, quotation) and implicit signals (e.g. unreferenced paraphrase, unreferenced quote). Oriental relations are based on linking texts that have the same point of view towards audience or content. The organization relations are viewed as the relations of certain texts that have similar generic structures. The policy documents that I enlist in figure 4.1, drawing on the three intertextual relations, are intertexts of one another. These texts are the same in all three of these respects. They talk about the same thing, from the same point of view, and in the same genre. As a result, I have the strongest basis for considering them relevant for one another' interpretation, that is, as intertexts of one another.

Secondly, in terms of the popularity and importance, these seven policy documents are the only nationwide instructions on primary English education in China issued by national government since 2001. In other words, these policy texts have been relatively steady for the last 15 years. I analyze these documents in this research, given their importance and popularity. Moreover, these policy documents are referred in previous literature in ELEP in China (e.g. Wu, 2012; Hu, 2005; Zhang and Hu, 2010, as shown in Section 2.3). By analyzing these texts with a CDA perspective, I show how the CDA approach might enhance existing methods of analysis.

In figure 4.1, policy texts written by State Council serve as directive documents to guide the policies written by the MoE and NCDC. They are issued to give orders in Chinese education reform in basic education (English subject is one part of the reform). Programme (MoE, 2001a) provides instructions on curriculum reform for all the subjects in basic education (Grade 1-9), including English, Chinese, Maths, moral education, music, PE, etc. Guidelines (MoE, 2001b) and Requirements (MoE, 2001c) prescribe the overall education initiatives, orientations and required teaching methods in Chinese ELEP in primary schools.

Under the instruction of the MoE, NCDC writes curriculums for local schools and teachers to use. Curriculum 2001 is a draft version of Curriculum 2011, which is referred as 'New Curriculum' in some academic publications, teacher guidebooks or media (e.g. Wu, 2012; Zheng, 2014). Curriculum 2001 and Curriculum 2011 both work as the guidebooks for primary teachers. They include teaching objectives, teaching methods and assessment requirement. They also enlist some case studies. The changes, contradiction and addition in the new version of the curriculum can provide us fruitful observations (see Section 4.2.2).

Apart from the seven main policy texts, some additional data is mentioned and analyzed to provide better knowledge for the intertextual and situational context (see below). The same groups of authors write these texts, namely the MoE and the NCDC. They are useful in understanding the discourse practice, i.e. how does the discourse interpreted and produced by people or groups of people (Fairclough, 2010). These additional data includes:

• Programme for Curriculum Reform of Basic Education (Draft) (NCDC, 1992)
• Interpretation of English curriculum for Compulsory Education (NCDC, 2012, hereafter Interpretation)

Detailed discussions on my reasons in including these policy texts are provided when they are analyzed. As pointed out by Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 27), the data collection is not considered to be a specific phase that must be completed before analysis, because 'it is a matter of finding indicators for particular concepts, expanding concepts into categories and, on the basis of these results, collecting further data.' My research would involve other texts when new questions arise which require more data to be collected, as is shown shortly in this chapter.

4.2.2 Themes in ELEP

I start with the selection of key texts to work from. Curriculum Draft (NCDC, 2001) and Curriculum 2011 (NCDC, 2011) are selected as my key texts. Firstly, the comparison of the similarities and differences (i.e. recontextualization, detailed analysis see Section 4.3 to 4.5) within the two texts and with other texts is worthwhile. In a sense, it reflects what Wodak (2001, p. 88) describes as 'discourse-internal structures'. My analysis intends to find the inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the intertextual connections within the two curriculums and their intertexts (shown in Figure 4.1). The relevance of curriculums to various stakeholders is the second reason for choosing them as key texts. They

are written *by* NCDC, *under* the instruction of the MoE, *for* local schools and teachers. In a sense, they are related to everyone who is involved in ELEP. They are political instructions as well teacher guidebooks. The interpretation of the curriculums among various stakeholders would shed light on the meaning and practice of ELEP. Thirdly, Curriculum (2011) is the latest update of national texts concerning ELEP. The analysis of it is a timely response and update to the LPP and ELEP fields, both in academia and teaching practice.

Curriculum Draft (NCDC, 2001) is the draft version of Curriculum (NCDC, 2011), with salient changes, deletion and addition, as analyzed shortly in this chapter. However, the overall structure and contents of the two curriculums remain the same. There are several sections included in the curriculums: preface, curriculum orientation and teaching methods. In the preface, the texts lay out the rationales for implementing and promoting ELEP nationwide. In the curriculum orientation, the texts prescribe the role of English, i.e. education objectives of ELEP. Required teaching methods, as the name suggests, describes the desired pedagogy. As a result, I identify three themes in the two curriculums:

- Theme one: the policy initiate
- Theme two: curriculum objectives
- Theme three: teaching methods

I refer them as 'themes', for they share thematic relations intertextually. In other words, they are 'on the same topic' or 'about the same thing' (Lemke, 1992). The other two intertextual relations, namely oriental and organization relations, are also manifested between the two texts. Put it differently, the authors have the same point of view towards audience and contents and the two texts have the same generic structures. However, since thematic relations (i.e. texts on the same topic) can be immediately recognized, I decide to use 'theme' to synthesize the interconnection/intertextuality of the texts.

Besides the above themes, I intend to find the power relations of the actors within ELEP. As a result, I am particularly interested in the way social actors are presented in the discourses. According to van Leeuwen (2001, p. 149), social actors participate in practices in one of a number of roles, as agents (doers of action), patients (participants to whom actions are done) or beneficiaries (participants who benefit from an action). This division of the social actors inspires me to look into two separate themes:

- Theme four: social actors in ELEP
- Theme five: beneficiaries in ELEP

My ethnographic study provides me recognition of the ELEP in local area and its connection with the ELEP in national policy documents. Specifically, I find out that School Consolidation Policy (SCP) has a large impact on the local community, although it is not a predominant issue in the national policy texts. For its importance, I enlist it as the sixth theme to look at:

• Theme six: School Consolidation Policy in ELEP

The identification of the sixth theme provides evidence that ethnography is important for CDA approach in language policy research. Had I never conducted the ethnographic study and never talked to local people, I would miss out the analysis of SCP since it is not a predominant issue in ELEP. In fact, it is not mentioned in any research within ELEP that I am aware of.

Once themes are identified, all data touching these themes from the other intertexts is pooled and further analyzed. Pooling all data on a given theme helps me to identify evidences that might support or disconfirm a particular line of argument.

In the rest of this chapter, I analyze these themes in details. It is to note that these themes are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they are integrated in and reinforced by each other. For instance, Theme One necessarily overlaps with Theme Five. In other words, the initiative of the policy necessarily includes the people or institutions that benefit from the policy. Another example would be that the prescribed role of English (Theme Two) would manifest and maintain the power relationship between the policy agents (Theme Four). Put differently, the data analysis might not be neatly divided into these six themes. There are unavoidable overlaps and contradictions among themes. In my defense, nothing related to ELEP is neat or clear-cut. It is the messiness, overlaps and contradictions that merit our attention; for they remind us to look at themes within ELEP with great care of their textual features, discourse practice and sociocultural contexts.

4.2.3 Authorship

I get back to the text analysis in details in the following sections. For now, I shall refer to authors of these policy texts for a moment. In the first place, these policy texts are under the authorship of institutions, i.e. State Council, MoE, or NCDC, rather than a specific author (nor editor) or a group of authors. In other words, there are no specific individual's name

appear regarding the authorship of the discourse. Rather, the 'author' is a face-less and de-humanized organization rather than human beings. The face-less characteristic has helped to achieve two effects: a. it makes the policies intangible and authoritative, in terms of power structure. For all the local practitioners, the policy is coming from the high-status organizations. It is like mysterious sound above the heaven. Furthermore, it makes the policies unquestionable: in cases where things go wrong or anyone wants to criticize the policies, nobody would stand out to take the responsibility. As a result, the face-less organizations make the policy-making process even more hierarchical, unquestionable and authoritative.

Secondly, there are differences in principles, authors and animators of the policy discourse (Goffman, 1981). Principal is the one whose position is put in the text; the author is the one who puts the words together and is responsible for the wording; finally, the animator is the person who is responsible for making the sounds or marks on paper. For instance, a spokesman makes a comment that might be written by a group of authors, while the principal is a group of politicians, whose position is being implicitly or explicitly articulated. In our case, although the policy documents might be under the authorship of 'NCDC' (animator), they might be texts written by several authors (e.g. educators, professional editors) who take the position of the MoE and State Council (principals). The differentiation of principal, author, animator reminds us to pay attention to the embedded power relations among various policy agents in the analysis. A detailed analysis of the social agents and their relations in the policy discourses tell us the differentiation of principal, author and animator, as presented in section 4.6&4.7.

Thirdly, the authors of the national policy documents are very powerful in a sense that they can make their position through the policy texts. These powerful people are powerful gatekeepers (Van Dijk, 2001). They influence social beliefs, emotions and values, through the policy discourses. Since discursive practices always have ideological effects, powerful gatekeepers can shape, maintain or challenge ideologies. The power structure in discourse becomes asymmetric, since gatekeepers set the standards for what is and is not acceptable. Following this line of argument, the ELEP documents enlist in figure 4.1 also help to re-assert the power of the authors, who are the powerful gatekeepers in setting the boundaries for ELEP in China.

The most effective form of dominance is the control of mind, so that people are influenced and act in the interest of the powerful (van Dijk, 1993).Modern and often more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation,

among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one's own interests (van Dijk, 2007; 2010). Managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk.

Social structures influence discourse structures and in turn be enacted, legitimated, instituted or challenged by discourse. The link in this process is the cognition. It is essential to analyze how powerful gatekeepers control people's mind through discourse, in the form of cognition. One example would be the usage of commonsense assumption. By naturalizing and neutralizing certain ideas as 'commonsense', such as the absolute authoritative and power of the national government or the unequal power relationship of employer and employees in workplace, the gatekeepers can maintain and reinforce the mind control over the less powerful. To put it in a simpler way, gatekeepers control discourse and the discourse control people's mind. Such mind management might not seem bluntly manipulative.

In this dissertation, I am interested in the way the gatekeepers produce, maintain and reinforce the ideology in discourse. In the following sections, I provide more analysis and examples on the mind control of the gatekeepers over the less powerful. That is said, since national policy documents enlisted in figure 4.1 are unlikely to be written by a single author (considering the workload and importance of the writing up work), I need to be cautious to draw any conclusion of the imbedded ideology or hegemony in the texts. Various hands may contribute to the policy discourse, who might have different interests, ideas, perspectives and agenda. As a result, CDA researchers should not make causative claims about policy creators' intentions without clear evidence (van Dijk, 2007; Widdowson, 1995).

That is why Wodak (2009) advocates ethnography in understanding political documents. Combining a detailed critical ethnography of the orders and disorders of discourse in the European parliament, she analyzes the discursive construction of Austrian national identity under the influence and pressure of political processes inside and outside Austria. The ethnography provides her a perspective to interview the politicians and see what behind the stage. Cincotta-Segi (2011) interviews the MoE officials in Lao PDR on how they interpret the policies as both producers and consumers. Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 18) refer this kind of ethnography as venturing the 'backstage', which provides access to understand 'the doing of politics'. My research does not include the authors involved in writing the national policy documents. However, I manage to interview the local educational officials, who are also the producers (e.g. supervise education reform, design text papers) and consumers (they are required to follow the national ELEP) of the policy documents (see Section 5.2&5.3). The point here is that understanding of the 'gatekeepers' provides useful information on the imbedded ideology and intentions. This understanding needs to be formed in detailed analysis of the policy documents and ethnography, rather than out of analysts' own intention.

4.3 Theme One: ELEP Initiatives

The first theme in the policy documents is the initiatives behind the policy, i.e., why should China implement English language education nationwide for primary school students. Below, I analyze the ELEP initiatives drawing on Fariclough's three-dimension analysis, namely text, discourse practice and sociocultural analysis.

4.3.1 Text Analysis

In the beginning of the Requirements (MoE, 2001), it is argued that ELEP is to cope with informationization and economic activity. English is basic requirement for the citizens for it is important for the country's open up and international communication:

Extract 4.1'Learning English is 21st Century Citizens' Basic Requirement', direct translation [13]of policy extract taken from Requirement (MoE, 2001c, preface)

1 In today's world, with information technology as main feature (,) technology
2 develops daily and monthly. Social life's informationization and economic
3 activities' globalization have made foreign languages, especially English,
4 increasing daily become our country's open up and international
5 communication's important tool. Learning and grasping a foreign language is
6 (,) to 21st century citizens (,) basic requirement.

Extract 4.1 states that learning English is for the benefit of China's open up and international communication (L4), especially since English is an important tool in informationization and globalization (L2-3). The conclusion is that learning and grasping a foreign language is basic requirement to 21st century citizens (L5-6). Overall, there is an invalid causal link presupposing that if one fact is true then the next is also true. That is to say, even English is important (L1-5), it does not necessarily mean learning English is basic requirement for *all* the citizens (L6, my emphasis). For instance, another more valid link would be: English is important, and we should have more translators and interpreters expertise in English language.

Let me break down the linguistic description in details. In Line 1, it uses change of state verbs (*fazhan*, develop), which presupposes the factuality of a previous state and positive evaluation of changes in technology. By saying technology develops, it presupposes that technology is moving ahead and it is good. A more neutral way to formulate the process

[13] Unless specifically mentioned, all the policy document extracts in this dissertation are my translation of policy extracts written in Chinese. For the issue of document translation, such as translation criteria and data validity, see section 3.5.1.

might be: technology changes (though *change* is still a change of state verb, it is not evaluative in this case). In Line 2, the process of technology development is depicted as 'daily and monthly', which implies that technology is moving forward so fast that we should do something to avoid being left behind. L4 also uses 'increasingly' and 'become' to presuppose the factuality of a previous state, namely 'English is and has already been…important tool' (L4-5). Another evaluative adjective 'important' is used in L5 to attach value to English. Overall, the usage of positive evaluation words in the extract 4.1 has built up and produced a cumulative effect: English language is depicted as incontestable, indispensable, neutral and valuable for China's socioeconomic development and globalization.

L4 uses an inclusive pronoun 'our country', instead of 'your country' or 'China', to suggest that the readers are positioned as in-group members with the author, and thus assuming shared perspectives and values. By contrast, L5 seems to use '21st century citizens', instead of 'our citizens' or 'citizens of our country', to refer to the readers. The text is written in 2001, the conjunctions of two centuries (20th and 21st century). The usage of 21st century citizen, which sounds modern and forward-looking, would make the initiative more timely and thus appear more acutely and acceptable.

I shall also point out that extract 4.1 also features in a widespread elision of human agency. It does so by using inanimate nouns and noun-phrases like 'technology', 'social life's informationization, 'economic activity's globalization' and 'learning and grasping a foreign language' as the agents of verbs. The elision of human agency is a common feature in discourses related to topics such as 'new global economy', 'neo-laborism', and 'knowledge-driven economy' (Fairclough, 2002, p. 13). It creates an effect that the responsibility for processes is in accounts of the inanimate subjects. For instance, in extract 4.1, it seems to imply that the initiative for learning English nationwide is due to technology development, informationization, and globalization. It is not the initiative of any politicians (people) or governments (groups of people). This way, there is nobody in accounts of the initiative and consequently not responsible for any faults.

Overall, extract 4.1 uses an invalid causal link, change of state verbs, evaluative adjectives, inclusive pronoun, rhetorical expression and elisions of human agency to provide the rationales for the English education in primary schools nationwide. It tries to appeal to the commonsense assumption that English is important in open up and international communication, which helps to develop the country, otherwise the country will fall behind others in the new century. The usage of commonsense concurs with one of the central points of argument for CDA, namely the imbedded coercion in the discourses.

I shall provide a brief discussion on the critiques of commonsense assumption in CDA field. According to Fairclough (2010), coercion exists in physical violence and coercive language. Coercion is also mostly exercised in consent. Commonsense assumption, according to Fairclough (2001), is a kind of ideology that serves for the purpose of coercive discourse. When people rely habitually on commonsense assumptions, the hidden power relations are produced, maintained and reinforced in these discourses.

In extract 4.1, 'informationization' and 'globalization' are depicted as commonsensical facts, which is incontestable. As a result, the importance of English language education is naturalized consequently. The process of naturalizing and legitimizing the ELEP initiatives appears to present a commonsensical fact. In this way, ELEP has been discursively constructed as the indispensable, natural and technical tool for accessing advanced science and technology, which is beneficial for coping with 'informationization' and 'globalization'. In other words, when people accept the commonsense as factual, it is then difficult to find out the hidden power relations and coercion imbedded in the discourse.

That is said, however, as warned by Fairclough (2002, p. 9), the critical view of ideology sees it as a modality of power, rather the description of positions, attitudes, beliefs, and perspectives. In other words, the textual analysis of the text is not enough to draw conclusions about the writers' intentions. After all, as I have mentioned in section 4.2.3, policy documents such as Requirements (MoE, 2001) are hardly produced by one author. The complicated authorship also involves principals, authors and animators (Goffman, 1981, see Section 5.2.2 for the differences). In this case, I shall frame the textual analysis in sociocultural analysis that considers bodies of texts regards their effects on power relations. This concurs with Fairclough's three-dimension modal, in which the three processes, namely textual analysis, discourse analysis and sociocultural analysis, are interrelated. That is to say, I have attributed causal effects to linguistic forms above, now I examine the effects through a careful account of meaning and context. I find whether this sort of account of the 'learning English for its importance to nation-development' is widespread in a particular type of text. These include very influential texts produced by the State Council, MoE, NCEC, and so forth. I also investigate the influence of such texts by looking at their wide national distribution and the extent to which they are 'intertextually' incorporated in other texts, particularly in media.

4.3.2 Analysis of Discourse Practices

In 1999, President Jiang Zemin, the then top leader in China (1989-2002), made a speech in The 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Xinhua, 1999). He

says: ‘In today’s world, with information technology as the main feature, technology develops daily and monthly... knowledge-driven economy shows its first signs which foresees that human beings’ economic and social life will have new and magnificent changes…facing this trend, we need to follow the tide and move forward’(Xinhua, 1999). The 15th National Congress put forward the Revitalizing Action Plan for the 21st Century. The Action Plan argues that to rejuvenate the country in the 21st century, the country should promote educational reform and development and improve the nation’s quality and innovation ability. The key to the rejuvenation is the technological development.

Based on the Action Plan and the spirit of the 15th National Congress of CPC, an education reform was launched to meet the needs of technologic and scientific development of the country in the 21st century. The policy documents in question (Figure 4.1) were written in this background. For this reason, these policy documents all refer the initiative for English education nationwide as providing the important tool to meet the needs of social development in China.

For instance, SC Decisions (State Council, 1999, p. 1) begins that ‘today’s world, scientific technology develops vigorously, knowledge-driven economy shows its first signs, and competitions of power among countries increase daily.…which raises more urgent requirements for cultivating and making our country’s 21st new generation’.

Likewise, according to the Programme (MoE, 2001a, p. 1), the overarching document of the political texts, the reason for the reform in basic education is that ‘the overall standard of the basic education is not high enough; the current practice in basic education cannot meet the needs of the social development in China.’ As a result, basic education should be reformed to develop a new generation or human resource.

Similarly, the idea of ‘meeting the needs of the social development in China’ is manifested in other political discourses as well. In the Curriculum 2001 (NCDC, 2001), it writes that the reform in English education is to cater the needs of economic construction and social development.

In the above analysis, I have pointed out that the assumption of the ‘learning English for its importance to nation-development’ is widespread in a particular type of texts. These include very influential texts produced by the State Council, MoE, NCEC, and so forth. In a sense, they almost become a set of laws to obey by local agents. In what follows, I also try and gauge the influence of such texts by looking at their wide national distribution and the extent to which they are ‘intertextually’ reinforced by genre chains and abstraction (the analysis of genre chains and abstraction will be explained shortly).

- *Reinforcement of the assumption in genre chains*

In extract 4.1&4.2, the values and functions of English are described as 'the most important carrier of information', 'the most widely used language', and 'an important tool in opening up and international communication for our nation'. The initiative for learning English is that the informationization of social life and globalization of the economy has strengthened the importance of English. From the speech in the 15th National Congress, to the State Council Decision (1999), Programme (MoE, 2001a), Requirements (MoE, 2001c) and Curriculum (NCDC, 2001), the initiative (a kind of discourse) changes the genres from the speech, to political documents, and to curriculums (more academically based).

The change or transformation of the genre is regarded as genre chain in CDA literature. Genre chains are regularly linked together, involving systematic transformation from genre to genre. Genre chains contribute to the possibility of actions that transcend differences in space and time, linking together social events in different social practices, different countries, and different times (Fairclough, 2003). The ELEP policy documents are presented in genre chain, as I analyze below, which allows the discourse to work in different practices, space and time, which further facilitates the exercise of power.

The 15th National Congress of CPC (1999, 12 Sep-18 Sep) was limited to little more than 2500 audiences, consists of CPC members, members of other parties, and representatives of religions. President Jiang made the opening and closing speeches (Xinhua, 1999), in which he said the country needed education reform and technological innovation to cope with globalization and informationization in the 21st century. Recordings were not allowed during the meeting. Jiang's transcript was later edited and released as a written transcript by Xinhua agency, the party-sponsored state media in China. Shortly after Xinhua's release of the transcript, other mass media, government owned and private, soon distributed the transcript through print, radio, television, and the Internet. There were learning meetings that pass the spirit within CPC departments in each institute nationwide. Jiang's speech is of local scale, with limited audiences discussing on limited issues. Yet, speeches of this sort, given by powerful gatekeepers who can exert influence through mass media, can circulate regionally and nationally. In other words, through the mediation of mass media, Jiang's speech manages to become more powerful discourse. In this process, the follow-up is of reinforcing gatekeepers' ideas rather than discussion.

I shall also briefly introduce the concept of mediation for a moment. Mediation involves the ''movement of meaning'' from one social practice to another, from one event to another, and from one text to another (Fairclough, 2002, p. 30). Mediation happens within

networks of texts or chains of genres (as I have mentioned above). It often makes use of copying technologies (e.g. print, broadcasting, internet), which disseminate communication and preclude real interaction between 'the sender' and 'the receiver' (Fairclough, 2002, p. 219). Modern world depends largely on mediation that involves the expanded capacity for groups of people to act upon and shape the actions of others over considerable distances of space and time.

As argued above, the genre chains manage to infuse ideas (e.g. globalism, technology development, and informationization), inculcate ideology (through mass media) and enact change (e.g. 'learning meetings', ELEP nationwide). It does so by controlling various (local, regional, national, global) contexts of discourse use.

Contexts are crucial in discourse use and in relation of discourse access, control and power (van Dijk, 1998). Context consists broad categories: situation, setting (time and place), ongoing actions (including discourses and discourse genres) and participants. It also consists participants' social roles, as well as their mental representations (e.g. goals, knowledge, opinions, and ideologies) (van Dijk, 2001, p. 357). Controlling context involves control over one or more of these categories. For example, the powerful might control over or have access to contexts by defining the goals of the social actions, the time and space of the communicative event or the participants who may or must be present.

The discourse of 'globalization and informationization' and its justification of ELEP nationwide is reinforced again and again through its use in different contexts, until the point that it appears as a 'commonsense assumption' or a reality that would not be argued against. To start, globalization and informationization are very complicated and contentious issues. They involve the imbalanced power relationship between the first world and third world countries (Fairclough, 2002, p. 47). It is a concrete process that involves agents who have different interests, motivations and attitudes. In one word, globalization is a complex concept and merits valid discussion. More specifically (and secondly), globalization and informationization (even it may be a prevalent phenomenon) do not necessarily mean English should be taught *nationwide* (my emphasis). In other words, the discourse and its genre chains manage to presuppose/assume an invalid causal effect (Globalization and informationization are going on, so English should taught nationwide) through reinforcing the discourse again and again and through its use in different contexts.

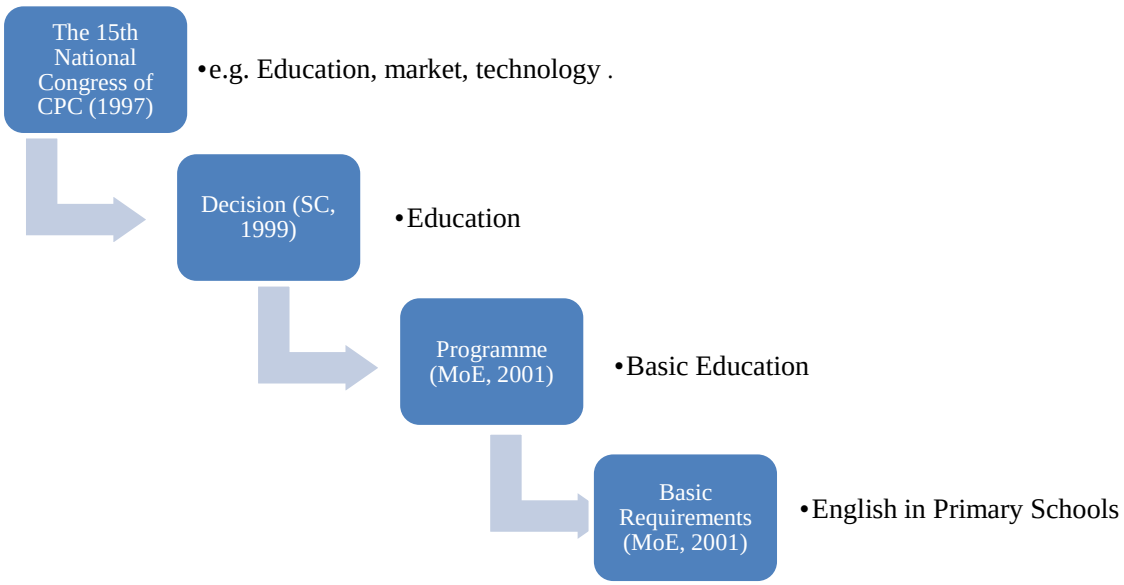
- *Reinforcement of the assumption through representation as recontextualization*

I have analyzed above that the assumption is partly reinforced through genre chains and its use of discourse in various contexts (local, regional and national). I have also pointed

out above that the assumption is indeed based on an invalid causal link between globalization and ELEP nationwide. Here, I analyze the reinforcement of the assumption through mediation.

In Jiang's transcript (1997), English education was not mentioned. Jiang said: 'In today's world… knowledge-driven economy shows its first signs which foresee that human beings economic and social life will have new and magnificent changes.' Then he went on to point out ten aspects that need to be reformed, such as market, education, technology and political science (note education is one aspect of reform). The SC's Decisions (1999) then recontextualizes the discourse (globalization, informationization in 21st China) to all education sectors, ranging from primary education, secondary school, higher education, special education to adult education. Programme (MoE, 2001a) then recontextualizes (narrows down) the discourse to basic education reform, which involves pre-school, nine-year compulsory education from elementary to junior high school, standard senior high school education, special education for disabled children, and education for illiterate people. Requirements (MoE, 2001c) continues to recontextualize (narrow down) the discourse in the context of English education in primary schools nationwide. We can schematically present the sequence of recontextualization of the causal link between globalization and the field in reform (in Figure 4.2):

Figure 4.2 Sequence of recontextualization



The analysis of recontextualization is very important in CDA, for it shows how certain ideas, ideology, suppression and hegemony get maintained and reinforced through the discourses (Bernstein, 1990; Wodak, 2001; Wodak and Fairclough, 2010). According to

Linnell (1998, p. 145), recontextualization is 'the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context (the context being in reality a matrix or field of contexts) to another. Recontextualization involves the extrication of some parts or aspects from a text or discourse, or from a genre of texts or discourses, and the fitting of this part or aspect into another context, i.e., another text or discourse (or discourse genre) and its use and environment.'

Linnel's definition seems to focus on recontextualization happens within discourses or recontextualization of discourse/text-in-context from text(s) to text(s). By contrast, Bernstein (1990) offers another dimension of recontextualization, which includes the ways in which a particular type of social event is represented in different networks of social practices and genres. In this dissertation, I regard that recontextualization happens both within discourses and between discourse and other elements of the social events. Take the concept 'globalization' for instance. The recontextualization of globalization can mean the transformation of the concept through different discourses (texts). It can mean representation of the concept in differ networks of social practices. The former use of recontextualization is indicated above (Figure 4.1) and will be presented and analysed further in later sections of this chapter. I shall turn to the latter use of recontextualization here.

Fairclough (2003, p. 139) refers this type of recontextualization as 'representation as recontextualization. In representing a social event, one is incorporating it within the context of another social event. In other words, it is recontextualization, through representation. This process affects how concretely or abstractly social events are represented, whether certain values are evaluated and explained. Schematically, Fairclough (2003, p. 139) lists several principles in analysing representation as recontextualization:

- Presence: Which elements of events, or event in a chain of events, are present/absent, prominent/backgrounded?
- Abstraction: What degree of abstraction/generalization from concrete events?
- Arrangement: How are events ordered?
- Additions: What is added in representing events-explanations/legitimations (reasons, causes, purposes), evaluations?

Let us go back to extract 4.2 to examine the representation of recontextualization in the discourse from four aspects mentioned above, namely abstraction, presence, arrangement and additions. For the convenience of the analysis, I recycle the extract here:

Extract 4.2 English for the need of economic construction and social development, direct translation of policy texts taken from Curriculum (NCDC, 2001, p. 1)

1 Social life's informationization and economy's globalization make English's
2 importance increase daily. English, as one of the most important message carriers,
3 has become the most widely used language in every aspect of human life. A lot of
4 countries, in the basic education development strategies, all make English education
5 as important part for citizens quality education, and place it in a predominate place.

6 Since open up, our country's English scale expands increasingly. Education and
7 pedagogy has accomplished profound achievement. However, English education's
8 current situation fails to match our country's economic construction and social
9 development needs. For development's requirements, there still exists a gap.

To begin with, this text features in abstraction of representation of highly complex series and sets of social events, past, present and predicted. There is abstraction over complex series and sets of social events, such as social life (e.g. instead of pointing out what is and what includes in social life), informationization, globalization, massage carrier, human life, education, pedagogy, economic construction, social development needs and development's requirements. There is abstraction of past events (open up), present (English in every aspect of human life; English education's current situation), and predicted (the implication of role of English in informationization and globalization). There is also abstraction on the level of structural relations, such as the structural relation between social life's informationization and economy's globalization and importance of English.

The problem of extensive use of abstraction is that it hides away a lot of issues and concerns and naturalizes ELEP as an indispensable and natural medium for socioeconomic success. For instance, L3 abstracts complex series of social events as 'every aspect of human life'. Arguably, English is not important to a lot of people who live in rural areas or the lowest level of social ladder. English might benefit those who already in a strong economic position and probably live in urban areas. Consequently, English might not be important to 'every aspect of human life'.

In terms of presence, the only element of events consistently present is forms of activity (informationization, globalization, English education, our country's English scale, education and pedagogy), sometimes with abstraction of people (a lot of countries), or abstraction of objects (message carrier, every aspect of human life, economic construction and social development needs, profound achievement), more often without.

In terms of arrangement, or the way the events are ordered, particular series or sets of events (e.g. informationization, globalization) are not located in time and place, as if these events are indifference to time and place. From L1-5, in terms of time, English is set in a

timeless frame of ‘informationization, globalization’ and universal place frame of ‘a lot of countries, every aspect of human life’. Yet, the entire extract 4.2, in arranging the relationship of English education and development (informationization and globalization), there seems to suggest a causal relationship of space and time. In terms of space, since ‘a lot of countries…all make English education as an important part for quality education’ (L3-4), ‘our country’s English’ (L6) should do the same. In terms of time, since English education in the past (since open up, L6) has ‘accomplished profound achievement’ (L7) and current English ‘has not yet able to match…needs’ (L8-9), future English education reform should take place.

In terms of addition, evaluated words (important, profound, predominant, development, widely used) provide more legitimacy and explanation for ELEP. In other words, since it is positive and important, primary English education should be implemented nationwide.

Overall, extract 4.2 shows a highly abstracted feature of complex series and sets of social events and the structural relationship between them. Fairclough (2002, p. 141) refers this sort of policy documents as one genre of governance. He points out that there is a high degree of abstraction from and generalization across concrete events in these policy documents (take Extract 4.2 for instance). Causal and temporal relations are specified between these abstractions.

The abstraction of complex series and sets of events and its relationship help to make the proliferation of similar expressions in other policy documents. It helps to legitimate the importance of English in China nationwide. Arguably, globalization, informationization, English education are all very complicated matters. They should be examined within specific contexts, providing specific time, space and agents. The initiative of English education in primary schools nationwide is arguably a much more complex matter that deserves more explanation, reasons and legitimacy than abstracted assumption of ‘globalization and informationization and social development needs’. I elaborate on this point further in next section.

4.3.3 Sociopolitical Discourse Analysis

In the last two sections, I have analysed the way the government legitimizes their decisions through linguistic expressions, genre chains and representation. More specifically, the initiative of ‘implementing ELEP nationwide’ is based on the abstraction and assumption of ‘meeting the demands for globalization and informationization’. Although the analysis above is limited to the policy discourses in question, the legitimization of reforms based on

the argument of 'globalization', 'knowledge-driven economy' or 'informationization' is not limited to the ELEP in China. Fairclough (2002) provides several examples in which politicians (e.g. Tony Blair), experts (e.g. Rosabeth Kanter from Harvard Business School) and organizations (e.g. World Economic Forum; BBC; European Council) would legitimize their initiatives based on the abstraction of 'globalization' and 'neo-capitalism'.

At this point, one might ask: in what way does the assumption and abstraction of globalization and informationization and ELEP matter in reality? Or, what impacts could the legitimization (largely based on assumption and abstraction) bring or potentially bring?

Let me answer this question from a 'cost-effect' point of way. It is a more common way of measuring education, yet a more legitimate way of judging education would be people's wellbeing and real needs, which I analyse further in chapter 7.

The implementation of ELEP nationwide by 2001 is, without doubt, a money consuming business. Given the lack of data from the government (there is not open-accessed data from the government), I cannot give a specific number for the budget of this national decision (one might argue, this indicates the lack of negotiation and participation from the people as citizens, since this information should be entitled to people as tax-payers). As a result, I use several figures to roughly give a feel of the scale and cost of such decisions.

From 2012 to 2013, the annual national education budget is 3.88 trillion RMB, counting 4% of the gross domestic product. By 2011, there are 254,000 primary schools in China (MoE, 2014). Each school needs to provide educational resources for English teaching, such as teachers, technical support, textbooks and student workbooks[14]. Needlessly to say, the decision of implementing English education nationwide is very expensive to the government[15].

One would argue that the decision should be based on discrete empirical analysis that considers the needs, the possibility, the feasibility, the cost and the effect of implementing ELEP nationwide.Some scholars analyze the relationship between English and development. Pennycook (1999) argues that the relationship between English and development is tenuous at best. In the first, the development of English is often at the cost of the local languages. Secondly, English education in these countries is always of low quality and efficiency. Finally, English education always uses up limited resources which could be spent on educating female students or other marginalized groups, or other crucial developmental projects. By and large, it should be a careful decision based on valid analysis of local needs and contexts.

[14] Note that the educational resources vary. Meanwhile, there is a tendency for an increasing gap in services between wealthy and poor areas. In some cases, wealthy schools can send their students to summer camps in western countries, whereas some schools hire and share one English teacher (Yan, 2012).

[15]In the next chapter, the cost of ELEP to local community is presented.

However, numerous studies have shown that ELEP nationwide in 2001 was a hasty decision that does not take full consideration of local needs and contexts. Both Hu (2008) and Li (2011) comment that the state policy is top-down, assumption-based and hasty, since there were no enough qualified teachers available when the policy was implemented. Hu (2007) and Li (2007) also show similar findings in Chinese more developed coastal areas as well, which suggests that issue is not restricted to developing areas but prevails in a larger scale. Primary schools have to offer English teaching in primary schools according to the national policy requirements. However, there is no consequential and sufficient teacher training to allow teachers manage the teaching in reality. The language competence and skills of the teachers are even less sufficient in inland cities and rural areas, especially given their limited government funds (see chapter 5 for a fuller discussion).

Based on the evidence above, ELEP in China in 2001 was a hasty decision, without the support of valid analysis and empirical research. The national governments (State Council or MoE) had not given enough response for these concerns. In 2011, the government issued the new curriculum (Curriculum 2011, MoE). In its teachers' guidebook, NCDC (2012), for the first time, provides a direct response to this issue[16]:

Extract 4.3 'On the necessity to implement foreign language classes in primary schools', direct translation of texts from Interpretation of Basic Education English Curriculum 2011 (NCDC, 2012, p. 35) (texts are bold for my analysis)

3. On the necessity to implement foreign language classes in primary schools

This question, although has no direct relationship with this curriculum reform, has been a controversial issue, which needs response. **Our country's** primary English education, since 2001, has been promoted for 10 years, which has accomplished world-known achievement. However, since **our country** has a lot of population, great gap in education among regions, lack of teacher resources, etc., some regions have low quality in primary English. Some scholars raise issue on whether it is necessary to implement English education in primary schools in our country. To response to this doubt, **we**, with comparison with primary English education in some countries, hope to provide suggestion for the implementation of English education in **our country's** primary schools.

In terms of the situations of implementation of primary school foreign language education, although countries have different language background and socio-political environment, **governments in every country all** realized the significance of implementing foreign language education to the nation and children's development, largely emphasizes and actively promote foreign language curriculum in primary schools. The specific situations of implementation in **each country** are listed below:

1) Korea, since 1997, has started third Grade to sixth Grade English curriculum, with only

[16]For the limited space here, I put the full version of the extract 4.3 in appendix A. Here I use parts of the extract for analysis.

21 one class per week. The vocabulary requirement is around 700 words…
22 2) Canada…
23 …
24 …
…
81 Although there are constant controversies over the implementation of foreign language
82 education in primary schools, **people**, in terms of the value of foreign language to
83 children's development, have achieved some **basic common sense**: early introduction to
84 foreign language helps explore and use children's advances in learning language (based on
85 'critical period hypotheses'). Such as alertness to phonology and overall competence of
86 language. …
… …
96 Nowadays, **every country all over the world**, in terms of implementing foreign language
97 education in primary schools, faces a lot of **same questions**. For example, the link between
98 primary and secondary education, teaching time and effect of learning, teacher quantity and
99 quality. For the start age, the current research although have no exact and best time for
00 starting age, overall, implementation of foreign language education has become **a basic**
01 **common sense** and **goal for countries all over the world**.
02
03 As a result, as for whether or not implement foreign language curriculum in primary
04 schools, we think, the acute problem is to actively take favourable solutions to ensure the
06 implementation and quality of the implementation (My translation).

The overall argument of this text is that 'governments of every country' (L15, L96, L101) have reach a 'basic common sense' (L83, L101) that implementation of foreign language education in children's early ages is beneficial, although they face 'a lot of same questions' (L97). This argument is laid out gradually in the above extract.

The text begins by admitting that implementation of ELEP is controversial (though it distances the problem with the education reform by claiming 'there is no direct relationship' between the two in L3). Rather than focusing directly on the controversies concerning the implementation of ELEP in China, extract 4.3 argues that it uses examples of other countries to 'provide suggestion' to Chinese ELEP (L10). L20-79 provides 13 cases (countries and EU) of implementation of foreign language education. In each case, the time, teaching hour and starting grade are mentioned in details. Their implementation and accomplishment are strengthened extensively (L14-79). The extract 4.3 then reports that 'a common sense' has reached by all the countries in the world for the value of ELT to students and countries (L82-95). In contrast, note that the 'controversy' and problems that these countries faced are only very briefly discussed (L96-100) and categorized as 'a lot of same questions'. The extract then concludes that the controversy with ELEP should be answered by implementing it better (L104-106), which on its own, is indeed a fallacy of begging the question, i.e. the conclusion is used as the premise for the conclusion. The fallacy is easier to identify if the logic behind it is presented: We should implement ELEP, because we should implement ELEP better.

Coming back to the overall argument of extract 4.3, from my analysis above, one can see that the argument for the implementation of ELEP draws largely on the legitimization through conformity. In other words, the answer to the 'why' question is 'because that is what everybody else does' or 'because that is what most people do' (Leeuwen, 2008, p. 107). In extract 4.3, the conformity legitimization takes the form of a high frequency modality. For instance, the other countries are described as 'every country in the world' (L15, 96, 101) and 'people' (L82). The usage of all-inclusive expression and frequency modality, although rarely incorrect, can be used to construct a generalising, stereotyping and over-simplifying evaluation. It positions a contention as being incontrovertible 'fact'. Moreover, the disproportional representation of pains and gains in ELT in other countries seems to suggest a very positive result of ELEP in China. In other words, it realizes legitimization through 'role model authority' as well. In this case, the countries listed in the extract 4.3 are role models (c.f. van Leeuwen, 2008). Their implementation and their success are used to legitimize the actions of ELEP in China.

In the above analysis, I have pointed out that extract 4.3 uses conformity legitimization and 'role model authority' legitimization to support the implementation of ELEP. It also uses all-exclusive expression to provide an effect of generalization and over-simplification. The point here is that it is invalid to make a national decision based on the decisions of 'other countries', particularly when the problems of other countries are largely neglected (e.g. Butler, 2007; Sungwon, 2007). Each country is unique and has its own socio-political context. A comparison between any countries should carefully take the differences into account.

Let us move on to the issue of 'second language education from the early age', since it also provides legitimization for the national ELEP implementation (L83-95 in Extract 4.3).

According to Krashen, Long and Scarcella (1979, p.161, in Ellis, 2010, p. 11), the key opponents of English immersion programmes, there are three conclusions on language acquisition:

1. Adults proceed through the early stages of syntactic and morphological development faster than children (where time and exposure are held constant).
2. Older children acquire more quickly than younger children (again, in the early stages of syntactic and morphological development where time and exposure are held constant).
3. Acquirers who begin natural exposure to a second language during childhood achieve higher second-language proficiency than those beginning as adults.

Chinese national ELEP is largely based on the third composition, which is always simplified as 'the earlier to start English education, the better outcome'. However, the real difference lies in naturalist learners and in school-based learners. As Ellis (2010, p. 11) points out, the advantage that children have over adult learners only becomes evident in contexts where the learners have extensive exposure to the second langauge over a long period of time. For the implicit language knowledge, such as pronunciation and oral English, the young learners might acquire English faster after a long period of extensive exposure in second language context. For the explicit language knowledge, such as grammar text, old learners can do better, because of their greater cognitive development.

For most Chinese children in China, the basis for young learners' advantage over adult learners (a long period extensive exposure in L2 context) is not likely to be the case. Most of the children in China can only get English classes from 1-4 hours per week (very limited exposure) and they have nearly no exposure to English beyond school. Consequently, the effect of early introduction of English education nationwide is highly unlike to be successful. Ellis (2010), a key component of TBLT, a decade after the implementation of ELEP China nationwide, concludes that the implement of ELEP in China is extremely patchy and unlikely to be successful given the limited exposure of English language for most Chinese students.

In this section, I have used CDA to analyse the imbedded messages in the policy documents on the legitimization of the ELEP nationwide. The assumption that 'globalization and informationization' is mediated through the network of texts, which is then used in different domains: education, basic education, English in primary schools through genre chains. One important reason for the mediation at work is the abstraction of events and set of events. I also include socioeconomic analysis of the discourse, which shows that ELEP was a hasty and premature decision in 2001. It fails to take account of the local reality and needs. In chapter six and seven, I further examine the cost-effect of the ELEP in the local community, linking the 'micro' analysis of texts to the 'macro' analysis of how power relations work across networks of practices and structures.

4.4 Theme Two: Curriculum Objectives

In this section, I group the textual analysis and analysis of the discourse practice of the Theme Two 'curriculum objectives' as one (Section 4.4.1) and link it to the socio-political discourse analysis (Section 4.4.2).

4.4.1 Textual Analysis and Analysis of the Discourse Practice.

In the previous section, I have pointed out that the legitimization of ELEP nationwide is largely built on the assumption and abstraction of 'coping the social development needs for globalization and informationization'. In other words, the learning of English is legitimized as a matter of using English as a tool to cope with the socioeconomic challenges.

Reviewing secondary English textbooks, Adamson and Kwo (2002) argue that English in Chinese textbooks is largely constructed for China's economic and political utility[17]. Yin and Chen (2002) also point out that English education in China is served purely for the instrumental values of English in nation construction and economic development. Hu (2005) also strengthens the point that English education in China is based on a utilitarian perspective. It is a tool for social development and personal gain. More recently, Pan (2005, p. 82) refers that the 'ascribed status of English' is still to maintain and support the economic development of the nation state. English is regarded in China as a 'tool' for socioeconomic change and development. English education is promoted for its instrumental value for nation construction, self-development and economic gain.

Without questioning these observations, I further point out that the objective of ELEP also goes through a change from using English purely for pragmatic purpose to English as communicative tools, and then to English as a way to spread Chinese culture aboard. In other words, English is not just passively used to strengthen the nation; rather, it is has been linked with actively spreading the Chinese culture to the world. The change is due to China's increasing importance on the world stage.

In what follows, I justify my observation through the analysis of the recontextualization of 'objectives for ELEP' in national curriculums (NCDC, 2001; 2011). As mentioned in section 4.2.1, the 2011 curriculum copies from and replaces the 2001 curriculum with salient alteration, deletions and insertions. For the purpose of comparison of the texts, I put extract 4.4 on the left column and extract 4.5 on the right and highlight the linguistic items that I analyse later.

[17] I include a brief analysis of the English textbooks as well in section 6.3. My observation is similar.Textbooks see English mainly, if not merely, as a tool for China's socioeconomic development. There are not many contents on the English culture or English-speaking people.

Extract 4.4 and 4.5 Direct translation of prefaces of Curriculum (NCDC, 2001) and Curriculum (NCDC, 2011) (bold for my analysis)

	Extract 4.4	**Extract 4.5**
1	Social life's informationization and	Today's world **in great development and great**
2	economy's globalization, make English's	**adjustment era**, showing **multilateralism** and
3	importance increase daily. English, as	economic globalization and informationization
4	one of the most important massage	trend. **As a peacefully developed big country,**
5	carriers, has become the most widely	**China shows great historical duty and**
6	used language in every aspect of human	**international duty and responsibility.** English
7	life. A lot of countries, in the basic	as one of world's mostly used languages, has
8	education development strategies, all	become international development and
9	make English education as important part	technology and cultural communication's
10	for citizen quality education, and place it	important tool. Learning and using English, to
11	in a predominate place.	grasp human civilization's fruit and learning
12		advanced technology, **improving China and**
13	Since open up, our country's English	**world's mutual understanding**, has important
14	scale expands increasingly, education	function. In basic education, implementing
15	and pedagogy have accomplished	English curriculum can enhance our county's
16	profound achievement. However,	overall citizen quality, cultivate talented people
17	English education's current situation has	with creativity and **cross-cultural**
18	not yet been able to match with our	**communication competence**, enhance
19	country's economic construction and	**country's international competitiveness and**
20	social development needs. For	**international communication** competence.
21	development's requirements, there still	
22	exists gap. The focus for this English	In basic education, implementing English
23	education reform is to change the	curriculum, to children's future development,
24	English classes that overemphasize on	has significant meaning. Learning English not
25	the explanation and teaching of the	only help them **better know the world**, learn
26	grammar and linguistic knowledge and	advanced technology and cultural knowledge,
27	neglect students' language use and	**spread Chinese culture**, **enhance their**
28	competency in real context. It	**communication and understanding with**
29	emphasizes classes that should draw on	**children from other countries**, and provide
30	students' learning motivation, life	them with more chances to receive education
31	experience and cognitive ability. It	and career development. Learning English can
32	advocates learning methods that draw on	help them form open and embracing
33	experience, practice, participation,	characteristics, developing **cross-cultural**
34	cooperation, communication and task-	**communication initiative and competence**,
35	based language teaching. It seeks to	promoting thinking ability, and forming correct
36	develop students' comprehensive	value and good humanistic quality. Learning
37	language competency, and make the	English can prepare students for participating
38	language learning process become a	knowledge innovation and technology
39	process that can form students' positive	innovation, and help them to cope with world
40	attitudes, active thinking, boldly practice,	**multilateralism**, economic globalization and
41	cross culture communication awareness	informationization.
42	and automatic learning ability (my	
43	translation).	

The opening paragraphs of the two curriculums show quite a lot of differences. A cross-document analysis of the intertextual links reveals that much of the language is shifted

in the updated Curriculum 2011. The lack, and existence thereof, the intertextual links between the documents reveal some differences between the two documents. As I have analysed in previous sections, L1-L22 of the Curriculum 2001 (Extract 4.4) argues that 'coping the country of informationization and globalization' (L1-2) and 'economic construction and social development needs' (L18-22) is the objective and initiative for English education. The recontextualized Curriculum 2011 (Extract 4.5) adds more expressions about English education for coping China and its children for 'multilateralism' (L2, 40), 'cross-cultural/international communication' (L18, 20, 28, 34) and 'mutual understanding of China and the rest of the world' (L13, 14, 29). I have highlighted the expressions in bold in the extract 4.5.

In other words, while sustaining and putting the argument of the Curriculum 2001 further, the Curriculum 2011 has recontextualized and advocated English education to prepare China and its children for international communication that puts China into a more central position on the world stage. To use the original expression in the extract 5.5 (L4-7), English education is promoted because, 'as a peacefully developed big country, China shows great historical duty and international duty and responsibility'. It can be seen that the 'function and value' of English fluctuates with changes in the position of Chinese state within the world system (c.f. Block and Cameron, 2002; Pan, 2015).

With China's economic and cultural engagement in the world, English has gradually shown its importance in cultural exchange as well. Rather than passively learn English to cope the citizens with nation construction and development, English is actively taught as a tool to spread Chinese culture to the world. This change, from passively preserving Chinese culture to actively spreading Chinese culture, also resonates China's ever-increasing engagement and empowerment on the world stage. It is closely related to Chinese cultural rejuvenation that has gained momentum in the past two decades.

As I have analysed above, language policies rely on intertextual and interdiscursive links to multiple past and present policy texts and discourses. The deletion, addition and other alteration of from one policy text to another are essential aspects of the language policy genre (Johnson, 2011, p. 270). The analysis of the intertextual and interdiscursive links is essential to understand the ideological change. This ideological and discourse change, as I analyse in the next section, from 'learning English for meeting social develop needs' to 'spread Chinese culture for the peacefully developed China', is also manifested in the socio-political aspect of the discourse.

4.4.2 Sociopolitical Analysis

The implementation of primary English education nationwide also goes hand in hand with rejuvenation of Chinese studies at home and the establishment of Confucius Institutes throughout the world. In other words, the discourse of 'learning English for spreading Chinese culture' is also surrounded, embedded and supported by other discursive events at home and abroad. At home, Chinese government is supporting the rejuvenation of Chinese studies by re-introducing and emphasizing classical Chinese in the textbooks in primary, secondary and tertiary schools. At abroad, China has established a chain of Confucius Institutes throughout the world, which expands the teaching and learning of Chinese language in other countries.

Hanban (officially known as The national office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language) is in charge of the enhancement and management of these Confucius Institutes, with its top management team drawing from the CPC leadership and various state ministries (Xinhua, 2006). Unlike Germany's Goethe Institute or France's Alliance Francaise, Confucius Institutes operate in co-operation with local affiliate colleges and universities around the world. Chinese government provides funding, personnel and textbooks.

By the end of 2014, there are 475 Confucius institutions[18] in universities and 851 Confucius classes in primary and secondary schools all over the world, among which nearly half of them are built in English-speaking countries, such as UK, America and Australia (*Hanban*, 2015). According to Xu Lin, the Chinese director of the Confucius Institutes, in the 2013 annual report of *Hanban*, those institutions create a worldwide network of Chinese culture and language that is response to the Chinese maze all over the world. By year 2013, there are nearly 10 million people learn Chinese as a foreign language. By the 2020, *Hanban* will build 1000 Confucius Institutes all over the world (Xinhua, 2006). In the same report, Xu (*Hanban*, 2015) writes that 'through the promotion of language and cultural exchanges, we have worked to build a 'Spiritual High-Speed Rail' that connects China with people around the world'. It metaphorically describes the functions of the Institutes in spreading Chinese culture (*Hanban*, 2015)[19].

Within China, there are also heated discussion on spreading Chinese culture and language. Professor Ji Xianlin from Peking University, the world-known Chinese scholar specialized in Indo-Chinese connection and Buddhism, headed a declaration of *The Great Renaissance of Chinese Culture and Efforts to Spread World Peace* together with other 77

[18]It is worth pointing out here that the name of the institutes is named after the famous Chinese philosopher Confucius (551- 479 BC).

[19] For concerns related to the Confucius Institutes, see Nakagawa, 2011.

scholars of Chinese culture in 2001 (Orton, 2009). For the past decades, China has officially celebrated 2555th to 2565th anniversary of Confucius's birth. In each anniversary, Chinese top political leaders, including Hu Jingtao and Xi Jinping, would gave speech on preserving and spreading Chinese culture abroad.

Readers might recall my analysis in section 1.2.4&4.5. Confucius and his philosophical stance were criticized during Mao's era as the personification of China's feudal traditions and for its association with patriarchal, hierarchical and conservative values. The decline of Confucianism actually started earlier than that. Since the early 20th century, with the foreign invasion and domestic turmoil, intellectuals blamed Confucianism as a remnant of traditional cultural that stemmed the progress of Chinese. English and western technologies were treated as the medicine for Chinese problems. The Cultural Revolution (1966-76) later marked a peak of anti-Confucianism sentiment when it was denounced as counter-revolutionary thinking. A century later, Confucius and his philosophical stance have seen resurgence in popularity. It is widely recognized as the symbol of Chinese culture and value. Yang Chaoming, head of the Confucius Research Institute sponsored by Chinese MoE, comments that Chinese society has changed its perception of Confucius: "in the past, because we lagged behind other civilizations, we vented our anger on traditional culture. But now we have a better understanding of traditional culture and it makes us more confident' (Global Times, 2014).

Yang's comments above accidently implies the relationship among English, Chinese culture and China. When the country lacks behind other western countries, English is seen as of great market value. It brings technological advancement and economic development. With the development and empowerment of Chinese nation, the market value of English declines. English is a foreign language and it is remained to be just a foreign language, although the learning of English is still seen as a political and economic commodity and it continues to privilege those who are capable of using it. As long as China is confident enough on the world stage, English lost its immediate attraction. The resurgence of Chinese is a good example. The recontextualization of the 'objectives of English education' and its focus on 'spreading Chinese culture to the world' is another example.

There is one more point to make here. When discourses are approached primarily as 'linguistic artefacts', as Fairclough (2011) points out, it is important to pay attention to both what is 'in' a text and what is left 'out'. For all its discourse on change, what is clearly 'out' of ELEP texts is the absence of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), which depicts English as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages. ELF emphasizes on the communicative efficiency or function rather than form or correctness of English use. In

other words, it seems to put English as a neutral and culture-free-tool (Cogo and Dewey, 2006). Meanwhile, globalization is resulting in increasing homogeneity across varieties of English, which is frequently mentioned in Chinese ELEP (see Section 4.3). Since ELF fits the MoE's depiction of English as a cultural-free and neutral tool for globalization, it is then surprising to find that ELF is not mentioned in the ELEP. Here, I provide two possible explanations:

In the first place, English is always accepted with hesitance in Chinese society due to its cultural connotation. Readers might infer my discussion of the spread of ELT in China in section 1.2.3. English is believed to bring economic benefits; meanwhile, there are still some cultural and political tensions, for English is believed to bring about social, cultural and political transformation from the western countries. It was treated as 'barbarian's language' and 'enemy's language' throughout the 19th and 20th century. From this perspective, depicting English as a Lingua Franca officially might lessen people's awareness of the cultural impact that English might bring, which is surely not what the national government desires.

Phillipson's (1992) argument of linguistic imperialism might be of some relevance here. He argues that the concepts of ELF provide a terminological veneer for continued linguistic domination by English-speaking countries through their political, education, and cultural institutions. Chinese government would want to implement English education from a socioeconomic development perspective, with a conscious awareness and guarded attitude towards the cultural impact that English and its native-speaking countries might bring. Some other researchers also hold that ELF carries the culture and language of its speakers (House, 2003; Meyerhoff, 2006). Meyerhoff (2006) finds that the leveling of varieties of English is seen as being in the direction of US English. House (2003) argues that the concept of ELF inhabited the culture of guilt (colonies should never have happened) and romantic despair (we should be doing what we are doing), which in turn alleviate the development of multilingual education.

Secondly, admitting English as a Lingua Franca might downplay the increasing importance of Chinese in international communities. Like what I have analyzed in this section, Chinese government has aimed to stretch its muscle and express its importance on the world stage. The implementation of primary English education nationwide also goes hand in hand with rejuvenation of Chinese studies at home and the establishment of Confucius Institutes throughout the world. At home, Chinese government re-introduces and emphasizes classical Chinese in the textbooks in primary, secondary and tertiary schools. At abroad, China has established a chain of Confucius Institutes throughout the world, which expands the teaching and learning of Chinese language in other countries.

To sum up, in this section, I focus on the theme of education objectives and the way Chinese government instils cultural value (mainly Han cultural) and national pride in the recontextualization of teaching objectives. It starts with the use of English purely for pragmatic and communicative purpose to strengthen the nation. With the gaining momentum of China on world stage, ELEP in China starts to see English as a tool to spread Chinese culture. It does so to prepare the nation to play a central role in the international community.

4.5 Theme three: Teaching Methods and Contents

The MoE advocates Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). According to Curriculum 2001, the focus of the English education is to address the problems of traditional teaching methods that emphasizes on grammar and vocabulary:

Extract 4.6 'The focus for this English education reform', direct translation of policy texts from preface of Curriculum 2001 (NCDC, 2001).

1 The focus for this English education reform is to change the English classes that
2 overemphasize on the explanation and teaching of the grammar and linguistic
3 knowledge and neglect students' language use and competency in real context. It
4 emphasizes that classes should draw on students' learning motivation, life
5 experience and cognitive ability. It advocates learning methods that drawing on
6 experience, practice, participation, cooperation, communication and task-based
7 language teaching. It seeks to develop students' comprehensive language
8 competency, and make the language learning process become a process that can
9 form students' positive attitudes, active thinking, boldly practice, cross culture
10 communication awareness and automatic learning ability

In extract 4.6, MoE sets the overall objective for ELEP in China. It asserts that the focus of the reform is to change the English classes from traditional grammar-oriented teaching (L2) to a more communicative-oriented and tasked-based teaching (L5). It then argues that the education reform focuses on students' comprehensive language competency (L6) and process of learning (L8). In L9-10, it further explains that process of learning should form students' positive attitudes, active thinking, boldly practice, cross-culture communication awareness and automatic learning ability.

In the main body of Curriculum 2001 (NCDC, 2001, p. 29), there are some specific requirements about the teaching methods. It is required that teachers should adopt Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) as much as possible. Yet, the curriculum does not provide a clear definition for TBLT, and instead, it provides some principles for teachers to notice. In numerous studies, unclear description of TBLT and specific guidelines of methods within

TBLT is regarded as one of the reasons for the unsuccessful implementation of ELEP (e.g. Hu, 2005; Zhang and Hu, 2010)

Extract 4.7 Adopt 'Tasked based' language teaching as much as possible, direct translation from extract in Curriculum 2001 (NCDC, 2001, p. 29).

1 This curriculum uses students 'can do something' to set the requirement for each grade.
2 Teachers should avoid teaching methods of purely that transmit language knowledge,
3 and adopt 'task-based' language teaching as much as possible.
4
5 Teachers should, based on the overall objective of the curriculum and specific teaching
6 contents, creatively design teaching activity that closely linked to students' reality, and
7 attract and organize them to actively participate. Students, through thinking,
8 investigation, discussion, communication and cooperation, learn and use English,
9 accomplish learning activity.
10
11 In designing 'task-based' teaching activity, teachers need to notice the following:
12
13 1. The activities have specific and achievable purposes;
14 2. The activities should start from students' life experience and interest. Contents and
15 methods should be as authentic as possible.
16 3. Activities should benefit students' English language learning; develop language
17 competence, so that their practical abilities to use the language can be improved.
18 4. Activates should actively promote English subject and other subject's integration and
19 connection, make students' thinking and imagination, aesthetic interest and experience
20 of arts, cooperation and creativity spirit be developed.
21 5. Activities should promote students to achieve, process and use information, use
22 English to communicate with others, develop competence in using English to solve
23 practical problems.
24 6. Activities should not only limit to classroom teaching, but also stretching to the study
25 and life outside the classroom.

The extract 4.7 starts with the requirement that teachers should adopt 'task-based' language teaching as much as possible (L2-3). It then provides an overall teaching approach (L5-9) and some specific principles in designing 'activities' (L13-25). Although there are no explicit definition or description about what is TBLT or how to teach in a TBLT way, extract 4.7 seem to implicitly characterize tasks as purposeful and authentic (L13), practical (L17), integrated/interdisciplinary (L18), process oriented (L21), communication oriented (L22) and life related (L24). These principles, more or less, echo some of the task features discussed in the international TBLT literature (e.g. Ellis, 2003). Detailed literature review and analysis of CLT and TBLT are presented in section 6.2.1, where I contrast the teaching methods required by the MoE (as mentioned above) and in local classrooms. What I focus here is a critical way of reading extract 4.6 and 4.7.

According to extract 4.6, the overall description of the objectives of English education in Curriculum 2001 seeks to 'change the English classes' for overemphasizing grammar and linguistic knowledge and lacking attention on students' language use and competency in real context (L1-3). The problems within the current ELEP lie in the 'English classes' (on local or micro level) rather than in macro policy decisions, such as teacher training, teaching resource and facilities, previous curriculum design, textbooks and exam systems. In this way, the blame and thus the responsibility are passed to local schools and teachers who conduct the 'English classes'.

L3-6 further prescribes the ideal English classes that the Curriculum 2001 needs. Several key principles within CLT and TBLT study are mentioned, such as language use in context, communicative competency, and task-based learning. The policy agents behind these initiatives are 'English education reform' or 'it' (macro, national level). In other words, extract 4.6 associates the positive and ideal change (CLT and TBLT) to the 'English education reform'.

As analyzed above, extract 4.6 associates the negative side of ELEP (grammar-based teaching) with 'English classes' (local level) and positive side (CLT and TBLT) with 'Education Reform' (macro level). The Curriculum 2001 then manages to depict the local level agents as incompetent, traditional and outdated and the macro-level agents as prestige, innovative and considerate. To put it simply, extract 4.6 sends the message that 'here are the problems the incompetent you (English classes conducted by local schools and teachers) have caused and a super smart we (Education reform initiated by the MoE) are here to save the picture'.

Note also here that the 'teaching methods' in classrooms (conducted by local agents) are mentioned as the focus of the education reform; rather than overall and structural policy conducted by national government, such as education system management, exam system or college enrollment policy. According to some scholars (e.g. Hu, 2008; Ellis, 2010), the latter overall and structural policies within ELEP should be the real focus of the education reform. The point here is that the national government has passed the blame and divert the attention to local agents, rather than shouldering more responsibilities. I come back to this point in chapter 6 and 7.

Abstraction is another way that extract 4.7 uses to reinforce the contrast between national government and local teachers (refer analysis of Extract 5.2). Abstraction, as I have also mentioned in the analysis of extract 4.2, features in representing complex series and sets of social events in abstract way. It helps to express moral evaluation in a disguised and subtle way. For instance, instead of saying 'students play and study together with each other',

expression such as ‘cooperation’ (L20) would create a discourse of ‘sociability’. Instead of saying ‘drawing pictures and singing songs’, expressions like ‘aesthetic interest and experience of learning’ (L19) would invoke a positive value towards TBLT. In this way, the decision of implementing TLBT as the teaching methods would be legitimized and desired. This way, the people who make the choice and recommendation (MoE and experts) would appear more serious, academic and prestigious.

Note that this positive evaluation through abstraction is not explicitly written in the extract 5.7. In other words, it does not require teachers to implement TBLT by explicitly praises the value of TBLT, such as ‘TBLT is wonderful or great’. Rather, the positive evaluation implicitly works on the basis of one’s knowledge and recognition of the value system, which is embedded in the text. In the extract 4.7, readers’ positive evaluation of TBLT is triggered by linguistic items such as ‘interest’ (L14), ‘develop language competence’ (L16), practical ability (L17), thinking and imagination, aesthetic interest and experience of art, cooperation and creativity sprit (L19-20). The corollary is that one’s interpretation of texts in terms of values depends upon one’s knowledge and recognition of such value systems (Fairclough, 2003, p. 57). Naturally, if X brings ‘cooperation and creativity sprit’, X must be valuable, desirable, acceptable and legitimate.

The implicit evaluation of TBLT (as analysed in Extract 4.7) and the contrast of prestigious experts and incompetent teachers (as analysed in Extract 4.6) help to legitimize the decisions, requirements and suggestions made by the MoE. It creates a halo effect for the experts and the macro policy makers that they represent. This halo effect of the macro policy makers further legitimizes an unfair power relationship between the macro policy makers and local participants. The logic behind it is: if X is so wonderful, whoever fails to accomplish X should be blamed, rather than the one who suggest or require X. In our case, the macro policy makers’ legitimacy and competence in making the decisions for the teachers is ensured and unquestioned, whereas failures in implementation of desired methods would be the fault of local schools and teachers.

My contention can be further bolstered with the analysis of theme ‘the social actors in ELEP’ in the next section. The organization of human resources and allocation of responsibilities and duties among stakeholders tell a lot about the power relationship underneath the policy agents.

4.6 Theme Four: Social Actors in ELEP

The management of Chinese education system is hierarchical. The State Council and the MoE are responsible for policy-making and planning at the national level. The local

education bureaus, schools and teachers are the implementers of ELEP. In my previous analysis of the extracts, I have indicated that the discourse uses various way to legitimize and reinforce the hierarchical relationship. For example, in extract 4.6 it is legitimized through a contrast of prestigious macro policy makers and incompetent local agents. In extract 4.7, it is legitimized by the positive evaluation of the requirements and decisions made by the macro policy makers. In this section, I further the argument by pointing out more discursive features that help to sustain, maintain, legitimize and reinforce the top-down relationship between the national government and the local agents.

4.6.1 Modality and Self-Identification

Modal words are always used to express the obligation, requirement and permission (see below), which says a lot about the power relations between the stakeholders (Fairclough, 1989, 2001). According to Halliday (1994), modality is the speaker's judgment of the obligations involved in what he/she says and it is the expression of the speaker's opinions. It is worth pointing out that judgment might not be explicit. However, even in cases where the judgment is only implied, the speakers' values can still be read and told through the analysis of the modal operators they use. There are different modal operators to express the judgment:

- High obligation (required): must, need, have to, is to, ought to
- Medium obligation (supposed): will, would, shall, should
- Low obligation (allowed): may, could, might, can

There are also modal operators in Chinese language[20]. Obligations can be strong or weak. Strong modal words are always used in pronouncements and in other formal spoken and written contexts. Weak modal words are associated with social or moral responsibilities, and they can be used in both formal and informal contexts. There is a brief characterization of the force of the words used to express obligation (Ross and Ma, 2006):

- Strong obligation: must, have to (*yinggai*, *yingde*, *dei*).
- Weak obligation: should, ought to (*yingdang*, *gai*, *ying*, *hui*, *keyi*, *neng*)

[20]This dissertation translates the equivalent modal words based on the Modern Mandarin Chinese Grammar, written by Ross and Ma (2006, p. 71). This is to ensure that the translation would faithfully reflect the extent of obligation manifested in the policy documents.

Chinese modal words, like English, can express negative obligations or prohibitions, when modal words are used in negation form:

- Are not allowed to, should not (*bukeyi*)
- Cannot (*buneng*)
- Must not, not allowed (*buxu*)

In the policy documents (referred in Figure 4.1), different levels of modal operators are used throughout the texts to express the speakers' opinions on the degrees of the obligation and responsibility they require of the readers. In Programme (MoE, 2001a), Guidelines (MoE, 2001b) and Requirements (MoE, 2001c), it is MoE's requirements towards local education bureaus and local schools. In Curriculum 2001 (NCDC, 2001) and Curriculum 2011 (NCDC, 2011), it becomes the writers' requirements, being instructed and directed by MoE, toward teachers and students. Some examples of different degrees of modal operators are enlisted below (I have highlighted the modal operators in bold):

- High obligation:

Newly compiled textbooks **ought to be** evaluated and approved by our ministry (of education) (Guideline, MoE, 2001b).

Education departments at different levels **ought to** guide and supervise the practice and development of the curriculum (Programme, MoE, 2001a).

- Medium obligation:

'The cultivation purpose for the curriculum **should** reflect the requirements of our time.' (Programme, MoE, 2001a)

The national curriculum requires English to be taught in grade 3. Students **should** reach Level 2 after Grade 6 (Curriculum, NCDC,2001).

Students **should** be educated to have the spirit of patriotism and collectivism in the classroom teaching (Programme, MoE, 2001a).

- Low obligation:

Local schools **can** decide its English teaching methods according to its reality and situation (Guidelines, MoE, 2001b).

Some subjects **can** have open-book tests (Programme, MoE, 2001a).

Modal operators distinguish different levels or degree of commitment to truth on the one hand and obligation/necessity on the other. For instance, in the above examples, 'Newly compiled textbooks ought to be evaluated and approved by our ministry (of education)' shows very strong commitment the writers make, for example, in contrast to 'newly compiled textbooks might/probably/possibly be evaluated and approved by our ministry'. The point here is that modal operators can represent different ways of doing of these which make different commitments. The important question is: who has the socially ratified power of making strong commitments using the modal operators? Why? It is clear that the MoE and NCDC (instructed by the MoE) have the socially ratified power of making strong commitments using the modal operators. The reason, I believe, using different levels of modal operators, MoE has declared its authoritative position clearly in a hierarchical way.

To illustrate my contention, I first provide a brief analysis of modality and the manifested social relation. Writers use different levels of commitment, strong or weak, over their relationship with others. As Fairclough (2001, p. 166) argues, 'modality choices in texts can be seen as part of the process of texturing self-identity. But this goes on in the course of social process, so that the process of identification is inevitably inflected by the process of social relation.'

Let us go back to the example I just mentioned. In saying 'newly compiled textbooks ought to be evaluated and approved by our ministry (of education)', the MoE speak as an authoritative institution giving instructions to local policy agents who read the policy as a guideline. In this way, the texturing of identity is thoroughly imbedded in the texturing of social relations. By using excessive modal operators, the MoE has self-identified itself, in relation to its readers, as authoritative and prestigious. In this way, the top-down relationship between the MoE and local policy agents get reinforced and sustained through policy discourses.

4.6.2 Explicit Expression of Social Relations

Besides modal operators, in each policy documents listed in figure 4.1, there are words directly expressing that the policies deriving from the State Council, the supreme political entity, must be implemented. In other words, there are very explicit textual items that depict the hierarchical power relationship between State Council, MoE and the local stakeholders. For instance, in Programme (MoE, 2001), MoE gives the following instructions to the provincial educational governments:

Extract 4.8 'To the Education Department in every province, autonomous region and municipality', direct translation of policy text taken from Programme (MoE, 2001a, p. 1).

1 To the Education Department in every province, autonomous region and municipality:
2
3 Programme for Curriculum Reform of Basic Education (Draft) has been agreed by State
4 Council. It is printed and distributed to you. Please implement the instructions carefully
5 according to your context.
6
7 Ministry of Education
8 2001-Jun-8

In extract 4.8., the opening of the Programme suggests a top-down hierarchical scheme. It suggests that the distribution of the Programme is an order and decision 'agreed by State Council'. The reference line ('to the Education Department in every province, autonomous region and municipality') indicates the subordinated status of the referees, for they are to 'implement the instructions carefully' (L4). The signature 'Ministry of Education' (L7) shows that MoE is both the implementer for State Council's decision but also the commander for 'the Education Department in every province, autonomous region and municipality' (L1). As a result, a top-down hierarchical scheme is clearly manifested, ranging from State Council to MoE to Provincial Educational governments.

The MoE, on the other hand, also works under the guideline of its supervisor, the State Council, as manifested in the above analysis. Here is another example:

Extract 4.9 'In accordance with the 'State Council's decisions', direct translation of policy text from Guideline (MoE, 2001b, p.1)

1 In accordance with the 'State Council's decisions on deepening Education Reform and
2 Fully Promoting Quality Education' and "State Council's Decisions on reform and
3 Development in Basic Education', the Ministry of Education has decided to make a
4 vigorous effort in promoting the basic education reform, adjusting and innovating in basic
5 education the curriculum system, structure and contents to meet the requirements of
6 quality education.

In extract 4.9, the discursive connective 'in accordance with' (L1) followed by noun groups referring to the ideological guidelines of the State Council (L2-3) represents the rest of the elements in the text as semantically subordinated. The predicative actions continue to emphasize the agent role of political authority ('Ministry of Education' in L3). Furthermore, the semantic relationship, from State Council's guidelines to the emanating actions launched by MoE ('promoting' and 'adjusting' in L4), further strengthens the semantic authorization of these actions by placing them in a top-down hierarchical scheme.

It is then clear that the MoE has accepted the authoritative status of the State Council as natural and conventional (as analyzed in Extract 4.8&4.9). Directions are followed after State Council in making language education policies. The MoE, in turn, requires the educational departments in provinces and lower branches to accept its authoritative status and follow its instructions (as analyzed in Extract 4.8). In this way, the top-down and hierarchical power relationship in Chinese education management is reinforced, sustained and maintained in the discourses.

It is worth pointing out that in some cases where the lower level departments or institutions seem to be given more liberty and choices, more/higher degrees of modal operators are used immediately to set the boundary for what can do and cannot do. For instance, in Programme (MoE, 2001), it says that (I have highlighted the modal operators in bold):

Extract 4.10 'There can be diversity of textbooks', direct translation of policy texts taken from Programme (MoE, 2001).

'There **can be** diversity of textbooks under the guidance of the national requirements. Certain institutions and publication offices are encouraged to compile textbooks according to national curriculum standard. Set up the evaluation system for textbooks writing. The editors **should** perform according to 'The Temporary Methods for Governing the Textbooks Writing', **only after** being evaluated and approved by MoE, can one writes the textbook….Provincial textbooks **should** be evaluated and approved by National Committee for Evaluating the Textbooks; Local textbooks **should** be evaluated and approved by provincial education departments.

Right after saying that textbooks 'can be' and 'encouraged' to be compiled by local practitioners (L1), which might suggest some liberty and autonomy for local agents, the extract uses more modal operators to set more requirements and describe more rules (as highlighted in bold in Extract 4.10). Given the complexity of the textbooks evaluation and censorship process mentioned in the extract, the process would have stopped many people from writing the textbooks according to the local condition. In other words, through frequent uses of modal words, MoE manages to set up a very high political and language standard/barrier for local practitioners to compile a textbook. It seems to provide some liberty and room for local adaption of textbooks in the first place (as manifested in L1), yet it gives more requirements and obligation (for people who want to act differently) to fulfill. This way, the top-down power relationship between the MoE and the local agents is sustained and reinforced.

4.7 Theme Five: Beneficiaries of ELEP

In ELEP, I find a clear message that conveys in the policy documents concerning 'English language learning, for whom'. My contention is that it is explicitly and implicitly suggested and reinforced in the ELEP that learning English is for 'loving the country'. In the other words, learning is for the purpose of nation construction. In this section, I support my contention from three aspects: in the first place, it is explicitly written that students need to cultivate 'patriotism' in the policy documents; secondly, the idea of 'learning for the love of the country' is also implicitly infused in the policy documents through recontextualization. Moreover, I argue that the recontextualization of patriotism goes together with the sociopolitical discursive shift of patriotism in Chinese society during the past several decades.

4.7.1. Textual analysis: Direct Expression of Patriotism

An ideology is a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities (Fairclough, 2002). An ideology is then clusters of beliefs and shared by members of a group as the basis of the social representations. In Chinese society, the belief of patriotism and socialism is held as the basic norm of morality.

According to Vickers (2009, in Perez-Milans 2013, p. 121), there are three core aspects within morality education in China: a) the leading role of the CCP in protecting the 5000 years of Chinese civilization and pushing scientific modernization, b) an emphasis on the need for an intercultural consciousness upon which to inculcate students' awareness of cultural differences and attachment to the Chinese nation, and c) the advocacy of a collectivist-based school community which blurs boundaries between civic discourses on rights/duties and ancient cultural codes on social harmony, politeness, collaboration, hard work, discipline, respect for laws, and awareness of every individual's responsibility toward the community. Following this argument, I group textual items 'patriotism', 'collectivism', 'loving socialism' and 'loving the country' as direct expression of 'patriotism.

In what follows, I use extracts from the Programme (MoE, 2001a) to illustrate the explicit expressions of 'patriotism'. I highlight the expression of 'patriotism' and its satellite expressions in bold for the purpose of analysis.

Extract 4.11 'Students should be educated to have patriotism and collectivism', direct translation of policy texts from Programme (MoE, 2001a)

The goal for the education for the new curriculum should meet the needs of the social development. Students should be educated to have **patriotism** and **collectivism**, to **love socialism**, to inherit and carry forward the **good tradition of Chinese nation** and **evolutionary tradition**, to have the **awareness of socialist democracy** and legal spirit, and to conform to national laws and social virtues.
…
The national curriculum should be designed based on the characteristics of each subject and the specific content. Strengthen on the **specificity**, **practicality**, and **activeness** of **morality education**. Educate students of **patriotism**, **collectivism** and **socialism**, and strengthen the education on the good virtues of Chinese nation, revolutionary tradition and national defense.

The clusters of explicit expressions of contents related to 'patriotism' demonstrate a strong desire and motivation for the national government to endorse the education of 'patriotism' among students. From L1-L5, there is an implicit causal link presupposing that in order to 'meet the needs of the social development' (L1), students should be cultivated with patriotism and collectivism (L2), to love socialism (L3), carry forward the good tradition of Chinese nation (L3) and evolutionary tradition (L4). One might argue differently that this causal link is invalid. In other words, the latter are not the necessary condition for the former.

Also, the expressions feature in nominalization, or presenting as a noun or noun phrases something that could be presented with other parts of speech. For instance, 'patriotism' is presented as opposed to 'become patriotic', 'awareness of socialist democracy' is presented as opposed to 'be aware of the socialist democracy', and 'the specificity, practicality, and activeness of morality education' (L8) is presented as opposed to 'make the morality education be specific, practical and active'. The intense usage of nominalization has the effect of making a text more 'lexically dense', a feature commonly noted with written political texts (van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak, 2001). The text, as these extracts have shown, appears more 'packed' or information heavy. As a result, the policy documents appear more prestigious and serious. It makes the argument becomes/appears more significant and well thought through. Consequently, the writers behind the policy documents can appear intellectual and prestigious.

In the above analysis, I have pointed out that ELEP has put patriotism as its orientation. In this way, the real beneficiaries of ELEP are not the individuals who are learning the language. Rather, the real beneficiary of ELEP is the national government. To bolster my argument, I end this section with the direct quote from Li Lanqing (2004), the former Chinese vice premier and one of the key figures in Chinese education reforms carried

out between 1993 and 2003. He explicitly stated the extent to which contemporary official discourses on socialism, cultural traditionalism and modernization had become institutionalized: 'moral education should follow the general goals of education and the laws governing student development, for the content and requirements for each stage of education, and for formulate a sequence of step-by-step objectives for installing moral values and rules of conduct in students' (Li, 2004, p. 318, in Perez-Milans, 2013, p. 122).

In the next section, I continue on the discussion on the ideology of 'patriotism' embedded in the policy documents. Although I focus on the recontextualization of patriotism in the next section, which is leaning more toward an analysis of the discourse practice of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, my analysis blends in the textual analysis of the ELEP.

4.7.2. Recontextualization of Patriotism

In what follows, I identify some intertextual and interdiscursive links between the curriculum written in 1992 and 2011. Curriculum 1992 (NCDC, 1992) was a guideline for 18 subjects and not targeted for English education specifically, for English education was only implemented in primary school nationwide in 2001. Yet it was still a curriculum guideline for junior high schools. Thus, I think the comparison of the two curriculums is appropriate. The extracts below are taken from the prefaces of each curriculum.

Extract 4.12 'This curriculum strongly insists and puts the correct political direction on the top priority', direct translation of policy texts taken from Curriculum for Primary and Junior High Schools (NCDC, 1992 p.1).

1 This curriculum follows the strategic thought that 'orient education towards
2 modernization, globalization and future construction'; acts upon the national education
3 policy, insists that education should work for the socialist construction…this curriculum
4 strongly insists and puts the correct political orientation on the top priority.

In extract 4.12, it argues that the 1992 Curriculum 'strongly insists and puts the correct political orientation on the top priority' (L4). The correct political orientation refers to three guiding principles for citizens in PRC: the beliefs and follow in the CCP leadership, the value of socialism, and the value of patriotism (NCDC, 2012). In this sense, L4 also indicates that cultivation of patriotism is on the top priority of the 1992 curriculum. Of the 18 subjects under the guidance of the curriculum, 15 of them have 'love the motherland', 'develop patriotism' and 'working for the motherland' as basic requirements and teaching goals.

I shall step back and remind readers of the analysis of extract 4.11 taken from Programme (MoE, 2001a), in which there are extensive usages of expression 'patriotism' in

the Programme (MoE, 2001a). In other words, the Programme (2001a) still puts ‘patriotism’ and ‘love the motherland’ in an extremely important position. Yet, it does not require that education of patriotism should be put ‘on the top priority’ (L4 in Extract 5.7), as required by the Curriculum 1992. Also, the term ‘patriotism’, ‘love the motherland’ and ‘work for the motherland’ appear much less frequent in the Programme (MoE, 2001a) as well. The Curriculum 1992 (NCDC, 1992) and Programme (MoE, 2001a) are similar in length. In the Curriculum 1992, there are 12 times occurrences of the word ‘patriotism’, eight times occurrences of ‘love the motherland’ and four times occurrences of ‘work for the motherland’. In Programme (MoE, 2001a), the occurrences of the terms are three, two and zero respectively.

One might argue that the less occurrence of the expression of ‘patriotism’ might suggest that the ideological message of ‘cultivation of patriotism’ becomes less significant and strong in the Programme (MoE, 2001a). In other words, the ideological message of ‘patriotism’ becomes softer and subtle. The extract 4.8 from Curriculum (2011), presented below, might show the trend of softer and subtle ideological message of ‘patriotism’.

In the preface of Curriculum (2011), it writes that

Extract 4.13 ‘Through English classes’, direct translation of policy texts taken from Curriculum 2011 (NCDC, 2011, p. 1)

1 Through English classes, students can broaden their insight, enrich their life experience,
2 form cross-culture awareness, strengthen patriotism, develop creativity, develop good
3 characteristics and correct world outlook and values.

In the extract 4.13, the orientation of English classes is expanded. It seems that patriotism is no longer put in the first place. There are other qualities share similar position with patriotism, such as insight, life experience, cross-culture awareness, creativity and characteristics, world outlook and values (L3). In other words, patriotism becomes one part of the curriculum orientation, instead of as ‘the top priority’ required in Curriculum (1992, as seen in L4 in extract 4.12),

The above contrast of Curriculum 1992 (NCDC, 1992), Programme (MoE, 2001a) and Curriculum 2011 (NCDC, 2011), as I have analyzed, seems to suggest a trend of softer and less predominant emphasis on the ideology of patriotism, i.e. on the objectives of ELEP for the benefit of the country. I would say this is a transformation, or recontextualization of the ideology of patriotism.

I shall discuss recontextualization first. Recontextualization illuminates the history and trajectory of texts and their relationship to discourse and social practice (Wodak and

Fairclough, 2010). Since some discourses are multilayered and always recontextualized, they might contain some paradoxes, inconsistencies and contradictions. The historicity of the discourses and discursive events then provide opportunity to find out the historical dimension and manipulative character of discursive practices (Wodak, 2001). In what follows, I analyze the processes of recontextualization that occurs as practices and are turned into discourses. In other words, I find the special and temporal changes of contexts that shape and affect the de-emphasis on the ideology of patriotism in ELEP.

4.7.3 Sociopolitical Analysis of the Recontextualization of 'Patriotism'

In order to know the recontextualization of ideology of patriotism in ELEP, the first step is to understand the historical dimensions in which 'patriotism' is shaped. It is also to find temporal and special contexts that shape the idea of 'small self' and 'big self'.

Traditional Chinese culture, which is largely influenced by Confucius theory, features in the suppression of individuals' happiness and rights, when they are in conflict with the traditions of the ancestors and the family honor. Achievement for personal gain was traditionally regarded as immoral and excessive egoism (De Vos, 1973). The strong bond and hierarchical relationship between the person and the family/society/nation finds its impact in Chinese understanding of success and failure as well.

A lot of studies related to Chinese achievement motivation concur with this impact of Chinese culture that puts more emphasis on collectivistic values and practices. Salili (1996), for instance, finds a high level of achievement motivation among Chinese learners, but their achievement was more socially and collectively based. Yang (1986), in contrasting Chinese learners and their British Counterparts, finds that Chinese learners have a significant higher level of achievement motivation. According to Yang (1986), Chinese students' motivation is not out of personal gain, but is collectivistic and socially oriented. Families and groups are vicarious partners in the success and failure of the individuals. To seek personal glory and success is to continue the group; rather the group supports the development of the individuals.

During the late 19th century and early 20th century, China was caught between domestic riots and foreign invasion. Qing government, the last dynasty in Chinese history, signed a dozen of unequal treaties with foreign invaders, which ceded a large territory of China (e.g. the Kowloon peninsula; North-east Chinese provinces)[21]. The humiliating and brutal experience makes a lot of elites and intellectuals believe that China's hope lies in the

[21] For the early 20th century history of China, see Dreyer (1995).

new generation that can free themselves from their ancestors and devote themselves to the construction of a strong China.

This form of patriotism favors individuals' contribution to the state rather than to the family/tradition. Liang Qichao (1873-1929), an enlightenment leader in modern China, came up the idea of the small self and the great self. The small self is centered on personal interest, while the great self is based on the interest of the nation (Lin, 2006). The dual-self argues that one should achieve and accomplish for the sake of 'small self' unless it is in conflict with 'the great self'. The dual-self still favors one's contribution to the collectivist group, yet it changes the collectivist group to the nation rather than families and ancestors.

The dual-self argument has been persisted only by Chinese intellectual elites (Yan, 2010), until it is widely absorbed and encouraged by ideological and political discourses written since Mao's era. The dual-self argument was employed by Mao's government for liberation of human resources to build the newly founded country. Confucius, the traditional Chinese philosopher, was condemned for restricting people to tradition, family and ancestors. Instead, Mao's government emphasizes on a form of patriotism that encourages people to contribute to the nation rather than in compliance to tradition and family. However, this form of patriotism still focuses on a strong collectivist influence, with only individuals subject to state rather than family/tradition (Yan, 2010). In other words, Mao's era still saw strict and tight control and influence of the state over individuals. Patriotism still features in individuals' contribution to state.

However, in the process of transformation of patriotism from one's contribution to tradition/family to one's contribution to the state in Mao's era, a partial and collectivist type of individualization becomes the by-product (Yan, 2010). Although individuals are still subject to state influence (another collectivist ideal), they are encouraged to not live under the ancestors' shadows. This also creates a sense of individualization, for individuals are freed from the influence of their ancestors and kinship. A lot of constraints of traditional and Confucius values, such as clan culture and kinship, were criticized (readers might recall that Confucius values are rejuvenated in the new discourse of Chinese culture and globalization discussed in section 4.4.2). Individuals are freed from the influence of their ancestors, and create a sense of belongings toward the party-state instead.

From 1970s to 1990s, with the process of market economy and privatization after the Opening Up initiated by Deng Xiaoping, patriotism transforms to a new form. Since China embraces privatization of labor and economy, individuals are encouraged to achieve personal success and fortune by individual efforts instead of through pre-existing arrangement of the collectivity (Zhao, 2014). In order to increase efficiency and compatibility, Chinese

government made several decisions and policy changes, which potentially made it possible for the individual to break out the influence of various sorts of collectives (Yan, 2010). Firstly, the rural-urban migration is loosened which allowed migrant laborers to seek employment in the cities. Secondly, the restructuring of the state-owned enterprises downsized and privatized the unprofitable enterprises. The government intended to free the labor to cope with the market economy and privatization, and it also brought individualization. The new patriotism then requires more responsible and competitive citizens, who can devote themselves into China's quest for modernity. Individuals need to shoulder more responsibility, take more risks, have more skills and become more competitive (Yan, 2012).

The new millennium saw the fast socioeconomic development of Chinese society and the impact of globalization. With China joining the WTO in 2001 and the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, China becomes more open to the world. Various world outlook and diverse lifestyles appear in China mainland. The distinctively different lifestyles of the poor and the rich have enticed individuals to seek fortune and success through their own hands. Having more comfortable and rich material life becomes the top priority of the Chinese individuals, rather than building the socialist country (Zhao, 2014). As a result, Chinese government follows the trend and advocates a new type of patriotism. Individuals take care of themselves through various forms of self-development, but the self cannot be separated from the defining power of the state.

As I analyzed above, there is a transformation of patriotism from Mao's era, Deng's era to the new millennium. Patriotism has gradually showed a strong link with individualism. Individuals are required, advocated and allowed to shoulder more responsibility and have larger extent of freedom for themselves, although they cannot be separated from the defining power of the state. This transformation or recontextualization of patriotism in temporal and spatial contexts have also resulted the transformation or recontextualization of political discourses regarding ELEP.

As I have analyzed in section 4.5.2, there is a trend of less direct emphasis on patriotism in ELEP produced in 1992 to 2011. The orientation of ELEP has changed from putting patriotism as the top priority (Extract 4.12 in Curriculum 1992) to including some benefits for students (Extract 4.13 in Curriculum 2011). Patriotism is taken as one of the qualities of education purposes, besides insight, life experience, cross-culture awareness, creativity and characteristics. In other words, ELEP has changed from 'learning for the sake of nation' to 'learning for the sake of nation and for individuals'. That also explains why English is regarded as '21st century citizens' basic requirement' (L5 in Extract 4.1).

Individuals need to shoulder more responsibility, take more risks, have more skills and become more competitive.

The discursive change of orientation of ELEP concurs with the temporal and special transformation or recontexualization of patriotism that I have analyzed above. ELEP has been promoted not only for the nation construction but also for the benefits of individuals. To cater for the needs and desire of the individuals, the education purpose of English is not restricted to patriotism, at least not on the page. Students are encouraged to learn English for it is one of the essential qualities for citizens of the new century. They are told to learn English not only for the country but also for their own success and life opportunities.

Secondly, patriotism is also sustained as well, for in any forms, the hierarchical relationship of the small self and the great self is maintained. In Mao's era, individuals were told to follow the authoritative decisions of the state, in terms of self-development, employment, places to live and classes. Nowadays, the new independent and competitive individuals are still told to contribute to the state. In this way, the real beneficiary behind the ELEP is still the national government. Individuals are always put to the second place.

The recontextualization of patriotism in the policy texts is the outcome of the transformation of patriotism and individualization in China. To cater for the needs and desire of the individuals, the education purpose of English is not restricted to patriotism, at least not on the page. However, it is still a kind of individualization that is guided and sponsored by patriotism. Students are educated to become independent and competitive individuals, so that they can share more responsibilities, take more risks, have more skills and become more competitive in China's quest to modernity.

4.8 Theme Six: The School Consolidation Policy (SCP)

The School Consolidation Policy (SCP), put in a simple way, refers to the consolidation of small schools in villages in relatively poor conditions to create larger and better resourced schools. It is documented in State Council's Decisions on Reform and Development in Basic Education (State Council, 2001, in Figure 4.1). This document, as I have mentioned in the analysis of extract 4.1, is one of the overarching policy documents that set the boundary for English language education in China. SCP was not directly linked to English education *per se*, so there is little mention of it in ELT literature concerning China. Also, as I mentioned in section 2.3, since most of the ELT researchers are based in elite tertiary schools or secondary schools in developed areas, SCP is not relevant to them. However, during my ethnographic research, I find that the policy is closely relevant to Yulin, so I shall discuss it for a moment.

In section 1.2.2, I have mentioned that the compulsory education features in devolution of management, the principle of proximity and uniformity. The devolution of management requires that the township governments rely on funds distributed by the county government and also make up for any deficiencies with a percentage of township financial revenues to manage the local schools. In other words, local public schools are largely run and financed by local governments through revenues.

During 1990s, in order to expand larger access to compulsory education, the State Council urged that 'every village establishing a primary school and a middle school' (Fan, 2006). Since there was not enough allocation of fund in rural education from the township governments, the village schools were indeed ran by extracting levies and fees on rural households (Chen, 2003). The excessive taxation, for education and other fees, sometimes brought complains, frustration and direct confrontation with local governments (Bernstein and Lu, 2000; Yep, 2004). As a result, the national government responded with a series of tax reform policies starting in 2000 (Liu et al. 2012). One of the policies, 'tax-for-fee' reform, converted some legitimate local fees into one unified agricultural tax. In 2004, the national government started to phase out the agricultural tax on peasants and rescind obligation of the peasants to the state. This way, the local governments were prohibited from levying new fees.

Together with the 'tax-and-fee' reform, the State Council in 2001 decided to restructure the schools by combining poor ones into a bigger one, known as School Consolidation Policy (SCP). The policy was made due to the dropping birth-rates in rural areas, insufficient physical facilities and poor education quality. The main objectives of SCP included equitable distribution of resources, greater economy scale, balanced development of education, improved management capacity and enhanced education quality (Zhao and Parolin, 2012; Mo et al., 2012; Liu, 2010).

However, the implementation encounters challenges as well. As mentioned above, since the local governments are prohibited from levying new fees from peasants and they were not getting fund allocated to rural compulsory education from the national government, they have to use the SCP to save the fund allocated to rural education. Put simply, the local governments sometimes have to use SCP to remove the village schools and merge them into a bigger one, in order to save money. To some extent, education reform becomes decentralization of responsibility, rather than power (refer Section 1.2.2).

As a result, the implementation of SCP becomes troublesome. In a lot of cases, the local government will not take full notice of the rural conditions or rural communities and remove village schools irrationally. Teachers and students in rural villages are transferred to a bigger school located further away. This again puts more financial pressure on peasants, for

the increased transportation expenses or living expenses needed to attend the new schools (Yang, 2010). Moreover, the long commutes for some students bring risks to road safety. Several traffic accidents and casualty of packed school minibuses have caught national attention (Chu, 2011). Some researchers have also noticed that the closure of primary schools have led to the loss of function and stability of the community (Fan, 2009; Xiong, 2007; Zhao and Parolin, 2011). There is also lack of cultural atmosphere in villages, since the schools are removed.

SCP has been used, to some extent lavishly, during the past decade. The scale of the school closures in China has been dramatic. A lot of schools are either removed due to the SCP or immigrant workers who move to city. According to the data from MoE (1998; 2009), the number of rural primary schools has declined from 493,152 to 234,157, a reduction of 52.52%, from 1998 to 2009. According to Yang (2010), in every six minutes, there is a primary school closing down in rural China. The high expenses and long commutes result in an increase in dropout rates among village children (Zhao and Parolin, 2011). The closings outpace shrinking enrolments (Yang, 2014). In the past decade, there is a decrease of over 31 million rural pupils and 16 million rural junior high students, with a reduction rate of 37.8% and 26.97% respectively. When the village children are moved to schools in cities, it also creates over-sized classes of over 70-100 students. These over-sized classes provide a lot of difficulties for teachers and schools, given the classroom management and adaption to diverse levels of students (see Section 6.5.2 for further discussion). There is also the issue of peer pressure and discrimination of immigrant children, which pushes more village children out of the schools (Yang, 2014).

The policy is widely referred as the School Consolidation Policy (SCP). The original policy writes:

Extract 4.14 'Adjust the layout of rural compulsory education schools according to local conditions', direct translation of policy extract taken from State Council's Decisions on Reform and Development in Basic Education (State Council, 2001, p. 6)

According to the principle of proximity, relative concentration of junior high schools, optimization of education resource allocation, rationally plan and adjust the layout of schools. Rural primary schools and teaching points, under the premise of providing convenience for students to go to the nearest schools, should be merged appropriately. In areas with inconvenient transportation, still retain the necessary teaching points, to prevent students' dropouts due to restructure of school layout. The layout of the school should (,) together with the renovation of dilapidated buildings, formalization of academic norms, urbanization development and immigration relocation (,) planned. The adjusted school buildings and other assets should be guaranteed to develop education. In necessary and available places, can open boarding schools.

Extract 4.14, from a CDA linguistic point of view, features in:

- Excessive use of imperative sentences (L4, L7, L9), which suggests hierarchical power relations;
- Elision of human participants (L1, L3, L5, L6, L9), which creates a false sense that the policy would not bring effects to human beings;
- The abstraction of complex events and set of events as process (e.g. optimization of education resource allocation in L2; adjustment of layout in L3, formalization of academic norms in L8, urbanization development and immigration relocation in L8);
- Excessive use of evaluative words, which suggests that the policy is desirable, such as 'optimization'(L2), 'rationally'(L2), 'urbanization development' (L8)

As I have mentioned in the analysis of other extracts in this chapter, these linguistic features, such as elision of human participants, the abstraction of complex events, and excessive use of evaluative words, all work to make the discourse legitimized, acceptable and desirable. For the limit of space here, I will not go into these features in details. What I want to strengthen here is the omission of the negative effect the policy might bring. In other words, the extract legitimizes the SCP through the discursive features above, yet it fails to mention the harm that this policy might bring. One might argue that the term 'the urbanization of education' *perse* uses normalization to elide human agency, which both omit the agency who conduct the action, agency who take responsibility, and agency who will be affected by the policy. The conversion of a verb (consolidate) in to a noun-like word (consolidation), which semantically, represents a process into an entity. This way, the human agency is omitted. In other words, the issue of who will consolidate schools for whom is not manifested in the extract 4.14.

Indeed, SCP leads to a lot of problems concerning stakeholders (human agency) behind the policy, including the rural parents, rural students, rural teachers, rural schools and local governments. As I have pointed earlier in this section, SCP has brought the closedown of schools in rural areas, social issues, and high drop-outs rate.

In the past literature in English education in China, given the limited ethnographic studies and neglect of less developed inner-land areas, SCP is not mentioned (at least not to my knowledge). However, during my ethnographic research in Yulin, an underdeveloped area in Shaanxi province, I find the effect of SCP is predominant. Local officials, teachers and parents frequently mention the impact of SCP (see Section 5.2.2&6.5.2). Its presence can be

found in classrooms, conversations and other semiotic discourses, as I shall mention in the remaining chapters. This further proves that the study of ELEP should be based on specific socioeconomic contexts of the local regions, which invites an ethnographic investigation.

4.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I use principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the English Language Education Policies (ELEP), such as the analysis of recontextualization, abstraction, assumption, common sense and modal operators, to analyze the textual features, discourse practice and sociopolitical discourses. It sees ELEP as a social construct that is shaped by and continuously shapes the wider sociocultural contexts. I have analyzed six themes within ELEP, including ELEP initiatives (Section 4.3), ELEP objectives (Section 4.4), teaching methods and contents (Section 4.5), social agents in ELEP (Section 4.6), beneficiaries of ELEP (Section 4.7) and School Consolidation Policy (Section 4.8).

In each theme, my analysis is carried out through three interrelated processes: a. the linguistic description of the features of the policy texts; b. the interpretation of the discourse practice, or how people interpret and produce the discourse; c. the way policy practice and texts are shaped by the sociocultural contexts.

In my analysis, I have identified the way ideology and power is maintained, sustained and reinforced in the discourse, while discourse, in turn, sustain and maintain the sociopolitical contexts. In other words, discourse is both constituted and constitutive. For instance, in Theme ‘beneficiaries of ELEP’, I have analyzed the relationship between patriotism and ELEP. On one hand, the political discourses are shaped, recontextualized and transformed by the transition and trajectory of the ideological message ‘patriotism’. On the other hand, the ideological message is sustained, imbedded and reinforced in the development and trajectory of discourses. Another example would be the desired teaching methods prescribed in ELEP. On one hand, it is shaped by the sociopolitical development of English education in China. On the other hand, it uses textual features such as evaluative expressions and abstractions to make the prescribed teaching methods as legitimate and desirable. In this process, local agents are expected to implement ELEP according to the will of the MoE, for it is, through various discursive features (such as abstraction, modal operators, and nominalization), depicted as legitimate, serious and authoritative.

In particular, I have analyzed through this chapter that national policy has depicted English as a natural, uncontestable, neutral and indispensable tool that is linked to China’s economic development and personal benefits. This depiction of English interlocks with the argument that English is timely needed to cope with informationization and globalization. The

interlocking connections between ELEP and globalization make the competition on the terrain of English being naturalized. The importance of English and the competition in the terrain of English further legitimize and reinforce the MoE with absolute power in controlling the local policy agents. In caparison to the authoritative and prestigious status of the MoE, local participants are depicted as incompetent and inferior followers.

Policies define how we are to act and by what rules we must abide (Fairclough, 1995). Through policies we come to be socialized in many ways into what is thinkable and unthinkable (Bernstein, 2000). Policy and political discourse represents the authoritative allocations of values and goals (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, p. 176). In the analysis of the policy discourses in this chapter, I have identified the way discourse maintains, sustains and reinforces its ideological control and message. In particular, I focus on the discussion of six themes in the ELEP discourse. In the next chapter, I identify the six themes in local community, which leads to the identification of the tensions between policy and local practice.

Chapter 5 Interpretation of ELEP among Local Officials

5.1 Introduction

In previous chapter, I use principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the central policies in ELEP, in terms of their textual features, discourse practice and sociopolitical discourses. I have analyzed ELEP in six themes, including ELEP initiatives, ELEP objectives, teaching methods and contents, social agents in ELEP, beneficiaries of ELEP and School Consolidation Policy.

The six themes in central policy (Chapter 4) are analysed and compared with findings in chapter 5 and chapter 6. I use ethnographic data to assess the causal and ideological effects, thus, linking the 'micro' analysis of texts to the 'macro' analysis of how power relations work across networks of practices and structures. In particular, I examine the connection of ELEP with local communities, in terms of the impact ELEP brings to them, their struggle in adapting the policy in the local context and their perception of the central policy.

This chapter investigates the perceptions of ELEP among the local education officer, school management officers and local Yuliners. The recent studies on middle-level policy agents have shown that the local officials play very important roles in mediating between the macro policy makers and micro level teachers (Johnson, 2007). Local teachers tend to take local officials and institutions as the main source of language policy.

In section 5.2 and 5.3, I focus on the analysis of the perceptions of Mr. Chen (pseudonym), an official in local education bureau. He is in charge of teacher training and pedagogy development in Yulin. Mr. Chen has a lot of knowledge about English education in Yulin. He has been a secondary high school English teacher for nearly 30 years and has won several teaching competitions (national and regional). Educated in an English and education background, he has devoted his time in researching English pedagogy and its application in classes. In our conversation, he has shown considerable amount of knowledge in curriculum reform and teaching methods.

In section 5.4, I move on the analysis to my interviews with management level officials within local schools A, B and C (see Section 3.2 for details of the three schools). In some cases, local school officials might have a determinative saying in the way LPP appropriated in actual classes, in terms of teaching methods, teaching contents and education objectives.

Section 5.5 deals with the perceptions of ELEP among local Yuliners. In particular, I use a language attitude questionnaire to identify Yuliners' perceptions of English schooling and English language. Their perceptions are analyzed and evaluated in regional and national contexts, including language environment, national education system and Chinese perception of learning.

5.2 The Development of ELEP in Yulin

I divide this section into three parts: the introduction of ELEP in Yulin, the development of ELEP in Yulin, and ELEP in current Yulin.

5.2.1 The Introduction of ELEP in Yulin

According to Mr. Chen, Yulin introduced English education in primary schools in 2002 and started in a very minimal status.

Extract 5.1 'They teach and learn English at the same time', translation of field notes taken directly in Chinese, in an interview with Mr. Chen in education bureau (Fieldnote, Book 4, p. 12, see full transcript and translation in Appendix E).

Shi: What was it like when ELEP was first implemented in Yulin?
Chen: In 2001, the state policy requires the primary English education nationwide. By 2002, Yulin carried out the policy in every district and county. But the situation back then was not ideal. We trained the pre-service and in-service teachers. I conducted teacher training, of the 180 teachers in training, only 17 graduated from English major. Most of them come from Yulin College. The rest are non-English major. Some teachers came because English is their hobby, and some came only out of the need to find a job. Local schools sent some teachers as well, and they might be teachers of other subjects. They teach and learn English at the same time.

According to Chen, there were not adequate qualified teachers when ELEP was first implemented. ELEP was taken at short notice without informing and consulting local communities. In order to cope with the national decision, the local education bureau had to train teachers in a very hasty manner. Most teachers recruited were non-English majors. Teachers were not professionally trained ahead. It can be indicated from extract 5.1 that the ELEP in Yulin started in a very minimal status. In other words, although the national government required the implementation of ELEP nationwide in 2001 (see details in Section4.3), Yulin was not prepared by 2002.

This concurs with the findings of Hu (2002), Li (2011) and Hu (2008) that ELEP is a hasty decision that does not take full consideration of the local contexts (in Section 4.3.3). These studies point out that there was a lack of preparation when the national government decided to implement ELEP nationwide in 2001.

5.2.2 Development of ELEP in Yulin

According to Chen, English education quality has improved since 2005, because School Consolidation Policy moves students from villages to cities.

Extract 5.2 Improvement since 2005: School Consolidation Policy, translation of field notes taken directly in Chinese, in an interview with Mr. Chen in education bureau. (Fieldnote, Book 4, p. 17, see full transcript and translation in Appendix E).

1	Shi:	How does primary English education perform in Yulin since 2002?
2	Chen:	Since 2005, Yulin started to implement the School Consolidation Policy,
3		which generates scaling benefits. A lot of village schools were removed
4		and students were moved to primary schools in urban cities. This
5		improves the implementation of the English education, which further
6		improved the urbanization and educational quality.
7	Shi:	What effect would urbanization bring? How does it improve English
8		education?
9	Chen:	Before, one village only had one teacher, who taught many subjects,
10		including English, Chinese, PE, and some other subjects. The education
11		quality was really low. Through the integration of the resources, we can make the best of teaching resources.
12	Shi:	Will urbanization negatively affect the village schools and teachers?
13	Chen:	The best steel should be used to make the edge of the knife. Education
14		resources are quite limited and we should readjust and allocate them
15		wiser. Sometimes we have to look for the best. There are some
16		disadvantages. Parents now need to travel far to pick up their children.
17		There might be issues of road safety. However, the gains outweigh
18		disadvantages.

The School Consolidation Policy (SCP) (see Section 4.8), to some extent, is believed to allow greater economy scale, urban-rural balanced development education and education quality in rural areas (Mo et al. 2012). However, it also brings social and economic problems to peasants and their children, who are forced to commute long distance, move to cities and experience discrimination in big cities. The long commute and high expenses on traveling and living in big cities also lead an increasing dropout of students in rural primary schools, which are vanishing with a reduction rate of 52.52% during 1998-2009 (MoE, 1998; MoE, 2009).

In extract 5.2, Chen comments on the positive and negative effects of the policy in English education in Yulin, though more attention is given to the positive side. According to

Chen, SCP allows village primary school students come to learn in cities, which improves the implementation of the education (L2-6). Education in villages features in low-quality, with one teacher covering several subjects. As a result, the consolidation policy can make the best of teaching resources (L9-11). In terms of the negative effect of the urbanization of education, Chen is aware of the disadvantages, such as long commutes and road safety (L15-16). However, Chen believes that the gains outweigh the disadvantages.

I would like to focus on the metaphor in L12 for a moment. Metaphor, to start with, is an everyday part of language and an important way of construing reality. We constantly think things by refering to others in order to understand. For example, Cameron (2003) notes that metaphors are always used for pedagogical purposes as they appeal to the knowledge that learners may already have. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 161) provide an example in which the heart is described as a mechanism that provides food for organs of the body. The point here is that metaphor is not necessarily opposed to truth, but it is a fundamental part of human cognitive processes. However, metaphor can be ideological significant. Fairclough (1995, p. 94, in Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 164) notes that metaphors have hidden ideological loadings for they can conceal and shape understandings, while at the same time giving the impression that they reveal them. As a result, metaphors are important linguistic devices that may be used to designate ideological intent and hide underlying power relations.

If we read the entire extract 5.2, we can indicate that the metaphor in L12 represents ‘education resources’ (L13) as ‘good steel’, ‘knife’ as ‘implementation of the English education’ (L5) and ‘edge of the knife’ as ‘primary schools in urban cities’. The metaphoric use of ‘steel’ and ‘knife’ in relation to ‘education resource’ and ‘English education’ reinforces and more importantly facilities the construal of the effective allocation of education resources. Also, the evaluative expressions, ‘best steel’, ‘edge of the knife’ and ‘wiser’, further represent the consolidation of schools as desirable, i.e. ‘good steel’ (education resource) is best used for making the ‘edge of the knife’ (the most important and useful part of a knife, here infer the schools in urban cities). Moreover, the metaphor works through commonsense assumption, i.e. the good steel indeed should be used to make the edge of the knife. According to Fairclough (2009), commonsense assumption is a kind of ideology that serves for the purpose of coercive discourse. Since people rely habitually on commonsense assumptions, the hidden power relations are produced, maintained and reinforced in these discourses.

The metaphor, through abstraction, evaluative expression and commonsense assumption, manages to designate ideological intent that legitimates the allocation of education resources to primary schools in urban cities. The metaphor also underlies an imbedded power relationship that prioritizing primary schools in urban cities over rural

schools. Finally, the metaphor features in the elision of human agency. There is no mention of policy agents or stakeholders, such as local parents, teachers, villagers, governments and students. In other words, we are unaware of the policy agents involved, together omitted are their responsibility, rights, vulnerability, interests and feelings.

However, I have to point out that it is unfair to claim that Chen shrewdly and deliberately does all the ideological manipulation above, let alone the limited data analysis here. Through personal contact with him, I find that, as one of the stakeholders himself, Chen cares extensively about rural students. He would take frequent trips to rural schools, supporting their English teaching and teacher development. Born and raised in rural Yulin, he puts endeavors to help his fellow villagers. It is then unfair and problematic to claim that Chen, at least not deliberately and intentionally, underlines hidden legitimization or unequal power relations through the discourse.

Two things are worth pointing out here. First, the powerful gatekeepers, in this case Chen the local education official, might not be aware of the imbedded unequal power relations, discrimination or coercion in their use of language. Social actors involved in discourse not only use personal experiences and strategies, but also heavily rely upon collective frames of perceptions, i.e. 'socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferring and learning' (van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). In our case, on one hand, we need to be aware of the hidden ideological message in the metaphor; on the other hand, we need to realize that the powerful gatekeepers' use of coercive language, though might unconscious, is still powerful in terms of cognitive control and assimilation of the ideological messages.

Another thing is the use of ethnographic study in CDA. CDA is always criticized for the implicit claim to provide 'objective', 'precise', or 'systematic' analysis (Widdowson, 2004). Fairclough (2002) also warns that CDA cannot be restricted to textual or linguistic analysis of the discourse, which is not enough to draw conclusions about neither the writers or speakers' intention nor the ideological effects of texts. This is why scholars within CDA field have been advocating the combination of CDA and ethnography (see Section 3.4.3.1 for details). Ethnography provides the analysts the opportunity to venture *backstage*, which gives insight into 'politics as a profession' and into the complexity of political decision-making (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). By using ethnography, I am able to see the *backstage* (the personal context of Chen). My textual analysis of Chen's interviews is able to be prior to and independent of social analysis and critique.

5.2.3 Current ELEP in Yulin

In extract 5.3, I initiate the question on whether it is fair for the national government to implement ELEP nationwide when the local schools are not ready. Chen responds that there is no issue concerning fairness (L3) and legitimizes that it is the national government's job to make overall management (L3-5). L6-10, Chen further comments that ELEP progresses well in Yulin, although it was in poor situation in the beginning.

Extract 5.3 'However, we have made progress in recent years.' (Fieldnote, Book 4, p. 20, see full transcript and translation in Appendix E).

1	Shi:	Do you think it is fair that the national government implement
2		English education nationwide when the local schools are not ready?
3	Chen:	Erm (…) It is not a matter of fairness or not. The national
4		government does the overall management of education reform. It is a
5		good thing to have English education. We were in a poor situation in
6		the first place. We were not like developed cities, so we did not have
7		strong human resource of English teachers. The upper level gave us
8		tasks. They made rules, regulations and policies. We wanted to do the
9		job well, but we did not have enough power. However, we have made
10		progress in recent years.

What I want to strengthen here is Chen's attitudes towards the question of fairness. In the interview, Chen did not show complains or discontent to the state's decision. Firstly, Chen accepts the absolute control and authority of the MoE in making policy decisions for local community. The question of fairness might have never occurred to him. Secondly, Chen's personal context allows him to genuinely believe that English education is good to have for all (L5). This further proves that the personal context (one element of the specific contexts in ELEP) exerts influence in the appropriation of ELEP.

In L6-7, there is a sense of 'guilt' or 'apology' in Chen's explanation of the poor situation of ELT in Yulin in 2001. His 'guilt' shows that local bureaus regard the ELEP not as a hasty and unprepared decision of the state but rather their own fault. In this case, the local education bureaus naturally become the 'fall-guys'. In other words, local bureaus have naturalized the hierarchical structure and the power relations between central government and local community (see Section 4.6). In what follows, I present more data on Chen's perceptions of the hierarchical relationship between the national and local governments.

5.3 The Local Education Bureau in ELEP

On the website of Yulin Education Bureau (2014), the job description of the institution is written as follows (Extract 5.4).

Extract 5.4 Job description of the local education bureau(Direct Translation of Institution introduction, Yulin Education Bureau website)

The teaching and research office makes full use of 'research, guidance, service' duty and function, on holistic and multiple levels (,) promotes the teaching and research activities (,) in Yulin education reform and development, plays an important role.

Extract 5.5 Make use of 'research, guidance, service' duty and function. (Direct translation of policy text taken from Programme (MoE, 2001a).

'Under the leadership of the education administrative departments, local education bureau should take the education reform as the focal point of work, make use of the research, guidance and service functions of the institutions, connect with other basic education research centres, and make use of each other's advantage, promote the educational reform together. ..

In extract 5.4, there are extensive usage of linguistic items that show the self-positioning of the local education bureau as a government branch that mediates between the upper government and the local schools and teachers.

In the first place, in L2, the extract uses direct reporting from the policy text in *Programme* (MoE, 2001a) (L5 in Extract 5.5). Direct reporting is the 'quotation, purportedly the actual words used, in quotation marks, with a reporting clause' (Fairclough, 2002, p. 49). It is also a key indicator of the intertextual links among texts. Intertextuality refers that for any particular text or type of text, there is a set of other texts and a set of voices that are potentially relevant and potentially incorporated into the text (see Section 4.2). Direct reporting of other in the text, which presents the intertextual links between texts, shows the relationship between authorial account and attributed speech (Fairclough, 2001). By directly quoting the requirement in the national policy, extract 5.2 has indicated a close and affiliated relationship between the local bureau and national government. In what follows, I point out that this relationship is not only close and affiliated but also subordinate and hierarchical, drawing on the analysis of the semantic relations. Semantic relations indicate the relations between the clauses and agents mentioned in the sentences (Fairclough, 2001, p. 89).

Extract 5.4 Job description of the local education bureau. (Direct Translation of Institution introduction, Yulin Education Bureau website)

The teaching and research office CONDITIONAL makes full use of 'research, guidance, service' duty and function, CONDITIONAL on holistic and multiple levels (,) ADDITIVE performs the teaching and research activities (,) CONDITIONAL in Yulin education reform and development, ELABORATIVE plays an important role.

Overall, extract 5.4 foregrounds legitimation of the local bureau through semantic relations of clauses. In the first clause, 'making full use of "research, guidance, service" duty and function' is the condition for the rest of the extract. It uses the direct quote of the national policy (L5-6 in Extract 5.5) as the condition for the rest of the job description contents, which shows the imbedded relationship of local education bureau with the national government. In other words, the direct quote from national government's policy provides legitimation for the rest of the job description. It is only with this condition, being backed-up and proved by the national government, will the local bureau work.

The legitimization, throughout the extract 5.4, is implicit and present. It is foregrounded and laid out gradually. The extract indicates that if others accept that the local institution 'plays an important role in Yulin education reform and development', they are more likely to do so if they realize that the local institution 'make full use of the "research, guidance, serve" duty and function' and 'performs the teaching and research activities'. In other words, being in line with the national policy, as indicated by the use of direct quotation from the national policy as the condition for the job description, provides the legitimacy for the work of the local institution. In this way, the local education bureau has indicated a hierarchical, subordinate and affiliated relationship with national government.

The point here is that local education bureau is largely a government branch that faithfully implements national policy orders. The hierarchical relationship manifested in extract 5.4 and 5.5 is also imbedded in Chen's description of their daily work.

Extract 5.6 'Our job', direct translation of field-notes taken from the interview with Mr. Chen. (Fieldnote, Book 4, p. 24).

1 Our job is to provide guidance and instruction to the basic education in Yulin and
2 organize teaching and research carefully according to the regulation and request of
3 the state. We bring in experts and scholars regularly to give lectures, it helps our
4 teachers to know the policy well and teach well. It is our duty to guide them.

It can be inferred from extract 5.6 that local education bureau 'provides guidance and instruction' (L1) 'according to the regulation and request of the state' (L2). In this process, it fulfills its duty of 'research, guidance and serve' according to the requirement of the state government. It shows its 'research' function by 'organizing teaching and research' (L2), its function of 'guidance' by 'helping our teachers to know the policy well and teach well' (L4) and its function of 'serve' by 'bringing in experts and scholars regularly to give lectures' (L3). In other words, local education bureau works according to the requirements of the national government, as also presented in extract 5.4 and 5.5.

There is also an embedded hierarchical power relationship between the local bureau and teachers in extract 5.6. In L1, 'guidance and instruction' shows the self-identified authoritative position of the local bureau in supervising 'the basic education in Yulin'. In L3-4, 'experts' and 'scholars' are the people who play important roles in providing interpretation and instruction to teachers. As for teachers, they are implementers only, for they are supposed to 'know well' the policy and then 'teach well' (L4). Such an understanding of a 'neutral' and even incompetent grass-root participant is also manifested in the expression that 'it is our duty to guide them' (L4). The word 'guide' shows that local bureau would see itself in an authoritative position above the local schools. Schematically, the power relation manifested in extract 5.6 is in a hierarchical order: national government, experts/scholars who work for upper level governments, local education bureaus and teachers.

Such an understanding provides evidence that the power structure reinforced by the policy discourses (see Section 4.6) is also accepted in local settings. In extract 5.4, local bureau legitimizes its role in Yulin, drawing on national policy documents, which indicates its self-identified relationship with the national government. In extract 5.6, the use of linguistic items 'guidance' 'instruction' 'guide' indicates local bureau's authoritative position above local teachers.

The lack of dialogicality is another thing I want to point out in the discourses. Dialogicality is a concept developed by Bakhkin (1986). It argues that all texts are dialogical, i.e. there are some connection with others' 'voices'. However, not all texts are equally dialogical. In this sense, dialogicality is an indicator of the extent that difference is oriented in texts. To use the words of Fairclough (2001, p. 214), 'dialogicality is the measure of the extent to which there are dialogical relations between the voice of the author and the others' voices, the extent to which these voices are represented and responded to, or conversely excluded or suppressed.' Below, I use extract 5.4 to illustrate its dialogicality in texts. For the convenience of analysis, I recycle the extract below.

Extract 5.5 Make use of 'research, guidance, service' duty and function, direct translation of policy text taken from Programme (MoE, 2001a).

'Under the leadership of the education administrative departments, research and teaching offices in primary and secondary schools should take the education reform as the focal point of work, make use of the research, guidance and service functions of the institutions, connect with other basic education research centres, and make use of each other's advantage, promote the educational reform together. ..

Extract 5.5 features in the lack of dialogicality, for the others' voices are not presented in the texts. What we have is categorical assertions (statements of fact and directive instructions). Although the others are mentioned (education administrative departments in L1, research and teaching offices in primary and secondary schools in L2, other basic education research centers in L4), their voices are not included. In other words, there is no intertextualization of different voices. The others' voices are smoothed into an apparent consensus of the instruction. The extract features in a lack of dialogicality, i.e. the exclusion of the voices of the lower level policy agents. The absence of local agents' voices, again, reinforces, sustains and maintains the unequal power relationship imbedded in the policy discourses (see Section 4.6).

To sum up, the local bureau sees the top-down language policymaking process as natural and conventional. The power relation and hierarchical structure of state and lower level policy makers is accepted as well. The state and the 'experts and scholars' working for the state are considered as the only people who are qualified to make the policy. However, the local bureaus see themselves as an upper level policy maker to the local schools, who are responsible for guiding and supervising the education reform in local area. In other words, the structure of 'state-provincial- local government-local teachers' is accepted and reinforced. It further reflects the success of state's ideological control over the mind of the local community, in which inequality in education rights and hierarchical power relation is also taken as natural and conventional.

5.4 Local Schools in ELEP

In the three schools, I find a similarity in school-management level, in terms of the importance that they have attached to ELEP. As a compulsory subject in primary schools, English is an important part in schooling. There are three education objectives for local schools: a. a good result in the exam arranged by the local education bureau; b. a good teachers-parents (school-family) relationship; c. form of 'good learning habits'. Three objectives occur and reoccur in my interviews with the management-level officials in the three schools. In some way, they are the language policies *per se*, for they shape the teaching

and learning of English in local schools. In what follows, I analyze the three education objectives drawing on my interviews with local school participants. Section 5.4.4 goes through some other policies that shape the ELEP in local schools.

5.4.1 A Good Test Result

In school A, I met Mr. Wang (Pseudonym), who is in charge of English education in his school. Mr. Wang is very proud of the 'experimental'[22] nature of his school, which he believes indicates 'the innovation and advancement in Chinese education reform'. When I asked Mr. Wang the specific advantage of experimental schools compared with other local schools, Mr. Wang replied:

Extract 5.7 'We will always be the best, for we are the experimental school!', direct translation of field-notes taken during my interview with Mr. Wang (Fieldnote, Book 1, p. 13).

1 English is very important for our school. It shows our strength in teaching. A
2 few years ago, each year the Yulin Education bureau would arrange a test among
3 all the primary schools in Yulin. We always had the best results. Nowadays, to
4 alleviate the burden on students, the bureau would arrange a selection test, which
5 means only one school would be picked to take the test each semester. But we
6 will always be the best, for we are the experimental school!

In extract 5.7, L1 shows that English teaching is important for school A, since it shows their strength in teaching (L1). From L2-6, the criterion of the 'strength in teaching' seems to refer the text result in the exam arranged by the Yulin Education Bureau. In other words, the 'strength in teaching' seems to be narrowed and limited to one part of teaching, i.e. the performance in the exams. In L6, Mr. Wang indicates that the strength of 'the experimental school' lies in the fact that School A outperforms the others in the exam.

There seems to be a narrow understanding of education goodness in terms of good results in the test arranged by the local education bureau. There are no other variables included, such as student satisfaction, students' wellbeing and criticality. A possible explanation for the exclusion of other variables is that the performance in exam arranged by local bureau is an important indicator for the performance of schools in the local region. In other words, School A needs to outperform others so as to maintain its advantage and its socio-political status among local schools.

[22] An explanation of 'experimental schools' can be found in section 2.3.2. Experimental schools are a special category in Chinese education system. They are taken as 'role models' in education reform in local regions. They tend to have better and more financial and political support from the upper education bureaus, which gives them more socio-political power compared with other regular schools.

In schools B and C, school officials also mention the importance of the exams arranged by the local education bureau. As a matter of fact, one teacher in school C told me that their school leaders start to show less attention to English teaching, since the test arranged for all primary schools are removed (see L2 in Extract 5.7). Still, leaders tend to care about the good test results in the selective exam that pick one school per semester for testing. The good performance in the exams is linked to the prestige and reputation of the school. Given the importance of the exams arranged by the local education bureau, it is possible that teachers might be affected by the exams as well (also known as washback, see detailed analysis in Section 6.3).

5.4.2 Good Teachers-Parents Relationship

Teachers-parents relationship is regarded as an important indicator in the education goodness of the schools in Chinese society (Guo, 2012). It is then not surprising that schools tend to see a harmonious relationship between teachers and parents as an advantage. In school B I met their vice principle Mrs. Zhang, who is in charge of teaching and learning in her school. She is also very passionate about the good parent-teacher relationship.

Extract 5.8 'Our English teachers are very responsible for the students and their parents', direct translation of field-notes taken from the interviews with Mrs. Wang (Fieldnote Book 2, p. 55).

1 Our English teachers are very responsible for the students and their parents. We
2 contact parents and report students' performance to them, on a regular basis. Parents
3 can contact teachers when they want to. Children are the hope of their parents and
4 their families. Chinese always hold high hopes for their children, especially given the
5 family planning policy now. As you know, children as the future. Education should
6 be responsible for the students, the parents and the society.

In extract 5.8, Mrs. Zhang refers that 'English teachers are very responsible for the students and their parents' is a big strength in their school. Mrs. Wang further elaborates that 'being responsible for the students and their parents' is to 'contact parents and report students' performance to them, on a regular basis'. As for the rationality of keeping a close family-school or teachers-parents relationship, extract 5.8 provides two reasons: the Chinese parents 'always hold high hopes for their children' and impact of 'the family planning policy'. In what follows, I provide some sociopolitical background for the two reasons.

In the first place, Chinese family tends to place a high valuation on education (Cleverly, 1991; Lee, 1996). Chinese parents always expect and push their children to pursue higher studies. This origin of the Chinese commitment to education lies in Confucian and

Buddhist heritage in which great respect is accorded to learning and educational endeavor as means to personal and society improvement (Lee, 1996, p. 28). As a result, parents would like to keep a very close relationship with the teachers, so as to check on the performance of their children in schools. I shall come back to this point shortly on parents' financial support for their children's schooling in section 5.5.

Secondly, Chinese enthusiasm in their children's schooling has become even more fervent, given the family planning policy. The family planning policy, known as the one-child policy in the West, is a population control policy in China. The term 'one-child' is a misnomer, as the policy allows many exceptions among ethnic minorities, rural population and parents with disable first-borns. The policy is enforced by 'Population and Family Planning Commissions' at every level of government to raise awareness and carry out registration and inspection work. Fines are imposed based on the income of the family and other factors.

The policy was introduced in 1979 to alleviate social, economic, and environmental problems in China. It helps provide a better health service for women and bring a reduction in the risks of death and injury associated with pregnancy. However, it also brought some social issues. The '4-2-1 problem' is one of them, which means the first generation of only-children was left with having to provide support for his or her two parents and four grandparents. If the single child were unable to care for their older adult relatives, the oldest generations would face a lack of resources and necessities. As a result, the only child becomes the only hope of the family (Fong, 2004, 2011). He or she would receive all the love, hope and pressure from their parents and grandparents. Some parents may over-indulge their only child, often referred by the media as 'little emperors'. Being spoiled, lacking self-discipline and having no adaptive capabilities are highly associated with Chinese singletons (Dudley, 2006).

Based on the two reasons above, as Mrs Zhang argues, it is then not surprising that schools place parent-teaching relationship as the priority. In School A and B, teachers are required to fill in a 'Family-School Contact Form', which is used to keep a close relationship with parents. Outside the school gate of school B, the school also posts a form that enlists the teachers' personal telephone numbers. These acts are used to provide a channel for parents to contact with the teachers.

In the schoolyard of school B, there are some posters that reflect the importance of parents-teachers relationship as well. Figure 5.2 is a poster presented one of the corridors in the schoolyard.

Figure 5.2 'To be a good child at home, to be a good student in school, to be a good citizen in society', poster (left) presented in the schoolyard of School B.

The poster writes in both Chinese and English that: 'to be a good child at home', 'to be a good student in school', and 'to be a good citizen in society'. The message behind the poster prescribes a child's duty towards the family, school and the society. By putting it as a poster in a public sphere (corridors on the schoolyard), it means a social norm for students to obey.

On one level, the poster emphasizes on the meaning of the schooling to the family, school and society. In this sense, it is linked to a Chinese traditional way of linking personal honor and success to collective beings, such as family, schools or the society. In other words, the social norm manifested in the poster asks children to behave and to be 'good', for their success and failure is linked to other collective beings. On this level, the message behind the poster is related to Chinese traditional way of thinking filial duty, discipline in schools, devotion to the society and their links to education goodness.

On another level, it is another way of imbedding the ideology of patriotism in multimodal discourses. Readers might recall my analysis in section 4.7 on patriotism and its satellite argument of 'small self' and 'big self'. The small self (citizens) would work and contribute to the big self (society and country). Schools are the primary social agencies for transmitting and reconstructing values. They are the society symbolically, representing its success and failure (Sercombe, 2008, 2010). To some extent, the school and the family become the microcosm of the society. In this way, the requirements on students to be a good child at home, a good student at school and a good citizen in society can be taken as public and private values that correspond. On this level, the poster has imbedded the ideological message of patriotism and collectivism.

5.4.3 Good habits in Learning English

In my ethnographic study in Yulin, I was always told about the importance of good learning habits in English teaching and learning. The concept is frequently mentioned in my interview with Mr. Zheng in school C. Zheng is a management-level official in his school. As a Chinese teacher himself, Zheng's understanding of English education seems to be affected by his subject. For instance, he would refer calligraphy of English vocabulary as an important criterion for a good English teacher, which might be influenced by Chinese traditional emphasis on calligraphy of Chinese characters. I concentrate on an extract taken from my interview with Mr. Zheng, in which he mentions what it means for 'good learning habits'.

Extract 5.9 Good learning habits, direct translation of field-notes taken from my interview with Mr. Zheng, 25-Sep, 2013, Fieldnote Book 4, p. 52.

1 Students should form good learning habits. Give a man a fish and you feed him for a
2 day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime. Comparing with knowledge,
3 good learning habits are even more important. Students will find them very useful in
4 their middle schools, colleges and when they step in the society….Good learning
5 habits are about remembering the vocabulary, reciting the texts, staying active in
6 classes and doing the homework and cooperate with others.

According to Mr. Zheng, the 'good learning habits' are part of the education goodness that students should form in schools (L1). Metaphorically referring it as 'teaching a man to fish', Zheng strengthens the important of 'good learning habits' to the lifelong learning of students (L2). The metaphor also depicts knowledge as 'give a man a fish', whereas 'good learning habits' as 'teach a man to fish'. The metaphorical understanding of teaching knowledge as 'give a man a fish' concurs with Chinese traditional thinking of knowledge as accumulated knowledge points that are transmitted from more capable teachers to students. In this process, learning is taken as a transmission rather than a collaborative process involving teachers and learners. In other words, the understanding of 'knowledge as transmission' that imbedded in the metaphor (L2) does not see knowledge as co-construction of meaning between teachers and students (Walsh, 2006).

L5-6 describes the meaning of 'good learning habits' as 'remembering the vocabulary, reciting the texts, staying active in classes and doing the homework and helping each other'. This understanding of 'good learning habits', as I analyze below, concurs with Chinese traditional way of thinking learning.

Chinese see memorizing as an important tool for learning, which, to a lot of western readers, equals memorization and rote memory that is commonly believed that do not lead to understanding. However, Chinese, as well as some other Asian countries that are influenced

by Han and Confucius culture, use memorization to achieve academic success. In Marton et al. (1996, p. 82), they refer it as a paradox of Asian countries: how is it possible that students directed to memorization demonstrate high achievement? Their finding suggests that memorization have two purposes: on one hand, memorization is linked to rote memory; on the other hand, memorization can be used to deepen and develop understanding. To Chinese students, memorization provides chances to digest and internalize knowledge and achieve deep learning through understanding.

While agreeing Marton et al. (1996, p. 82) on the role of memorization in deep learning and understanding, I doubt whether it is a good way for language learning. In other words, memorization might work for Chinese texts and other subjects, such as physics and maths. It might not be a good method for learning a foreign language (note here foreign rather than mother tongue, which has language environment to support deep learning and internalization). I shall come back to this point in chapter 7, in which the classroom data indicates that memorization of vocabulary and recitation of English text is common methods in local ELT classrooms.

The last two items that Mr. Zheng points out 'doing homework' and 'cooperate with others' also touch upon the Chinese way of learning. The first is to do with the importance of effort. Chinese see diligence in academic pursuits as the most important factor in academic achievement, regardless of innate ability (which is taken as the number one factor by western societies[23]). The belief is that all students regardless of innate ability can do well through the exertion of effort. As shown shortly below, parents, who can afford extracurricular classes for their children, would sign up extra classes) for children to attend. It is partly out of belief that as long as children are diligent enough, they can achieve academic success. The downside of this belief, though, is that it often puts a lot of pressure on children, for they are expected to do well in return of parents' endeavor and support (Zhao, 2014)

'Cooperate with others' (L6) links to Chinese way of understanding *guanxi* (connections). *Guanxi* is one part of moral obligations in Chinese society. It plays down the individual self and expects individuals to adapt themselves to the community and others (Cheng, 2000).Chinese society takes the harmonious relation with others as one part of virtues (*de*), which is as important as expertise (*cai*, or knowledge).

Besides what has shown in extract 5.9, Zheng also believes in the need for student discipline. Without it, according to him, the students would be like 'shepherding scattered

[23] Readers might see Watkins and Biggs (1996) or Chan and Rao (2010) for a fuller discussion on the difference of Chinese emphasis on effort and western emphasis on innate ability in academic achievement.

sheep' (*fang sanyang*). The metaphorical referring of teachers as shepherds and students as sheep is very popular in Chinese education. The usage of metaphor always imbeds some ideological control behind it. The metaphorical expression 'sheep' sees students as incompetent followers of teachers' instructions. Students are not treated as creative, thoughtful or independent subjective beings. This probably concurs with the findings of Ginsberg (1992, p. 6), when he reports after a visit to China and Japan: 'in China, knowledge is not open to challenge and extension (by students arguing with their instructors)… The teacher decides which knowledge is to be taught, and the students accept and learn that knowledge. The lecturer is the authority, the repository of knowledge, leading the students forward into this knowledge, a respected elder transmitting to a subordinate junior'.

An emphasis on student discipline is also linked to the belief in effort. Since effort is regards as a key factor in personal improvement, one need a lot of personal restrains and moral self-cultivation to keep the effort. In other words, in order to succeed through efforts, one needs to be controlled through self-discipline. In schools, it is also about controlling one's behavior and obeying to the social norms through self-control. In this regard, Mr. Zheng's belief in the importance of discipline finds its origin in the structure of Chinese society. Furthermore, Mr. Zheng's concern of student discipline is also shaped by the sociopolitical context of school C. I come back to this point further in section 6.5.2.

5.4.4 Other Requirements in Schools

In the above sections, I have analyzed the meaning of good English education to the local schools. As the three objectives mentioned above occurred repeatedly, I think it shows a pattern or way of local adaption of ELEP. In what follows, I present some other criteria of education goodness of ELEP found in local schools. These requirements also prescribe the education goodness of ELEP in local school. They maybe not predominantly manifested in my data, but I believe they deserve our attention for they are also parts of ELEP in local context. In some way, they are language policies as well.

Figure 5.2 Other criteria of good English education and English teachers

	Items	Contents	My comments
1	*Sanzi Yihua Yihua*	*Sanzi* (three calligraphy) refers to three forms of calligraphy, namely writing brush, pen, chalk. The first *Yihua* (one drawing) refers to the simple drawing on the blackboard or on teaching materials. The second *yihua* (one	I saw teachers practising calligraphy in their offices. Personally, I do not see the connection of good English teaching with calligraphy. In particular, the first two check

		language) refers to teachers' ability in using standard Putonghua (mandarin) in teaching.	the calligraphy of Chinese. Whereas the last one checks teachers' blackboard writing. I would think as long as the handwriting on blackboard is readable, it is fine.
2	Notes for observation classes	Teachers are required to keep notes during the observation classes of their fellow teachers. In School B, it is required that teachers need to listen 20 classes (English or other subjects), keep notes and reflect on their own teaching. The school- level management team on a regular basis inspects the notes.	This policy is meant to bring benefit for teacher development. Reflective teaching has been a recommended method for teacher development (Mann and Walsh, 2013). However, the checking of observation notes might make teachers write notes for inspection purposes. I have seen teachers copying each other's notes to cope with the inspection.
3	Notes for political thoughts	English teachers are required to write notes on their political thoughts, in which they reflect their political affiliations and behaviours. It is for both CPC party members and non-members. The notes are handed in and inspected by the management team on a regular basis.	Moral education is one part of education in countries all over the world. It is used by nation state to form ideal citizenship and infuse ideological message. Moral education is specifically emphasized in China. It is closely related to the infusion of patriotism, socialism and collectivism[24].
4	Open classes	Each teacher is required to teach several open classes per term for other teachers to observe.	This policy is meant to inspire teachers to teach well and reflect their teaching based on others' comments. However, it might make some teachers feel unease and under pressure when teach in public.
5	Class inspection	Middle level officials are given the right to randomly inspect any class they want. They can sit in and observe the classes.	According to the teachers (T3, T9), the middle level officials would randomly sit in the classes of young or new teachers (rather than experienced or elderly teachers). It is to check the quality of the classes In some other cases, it is used to check whether teachers are at work. Missing a class without permission can lead to a fine of 500 yuan (50 pounds), which is ten times more of the wage for one class (50 yuan, 5 pounds). The classes also influence teachers' promotion.
6	Teaching plans	Teachers are required to write teaching plans for each session. Notes are inspected by middle management	In an informal occasion, T16 tells me that teachers always teach not according to their

[24]Readers might refer Vickers (2009) for discussion on moral education in China.

		officials on a regular basis.	teaching plans. In other words, it is a superficial policy that does not have too much actual meaning. The reason, according to T14, T15 and T17 is due to their busy schedule and extensive workload. Teaching plans are arguably, used properly, a good way to improve teaching. Yet, if it is used inappropriately, it might become a burden for teachers.
7	Research ability	Teachers are expected to publish some articles related to education research.	The rule of 'publish or perish' has gained its momentum in Chinese primary and secondary schools as well. Publication is linked to job promotion and consequently on pay check. This has created some problems and pressure for some teachers. One teacher (T38) tells me that his failure in publication has blocked his way of promotion, which he thinks is unfair. He thinks teachers should be judged mainly on their teaching rather than publication.
8	Various competitions	Teachers are expected to participate in all sorts of activities, such as teaching participation, poem recitation and singing competition. These activities range from school to municipal level. There are several purposes for these competitions. Firstly, they are used to encourage and inspire teachers to enhance their competences. Secondly, it is used to build a colourful collegial and working atmosphere. Thirdly, teachers' performance can be used to improve their CV. For instance, winning in teaching competition can lead to job promotion.	Some of the activities are used to boost collectivism among teachers. It is another case of reinforcing ideological control in daily rituals (see below).

The above requirements are some *de facto* English education policies in local context. They might not be predominant in real language teaching and learning. The absence of similar policies in past literature on ELEP might be an evidence of their small effect on actual teaching and learning. However, the fact that they are trivial yet strictly carried out in local schools merit our thoughts. To put it in a commonsensical way, if they are not working, why bother? I would say these policies work as rituals. In other words, they already become a norm for teachers to obey in their daily work.

The power of rituals, a form of discourse as well, cannot be underestimated. Rituals are a kind of multimodal discourse as well. The power of rituals lies in its 'regularity' (Fairclough, 2010). Since these policies (implicit yet *de facto*) all involve the inspection of school management level or local education bureau, it also works to reinforce the hierarchical power relationship between the upper-level policy agents and teachers. To put it in a simple way, teachers are constantly reminded by these policies that they are always under supervision and being watched. This is probably the reason teachers are alert and nervous in my first stage research, since they think I am also one of the 'inspectors'. I come back to this point further in section 7.3.4.

5.5 ELEP to Local Communities

The discussions above have touched upon the meaning of English education to local Yuliners, from the perspectives of local officials in education bureau and schools. This section continues my analysis of the tensions between national policy texts and local adaption of ELEP, by further investigating the meaning of English education in local communities. Data analyzed below is collected during my ethnographic study and based on my over twenty-years of contact with and as (a part of) Yuliners.

5.5.1 Language Attitudes in Yulin

Language attitude is one essential contextual element in ELEP. It is about the feelings that people hold towards a specific language. As a result, it is very important in understanding the more detailed manner in which language is assessed and scaled. According to Edwards (1995, p. 98), attitude includes belief as one of its components. He provides an interesting example: a mother might believe that knowledge of French is important for her children, yet she might loathe the language. Edwards further suggests that to gauge attitude one would require further probing into the respondents' feelings about their expressed beliefs. Another thing about language attitude is that people might not do according to what they think. To go back to Edwards' example, the mother might loathe French language, but she might send her children to French language learning schools out of interest for her children. Sercombe (2003) also argues that attitudes are not readily available through formal surveys. Instead, language attitudes are obtained through informal discussion with individuals and family groups. In this way, the researcher can get informants' real feelings towards language rather than expressed belief.

Bearing Edwards' (1995) and Sercombe's (2003) arguments in mind, I see language attitude as an implicit matter. It should be obtained through informal discussion with the informants. Based on my ethnographic stay and my experience as a Yuliner, I enlist the language attitudes of Yuliners in figure 5.3

My methodology on completion of the language attitude questionnaire below is undertaken mostly on an informal basis. My acquaintances, relatives, schoolmates and parents I know from my life in Yulin are my informants. Comments (impressions) are based on informal interchange and observation over an extended time. Several Yuliners reviewed the translated comments (in Chinese) below and provided their suggestions. This is to ensure that the data presented here is valid to show the language attitudes of Yuliners.

Figure 5.3 English Language Education Attitude Questionnaire
(Adapted from Sercombe, 2003, p. 165-166)

Language attitude questions	Yuliners responses	Comments
The importance of English language education		
1. Do you think English is important for you?	Not sure	English is nearly of no use in Yuliners' lives (see Section 2.3.3). Although, for some who have school-aged children, they think they would help children's English schoolwork if they know English. However, Yuliners think English is (indeed) a very important subject in school, mainly due to its importance in *Gaokao a*nd other entrance exams.
2. Do you think English is a kind of capital for your children in the future?	Yes	Any language can be a capital. The more you know, the better.
3. Do you think education, in general, is important for your children?	Yes	Most Yuliners take their children's education seriously. It is directly linked to social mobility and life experiences.
4. Do you think English education *in schools* is important for your children?	Not sure	Most Yuliners do not have much access to English besides school education. Some may send their children to private institutions (see Section 2.3.3 for details), but they are expensive. As a result, making the best use of English education in schools seems preferable. However, for a group of informants who are wealthy, they are thinking about sending their children abroad, where children can be immersed in a supportive language environment.

5. Do you think English is a *requisite*[25] for citizens of 21 century?	No	Chinese people are everywhere in the world, such as China towns and Chinese speaking communities abroad. However, English might be *useful* (not requisite) to some but not to others. Some believe that English is useful for people who work in big cities, such as Beijing and Shanghai. Some question that English is of little use in smaller cities and in a lot of working settings, such as farming, craftwork, factories, etc.
6. Do you think English education in schools is efficient? Why?	No	Most Yuliners answer, drawing on their own experiences, since they would only remember several simple words after years of English education. The lack of real communicative use in supportive language environment is the biggest constraint.
7. Do you want bilingual education environment to support English language education, if you have a choice?	No	Yuliners have no interest in or ideas as to how they might have a bilingual education, even with institutional help.
8. Will you let your children learn English if it is not tested in entrance exams?	Not sure	English learning has created so much academic burden for students and financial burden for parents. If it is not tested, some people would let their children give it up. Some believe it is worth learning, even self-funded, reasons as for no. 1 and no. 2.
9. Should western culture be included in English education?	Not sure	Most Yuliners are not aware of the cultural aspect of English language. Most believe it is not necessary to bring culture in English education. They believe students can learn English without knowing western cultures. English language education mostly means linguistic competence. There is no mention of pragmatic or sociocultural competence.
10. Do you think Yuliners should learn English?	Not sure	Reasons as for no. 1 and no. 5.
English and Chinese culture and language[26]		
11. Do *you want* English to be a second language to Chinese?	Not sure	This has never existed as a possibility for Yuliners, since there

[25] In the Basic Requirements for English Teaching (MoE, 2001c), the MoE defines that 'learning and grasping one foreign language is the requisite for Chinese citizens in 21 century' (see Section 4.3 for details).

[26] Chinese here narrowly refers mandarin. There are few minority people in Yulin (at least not among people I know of). As a result, there is no mention of minority languages in this research. However, it must point out that the education of English in minority groups is a very important issue. It is closely related to education equality, cross culture communication, language rights, etc. So far, it is an under-researched area. Readers might infer Lam (2007).

		is nearly no use of English language in their daily life.
12. Do you think *the government* will want English to be a second language to Chinese?	Not sure	The government makes decision based on the country's economic development and social needs. Ordinary people do not have a choice.
13. Do you think English *will* become a second language to Chinese?	No	English education in China is incapable of that.
14. Do you think Chinese education is more important than English language education? Why?	Yes	The education of mother tongue is the most important. Chinese is used everywhere in China.
15. Do you think Chinese is an international language?	No	Yuliners do not see Chinese as a international language at present. However, some mention it might be in the future, given the development and strength of China on international stage.
16. Should non-Chinese people be encouraged to learn Chinese? If so, why?	No	Yuliners would not seek to impose their will on others. People should only learn Chinese if they wish to do so.
17. Do you think English will threaten Chinese culture?	No	Yuliners have no ideas as to how English would threaten Chinese culture, reasons as to no. 5 and no. 9. Besides, they think Chinese culture is very stable.
18. What do you think of Yuliners who speak English in their daily lives?	Not sure	It is very unlikely that Yuliners would talk to each other in English. Although, speaking English would be teased but not castigated. Some informants believe speaking English in daily lives is a pretentious act.
19. Has it ever happened to you that a person who you know can speak Chinese switches to English when you talk to them?	No	
20. Do you think the popularization of English will reduce Chinese people's native language competence?	No	Chinese is used everyday and everywhere, whereas English is just a subject learnt in schools.
21. Do you think English will threaten local culture?	No	This has never existed as a possibility for Yuliner. Especially since people have only limited exposure to English in educational settings. They would use Chinese everywhere in daily life.

In the first place, as shown in figure 5.4, Yuliners, in general, have a very flexible *laissez-faire* outlook towards the value of English language, English language education and Chinese language and culture. They do not want to impose their will on others in learning Mandarin and they think it is unnecessary and impossible to make English their second language.

Secondly, concurred with Edwards' (1995) example mentioned earlier, parents hold different beliefs and attitudes towards English language education. On one hand, they think English is quite important for their children in gaining jobs and further study opportunities. On the other hand, they do not see any cultural or emotional value in English. Not many would think English as a carrier of culture, neither of English speaking countries nor a way to spread Chinese culture to the world. They are not aware of the cultural impact of English on Chinese culture, unlike what has been warned by scholars mentioned in section 2.3. This is probably due to their very limited exposure to English language.

Thirdly, although the national government has prescribed great importance (*requisite* for the new generation) to English (see Section 4.3 and 4.4 for details), Yuliners' attitudes towards English is somewhat pragmatic. The English language is nearly entirely remained as a subject in schools. Yuliners do not see the possibility and have no interest in making English as their second language. Although regarded as a kind of capita (like any skills in any language), they do not expect too much in terms of their children's English competency. It was a subject for them to learn during their school days, and it is and will remain to be no more than a subject to learn for their children.

However, given the fact that most parents would see education as the channel (if not the only channel) for social mobility, the impact of English cannot be underestimated. Some parents have mentioned the financial burden that ELEP has brought them. They need to send their children to private institutions for they cannot provide any help for the children (see further discussion in 7.3.1). This suggests that the national government's decision remains the most important factor in ELEP. General public would follow the ELEP created by the national government. However, the Yuliners' practical attitudes towards English suggest that layers of policy agents often have different even contradictory agendas, decisions, beliefs, interests and attitudes. This further suggests that ELEP should be studied within specific linguistic culture or context. It is dangerous to homogenize ELEP as a neat macro-level decision initiated by the government.

Finally, I have to point out that my informants are mainly from middle and upper class among Yuliners. Most of them have an education background above junior secondary school education[27]. In this regard, they cannot represent all the Yuliners, certainly not those at the very bottom of the social ladder who are still struggling for livelihood. However, my selection of informants is based on two reasons. Firstly, in order to obtain the language attitudes, I need

[27] According to the 2010 census, among 3.38 million Yulin residents, there are around 1.99 million Yuliners have an education background above the junior secondary school (Yulin Government website, 2013).

to have good rapport with the informants so as to know their language attitudes, which are often covert and difficult to find out directly. Secondly, these informants have, more or less, some experience in encountering English language. Either they have learnt English through their own education experience, or they have children or relatives who have learnt English at some point in their lives. In this regard, they are, more or less, relevant to the ELEP, as students, parents or teachers. Since they are policy agents in ELEP process, their language attitudes form a big part of the linguistic culture of the regional context.

That is said, it is by no means suggesting that those at the very bottom of the social ladder are not important. Rather, the disparity in the rich and the poor is one of the key issues in China. On one hand, there are wealthy parents who can afford extracurricular education for their children; on the other hand, some schools suffer high dropout rates, since students need to shoulder financial burden for their families by working pre-maturely. The disparity in the lives of the rich and the poor is sustained by schooling. For instance, students who have more social and economic access tend to have better support thus better chance in education success. As a result, the wealthy are more likely to maintain their privileges, whereas the poor have less chance in social mobility (see Section 7.3.7 for further discussion).

5.5.2 Learning English for Yuliners

As I have mentioned above, English language to local Yuliners mean nothing more than a subject to learn in schools and in entrance exams. That is said, English education is taken seriously. To refer to Edwards (1995), parents have different attitudes and beliefs about the English language. They do not have any sentimental affiliation with the language, but they believe English is important to learn for some personal interests, such as entrance exams, finding good jobs and living abroad.

Because of the different attitudes and beliefs, parents have mixed feelings about the English language. They hate it for they have to learn it although they see no use of English in their daily life. They love it, because they presume and see the value of English in entrance exams and students' further development.

I illustrate the local understanding of ELEP with some personal experience. When I talk to parents I know, I was constantly asked 'how many English vocabulary do you know?', 'how do you memorize English vocabulary', or 'when you are a student, how much do you score in the tests'. These questions show that parents' see English merely as a subject in school and entrance exams. The method and goal for learning English is to 'memorize vocabulary' and 'read textbooks'. My neighbor Zhang Xiao (synonym) is a fourth grade

student. It is her second year in learning English. Her mother invites me to tutor her English at home. She tells me that Xiao has difficulty in memorizing English and reading the textbooks. 'I do not know what she is reading. She comes home and read after the tapes. I don't know English. Who knows what she is reading. I think her biggest problem is that she cannot discipline herself (*guanbuzhu ziji*). She sits in front of the desk for a while and she wants to play.'

Discipline (one of the important learning habits that I have discussed in Section 5.4.3) is always believed to be a key (if not the only) in learning English language. Since English is mainly related to vocabulary memorization and textbook reading, students are required to discipline themselves in learning English. Discipline oneself (*guanzhu ziji*) is a concept that is closely related to Chinese way of learning. I remembered while I was a kid, my parents always told me to 'learn nothing outside the house, just read the books' (*lianger buwen changwaishi, yixin zhidu shenxian shu*). The literary translation of the Chinese proverb is 'ears do not hear things outside the window, just read the divine books written by the scholars'. Any leisure activities are deemed unnecessary and bad for learning. The concepts of 'divine books written by the scholars' also show an absolute acceptance of the textbooks and scholars (those who have knowledge). It goes against the common communicative teaching approach to language. Arguably, languages are alive in some sense and need to be learnt through use and human interaction. Books are only one small part of the learning process.

Yuliners' perception of English language and ELT forms as contextual elements in local adaption of ELEP. In the next chapter, I analyze teachers' practice in classrooms. Readers might see the impact of local community's perception in ELT classrooms.

5.6 Chapter Summary

In section 5.2 and 5.3, through the interviews conducted among several officers in local educational bureau and schools, I find out that local officials accept the hierarchical power relationship as natural and conventional. Although the educational resource is unevenly and unequally distributed between developed cities and developing cities, the local officials regard the inequality as natural and blame themselves for lacking behind the developed cities, which further proves that the hierarchical power relationship is deeply reinforced in local community. Meanwhile, the local bureau sees itself as an authoritative figure to local schools and teachers, who can provide guidance and supervision to them. To use a Chinese old saying, it is like 'the big fish eats the small fish and the small fish eats the shrimp'. The lower level in policy process cannot and unwilling to have their voice heard by the upper level.

I have also shown the meaning of good English language learning in the local community. My data draws from a multi-sited ethnography, including the local bureau official, schools, parents meetings and local families. It is to note that the meaning of ELEP to them is pragmatic and practical. For local education bureau, it is a duty to accomplish, allocated by the upper government branches. For the local schools, ELEP means good text results in the exams arranged by the local education bureau, good learning habits (which is also largely affected by Chinese way of learning and local language environment), and good parents-teachers relationship. To the local parents and other groups of community, English means a subject to learn in schools and to take in all sorts of exams.

In the next chapter, my analysis is based on the classroom observation. Seeing schooling as a social process, I further investigate the local community's engagement with ELEP in the next chapter, based on the classroom observation. It is a continued discussion on the tension between national ELEP policy and local ELEP practice. Moreover, I look into the power agency of the teachers in coping with the tensions.

Chapter 6 ELEP for Teachers: Classroom Practice and Teacher Agency

6.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I examine the policy process in local schools, drawing on the perspectives of local education bureaus, school officers and common Yuliners. The findings suggest that there is a lack of dialogicality between local community and national government. Local Yuliners have very limited use of English outside classrooms, which largely restricted their chances in communicative teaching. The language environment in Yulin also shapes the education objectives. English remains a subject to learn in school and to take in exams. In this chapter, I examine the policy process in classrooms. More specifically, I focus on teachers' practice in classroom teaching and their perception of the language policy.

On the very beginning of the ethnographic study, I began to notice a strong pattern in teaching activities. The classes observed tend to have a clear beginning phase, a middle phase and a brief ending, although the focus and contents of the classes might be different. Teaching is mainly teacher-dominant and textbook-oriented. Teachers talk most of the time, decide who, when and what to talk. Most of the activities are based on text-books.

In the interviews, I find out that most of teachers are aware that national ELEP requires them to teach more than linguistic knowledge. Yet, teachers have confusion and scepticism of communicative language teaching (CLT) model. Most of the teachers interpret it as 'exchange of information' (T3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24), which can be exchange of information between teacher and students or among students. Teachers' understandings vary in terms of the form of 'exchange' and the kind of 'information' being exchanged (see Section 6.4).

The strong pattern in teaching activities and teacher-centred and text-oriented teaching remind me immediately about writings on Presentation-Practice-Production (PPP) model I have read before. I start to realize that teaching in local schools follows a PPP rather than CLT model (see Section 2.3.1 for detailed discussion on CLT).

The Present-Practice-Production model (PPP) is also frequently used in ELT. Cook (2008) even identifies this model as 'the mainstream EFL style' that has been used during the last three decades or even longer. PPP, as its name suggests, follows a relatively strict sequential order. It is 'an approach to teaching language items which follows a sequence of presentation of the item, practice of the item and then production (i.e. use) of the item. It features in aural exposure and teacher modeling in presentation (P1), drills and controlled

practice (P2) and transference of the previously learned structures and vocabularies to different situations in production (P3) (Criado, p. 98).

PPP, albeit its weighty use in past and current FLT, has drawn criticism, especially from opponents for CLT (e.g. D. Willis & J. Willis, 2007; Scrivener, 1994; 1996). In the first place, it is criticized for its strict sequential organization of education activities. According to D. Willis (1996), PPP takes for granted that learners would naturally and readily produce target language after items have been presented and explained in P1. Scrivener (1996) refers the behavioristic psychological theory behind PPP as 'straight-line learning assumption', which assumes that a routine will guarantee the required results. This sequential organization, according to Scrivener (1996), does not necessarily match real knowledge acquisition process, since human beings can acquire language in a flexible way. Students may master language without previous practice or explicit explanations, or the mastery of skills in general goes through without the declarative (Johnson, 1994).

The second criticism against PPP is that the rigid procedural organization in education activities always relies on the excessive focus on accuracy of forms at the expense of a focus on meaning. PPP, which relies heavily on excessive drills (to acquire accuracy of forms), lacks resemblance to real life communication and association of form and meaning. Seedhouse (1997), for instance, argues that the extreme form-focused classroom activity is unnatural because such transformation sequences do not occur outside the classroom.

Another criticism for PPP is its sequential organization that might lead to linear, static and teaching-equals-learning perspectives. The sequential organization tends to treat language as separate linguistic items that can be acquired through carefully planned sequences. It neglects that language competence is developed in a holistic or ecological way (Woodward, 1993).

Despite the criticism of PPP over the past two decades, its weighty pretence in the past and current ELT classes cannot be denied. The most recent defence of PPP includes Hedge (2000), Sanchez (2001), Muranoi (2007) and Criado (2013). In particular, Hedge (2000, p. 167) points out that frequent occurrence of a particular form for students to notice might develop students' implicit grammatical knowledge. Sanchez (2001), from a pedagogical point of view, argues that the recurrent organizational procedures in teaching materials will create a sense of security in students' minds. When students are aware of what is going on next, they will be prepared to react and generate a positive and secure feeling towards language learning. Muranoi (2007) mentions that the presentation stage allows students to notice specific linguistic features, which will help students develop their interlanguage, i.e. PPP will push students to pay more attention to those features that they do not master. Criado (2013), after a

systematic analysis of positive and negative criticism of PPP, argues that PPP is neither a panacea nor a devil in FLT. It should be used cautiously with usage of meaning-based instruction.

Both CLT and PPP are well-established pedagogical approaches. Both should be used with a balanced degree of variety in classroom organization and education activities. They are not mutually exclusive either. In other words, they can be integrated together as well. Still, there are some distinctive features that differentiate CLT and PPP.

In the first place, CLT emphasizes on the communication efficiency of the language (see Section 2.3.1 for details). The meaning of the language is put in a more important position than the form of the language. CLT activities involve large amount of spontaneous use of the language in communication. PPP model, on the other hand, tends to focus on the presentation, practice and production of the form of the language, such as vocabulary and grammar. Teaching activities in PPP model tend to draw heavily on drills and choral repetition.

Secondly, CLT tends to follow a deductive way in teaching the form of language. Let us take the teaching of grammar for instance. CLT would start with introduction of several examples and guides students to reach a logically certain conclusion of a certain way of using the grammar. In PPP model, teachers would provide the grammar points first. Students are then required to understand the grammar better in the practice and production of related examples. In other words, PPP uses inductive way of reasoning in teaching.

In Chinese ELEP, CLT is advocated by the approach that the national government policy documents and local education bureau, as analysed in section 2.3.1&4.5. Yet, during the classroom observation, I have an increasing feeling that local teaching follows a PPP model, rather than drawing on the principles of CLT. In what follows, I use my classroom corpus to argue that ELT in local classrooms follows a PPP model. My evidences include classroom observation, teacher interviews, teachers' stimulated recalls and my field-notes.

Macro policy makers would set the boundaries for teaching and learning in ELEP process. Yet, it is the teachers' interpretation and appropriation that really define the quality of teaching. As pointed out by Alright and Bailey (1991, in Wang, 2010, p. 84): 'It is whatever actually happens in the classroom that really matters, because this is when teaching can make a difference to our learners.' Like chapter 5, chapter 6 also focuses on the tension between macro policy and micro practice. Particularly, it focuses on ELT in classrooms, which also leads to my discussion on teacher agency (Section 6.4).

6.2 The Strong Pattern in Teaching Activities

In this section, I argue that the teaching in Yulin classroom follows a very strict and rigid organization of present-practice-production. Teachers' stimulated recalls also provide evidences that support my contention. Before I analyse classes, I give a brief analysis of the teaching hours, textbooks and unit schedules in the three schools.

School A has four 40-minute English classes a week; whereas School B and C have three 40-minute English classes a week. The differences lie in the socioeconomic background of the three schools. School A provides better educational resources than school B and C. The teaching hours have a big effect on teaching. As one of the teachers in school B points out, the limited teaching time forces them to rush through the syllabus. The communicative part of the textbooks, as is introduced shortly in the next section, is always omitted due to the busy lesson schedules.

The three schools use the same series of textbooks compiled by People's Education Press (PEP, refer Section 1.3). This set of textbooks is also used in over 25 out of 31 provinces and autonomous regions in China, making it the most popular textbooks nationwide. Most literature on English teaching in Chinese primary school would refer to this set of textbooks (e.g. Perez-Milans, 2011). It also means that the findings of this research can be compared to ELT in other sub-contexts in China, which partly makes it applicable and be generalized to a larger context than Yulin.

Apart from the teaching hours and textbooks used, the lesson schedules are quite similar among three schools. There is a strong pattern in class activities and in teaching unit. I find this on the very start of my ethnography study, when I write in my fieldnotes (Note book 2, p. 49, 15-06-13):

> It appears to me that teaching follows a very similar format for the several classes I observed today. There are extensive use of choral reading, general solicit questions and grammar explanation. There seems to be a similar sequence in the teaching activities.

My contention is confirmed and my understanding of this pattern becomes clear with my time in classes. Overall, 51 class are observed, 34 in field notes and 17 in audio-visual records. The difference lies in the willingness of my participants (Section 3.5.3 for more discussion). In some cases, teachers would refuse me to record their lessons, either out of fear for inspection or their concern over their language competence. In some cases, teachers would focus on grammar, vocabulary or homework in classes. They would refuse to let me record

the lessons, for they believe there is nothing to see in these classes. Yet, the ritual, routine and the teaching schedule really fascinate me. Still, as long as my participants are not willing enough, I believe it is my duty as a researcher to not force them.

Class observations in this research are non-participatory observations, in which I sit quietly at the back of the classroom without asking questions or disturbing the class. In cases of classroom recording, two cameras are set up (one in the front of the class, the other at the back of the class) and run automatically. Filed notes and video recordings are both used. For some valuable details appeared in classes but might not be recorded by the cameras, I would write them down in my field-notes, such as students' resilience, students conceivably play toys under the desks, or students' group discussion.

From the classes observed, I am able to synthesize a pattern in teaching arrangement of a unit as follows:

Figure 6.1 Unit Lesson

Unit Lesson			
Sessions	1,2	3, 4, 5	6,7
activities	a. Preview vocabulary and sentence structures b. Teaching of Part A	Teaching of Part B	a. Review Part A and Part B b. If time allowed, some teaching of part C. c. Homework tutorial

To understand figure 6.1, I need to give a short introduction to the textbooks in use. Textbooks in each semester contain four to six thematic units and two review units. Each of the thematic unit is organized into four parts. The first is a review of the previous unit, listing the key vocabulary, phrases and grammar points. The second to fourth parts are the new contents to teach in the unit, which intend to draw on the principles of TBLT and CLT. The pre-task part (Part A) consists of presentation of vocabulary, phrases, sentence structure, context of story and story presentation. The task part (Part B, also called 'task time') contains a task or activity. It is designed as several sections, including 'let's learn', 'let's chant', 'let's find out', 'let's try', 'let's play' and/or 'let's read'. The post-task (Part C) includes songs, stories or rhymes (see Appendix C for a sample unit in Grade 5).

Let us take the textbook for sixth grade (Term 2) for example. There are four sematic units and two review units in it. Four out of six tasks in Part B are surveys. The organization of the tasks appears to be activities. Yet, it still concentrates on the review of the vocabulary, phrases, and dialogues covered in the pre-task parts. In other words, the content in the task parts is still very much form-focused, rather than meaning-oriented. There is not much

negotiation of meaning going on. Nor is it based on real communication, since there is not enough room for speech spontaneous. The strong focus on form of language does not match the principle of CLT (see Section 2.3.1). Besides the PEP textbooks, there are very few TBLT teaching materials or resources available to teachers, who can barely cover all the contents in the textbooks given the limited teaching time per week. Although the textbooks claim to be task-based, following the teaching methods promoted by the MoE, there is an overwhelming focus on the pre-task parts that concentrate on language items and grammatical knowledge.

As shown in figure 6.1, each unit would be given 6 or 7 classes to cover, lasting around two weeks. The unit is divided into three parts, which partly coincide with the arrangement of the textbooks I have introduced above. Note though, teachers would arrange their class activities according to their circumstances, including teaching hour, students' level or school exams. As I have observed, teachers would have little time left for part C and they add time for the preview and review of the vocabulary and sentence structures. This, according to teachers in interviews, is to provide linguistic background knowledge for students. Around 2-5 classes are given to teach Part A and B, which include the most of the new materials in a unit. One class would be used for review of the lesson. It mainly involves teachers going through the grammar points and students' choral reading of the textbooks. Finally, half to one class would be used for homework, which consists doing excises or spelling of English vocabularies. For the teaching of the new material (Part A and Part B), the class would follow a sequence as below:

Figure 6.2 Teaching arrangement

Class Sequence	Interaction Pattern	Time (min)
Pre-class rituals	T-S	1'
English atmosphere: Students sing an English song	Ss	2-3'
Warm up: Quick question and Fast elicitation	T-Ss	10'
The teaching of new material: Introducing audio-visual texts and teacher elicits the students' fill-in-the-blank practice.	T	15'
Stressing key grammar and pronunciation. Teacher would explain the grammar points and students copy down teacher's blackboard writing. Teacher then provides several examples on the use of the grammar and vocabulary.	T	25'
Students practice dialogues through choral repetition, either following teacher or audio-visual texts. Teacher would guide students to drill. Interaction would be divided into Teacher-Students, Boys-Girls, Group A-Group B, or individual checking.	T-Ss	40'
Teacher assigning homework	T	1'

It is to note that the strong pattern in teaching activities also concurs with the findings of Perez-Milans (2012) and Wang (2010). Drawing on large corpora of primary English teaching data, they both find a strong pattern in teachers' daily classrooms. Wang (2010) reports that there is a strong pattern for the opening, middle and ending of the class. In particular, teachers salute students in the opening. In the middle part, teachers would follow the structure of 'input and practice', 'more input and practice', 'further input and practice' and 'presentation'. The ending would be homework assigning. Perez-Milans (2013), drawing on a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, finds that the class would follow the sequence of 'introducing audio-visual texts', 'stressing grammar and pronunciation' and 'practicing dialogue'. Furthermore, he points out the use of choral reading in creating a mood of collective intensity and a state of follow in the classroom.

In what follows, I analyse the strong pattern of teaching activities that I observed. I would say there are a lot of similarities exist in my data and findings of Wang (2010) and Perez-Milans (2012). This suggests that the pattern of classroom activities might prevails in China. In other words, it probably suggests a strong 'Chinese character' in primary English teaching in China. Moreover, I analyse the socialization process of this pattern. This socialization process shapes and is shaped by the Chinese way of thinking about learning (see Section 5.4.3), which has a large implication that merits further scholarly discussion. Finally, I point out that the specially prepared lessons can be quite different from the regular lessons (cf. Wang 2010), which reminds us, once more, the importance of ethnography in researching LPP in general.

6.4 Class Arrangement

In previous chapter, I have presented the strong pattern of teaching activities found in Yulin English classrooms. I break down and analyse the class arrangement in this section. Extracts list in this section are taken from three 5th Grade classes in school A, B and C. I transcribe and analyse the three classes drawing on the principles of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Walsh, 2006) (see Appendix F for a full transcription of a class).

CA embodies on a premise that participants constantly shape social contexts through their use of language. The sequential organization of interaction, including turn openings and closures, is 'context-shaped and context renewing' (Walsh, 2011, p. 84). In other words, CA focuses on the semantic associations and pragmatic functions of interactional behaviors (Walsh, 2011). It also analyzes the way contexts are co-created by participants according to their goals and roles in interaction. CA takes an 'emic' (rather than 'etic') approach to

analysis, which means that it tries to take the point of view of the participants in the interaction, rather than impose the analyst's view. The method consists recording and transcribing naturally occurring conversations and looking for recurring patterns and structures. It looks into a range of basic conversation structures and patterns, such as turn-taking, repair, adjacency pairs, and opening and closing sequences.

Drawing on some principles of CA to delve into wider discursive context and conversational episodes, this section analyzes some episodes in the classroom interaction. It intends to see the way ELEP is (de)constructed in the teaching process. It is to note that this research does not look at suprasegmental features in classroom discourse, such as pitch, tone or stress. Neither would I focus on detailed analysis of adjacency pairs, interruptions or overlaps. Rather, my analysis focuses on language content in classroom discourse, which tells the communication and participation pattern in classroom interaction.

I break down and analyse the class arrangement in this section, based on three transcribed 5th Grade classes in school A, B and C. Here are my reasons to pick these classes: in the first place, these three classes cover the same unit, which provides me an opportunity to compare the classes. As mentioned in section 3.2, I intend to find out whether the socioeconomic differences in schools would bring different learning experiences to students. Secondly, my key teacher participants (T3, T14 and T 23, see Section 3.6) teach these classes. Since I am familiar with the teachers, I am able to collect richer data concerning the contexts of the classes, such as teachers' perspectives, stimulated recalls, socioeconomic background of the teacher and the students. With richer data, arguably, the analysis would be more accurate and holistic. I observe their classrooms over an extended period and develop a rounded impression of English teaching. Focusing on the classes of key teachers enabled me to probe deeply into the teachers' viewpoints and actions, thereby helping me to understand the interpretation and appropriation of the language policy from their perspectives. It is to note that although I focus on the three classes, the PPP pattern is clearly manifested in most of the 51 classes that I observed.

Teachers tend to use English as the language of instruction in the recorded classes, although sometimes they would use Chinese to explain grammar, attract students' attention or manage class. In the transcripts, teachers' and students' language mistakes are kept. In cases where teachers or students use Chinese, the translation is provided (in the symbol of **).

6.4.1 Pre-teaching Ritual

When the bell rings, students quickly pour into the classroom, scatter around and sit down at their desks. Usually, the teacher platform is at the front of the class and students line up at their desks in order. With more than 70 students in classrooms, the first row is literarily right beneath the blackboard. The passway can only allow one person to pass, which restricts teachers' movements as well. As a result, the teacher would remain most of the time on the platform.

The teacher enters, usually carrying an audio-player, textbooks and some teaching materials (e.g. pictures, handouts). The class quiets down gradually. The class monitor begins with 'stand up' and all students stand up and salute the teacher.

Extract 6.1 Pre-class ritual, extract from class recording of a 5rdGrade class in School B.

1 S1: Stand up!
2 Ss: (students stand up and in unison) Good morning, teacher!
3 T14: Good morning, students. Sit down, please. How are you?
4 Ss: (in unison) Fine, thank you. And you?
5 T14: I am fine, too. Ok, class begins.

During my entire ethnographic study that last several months, I find that all the classes begin with nearly the same opening salute between the teacher and students. Teachers seldom check individuals about their day. When I share my observation with T3, she chuckles and comments that the salute is mainly to calm students down and create a sense that mark the opening of the class. It can be indicated that the opening is 'ritualized', in that it is maintained as form, rather than a true question that checking each other's day. What is also ritualized practice is the song that follows (see the following section).

6.4.2 English Songs

Following the 'ritualized' salute, the teacher would normally ask students to sing an English song (see Appendix F for the class transcription). During my interview with the teachers, they seem to believe that songs are good way for students to learn English. According to the teacher guidance books (NCDC, 2011), English songs are also an important aspect in English classes. One might argue that it is both vehicle and content of English teaching. It is vehicle for English learning, for it allows student to learn in a light-hearted

atmosphere. It is content, for it is required in the teaching guidebooks and curriculum as one part of English competence and cultural awareness.

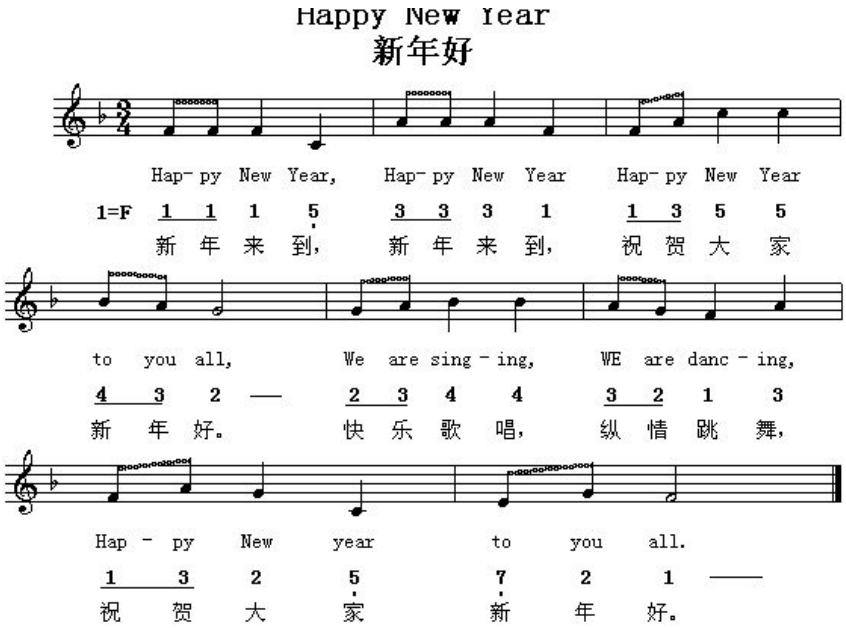
What I find in the classroom is quite different. Students would drag their voice in singing these songs and a lot of students are not even sure what they are singing. I hear several students sitting next to me try to sing along, but their English is inaudible and hardly understandable. More significantly, of the five or six songs in the textbook, the teacher would normally teach 1-2 songs and use it in each class throughout the semester. The English songs are not relevant to the rest of the classes. They separately and abruptly exist at the beginning of each class. As I was later told by T3, T6 and T18, teaching English songs take a lot of time and the songs are mainly used to create an atmosphere in English classes. Songs are not used to teach English *per se*, but to 'act out' an atmosphere of English and a sense of students' engagement with English, the language or the culture. The 'song performance' that starts every English class is actually a ritual. This ritual is another 'showcase' to manifest, whether it is true or not, the spirit and interest of in learning English language and culture.

In defence of the teacher, I would say that the English songs in the textbooks are not suitable for teaching English either. These songs are a) not connected with authentic life of students; b) not connected with western culture, as they are meant to be. Students do not learn anything new from the repetition of the song, except perhaps limited learning in pronunciation.

Below is my analysis of an English song titled 'What are you doing' in the fourth unit of fifth grade textbook, which is designed to teach present participle.

Figure 6.3 'What are you doing?' Text extract from student English textbook Grade 5 (PEP, 2010, p. 24)

Figure 6.4 Happy New Year Song, text extract from student Music Textbook Grade 2 (PEP, 2005, p. 45)



The tune of the song adopts the widely-known 'Happy New Year' (Figure 6.4). The Chinese translation of the song 'Happy New Year' is taught in second grade, so the tune is easy to catch for students. The modified English song 'What are you doing' (Figure 6.3) keeps the tune of the song while changes the lyrics into: 'What are you doing, what are you doing, what are you doing at home. I am speaking to you, I am speaking to you. I am speaking to you on the phone.'

Several things strike me as an observer. In the first place, the content in the lyrics does not make much sense in real context. In the song, the one who calls ask the other person what he/she is doing and the person responds that he/she is speaking on the phone. Such a conversation would not be authentic in daily life. The song only attempts to teach students the present continuous tense. In this sense, the tune is to help students memorize the grammar. English, in this case, is conceived as a necessary set of technical skills for knowledge acquisition, stripped of any association with real language use. Secondly, this song also shows the rhythm of English as a syllable-timed language that is taken as one of the essentials in learning English. Although the song's scenario is quite strange, the words (home/phone' and 'doing/speaking') rhyme. To the editors of the textbook and the teachers, this rhythm guarantees that the students can learn the grammar and words well. The use of rhythm in English classes in China, as I analyse later, partly generates out of the learning habit in acquiring Chinese characteristics.

6.4.3 Fast Elicitation

Following the English song, teachers would normally open up with a question that is related to the rest of the teaching content (see Appendix F for fuller details). Students will be elicited. The elicitation would be conducted in a very brief manner. I refer this type of classroom interaction as fast elicitation.

Elicitation is an important feature in classroom interaction, yet one needs to be careful in assuming it is a reflection of understanding or learning (Walsh, 2006). Elicitation is always used to facilitate learning, invite learner participation and check understanding. They can be roughly categorized as display and referential questions. In display questions, teachers already know the answers (e.g. what is the plural form of 'star'?); while in referential questions, teachers do not know the answers in advance (e.g. do you have any religious belief?) Another categorization of questions is between open and closed questions. Open questions tend to invite more answers from students (e.g. Why don't you believe in the existence of God?); whereas closed questions, as its name suggests, do not likely invite elaborated answers (e.g. how old are you?). The turn-taking and length and type of learner contribution can be very strongly influenced by the nature of the questions being asked (Walsh 2006, p. 9). For instance, the open question (as my example suggests) might invite more learner participation. However, teachers' choice of questioning strategies depends on the teaching goal, which is one important element in specific teaching context (Walsh, 2006).

One of the most common patterns of elicitation I found in classroom observation is what I shall call 'fast elicitation'. The teacher would use very short time to nominate several students to answer a general solicit question, which aims to warm up the class atmosphere. Usually, these questions are closed questions that can be simply answered with Yes/No or very short replies. Such a way of elicitation normally gives very limited feedback to the students.

The following extract is taken from T3's class (see Section 3.6). In this extract, there are 27 turns in this classroom interaction, yet it only takes 58 seconds. 11 students are nominated during 58 seconds, which means that less than 5 seconds are allocated to each student.

Extract 6.2 'I will ask you a question', extract taken from class recording of a 5rd grade class in School A, see full transcription in Appendix F)

11	T3:	Ok, boys and girls, first, I will ask you a question. Do you like animals?
12	Ss:	(in unison) Y-e-s.

13	T3:	So, which animal do you like best? Who wants to try? (Raises her hand suggesting encouragement).
14	Ss:	(some raise their hands)
15	T3:	Ok, let me see (looking around, nominating one student) Zhang ** (calling S1's name).
16	S1:	I like panda.
17	T3:	Yeah. (Nominating S2) What about you?
18	S2:	Giraffe.
19	T3:	Good. (nominating S3) What about you?
20	S3:	I like spider.
21	T3:	Good. (nominating S4) What about you?
22	S4:	I like birds.
23	T3:	Good. (nominating S5) And you?
24	S5:	I like people.
25	T3:	(Frown) ok. (nominating S6) What about you?
26	S6:	I like animals.
27	T3:	G-o-o-d. (nominating S7) What about you?
28	S7:	I like fish.
29	T3:	Fish. (nominating S7) What about you?
30	S8:	I like tiger.
31	T3:	You like tiger. (nominating S9) what about you?
32	S9:	I like panda.
33	T3:	Panda. (nominating S10) What about you?
34	S10:	Panda.
35	T3:	Panda, too? (nominating S11). Ok, Wang** (calling S11's name) you?
36	S11:	I like monkeys.
37	T3:	Eum. Very good. Ok. Look at there (pointing at the TV screen, which shows the cover of the PPT). Today, we will learn Unit five Look at the monkeys (turn around and write 'unit 5. look at the monkeys' on the blackboard) (8'').

It is at the beginning of the class, right after the students and T3 salute each other. The transition to the new participation framework is guided by T3's demarcating and framing discourse markers ('ok', 'first'). In L12, students drag their voice and answered yes in unison to T3's question (Do you like animals). It seems that students are aware of the 'right' answer to respond. It is only by answering yes will the class be kept within its pre-set topic. In L13, it worth mentioning here that T3's gesture of raising her hand is the cue or signal for another classroom framework. The students immediately know that they are suggested to participate in a real round of communication. Indeed, a lot of students raise their hands immediately. In L11, similarly the teacher poses a question, yet no one tries to overtly express his/her idea. In contrast, in L13, after the teacher raises her hand to suggest participation, a lot of students raise their hands. The contrast shows that the teacher's gesture is the cue for permission to speak. It is only the teacher's right to initiate communication. Without it, the conversation cannot be opened.

From L15-36, T3 keeps nearly exactly the same conversation pattern when she nominates 11 students. Several things need to be pointed out in the conversation. In the first place, it is only in L15 and L35 does T3 calls the names of the students, the first and last students she nominated. It feels as if the calling of the students' names represents the completed round of the elicitation activity. It appears that in fast elicitation interaction, the more students involved, the more efficient the interaction is thought to be. T3's focus is not nomination of individual students. To her, it would be a waste of time if each student is called by his/her name. The important thing in elicitation is not developing English competency of nominated students but nominating as many students as possible. My hypothesis is proved correct in T3's stimulated recalls. T3 tells me that she is very glad that she manages to 'ask many students to answer the question'.

Secondly, after students give their answers, T3 provides very brief feedback, such as 'good' 'ok' or repetition of students' answer. Little elaboration is made on students' answers. T3 does not ask any students further why students like that specific animal. In fact, even mistakes are not corrected in the fast elicitation process. In L24, one of the students says she likes people. It is a wrong answer to the question 'what animal do you like'. T3 frowns and hesitates. Apparently, she is not satisfied with this answer. However, she does not stop or slow down to correct the mistake and moves on to the next student, who says that he likes animals (L26). It is again not a good answer to the question 'what animal do you like'. However, T3 probably is still thinking about the answer given by the previous student, as she stresses the comment 'good' in L27. It is very likely that T3's comment is to correct the previous mistake (L24) and to affirm that the right answer is to mention a kind of animal. On one hand, the fact that T3 does not stop even for mistakes shows the purpose of the interaction is to get as many students participate as possible. The focus is not what the students say, but to let as many as students 'say something, if anything'. On the other hand, no students correct or interrupt during this fast process shows that the students are all familiar and get used to fast elicitation, since they are all aware of the rules and convention in classroom.

In L37, after the nomination of 11 students, T3 quickly turns to the next classroom framework. She writes down the title of the unit on the blackboard in 8 seconds, although it is already there on the PPT screen. Teachers might spend very short span of time in classroom interaction, yet they take longer time in 'blackboard writing'. Chinese schools take blackboard wiring (*banshu*) seriously and it is also one of the competencies teachers are evaluated. It is one of the school policies that I have mentioned in section 5.4.4. Esthetical blackboard writing is a ritualized practice that might take a lot of teaching time. However, teachers have to abide to it for it is also a 'regulation' or localized ELEP policy.

Coming back to the fast elicitation, it concurs with Walsh (2006, p. 24) on the lack of negotiation of meaning in the classroom interaction. As Walsh (2006, p. 24) puts it: 'class-based studies of negotiation of meaning have revealed that it is not as widespread as was originally assumed, with many learners negotiating at word level, by repeating utterances, by remaining silent, or by avoiding negotiation by "pretending" to have understood'. As what I have analysed above, there is a lack of negotiation of meaning between T3 and her teachers. Although the interaction seems to elicit answers from the students, there is little negotiation of meaning going on, especially since the teacher accepts the 'first response' given by the learner (Walsh, 2006, p. 25).

The English classes I observed in the three schools all use 'fast elicitation'. It is one of the most commonly used interaction patterns in English classes. With a big class over 70 students, the teachers have very limited time to allocate to individual students. However, they still want to maintain the active atmosphere and motivation in their classes. Caught in the dilemma of limited time, large classes and the requirement of communicative teaching, the teachers would turn to the fast elicitation as their way of teaching. At least on surface, it feels like a lot of students are involved in the classroom activity and interaction.

Secondly, fast elicitation does not bring real language teaching opportunities for students though. Teachers want to involve as many students as possible, yet it does not guarantee learning quality. The important thing is not learning English, but rather to get more students to say something in English. Students sometimes do not get corrected for their mistakes and they seldom get the chance to elaborate their answers. In other words, little space was available for improvisation or for real communicative use of English in this process.

Thirdly, teachers use gestures (L13) and nomination to decide and coordinate the classroom activities. Students get the permission to participate in the interaction only when the teacher gives them signals or cues. Although the activity is to elicit students to answer and provide information, it is still a predefined arrangement coordinated by the teacher. In other words, even a 'communicative teaching' that T3 tries to present is largely teacher-focused.

Fourthly, the high speed and coordination in fast elicitation shows that students and teachers are very familiar with the rules and conventions in such a communication pattern. Everything happens smoothly without any interruption of the class flow, even when there are mistakes in the conversation.

6.4.4 The Presentation of New Material

The teaching of the new materials is always introduced by audio-visual texts and followed by teacher initiation of questions related to the texts and students responses to the question. The teacher would provide feedback to the student's response. The underlying structure of teacher-student interaction follows the sequences of discourses moving from teacher initiation (I), learner response (R) and teacher feedback (F). The strong IRF pattern is used to teach new language items. In the initiative, the teacher would identify the language item by stressing the particular words. In the response, some students would follow the lead and produce the language items by self-selecting to answer the question. In the feedback, the teacher would reaffirm explicitly the required words.

Extract 6.3 is from the class of T14 in school B, which teaches the present participle. T14 opens with a picture of elephant presented on the Powerpoint screen and a closed question 'what's this?' (L49-50). Some students respond 'elephant'. In L52, the teacher seems unsatisfied with the number of students who answer the question and initiates another question with a rising tone, suggesting more students to give the correct answer. A larger group of students' response ('elephant' in L53) satisfied the teacher who opens a new participation framework with a discourse marker (now). In what follows (L54-55), T14 draws attention of the students and gives out an instruction in Chinese (*I will only play once*) and plays the audio-player. In L56, T14 initiates another question, and students provide response in L57. T14 is unsatisfied with the answer and tries to repair the answer by asking it again and specifically requesting 'full sentence' in L58 (a feedback follows by another initiation). L60-62, T14 plays the text again, in order to allow students to collectively produce the complete texts (L62).

Overall, the teacher decides the content of the class (i.e. present participle), classroom procedures (i.e. introduction of audio-visual texts in L49; playing the texts L54, L60; reading the text L63), and turn taking (L50, L52, L56, L58, L63).

After presenting 'walking' 'running' 'jumping' and 'flying' in similar extracts, T14 writes the grammatical rule of the present participle on the backboard (Figure 6.5). T14 then starts to explain the grammatical form of the present participle, although the deductive education might not work well among primary pupils (refer the criticism of PPP in section 6.2.2). This part features in teachers' monologue explanation of the grammatical rule in Chinese, while students are required to write down the note (as seen in Figure 6.5) in the margin of the textbooks.

Extract 6.3 ‘Let’s look at some pictures’, extract taken from class recording of a 5th grade class in School B.

49	T14:	Ok. Now. Let’s look at some pictures. (PPT presentation with a tiger walking).
50		What’s this?
51	Some	Elephant.
52	T14:	It’s An elephant. OK, now look at the ↑
53	Some	Elephant.
54	T14:	Now, listen.*I will only play once* (plays the audio-recorder)
55	Player	Look at the elephant. It is walking. The elephant is walking.
56	T14:	The elephant is ↑ ?.
57	Some	Walking.
58	T14:	The elephant is ↑ ? Full sentence.
59	Some	The elephant is walking.
60	T14:	Good. The elephant is walkING. *listen again* (plays audio-recorder)
61	Player:	Look at the elephant. It is walking. The elephant is walking.
62	Some	= Look at the elephant. It is walking. The elephant is walking.
63	T14:	Now. Together. Look at the elephant. It is walking. The elephant is walking.
64	SS	Look at the elephant. It is walking. The elephant is walking.

Figure 6.5 T14’s writing on the blackboard

现在进行时：V + ing *present participle: V + ing*
Walk- Walking
Run- Running
Jump- Jumping
Fly-Flying

In the majority of the classes, the new class materials are presented with the sequence of: the introduction of audiolingual texts, teacher stressing required vocabulary or structure and then teachers’ explicit explanation of the grammar or vocabulary. It concurs with presentation in a typical Presentation-Practice-Production (PPP) model. The initial presentation phase (P1) features in teachers’ highly control of the teaching and learning process. The materials in this phase contain the targeted linguistic items and structures in the unit. The presentation can take a deductive or an inductive mode. In deductive mode, teachers explicitly explain the construction of the structures of meaning of the word. In inductive mode, teachers guide students to induce the underlying structures and meaning of the words.

In extract 6.3, T14 tries to make students aware of the usage of ‘walking’ through fill-in-blanks exercise (L56, L58) and stressing the pronunciation of the present participle (L60). Later, the teacher presents the present participle ‘running’, ‘jumping’, ‘flying’ in similar extract. This is an inductive presentation of the grammatical structure, in which teachers provide sample structures and vocabulary contextualised in oral or written texts. Later,

T14models the target structure and offers the explanation behind the construction of such structures. This is a deductive presentation.

Teachers seem to believe that the explicit presentation of audio-texts and linguistic structures and grammar is good for providing the 'knowledge base' for English. In a group interview, T14 reflects the importance of direct presentation.

Extract 6.4 'They need to have the knowledge base', translation of interviews with T14 in School B.

1 T14: I will let students listen to the tape and get familiar with the texts first. They need
2 to have the knowledge base so as to carry out activities later. Some students have poor
3 knowledge base. If you let them learn through activities at the beginning of the classes,
4 they would not know what to do.

Similar comments occur in teachers' stimulated recalls as well. The audio-lingual presentation of the texts and explanation of the grammar is believed to equip students with the 'knowledge base' that they need to carry out activities. Note that in extract 6.4, T14 seems to suggest a correlation of the acceptance of PPP over TBLT with students' levels. It seems to suggest that the direct presentation of the language structures and vocabulary can help low-achieving students get ready to participate in later parts of the teaching. It can provide them a sense of security in English learning process. This probably bolsters the arguments of scholars who favour PPP model (see Section 6.2.2). For instance, Sanchez (2001) argues that the recurrent organizational procedures in teaching materials will create a sense of security in students' minds. When students are aware of what is going on next, they will be prepared to react and generate a positive and secure feeling towards language learning.

6.4.5 Practice, Practice, More Practice

Following the presentation of the targeted structures or vocabulary, teachers would move on to the next stage, in which they will guide students to practice the target language. Practice (P2) is what follows presentation in the PPP model. In the classroom observation, I find that teachers would take most of their teaching time in this phase. It depends on drills to achieve accuracy of forms so that fluency can be later achieved in production phase.

Extract 6.5 still takes from the same class of T14. After focusing on grammar and pronunciation (as presented in Figure 6.5), the class enters into the practice of the grammatical rule (as shown in written form in Figure 6.5) in drills led by T14 (spoken-form). Drills are aimed at achieving the linguistic targets presented in the P1 phase.

Extract 6.5 'Now. Read together', extract taken from class recording of a 5th grade class in School B.

117	T14:	Now. Read together. Walk, Walking.
118	SS	Walk, Walking.
119	T14	Walk, Walking.
120	Ss	Walk, Walking
121	T14	Good, walking, spell it, spell it.
122	Ss	(in unison) W-A-L-K-I-N-G.
123	T14	Walking.
124	Ss.	Walking.
125	T14	Walking, now, repeat the words three times.
126	Ss	(in unison) Walking. Walking, Walking
127	T14	Walking, Walking, Walking
128	Ss	Walking, Walking, Walking

Marked by T14's discourse marker (now), the classroom activity transits from T14's monologue of grammar explanation and students' note-taking to practice of the pronunciation (L118-122 & L123-126) and spelling (L121-122) of the words. T14 activated the new frame of participation in which she and her students engaged in exchange of repetition of the words that are grammatically stressed in figure 6.5. L117-120 aims to make students aware of the grammatical usage of present participle, by contrasting the original verb and its present participle form. In L121, T14 takes the practice further by introducing another educational activity, which requires students to spell the word in unison. In L125, T14 initiates an educational activity by letting students repeat the words three times in unison. In this way, T14 sanctions the legitimacy attributed both to the grammatical form and to the required educational activity, which focuses on grammatical form (L117), spelling (L122) and pronunciation (L125).

It strikes me as an observer that the practicing of vocabulary follows a peculiar musicality. In Perez-Milans (2012, p. 139), he also mentions that the enunciation of words that students repeat in unison also struck him since they followed a very peculiar musicality. I would further point out that the teaching of Chinese characteristics influences the peculiar musicality in ELT in China. In other words, the way vocabulary is learnt among Chinese students is very similar to the grasp of Chinese characteristics.

To start with, unlike English that is syllable-timed language, Chinese is a tonal language with a given sound. The variance in the pitch (tone) creates a different representation of meaning to the words. There are four pitches/tones in Chinese language, level, rising, falling-rising and falling. The pitch (high or low) indicates differences in

meaning between words. Let me take the word '*bao'* for example. 包 (*bao*1-level) means 'wrap things up'.薄 (*bao*2-rising) means 'thin'. 饱 (*bao*3-falling-rising) means 'full and not hungry'. 报 (*bao*4-falling) means 'newspaper'. In learning Chinese language, students would use tones to distinguish otherwise homophonous words. When young pupils learn Pinying system, the official phonetic system for transcribing the Mandarin pronunciations of Chinese characters into the Latin alphabet, they would be taught to read pinyin with tones. Even in learning the written forms of the characters, students are taught to distinguish the homophonous words with different meaning.

Such a character of Chinese language teaching deeply influence the way English, especially the vocabulary, is taught, seen in extract 6.5. Teachers and students would rely on the musicality, which is similar to Chinese tonal sounds in the pitch, to remember the vocabulary. That is why vocabulary is always taught in repetition of words, either twice, three times or sometimes four times (which concurs with the tonal pitches of Chinese characters). However, other than an impression of learning (but not learning), the musical repetition might achieve very limited effect. Many students negotiate only at word level, by repeating utterances that they do not know or pretend to have understood (Walsh, 2011, p. 25).

Teachers are aware of the negative side of drills can do to students' motivation and interest. Yet, they still think drills are necessary for language learning. As T14 in the stimulated recall reports:

Extract 6.6 'I have to use drills', translation of field notes of T14 in the stimulated recall interview.

1 I have to use drills to let students get familiar with the grammar and vocabulary. Only
2 if students memorize the grammar and vocabulary correctly, can they make it right in
3 writing and speaking. The drill might be boring. We were students once, and we know
4 it. But only through abundant practice can students learn.

In extract 6.6, T14 seems to infer logic of 'practice makes perfect', when she comments that 'only through abundant practice can students learn' (L4). The notion is common and valid in many skills. It is also appealing to teachers and students, for the Chinese way of learning emphasizes hard working and diligence (see Section 5.4.3). Students would take a lot of time in memorizing the written forms of the letters. They would write the vocabulary again and again to memorize it. It seems that some teachers and students learn English the same way as they learn Chinese, especially for the tones and written forms of the English. However, they seem to forget that when Chinese students learn Chinese, they have the real life language environment to support their mother-tongue learning. As for English, it

is rarely used in daily life. As a result, students and teachers all resolve to diligence to solve their problems (readers might recall my discussion on the use of diligence in Chinese learners, see Section 5.5.2).

I have indicated above that the notion of 'practice makes perfect' reflects an incomplete understanding of learning and teaching among some teachers. Another thing with T14's comment is that the way English is taught, through excessive drills and practice, has been a predominant phenomenon in EFL classes in China. Q33 in my questionnaire shows that 46.5% (N=98) of the teachers believe that 'drills plus practice' is the most frequent activity in teaching English knowledge. Besides, as T14 mentions, the way teachers learn in their student years can largely influence the way teachers teach in their careers (L3). This point carries implication for teacher development program, which I return to the final chapter.

6.4.6 Production

The production phase (P3) follows immediately after extensive activities in practice phase. P3 intends to increase fluency in linguistic use. There tends to be freer use of targeted structures and vocabulary. Teachers' reflection of 'communicative language teaching' tends to be manifested in this phase. The activities take the form of 'games' and 'make up dialogue'. In what follows, I use the extract from the classes to show the educational activities in P3.

One of the most popular games is 'who can be the little teacher?'. It is used in 21 out of the 51 classes I have observed. In this game, several students are asked to animate teachers and teach their peers about the contents learnt in presentation and practice phase. As one teacher (T23) reflects, this game encourages students to form a sense of responsibility in teaching. T12 and T15 both mention that the game helps students' learn in happiness' (*yujiao yule*). In what follows, I use extract 6.7 from T23's class to analyze the features in interaction and turn-taking in such games.

In the beginning of the extract 6.7, T23 makes several interactional efforts that encourage students to participate. She starts to elicit a general question that invites the students' participation (L221). The body language (raising her hand) suggests encouragement, which also suggests that the legitimate and acceptable manner for students' participation. Since students have yet to take the floor, T23 initiates more encouragement by raising her hand higher and giving out another direct request (L224). This gesture and also T23's eye contact make some students look down, suggesting a reticence in participation. T23 then offers a contextualization in which she establishes the relationship between her and students (L226). This contextualization also establishes the relationship between the student who will

be ‘a little teacher’ and the rest of the students. T23 continues the contextualization of the game by labelling it as ‘who wants to be a little teacher’. This time, T23’s request is met by S7, who raises his hand (L228). Note that T23’s interactional efforts to engage students also include the long pauses after each initiatives (L222, L224, L226), which mark the transition points in the turn-taking for her students to take the floor.

Extract 6.7 ‘Who can be a little teacher like me?’ Extract taken from class recording of a 5th grade class in School C.

221	T23	Now, who wants to be a little teacher? (looking at the students, raising her hand,
222		suggesting encouragement) (2’’)
223	Ss	(Looking around to see if someone responds)
224	T23	Little teacher, like me? (raise her hand higher, suggesting more encouragement)
225	Ss	(2’’)(some smiles shyly and looking down, still no replies)
226	T23	I am a teacher, you are a student. Who wants to be a little teacher? (still raising
227		her hand, looking at the crowd) (1’’) Who can try?
228	S7	(raising his hand)
229	T23	(Nominating S7) You please, come here (directing the platform) here
230	S7	(walks to and stands on the platform)
231	T23	Can you teach them? Can you?
232	S7	Yes
233	T23	Ok (relieved tone) (pointing at the blackboard) fly, flying, ok? (suggesting the
234		teaching method)
235	S7	Ok
236	T23	(facing all the students) Ok, together. (suggesting S7 pointing the words written
237		on blackboard)
238	S7	Fly, flying
239	Ss	(in unison) Fly, flying
240	S7	Walk, Walking
241	Ss	(in unison) Walk, Walking
242	S7	Jump, jumping
243	Ss	(in unison) Jump, jumping
244	S7	Swim, swimming
245	Ss	(in unison) Swim, swimming
246	S7	(Look at the teacher for his next move)
247	T23	(pointing at S7, facing all the students) You will be a good teacher, ok?
248	Ss	(Clap hands together)
249	T23	Now, so, (gives S7 some carton stickers and raises her hand) Now, who else
250		(suggesting another student to do come to lead students reading) you please
251		(nominating another student)

From L229-236, T23 uses several requests to contextualize the game and make several interactional efforts to engage S7 and the rest of the class. In L229, T23 first directs the student to come to the platform, where the teachers tend to stand. This positioning of the S7 to the platform can be interpreted as a gesture of T23 passing the floor to S7, who will

potentially and temporarily take the role of 'the little teacher'. In L231, T23 checks whether S7 has the ability to 'teach them'. After getting the affirmative reply of S7 (yes, in L232), T23 uses explicit positive evaluation (ok) and gestures (in a relieved tone) to manifest her relief that her previous interactional efforts are met. In L233-L234, T23 follows by suggesting the teaching content (present participles written on the blackboard) and body language (pointing to the words written on the method). After S7 accepts T23's request, T23 turns to the rest of the students and asks them to engage together in the game (L236). Note that T23 also suggests the way of participation for the rest of the students, by facing the rest of the students and pointing S7. In this way, T23 sanctions the legitimacy attributed both to the teaching content and to the required pattern of participation.

From L237-244, S7 and the rest of the students engage themselves in the choral reading of the grammatical form of present participle. S7 animates T23's teaching, both in terms of teaching contents and body language. He points at the words written on the blackboard and coordinates other students to read. After finished reading the contents, S7 turns to T23 that suggests a plea for the next move. T23 is satisfied with S7's performance in the game and comments explicitly that 'you will be a good teacher'. T23's evaluation can be also interpreted as an interactional effort to engage more students in the game as 'the little teacher', by pointing at S7 and facing the rest of the students (L247). From L249-251, T23 initiates a further exchange by someone to take the floor as 'the little teacher'.

In the extract 6.7, T23 uses the game 'who can be the little teacher' to involve students to participate. According to T23's stimulated recall, this activity can 'engage students to repeat' and form a sense of 'responsible and autonomous learning'. In other words, this game differs from direct presentation and practice led by teachers, for students are largely involved in the classroom interaction.

However, this game has a lot of similarity with the teaching in presentation and practice phases. To begin with, the game still focuses on grammar and pronunciation covered in presentation and practice phases (Section 6.4.4&6.4.5). It positions one student as teacher and the rest as a collective body addressed by the 'little teacher'. T23 sanctions the legitimacy attributed both to the teaching contents and to the required pattern of participation of S7 (the little teacher) and the rest of the class. In other words, the game still follows the same format of animation as was employed in the practice phases (as seen in Extract 6.5). The students are only allowed for controlled performing of the teachers' roles, rather than in spontaneous use of English.

Another popular activity is 'survey fillings'. Students are engaged in group discussion of the selected topics. The 'survey filling' activity also features in teachers' direct guidance

and students' animation, as are employed in the presentation and practice phases. I take a class observed in sixth grade as an example. Evidence is taken from my field-notes:

Extract 6.8 'Survey fillings', extract taken from my field-notes taken during a class observation of a six grade class in School B.

After the teacher asks students to ask each other 'what did you do last weekend', students soon turn to each other and the class became very loud. To my surprise, the pairs that sat next me read out the dialogues from the textbooks. When I asked T24for the reason, he seemed to be puzzled by my question. He explained that he never thought about the reason before, and it has been always like this.

One might argue that a survey question might invite real communication among students, since a question 'what did you do last weekend' is closely relevant to students' life. Yet, to my surprise, students read the dialogues in the textbooks as a way to complete the 'survey' tasks. T24 is also surprised by my question and he reflected that he never thought about it before. It is another case that the informants have no calculated rationale for their behaviour (the other example would be Yuliner's rationale for learning/letting their children to learn English, seen in Section 5.5). I believe this 'take it for granted' behaviour, once again, reflects that the text-book oriented teaching has become internalized in both students' and teachers' minds that it requires no rational deliberation to explain why students would read out dialogues to complete a survey question. Another sensible interpretation of students' way of survey is that students lack linguistic competence in uttering their experiences during the weekend. In other words, they do not know how to reflect what they 'did last weekend' in English.

As analysed previously, in terms of teaching activities, the production phase (P3) features in free use of target structures and vocabulary. The teaching activities would be games or making dialogues or sentences. In terms of teacher-student interaction pattern, students are more involved in this part. Teachers would divide students into groups (either in boys/girls, in lines or rows). The groups compete in a task given by the teachers. Most students are very energetic and motivated in this part. As I was told later by some of the teachers, these games can get more students to participate.

Generally, teachers believe that there are some constructive purposes for these games. The major purposes for these games are learning English and attracting the interest of students. Teachers also concern that students would treat these games as a lull from the serious instruction and opportunity to take a break. Another concern is that the teachers would lose control of the class. Discussion on the authoritative roles of teachers is included in section 6.6.

6.4.7 Assigning Homework

The class would end briefly with teachers assigning homework and saying goodbye to students. Here are several most commonly used homework types:

- Read the dialogues in the textbooks for three times.
- Write the vocabulary for four times
- Making up a dialogues using what have learnt today
- Complete the exercise in students' exercise books.

As the items suggest, assignment focuses on the language items covered in the presentation and practice phase. Meanwhile, it also features in the strong impact of textbooks. Of the above four types of homework, the first three are directly based on textbooks. In the fourth one, 'students' exercise books' are also designed based on the contents of the students' textbooks. In other words, the homework continues the recurrent sequential organization of the class by practicing the usage of language in the textbooks.

Teachers are aware that the homework is textbook-oriented. As one teacher (T31) comments in a group interview:

Extract 6.9 'Students do not like homework', translation of field notes of T31 in a group interview.

Students do not like homework. It is mainly writing vocabulary, reading textbooks or exercise books. Yet, we do not have choices. Even if we give out assignment for them to communicate with others, who can students talk to? Our parents do not understand English…. We do not like the homework either. We have to correct their writings in the homework, which is tiring.

T31's comments touches one key point, which is the biggest constraint for ELT in a landlocked city like Yulin. Given that there is nearly no use of English in daily life (as analysed in Section 1.4 and 5.5), there is not a supportive environment for CLT after school. Also, I agree completely with T31 that it is very tiring to correct students' homework. I see piles of students' homework on teachers' desks. Since the average of classes for teachers would be 9.15 English classes and 3.24 classes of other subjects (such as moral education, music, etc.) (Q8 in my questionnaire, see Appendix B), every teacher would correct hundreds of students' homework per week (Figure 6.6). However, unless the marked work becomes integrated into lessons and becomes part of future teaching and learning, arguably, there would not be much actual learning going on in the assignment.

Figure 6.6 Piles of students' homework on one teacher's desk in school B.

6.4.8 Strong pattern in teaching arrangement

In the strong pattern in teaching arrangement presented above, it can be said that the teaching is mostly teacher-dominant and textbook-oriented. The teacher would do most of the talking: explaining grammar points, controlling class flow and managing the classroom discipline. Even when students are engaged verbally in drills or answering questions, teachers orchestrate the interaction by relying on a strict 'call and response' approach. There is not much learning going on. Students are only engaged in so far as they follow a strict pattern, but they have little freedom to manipulate the language. Teachers sanction the legitimacy attributed both to the teaching contents and the required pattern of participation.

Classes vary with individual teachers, in terms of teaching experience, English competence and teacher belief. For teachers with better teaching ability and experience, there are more teacher and students interaction; whereas the teachers who lack teaching ability and experience, the teaching would be mainly teacher-dominated. This difference is proved in the interviews and stimulated recalls as well, as is shown in section 6.4 and 6.5. Experienced teachers are more confident in involving students, whereas less experienced teachers see students' activities as a threat to classroom control. I also find out that male teachers are more tolerant of the noisy classroom than female teachers. Some of the female teachers tell me that there is limited usage of games in their classrooms, because 'the kids are not afraid of them

and they cannot control them'. This might indicate teachers' belief in authoritative teaching styles (as discussed in Section6.5.2). The classroom becomes a site to assert and maintain power. In what follows, I analyze the contextual constraints for ELT in Yulin.

6.5 Teaching Arrangement in Contextual Constraints

In the interviews, many express their difficulties in following the requirement of ELEP. Reasons vary. Some have doubts and scepticism about the CLT, for it does not fit into their training experience. Some do not have competency in guiding students in the development of communicative competence. Most often, it is a range of cultural, educational and social constraints that hinder their use of CLT.

6.5.1 Teachers' Lack of English Competence

The lack of English competence is restricting teachers. During my ethnographic study, teachers always refuse to let me sit in their classes. Many teachers tell me that they are afraid of making English language mistakes in front of me. The teachers gradually invite me or agree to let me get into their classes as time goes by. Still, I am told to 'not laugh at' their teaching. Many teachers lack confidence in their English competence. It seems that the teachers' English competence arises as a liability in their teaching. The phenomenon is more frequent in school C, which is socioeconomically less developed than school A and B.

In one informal occasion, T32 in school C expressed her sense of inferiority to her colleagues. She used to work as a substitute teacher in a rural village outskirt Yulin city. T32 works so hard to pass the test and feels lucky to teach in school C (located in the city area), where her 11-year-old daughter can have better education opportunity. She still feels that her English is so limited that she finds it impossible for her to teach mainly in English. T25 and T27 in school C are also teachers transferred from substitute teachers. According to them, they do not have too much pre-service or in-service training, which limits their teaching. Several other teachers also express that the lack of English proficiency is a roadblock for them to teach communicatively. According to them, the lack of English environment in daily life and lack of opportunity in further teacher development have made their English proficiency declined continuously. According to T26, an English-major graduate with four-year teaching experience, her English has decreased to the level of junior high, since she 'does not have much chance to speak English other than the several sentences in classes'.

6.5.2 Big class and Levels of Students

Big class is commonly referred by the teachers as a big constraint for their teaching. What I want to add is that the big class becomes more difficult to teach with students of different levels. There is nothing new in this observation. Obviously, teachers would encounter more difficulties in class control, floor management and material arrangement. Yet, what I want to mention is the unique feature of this phenomenon in Yulin, and even in larger area in China. I would like to remind readers of the 'school consolidation policy' (SCP) discussed in section 4.8. It is also referred in my discussion with Mr. Chen from the local bureau (discussed in Extract 5.2).

The issue of levels of students becomes predominant in my interviews with the teachers from School C, whose students mainly come from migrant work families (see Section 3.3.2). Many teachers consider the poor education background and discipline problems among migrant children are the biggest difficulties in their teaching. The situation becomes more severe when the migrant parents are not ready to help, due to busy schedule or low level of literacy. Below is an extract from my interview with T34 in school C.

Extract 6.10 'I have to help them', translation of an interview with T34.

1	Shi:	In your teaching, what is the biggest difficulty?
2	T34:	Big class teaching. Above 80% of the students come from the migrant worker
3		family. (.) These students have poor background. Most of them cannot keep up
4		with the class.
5	Shi:	Oh, they have poor background. This is the biggest difficult.
6	T34:	Yeah. (.) It is not only the problem of the students. Their parents, you know.
7		I've been teaching students three years and I haven't see most of them.
8	Shi:	Never seen them?
9	T34:	No, I cannot find them. They do not communicate with me. (.) So the class is
10		hard to manage. The students lack discipline. Habits of learning are poor as
11		well.
12	Shi:	What do you mean 'habit of learning'?
13	T34:	Students don't do homework carefully. No parents to check the homework;
14		arriving school late; not active in the classes (.) The parents are busying making
15		the money to raise the family. They don't understand either. (.) So I need to
16		help those children.
17	Shi:	Help them?
18	T34:	Yeah, elicit them more. Check their homework. Very tiring. (.) Parents have
19		responsibilities as well.

In this extract, T34 reflects her concerns of migrant children from School Consolidation policy. These students have poor education background and cannot keep up with the class (L2-4). They also lack discipline and have poor habits of learning, which refers

by T34 as ‘don’t do homework carefully’, ‘arriving school late’, and ‘not active in classes’ (L12-13). It is partly due to the lack of attention from the parents, who are ‘busying making money to raise the family’ or ‘don’t understand’ the subject knowledge (L13-L14). T34 pays more attention to help them, which is tiring (L17). Meanwhile, she thinks that parents should take part of the responsibilities as well (L17-L18).

This extract, though fairly easy to understand at the first glance, I believe, encapsulates many crucial questions, all related to the ways that the children, migrant to the city, live and study in the Yulin city. The first is concerned with the position of the village students in the city school. The second relates to the reinforcement of their marginalized status by schooling of English.

In the first place, according to T34, the students from migrant worker family have poor education background and cannot keep up with the class. They have poor learning habits, such as not doing homework and being late for school. The socioeconomic challenges affect their educational performance, together with other underlying problems, such as poor diet, lack of proper rest, social subjugation and lack of care. They are not the favourable students to teachers, for their troubles in schooling. As a result, their engagement, as students and social beings in the city schools, become marginalized.

Secondly, the failure in school performances is maintained and reinforced through the schooling process. In other words, English education also serves as a mechanism in social stratification. To the village students, their chances in academic success start to shrink due to their parents’ lack of access in providing them enough support in English education. Parents of the village children, are either ‘too busy to work’ or have no money to support them. My questionnaire (Q46, in Appendix B) shows that only less than 10% of students in school C can afford tapes of the English textbooks, while the ratio is over 90% and between 60% to 90% in school A and school B, respectively. Only less than 10% of students take extra-curriculum English Classes (*buxiban*), with different focuses in school C, while the ratio is over 50% in both school A and school B (Q34 in my questionnaire).

The lack of socioeconomic resources in English education has created a social stratification effect. As early on as the primary school students, students from different social background have begun to be socially stratified, according to their access to English capital. Whereas the ones who can have more access to English education gets more successful and be more favoured by the teachers and follow peers, the ones with limited access to English resources struggled to acquire the ELEP for its socioeconomic value. I further elaborate the socialization effect of schooling of English in the next chapter.

6.5.3 School Requirements

The schools requirements, the *de facto* ELEP policies, are the other contextual constraints for teachers. In section 5.5, I have analysed that schools see the results in texts arranged by the local education bureau, the good learning habits and the good parents-teachers relationship as the education goodness for English teaching. Meanwhile, teachers need to fulfil other education policies, such as collegial activities, competitions, class teaching reports and observation notes.

These requirements from schools, in turn, become the contextual constraints for teachers. For instance, the texts arranged by the local bureau largely affect teachers' classroom activities. Since the text results largely determine teachers' promotion, pay-check and reputation, it is then not surprising that teachers teach according to the exams. For instance, the activities mentioned in section 6.3 are largely influenced by the school exams, which focus on vocabulary, grammar and other forms (rather than meaning) of the English language.

The impact of the test in teaching is not unique to China though, for it is constantly referred as 'washback' (or backwash) in language education literature (Alderson and Wall, 1993; Taylor, 2005). Teachers are influenced by the knowledge that their students are planning to take a certain test and will adapt their teaching methodology and lesson content to reflect the test's demands.In China, numerous studies have pointed out that washback has a decisive role in teachers' commitment to pedagogical changes. For instance, Yan (2012, p. 380), drawing on teacher interviews, finds that exams 'have overpowered the teacher training provided by the educational management at various levels, and thus created a strong exam-oriented school atmosphere'. Teachers complain that the school would rank their test results monthly. Low-ranked teachers will be severely criticized by the headmasters, which is humiliating and stressful. When the school managers, mainly principles or management board, urge the teachers to get good performance in entrance examination, teachers would focus on the test results and teach according to the exams. The impact of washback carries implication for exam design, which merits the attention from policy makers and scholars in ELEP.

6.5.4 Teacher Development Programs

According to Chen from the local education bureau (see Appendix E for details), Yulin annually holds teacher development programs. Some experts and scholars are invited to give lectures to the teachers. My questionnaire findings also suggest that the local bureau has

improved the English learning in terms of teacher development, especially in terms of teacher development project. According to the results of Q49 (in Appendix B), among 98 candidates, 52 (54.05%) have participate around 1-3 teacher development workshops, 19 (19.38%) have attend 3-6 workshops, and 3 (3.06%) attend more than 7 workshops. The percentage of teachers who attend teacher workshops are over 75% in Yulin. In terms of the level of the workshops, results of Q50 suggest that around 45.8% of the candidates participate in workshop that is held directly by the local bureau.

However, teachers express their dissatisfaction with teacher programs in the interview. During one group discussion, T14 and T15 talks about their experience in teacher development programs held by the local education bureau.

Extract 6.11 On teacher development programs, translation of field notes of T14 and T15 in a group interview in School C.

'Most of the teacher programs are lectures given by experts. They surely have a lot of knowledge in pedagogy, but I doubt whether they can teach well in the reality. When you are facing 70 naughty pupils and some many things to teach, the use of games and other classroom activities can out of control. It might affect other classes as well'. (T14)

'The lectures are too dry. There are not enough real teaching examples included. I was in several teacher-training programs. When it finished, it finished. I do not remember anything from the program. It is not memorable' (T15).

To T14 and T 15, the problems of the teacher development program include: a) the 'lectures' given by experts include many tips on teaching methodology (L1), but does not work well in reality (L2-3), which involves big class and touch classroom management (L3-4); b) the lecture are too dry (L6) without real teaching examples, which makes the teacher programs not memorable (L8).

The analysis of the extract 6.11 indicates that teacher development programs should include more workshops, where teachers can exchange their opinions and difficulties. Moreover, teachers should be allowed to participate more in the teacher development programs, so as to improve their teaching ability. Lectures from education experts are not enough for teacher development.

6.5.5. Cultural Perception of 'Teaching'

Apart from teachers' insufficient training, cultural perception of teaching has a big influence on classroom practice. It affects the power structure between teacher and students and also the way knowledge is acquired.

In traditional Han culture, the teachers would assume a directive role, having the sole prerogative in deciding the teaching contents, teaching methods and teaching flow of the classes. This is to make the class moves smoothly and have complete control of the floor, which provides both teacher and students a sense of security to learn the carefully designed contents (e.g. Hu, 2002a; Ross, 2003). This might partly explain why CLT is not well received in T14's and some other teachers' classes, for CLT invites spontaneous communication and extensive students' activities, which might clash with teachers' planned lesson and authoritative control over the class.

The traditional view of education is viewed as a process of accumulating knowledge, rather than a practical process of constructing and using knowledge for immediate purpose (Biggs, 1996; Hu, 2002a). As a result, teachers feel obliged to teach students more knowledge, as if the students are empty vessels. It seems to be held among some teachers that the more teachers teach, the more students learn. In my observation, I find that teachers always feel a rush to finish their planned materials. In other words, they are more concerned with covering the teaching materials planned by themselves (in teaching plans) or for them (in teacher guidebooks), rather than teach spontaneously according to the flow of the class.

6.5.6 ELEP Practice in Classrooms: Revisited

In section 6.3, I have analysed the ELEP practice in the classroom. This allows an exploration of how practice engages or disengages with policy and the tension that may pertain. The clearest disengagement with language policy in the classroom is observed: teachers tend to follow a PPP model rather than CLT model in their teaching practice.

Teachers are aware of the tension between the policy and practice as well. They are aware of the pervasive monolingual view of the medium of English teaching. For instance, teachers would extensively use English in front of my cameras and under my presentence. However, in those classes that I did video-recorded classes, they would speak more Mandarin in classes, so as to make students understand better. Another evidence would be teachers awareness of the 'communicative elements' required by the national policy, which is why teachers favour games, despite its lack of efficiency in teaching the required materials.

CLT has developed in a western academic and schooling atmosphere, which, arguably, requires supportive language environment to let students use English to communicate in their daily life and in classes. This is not the case for Yulin teachers and students. As a result, the PPP model, which integrates with some 'CLT elements' become the safe practice for teachers to adopt. It is not pedagogically advisable. The strong pattern in teaching arrangement, as I

analysed previously, focuses on the form of the language rather than the meaning of the language. Yet, it is a safe practice that integrates and adapts to the needs of the local education bureaus, schools, parents, students and teachers.

For the local education bureau, teachers conform to their roles in finishing the prescribed materials (units in textbooks). For the schools, teachers focus on the meaning of the language so as to cope with the texts arranged by the local education bureau (see Section 5.4.1). Teachers are also regulating students in conforming to the good habits (see Section 5.4.3), such as finishing homework, classroom management, recitation of the textbooks and other disciplinary issues. For the parents, teachers try to make sure students get good results in the tests and memorize the vocabulary, for they are regarded by parents as the key to the success of the English learning (see section 5.5). For the students, teachers try to elicit as many students as possible, for it can engage students to participation and make students active in classes. For the teachers themselves, they are adapting the teaching according to their own language competence, workload pressure and on-line teaching process. All in all, the PPP practice in local classrooms is a safe practice that copes with different needs and contextual constraints.

The teaching practice is safe, yet as I have mentioned, it is not pedagogically advisable. Teaching relies heavily on excessive use of drills to acquire accuracy of forms. It lacks resemblance to real life communication and association of form and meaning. Language is taken as spate linguistic items that can be acquired through carefully planned sequences. Yet, it does not necessarily match real knowledge acquisition process. The strict transformation sequences do not occur outside the classroom either.

Moreover, the biggest problem I see in the teaching practice is not the learning of language *per se*. Rather, it is the social process that the sequential teaching practice brings to the students. Teaching follows a fixed pattern, and learning is largely teacher-dominant and textbook-oriented. It appears to students that knowledge is from teachers and textbooks, and it shall not be challenged. As a result, students become less innovative and critical. They get used to follow the orders from authoritative figures. Gradually, they lose the criticality and innovation. In other words, they are trained and educated as timid human beings, who dare not question those in power nor express their thoughts.

It is evidence that discourse reinforces and sustains the status quo. Schooling, a kind of discourse, has reinforced the hierarchical power relationship between the authoritative figures and the less powerful ones. Students from their early age are taught to obey rather question the authoritative figures. Schooling socializes students to fit unquestionably into their prescribed social roles. It probably explains why local agents accept the authoritative

role of the national government as natural and conventional. Below, teachers' perception of their power and agency in ELEP provides evidence that hierarchical structure in schooling shapes people's perception of power and authority.

6.6 Teacher Agency

In the first few weeks of my ethnographic research, when asked about teachers' involvement in ELEP, the most common belief among my interviewees is that teachers are unqualified to make an overall decision as big as a language policy. Very frequently, teachers would refer people who make the policy decisions as 'experts', 'leaders' or 'scholars', which concurs the description of policy makers written in macro policy documents (see section 4.6). In other words, local teachers also accept the macro policy documents' description and legitimization of qualified policy makers.

For teachers, ELEP seems like a untouchable and lofty policy that is out of their league. Teachers' understanding of the absolute power of the national government concurs with the national government policy texts (see Section 5.5 for details). As I argue in the next chapter, it provides evidence that discourse is both constitutive and conditioned. It is constitutive for it perpetuates, maintains and reinforces the power relations in the status quo. It is conditioned, for the power relations imbedded in the discourse is well-accepted as natural and conventional by the teachers in status quo.

However, as I engage gradually with teachers, they sometimes express different understandings towards the policy making process. To start with, my key teacher participants would comment that they want to be involved in policy making process, such as teaching methods and curriculum design. According to them, the current ELEP is not very practical and people who write it might not have a clear view of the real teaching situation in ordinary primary schools. As T6 said:

Extract 6.12 'It is very different in our practice'. Direct translation of field notes written during a group interview.

1 The experts and scholars who write the curriculum and textbook are definitely very
2 knowledgeable. They must know many theories, but it is very different in our practice.
3 Especially for a city like Yulin. How can students use English to do things when nobody
4 around them understands!

It is worth noting here that some teachers have a strong motivation to participate in ELEP process for the recommended CLT approach is not suitable in their teaching practice.

The interview also reflects that the decision of implementing primary English teaching nationwide neglect the language needs and teaching environment in local contexts. For an in-land city like Yulin, students would have nearly no opportunity in using English in their daily lives. It further makes 'emersion in the language environment' unrealistic and infeasible in local context (L4).

Despite teachers' motivation and interest in engaging in the policy process, nearly none of them are ever asked about their opinions nor do they ever try to express their feelings. The fear of losing job and the confusing administration are the two reasons that let them down.

In the first place, a lot of interviewees would be afraid of losing their jobs or getting punishment for expressing different opinions. According to T12:

Extract 6.13 'Nobody cares what I think'. Direct translation of field notes written during an interview with T12.

I dare not argue with the policy. You have to stand in the right place. Nothing good would come if I say something differently. Yet, things will be fine for me if I keep silent. Nobody cares what I think. Why risk, why bother? Besides, the experts and leaders write the policy, and they must know more than teachers.

Although T12 might be unsatisfied with his teaching environment and the request given, he would keep silent, for the fear of losing jobs and getting punishment. 'Fear of losing job' for giving an opinion stifles interest. Arguably, teachers become gradually indifferent to the education policy. Although they might be able to improve the teaching practice and policy by contributing their opinions, they are indifferent to do so out of self-protection.

Secondly, such an indifferent and fearful attitude becomes worse, due to the complex and stressful layers of branches within Chinese education system (see Section 1.3.1). As I have analyzed in section 4.1, the policy-making actors are not humanized, for it is a face-less organization that is referred as 'MoE' and 'NCDC'. Even if teachers contribute their opinions, it is hard to find a person to talk to. As T16 comments:

Extract 6.14 'Who are we supposed to talk to if we have something to say'. Direct translation of fieldnotes written during an interview with T16.

Who are we supposed to talk to if we have something to say? The local bureau? The provincial department? Or the MoE? There are too many rules and restrictions. If you write some opinions, it would be like throw a stone to the ocean. Nobody will react.

The findings presented above are different from the research conducted in western countries. Johnson (2012), for instance, delves into the school district of Philadelphia to study

the power relationship across different educational contexts. He finds that the locus of power is not just contained in the policy text alone, but is enacted, interpreted and implemented in micro-level practices and discourses. Cincotta-Segi (2011) finds that although the national government has prescribed Lao as the official and legitimate language being used in education settings, teachers use other minority languages in teaching to suit their class contents, students' background and teaching methods. In these ethnography language policy studies, the agentive roles of teachers are put under spotlight. Hornberger and Johnson (2007) and Johnson (2010) refer the multiple layers in policy process as an onion of language policy. They metaphorically argue those local schools and teachers, the inside, micro and real-context of LPP, are the spiciest in the multiple layers of the LPP process. They believe that the interpretation and implementation provide local schools and teachers 'an implementational and ideological spaces' for supporting multilingualism as a resource for students. An ideological space is the empowerment of bilingual teachers to take ownerships of language policy processes and implement language policy in a way that benefits bilingual learners.

In section 6.3 and 6.4, I have found local agents in Yulin have their agency power as well, which largely affect their creation, interpretation and appropriation of the language policy. Teachers exert their influence through their teaching methods, teacher talk and class activities. However, teachers' agency is not openly celebrated. Rather, teachers are doubtful about their competency in participating in the policy decision process. It might suggest a difference between the local agency in decentralized societies and less decentralized ones.

To sum up, the hierarchical structure in policy making process is widely accepted as conventional and natural among teachers. However, a lot of teachers would like to contribute their opinions to policy making process as well. They feel that the policy makers in upper level government, though knowledgeable and authoritative, do not know the real teaching situation in local contexts. Teachers would like to contribute their opinions and understandings in teaching methods, teaching contents and curriculum design. However, due to fear of losing their jobs and confusion of the administrative branches, teachers rarely have a say in the policy making process. As a result, they become indifferent to the educational policy given by the governments.

6.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the analysis of the classroom interaction provides a more informed base for filling the current literature gap in our knowledge of English teaching in local levels, the influence of each policy level and tensions among different levels in policy process. The recurrent organization of classroom activities is important to my analysis. It is through the

sequential forms of social action and turn-taking that teachers and students collaboratively constructed what is regarded as legitimate or valuable way of English education. This investigation of the classroom activities and interaction presents teachers' interpretation and appropriation of what is prescribed and valued by upper level of policy process, which is presented in upper level policy texts and interviews of local officials.

Unlike the CLT model that is advocated in the central policy (see section 2.3.1&4.5), in section 6.4, I find that English teaching in local community draws heavily on a PPP model. It follows a strong pattern in teaching arrangement that features in focus on the form of the language, such as vocabulary and grammar. Teaching is mainly teacher-centered and textbook-oriented. Students are not involved in spontaneous language use, which is vital in CLT model.

In section 6.4, I analyze the contextual constraints for ELT in Yulin, including teachers' lack of language competence, large class and levels of students, exam-oriented policy from schools, insufficient teacher support and traditional perception of teaching. I revisit the arrangement in classes presented in section 6.3. I conclude that the PPP model in Yulin classes is a safe practice for teachers. It is affected by the contextual constrains of ELT in Yulin and multiple needs of policy agents in ELEP. In other words, PPP model is a safe practice for teachers, who are caught in contextual challenges and different needs from government, local education bureau, schools, parents and themselves.

This chapter also leads to a discussion on the hierarchical order within ELEP. The strict top-down policy making process contributes to problems within ELT in Chinese primary schools. When facing difficulties and high pressure in work, teachers do not or dare not have communication channels with upper level governments. The confusing and complex administrative branches also put them off. As a result, the valuable first-hand data about English teaching and learning in actual situations are unknown for the policy makers to consider.

As a result, ELEP becomes a vicious circle, in which the upper government provides instructions too difficult or unclear for local teachers to follow. The local teachers, although facing difficulties and pressure, do not have access to express their opinions formed in their teaching practice. The upper level policy makers then have no chance to correct the infeasible or unclear instructions in the curriculum. As a result, the blocked communication channel contributes to the less-than-successful English teaching situation in China. The next chapter continues this line of the argument and further points out the tensions and their effects within ELEP.

Chapter 7 Tensions within ELEP in China

7.1 Introduction

The previous seven chapters have analysed the tensions between the central policy and local practice, drawing on data collected from the national policy, local education officers and teachers. In this chapter, I continue the discussion, moving on to the review of the tensions and find causes behind the tensions.

7.2 Tension between Policy and Practice

The focal point of argument that runs through this dissertation is the tensions in language policies and practices in ELEP, drawing on the perspectives of the MoE's policy texts, local education officials and teachers.

In chapter 4, I analyse the six themes in central policy texts, drawing on the principle of critical discourse analysis. These themes are:

- Theme one: the policy initiate
- Theme two: curriculum objectives
- Theme three: teaching methods and contents
- Theme four: social actors in ELEP
- Theme five: beneficiaries in ELEP
- Theme six: School Consolidation Policy in ELEP

In chapter 5 and chapter 6, I analyse the local practice, drawing on data collected from the ethnographic study in Yulin. In what follows, I compare the themes (see Section 4.3) with the findings analysed in chapter 5 and 6. The comparison would show the tension between the policy and practice. More importantly, I point out that the tensions should be examined in the contextual features of ELT in Yulin, including its language environment, teachers' competence, parents' high expectation of education and local schools' requirement. These contextual features are analysed through the dissertation (e.g. section 1.3&1.4&5.4.3&6.4).

- *Theme one: the policy initiate*

The national government legitimizes English as a natural, neutral and indispensable in the country's globalization and informationization (Section 4.3). English is described as a

requisite for 21st century Chinese citizens in the policy texts.The legitimization is largely based on the assumption and abstraction of concrete process of globalization and informationization. The policy texts also feature in elision of human agency and excessive use of evaluative words, which has made the government decision natural and neutral. Moreover, using genre chains and recontextualization, the decision on English implementation nationwide in 2001 appears to answer the call of the 21st century. In this process, the MoE, who makes the decision, is depicted as authoritative, competent and knowledgeable. Local community, in contrast, appears to be incompetent and backward.

On the contrast, the ethnographic study suggests that English has a very limited role in local community. It remains to be a subject to learn in class and to take in exams. Local community do not see English as a requisite for their citizenship. Rather, they accept English out of an instrumental perspective. Their initiatives in schooling of English are largely shaped by the poor language environment in local community. English has no use outside schools. The schooling of English is meant to have good test results to compete with others, forming good learning habits and maintaining good relationship between school-family.

- *Theme two: curriculum objectives*

The national government sees English as a tool for socioeconomic development. When I analyse the recontextualization of the policy texts, I find that English has been taken as a tool for spreading Chinese culture abroad. That is to say, English is taken not merely as a tool to construct China and keep up with the advanced western countries. Rather, the central policy has depicted English as a tool to spread Chinese culture abroad. The change is largely due to China's increasing importance on the world stage and the revitalization of Han culture within mainland China (see Section 4.4).

In practice, however, the local community does not see a linkage of English with cultural connotations, neither with the English-speaking countries nor with the spread of Chinese culture. The education of English at school does not pose any threat to their cultural identity, mainly because English has nearly no impact on their daily life. It largely affects ELT in local communities, as I analyse shortly, since communication competence largely depends on students' cultural knowledge. When English is merely taken as a subject (like Maths or physics) rather than a language with cultural connotation, ELT would feature in excessive use of drills, rote memory and choral reading. Since smooth communication requires an understanding of foreign cultural references, jargon and mannerisms, skills that are not factored into ELT in China, it is then not surprising that students have troubles in

communicative language use. Lack of second language sociocultural knowledge can also lead to socio-pragmatic failures and breakdowns in communication (Nazari, 2011).

- *Theme three: teaching methods and contents*

The national government intends to promote CLT, in an attempt to promote the use of English in communication (section 4.5). According to the MoE in policy documents, the incompetent local schools and teachers, who used to focus overwhelmingly on the form of the language, generate the problems with ELT in China. The MoE then wisely and timely come up within the CLT and TBLT approaches, which are depicted as advanced methods that promote communication in ELT and enhance students' language competence. Although, in the policy documents, there are no explicit instruction for CLT and TBLT approaches. In suggesting the ideal teaching methods, the MoE has self-depicted itself as competent, advanced and authoratitive figure. The local schools take the blame for the failure in ELT in China, although some macro-level issues also lead to the problems with ELT, such as education management structure, exam design, college allocation system and insufficient support for teacher development (see Section 4.5).

In local community, teachers still focus on the form of the language in their teaching. Based on the classroom observation, I find that teachers follow a Presentation- Practice-Production (PPP) model (see section 6.2&6.3&6.4). In teaching each unit, a sequential order is used which includes: pre-class rituals, songs, introduction of audio-lingual materials, practice of the language points, explanation of the grammar, more practice of the language points and homework assigning. Classes feature in massive use of drills, rote memory and choral repetition. Teachers would integrate some CLT and TBLT elements in their teaching as well, such as fast elicitation, dialogues and games. However, my analysis suggests that these teaching activities are not based on spontaneous language use and there is not much real learning involved.

A closer look at the classes suggests that teaching is largely shaped by the contextual constraints. Teachers are challenged by their language competence, big classes, levels of students, lack of school support, insufficient training and traditional perception of teaching. As a result, teachers use PPP (with some elements of CLT) to orchestrate a 'safe' teaching practice that copes with needs of various policy agents, ranging from national government, local education bureau, schools, parents and themselves.

- *Theme four: social actors in ELEP*

In terms of arrangement of social actors, the national government is legitimizing a strictly hierarchical power structure that sustains and reinforces the authoritative power of the State Council and MoE. Consequently, local agents become subordinate, inferior and incompetent. The central policy texts feature in excessive use of modal operators, which suggests the MoE's self-perceived authority over the local community. Moreover, there are explicit expressions that strengthen the absolute power of the MoE in Chinese education system (see Section 4.6).

In local practice, the local community accepts the hierarchical power structure as normal and conventional. Both the local education officials and teachers have shown an acceptance of the absolute decision-making power of the national government, while referring themselves as incompetent and inexperience in making policy decisions (see Section 5.2&5.4&6.6). However, the *de facto* practice also shows that local community, consciously or unconsciously, sometimes disarticulates the national policies. Differences in policy initiatives, teaching methods and education objectives between policy and practice provide evidence that local community sometimes overtly/covertly disobey and abandon the central policy. In other words, local community have agency power in creation, interpretation and appropriation of ELEP, although they neglect and refuse to recognize their agency power out of *de jure* acceptance of the absolute leadership of the upper government.

- *Theme five: beneficiaries in ELEP*

In policy texts, the national government intends to advocate English education to serve the socioeconomic construction of the nation, either through direct ideological instil of patriotism or a link with personal gain. My analysis also finds that the discursive change of orientation of ELEP concurs with the temporal and special recontexualization of patriotism and individualization. ELEP has been promoted not only for the nation construction but also for the benefits of individuals. Patriotism is taken as one of the qualities of education purposes, besides insight, life experience, cross-culture awareness, creativity and characteristics. Individuals need to shoulder more responsibility, take more risks, have more skills and become more responsible. However, it is still a kind of individualization that is guided and sponsored by patriotism. Students are educated to be independent and competitive individuals, so that they can share more responsibilities, take more risks, have more skills and become more competitive in the China's quest for modernity. In this way, the real beneficiary behind the ELEP is still the national government. Individuals are always put to the second place.

The local community sees good test results in entrance exams as the immediate benefits of ELEP. The grasp of English is seen as an increasingly important asset in personal development. That is said, there is very limited use of English in daily life, which makes the benefits of English education very limited in reality. Meanwhile, the ELEP also results in tremendous academic burden for the students and financial burden for their families. In this process, only students with more education and financial resources benefit from ELEP. As for the poor students, their deficiency in education recourse has restricted their chance in social mobility. I elaborate on this point further in the section 7.3.

- *Theme six: School Consolidation Policy in ELEP*

The School Consolidation Policy (SCP, in Section 4.8) refers to the State Council's Decisions on consolidation of small schools in villages in relatively poor conditions to create larger and better resourced schools. According to the central policy, the main objectives of SCP include equitable distribution of resources, greater economy scale, balanced development of education, improved management capacity and enhanced education quality (MoE, 2001, Section 4.8). In critical discourse analysis, I find that the policy text (Section 4.8) features in the use of normalization to elide human agency, which both omit the agency who conduct the action, agency who take responsibility, and agency who will be affected by the policy.

In reality, the local education official mentions the positive change brought by SCP. Rural students are provided with better schools and teachers. However, my findings in ethnographic study find that SCP also brings a lot of social problems. When the village children are moved to schools in cities, it also creates over-sized classes of 70-100 students. These over-sized classes provide a lot of difficulties for teachers and schools, given the classroom management and adaption to diverse levels of students. There is also the issue of peer pressure and discrimination of immigrant children, which pushes more village children out of the schools. Section 7.3 goes on to discuss the socialization of SCP, together with the effect of ELT.

To sum up, through the analysis of the policy (Chapter 4) and the local practice (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), I have identified the tensions between the central government and local community. The tensions include difference and contradiction in: policy initiative, education objectives, teaching methods, relationship of social actors, beneficiaries in ELEP and finally the impact of school consolidation policy. More importantly, I have analysed these tensions within the socioeconomic contexts of Yulin and larger part of China. This concurs with the discussion in section 2.2. Language Policy and Planning is a socioeconomic construct that is shaped by and is shaping the socioeconomic contexts. Different policy agents

have input in the creation, interpretation and appropriation of the policy process. In what follows, I continue on the discussion of the tensions within ELEP, by analysing the effects of tensions and reasons that perpetuate the tensions.

7.3 Effects of (Covering up) the Tensions

Tensions within LPP study are always treated as an embarrassment for the dominant rational and positivist tradition in LPP study as embarrassment (Canagarajah, 2001). LPP was traditionally seen as top-down, government led and purposeful sets of policy (Ricento, 2006a, see Section 2.2.2). It assumes that socially efficient policies can be formulated from objective assessments of the needs, processes, and outcomes of LPP. The aim of early LPP study is to solve language problems of developing nations and find solutions to social problems created by the language difference (Garcia and Menken, 2010). The traditional model of LPP fails, because language allegiance, people's linguistic choices and language attitudes are rarely rational and hardly the same, as analysed through this dissertation.

In this section, I would argue that it is bad and even dangerous to try to sweep the tensions under the carpet, because a neglect or indifference to the tensions between the policy and practice can result in the outbreak of the tensions even in a more damaging way. It ratifies a top-down perspective by characterizing those in power as legislating directives that are implemented by local schools and teachers (Levinson et al. 2007). Below, I discuss the effects of tensions from four points: the social effect of collective competition, social stratification, public resentment of the English language and teachers' vulnerability.

7.3.1 The Effect of Collective Competition

The intense competition has brought excessive academic burden for students and financial burden for the family. When I talked to some parents I know, I was constantly reminded of the endeavour students have to pay to learn English (and other subjects). Parents complain that children sleep around 6 to 7 hours a day due to heavy academic burden, which is quite unhealthy for young pupils. They complain how much it cost to send the children to extracurricular schools. They complain how deeply they feel sorry that children cannot play but to learn all the time. I have seen how struggling learning the language could be to the young pupils. Especially since there is no English environment to support the learning in communicative way, English is largely restricted to memorization of vocabulary and sentence structures.

Teachers also complain to me that the heavy workload puts a lot of stress on them. In every teacher office I go, I have seen piles of students' homework on the desks. The big class and different levels of students put even more stress on them (as I have analyzed in section 6.5.2).

To students, learning English is a boring if not torturing thing. My brother-in-law Liang, an 8 year old, studies in one of the best primary schools in Xi'an (the capital city in Shaanxi Province, which is a more socioeconomically developed city than Yulin). He complains to me: 'sister, I can never learn English well.' 'What gives you this idea, you just starting learning English[28]'. 'English is so boring. I cannot memorize the vocabulary. I cannot read the textbooks. Maybe I am too stupid.' While I try to comfort him and save him out of the stress and lack of confidence that is not matching with an 8 year old, I have my doubts in mind.

The socialization of the schooling of English has a larger negative impact than the marks on the test paper. In other words, although I have mentioned that English remains a subject to learn and test to local people, its social effect and the consequent damage are larger. To start, schooling of English puts parents, teachers and students under a lot of pressure, academically and financially. Secondly, the hierarchical structure of teacher-student relationship reinforces the power relations among pupils.

In the context of South Korea, Piller and Cho (2013) point that the claim of neoliberalism as language policy indeed brings the fierce competition among students and parents. Everyone is under a threat of losing the advantage to some other children in the other parts of the South Korea. The 'competitiveness' as core value is heavily structured through a host of testing, assessment, and ranking mechanism, many of which explicitly privilege English as a terrain where individual and societal worth are established. Piller and Cho (2013) eloquently describe the mechanism as 'structures of competition', since competing on the terrain of English is not a matter of individual choice but a collective imperative. Everyone is involved in this competition, whether they like it or it.

Piller and Cho's findings (2013) also fit into the Chinese context in terms of the 'collective competition'. English is seen as a kind of 'asset' that can lead to personal success and development. It is not out of individual choice but a collective imperative that force

[28] Some elite schools in Xi'an began English education in year One in primary schools. My daily conversation with Liang shows that even in elite schools in wealthy areas, (at least some) teachers also adopt a textbook-oriented and teacher-centered teaching model. This suggests that the problems that I identified in Yulin classrooms and schools have a much larger implication in larger contexts in China. It seems that the lack of language environment, large impact of exams and traditional way of learning through memorization make the above noticed teaching methods prevailing around Mainland China.

people into this competition. English education creates a 'prisoners' dilemma'. While parents are aware of the academic burden and financial stress that English brought to them and their children, they cannot and dare not give up their endeavour for fearing losing the game to some other students, either the neighbour kids, classmates or some students from other parts of the country. In a lot of cases, the competitors are an imagined group. However, it is still very powerful and decisive in leading parents, teachers and students behaviour. As a result, parents, teachers and students are forced, consciously and unconsciously, into this collective competition, albeit thefinancial stress and academic burden.

Secondly, the hierarchical power relationship between teacher-students and text-oriented education have reinforced the perception of power and authority among pupils. Schools can be as much about the distribution of knowledge and power in society as the imparting of skills, such that education is an agent of social control rather than nurture (Sercombe, 2008, p. 185). Ever since they are young, pupils are taught to respect the authoritative figures. Teachers sanction the legitimacy attributed both to the teaching content and the required pattern of participants. Students are taught to obey, to listen and to follow. They are not taught to question, to judge nor to be different. The conformity is reinforced and maintained in the daily rituals of teaching. Gradually, they would take the authoritative power structure as natural and conventional. The local Yuliners' perception of those in power is evidence. They have naturalized and conventionalized the absolute power of the MoE (Section 5.5). Teachers' fear of expressing themselves in ELEP process is evidence (Section 6.6).

7.3.2 Social Stratification

In this dissertation, I have noticed the way English can be a gatekeeping mechanism that favours students who have more access to English, while excluding those who have not (Section 6.5.2). Especially due to the school consolidation policy, students who come from the villages are exposed to a competitive environment while they feel powerless to live in. When I talk to some families that I know, I am sometimes shocked by the effect of deficiency in family support on village kids.

Ten-year old Tong (pseudonym) moves together with his family to the city, for his parents want to earn more money and his school was removed and emerged to a bigger school outskirt Yulin. His parents' education level is just above primary schools, which restricts their choices in the job markets. His father temporarily works as a car washer and his mother works as a housekeeper for one of my neighbours Auntie Liu. Tong would sometimes wait for his

mother to get off work in Autie Liu's house. While I was tutoring my neighbor's kid Le, he would sneak into the room and stand quietly to observe our lesson. I invited him to join us and he would immediately run away with his little face burst into redness. I met him in the family yard once and asked him why he wouldn't join us. He told me that his mother had forbidden him to come to listen to our lesson, because a personal tutor is too expensive to afford. After I assured him that my lesson was free and welcomed him to come to listen, he replied: 'Autie Liu would be unhappy about it. Le doesn't like me. He always called me *Xiangbalao* (illiterate village people).'

What Tong experienced, the peer pressure and social exclusion, is generated largely due to their social background. English education, working together with other social assets, work as a social gatekeeper mechanism that brings social stratification of those who have access to it and those who have not. Of the parents I know in Yulin, I know those who can afford to send their children to learn English in summer camp in USA and UK. I know those who can afford private tutors at the expense around 200 yuan (20 pound) per class. I also know those who cannot afford tapes for their children (see Section 6.5.2).

The parents of School C are mostly migrant workers, who have lower social status and less material wealth. A lot of them work in coal mine, city construction programs or tertiary business. According to one six grade English teacher (T31) in school C, in her class, about half of the student's parents never have showed up in parent meetings. They do not come probably because they are busy or do not recognize the value of being involved in children's education.

The children of migrant workers can be identified easily, since they appear with torn clothes and ragged schoolbags. Students of poor social background experience a lot of peer pressure and social exclusion. They are very reticent and shy. They avoid your eye contact. They sit in the classes quietly. When they speak English inaudibly or in strange pronunciation, the other kids sneer and chuckle. Unlike school A and B where parents would pick up their children after school, there are few parents picking up their children after school in school C. This is an evidence of lack of attention from the parents. They have very limited financial support for their children's schooling, such as buying tapes for the textbooks, inviting personal tutors or attending language institutions.

The economic and social status quo of the migrant workers have largely restricted their chance in academic success. The lack of social assets of the village parents reinforces and continually restricts the education success of their children. English education in schools then works as a gatekeeping mechanism that excludes the students of poor social background. English becomes another mechanism for the dominant and powerful social groups to

subjugate the minority groups. The subjugation is naturally carried out, because of the argument of collective competition (that I have analysed in the previous section) is perceived as natural and neutral. In other words, the rule of jungle makes people, whether poor and rich, believe that the success and failure depends on personal endeavour. The poor lose because they are not strong enough. They are backward and they deserve to lose. The rich get everything because they are modern, global and qualified citizens. Consequently, the educational failure of particular groups is largely result in their historically experienced subjugation to the dominant group over generations (Sercombe, 2011).

7.3.3 Public Resentment of English

The country's mixed feeling towards English generates some negative emotion among commoners. For one, it is a foreign language that might undermine the importance of Chinese language; for another, English is unpalatable for it creates barriers for some people in enrollment, employment prospects and social mobility.

To start with, English is constantly compared with Chinese, the native language, for its usefulness and status. Some would argue that English language education would undermine the preservation and development of Chinese. Ever since the introduction of English language education in China, there was heated discussion among the danger that English might impose to Chinese learning (see Section 1.2.4).

Meanwhile, the need for high competence in English creates a barrier for a lot of people, including students, academics and employees (see Section 5.5.1). Especially for students, given the leverage of English in all kinds of entrance exams, their social-mobility and life chances rely overwhelmingly on their achievement in English exams. As a result, for those who cannot succeed in English exams, English is unpalatable.

Such tendency is manifested in my research, as I would constantly encounter some parents who share their perception of ELEP with me. After I signed the ethical forms with the parentsin school B, one parent approached me and complained (Fieldnotes, book 2, p. 47):

> When can our country stop being obsessed with other people's language? Our generation is already ruined by memorization of vocabulary, drills and rote memory. Why should our children still suffer to learn the language? We are forced to remember English as imprinted signs for exam purpose. Some children are very talented in some other subjects. However, as long as English is there to guard the gate of universities, some students will not continue to studying their favourite courses in good universities.

In their 30s, the parents of today's primary school children in China are the first group of people whose curriculum includes English as a compulsory subject to learn and test in *Gaokao*. To most of them, English is the nightmare that is at high stake but of nearly no use in their lives.

The resentment towards English is even more severe for the inequity of access to English. There are vast differences between China's rich coastal provinces and poor hinterland areas, as well as between urban and rural areas. The differences affect the opportunities and quality of English learning. This is clearly manifested in my study, as three schools in the same district would have different English learning experiences. The differences in parents' socioeconomic status also exclude some poor students from social mobility and academic success. Consequently, it arises more resentment of English among some.

7.3.4 Teacher Vulnerability

During my informal conversation with T8, he shares his personal frustration over his career. As a substitute teacher (*daike laoshi*), he earns 30% less than the officially employed teachers, who can also enjoy benefits from institutional units owned by the state. The substitute teachers, however, work more and get less for they are not 'officially employed' and they only have contractual relationship with the school. As a result, there is no sense of security for his job. T8 tells me that his little more than 1500 RMB salary (150 pound per month) can hardly cover his rent. According to him, the substitute teachers are quite unstable professionals. Many have changed their jobs either due to family reasons, low wage or low social status. Since many change their careers after a while, the substitute teachers, according to T8, are not very welcomed among parents and students, unlikely to make friends with fellow colleagues and unlikely to be promoted in the schools. I can clearly recall the words of T8 that 'as if substitute teachers are debased (*diren yideng*).' T8 then tells me that he is thinking about leaving his job and changing a career that might earn more.

Even for the officially employed teachers (*zaibian laoshi*), their wage is lower thanChinese teachers and Maths teachers in some schools. For English teachers, each class is paid as 0.9 class. The average salary for English teachers in school B, as I was told, is around 2000-2500 RMB (200-250 pound per month). Given the living expense in Yulin, the salary can only lead a minimal life.

The low salary, unstable jobs and low social status, one might argue, might partly be the reason behind the lack of motivation in self-development. If one is paid little and recognized less for his/her job, arguably, one might lack motivation to devote his/her endeavour in doing the job better (Yan, 212).

Moreover, teachers' stress and burden become more severe, since they have to endure different requirements given to them by different stakeholders, such as the national government, local government and parents.

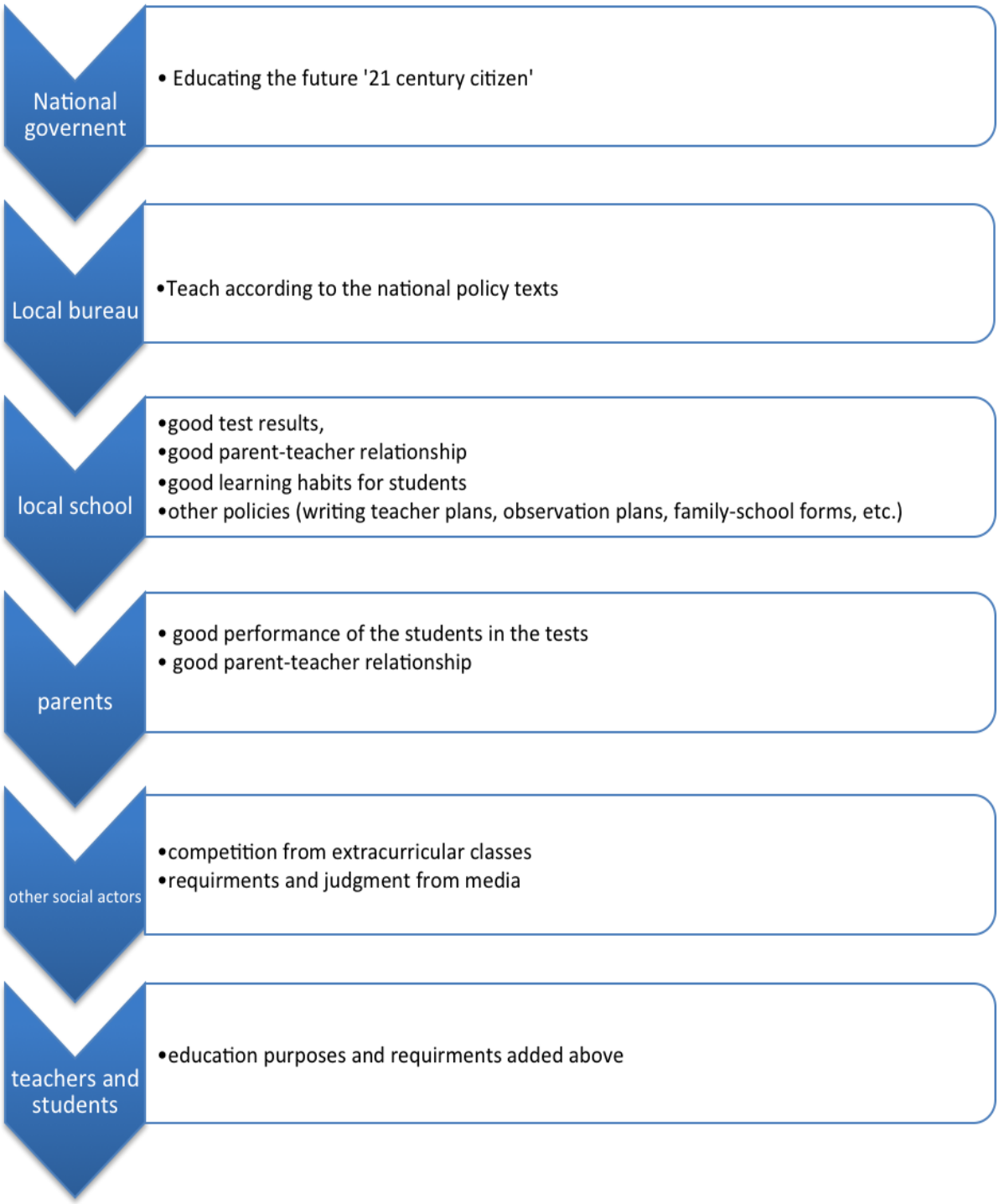
In section 5.4, I have mentioned that a good teacher is expected to make students have good test results, stay close relationship with parents and help students form good learning habits. Besides, there are different school policies for English teachers, such as writing up of teacher plans, class observation notes, political notes, collegial activities and family-school contact forms (see Figure 5.2). Extracurricular classes have impact on teachers as well.

These extracurricular classes, according to the teachers, have different focuses (Q35 in my questionnaire). Some help students with reading, writing and listening. Some hire native speakers to help students with speaking. Some uses textbooks sold in the market and compiled by commercial publishing houses. Some would go through and review students' textbooks used in schools. There are also some extracurricular classes help students finish and check the homework, because their parents' lack of time or English competency. No matter what the focuses, these extracurricular classes have some impact on teachers' classes.

Q36 in my questionnaire (see Appendix B) suggests that 25.7% of the teachers think the private institution is positive to their teaching, 19.1% of the teachers think there is no impact, while the majority of the teachers think the impact is negative. Some teachers reflect that some students when learned English in private institutions become less attentive to the classes; whereas some students cannot even keep up with the classes. The different levels of students make teachers feel harder to arrange teaching. The mode of informal English has gained so much momentum and it is believed to change the patterns and functions of English teaching in public schools (You and Hu, 2013).

The consequence of different requirements brought by national government, local bureau, local school administrative, parents and other social actors merits our thought. We can use a graph to describe the complex branches of requirements:

Figure 7.1 Different requirements for teachers



In figure 7.1, different branches of agency in policy process have brought diverse education purposes. Teachers are required to transmit and reconstruct values. As the result, it is inevitable that teachers have to resolve completing and even mutually exclusive demands from different agents, such as local governments, schools, parents and society. They have to align their own teaching purposes with different requirements and values. These requirements

are sometimes confusing and even mutually exclusive, which makes teachers stressful and confused. As one teacher (T9) complains (Fieldnotes, book 1, p. 35):

> We teach for so many people. They all come and give command, and sometimes even contradictory demands! On one point they want 'quality education' and 'alleviate students' burden', on another occasion they want high marks in the exams. Parents also give demand. They do not know much about English education. All they care is 'mark, mark, mark'. So what can we do?

To sum up, in this section, I have analysed the effects of the tensions on local community and larger parts of China. English has become another mechanism that favours those who have power and access and excludes those who have not. The gap and tension between the have and have-nots become even fiercer when English is given high leverage in important exams and promotion opportunities. This further creates a public resentment towards English. Yet, parents and teachers dare not lose the competition. English schooling has become a collective imperative, rather than personal choice. Finally, given the confusing and complex requirements from branches of policy agents, teachers are stressful and confused. The inadequate personal support (financially and professionally) has made some teachers indifferent to their jobs.

7.4 Causes and Perpetuation of the Tensions

The analysis of this dissertation provides evidence for the tensions between structure and agency manifested in current LPP study (see chapter 2). The local community would overtly or covertly obey/disobey and abandon/follow the central policy (see section 7.1). In what follows, I analyse that the tensions are perpetuated, due to the hierarchical structure of the Chinese education system. Moreover, discourse helps to sustain and maintain the unequal power structure, which further generates more tensions. Finally, schools help to sustain the tensions as well.

To start, the hierarchical power structure in Chinese education system restricts open participation and effective communication from local policy participants. The ELEP process in China is a strictly hierarchical one (see Section 1.2.1 and 4.6). The power structure follows the sequence of the state council, the Ministry of Education, the provincial education departments, local education bureaus, school leaders and teachers. Each level tries to please their upper level by 'implementing' the task as faithfully as possible, despite their contextual diversities. This creates problems, for the situation in local classrooms is unknown to policy-makers in upper level. For fear of the upper level policy makers (see section 6.6), the tensions

between policy and practice are regarded as ‘violation’ in workplace. As a result, it resembles the old story of ‘naked emperor’. Although there are many tensions within ELEP, the national government is kept blind. It then creates a vicious circle that worsens the tensions, since they are not addressed by the national government.

More significantly, this unequal relationship between the upper level and lower level policy agents in ELEP is maintained and reinforced in the ELEP discourses. As I have analysed in chapter 4, the national policy documents have maintained and reinforcedthe hierarchical relationship, by depicting the upper level governments as authoritative and superior, while depicting the local level agents as incompetent. In this sense, discourse implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the context that frame it. In other words, the discursive event is shaped by the situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. To use the words of Wodak (1996, 15), ‘discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned- it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.’

The policy texts in ELEP help to sustain and reproduce the social status quo and naturalize the unequal power relationship between the upper level government and the local government. The language policy given by MOE means to follow the instruction of the State Council and give out order for lower government branches and schools to follow. It does not take into the local needs and contexts into full consideration. In other words, the policy is political in nature, for it is not designed out of the interest of the local schools or students, but rather to follow and give out political orders. In this way, tensions are swept under the carpet, which further reinforces the tensions among policy agents and perpetuates the unequal power relationship between the upper level government and the lower level agents.

Local officials and teachers have also accepted this power relationship as natural and neutral. In other words, the national government claims its authoritative and absolute control not through forceful coercion, but largely through ‘auto-policy’. Since people will legitimize particular power relations and ideologies without being conscious of doing so, they are more likely to take it as natural and conventional, for they take things for granted. They can be so embedded in their societal belief systems that they neither question the dominant values nor realize how much they themselves are naturalized into them (Preece, 2001, p. 203)

Schools are naturalizing the power relationship between the upper government and the local agents in the daily rituals as well. In this manner, as Kelly (2000, p. 1) writes: ‘The very act of attending school places an individual within an institution that is designed to acculturate

and socialize students to accept as valid the tenets of a specific culture and to fit unquestioningly into prescribed social roles.' As section 5.4.4 has analysed, teachers and students are expected to obey the rules ritualized in their daily activities in school life, such as sports competition, choral repetition, moral education and political reports. Through rituals, the ideology imbedded is accepted as normal and conventional.

Meanwhile, English schooling has become another mechanism that favours those who have power and access while excludes those who have not. The inefficient support has further restricted the power of education success and social mobility. As a result, schools become another arena where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The unequal power relationship between the haves and have-nots are sustained and reinforced. Meanwhile, the power structure between teacher and students reinforces the unequal power relations between the authoritative figure and less powerful ones. Pupils are taught to obey and follow, rather than to question the authority. Consequently, conformity is reinforced and maintained in public education.

7.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have synthesized my findings, by discussing the issues concerning tensions in ELEP. This answers my research questions, including the effects of the tensions within ELEP. It further discusses the reasons for the perpetuation of the tensions.

Section 7.2 provides the discussion on the tensions between policy and practice. It further analyzes the reasons and effects of the tensions. The analysis is based on the comparison of the six themes manifested in both policy analysis (chapter 4) and local practice analysis (Chapter 5&6), namely the policy initiate, curriculum objectives, teaching methods and contents, social actors in ELEP, beneficiaries in ELEP and School Consolidation Policy in ELEP. It finds that there are tensions between the policy and practice. The local community covertly or overtly disobeys or abandons the policy made by the national government. I further point out that the tensions should be examined together with the contextual elements that shape and is shaped by the ELEP, such as language environment, teachers' competence, school's support and traditional perception of teaching.

More significantly, I point out the effects of the tensions. English has become another mechanism that favours those who have power and access and excludes those who have not. The gap and tension between the have and have-nots become even fiercer when English is given high leverage in important exams and promotion opportunities. This further creates a public resentment towards English. Yet, parents and teachers dare not lose the competition. English schooling has become a collective imperative, rather than personal choice. Finally,

given the confusing and complex requirements from branches of policy agents, teachers are stressful and confused. The inadequate personal support (financially and professionally) has made some teachers indifferent to their jobs.

Finally, I provide explanations for the causes and perpetuation of the tensions. One reason is that the hierarchical structure of the Chinese education system has blocked effective communication between the macro policy makers and local practitioners. Issues within lower education practice are hidden from the upper level policy makers. Secondly, discourse helps to sustain and maintain the unequal power structure, which further generates more tensions. The unequal relationship between the upper level and lower level policy agents in ELEP is maintained and reinforced in the ELEP discourses. Finally, schools help to sustain the tensions as well. Schooling has become another mechanism that favours those who have power and access while excludes those have not. The inefficient support has further restricted the chances of poor students in education success and social mobility. As a result, the unequal power relationship between the haves and have-nots are sustained and reinforced. Daily rituals and mundane practice in classrooms also serve to sustain the unequal power relations between authorities and commoners.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In the final chapter, I provide a conclusion following the structure of my dissertation and the line of argument. I also provide the implications of my research, on theoretical and practical perspectives. Finally, I conclude with limitation of the study and suggestion to the further study.

8.2 Research Review

My thesis begins with a contextual introduction to my research, in terms of national education system, language environment, ELT history in China and socioeconomic contexts of Yulin. I emphasize that my research sees language policy as a social construct that is bounded in and shaped by national and regional contexts. On one hand, English is given great importance in all sorts of exams (e.g. *Gaokao*) by national government; on the other hand, the local community has very limited linguistic exposure to English. Meanwhile, English seem never truly been accepted or embraced in China on its sentimental level. Such an attitude has led to the hesitated acceptance of English within Chinese society, which further affects local people's perception of English language and ELT.

Chapter 2 is a literature review that is confined within the boundaries of currently emerging trends in LPP study. It supports the belief that: A. Language policy implementation and adjustment should be examined in contextual reality and mechanism.B. Every decision in LPP goes through the process of creation, interpretation and appropriation, which would lead to tensions between policy and practice. C. The agency power of the local participants should not be underestimated. Chapter 2 then identifies the research gap I intend to cover in this research: the analysis of tensions between macro level policy and micro level practice and the agentive role of local practitioners. The combination of CDA and ethnography of language policy is introduced as my research design. The combination is based onsome common features of the two, including the focus on contextual impact, the analysis of imbedded power relations in the discourse, the use of multimodal data and emphasis on local agency.

In chapter 3, I provide a detailed description of my methods in data collection, including interviews, classroom observation, text analysis and questionnaire. I also map out my research procedure, which draws heavily on a triangulation design. On one hand, I use the combination of CDA and ethnographic study. On the other hand, my research includes both

qualitative and quantitative analysis. The research methods provide a rich set of data to analyze. Chapter 3 also provides the analysis of ethical consideration, reliability and validity of my research.

In chapter 4, I use principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the English Language Education Policies (ELEP). I have analyzed ELEP within six themes, including ELEP initiatives, ELEP objectives, teaching methods and contents, social agents in ELEP, beneficiaries of ELEP and School Consolidation Policy. Following the three dimensions modal (Fairclough, 1989, 2001) and other CDA principles, in each theme, my analysis is carried out through three interrelated processes: a. the linguistic description of the features of the policy texts; b. the interpretation of the discourse practice, or how people interpret and produce the discourse; c. the way policy practice and texts are shaped by the sociocultural contexts.

In my analysis, I examine the dialectical relationship between ELEP and situations and social structures that frame it. I have identified how ideology and power is maintained, sustained and reinforced in the discourse, while discourse, in turn, sustain and maintain the sociopolitical contexts. In this process, local agents are expected to implement ELEP according to the will of the MoE, for it is, through various discursive features (such as abstraction, modal operators, etc), depicted as a legitimate, serious and authoritative figure.

In particular, I point out that the policy texts have depicted English as a natural, uncontestable, neutral and indispensable tool that is linked to China's economic development and personal benefits. The importance of English and the competition in the terrain of English further legitimize and reinforce the MoE as a national guidance and decision maker in controlling the local policy agents. In contrast with the authoritative and prestigious status of the MoE, local community is depicted as incompetent and inferior followers.

Chapter 5 and chapter 6 analyse the practice of ELEP within Yulin. In particular, chapter 5 analyses the interviews conducted among several officers in local educational bureau and schools. Chapter 6 focuses on teachers' classroom practice.

In chapter 5, I find out that local bureau officer accepts the hierarchical power relationship between national government and local community. Education inequality and unbalanced development in regions are accepted as natural and conventional. Meanwhile, it sees itself as an authoritative figure to local schools and teachers, who can provide guidance and supervision to them. In other words, the hierarchical relationship between national government, local government and teachers are strictly carried out. In this chapter, I have also shown the meaning of good English language learning to the local communities. ELEP to Yuliners means good text results in the exams arranged by the local education bureau, good

learning habits (which is also largely affected Chinese way of learning and local language environment), and good parents- teachers relationship. English remains a subject to learn in schools and it is important for its value in all kinds of entrance exams.

Chapter six sees schooling as a social process and further investigates the local community's engagement with ELEP. In particular, the analysis of the classroom interaction provides a more informed base for filling the current literature gaps in our knowledge of English teaching in local levels, the influence of each policy level and tensions between policy and practice. The recurrent organization of classroom activities is important to my analysis. Teaching follows the fixed arrangement of: pre-class rituals, English songs, fast elicitation, stressing key grammar and pronunciation, practice dialogs in choral reading and home assigning. It is through the sequential forms of social action and turn-taking that teachers and students collaboratively construct what is regarded as legitimate or valuable way of English education. Teachers sanction the legitimacy attributed to both the teaching content and the required pattern of participation.

In the analysis, I find that English teaching in local community draws heavily on a PPP model. ELT in Yulin follows a strong sequential order that features in focus on the form of the language, such as vocabulary and grammar. Teaching is mainly teacher-centered and textbook-oriented. Students are not involved in spontaneous language use. More importantly, I find that teachers are challenged by some contextual constraints, including teachers' lack of language competence, large class and levels of students, exam-oriented policy from schools, insufficient teacher support and traditional perception of teaching. As a result, PPP model is a safe practice for teachers, who are caught in contextual challenges and different needs from government, local education bureau, schools, parents and themselves.

Chapter six also leads to a discussion on the hierarchical order within ELEP. The strict top-down policy making process contributes to problems within ELT in Chinese primary schools. When facing difficulties and high pressure in work, teachers do not and dare not communicate with upper level governments. The confusing and complex administrative branches also put them off. As a result, the valuable first-hand data on English teaching and learning in classrooms are unknown to the policy makers to consider.

Chapter 7 provides the discussion on the tensions between policy and practice. It further analyses the reasons and effects of the tensions. The analysis is based on the comparison of the six themes manifested in both policy analysis (chapter 4) and local practice analysis (Chapter 5&6). It finds tensions between central policy and local practice in the following six themes:

In terms of the intentions: the national government legitimizes English as a natural, neutral and indispensable in the country's globalization and informationization. On the contrast, the local community sees English as a subject to learn and take in the entrance exams. The schooling of English is meant to have good test results to compete with others, forming good learning habits and maintaining good relationship between school-family. However, given the leverage of English in important exams, local people are forced into a collective competition. As a result, learning English is a collective imperative, rather than individuals' choice. In this process, English language education creates financial burden for parents and academic stress for students.

In terms of the education objectives, the national government sees English as a tool for socioeconomic development and, with the country's ever increasing importance in world stage, for spreading Chinese culture abroad. The local community does not see a linkage of English with cultural connotations, neither with the English-speaking countries nor with the spread of Chinese culture. The education of English at school does not pose any threat to their cultural identity, mainly because English is of nearly no use in their daily life.

In terms of teaching methods, the national government intends to promote CLT and TBLT, in an attempt to promote the use of English in communication. In practice, teachers adopt a primarily Presentation-Practice-Production modal. It follows a sequential order in classroom activities. Teachers would integrate some CLT and TBLT elements in their teaching, such as extensive use of fast elicitation, dialogues and games. However, there are no spontaneous language use and real communication to construct learning. There is not much negotiation of meaning between teacher and students. Teachers are challenged with contextual constraints, such as language competence and lack of school support. As a result, the PPP model, which integrates some CLT elements, becomes a safe practice. In other words, teachers are orchestrating a 'safe' teaching practice that copes with needs of various stakeholders, including schools, parents, governments and themselves.

In terms of arrangement of social actors, in the policy discourse, the national government is legitimizing a strictly hierarchical power structure that sustains and reinforces the authoritative power of the State Council and MoE. In local practice, both the local education officials and teachers have shown an acceptance of the absolute decision-making power of the national government, while referring themselves as incompetent and inexperience in making policy decisions. However, the local participants have certain agency power in creation, interpretation and appropriation of ELEP, although they refuse to recognize their agency power out of *de jure* acceptance of the absolute leadership of the upper government.

In terms of the beneficiaries of the ELEP, the national government intends to advocate English education to serve the socioeconomic construction of the nation, either through direct ideological instil of patriotism or a link with personal gain and development in ELEP. In practice, the grasp of English is seen as an increasingly important asset in personal development. English schooling has favoured those who have access and power and excluded those who have not. In other words, ELEP only benefits a certain group of people in reality, who have more power and access. ELEP seems to become discriminatory education, where the poor are restricted from education success and social mobility due to their deficiency in power and resource.

Finally, the School Consolidation Policy is meant by the national government to bring better allocation of education resource. In reality, SCP creates a *de facto* social stratification process that reinforces the marginalization of village students. The policy has departed village students with their caretakers and exposed them to peer pressure and social exclusion in urban cities.

My analysis goes further to identify the effects and reasons behind the tensions. English has become another mechanism that favours those who have power and access and excludes those who have not, especially when English is given high leverage in important exams. Since parents and teachers dare not lose the competition, English schooling has become a collective imperative rather than personal choice. Moreover, given the confusing and complex requirements from branches of policy agents, teachers are stressful and confused.

Finally, I provide explanations for the causes and perpetuation of the tensions. One reason lies in the hierarchical structure of the Chinese education system that has blocked effective communication between national government and local teachers. Teachers are indifferent to ELEP, since they are constantly holding back their opinions. The lack of engagement of teachers is generated by and continuously reinforcing the one-way communication between the national government and the local agent. As a result, problems in local teaching practice cannot be effectively identified or solved, which further leads to inefficiency in education. Secondly, discourse helps to sustain and maintain the unequal power structure, which further generates more tensions. The unequal relationship between the upper level and lower level policy agents in ELEP is maintained and reinforced in the ELEP discourses. Finally, schools help to sustain the tensions as well. English schooling has become another mechanism that favours those who have power and access while excludes those have not. The unequal power relationship between the haves and have-nots are sustained and reinforced. School rituals and mundane classroom practice also serve to nebulize the power relations between the powerful and less powerful.

8.3 ELEP: Looking into the Future

To start with, my research has demonstrated the tensions between the policy and practice. Language policy is not only enacted in the form of written documents, issued by some established institutions, such as national governments. Rather, it also includes unofficial, covert, *de facto* language beliefs and practices of the local community. In my dissertation, I point out that local community's use and interaction with the national policy have shaped ELEP as unofficial, covert and implicit mechanisms. For instance, the language environment in local contexts has shaped the teaching methods in classroom practice and Yuliner's perception of the schooling of English.

This bears important implication for the educational governments in China and even larger contexts. Language policy and planning process is not a mechanical process. When the central governments make the policy, they should not assume that socially efficient policies can be formulated from objective assessment of the needs and outcomes of LPP (Canagarajah, 2001). Rather, LPP process is a people system. It involves layers of policy agents in negotiation of meaning. The creation, interpretation and appropriation of the LPP happen in each layer of the policy. As a result, it is not wise to hide the tensions as embarrassing failures.

I have presented the danger of sweeping the tensions under the carpet. To start, the central government is kept in dark of the real situation. The lack of communication of the national government and the local participants has created a gap between policy intention and practice (reality). Only when tensions are notified and recognized, issues and problems within LPP can be addressed.Secondly, teachers become indifferent to the language policy and planning process, when they are given no space to participate. When teachers are not involved in the open discussion and participation, they gradually lose interest in the LPP. Arguably, without passionate participants, LPP would not have desirable performance.

The recognition of the local agency naturally becomes the second implication for this research. Education reform does not happen in the committees held by the officials and experts. Rather, it is tested and performed in the local communities. Local agents should be invited in the process of the LPP, including creation, interpretation and appropriation. Local teachers should be allowed to have their grass-root committees. These committees should work separately from the government, so that teachers can have some agency in classroom change. Periodical reports might be produced to reflect teachers' initiatives and suggestions. However, the most important thing is the response and care from the governments, who should set up separate institutions to consider the suggestions of the local agents and work

together with them in addressing the issues. The tensions between the policy and practice, or between structure and agency, should be in turn solved by the communication between the two. It is like making a phone call. Unless both ends talk and listen, the communication would be a dead end with only one side on the speaker.

Thirdly, this research has its implication in teachers' pedagogy. In a lot of cases, researchers within teachers' pedagogy intends to open teachers' eyes by providing them with new and more effective teaching methods. A lot of studies in TESOL (teaching English as a second language) tend to treat the western pedagogy as 'ideal' and 'exemplary', without giving attention to the specific teaching contexts (Pennycook, 1989). In section 6.3, I analyse teachers' practice in the local specific contexts and find that teachers are challenged by contextual constraints, such as lack of language competence, insufficient school support, and contextual constraints.

In line with this argument, I would propose that research in pedagogy sees language teaching as situated social practices unfolding over time and across space to find out how people attribute local value and meaning to the language teaching. In language teaching, teachers need to think beyond the teaching methodology and take into consideration what Nazari (2011) has proposed as principles of socially sensitive English pedagogy. That is teaching take into account the real local linguistic needs, such as students' attitudes, motivations and learning purposes. Regarding to the pedagogical change in classrooms, I agree with Walsh (2011) that changes might begin by looking more closely at the interaction that take place and not by importing abruptly the western methodologies. Any classroom change starts with an understanding of that specific context.

In this research, I have provided critical comments to the current ELEP in China. However, it is unfair to deny the benefits of ELEP:

In the first place, ELEP in China is the largest government-sponsored English project in the world. One of its essential benefits lies in its compulsory feature. The textbooks, teachers, facilities, supporting software and other education resources are provided by Chinese government for free. To a lot of people who have limited educational and financial resources, learning English in public schools is the only channel for them to learn English. It is to say ELEP provides every kid the right and opportunity to learn English in China.

Secondly, ELEP has developed for ten years. It has gained a lot of experience in teaching pedagogy and teacher development program. This is also noticed in my research. Unlike in 1980s and 1990s, ELT in China has diverted more attention to the communication efficiency and the meaning of the language (see Section 2.3.1&6.3.1). Teachers become more

concerned with providing CLT to teachers, although their understanding of CLT might be somewhat different from their western counterparts (see Section 6.4.1).

Thirdly, ELEP helps to promote intercultural communication and understanding. Chinese people, from primary schools, are getting in touch with English language and its related culture. Western culture has its impact in nearly every aspect of people's life, such as fashion, entertainment, art, music, sport and food. Study of English helps to provide Chinese people another way of seeing the world. The new vision and communication had been unthinkable in 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

8.4 Implications for Future Research

One of the implications of my research is that it puts spotlight on the less developed areas in China, which is largely neglected in ELEP studies. Previous studies in ELEP tend to focus on the tertiary and secondary schools in relative prosperous part of the country, since most researchers are affiliated with tertiary institutions in China, in particular elite universities in coastal areas (Zhang, 2003). As for the learning contexts of primary schools, seldom do studies touch upon. However, the learners in primary and secondary settings are the majority of language learners in China. Students also start systematic learning from primary schools, where they develop their learning habits, thinking patterns and skills. Consequently, understanding policies dealing with primary education in China is essential in understanding education in China.

English language teachers and students in inner western China are also alarmingly underrepresented in the previous research. Language researchers and practitioners may be at a disadvantage because of the loss of the potential insightful studies informing multicultural and multilingual development in linguistically and socioeconomically diverse subcontexts in China.

As China is experiencing economic growth at an unprecedented speed, the society has become increasingly stratified. The 'haves' and 'have-nots' have different learning circumstances, which can be viewed as another dimension of the discussion of heterogeneity of Chinese learners. Those who 'have not' also tend to be those who have lower sociopolitical backgrounds and live in the interior China, which needs to be considered in future research. While many educational researchers in China have begun to treat issue of educational equity seriously (e.g. Lin and Martin, 2005), language researchers can use my study to reflect on the influences of regional differences and school differences on classroom practices and critically explore the issue of equity among the language learners.

Another contribution of my research is its combination of CDA and ethnography. Through CDA, I am able to become more familiar with the national and official regulations and texts that set the boundaries for LPP. Through ethnography, I am able to see how the LPP is implemented or abandoned in local contexts. I point out that the implementation or abandon of the ELEP in local schools are not binary or static. ELEP is followed in certain ways but not the others. I find out the constraints and rationales for the local creation, interpretation and appropriation of the ELEP in different situations.

I would propose the combination of CDA and ethnography in the future research in ELEP and other LPP studies. On one hand, a critical analysis of policy is necessary, one that pushes past questions of efficiency and outcomes to questions of 'how power is used to define the parameters of particular questions, to set the rules for particular practices, and to shape particular agendas' (Edmondson, 2002, p. 114). CDA demystifies the unequal power relationships that sustain the domination, marginalization, exclusion of some people over others. These relations require analysis because there are no societies whose logic and dynamic, including how semiosis figures within them, are fully transparent to all: the forms in which they appear to people are often partial and in part misleading. My analysis in Chinese ELEP, in this sense, serves as an example in identifying the power and ideology imbedded in the policy documents.

In my research, I focus on policy documents written by national government. Rituals in schools and classroom practice are also counted as multimodal discourse in my analysis. Researchers can use my analysis as an ample and focus on other multimodal discourse, such as students' textbooks. The analysis of the textbook shed light on the intention, standards, framework and criteria of LPP made by the macro-level policy agents. Several scholars have pointed out the importance of textbook analysis in LPP. Adamson (2002) documents the views of effective and appropriate pedagogy imbedded in the PEP textbooks. Through the comparison of PEP secondary-school textbooks compiled in 1980s and 2006, Ortan (2009a) argues that Chinese students in the textbooks have more interaction and engagement with native English speakers, who are also more complex, interesting and amicable. Zhang and Hu (2010) believe that the officially approved textbooks translate the ideal curriculum designed by the macro policy makers into 'operational frameworks or instruments for use in curriculum events'. Textbooks present what the policy makers consider as normal and acceptable. The content, focus and materials in the textbooks all embody the selection and preference of the policy makers. In other words, everything has been pre-established by the authors with specific aims in mind.

On the other hand, ethnography provides a detailed look in real contexts to see the connection and disparities between macro level policy and micro level practice and the agentive role of local practitioners. Ethnography allows for an insider's voice to get some exposure. It's also humanistic, by allowing for real life stories to speak for people (rather than, say, a set of impersonal statistics). LPP and people's perception of LPP do not always manifest explicitly in oral or written forms, rather they are embodied in local mundane daily practices and exist in the form of locally co-produced and naturalised conventions.

My ethnographic study identifies that School Consolidation Policy has a big effect for ELT and ELEP in local community. SCP has rarely been touched upon by previous studies. Had I never conduct the ethnographic study, I would miss out the effect of SCP on socialization of the students, discrimination of the poor and reinforcement of the gap between the rich and poor. Researchers within ELEP or LPP study can draw on my study and look into other contexts. Research in different contexts can identify the meaning and value of schooling of English to local communities. It would contribute to our knowledge on creation, interpretation and appropriation of the LPP. It would also add our knowledge on the socialization process of a given language policy.

Specifically, the analysis of rituals in LPP merits scholarly attention. Ritual has its power in regularity. It might appear subtle and implicit, yet its social impact should not be underestimated. People can be so embedded in their societal belief systems that they neither question the dominant values nor realize how much they are naturalized into them. Researchers can draw on my study and explore the effect of rituals in maintaining power relations and sustaining status quo.

That is said, however, I would also like to reflect on some of the limitations of my study, with the intention of proposing future research directions that will build on and contribute to the findings of this study within China and beyond.

To start, this research only focuses on Yulin as a research site to find out the tension between policy and practice within ELEP. Yulin share a lot of common contextual features with other cities in China, including the language environment, teachers' competence, textbooks used and traditional perception of teaching. This makes my research applicable to larger contexts. However, Yulin is unique on its own. Further research conducted in other cities could contribute to ELEP and LPP studies.

Moreover, my thesis uses questionnaire as one of the research methods. However, they are used only as complementary data to analyse, mainly since I have a rich set of data, including policy texts, classroom observations, interviews and field-notes. Besides, the number of questionnaires (N=98) is not sufficient enough to draw a valid claim that is

applicable to larger contexts than Yulin. Future research might adopt larger corpus of questionnaires to analyse. Arguably, it might result in more valid results. That is said, I want to emphasize that language policy can be implicit and covert, which is embodied in local communities' mundane daily practices and exists in the form of locally co-produced and naturalised conventions. Questionnaires ask people's perception of LPP in an explicitly written or oral way. They are not sufficient to tell the implicit and covert part of the LPP. As a result, other ethnographic methods should be used as well, such as field observation and interviews.

8.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided the review of the research and provide theoretical and practical implications of my research. Limitations of my research are also pointed out, with the intention of proposing future research directions that will contribute to the findings of this study within China and beyond.

I hope that I have offered a substantial, but by no means conclusive, interpretation of the ELEP while opening the possibility for more discussion on this research and other LPP studies in China and beyond. As a powerhouse of English language teaching and learning (Lin, 2008), China is known for its linguistic variety and learner diversity. It has the world's largest educational system. Hence, I consider the investigation of ELEP as a research field with great potential as it unveils the dynamics of schooling, policy process and power relations. There is no question that research on the experience of local teachers' and institutions' efforts makes critical contributions to ELT research development in a wider context as it may help to inform other ELT professionals in similar context. I also advocate the employment of CDA and ethnography in directing others and me in further work in the LPP studies. To conclude, I hope my thesis will draw the attention of others to the field and offer grounds for future debate and discussion.

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Appendix A

Full translation of Extract 5.3.

Extract 5.3 On the necessity to implement foreign language classes in primary schools, direct translation of texts from Interpretation of Basic Education English Curriculum 2011 (NCDC, 2011, p. 35) (texts are bold for my analysis)

1	3. About the necessity to implement foreign language classes in primacy schools
2	
3	This question, although has no direct relationship with this curriculum reform, has been a
4	controversial issue, which needs response. Our country's primary English education, since
5	2001, has been promoted for 10 years, which has accomplished world-known achievement.
6	However, since our country has a lot of population, great gap in education among regions, lack
7	of teacher resources, etc., some regions have low quality in primary English. Some scholars
8	raise issue on whether it is necessary to implement English education in primary schools in our
9	country. To response to this doubt, we, with comparison with primary English education in
10	some countries, hope to provide suggestion for the implementation of English education in our
11	country's primary schools.
12	
13	In terms of the situations of implementation of primary school foreign language education,
14	although countries have different language background and socio-political environment,
15	governments in every country all realized the significance of implementing foreign language
16	education to the nation and children's development, largely emphasizes and actively promote
17	foreign language curriculum in primary schools. The specific situations of implementation in
18	each country are listed below:
19	
20	1) Korea, since 1997 has started third grade to six grade English curriculum, with only one
21	class per week. The vocabulary requirement is around 700 words. Later, Korean MoE
22	organize multiple times of curriculum reforms. In 2008, the updated curriculum
23	changes teaching time from one class per week to 2 classes per week for 3rd and 4th
24	grade, 3 classes to 5th and 6th grade. At the same time, start national standard exams,
25	strengthen the construction of the teacher team, particularly strengthen on using English
26	to teach English, largely hire teachers with English as the mother language, set
27	teachers' entrance exams, actively create environment to help English learning.
28	2) Canada, from 4th to 10th grade implement French/English (second language) curriculum

(age 10-14), totally 600 classes, 4 classes per week, and has four grades of requirement.

3) England in Britain has its independent education system, from 1989 foreign language is experimentally implemented from age 10, the main language is French, with 80 minutes education per week.

4) France since the end of 1980s have tried to implement foreign language education in primary schools, since 1990s, specifically require students from age 7 to learn a foreign language. Since the lack of teachers, a lot of places adopt video or satellite programs. Implement 15 minutes education per day with teachers to guide. By the end of 1990s, this method is not promoted, the government starts to build national in service teacher training curriculum, specifically trains foreign language teachers in primary schools.

5) Hungary primary schools, many years ago, have implemented foreign language classes. 1990s of last century is mainly Russian. Teaching effect is not desirable. Since 1990s, it is mainly German and English, with two types of teaching time (25 minutes and 45 minutes), 3-5 classes per week. It starts from Grade 3 in primary schools.

6) Spain, since 1992 to 1993, has implemented foreign language education in primary schools (age 8-10), with three classes per week. The main languages are French and English.

7) Italy, since 1960s, have tried to implement foreign language teaching. In 1978, there were a large research. In 1985, it officially points out in the primary school curriculum that students from age 8 to start foreign language education. In places that have access, foreign language education can start at age 7. Languages include English, French, German and Spal……;lnish.

8) Dutch, after 18 years experiment, research and preparation (1968-1986), since 1986 has officially implement foreign language education in primary schools. English is the only implemented foreign language. Since well-prepared and good language environment, the teaching effect is also good.

9) Namibia, since Grade 1, implement English classes (second language). Curriculum sets core goals and extending goals, strengthens communicative competence and listening, speaking, writing, reading competences.

10) Turkey, since 1997, has started foreign language education from Grade 4, strengthens teacher-centred learning. Grade 4-5 has two classes of 40 minutes. Grade 6 has four 40 minutes classes.

11) Bangladesh, from 1990, has started English education from Grade 1, with five teaching hours.

12) Japan, since 2011, has started foreign language education. Its objectives for curriculum are: provide foreign language for students' communicative competence. At the same time, through numerous experimental teaching activities, promoting their understanding of language and culture, form positive attitude with others' communication, make

students familiar with foreign language pronunciation and basic expression. In terms of teaching methods, it advocates task-based language learning, i.e. having a goal for learning activity, pays attention to the transmission of meaning, can have clear results rather than just showing language. Teachers need provide exemplary conversation and necessary language support.

13) Also, EU, in 2003, makes an action plan that broaden, maintain and develop one or more foreign languages among preschool and primary school students.

Although there are constant controversy over the implementation of foreign language education in primary schools, people, in terms of the value of foreign language to children's development, have achieved some basic common sense: early introduction to foreign language helps explore and use children's advances in learning language (based on 'critical period hypotheses'). Such as alertness to phonology and overall competence of language. Moreover, early education of foreign language can take the advantage that children have strong motivation and low anxiety, and make them raise their learning competence, enrich their life experience and knowledge, and gradually form sustainable learning strategy, so as to promote foreign language learning. Furthermore, early education of foreign language can make students learn a relatively longer period of time, which helps students form stronger overall language competence. That is to say, learning foreign language not only helps children's cognitive development, make children form good pronunciation and tone, and cultivate children of good characteristics and virtues, broaden their insight, form open and embracing attitude.

Nowadays, countries all over the world, in terms of implementing foreign language education in primary schools, face a lot of same questions. For example, the link between primary and secondary education, teaching time and effect of learning, teacher quantity and quality. For the start age, the current research although have no extract and best time for starting age, overall, implementation of foreign language education has become a basic common sense and goal for countries all over the world.

As a result, as for whether or not implement foreign language curriculum in primary schools, we think, the acute problem is to actively take favourable solutions to ensure the implementation and quality of the implementation. (My translation)

Appendix B.

Questionnaire Regarding Primary English Teaching and Teacher Training

Dear all,

Hello! Thank you for participating in this research. This questionnaire aims to know your opinion on primary English teaching and teacher training. There are no right or wrong answers. The questionnaire is anonymous. The questionnaire will be only used by Jiayi Shi for her doctoral research. It does not represent any organization or institution. Your answer will not be showed to link it back to you. Taking part is voluntary. If you do not want to take part, you do not have to give a reason and no pressure will be out on you to try and change your mind. You can pull out of the questionnaire at any time. For questions that you do not wish to answer, you are free to not answer them. Thank you so much for your cooperation and help! If you have any questions, please contact the researcher or her supervisor.

Researcher: Jiayi Shi, email: j.shi2@ncl.ac.uk, Address: King George VI Building, Newcastle University, Queen Victoria Road, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU
Superviosr: Dr. Peter Sercombe, email: peter.sercombe@ncl.ac.uk; Address: King George VI Building, Newcastle University, Queen Victoria Road, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU

A. Basic information.

1. Please select your age group：

A. below 29 B. 30-39 C. 40-49 D. above 50

2. Your gender please：

A. Male B. Female

3. Your highest education degree:

A. Junior High School B. Senior High School C. University/College D. Post-graduate

4. Your major：

A. Education and English B. non-education and English

C. Education and non-English D. Non-education and non-English

5. Years of English teaching experience：

A. Below 5 years B. 6-10 years C. 11-15 years D. above 16 years

6. Your teaching grade (you might choose multiple answers when applicable):

A. 1 B. 2 C. 3 D. 4 E. 5 F. 6

7. Number of students in your class：

A. below 40 B. 40-50 C. 50-60 D. 60-70 E. above70

8. _____ English classes do you teach per week, _____other classes do you teach per week.

9. Besides reading classes in the morning, in your school, _____ English class/week in Grade 3, _____ English class/week in Grade 4, _____ English class/week in Grade 5, _____ English class/week in Grade 6. Do you think it is a heavy workload? _____

10. How many English reading classes in the morning per week?

A. 0 B. 1 C. 2 D.above 3

11. Do you have extracurricular English activities?： A. yes B. no；

if yes, the form of it is you might choose multiple answers when applicable)_____ A. English speech competition B. English knowledge competition C. Spelling test, D. Singing competition.

12. Your school is of：

A. Municipal level B. County level C. Village level

B. About Teaching

	Strongly agree	**agree**	**Not sure**	**disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
13. I pay attention to students' differences and characteristics.					
14.I think 'test' is more likely to improve students'English learning than 'playing games'.					
15. I pay attention to students'language practice, and try to cultivate their ability in using English to do things.					
16. My teaching activity is not limited to classes, but extracurricular activities, such as in students'daily lives.					
17.I teach English classes mainly in English					
18.I pay attention to their self-learing ability.					
19.I use the difference of English and Chinese to cultivate					

students'way of learning and learning habits.					
20. My teaching activity is meaning-focused.					
21.I will delete or add some materials to teach according to my teaching situation.					
22. I teach Chinese culture to my students, such as customs and stories in Chinese culture.					
23.My teaching approach is communicative language teaching.					
24.I think the younger students learn English, the better. English should be taught in Grade 1.					
25.I think the teaching materials used in our school is fit for students' age, interest, and other needs.					
26.I think the English program is scheduled well.					
27. I think there are a lot of resources that I can use to teach English in my school.					
28.My school takes English classes vey seriously.					
29. Parents of my students pay more attention to students' marks than their performances in classes or their English competence.					

30. Please arrange the importance of the teaching goals below according to your opinion (more important to less important).

A．English knowledge points　　B．Students' ways of learning English

C．Students like English classes　　D．Students have better learning habits

E．Students have English activities　　F．others：

31．What is the most important criteria for you to decide your teaching goals?

A．Teaching goals set by the educational governments. B.according to the teaching materials C. Students' ability to learn

D. According to the students'learning throughout primary education　E. Actural situation in teaching

32．How do you use your time in your classes:

teaching English knowledge: _____mins; teacher/students interaction: ____mins; students activity:_____mins.

33. In teaching English knowledge, what is the most frequent activity you use:

A. analyzing and teaching　B.repetition　C. depend on students' rote memory　D drills plus practice

34. How many students in your class attend ‘Buxi Ban’?

A. below 1/5 B. 1/5 C. 1/4 D. 1/3 E. above 1/2

35.Do you know what are the most common training in these ‘buxi ban’? （you might have multiple choices)

A. speaking and listening B. reading and writing C. review the text-books D. help with students homework E. developing English interest F. students English competence G.doing exam papers

36. what is the influence of these ‘buxi ban’ to your teaching：

A． positive B. strongly positive C. no influence D. negative E strongly negative

why_____。

37. In your school, how do they evaluate teachers’ performace? According to importance: _____

A． students’ marks in exams. B． teachers’ teaching activity

C． publication D． workload

E． all above F． other

38. What do you think of their way of evaluating your performance?

A. good B.so-so C. not holistic C. Teacher training

39. How much do you know about ‘new English curriculum standard’?

A.do not know it at all B. not quite sure D. understand E. know it very well

40． How many times of training on‘currciculum standard’do you have?

A. 0 B. 1-2 C. 3-4 D. above 4

41． What is its influence to your teaching?

A. no influence B. not too much C. big influence

42. Of all the requirements that the schools give you, what do you think are important_____; what do you think is not important_____ (you might have multiple choices when applicable) .

A.writing teaching plans B.writing class observation notes C. correcting homework D.correcting students’practice books

E.correcting students’ formal homework F.check on students’ learning after classes G.group class preparation

H.writing home contact notes I.writing teaching notes J.research activities.

43. How many group teaching do you have?

A. 0 B. 1-2 C.3-4 D.above 4

44．How often do you read on teaching methods and theories?

A.often B.quite a lot C.not too often D.never

45．Do you always observe, record and think about your or your colleagues classes?

A.often B. quite a lot C.not too often D.never

46．How many students in your class have the tapes for the textbooks?

A. less than 10% B. 20%-30% C.30%-60% D. 60%-90% E. Over 90%

47．Do you use websites to develop your teaching?

A.often B. quite a lot C.not too ofte D.never48．

48. What do you think is the most efficient way to develop your teaching performance?

A.self-reflective B. school based research C. action research D. teacher training

E. colleagues'support F. learn from other social media

49.How many times of teacher training do you have in the recent five years?

A.0 B.1-3 C.3-6 D.above 7

50．What is the highest level of training do you have?

A.schoolB.countyC. municipalProvincial E.national

51. What are the training activities do you have (you might have multiple choices if applicable):

A.English knowledge:

listening□ speaking□ reading□ writing□ English culture□ pronunciation□

B.English teaching methods：

Teaching methods and practice□ English teaching theory□ good teaching examples□ computer-based teaching□ observation classes□

Class design □ language used in teaching□

C.English education research：

Newest trend in English teaching theory□ teaching strategy□ teaching

Psychology □ analysis of the 'new curriculum standard'□ analysis of the textbooks□ teacher development □teaching methods□

52. What do you think is the most urgent to learn for primary school teachers?

A.English knowledge:

listening□ speaking□ reading□ writing□ English culture□ pronunciation□

B.English teaching methods：

Teaching methods and practice□ English teaching theory□ good teaching examples□ computer-based teaching□ observation classes□

Class design □ language used in teaching□

C.Englsih education research：

Newest trend in English teaching theory□ teaching strategy□ teaching Psychology □ analysis of the 'new curriculum standard'□ analysis of the textbooks□ teacher development □teaching methods□

53. What are the activities in teaching training you had? (you might have multiple choices if applicable):

A.expert lectures B.observation of classesC.Symposium and discussion

D.self-reflective E.analysis of teaching examples

F.web-based learning G.research on teaching topics

54. According to you, what are the problems exist in teacher training (you might have multiple choices if applicable):

too much emphasis on teaching theory □

too much emphasis on teaching practices□

not helpful for real teaching situation□

lack of teaching examples □

lack of discussion and cooperation among colleagues□

lack of training in teachers' English competence□

too many 'lectures', only 'you talk, I listen',less discussion□

lack of opportunities to communicate with the educational experts□

other_____。

四、 Q & A.

55. What are you least satisfied with in English primary teaching？ Why?

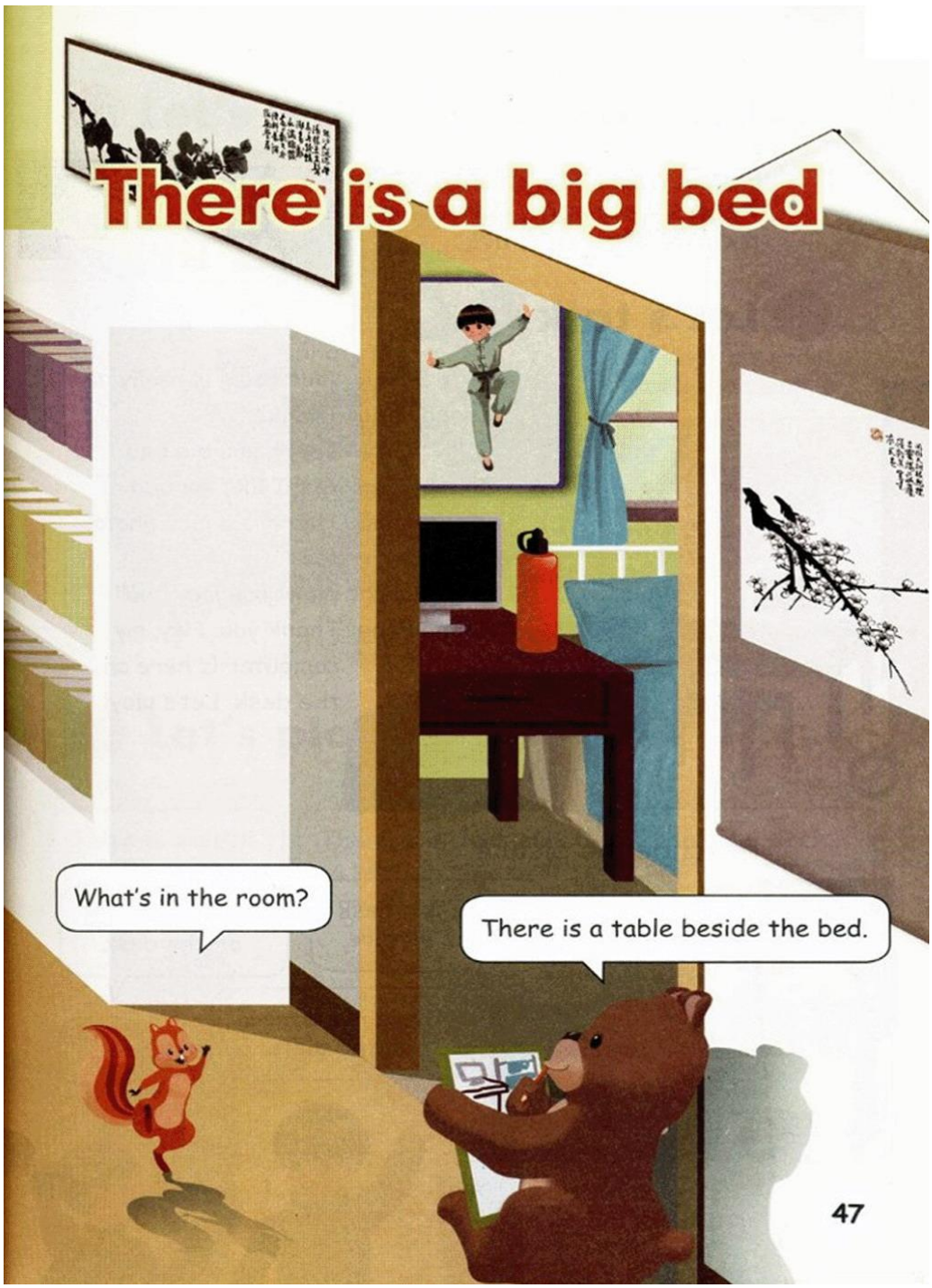
56.What are the gap between English policy and teaching reality? Do you have any suggestions on narrowing the gap, please?

57. What is the ideal English teaching in primary schools for you?

That is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you so much for your answers. Thank you so much again for your help and cooperation!

Appendix C

Unit 4 in Grade 5 (PEP)



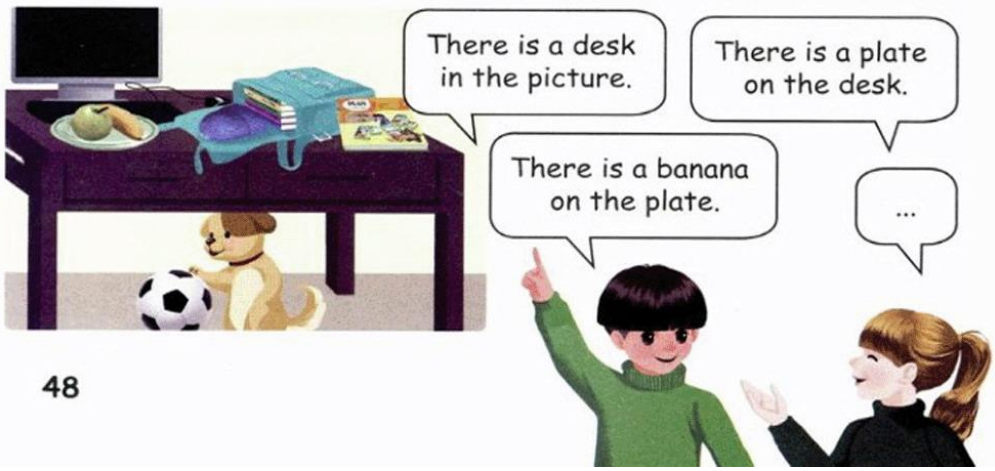
Let's try

Sarah and Mike are in Zhang Peng's bedroom. What is in the room? Listen and tick.

Let's talk

Sarah: Your room is really nice!
Zhang Peng: Thanks.
Mike: There is a big bed.
Zhang Peng: Yes. I like my bed.
Mike: There is a nice photo, too.
Sarah: Wow! You look cool!
Zhang Peng: Thank you. Hey, my computer is here on the desk. Let's play!

Describe the picture.



B

Let's try

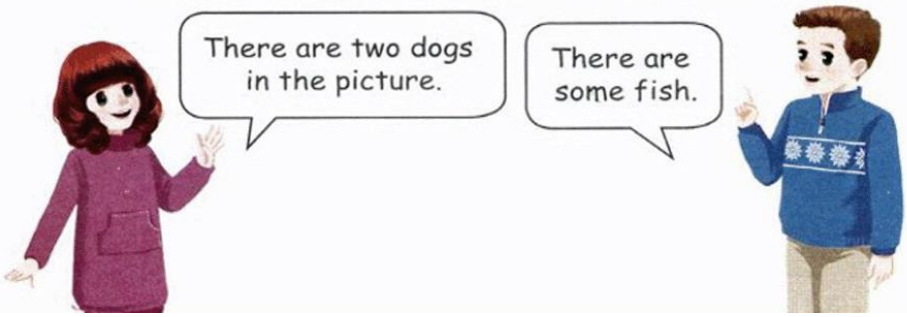
What is in the living room? Listen and tick.

☐ Some pictures. ☐ Some flowers. ☐ Some toys.

Let's talk

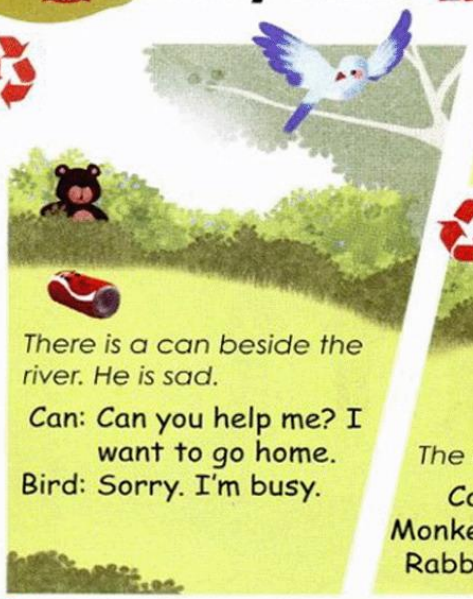
Zhang Peng: This is the living room.
Mike: Wow! There are so many pictures here.
Zhang Peng: Yes. My father can draw very well.
Sarah: There are so many plants here, too.
Zhang Peng: They're my grandmother's plants. My grandparents have a garden in front of their house. There are lots of flowers in it.
Sarah: Cool!

Look at the picture above. What else do you see in it?



Story time

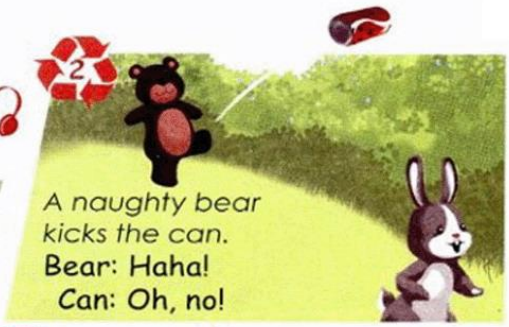
1



There is a can beside the river. He is sad.

Can: Can you help me? I want to go home.
Bird: Sorry. I'm busy.

2



A naughty bear kicks the can.

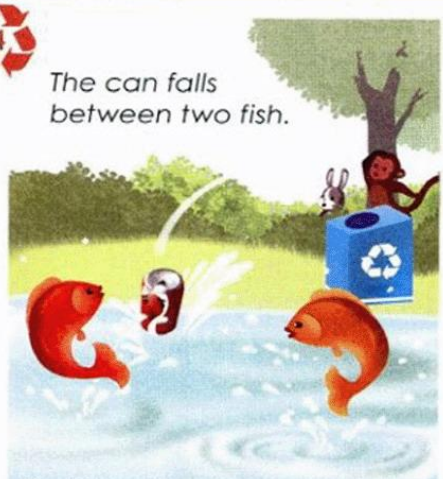
Bear: Haha!
Can: Oh, no!

3

The can flies over Rabbit and Monkey.

Can: Help!
Monkey: Look at that poor can.
Rabbit: Come on! We're late for school.

4



The can falls between two fish.

Mr Fish: Here comes a can.
Ms Fish: Let's give it to Zoom. He can help.

5

Zoom catches the can.

Zoom: Let me help you.
Can: Thank you. Home, sweet home.

Appendix D

Preliminary Questionnaire Regarding Primary English Teaching and Teacher Training

Dear all,

Hello! Thank you for participating in this research. This questionnaire aims to know your opinion on primary English teaching and teacher training. There are no right or wrong answers. The questionnaire is anonymous. The questionnaire will be only used by Jiayi Shi for her doctoral research. It does not represent any organization or institution. Your answer will not be showed to link it back to you. Taking part is voluntary. If you do not want to take part, you do not have to give a reason and no pressure will be out on you to try and change your mind. You can pull out of the questionnaire at any time. For questions that you do not wish to answer, you are free to not answer them. Thank you so much for your cooperation and help! If you have any questions, please contact the researcher or her supervisor.

Researcher: Jiayi Shi, email: j.shi2@ncl.ac.uk, Address: King George VI Building, Newcastle University, Queen Victoria Road, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU
Superviosr: Dr. Peter Sercombe, email: peter.sercombe@ncl.ac.uk; Address: King George VI Building, Newcastle University, Queen Victoria Road, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU

A. Basic information.

1. Please select your age group：

A. below 29 B. 30-39 C. 40-49 D. above 50

2. Your gender please：

A. Male B. Female

3. Your highest education degree:

A. Junior High School B. Senior High School C. University/College D. Post-graduate

4. Your major：

A. Education and English B. non-education and English

C. Education and non-English D. Non-education and non-English

5. Years of English teaching experience：

A. Below 5 years B. 6-10 years C. 11-15 years D. above 16 years

6. Your teaching grade (you might choose multiple answers when applicable):

A. 1 B. 2 C. 3 D. 4 E. 5 F. 6

7. Number of students in your class：

A. below 40 B. 40-50 C. 50-60 D. 60-70 E. above70

8. Besides reading classes in the morning, in your school, _____ English class/week in Grade 3, _____ English class/week in Grade 4, _____ English class/week in Grade 5, _____ English class/week in Grade 6. Do you think it is a heavy workload? _____

9. How many English reading classes in the morning per week?

A. 0 B. 1 C. 2 D.above 3

10. Your school is of：

A. Municipal level B. County level C. Village level

B. About Teaching

	Strongly agree	**agree**	**Not sure**	**disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
11. I pay attention to students' differences and characteristics.					
12.I think 'test' is more likely to improve students'English learning than 'playing games'.					
13. I pay attention to students'language practice, and try to cultivate their ability in using English to do things.					
14. My teaching activity is not limited to classes, but extracurricular activities, such as in students'daily lives.					
15.I teach English classes mainly in English					
16.I pay attention to their self-learing ability.					
17.I use the difference of English and Chinese to cultivate students'way of learning and learning habits.					
18. My teaching activity is meaning-focused.					
19.I will delete or add some materials to teach according to my teaching situation.					
20. I teach Chinese culture to my students, such as customs and stories in Chinese culture.					

21.My teaching approach is communicative language teaching.					
22.My school takes English classes vey seriously.					
23. Parents of my students pay more attention to students' marks than their performances in classes or their English competence.					

24. Please arrange the importance of the teaching goals below according to your opinion (more important to less important).

A．English knowledge points　　B．Students' ways of learning English

C．Students like English classes　　D．Students have better learning habits

E．Students have English activities　　F．others：

25．What is the most important criteria for you to decide your teaching goals?

A．Teaching goals set by the educational governments. B.according to the teaching materials C. Students' ability to learn

D. According to the students'learning throughout primary education　E. Actural situation in teaching

26．How do you use your time in your classes:

teaching English knowledge: _____mins; teacher/students interaction: ____mins; students activity:_____mins.

27. In teaching English knowledge, what is the most frequent activity you use:

A. analyzing and teaching　B.repetition　C. depend on students' rote memory　D drills plus practice

28. How many students in your class attend 'Buxi Ban'?

A. below 1/5 B. 1/5 C. 1/4 D. 1/3　E. above 1/2

29.Do you know what are the most common training in these 'buxi ban'? （you might have multiple choices)

A. speaking and listening B. reading and writing C. review the text-books D. help with students homework　E. developing English interest F. students English competence G.doing exam papers

30. what is the influence of these 'buxi ban' to your teaching：

A．positive B. strongly positive C. no influence D. negative E　strongly negative

why_____。

31. In your school, how do they evaluate teachers' performace? According to importance: _____

A．students' marks in exams. B．teachers' teaching activity

C．publication D．workload

E．all above F．other

32. How much do you know about 'new English curriculum standard'?

A.do not know it at all B. not quite sure D. understand E. know it very well

33．How many times of training on'currciculum standard'do you have?

A. 0 B. 1-2 C. 3-4 D. above 4

34．What is its influence to your teaching?

A. no influence B. not too much C. big influence

35. Of all the requirements that the schools give you, what do you think are important_____; what do you think is not important_____ (you might have multiple choices when applicable) .

A.writing teaching plans B.writing class observation notes C. correcting homework D.correcting students'practice books

E.correcting students' formal homework F.check on students' learning after classes G.group class preparation

H.writing home contact notes I.writing teaching notes J.research activities.

36．Do you always observe, record and think about your or your colleagues classes?

A.often B. quite a lot C.not too often D.never

37．How many students in your class have the tapes for the textbooks?

A. less than 10% B. 20%-30% C.30%-60% D. 60%-90% E. Over 90%

38．Do you use websites to develop your teaching?

A. often B. quite a lot C. not too often D.never48．

39. What do you think is the most efficient way to develop your teaching performance?

A. self-reflective B. school based research C. action research D. teacher training

E. colleagues' support F. learn from other social media

40.How many times of teacher training do you have in the recent five years?

A.0 B.1-3 C.3-6 D. above 7

41．What is the highest level of training do you have?

A. school B. county C. municipal Provincial E.national

42. What are the training activities do you have (you might have multiple choices if applicable):

A.English knowledge:

listening□ speaking□ reading□ writing□ English culture□ pronunciation□

B.English teaching methods：

Teaching methods and practice□ English teaching theory□ good teaching examples□ computer-based teaching□ observation classes□

Class design □ language used in teaching□

C.English education research：

Newest trend in English teaching theory□ teaching strategy□ teaching Psychology □ analysis of the 'new curriculum standard'□ analysis of the textbooks□ teacher development □teaching methods□

43. What do you think is the most urgent to learn for primary school teachers?

A.English knowledge:

listening□ speaking□ reading□ writing□ English culture□ pronunciation□

B.English teaching methods：

Teaching methods and practice□ English teaching theory□ good teaching examples□ computer-based teaching□ observation classes□

Class design □ language used in teaching□

C.Englsih education research：

Newest trend in English teaching theory□ teaching strategy□ teaching Psychology □ analysis of the 'new curriculum standard'□ analysis of the textbooks□ teacher development □teaching methods□

44. What are the activities in teaching training you had? (you might have multiple choices if applicable):

A.expert lectures B.observation of classesC.Symposium and discussion

D.self-reflective E.analysis of teaching examples

F.web-based learning G.research on teaching topics

45. According to you, what are the problems exist in teacher training (you might have multiple choices if applicable):

too much emphasis on teaching theory □

too much emphasis on teaching practices□

not helpful for real teaching situation□

lack of teaching examples □

lack of discussion and cooperation among colleagues□

lack of training in teachers' English competence□

too many 'lectures', only 'you talk, I listen',less discussion□

lack of opportunities to communicate with the educational experts□

other_____。

Appendix E

Interviewer: Researcher (Shi Jiayi)

Interviewee: Associate Head of Yulin Teaching and Research Centre

Interview Setting: Interview conducted in the interviewee's office in the Yulin Teaching and Research Centre building. The interview was conducted at 16:30 PM on Tuesday, 19 Sep, 2013, when Mr. Chen was on a break of a meeting.

Affiliation with interviewee: Mr. Chen (synonym) has been my acquaintance for several years. I have also spoken with him privately regarding ELEP in Yulin and CLT. This was the second interview conducted in the process. In the transcript, certain changes have been made in an effort to protect the anonymity of the interviewee.

Original Transcript (Fieldnote 4, p. 9-21).

石	您好，陈先生。很高兴您能再一次接受我的采访。我们的采访比较简短，今天我主要是想要了解一下榆林的小学英语教育状况。上一次您也讲到从开始您就参与了榆林小学英语教育的施行。您能再谈谈当时的情况吗？刚开始怎样的？
陈	2001 年全国施行小学英语教育政策。到 2002 年，榆林就已经在各个地区和县级学校开设了英语课程。但是最开始情况很不理想。我们当时培训老师，岗前的和函授的。我当时做了一个调查。180 个各个学校参加培训的老师里面，只有 17 个是英语专业。大部分还是从榆林高专来的。其它的都是非英语专业。恩（..）一些老师仅仅是出于个人爱好。一些就是为找工作。各个学校也往来送老师，但也都是其它专业的。边教边学。当时刚施行英语教育政策的时候，大家都迷茫。榆林 80，90 年代的时候，刚恢复高考的时候就差不多有高中和初中英语教学了。但是都集中在好一点的城镇学校，比方说一中，榆中。但是小学英语怎么教，如何符合孩子们的学习特点都是不清楚的。慢慢摸索，找人培训。现在进步不少，但是当时的确是把所有人都难住了。
石	后来有哪些进步了呢？
陈	大家慢慢向正规的专业的小学英语教育靠拢。小学，小学。重点是这个小字。和中学、大学英语不一样。孩子们又坐不住，又好奇，兴趣点很多但是不集中。所以掌握小学生的这个学习心理很重要。所以说后来我们也就派人出去培训，请专

	家近来培训。2005 年以后情况就更好了。从 2005 年开始，榆林施行‘撤点并校’制度，所以有了很多宏观管理的优势。许多农村小学的学生、老师都合并到城镇小学了。现在就好多了，合并到城里以后，英语教育质量上去了。促进了城镇化，教育更平等了。
石	您觉得城镇化带来什么影响？对教育的？
陈	恩（..）过去很多农村小学教学质量及其低，好多学校几个年级合并在一起上课，一个老师，上好几门课，英语、语文、体育，什么都教。完全没有任何质量。整合教育资源以后，我们能更好的利用教育资源了。
石	您刚刚提到了很多撤点并校带来的好处，有什么负面影响没？
陈	负面影响？恩(..）你把我问住了。我还没有怎么想过这个问题。好钢用在刀刃上么。教育资源本来就稀缺，所以我们更是要好好重新整合、分配。有的时候我们就是要寻求利益最大化。要说负面影响也有。比如说家长们现在就要走更远的路接送小孩上下学。所以说有可能有些交通隐患之类的。但是，还是好处多，好处多。
石	刚才你提到国家制定这个英语政策，地方上施行起来困难重重。你有没有考虑过这个事情的公平性？
陈	恩（..）怎么精光问些难答的，哈哈。也不存在个公平不公平的。国家政府就是做宏观调控管理的么。英语教育是件好事。我们最开始确实情况糟糕。因为我们不像发达城市，有那么好的师资储备。但是上面给我们任务了。他们负责制定政策、法律、法规。我们也想把这个事情做好，但是我们刚开始没有那个能力。我刚才不是说了，最近几年我们进步就挺大的么。
石	你觉得在榆林施行小学英语政策最大的困难是什么？
陈	没有语言环境。这个问题特别突出。榆林是个相对来说很封闭的内陆城市，近几年就是煤炭经济发展快，但是还是很封闭的。娃娃们课堂上学完英语没办法学以致用么。周围谁也不说英语么。所以学得快也忘得更快。一个假期回来什么都记不起了，都还给老师了。榆林还有其他问题，比方说人文环境一般，现在说是要建设书香榆林。建报停，免费社区图书馆。但是人文环境，大家学习的这个意识和氛围很差。你走在街上也看不到几家书店。学习就为了考试。所以说实行小学英语政策也有很多困难。我们从学校这个层面来说解决办法主要就是提高教学质量，请专家作报告、开讲座。起码从老师这个角度上来说，提高教学质量。关于这个问题我们下次慢慢聊。
石	谢谢您参与采访。
陈	不客气。

Translation (Fieldnote 4, p. 9-21).

Shi Hello, Mr. Chen. I am so glad to have our second interview. I mainly want to ask the history of implementation of ELEP in Yulin. Last time you told me that you were responsible for the implementation of ELEP in the first place. How was it look like back then? What was it like when ELEP was first implemented in Yulin?

Chen In 2001, the state policy requires the primary English education nationwide. By 2002, Yulin carried out the policy in every district and county. But the situation back then was not ideal. We trained the pre-service and in-service teachers. I conducted teacher training, of the 180 teachers in training, only 17 graduated from English major. Most of them come from Yulin College. The rest are non-English major. En (.) Some teachers came because English is their hobby, and some came only out of the need to find a job. Local schools sent some teachers as well, and they might be teachers of other subjects. They taught and learnt English at the same time. We were all very confused when ELEP was first carried out. Yulin had implemented English teaching in Junior and Senior middle school since 1980s and 1990s. However, most of the teachers were still based in good urban schools, such as Yulin No.1 Middle School and Yulin Middle School. As for primary English teaching, how to cater teaching according to children's specific features, we were quite confused. We started to learn and get trained since then. Now we have made a lot of progress, but it was really difficult in the first place.

Shi How does primary English education perform in Yulin since 2002?

Chen We started to get more professional. Primary education, Primary education. The key word is primary. In other words, it is different from middle school or college English glasses. Children lack discipline. They are always curious but can hardly pay extensive attention to something. As a result, how to teach according to children's specific features are very important. So we sent our teachers to get trained, and we invited scholars to train the teachers. Since 2005, Yulin started to implement the School Consolidation Policy, which generates scaling benefits. A lot of village schools were removed and students were moved to primary schools in urban cities. This

improves the implementation of the English education. It improved urbanization and education quality.

Shi What effect would the urbanization bring? How does it improve English education?

Chen Er (..) Before, one village only had one teacher, who taught many subjects, including English, Chinese, PE, and some other subjects. The education quality was really low. Through the integration of the resources, we can make the best of teaching resources.

Shi You were talking about the benefits SCP might bring. Will urbanization negatively affect the village schools and teachers?

Chen Negative effects? Er (..) That is a hard question. I haven't really thought about it before. The best steel should be used to make the edge of the knife. Education resources are quite limited and we should readjust and allocate them wiser. Sometimes we have to look for the best. There are some disadvantages. Parents now need to travel far to pick up their children. There might be issues of road safety. However, the gains outweigh disadvantages. The gains outweigh disadvantages.

Shi You were talking about the implementation of ELEP. Do you think it is fair that the national government implement English education nationwide when the local schools are not ready?

Chen Er (..) You are throwing very difficult questions at me, haha. Well, It is not a matter of fairness or not. The national government does the overall management of education reform. It is a good thing to have English education. We were in a poor situation in the first place. We were not like developed cities, so we did not have strong human resource of English teachers. The upper level gave us tasks. They made rules, regulations and policies. We wanted to do the job well, but we did not have enough power. However, as I just said, we have made progress in recent years.

Shi What is the biggest problem in implementing ELEP in Yulin?

Chen No language environment. This is the predominant issue. Yulin is a remote innerland city. Although the coal economy has developed well in recent years, Yulin is still a remote city. Students have no place to use English after school. Nobody around them speaks English. So they learn fast and forget even faster. After holidays or weekends, they would just forget

everything they've learnt. Yulin has many other issues as well, such as the poor learning environment. We try to improve the situation by implementing the 'Culture Yulin', you know, to encourage and support more people to read, such as building community libraries and reading stands. However, people still lack awareness and atmosphere in learning. You cannot spot many book stores on the street. Learning is for taking the tests. So we have many problems in implementing ELEP. From the school level, we are trying to promote teaching quality, inviting scholars and experts to give lectures. At least from teachers, we are trying to promote the education quality. We can talk about it next time.

Shi Thank you for your time.

Chen You are welcome.

Appendix F

The transcription symbols are adapted from, but not identical with, Koester, A. (2010)

,	Slightly rising in intonation at end of tone unit;
?	High rising intonation at end of tone unit;
!	Animated intonation
.	Falling intonation at end of tone unit
()	words in these brackets indicate non-linguistic information, e.g. pauses of 1 second or longer (the number of seconds is indicated), speakers' gestures or actions.
(2")	Timing of the pauses
(xxx)	cannot be heard clearly
**	for things said in Chinese
=	latching: no perceptible inter-turn pause.
Hehehe	indicates laughter, for each syllable laughed a 'he' is transcribed.
↑	Rising tone

Transcript of a class (Grade 5, School A)

1	S1	(Start a song) What are you doing, one two.
2	SS	(singing together) what are you doing, what are you doing, what are
3		you doing at home? I am speaking to you, I am speaking to you, I am
4		speaking to you on the phone. What are you doing, what are you
5		doing, what are you doing at home? I am speaking to you, I am
6		speaking to you, I am speaking to you on the phone.
7	S1	Stand up.
8	SS	Good afternoon, Ms Ma.
9	T3	Good afternoon, boys and girls.
10		Sit down please. (4'') (waiting for class to quite down)
11	T3:	Ok, boys and girls, first, I will ask you a question. Do you like animals?
12	SS:	(in unison) Yes.
13	T3:	So, which animal do you like best? Who wants to try? (Raises her hand suggesting encouragement).
14	SS:	(some raise their hands)
15	T3:	Ok, let me see (looking around, nominating one student) Zhang ** (calling S1's name).
16	S1:	I like panda.
17	T3:	Yeah. (Nominating S2) What about you?
18	S2:	Giraffe.
19	T3:	Good. (nominating S3) What about you?
20	S3:	I like spider.
21	T3:	Good. (nominating S4) What about you?
22	S4:	I like birds.
23	T3:	Good. (nominating S5) And you?
24	S5:	I like people.
25	T3:	((Frown)) ok. (nominating S6) What about you?
26	S6:	I like animals.
27	T3:	Good. (nominating S7) What about you?
28	S7:	I like fish.
29	T3:	Fish. (nominating S7) What about you?
30	S8:	I like tiger.
31	T3:	You like tiger. (nominating S9) what about you?
32	S9:	I like panda.
33	T3:	Panda. (nominating S10) What about you?
34	S10:	Panda.
35	T3:	Panda, too? (nominating S11). Ok, Wang** (calling S11's name) you?
36	S11:	I like monkeys.
37	T3:	Eum. Very good. Ok. Look at there (pointing at the TV screen,
38		which shows the cover of the PPT). Today, we will learn Unit
39		five Look at the monkeys (turn around and write 'unit 5. look at
40		the monkeys' on the blackboard) (8'').
41		*write down the notes somewhere in your books, you can write
42		on the margin of the pages. Students at the back, pay attention
43		here. Zhang…where is your textbook? Get your textbook now
44		and turn to unit 5.* We will learn some expressions of animals.
45		*We will learn some expression of animals today. This is a very
46		important unit. There are many new words in this unit. Pay
47		attention. Students at the back!*
48		From this class, we will learn something about animals. OK, first please look at
49		here. What's this?
50	SS	Elephant.
51	T3	It's elephant. OK, now look at the elephant.
52	SS	=Elepahnt.
53	T3	What is it doing?

54	SS	It's walking.
55	T3	Walking.
56	SS	Walking.
57	T3	Walking.
58	SS	Walking.
59	T3	Good, walking, spell it, spell it.
60	SS	W-A-L-K-I-N-G.
61	T3	Walking.
62	SS	Walking.
63	T3	Walking.
64	SS	Walking.
65	T3	Walking.
66	SS	Walking, walking, walking
67	T3	Look at the elephant.
68	SS	Look at the elephant.
69	T3	Walking.
70	SS	Walking.
71	T3	So, what is it doing?
72	T3	It is walking.
73	SS	= It is walking.
74	T3	The elephant is walking.
75		OK, read this sentence together. Look at one two.
76	SS	Look at the elephant. It is walking. The elephant is walking.
77	T3	Good, walking.
78	SS	Walking.
79	T3	OK, next picture. What's this?
80	SS	Tiger.
81	T3	It's a
82	SS	Tiger.
83	T3	Tiger.
84	SS	It's running
85	T3	It's running
86	SS	= running
87	T3	Listen, running.
88	SS	Running.
89	T3	Listen, running.
90	SS	Running
91	T3	Running
92	SS	Running
93	T3	Running
94	SS	Running
95	T3	Running
96	SS	Running
97	T3	Running
98	SS	OK, what is it doing?
99	SS	It is running.
100	T3	OK, read after me. Look at the tiger.
101	SS	Look at the tiger.
102	T3	Look at the tiger.
103	SS	Look at the tiger.
104	T3	It is running.
105	SS	It is running.
106	T3	It is running.
107	SS	It is running.
108	T3	The tiger is running.
109	SS	The tiger is running.
110	T3	The tiger is running.

111	SS	The tiger is running.
112	T3	OK, look at the picture. What's this?
113	SS	It's a rabbit.
114	T3	It's a ↑
115	SS	Rabbit.
116	T3	OK, look at the rabbit. What is it doing?
117	SS	It is jumping.
118	T3	Listen. Jumping.
119	SS	Jumping.
120	T3	Jumping.
121	SS	Jumping.
122	T3	How to spell it?
123	SS	G-U-M-P-I-N-G.
124	T3	Not G, it is a J.
125	SS	J.
126	T3	J.
127	SS	J.
128	T3	Spell it again.
129	SS	J-U-M-P-I-N-G.
130	T3	Jumping.
131	SS	Jumping.
132	T3	Jumping.
133	SS	Jumping.
134	T3	Jumping.
135	SS	Jumping.
136	T3	Jumping.
137	SS	Jumping.
138	T3	Jumping.
139	SS	Jumping.
140	T3	So, what is it doing?
141	SS	It is jumping, the rabbit is jumping.
142	T3	Good, read after me. Look at the rabbit.
143	SS	Look at the rabbit.
144	T3	Look at the rabbit.
145	SS	Look at the rabbit.
146	T3	It is jumping.
147	SS	It is jumping.
148	T3	The rabbit is jumping.
149	SS	The rabbit is jumping.
150	T3	The rabbit is jumping.
151	SS	The rabbit is jumping.
152	T3	OK, another picture. What's this?
153	SS	Bird.
154	T3	It's a ↑bird. OK, Look at the ↑bird.
155	SS	=Bird.
156	T3	What is it doing?
157	SS	It is flying.
158	T3	It is↑
159	SS	Flying.
160	T3	Listen, flying.
161	SS	Flying.
162	T3	OK, spell this word.
163	SS	F-L-Y-I-N-G.
164	T3	Flying.
165	SS	Flying.
166	T3	Flying.
167	SS	Flying.

168	T3	Flying.
169	SS	Flying.
170	T3	OK, so it is ↑flying
171	SS	= is flying.
172	T3	The bird is flying.
173		Read after me. Look at the bird.
174	SS	Look at the bird.
175	T3	It is flying.
176	SS	It is flying.
177	T3	It is flying.
178	SS	It is flying.
179	T3	The bird is flying.
180	SS	The bird is flying.
181	T3	The bird is flying.
182	SS	The bird is flying.
183	T3	In this picture, what's this?
184	SS	It's a fish.
185	T3	It's a fish.
186	SS	It's a fish.
187	T3	So, look at the fish. What is it doing?
188	SS	It is swimming.
189	T3	Yes, swimming.
190	SS	Swimming.
191	T3	Swimming
192	SS	Swimming
193	T3	OK, spell it.
194	SS	S-W-I-M-M-I-N-G.
195	T3	Swimming
196	SS	Swimming
197	T3	Swimming
198	SS	Swimming
199	T3	Swimming
200	SS	Swimming
201	T3	Read after me please. Walking.
202	SS	Walking.
203	T3	Walking.
204	SS	Walking.
205	T3	Walking.
206	SS	Walking.
207	T3	Walking.
208	SS	Walking.
209	T3	Walking.
210	SS	Walking.
211	T3	Running.
212	SS	Running.
213	T3	Running.
214	SS	Running.
215	T3	Running.
216	SS	Running.
217	T3	Running.
218	SS	Running.
219	T3	Jumping.
220	SS	Jumping.
221	T3	Jumping.
222	SS	Jumping.
223	T3	Jumping.
224	SS	Jumping.

225	T3	Jumping.
226	SS	Jumping.
227	T3	Flying.
228	SS	Flying.
229	T3	Flying.
230	SS	Flying.
231	T3	Flying.
232	SS	Flying.
233	T3	Flying.
234	SS	Flying.
235	T3	Swimming.
236	SS	Swimming.
237	T3	Swimming.
238	SS	Swimming.
239	T3	Swimming.
240	SS	Swimming.
241	T3	Walking, walking.
242	SS	Walking, walking.
245	T3	Walking, walking.
246	SS	Walking, walking.
247	T3	Running, running.
248	SS	Running, running.
249	T3	Running, running.
250	SS	Running, running.
251	T3	Jumping, jumping.
252	SS	Jumping, jumping.
253	T3	Jumping, jumping.
254	SS	Jumping, jumping.
255	T3	Flying, flying.
256	SS	Flying, flying.
257	T3	Flying, flying.
258	SS	Flying, flying.
259	T3	Swimming, swimming.
260	SS	Swimming, swimming.
261	T3	Swimming, swimming.
262	SS	Swimming, swimming.
263	T3	OK, now please read these words with your deskmates all by yourself, OK?
264	SS	OK.
265	T3	Practice.
266	SS	(Practicing separately of Walking, jumping, running, flying and swimming).
267	T3	OK, just stop here, just stop here. OK, now please read these words together.
268		One word three times. Understand?
269	SS	Yes.
270	T3	Walking, one two.
271	SS	Walking, Walking,Walking, running, running, running, jumping, jumping,
272		jumping, flying,flying,flying, swimming, swimming, swimming.
273	T3	OK, now I will call this line, this line read these words one by one, OK?
274	S12	Walking.
275	T3	OK, next.
276	S13	Running.
277	T3	Next.
278	S14	Jumping.
279	S15	Flying.
280	S16	Swimming.
281	T3	Flying, flying. Again please, stand up, again please.
282	S17	Flying.
283	T3	OK, next.

284	S18	Swimming.
285	T3	Good.
286	S19	Walking.
287	T3	OK, this line, this line.
288	S20	Walking.
289	S21	Running.
290	S22	Jumping.
291	S23	Flying.
292	S24	Swimming.
293	T3	Good. OK, this line. Speak loudly, loudly.
294	S25	Walking.
295	S26	Running.
296	T3	Running. Read after me, running.
297	S26	Running.
298	T3	Running.
299	S26	Running.
300	T3	Good.
301	S27	Jumping.
302	S28	Flying.
303	T3	Good.
304	S29	Swimming.
305	T3	Good.
306	S30	Walking.
307	S31	(XXX)
308	T3	Running.
309	S31	Running.
310	T3	Running.
311	S31	Running.
312	T3	Running
313	S31	Running
314	T3	OK, sit down please. OK, this line.
315	S32	Jumping.
316	S33	Flying.
317	S34	Swimming.
318	S35	Walking.
319	S36	Running.
320	S37	Jumping.
321	S38	Flying.
322	T3	Well done. OK, let's read these words again, OK? Walking, one two.
323	SS	Walking, Walking,Walking, running, running, running, jumping, jumping,
324		jumping, flying,flying,flying, swimming, swimming, swimming.
325	T3	OK, now please look at here. Let's chat together, OK?
326	SS	OK.
327	T3	Walk, walking.
328	SS	Walk, walking.
329	T3	It is walking.
330	SS	It is walking.
331	T3	Walk, walking, it is walking.
332	SS	Walk, walking, it is walking.
333	T3	Run, running, it is running.
334	SS	Run, running, it is running.
335	T3	Jump, jumping, it is jumping.
336	SS	Jump, jumping, it is jumping.
337	T3	Fly, flying, it is flying.
338	SS	Fly, flying, it is flying.
339	T3	Swim, swimming, it is swimming.
340	SS	Swim, swimming, it is swimming.

341	T3	OK, now please show me your hand, show me your hand. OK, clap your hand.
		Walk, walking, it is walking.
343	T3	Walk, walking, it is walking.
344	SS	Walk, walking, it is walking.
345	T3	Run, running, it is running.
346	SS	Run, running, it is running.
347	T3	Run, running, it is running.
348	SS	Run, running, it is running.
349	T3	Jump, jumping, it is jumping.
350	SS	Jump, jumping, it is jumping.
351	T3	Jump, jumping, it is jumping.
352	SS	Jump, jumping, it is jumping.
353	T3	Fly, flying, it is flying.
354	SS	Fly, flying, it is flying.
355	T3	Fly, flying, it is flying.
356	SS	Fly, flying, it is flying.
357	T3	Swim, swimming, it is swimming.
358	SS	Swim, swimming, it is swimming.
359	T3	Swim, swimming, it is swimming.
360	SS	Swim, swimming, it is swimming.
361	T3	Now, let's chat together, OK?
362	SS	OK.
363	T3	Walk, walking, one two.
364	SS	Walk, walking, it is walking. Run, running, it is running. Jump, jumping, it is
365		jumping. Fly, flying, it is flying. Swim, swimming, it is swimming.
366	T3	Well done.
367		OK, hum, well, do you like play a game?
368	SS	Yes.
369	T3	OK, there is a game. There I have some cards, I have some cards. First, read
370		them together, read them together. What's this? (show word cards to SS)
371	SS	Fighting.
372	T3	Fighting.
373	SS	Fighting.
374	T3	And what about this one?
375	SS	Swinging/Swimming
376	T3	Swinging.
377	SS	Swinging/Swimming
378	T3	Swinging.
379	SS	Swinging/Swimming
380	T3	Swinging.
381	SS	Swinging/Swimming
382	T3	Not swimming, OK? Swinging.
383	SS	Swinging.
384	T3	Swinging.
385		Swinging.
386	T3	What about this one?
387	SS	Jumping.
388	T3	This one?
389	SS	Swimming.
390	T3	Swimming.
391	SS	Swimming.
392	T3	Swimming.
393	SS	Swimming.
394	T3	Pay attention to these two words. Swimming.
395	SS	Swimming.
396	T3	Swimming.
397	SS	Swimming.

398	T3	Swimming.
399	SS	Swimming.
400	T3	Swimming.
401	SS	Swimming.
402	T3	OK. Next, what about this one?
403	SS	Sleeping.
404	T3	Yeah.
405	SS	Running.
406	T3	Good.
407	SS	Flying.
408	T3	Yeah.
409	SS	Drinking water.
410	T3	Good.
411	SS	Walking.
412	T3	And?
413	SS	Climbing.
414	T3	Climbing.
415	SS	Climbing.
416	T3	OK. Now, I will call one student come here and guess word. Who want to try?
417		Who want to try? Put up your hands. Who want to try? Liu** come here.
418		OK, quickly. Just stand here. OK, you can do the actions but not says words,
419		OK? (nominating S39 to the platform to guess the word)
420	S39	OK.(S39 stands holding the word card without seeing the word)
421	T3	OK, what about this one? Guess. What about this one?
422	SS	(SS imitate the actions of climbing)
423	S39	Climbing.
424	T3	Yes or no?
425	SS	=Yes.
426		(SS clap their hands to complement S39)
427	T3	You are so clever. OK, next who want to try? Who want to try? You, please. OK,
428		What about this one? (nominating S40 to come to the platform)
429	SS	(SS imitate the actions of jumping)
430	S40	Jumping.
431	T3	Yes or no?
432	SS	=Yes.
433		(SS clap their hands to complement S40)
434	T3	You are so clever. OK, next, next? OK, come here. This word, guess.
435		(nominating S41 to come to the platform)
436	SS	(SS imitate the actions of walking)
437	S41	Walking.
438	T3	Yes or no?
439	SS	=Yes.
440		(SS clap their hands to complement S41)
441	T3	You are clever too. OK, next, Bai ** come here. OK, guess.
442		(nominating S42 to come to the platform)
443	SS	(SS imitate the actions of drinking water)
444	S42	Drinking water
445	SS	=Yes.
446		(SS clap their hands to complement S42)
447	T3	You are clever too. OK, next, next one. OK, come here. OK, this one, guess.
448	S43	(nominating S43 to come to the platform)
449	SS	(SS imitate the actions of climbing)
450	S43	Cleaning
451	T3	Yes or no?
452	SS	=No.
453	T3	Again, please. Guess, guess. What's this, what's this, what's this?

454	SS	(SS imitate the actions of climbing)
455	S43	Climbing.
456	T3	Yes or no?
457	SS	=Yes.
458	T3	Good. OK, next, next one. Yeah, come here. OK, next word. What's this?
459		(nominating S43 to come to the platform)
460	SS	(SS imitate the actions of flying)
461	S44	Flying.
462	SS	Yes.
463	T3	Good, well done. OK, Wang… What about this one?
464		(nominating S45 to come to the platform)
465	SS	(SS imitate the actions of Swimming.)
466	S45	Swimming
467	T3	Yes or no?
468	SS	=Yes.
469		(SS clap their hands to complement S45)
470	T3	Good, well done. OK, class, all please look at here. Here I have pictures. OK, look carefully now, guess. Look carefully. OK, what is it doing?
471		(showing on the PPT a picture of a rabbit jumping, with the rabbit's legs
472		covered with a red heart.)
473	SS	It's jumping.
474	T3	Jumping?
475	SS	Yes.
476	T3	Let me see, yes or no?
477	SS	Yes.
478	T3	It is jumping. What about this one? (showing a picture of a walking tiger, with the tiger's legs covered with a red heart.)
479	SS	Walking. It is walking.
480	T3	Walking?
481	SS	Yes.
482	T3	Yes or no?
483	SS	Yes.
484	T3	So, it is walking.
485	SS	=Walking.
486	T3	In this picture? (showing a picture of a eating cat, with the cat's mouth covered with a red heart.)
487	SS	Eating.
488	T3	Eating?
489	SS	Yes.
490	T3	So, what is it doing?
491	SS	It is eating.
492	T3	Yeah, it is eating.
493	SS	=Eating.
494	T	OK, what is it doing? (showing a picture of a dancing bee, with the bee's legs covered with a red heart.)
495	SS	It is dancing.
496	T3	It is dancing?
497	SS	Yes.
498	T3	You are so clever. Dancing.
499	SS	Dancing.
500	T3	Dancing.
501	SS	Dancing.
502	T3	Dancing.
503	SS	Dancing.
504	T3	OK, good. Here I have some pictures too. Use the sentence structures 'Look at
505		What, He or She or It is what' describe pictures, OK?' *Use the sentence
506		structure of Look at somebody. He/She/It is doing something"to describe

507		pictures. * Ok?
508	SS	OK.
509	T3	*Use the sentence structures of “Look at…He/She/It is …” to describe the following pictures.*
510		(write “Look at…He/She/It is …” on the blackboard. Showing a picture of a Chinese sport man Liu Xiang running.)
511	SS	Look at Liu Xiang, he is running.
512	T3	He is Liu Xiang. What is he doing?
513	SS	He is running.
514	T3	So, you can say ↑“ look at↑”
515	SS	Liu Xiang, he is running
516	T3	Next picture. I will call one student, I will call one student. So put up your hands. OK, next picture. Who is he?
517	SS	He is Yao Ming.
518	T3	*I will call one student describe this picture.* OK, you please.(Nominating S46)
519	S46	Look at Yao Ming, he is jumping.
520	T3	Yes or no?
521	SS	Yes.
522	T3	OK, let’s say good, good, very good.
523	SS	Good, good, very good.
524	T3	OK, sit down please. OK, next picture. She is↑ (Showing a picture of a Chinese sport woman Lou Xuejuan swimming)
525	SS	Lou Xuejuan.
526	T3	Yes. Who want to try? Who want to try? OK, please. (nominating S47)
527	S47	She is swimming.
528	T3	Look at↑ (suggesting S47 to finish the sentence)
529	S47	Look at Lou Xuejuan, she is swimming.
530	T3	Yse or no?
531	SS	Yes.
532	T3	Well done, OK, let’s say good, good, very good.
533	SS	= good, good, very good.
534	T3	OK, sit down please. OK, next picture. Who is he? (Showing a picture of a Chinese singer Zhou Jielun singing)
535	SS	Zhou Jielun.
536	T3	He is↑
537	SS	Zhou Jielun.
538	T3	What is he doing? Who want to try? OK. (Nominating S48)
539	S48	Look at Zhou Jielun, he is singing.
540	T3	Yse or no?
541	SS	Yes.
542	T3	Singing.
543	SS	Singing.
544	T3	OK, next. A cat. A lovely cat. Zhang**(Showing a picture of a cat sleeping) (nominating S 49)
545	S49	Look at the cat, it is sleeping.
546	T3	Yes or no?
547	SS	Yes.
548	T3	It is sleeping. Another picture. (Showing a picture of a bird flying) (nominating S 50)
549	S50	Look at the bird, it is flying.
550	T3	It is ↑flying.
551	SS	=flying.
552	T3	Good, OK, next. Wei**(Showing a picture of a tiger walking) (nominating S 51)
553	S51	Look at the tiger, it is walking.
554	T3	Is it a tiger?

555	SS	No, it is a lion.
556	T3	It is a lion. So you can say look at the lion, it is walking.
557	SS	= the lion, it is walking.
558	T3	OK, sit down please. OK, this picture. Look at Chris Wang, she is Chris Wang.
559		(Showing a picture of a woman climbing the mountain) So, how to describe?
561		Who want to try? (nominating S 52)
562	S52	Look at Chris Wang, she is (.) climbing (.) a mountain.
563	T3	Good. Climbing mountains. Yes, OK, what are they? What are they? (Showing a picture of zebras drinking water) (nominating S 53)
564	S53	They are drinking water.
565	T3	They are drinking water. They are zebra. What are they doing? They are↑
566	SS	They are drinking water.
567	T3	So, you can say, look at the zebra, they are drinking water.
568		Good, sit down please. OK, next. (Showing a picture of cats fighting)
569		What are they? What are they? What are they? They are↑
570	SS	Cats.
571	T3	So, how to say this sentence, Ma**(nominating S 54)
572	S54	Look at the cats, they are fighting.
573	SS	= Fighting/Playing.
574	S54	Fighting.
575	T3	Yes, fighting. Do you know fighting?
576	SS	Yes.
577	T3	So you can say, look at the↑
578	SS	Cats, they are fighting.
579	T3	OK, next picture. What's this? (Showing a picture of a monkey swinging) (nominating S55)
580	S55	Monkey.
581	T3	It is ↑
582	S55	Swinging.
583	T3	Yes, swinging, swinging. OK, sit down please. You are so good. OK, now I will
584		call some students do some actions, and other students guess, OK?
585	SS	OK.
586	T3	OK, who want to try? Jiang** Come here and do the actions. You can guess.*I
587		will let some students to come to the platform. They can do some actions.
588		Use the words that we have learnt today to describe what they are doing. Use the words we taught today. Everyone, clear?*
589	SS	Yes!
590	T3	(nominating S56 to come to the platform)
591	S56	(Do the action of 'jumping')
592	T3	What is he doing?
593	SS	Jumping.
594	T3	He is jumping.
595	SS	He is jumping.
596	T3	Yes or no.
597	SS	Yes.
598	T3	Good. OK, next. Put up your hands please. OK, you please. Come here. (nominating S57 to come to the platform)
599	SS	(Do the action of 'running')
600	S57	He is running.
601	T3	Yes or no?
602	SS	Yes.
603	T3	Good. OK, next. Ma**(nominating S58 to come to the platform)
604	SS	(Do the action of 'flying')
605	T3	Look at↑
606	S58	Ma**, she is flying.
607	T3	OK, just like a bird, thank you. OK, next. Oh you two. OK. (nominating

		S59&S60 to come to the platform) (Silently suggesting S59&S60 to pretend to fight with each other.)
608	SS	(Do the action of 'fighting')
609	T3	What are they doing?
610	S59&60	They are fighting.
611	T3	Yes, they are fighting. OK, next. (nominating S61 to come to the platform) Come here.
612	SS	(Do the action of 'walking')
613	S61	He is walking.
614	T3	Yes or no?
615	SS	Yes.
616	T3	(Bell rings outside to suggest the end of the class) Good, OK, go to your seat.
617		Ok, everyone, today we've learned several words to describe actions: jumping,
618		Running, swimming, swinging, singing, fighting. *Today's homework is writing
619		these words each in three times and the Chinese equivalences as well.* Ok, class is Over.
620	S1	One, two.
621	SS	(Everyone stands up) Goodbye, Ms Ma.
622	T3	Goodbye, students. * Class is over.*