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An investigation into perceptions of Non-native English Teachers in Shanghai about their English teaching role and responsibilities in secondary schools

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO PERCEPTIONS OF NON-NATIVE ENGLISH TEACHERS IN SHANGHAI ABOUT THEIR ENGLISH TEACHING ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Ed. D.

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DURHAM UNIVERSITY

2014

An investigation into perceptions of Non-native English Teachers in Shanghai about their English teaching role and responsibilities in secondary schools

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Submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Education

in the

School of Education

Durham University

May 2014

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Abstract for the thesis entitled "An investigation into perceptions of Non-native English Teachers in Shanghai about their English teaching roles and responsibilities in secondary schools"

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ABSTRACT

Purpose

The Non-native English (NNE) teachers who teach English as a Foreign Language face unique societal and job-related challenges. NNE teachers have been a significant part of China's development and educational reform since 1978. The perceptions and beliefs of six Shanghai-based English teachers with varying degrees of teaching experience, while performing their language teaching duties at the secondary school level are discussed herein. While teaching and use of English have been government goals since 1978, observing teaching patterns and the underlying theories at work, have only recently begun to be elaborated upon.

Procedures

This ethnographic study, using Grounded Theory analysis, through in-depth interviews and classroom observations; elaborates how English language teaching within China's educational system and the changes over time affect teacher perspectives. Data collected from in-depth, unstructured interviews were analyzed and categorized using Classic Grounded Theory. Continuous, comparative analysis of interview data was carried out, resulting in an understanding of language teaching roles and routines. Classroom observations with accompanying discussion afterwards are described and provide a greater insight into the perspectives of language teachers.

Comparison of the perspectives of three generations of teachers gave further insight into how social and educational lives are changing over time.

Major findings

Underlying theories uncovered from data analysis are put forth, including: The theory of the dominance of the high-stakes university entrance examination held at the end of secondary school and the teachers' personal teaching preferences, called 'inner curriculum' are discussed as emerging patterns in the thought processes of these teachers. Other emerging theories uncovered in this study included teachers' consistent interest in and knowledge of their students' learning processes and progress, and how language teachers responded to ongoing elements of change. This study provides analysis of the inner workings within Shanghai's English teaching classrooms through the eyes of these teachers.

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List of Abbreviations

BAK	Belief, assumption, knowledge
CBEI	Content based English instruction
CERNET	China Education and research network
CET	College English Test
CLT	Communicative language teaching
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ISATT	International Study Association on Teacher Thinking
ISATT after 1980	International Study Association for Teachers and Teaching
L1	Mother tongue language
MoE	Ministry of Education
NEEA	National Education Examinations Authority
NMET	National Matriculation English Test
SAT	Scholastic Aptitude Test
STT	Student talking time
TBLL	Task based language learning
TTT	Teacher talking time

Declaration

No part of this thesis has been submitted for a degree in this or any other institution.

This thesis is the product of original and individual research carried out solely by the author.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge and thank a number of people who have made contributions toward the research, preparation, data collection, and thesis preparation.

First, thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Sue Beverton, for her insight, professional and technical guidance. Her comments and suggestions helped a great deal towards the completion of this thesis.

The author also wishes to thank all the teachers and staff of the two Shanghai schools that took part in this research for their help and co-operation, and for making themselves available to the author. Their support was fundamental to the successful completion of this work.

Finally, my great love and deepest thanks are expressed to my family; especially to my loving, supportive wife, Starr, for her understanding and patience.

Chapter One INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background and context for this current study, which is set in the current socio-educational and historical perspective in China in relation to its English language teaching system. This study focuses on the perceptions of non-native secondary school English teachers working within this system. The study investigates their view of their English teaching roles and responsibilities.

I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1. Origins of the current English teaching system in China

In 1978, then leader, Deng Xiao Peng, introduced major modernizations in four different areas; agriculture, industry, science and technology, and the military (Evans, 1997). Deng initially chose to be in charge of Education in order to help bring about modernization, as education particularly affects the areas of science and technology. Deng's goal was to "reboot" China's economy, turning China from an inward looking nation to one that was a part of the global, capitalist economy. The first major step in this modernization process was for China to train its young people in foreign languages (Ross, 1987). University education was reformed after the Cultural Revolution (which had seen a decade of school and university closures), and Deng looked at introducing English into the curriculum to replace the former second language of Russian (Dzau, 1990). It had become evident to the Chinese in the late 1970s that the language of global business was English and if China wanted to be a part of this global economic system it must adopt the teaching of the English language in its schools.

2. Introduction of foreign English teaching experts to train Chinese in English

With the outward looking economic reform needing to have parallel reform in English language development, China began, in the 1980s, to invite international English teachers to work in China as foreign language experts. While these experts taught and worked almost exclusively at the university level, they began the process of teaching the first generation of Chinese to become the English users and subsequently, the first generation of English teachers in their secondary schools. When these foreign experts left China they spoke of their experience and their initial impressions of the Chinese education system, particularly regarding the English teaching methods they had observed. Their early impressions were that large numbers of students sat in teacher-centred lessons, using memorization and rote learning as their primary learning methods. When they left China, this first group of foreign experts took their, somewhat negative, impressions with them (Marley, 1990). Their impressions of education in China became accepted and continued to dominate the perceptions of those outside of China, even as the Chinese were developing and enhancing their teaching curricula and methodologies.

One of the aspects for the rationale for this study is to investigate these negative generalizations and hear directly from the Chinese English language teachers participating in the teaching reform and to observe their teaching. This seems to be a logical way to make more accurate and up-to-date evaluations of what currently is happening in Chinese secondary school English classrooms.

Under Deng Xiao Peng's leadership the teaching profession was tasked with the charge of Education reform and implementing English language teaching as China's second language and open door into global communication. Teachers and

administrators embraced this modernization vision and mission with all of its potential pitfalls and challenges. The first generation of English teachers responded to the task of pioneering the mass instruction of English as a Foreign Language. Over the thirty years since educational reform began, English language teaching methods have continued to develop and modernize through continued educational reform within China. Since the start of this programme, English usage has grown, with essentially more than one sixth of China's population using the language in a variety of situations (Dzau, 1990). Currently most Chinese begin learning English in primary schools before the age of ten (Dong, 2005). This profound undertaking of education reform did not come without personal sacrifice by the early teachers, most of whom were drafted into service because of their linguistic aptitude as teachers. One of this study's interviewees was such a teacher. He responded dutifully, as did many of the English teachers, and he was responsible for teacher training and launching his own English teaching career.

The early generation of English teachers attempted to further English learning and usage to enable the success of China's reformation and modernization programmes. The modernization of China over the past thirty years was a social experiment and China today owes much of its success in international business to a number of its citizens becoming bilingual and fluent enough in English to conduct business on a global scale. Paine and Ma (1993) state English teaching has fuelled an international mindset and a more open-minded approach to other cultures and traditions. Chinese educators actively discussed how education could promote China's modernisation. In China, teachers, even today, are considered civil servants and their wages are among the lowest of China's professions. In the 1990s, low salaries were among the factors causing an increase in teacher turnover (Sargent and Hannum, 2005).

3. Reform and change within the English teaching profession

China's success in upgrading the life of its population and the goal of raising families out of poverty has resulted in unprecedented social and cultural change (Khan, 1998). English language teachers have been at the forefront of the tumultuous, and at times chaotic, changes. A picture of six of these teachers' efforts will be chronicled in this study. Recently trained teachers, more distant from the initial vision, continue the English teaching cause. They too understand the importance of their students becoming more proficient in English. While newer teachers may have more concern for their own job security than the English teaching cause, they still continue to challenge their students to open more doors to greater opportunity by learning English. University graduates experience a greater chance than other sectors of Chinese society of earning higher wages than those who do not graduate from university (Cai and Chan, 2009)

II. THE SECONDARY SCHOOL IN CHINA

1. Secondary schools and English teaching in China

While early estimates of the number of Second language English students and users in China numbered over 200 million (Dzau, 1990), current estimates of students studying English suggest that this number has grown to around 300 million people, including those either currently learning or having learned English at schools of varying quality (Johnson, 2011). In 2005 there were almost 40 million students in China enrolled in secondary school education (CERNET, 2006). Secondary school students are required to have more than 900 hours of instruction in English during their three year senior secondary school programme. During the first year and a half all students follow a generalized programme. At the middle of year two of their secondary education, students choose a more specialized Arts or Science subject area to pursue. The third year of their study is related to the university entrance examination preparation. There is stringent competition for a limited number of university places among the 2200 institutions providing higher learning programmes (Chinese Government's Official Web Portal, 2011).

Approximately 500,000 English language teachers teach and make a living training these secondary school students across China, in addition to the 1.5 million primary school teachers on the payroll (Liao, 2004). The secondary school teachers use a curriculum approved by the China Ministry of Education (MoE) that essentially prepares students for the end of their secondary school examinations. The students' examination results are critical because university selection is primarily based upon these results. The curriculum used by English

language teachers is based on standardized textbooks that promote reading and English activities within the classroom. The teacher is responsible for following the curriculum and delivering it in a timely fashion.

Students studying in China's secondary school system have reacted positively to the stringent methods of learning. Mainland Chinese have been studying abroad for many years and their reputation for hard work in classrooms is well documented (Bond, 1996). While those who study outside of China would be expected to be the best and brightest China has to offer, Chinese students have advanced a reputation as both resourceful and high achievers. China has the highest number of students of any country studying abroad (Institute of International Education, 2010).

The city of Shanghai was selected for this study. Within China, Shanghai is known for its forward thinking in leading the leads reform efforts in China's English language teaching and for its innovative methods. Recent success on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2009 and 2012 has further elevated educators' opinions of Shanghai's education system throughout the world and encouraged them to investigate the reasons for Shanghai's education success.

2. Teachers of English Language in China

Teachers who have learned English as a language other than their mother tongue are in need of personal language development as well as training in teaching a foreign non-native or second language. These teachers have sometimes been looked at as second class citizens. In his book *Non-native Teachers* (1999), Medgyes discusses the special needs that these English teachers have. He states that the number of non-native teachers of English will soon outstrip native teachers. With the great number

of non-native teachers growing at such a fast pace, what training they receive and how they teach is of considerable importance. This is one of the reasons for studying the teachers' perceptions of their roles and responsibilities. How Shanghai English teachers view their roles and responsibilities, as well as how these English teachers perceive their roles within China's changing education system will be the major focus of this study.

Medgyes noted that in the classroom non-native teachers of English may face challenges over how to express points that lie outside their designated lesson. They may also be less willing to take risks that may jeopardize their authoritative position in the classroom. Their limited English ability may cause problems with classroom or task management (1999). In language classrooms in many areas where English is taught, there has been a shift of emphasis. The earlier focus of language teaching in the classroom was placed upon what the teachers were teaching; now this has shifted to what the learners are learning (Wright, 2005). In China and more specifically in innovative Shanghai however, there is still a strong emphasis on the centrality of the teacher's teaching in the classroom, not necessarily a learner-centred focus (Gu, 2005). This traditional view of the teacher puts extra pressure on each English language teacher to be a model of English, an expert in English, and to manage the English classroom in all of its complexity.

The English language teaching (ELT) curriculum is chosen and prescribed by the supervising administration, the Shanghai Education Bureau, with the purpose of preparing students for the university entrance examination. The teachers tend to be bound to this curriculum and may rely on it because of their own lack of confidence in their English proficiency. Brown (2000) states that self-confidence in language teaching, is necessary for success. Baine (2010) noted that non-native teachers' self-

perceptions can affect their classroom teaching and that when they compare themselves to native speaking teachers, they believe that native teachers are more proficient and accurate in teaching English skills. Non-native teachers' dependence on the curriculum can limit the individual teacher's personal development and could give a false sense of security among students as they fill in the multiple choice questions. Students may feel they are doing well in English if they get at least 80% of the answers correct. However, it is debatable how communicatively competent students become in when they learn English in the Chinese secondary school system.

Within any one school there is a team of teachers using the same curriculum within the classrooms for the same grade levels. Teacher planning and collaboration is necessary due to the fact that all students within the same grade level take the same examinations within the school. This means that all teachers need to have significant agreement on the content and curriculum presented on a day to day basis. This internal school pressure to teach the same content so that examination comparisons between students' averages may give an accurate picture of outcomes is another source of conformity to which teachers must adhere.

3. The perceptions of non-native secondary school teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL)

In the early reform years, as China began to develop its own cadre of English users, it became evident that the role of the English teacher was going to be one of the keys to success in English proficiency. English teaching by non-native teachers in foreign language settings can be very challenging for the teacher. Adding to this, the teacher's somewhat limited personal resources, compared to native speakers of English, and what Rajagopalan (2005) calls an "often unconfessed complex of

inferiority" (p. 284) add unique pressure to Shanghai English teachers. Moreover, the high-stakes pressure of university entrance examinations and other exams that are used to evaluate a teacher's quality of teaching can also make life difficult for the language teacher. Working in the Chinese English teaching system has an effect on the teachers' perceptions and the analysis of their underlying patterns of thought and theories related to these effects. It seems appropriate to attempt to answer some basic questions, such as: What is it like to live in this Shanghai English teaching situation? What do non-native English teachers think about themselves? What is it like for them to have the pressure of their success linked to their students' English output and examination grades? By making use of data collected in interviews and classroom observations, a describable view into the perceptions of a teacher's life and role in China emerges.

4. Socio-cultural considerations of teachers

English taught in China as observed in Shanghai, is English as a foreign language. Because there are limited opportunities outside the classroom, the EFL learning classroom is predominately the place where English is learned and practiced. English is mostly learned in a formal classroom using formal instruction (Yong and Campbell, 1995; Campbell and Yong, 1993). This makes what happens in the EFL classroom critical to the students' language learning progress. Observing the various teaching and learning strategies taking place, and how the teachers of English perceive them, will illuminate Shanghai's English language learning system at the secondary school level.

While there is usually extensive collaboration between teachers and a curriculum system in place that encourages teachers to lay aside individualistic ideas, individual

differences between teachers are observable. The curricular content is delivered in a variety of methods and teachers' own preferences and views inform the methods they choose. Brown (2000) suggests that language teachers should use an eclectic approach to their teaching, realizing the uniqueness of the context in which the teacher is teaching. Nunan, cited in Brown (2000), encourages teacher exploration of useful language teaching methods available, noting that there is no 'one size fits all' method of teaching (p. 103). Shanghai teachers collaborate with each other and may have less expression of individuality.

5. China's selection process for university using of an examination system

In China, students learn at a young age that examination results add value to one's life. High grades mean high value. Low or mediocre grades mean that one is less valuable than others and is destined to be limited to a lower class of achievers. All school selection is based on assessments and examinations. The ultimate high-stakes examination in China, one that is specifically observed in Shanghai, is the National University entrance examination called the "Gaokao" [High test] or more officially, the National Matriculation English Test (NMET).

The university entrance examination is not the only exam students take, but the entire education culture is based on an examination system that has been instituted in China for many centuries, beginning in the time of Confucius (Zeng, 1999). This examination culture begins from a very young age and throughout their school lives students are examined and ranked. Schools are also ranked and parents and communities have a keen understanding of which schools have higher rankings. In the schools where this particular study took place in Shanghai, the students had scored lower on their pre-entry school district examination. A higher ranked school within the district had the first opportunity to choose the top one thousand students

from the Junior Middle schools within the local district. The two schools in this study were then allowed to choose to offer study places to the next six hundred students. Thus this achievement hierarchy affects all students and where they will be placed in reference to the perceived 'better schools.' As a result, in the University entrance examination, a higher percentage of students attending the higher ranked schools achieve higher scores than students from other schools.

This study takes note of the examination culture, which can lend itself to a unique method of what has been called 'teaching to the test.' In Shanghai the goal of learning English appears to be a utilitarian one of learning English to perform certain limited functions while, historically, Western views on education and specifically English language learning have targeted a nobler standard than just examination literacy or academic achievement (Sharpe and Ning, 1998). However as this study suggests the dominance of the examination in China's education system leaves little time for learning English skills that do not appear in the exams. Practice testing takes on a whole new meaning when examinations determine selection or rejection for a chance of further, higher quality education that may help the students and their families to pursue what is generally perceived as a better life. The teacher's response to this dominant exam culture is therefore important.

III. THE IMPACT OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN CHINA

1. Teacher with varying degrees of experience response to change

Unprecedented change has gripped China over the last 30 years. How China's English teachers have responded to this change is interesting to observe. Three generations of teachers with varying degrees of teaching experience were interviewed in this study. Each teacher answered the interview questions in ways that

emerged from their own particular experiences. The differences in their perspectives of their perceived roles and responsibilities will be explored in this study. Change has been tumultuous in the education profession and especially in the English language teaching sector. The researcher was able to observe change taking place in the two schools in Shanghai as a result of an administration change of principals. The effect of these personnel changes on school policy and teachers' perceptions of their morale will be noted. Since the principal of a secondary school in China sets the tone and directional focus for the school, dramatic change was noticeable in the year and a half during which this study's classroom observations and interviews took place.

By looking at these Shanghai teachers' perceptions over three generations, changes and the ways these changes were perceived can be evaluated in relation to effectiveness and learning success. Besides learning much about the way secondary school English teaching takes place in Shanghai secondary school classrooms, the qualities of English teachers observed and investigated. Positive, effective methods of English teaching and those methods that appeared ineffective were noted and are discussed.

IV. FINAL INTRODUCTORY POINTS

1. Overview of Chapters

Chapter two reviews the literature relevant to this study. Research areas including teacher thinking and uncovering teacher perceptions are first discussed with regards to historical and foundational importance in general education and later within the specific teaching field of English language teaching. Curriculum choices and teaching methods affecting English language teachers' classroom performances,

especially as they relate to communicative language teaching (CLT) are then reviewed. Literature concerning non-native English language teachers, especially Chinese English teachers working in their unique situations, is further reviewed. Finally, how change affects teachers' roles and their responsibilities is discussed.

Chapter three reviews various writings related specifically to selected qualitative methodologies used in this research. Combining ethnographic observation with Grounded Theory the analysis of the data is explained. The research components related to data collection and the constant comparative analysis are highlighted as they lead to the emergence of underlying theories related to the studied phenomenon; English teachers' perceptions of their role and responsibilities. The particular steps taken for this research and process of data management will be explained.

Chapter four discusses the research context for this investigation. Factors leading to the choice of Shanghai and the two schools in particular will be highlighted. The relationship and rapport with the researcher, as well as a description of the six teachers who were the participant observers interviewed and observed will be explained in this chapter. Elements of English language teaching in the particular context of Shanghai's secondary schools are elaborated.

Chapter five discusses the findings of the study from teachers' comments during interviews and observations of their classroom teaching. The teachers' role and their responsibilities are the focus of the findings with a number of teachers' comments, both direct and indirect, are included. Individual teachers' comments are sometimes repeated by other teachers and become the basis of grouping together similar information into categories, such as: how the teachers handle various aspects of their

role and responsibilities; students, the curriculum, other teachers, administration, and parents.

Chapter six discusses the results of the Grounded Theory analysis. Through comparison of collected data, categories of information are formed and repetitive patterns of information enable the development of emerging theories. Five particular theories are identified and explained and then related to literature in the field of English language teaching.

Chapter seven gives various implications of this study's results and elaborates on twelve suggestions for change to enhance the teaching experience of non-native English language teachers in Shanghai and, by extension, to others in the English teaching profession throughout China. Implications are supported with literature from the field.

Chapter eight evaluates the study, discusses its limitations, and suggests possible improvements and avenues for further research. The ethics of this study are also described and discussed.

Chapter nine concludes and summarizes the key findings offering a concluding comment related to how this research can affect greater numbers of English language teachers.

2. Thesis purpose

This thesis will investigate the teacher thinking, or 'teacher perceptions', as expressed in interviews about the English language teaching system in two of Shanghai's secondary schools. Six non-native teachers who work in the Shanghai secondary school system discussed what it is like to teach in a system that is dominated by exams and rankings. Their expressed views of how they thought about their roles and responsibilities were noted. How they responded to their students' English learning needs and the challenges faced in an ever-changing country whose goal may be to be the world's next superpower were also noted. An attempt was made to ascertain patterns of perceptions among teachers and to highlight similar underlying theories of education that appeared to be at work in their particular teaching situations. As a result of this research possible generalizations that could be applied more widely to the English language teaching profession are made. Suggestions for improving English language teaching in Shanghai are also suggested.

3. Research questions for this investigation

1. What perceptions do non-native secondary school English teachers have about their teaching role and responsibilities?

2. What do these teachers think about their position and their relationships with others in their own education system?

3. Are there differences in the perceptions of teachers about their role and responsibilities, the longer they work as teachers?

4. Chapter summary

China began opening up its economy to the rest of the world during the leadership period of the Deng Xiao Peng after the 'Four Modernizations' in 1977. In subsequent thirty years of reform thousands of Chinese students have been exposed to English teaching and required to perform mandatory examinations. Gordon Brown (British Prime Minister, 2007 – 2010) commented in 2006 that in twenty years Chinese English Speakers will outnumber native English speakers in the rest of the world (English beginning to be spoken, 2006). The sheer magnitude of their numbers means that China's educational system, especially its teachers, should be observed and studied. Research into Shanghai teachers' current perceptions of their role and responsibilities is relatively sparse and of value to the field of English teaching.

Chapter Two LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will discuss the literature that supplemented and guided this study. A brief summary of the available research on teacher thinking research will be included and how teacher thinking and perceptions have broadened to include English language teachers. As there have been attempts to define and categorize language teacher thinking and perceptions some of these will be included here, along with difficulties experienced in defining teacher cognitions. Literature related to non-native teachers of English will be reviewed as well as the unique position of China's English language teachers. A discussion of the curriculum and teaching methods will be highlighted, including the Communicative Language teaching method and how it has been received and adapted in China's secondary schools. How change affects teachers and how the length of teaching experience affects perceptions of their role and routine are also reviewed.

I. UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF TEACHER THINKING RESEACH

1. History of teachers' perceptions research

Teachers' perceptions on a wide variety of educational areas and subjects have been researched for many years. Teachers' perceptions are the inner workings of the thought process upon which they act on when they perform their teaching role. Historically teachers' perceptions have been described in a number of different ways including, but not limited to: teacher thinking, teacher cognition, teacher beliefs, teacher knowledge, and teacher viewpoint. This study uses the term 'perceptions' to mean the inner thinking process and how their teaching context is viewed and reacted to. When researching the phrase, 'teachers' perceptions' a wide range of articles about teachers' perceptions can be found; including teachers' interaction with

students (Hargreaves, 2000), teachers' training and preparation (Lyon and Vaassen, 1989), and teachers' various roles in assessment reform (Yung, 2001). Additionally, research can be noted on teachers' perspectives on job exhaustion (Naring, Vlerick, and Van de Van, 2012), and language teachers' perceptions of how culture affects the classroom and student language acquisition (Peng, 2007). There are seemingly an unlimited number of alternative studies on teachers' perceptions and as Sharpe (1991) notes, a teacher's view or perception of his or her teaching role is a common research subject. Janesick (1977) evaluated an individual teacher's perceptions of his role when the teacher in question was teaching a sixth grade class. He found that the teacher's perspective, "combines beliefs, intentions, interpretations, and behaviors that interact continually and are modified by social interaction" (Clark and Peterson, 1986, p. 287). Research into the teacher thinking field has been active since the 1970s.

It is necessary when studying teachers, to present their individual experience and their perspectives in a genuine way. Ryan (2011) states it is important to hear directly from those individuals working within educational systems to give voice to those whose perspectives have not been previously heard. In educational studies a variety of research approaches have been used to collect data for analysis, such as case studies, ethnography, narrative research, and grounded theory (Cresswell, 2007). Whatever methodology a researcher uses, he or she should present a comprehensive view of the data rather than just segments. Our goal should be to understand and interpret what the teachers themselves do and perceive in their schools and classrooms.

2. Historical overview of teacher thinking research

Teachers' perceptions fit within the field of Teacher Thinking research, which is a field of educational research that studies the thoughts of teachers about a variety of teaching and learning areas. This includes teachers' knowledge and perceptions, teachers' thought processes, and their beliefs. Teacher thinking research explores connections between these teacher perceptions and their classroom teaching. The research interest in teachers' perceptions of their professional role and in their 'inner world' was first studied by examining teaching ability in the subject area of general education. In the 1970s and 1980s researchers attempted to link teacher thinking to students' learning outcomes by attempting to explore teachers' thoughts as they taught and influenced student actions. In teacher thinking, the focus of most studies has been on qualitative research (Byram, 2000).

Calderhead (1987) noted that in the 1970s many in education had become dissatisfied with the behaviourist model of teaching and hoped to look at, 'hidden aspects' of teachers' work. This desire to look beyond the study of the outward behaviour began to push other research agendas concerning the inner thought processes of the teacher. The oral reporting of teachers on their work, thinking, and decision-making became a research pursuit by many researchers in diverse areas of teacher thinking (Calderhead, 1987).

3. Early teacher thinking research review studies

Three reviews of early teacher thinking research were conducted in an attempt to consolidate the research agendas. Clark and Peterson (1986) reviewed sixty studies that focused on aspects of teacher thought processes. These studies covered a variety of areas that had been researched, such as teacher planning and how planning affected

teacher behaviour. Clark and Peterson (1986) categorized these studies into three areas as follows: (1) teaching planning, (2) teachers' interactive thoughts and decisions, (3) teacher theories and beliefs. The use of these three categories was presented as a valid and more identifiable way to analyze teacher perception.

One research method used to help identify these three categories was ethnographic participant observation (Janesick, 1977) using a two-pronged interview/observation approach (King, 1980). King's study was of one teacher and four elementary students. The study was of limited value to the teacher thinking field because it was limited to a simple idea of how the teacher viewed successful and unsuccessful students and how often the teacher interacted with them. The in-depth interviews did attempt to ascertain the 'inner world' of the teacher. Janesick's (1977) study of one teacher only, took place over a period of seven months and attempted to discover and describe the teacher's perception of his or her teaching role.

Shavelson and Stern (1981) reviewed teaching cognition studies that used the case study and ethnographic method. Both these methods involve studying and observing the teachers within their working environments and their natural work state. Erickson (1979) notes there are limitations to these types of ethnographic studies, especially if the study is shallow or superficial, and that the researchers lack intensity and do not apply appropriate scrutiny to their observations. If the study uses appropriate methods of data collection and the researcher is capable and does valid work, case studies and ethnographic research can produce understanding within many fields involving human behaviour (Hammersley and Gromm, 2000). After their review of many early teaching cognition or perception studies, Shavelson and Stern (1981) concluded that researchers looking into teachers' thoughts, decisions, and judgments, need to

describe their methods better and implement more complete methodological controls. They further noted that researchers should conduct more fieldwork studies of these and other methods. Ethnographic and simulated recall studies were also reviewed but were not the most productive. Shavelson and Stern (1981) found those research using standard quantitative measurements easier to evaluate and replicate.

A limited number of these studies involved secondary level teachers. Most of the studies reviewed were of primary school teachers in training. There may be a question as to whether secondary school teachers have similar cognitive processes to those of primary school teachers. The ability to generalize these teachers' perception studies depends on their 'think description' (Seale, 1999) and convincing concepts that communicate the researcher has 'been there' (Geertz, 1988).

II. WHAT TEACHING THINKING CONCEPTS ARE BUILT UPON

1. The foundational concepts upon which teacher cognition research is built

In is widely accepted that people process cognitive information in a sequential way rather than by downloading, similar to the nature of computerized information (Newell and Simon, 1972). Information processing initially takes place in the short-term memory (Simon and Newell, 1971). Then long term memory processing works in conjunction with the short term memory to store appropriate information. Ericcson and Simon (1980) added that information stored in the short term memory was available for immediate use but information stored in the long term memory may not be immediately accessible.

In order to understand teachers' cognition it is important to understand their goals, tasks within their work environment, and their capability to process information. It is also necessary to understand how these three parts interact with each other. Shavelson and Stern (1981) note that teachers of various educational subjects do not necessarily follow the typical process of cognition because their interaction with students is activity-oriented. This means that their planned classroom activity is what they are thinking about when teaching students. Their plan is similar to a script (Abelson, 1976). The teacher's concentrated thoughts tend to revolve around any deviation from their teaching plan and continual analysis of the way it is moving forward (Morine-Dershimer, 1979).

Fang (1996) in another review article, attempted to synthesize the various teacher thinking studies and evaluate whether there was consistency between teacher actions and their declared beliefs. In a sense it was an abbreviated review in that it does not summarize all studies (unlike Shavelson and Stern (1981)) but seems to use the brief review as a backdrop for Fang's contention that more research should target the consistency of teachers' beliefs and how their behaviour or teaching is influenced by their beliefs. He used the consistency view to look at what teachers say and what they exhibit in their teaching methods. Fang noted that he viewed this research focus on "teacher thinking, beliefs, planning, and decision-making" (p. 47) as 'new' when in fact research into the 'inner process' of teachers had been on-going for approximately twenty years by that time. Fang (1996) categorized the various methods that researchers employed to obtain data on teacher beliefs and knowledge such as policy capturing or simulated cases which were presented to teachers. Another research method used repertory grid techniques, in which a teacher is presented with statements and then asked to identify on a scale how they view those

statements, was used in a study by Johnson (1992). Johnson attempted to identify teacher constructs in a hypothetical situation, which seems less valid and informative than studying the actual behaviour of the teachers as they teach. New ways of looking at and speaking about teacher thinking were further refined as a result of the continued research on what teachers think and perceive about their teaching role and responsibilities.

Fang's review also identified methods of research, such as process training, which he analyzed and critiqued using various positions held by others. Process tracing is the general category for studies using specific methods, such as think-aloud, retrospective interview, stimulated recall, and journal keeping. Fang reported the disagreement over the validity of self-reported data. Some researchers, such as Nisbett and Wilson (1977) believed that self-reports were only useful for stating the record of events with very little real analysis and therefore not real data that can be interpreted. Others, such as Armour-Thomas (1989) disagreed with that negative view of self-reporting and stated that the think-aloud protocols in particular, tapped the short-term memory and should be considered valid as data. Methods such as case studies, ethnographic studies, and Grounded Theory were not mentioned by Fang although they were covered in some detail by Shalverson and Stern (1981). Fang's review, while somewhat narrow, adds another facet to the growing body of research, as it is believed that a future research agenda should include analysis on the consistency of teacher beliefs and corresponding actions.

2. Pertinent points of teacher thinking and perceptions research

In the past teachers' thoughts have been assumed to affect the role of the teachers and their interaction with their students. Floden (1983) stated, "we must come to

understand teachers' ways of knowing and their beliefs about the nature of knowledge itself before we can begin to understand the role of knowledge and curriculum in teacher thinking and in education more generally" (p. 11). Coming to understand these teachers' ways of knowing has taken many paths. Clark and Peterson (1986) stated: "The ultimate goal of research on teachers' thought processes is to construct a portrayal of the cognitive psychology of teaching for use by educational theorists, researchers, policymakers, curriculum designers, teacher educators, school administrators, and by the teachers themselves"(p. 255).

Getzels and Jackson (1963) noted that after years of study little was known about the measurement of a teacher's personality and how it might relate to the teacher's effectiveness in his or her role. In some educational systems if there is a lack of quality in student results teachers may be held responsible because of either their lack of expertise or their ineffectiveness or lack of suitable personal characteristics. Hence the study of teacher's thought processes has, for many years, been dominant in cognition research according to Borg (2006).

A key assumption among much research in the use of teachers' perspectives is that a teacher's actions and thoughts cannot be separated. Tabachnik and Zeichner (1986) explored the relationship between what a teacher does in the classroom and what can be ascertained through interviews and observation. They analyzed the teachers' comments to see if there was a connection between their professed beliefs and teaching actions. During their two year study of four novice teachers, they attempted to examine the relationship between the teachers' actions and their stated beliefs.

They interviewed the teachers intensively for one week after observing them

teaching. These week long interviews were repeated over the two year period. Tabachnik and Zeichner (1986) stated that they found similar teacher perspectives in their study to those found by Clark and Peterson (1986). There were some minor differences, as two of their teachers being studied had made strong statements of belief about their role and responsibility but their actions later contradicted their stated beliefs.

One teacher had early views about creative problem solving, something that she expected to be able to encourage students in as they studied. As she continued her teaching throughout the year she set aside those stated beliefs about creative problem solving and her beliefs did not become a reality within her classroom. As the study took place over a two year period, this may have lead to interpretive data and a more genuine picture of a teacher's role. The quality of interviews seemed to be adequate and the researchers stated that they also looked at other school factors that could have affected a teacher's beliefs. These four teachers came from different schools so their experience varied and they were compared, not with each other, but with their own stated perceptions. However although this case study was extensive and provided useful data about American teachers and classrooms, its results might not be able to be generalized among other teaching groups, such as new teachers and teachers working in different areas and countries, taking into account the differences in schools.

3. Categorizing teacher perceptions

According to Borg (2003) a number of studies have attempted to collect and categorize the various ways teacher cognition or perception is described in various studies, including those of English language teachers. Some of his collected terms

are: beliefs as a form of personal knowledge about students and their learning (Kagan, 1992); conceptions of teaching that can be classified as experience that is interpreted, and teachers using their learning to make decisions about their responsibilities (Hewson, Kerby and Cook, 1995). Other terms for teacher cognition as beliefs are attitudes and values about their teaching role how these affect their students and the process of learning (Pajares, 1993). 'Images' is also a term used to form metaphors about the learning process (Calderhead and Robson, 1991). The wide variety of terminology describing teacher cognition makes specific categorization difficult. This study was informed by this difficulty and attempts to focus on the specific perceptions without attempting to make distinctions between the various labels and categories. This study uses the word 'perspective' which is defined by Tabachnick and Zeichner (1986) as the coordinated ideas and actions a person uses to approach a problem or situation. A perspective is further stated to be similar to a belief or an implicit theory and not just a particular attitude, as noted by Pajares (1993).

III. OBSTACLES, DIFFICULTIES IN UNDERTANDING TEACHER PERCEPTIONS: CRITICISMS AND POSITIVE EFFECTS

1. Obstacles in Teacher Thinking research—categorizing the complexity of thought

Calderhead notes that teacher knowledge and teacher beliefs are not clearly discernible. Beliefs typically are ideologies and suppositions, while teacher knowledge can refer to a teachers' skills or craft knowledge or their knowledge of the subject they are teaching (1987). Teacher knowledge can also mean theoretical knowledge or knowledge related to specific cases (Woods, 1996). It can be noted that teacher cognition, whether called teacher knowledge or beliefs, has a significant effect on student knowledge and progress of learning, and behaviour and thought

cannot be separated (Tabachnick and Zeichner 1986). Borg (2003) notes in his review of sixteen studies related to teacher cognition and the way it is described, that teacher cognition is "multi-dimensional" (p. 83) and that there are overlapping ways similar terms are used in research. Verloop, Van Driel, and Meijer (2001) state "components of knowledge, beliefs, conceptions, and intuitions are inextricably intertwined" (p. 446) in teachers' minds.

Attempts to categorize the specific category of English language teachers' beliefs have been made by Woods (1996) as he theorized that English teacher cognition involves three areas: beliefs, assumptions, and knowledge and he attempted to explain the characteristics of each term. However, at the end of his study, he reports that these three areas (beliefs, assumptions, and knowledge) are intimately interwoven. Pajeres (1992) made a serious attempt at communicating the meaning of the teacher belief category related to teacher knowledge and perceptions; however he stated that the same interwoven and intertwined nature prevents adequate and acceptable categorization. These characteristics might include at least the teachers expressed core values they hold about their role and responsibilities (Pajares, 1993). Beliefs may be more deeply held and more difficult to change (Woods, 1996).

Yero (2002) states that there are four distinct areas, which are: teachers hold a personal understanding of what constitutes education, a set of beliefs about how knowledge is acquired by students affects their delivery of knowledge. Teachers also hold a perspective of students and the nature of their learning. Finally teachers usually hold a 'personal set of values' by which they operate in the classroom. Because each teacher is an individual, defining and categorizing their perceptions can be difficult, if not impossible.

2. Difficulties in the research of teacher thinking

Besides teacher thinking, coined early in the 1980s by ISATT, "English language teacher cognition" (Borg, 2003, 2006) is used as a significant method of describing this research area. Teacher cognition means teachers' thought processes, and contrasts with the less formal 'teacher decision-making.' Additionally, teacher thinking can also be expressed in terms of a teachers' reflective thinking, which is usually used by teachers to contemplate the success and effectiveness of a lesson that has been taught (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992). Another area under the teacher thinking research label is that of a 'teacher's beliefs and practices.' 'Teacher knowledge' comes under the category of 'teacher thinking' as well as 'teacher assumptions.'

Pajeres (1992) attempted to clarify the many vocabulary terms concerning teacher thinking and came to the view that evaluating teachers' beliefs is complex because of the wide variety of terms used to describe the idea of teacher cognition. Pajeres states:

> "The difficulty in studying teachers' beliefs has been caused by definitional problems, poor conceptualizations, and differing understanding of beliefs and belief structures. In addition a teacher's beliefs can be and should become an important focus of educational enquiry but this will require clear conceptualizations, careful examination of key assumptions, consistent understanding and adherence to precise meanings and proper assessment and investigation of specific belief constructs." (p.307)

Pajares (1992) was attempting to better define and coordinate the various concepts of teacher thinking, especially in the area of teacher beliefs. However researchers did not seem to accept his proposal, as the researchers continued to choose their own methods to describe teacher thinking. The difficulty in studying this area is not definitional but one of being broad and multi-faceted. Thus various researchers have taken only small pieces of the very large puzzle and much is yet being discovered. Calderhead (1987) stated that the phrase 'teacher thinking' refers to a variety of

mental processes including but not limited to reflection, problem-solving, and perceptions. He further noted that in his view researchers had used the term "fairly loosely" (p.4). This was true in the early days of teacher thinking study and seems to remain true according to the categorizations of teacher cognition by Borg (2006).

Clark (1986) states that research on a teacher's decision-making and planning (a category of teacher thinking studies) "has been done almost exclusively in nice, well-organized, upper middle class, suburban, elementary classrooms" (p.16). He goes on to say that "more challenging and difficult areas in education systems, such as poverty, nationalism, cultural conflict, racism, sexism, discrimination, and massive failure to learn" (p. 16) have been either avoided or overlooked. This means that many varied areas of teacher cognition within any given context can and should be studied to continue to expand our understanding of education. This particular investigation of EFL secondary students in Shanghai is intended to fill in a less studied area of the perspectives of teachers working in a distinctly different context than typically studied.

3. Some criticisms of teacher thinking research

The early criticisms of the mostly psychological approach to investigating teachers' thought were impractical and so cognitive that research findings could not lead to practical arguments affecting teacher practice (Fenstermacher, 1986). Teachers' thinking research has not lead to helping students studying to be teachers critically reflect on their own teaching according to McNamara (1990). Shulman (1986) has stated that the area of teacher thinking is too narrow and results in non-productive analysis.

Xu and Connelly (2009) note that because teacher knowledge and teacher identity are interconnected, everything that a teacher experiences can be placed under the category of 'teacher knowledge.' It is possible that the complexity of teacher thinking and the teachers' life are so inseparable that to attempt to categorize them would seem only to be speculative.

The ethics of teacher thinking research have been questioned by Sabar (1994). Can the actual thoughts of a teacher really be explored? How truly honest will a teacher be in answering questions? How interpretable are the results of the patterns being expressed and does interpreting the teachers' words make their viewpoints better understood? If the interviewees trust their interviewer and believe the information they share will help their field, it is quite likely that they will tell the truth as they see it.

4. A positive by-product of teacher thinking research: The teacher's voice is heard

While difficulties in teacher thinking research exist, Clark (1988) argues that research on teacher thinking works to help make teachers aware and sensitive to how they think about their teaching profession. Research in teacher thinking has helped to re-establish the teacher's centrality within the education process. Research in the field of teacher thinking has also had an interesting by-product that may be more significant than the work of categorization and that is the identification of the teacher's voice. Hearing the teacher's self-report about their role and responsibilities lends authenticity to the research agenda (Elbaz, 1983; Koziol and Burns, 1986).

Some have written about the importance of understanding teachers and their

perceptions of their role and the various changes they face, as a way of providing insights into education reform and how improvements in education should be approached (Butt, Raymond, McCue, and Yamagashi, 1992). If the teaching context is changing, teachers' perceptions and their voice should be heard in any newly applied theory and methodology. Teachers' perceptions are connected to who they are and who they will likely become in a new or different context. This in turn can affect any hoped for success.

The teacher thinking research guided by education psychologists initially looked, or attempted to look into the mind of the teacher; as time passed teacher actions were studied and then a new direction attempted to link the thought process with the teachers' actions or choices. Looking at a teacher's choices within the classroom of language, curriculum, and emphasis seemed a more concrete method to identify how a teacher thinks. Observations and interviews have been used to determine how teacher actions work together with teacher thoughts.

IV. APPLICATION TO THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

1. Teacher thinking research applied to English language teaching

The studies of teacher thinking research have been mostly in general education. An area that is studied proportionately less in the research of teacher thinking is that of the English language teacher (Borg, 2006). While there are many levels of research in language teaching and language acquisition there has been a limited number of studies done on the thought processes and perceptions of Chinese English language teachers.

Research on foreign language teachers' beliefs started with an interest in how teachers' characteristics (such as attitude, personality, motivation, and their particular learning styles) affected student language acquisition The early goal of studying language teacher beliefs was to discover what atmosphere was the best for language instruction for the language learners (Byram, 2000). An attitude survey for foreign language teachers was developed by DeGarcia, Reynolds, and Savignon (1974) in an attempt to discover teacher characteristics and to evaluate how those characteristics and underlying attitudinal beliefs were passed on to language students. The influence of teacher attitudes on students was the basic concern in this survey.

Further in the realm of English language teacher thinking Woods (1996) theorized that teacher thinking encompassed three identifiable areas including teachers' beliefs, assumptions, and knowledge (BAK). He developed a model to interpret events that related to the in in-class teaching and the teacher preparation that lead to classroom decisions. He attempted to integrate them more carefully than did previous researchers, who attempted to treat these areas separately. As previously mentioned, attempting to dissect the area of teacher thought is somewhat questionable because the descriptive categories attached to human thought cannot be entirely conclusive. At best, analysis of abstract thought purported to fit into an area of assumption or belief is debatable. There are a number of overlapping descriptors with many grey areas. While research to better categorize teacher thinking has become better at describing the mental processes ultimately the field seems somewhat clouded because researchers attach their own perception of the teachers' thoughts.

Borg (2003) reviewed 64 studies examining what English language teachers

believe, know, and think in relation to language teaching topics. He noted that there had been an increase in studies of teacher cognition among language teachers and called 1990-2000 the "decade of consolidation" and the "decade of change" (p. 82-83) in English language teacher thinking research.

2. Studies of English Language teachers perceptions

Borg (2003) reviewed studies of English language teachers thinking, planning and their perceptions of their teaching and noted that easily understood conclusions are not readily definable. He categorized studies with data that lent themselves to similar themes, such as the reasons teachers make the decisions they do about their instruction and why they may deviate from their lesson plans. Borg (2006) further notes that language teachers' cognition is affected by their previous training and current life experience. One of the interesting findings was that teachers' cognitions can change over time. Another aspect that researchers noted was that teacher cognitions leading to their acknowledged perceptions, may be different according to the method by which that cognition is obtained. Questionnaires, surveys and other theoretical cognition responses may be contradictory to verbally answered questions. Fang (1996) noted that these perceived inconsistencies made it difficult to distinguish between a teacher's beliefs and other knowledge, Borg (2006) noted the possibility that the research method soliciting the language teachers' perception may be contributing to the misconception and that teacher's verbalized answers may be more true to their real selves.

Zheng and Adamson (2003) researched the beliefs of one secondary school English teacher in China during a school's transitional change of curriculum innovation. How the individual teacher held to his inner beliefs, yet accommodated for change

was one focus of their study. Fong and Jones (2005) researched the beliefs of two secondary school English teachers and through in-depth interviews determined what they called an "interpretive account" of how beliefs and experiences influenced teaching practice. Case studies of one or two teachers, focusing on their belief about their language teaching have been considered as a reliable way of informing the field 'how and what' secondary school English language teachers perceive about their role and responsibilities. A more conclusive study of teachers' beliefs and perceptions could be to use multiple teachers of varying years of experience, views, and perceptions derived from in-depth interviews and grounded data. The information obtained by a more thorough study would likely increase measurably and give a stronger verdict of teachers' thoughts, beliefs, and perceptions. In further reference to teacher beliefs and thinking in the English language teaching field Brown (2000) noted that the theoretical underpinnings of language teachers are called their "approach to pedagogy." These theoretical beliefs typically are about the way language should be taught and the way students learn. While not alluded to the term beliefs, it can be observed that language teachers form within their practice a perspective that informs their practice. Brown further notes that the teachers' approach can be adjusted and formed by teacher education. Prawat (1990) observes that teacher education can assist in changing a teacher's belief, which can help to change the overall school. While dealing specifically with primary school teachers, some less experienced secondary school teachers could also transform their teaching to bring about a change in classroom atmosphere and students' learning.

Unlike other researchers, Brown's view of teacher thinking, belief, and perception deals more with the pragmatic aspects of teaching and does not necessarily attempt to probe the teachers' inner world. This view is similar to that of 'teachers'

knowledge' as set out by Carter (1990) which incorporates all the understanding and experience that a teacher brings to the classroom.

3. Non-native language teachers of English

Braine (2010) estimates that 80% of the current English language teachers are what could be categorised non-native speakers of English. In China alone the number of English teachers is estimated to be two million, with approximately 300 million learners of English (Li, 2007). This includes teachers and students at all levels. The distinction of non-native English teacher was originally introduced by Medgyes in various journal articles in the early 1990s and in a book entitled 'The non-native teacher' in 1994. He spoke about the distinction between native and non-native language teachers from his own non-native teacher experience and in data related to various questionnaires.

Medgyes (1994) noted that while native English teachers tend to be strong linguistically, non-native teachers have positive characteristics that assist their English learners. He stated that non-native teachers can teach learning strategies more effectively and provide a learner model that can be imitated by the student learners. The non-native teacher can further use his/her own native tongue to explain more difficult concepts as well as better empathize with the learner than a native speaker. McNeill (2005) surveyed non-native teachers about their ability to identify potential lexical difficulty within reading texts. He found that they were generally better at this lexical identification than native language teachers. Because non-native teachers share the same mother tongue as their students, they are better at predicting potential difficulty. McNeill (2005) also found that among non-native novice teachers there

was a lot of differentiation between different groups because of varying linguistic ability. With these and other positive characteristics, such as no cultural barriers to understanding, the non-native teachers have has shown their importance and value to the English language teaching field.

Non-native English teachers sometimes have a perception of themselves as inferior, especially when speaking directly with native teachers (Baine, 2010). Yet among their own students they may be viewed as the English experts, especially if they are teaching in an EFL context. These EFL non-native teachers' perceptions of themselves and their English teaching routines provide opportunity for further study, growing the knowledge of the field in this "Expanding circle" of non-native language teachers set forth by Kachru (1992, p. 3). Although Kachru, in the same article, believes that the terms native and non-native designation are "uninsightful and linguistically questionable" he chooses to use a geographical location to draw distinctions between what was known as "native" and "non-native." For the purpose of this study the label 'non-native' will continue to refer to a person as one whose mother tongue (L1) is not English.

4. Language teachers are different from teachers of other subject areas

Borg (2006) has noted in a study of 200 language teachers who were either currently teaching or planned to soon be teaching English that they believe their teaching role is different from that of subject teachers. The language teachers reported that the teaching of language is different because the students are learning in a medium they do not understand. There is a greater need for interaction in order to be understood. Language teachers do not focus on factual, subject-related information but their classroom communication attempts to expand the students' knowledge of the

language. They are teaching in the target language but because this language may not be their mother tongue, they have more difficulty than other subject area teachers. The teachers also reported, more often than the subject-area teachers that they need more outside support in the form of extracurricular activities in order to reinforce their instruction. Finally the language teachers themselves (Borg, 2006) reported more of a feeling of being alone and isolated than they thought other subject teachers would have.

Following up on Borg's study, Lee (2010) studied via prepared questionnaires for 163 English learners in Japan what they perceived as differences between their English language teachers and other teachers of other subjects. These English learners confirmed three of Borg's findings. They did not note the "feeling of aloneness" as mentioned by the teachers in Borg's study, but the Japanese students added another dimension. The Japanese EFL students felt that their English teacher should be more positive and enthusiastic in their teaching because their English students needed this extra encouragement to learn English.

Limited research to data has shown, however that language teachers perceive themselves to be different from other teachers. Language teachers have different support needs and face different types of challenges. Hearing their perceptive voice about their role strengthens our understanding and opens areas for further research.

V. THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN CHINA

1. The teachers are the key to success

In the last fifty years China's educational policies have been seen to include "bold moves, major shifts, and reversals" (Tsang, 2000 p. 579). Change in China's education has been very fast-moving and even bordering on upheaval in the past decades. A new, stronger emphasis has evolved concerning English. According to Xing (2009) a student's English proficiency will be considered as one of the criteria for being selected for a job in China.

It can be said that China now has more English teachers and students than any other country (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996). According to Gil and Adamson (2011) English has become more widespread and enjoys a high status and is currently sought after by many Chinese. There have been contradictory reports about the positive effect of the efforts to turn Chinese into second language speakers of English. Yu (2001) noted that a high percentage of students leaving school had very little communicative competence in English. Others, such as those in foreign language schools, have shown dramatic improvement and have progressed quite well in English (Ross, 1993). With the 2008 Olympics held in Beijing and the Shanghai World Expo in 2010, many ordinary citizens were encouraged as a matter of policy, to learn Basic English (Jiang, 2003). It was noted in the magazine 'The Economist' (English beginning, 2006) that China spends $60 billion a year on English language services.

The early impressions of the way Chinese teachers teach English came from western teachers who taught in English in Chinese universities in the 1980s, as China invited foreign experts to assist in its development. Large classrooms with teacher-centred

lessons and repetitive, "mind numbing" drills were rightly viewed negatively by western teachers (Campbell and Yong, 1986). However, China has been on a path of progress in its curriculum development (Adamson, 2004) and enhancing language teachers' teaching methods, although seeking to retain English language teaching with "Chinese characteristics" (Jin and Cortazzi, 2006). Early labels sometimes leave lasting impressions, but there have been few studies of teachers beyond these early, stereotypical views and the teachers' individuality and their perspectives.

2. English learning: Students in China

While students in China begin to learn English around primary grade three, this study is concerned with the teaching of English particularly at the secondary school level. Students are expected to learn English in more than 900 hours of learning in their three years of secondary school. They are further expected to learn 2000 vocabulary words as well as developing some proficiency in writing, listening and speaking (Yong and Campbell, 1995). Chinese students and their learning patterns have been studied and commented on in both positive and negative ways. Some have viewed the learning aspect that might be called memorization or rote-learning, in a negative light because memorizing does not ensure understanding. However Chinese learners see memorization as the first step to understanding (Watkins and Biggs, 2001). Memorizing is not an end to itself. Chinese students differ from western students; more research is needed to highlight the differences between the Chinese (sometimes called the Confucian-heritage culture) and western educational systems.

Chinese secondary and sometimes even university students cannot employ the same learning strategies as their western counterparts. For instance in the area of reading, because of the differences between Chinese written work and English, Chinese learners usually develop literacy differently. Yan (2000) noted that reading strategies,

such as guessing words from contextual clues, may not be as effective because Chinese students have a limited understanding of reading contexts. For the same reason, it is not possible for Chinese learners to depend on background knowledge, as non-native speakers are less productive because of the lack of previous English association. Chinese learners sometimes find the differences between applying learning strategies difficult because of a lack of linguistic tools.

Students view their teachers as an important component of their education. Students were asked what metaphor they would use to describe the importance of a teacher of a teacher. According to Jin and Cortazzi (2011) a number of terms have been stated, such as directing, helping progress, supporting, and beautifying life. Students view teachers as their "head, heart, Character, life, and future" (p. 84). The Chinese teacher is the expert, the master, the model of prime importance to the Chinese students.

3. Teachers have some unique characteristics

Teachers in all societies and countries have great responsibility in the upbringing and development of the next generation. Studying and researching their "life story" (Goodsen, 1992), whether it be the challenges they face or the routines they live under can be enlightening and further the preparation of future generations of teachers. In China, English language teachers face similar challenges to other English teachers around the world including a limited voice in curriculum development (Britton and Martin, 1989). Daily teaching activities and curriculum implementation, which dominate the time of a teacher, are sometimes preceded by teacher planning and coordination with other teachers.

Research on the characteristics of some Chinese teachers noted that they are not

student-centred and are somewhat authoritarian (Ho, 2001). Yet when viewed in a cultural sense and from a Confucian-heritage viewpoint, the teacher is the expert and the master, and therefore deserves support. The teachers themselves tend to rely more on expert guidance more than the peer review that tends to be more acceptable among western teachers (Tsui and Wong, 2009).

In his thorough review of the history of English language curricula and policy, Adamson (2004) stated that studying a Chinese English teacher's lesson planning and teaching acts was important for more and future research. This study supplements the call for understanding, by interviewing English teachers about their perceptions of many areas of their work in Shanghai secondary schools.

4. The secondary school English learning curriculum

The English language curriculum in China has gone through a number of revisions since the reforms of 1978 (Adamson, 2004). The curriculum was written at the National level for all to use but more recently the Ministry of Education (MoE) of the People's Republic of China has approved a more decentralized approach, allowing regions to use their own, regionally developed curriculum (Wang, 2007). The curriculum essentially prepares secondary school students for the National Matriculation Examination (NMET), which selects candidates for university.

The English language skills primarily assessed are reading, listening, grammar, translation, and writing. As a result, the local secondary school curriculum focuses on these areas as well. The two schools investigated in this study in Shanghai used the New Century English curriculum. Changes since the reforms of 1978 have included various language teaching concepts and theories. The most common teaching approach in China has been the grammar-translation approach. There have been

attempts to move the curriculum towards a more communicative approach to improve students' communicative competence. However, these attempts to move beyond the grammar-translation approach have had limited success (Liao, 2004). Studying past papers for examination knowledge takes precedence over other areas of communicative ability. Thus the curriculum caters to the specific need of examination preparation.

Various types of curricula used in schools. The syllabus and material directly taught to students is called the written curriculum or outer curriculum (Brubaker, 1994). Some consider the curriculum to be anything that is used to teach a lesson (Wilson, 1990). This may include a hidden curriculum that includes aspects of life and relationships that children learn at school, such as social norms (Synder, 1970). The hidden curriculum may include both negative and positive aspects and classroom structure and discipline aspects that are expected (Longstreet and Shane, 1993). According to Margolis, Soldatenko, Acker and Gair (2001) the hidden curriculum is projected to create and instil inequality among students. Another type of curriculum is known as null curriculum, which is what students learn as a result of material and teacher responses to issues being omitted (Watson, Miller, Driver, Rutledge, and McAllister, 2005). Wilson (2006) further refers to the internal curriculum that comprises the experiences students use to create new understanding. Teachers have no control over this curriculum, as students uniquely appropriate it for themselves. Baker (1994) identified a type of curriculum called the "inner curriculum." He defined this as strengths and special interests that teachers had in which they want their students to learn various things and even life lessons. Teachers may deviate from the written curriculum and include extra-curricular events or lessons, such as others coming into the classroom to discuss an interesting subject like gardening with the students. Besides the written curriculum and teacher-directed impartation, other

learning may be taking place within a classroom.

5. Various language teaching methods including Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

Chinese secondary schools' English curriculum has gone through a number of revisions (Adamson, 2004). As the curriculum was reformed, teaching methods also underwent ongoing revision. As new insights into English teaching were developed in English Language teaching around the globe China took an eclectic approach to embracing any new English teaching method (Xiao, 2009). One method that has been in force in the past couple of decades is Communicative Language teaching method (CLT). This method is much more learner-centred and task based than previous methods, such as the audio-lingual method, the grammar-translation method and the functional approach to teaching method which tended to dominate Chinese secondary school textbooks. Another method introduced in China has been the task-based method.

The characteristics of the grammar-translation method involve the learning of the rules of the target language and include significant amounts of memorization from rote learning. Accuracy is emphasized and typically a reading text is included within a textbook with a list of vocabulary that should be learned. Grammar explanations are also included, usually in the native language, along with translation exercises and some dictation (Celce-Murica, 2001).

The most notable problem with grammar-translation as an English teaching method is that is does not emphasize speaking and communication practice (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Knowledge of the language does not equate to appropriate usage.

While grammar-translation methods can be used by teachers who are not proficient in English speaking skills, the passivity it induces in students and the work load of written exercises are detrimental to language learning (Zheng, 2008).

The audio-lingual method of language teaching also involved learning the target language rules and the mechanical repetition of phrases. Although the audio-lingual method promoted dialogue memorization and practice repetition drills were highlights of the control and structure of the lessons (Chastain, 1988). The method's lack of authentic texts as well as limited genuine speaking and listening opportunities led educators to look for other more innovative methods. Both grammar-translation and audio-lingual methodology were promoted in early ELT textbooks developed in the years 1957- 1982. These two methodologies remained dominant in 1993-2001 textbook reforms although the English language teachers were instructed to pay attention to actual communicative competence and student English performance (Adamson, 2004).

In the 1993-2001 ELT textbooks aspects of communicative language teaching were included, especially in regard to the inclusion of activities promoting language interactivity. There was also an attempt to make the classrooms less teacher-dominated and to promote the language teacher as a guide and conductor. These rather meagre attempts at including CLT would still be considered weak forms of the CLT methodology (Zheng, 2008).

There have been calls for the inclusion of more communicative language teaching principles in the curriculum, noting that the Chinese Ministry of Education intended there to be more use of CLT and that the CLT could be incorporated more by having

smaller classes and hiring more teachers (Liao, 2005). However Hu (2005) said that CLT would not fit the context of China and in under-developed regions throughout China and there were not adequate resources to make this dramatic change. Richards and Rogers (2001) note that CLT has various characteristics, such as learning a language while using it with authentic classroom activities. Fluency is the goal in developing language skills and the four English skills reading, writing, speaking, and listening are emphasized. Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983) state that CLT also includes exposure of learners to authentic examples from English language users and they also add that English lessons should be learner-centred and responsive to learner needs. These last two characteristics are particularly problematic for teachers who have only limited English proficiency.

As has been customary, Chinese English language educators have attempted to incorporate certain functional aspects of the various language teaching methods and make use of them to further the Chinese overall purpose. Through the decade from the year 2000 discussion among Chinese English language educators about to what measure CLT could be incorporated into the language teaching curriculum. Caution was encouraged by government. Officials noted that the western method of CLT might cause difficulty within the Chinese educational system. Jin and Cortazzi (2002) state that because CLT is considered a western-based method of teaching language, it may cause tension in the moral areas of eastern learners who are more accustomed to the Confucian model. A student speaking in class may be considered disrespectful in Confucian tradition but in western areas quietness by students is seen as weakness.

6. **Curriculum conflicts and drawbacks**

Some drawbacks and potential conflicts to using CLT were noted as follows: CLT is

most successfully used among smaller classes than those used in China. Also, CLT requires English teachers who are very proficient and skilful enough to flexibly move away from their pre-planned lessons if warranted. In cases where the English teachers lack proficiency, this leads to dependence on textbook scripted lessons which may prevent them from using English as freely as required by CLT. Assessment of students also presented challenges as to how to use CLT within the examination dominated system. This is especially true for English language testing, which includes only an optional, oral speaking element that fewer than 15% of secondary high school students take.

The adoption of CLT methods was therefore limited to incorporating some limited methods of situational English role plays in which students would aim to develop greater spontaneity in their English language communication. English teachers who were more proficient could incorporate some tasks, including CLT were encouraged to do so on a restricted basis but any time used for CLT in the classroom was not allowed to encroach upon the time needed for the core curriculum work. According to Phan, McPherron and Phan (2011) younger teachers are most inclined to accept and attempt to implement CLT.

The eclectic approach has been used in China for many years in the attempt to get the best for Chinese students to accomplish success within the Chinese educational system. English language teaching has been in the forefront of discussion among both conservative traditionalists and the more progressive thinkers because English language teaching has undergone significant change and development within the last thirty years. At the same time that Chinese language educators were calling for English to be required and the curriculum developed, the English language teaching

world was going through significant change. As new developments were added within second language English teaching China would eclectically incorporate various aspects of previously accepted language teaching methods within their own curriculum. When audio-lingual and grammar-translation methods were used in the 1960s and 1970s, China adopted these methods into its secondary school curriculum. As the functional approach became popular in the 1970s, China incorporated various aspects into in teacher-centred classrooms. However CLT challenged many fundamental aspects of English language teaching in China and created a new, previously unknown tension.

CLT focuses on a learner-centred approach, which can undermine teacher-expertise and demands more teacher proficiency than seemed possible previously within a classroom. This seemed to be too many changes for the system to handle. Thus the eclectic or selective approach dominated any change to the language teaching curriculum. Classrooms in China were not realistically going to become smaller or teachers achieve sufficient proficiency to handle the CLT flexibility; and the assessment system was not going to be set aside so that CLT could dominate.

7. Secondary school students' acceptance into university: Chinese education and examinations

English teachers face challenges with students understanding and using the English language. Teachers are expected to have deep knowledge of their particular subject (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996). Besides planning and working together within a teacher group, the subject of assessment caused controversy among language teachers. China's examinations date back over 4000 years (Cheng, 2010) when emperors used the system to fairly select the best candidates for government service. Today, Chinese English teachers are preparing their students for the annual, high stakes

university examinations. The pressure of knowing you could be responsible for the future career opportunities of students, adds tremendous pressure on non-native teachers who, in some cases, are struggling to impart basic, English knowledge from their limited linguistic ability.

Examinations make up a significant part of the Chinese secondary school experience, as students face the two most critical tests in their lives: the municipal level examination that determines which secondary school a student may qualify for and the national level examination in which students qualify for university entrance (Qi, 2005). There is a power within a system, guided and dominated by examinations to control the lives of people. Foucault (1979) explained that testing makes it possible to "qualify, to classify, and to punish" (p. 186-7). When viewed as a control mechanism, high-stakes tests have the power to select for special distinction or to identify for non-qualification. According to Shohamy (2001) the Chinese instituted their examination system so that those selected would be loyal to the current emperor or government and the university entrance examination system served that selection purpose for over a thousand years. While the goal of the original system was to select people from various walks of life who had the ability to serve the emperor, as time passed, the examinations became more a test of memory of factual information than the ability to fulfil specific functions. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that these tests may have lost their original validity (Lambert and Lines, 2000).

The Chinese have historically viewed examinations as a fair way of selecting the best candidates for a position. Fairness was and has been the historical standard for the National Examination (Cheng, 2010). The Ministry of Education (MoE) is

responsible for all the education in China and the National Education Examinations Authority (NEEA) functions as its examination arm, ensuring that the testing serves its purpose and remains valid. The NEEA is responsible for the university entrance examination and in particular the National Matriculation English Test (NMET), which is used to determine who is qualified to attend university (Liu, 2010). Spolsky (1995) called this type of examination, a "competitive examination" (p. 19-20) and saw it as a "triumph." In China various English language exams are taken by approximately 38 million people each year. This includes a large segment of students taking the NMET for university entrance.

8. Three tiers of Universities in China

When we look at the NMET for university entrance we realize that the score a student achieves on this high-stakes examination will determine whether that student will qualify for one of the three tiers of universities. The top tier relates to the most elite universities such as Tsinghua University or Peking University, which equate, in the Chinese mind, to Oxbridge level in the UK or Harvard and Yale in the USA. The second tier of universities consists of provincial universities that give out two or three year diplomas or degrees (Qiang, Wolf, Hai and Gregory (2004). The third tier comprises city-based universities which have fewer available resources. Although the number of universities is growing in China, there is serious competition for the best university places among the highest university tier that the score on the NMET would allow.

VI. SOCIETAL CHANGES IN CHINA HAVE AFFECTED ITS EDUCATION SYSTEM

1. Teacher importance in implementing changes

Teachers are critical to the implementation of any changes within an education system. They are the front line workers who have the responsibility for facing the students daily and imparting the curriculum, maintaining school policy and implementing other changes. The massive changes that have taken place in society and the need to progress and develop new ideas for education that keep China on the path to becoming a super-power have led to great pressure being placed on this core group of teachers. English teachers especially have pressure to develop linguistic ability within their students to carry China forward in its development.

Teachers of English in China can expect to be on the cutting edge of reform. Major educational changes have come out of Shanghai because of its size and desire to take the lead in educational reform. According to Hu (2005) Shanghai experimented with and ultimately implemented an increased number of teaching hours in its secondary schools. The national curriculum required between 672 and 808 English teaching hours in the nine year compulsory curriculum. Shanghai increased the number of required hours to 1052 to 1200. As a result, teachers in Shanghai have to devote more classroom hours of English. Hu (2005) further notes that at the lower levels of Primary One to Primary Three, teachers are now required to teach English. This is at a much earlier level than the national curriculum requires. Shanghai has also experimented with new methods of teaching English, such as the Content Based English Instruction (CBEI). CBEI uses English to teach subjects such as Geography, Chemistry, and Physics. The aim of adopting the new method is to improve the number of vocabulary words learned and to increase exposure to English, thus improving Shanghai students' English proficiency. Teachers are expected to adapt

their teaching to fit in with these experimental changes, which have not been thoroughly investigated for their possible negative effects and can add a significant burden to the English teachers' stress levels (Gu, 2004).

2. Changes affect teachers

Teachers face infrastructure changes within their societal group, as various viewpoints and perspectives that can change the very fabric of their day to day teaching are embraced. Wang (2007) reports that in China teachers are expected to change in a number of ways; such as the change from the former knowledge-based curriculum to competence based language teaching should be competence based. This of course means new and reformed teaching skills and new ways to assess students' performance. Teachers may also are required to include the use of technology in their lessons. The ever-evolving teaching of English as a second or foreign language adds further pressure to staff and demands an increase in staff development. It has been pointed out by Hutchison (1991) that during times of reform or change teachers often feel not only under pressure but insecure as well. Wendell (2011) notes that teachers in a time of transition often see themselves in new or different roles and need to develop new beliefs and perspectives.

The curriculum has been reformed in a number of ways and the assessment systems are continually upgrading. Teachers in China are, of course, responsible for piloting and implementing any new curriculum and are expected to face any policy change with a good attitude in order to maintain student support and morale. Change can also affect teachers, with the addition of new and less experienced staff members. The teaching profession has an ongoing influx of new blood as recent graduates from teacher training courses are employed and become part of the revolving door of

colleagues. Non-native English teachers may not only differ in English language ability but also in years of experience. The shifting of personnel and the change of administrative leadership can be disconcerting and disheartening and can bring about a major shift of purpose and emphasis. How teachers handle change and its various elements has a direct effect on their perceptions of their role and responsibilities.

In the case of China, handling the wide-ranging number of changes within curriculum and methodology and the sometimes large number of changes in personnel add to the teachers' daily pressure. There have been a number of attempts at curriculum reform over the years (Adamson, 2004). In some cases as a one new curriculum is being implemented in schools another one is being prepared to be piloted. A teacher may just begin to be acquainted with one methodology and curriculum and then have to adjust to a new one.

Reporting student results of the many tests and assessments take further time to plan, implement, and score. In most cases, language teachers are required to have special training. Initial teacher training is usually only the beginning of a continual education programme, as teachers must participate in in-school training and return to workshops and courses to maintain their certification. Teachers must attempt to motivate students to greater learning and maintain school rules and classroom order. There may be a need to discipline unruly or disruptive students. Teachers are held to a high moral standard and are expected to impart moral character to their students.

VII. LITERATURE REVIEW FINAL POINTS

1. Chapter summary

Most of the teacher thinking research over the last thirty years has focused on general education. More recently studies have added English and other language teaching to the mix, with the majority of research done in the area of English as a

second language. Second language teaching is undertaken with immigrants to a country in which the dominant language is English. Fewer studies of teacher thinking have been carried out in areas where English is taught as a foreign language. Teaching English as a foreign language is when English is taught within a classroom and the surrounding outside world speaks a different mother tongue language. There are typically fewer resources available to the students and the teachers who are teaching within the classroom are essentially the language experts, with other societal members having very limited knowledge and use of English. These teachers for the most part are non-native speakers and have varying degrees of ability in the taught language.

The study of teacher thinking among these non-native teachers is noticeably absent in most countries. This is true in China, especially among secondary school teachers. Foreign language teachers have been a part of China's modernization for decades but these teachers have almost exclusively taught at the tertiary level (Campbell and Yong, 1993).

One aspect of the rationale for this study is; perceptions of what teachers are thinking can be helpful to administrators and other decision makers in the educational system. In addition categorizing teachers' thought processes as beliefs or assumptions may be helpful. Can teachers' verbally expressed thoughts and perceptions about their role be productively analyzed for the benefit of the English teaching field? The answer is a categorical, yes. This study aims to provide a deeper understanding in the teacher research knowledge field, in that it explores Chinese non-native English teachers' perceptions of their roles and routines in secondary schools in Shanghai, China. This current study has used the term 'perceptions' to generalize the mental activity a

teacher has while preparing for a lesson and during the presentation of that lesson material within the classroom. Some discussion of teacher beliefs and their voiced teaching preferences will also be discussed. The thought processes of teachers in Chinese secondary schools have not been previously studied. This is an area where the current study will contribute to the overall field of teacher thinking research.

While some examination of foreign language teachers in foreign countries has been carried out, the extent of the teacher thinking studies has mostly been related to a teacher's view of culture and its impact on students. In some limited settings such as China, teachers have been asked about their interpretations of culture in their teaching. However very few studies of the 'inner world of teachers' have been carried out. A few other notable exceptions of teachers' thoughts about cultural impact have been conducted in Mexico, Morocco, and in Great Britain (Byram, 2000). There are fewer studies on the teacher thinking of non-native language teachers than of native language speakers. The perceptions and teacher thinking of non-native, Chinese secondary school teachers, at least in English literature, remains an area of limited research. It is to this specific area that this thesis is addressed.

Chapter Three METHODOLOGY

This chapter will introduce the background and functional workings of two qualitative research traditions used for this investigation; namely, Ethnography and Grounded Theory. This study's research questions are explained along with the research steps taken to collect data. The process of obtaining data through the observing teachers' classroom teaching is described, as well as the process of in-depth interviews of participant observers. How theory is arrived at from collected data using Grounded Theory analysis is also explained. The relevant literature is highlighted for pertinent support adding depth to the research steps.

I. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY USING GROUNDED THEORY ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

The research questions in this study (listed below) centre around the perceptions of six English language teachers in two Shanghai secondary schools. How they perceive their teaching role, their teaching responsibilities, and their position in the secondary school in which they work, and how they relate to others is investigated. In the second research question 'others' refers to other teachers, students, parents, and administrators. The teachers' perceptions of their role and how their role interacts with these 'others' will also be presented in this study. The teachers who were the subject of the study have had varying years of teaching experience. How they view their students and their responsibilities may vary from one generational teacher to another. Veteran teachers may perceive their teaching role differently than teachers who have worked for fewer years. The same observation applies to the teachers' perceptions of their students. All three research questions are noted below and the data that have been obtained are presented in this study.

2. Research questions

What perceptions do non-native secondary school English teachers have about their role and teaching responsibilities?

What do these teachers think about their position and relationships with others in their own education system?

Are there differences in the perceptions of teachers about their role and responsibilities, the longer they work as teachers?

3. Overview of the research--Selection of participants for this study

In order to obtain data relative to these questions teachers with different years of teaching experience were selected. At the time of this study, three teachers with over twenty years of teaching experience were asked to participate. One of these long term veterans had taught for thirty years. Two novice English teachers were also selected. These two teachers had up to, but not exceeding six years of experience. One of these novices was teaching in his second year at the time of this research. Finally, one teacher with fourteen years' experience was selected to represent the mid-range number of years teaching. Besides the varying years of experience, data collected from primarily in-depth and repeated interviews over a year and a half was used to generate comparative insights and contextual descriptions from the teachers. These interviews were conducted in a relaxed, open manner and provided the best opportunity to hear what the teachers were thinking and how they perceived their teaching experiences. Multiple classroom observations (See Table 2 in appendix) were also carried out on four of the six teachers to observe their actual teaching. Two of the teachers were not available for classroom observation because one had moved

to a new school district and one was currently serving in an administrative position with no teaching responsibilities. These classroom observations were important to evaluate the data collected via interviews as well as to verify these teachers' stated perceptions. The observations provided further opportunities for questions within the interviews. Observing the teachers at work in their classrooms also provided verification of perceptions they had discussed in the interviews.

In order to go deeper than a superficial understanding of the teachers' role and ascertain the underlying reasons for their perceptions within their role, Classic Grounded Theory was used to analyze collected data. The analysis of generated data opened further areas of teacher perceptions to explore interview questions. The growing body of data was continually analyzed and compared ongoingly with previous collected data. As common areas emerged from different teachers more questioning took place until the area of understanding appeared to be fully saturated and there was little more to say without becoming repetitive. Ultimately after a number of hours of interviewing, theories could be generated through the constant comparison of collected data.

Grounded Theory coupled with ethnographic principles of observation, seemed to be the best way to obtain a more complete, deeper understanding of what was happening in these two secondary school English classrooms. The methods of open questions and probing more deeply into areas of interest were joined together with ethnographic observations, which were important to gaining deeper insight into this sub-group of English language teachers. The interaction with the teachers was needed and hearing their voiced expressions in the in-depth interviews provided an opportunity to see into their inner world. Questionnaires were not used because they would have

generated only limited information. Kagan (1990) states that when attempting to determine a teacher's underlying belief, (referred to as a perception in this study), "extended interviews" are best because the teacher is being given the opportunity to voice his or her own views. Grounded Theory methods of analysis were judged to provide the most depth in observing and ascertaining the thinking and perceptions of the teachers.

II. THE USE OF TWO QUALITATIVE TRADITIONS

1. Qualitative strengths and weaknesses in ascertaining teacher perceptions

For a number of years qualitative research tended to be known a "soft" research or mostly "speculative" but in more recent times has gained in credibility (Goundling, 2005). In qualitative studies, the goal of researcher is to ascertain a clearer picture of a sociological phenomenon. There are various methods available from which the researcher may choose. Each methodology has strengths and weaknesses so in some cases merging two particular methods may be appropriate to ascertain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being investigated. This research has applied the strengths of two prevailing methodologies to reach its conclusions; Ethnography and Grounded Theory, in which the ethnographic study is carried out and Grounded Theory analysis is used to analyse collected data.

Kagan (1990) investigated the perceptions of science and mathematics teachers concerning how they made decisions in their classroom teaching and how they planned for their lessons. The researcher attempted to note what they called "hidden meaning" of the teachers' social context. Applying Spradley's (1979, 1980) qualitative approach Kagan found that teacher thinking was dominated by thoughts of student development and tempered with pressures from administrators. The researcher further noted that teachers spent significant amounts of time considering

their curriculum presentation.

In education a variety of research approaches have been used to collect qualitative data for analysis, such as case studies, ethnography, narrative research, and Grounded Theory (Cresswell, 2007). Grounded Theory makes is possible to look at the repeated patterns of word and phrase choices that are spoken in teacher descriptions, such that a satisfactory categorization can be made from the data. As data are collected analysis goes beyond the surface, aiming to develop a substantial and a more in-depth picture of the teachers' perspectives.

2. Defining Ethnography

Ethnography is a methodology that has developed in the field of anthropology. It is the study of people and how their societies interact. Ethnography is primarily concerned with the construction and maintenance of culture, whether it is large groups or sub-groups of a cultural group (Goulding, 2005). Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) state that ethnography focuses on four particular aspects within research studies: (1) researching the nature of a specific social phenomenon; (2) collecting and making note of unstructured data; (3) selecting a small number participants for observation; (4) attempting to ascertain the meaning of a particular group's behaviour. This has been referred to as studying the culture of a particular group of people, their behaviours, language and artefacts (Spradley, 1980). The elements of ethnographic study include the actions people take, how they describe their actions and interactions with others, and the materials they use.

Ethnographic research is further characterised by prolonged interaction of a minimum of a year with the studied cultural group, observing and interviewing selected

participants, and making observational field notes (Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Mattis, and Quizon, 2005). Hammersley (2006) points out that studying what people do and say "first hand" is an important element of ethnography, especially within the chosen context. Creswell (2007) notes that participants within a particular, given context can develop patterns of similar, shared behaviour and even similar beliefs. Although ethnographic studies tend to concentrate on an entire cultural group, it is also suitable to represent these larger cultural groups by focusing on a smaller group.

3. Elements of an ethnographic study

The representatives of the cultural group, referred to as participant observers, must be excellent in order to obtain high quality data (Spradley, 1979). Spradley adds that, representative of the cultural group; they should have expertise in the phenomenon being investigated and be willing to speak extensively about their own lives and the actions of the group being studied. The participant observers should also be willing to discuss openly and articulate clearly. After finding appropriate representative participants, called "gatekeepers" or "key informants" by Creswell (2007, p. 71), the study can commence with observations and in-depth, open-ended interviews. In some ethnographic studies, documents and materials related to the cultural group may also be evaluated if these can bring a deeper understanding of the cultural group. Hammersley (2006) states while interviews are important to the ethnographic study, he questions whether they should be used exclusive of other methods such as observations. One particular goal of ethnography is to understand the perspectives unique to the participants, usually through open-ended interviews (Hammersley, 2006). Interviews are indeed crucial for capturing the perspective of the participants and they can give a voice to those being studied. Some have suggested that participant observation should make up the bulk of the data. Mischler (1979) argues

that meaning should be analyzed within its own observable societal context. This real

life observation gives the most accurate depiction of the life of the participants.

4. Handling collected data

Because an ethnographer may maintain contact with the group being studied for a

prolonged period of time, managing the data collected can be overwhelming. Field

notes can be extensive and it is up researcher to sift through the various layers,

analyzing and grouping information together in an understandable way. The resulting

observations, interviews and field notes are then written up in a narrative involving a

multitude of cultural aspects and behaviour. Wolcott (1994) points out that as data is

analyzed common themes emerge and typically can be described. The goal of the

research is to arrive at overall picture of how the studied group lives and works.

The large amount of ethnographic data can be difficult to coordinate so some

researchers have adopted various methods of comparative analysis that result in core

categories. In order to represent findings appropriately researchers should "unravel

the layered meanings" (Gloulding, 2005, p.299). Because of the amount of data,

ethnographers attempt to use various comparative and categorizing schemes.

Grounded Theory analysis can be an advantage to the ethnographer. Tavory and

Timmermans (2009) state that:

> "The GT (Grounded Theory) case is constructed from within what we term
> the ethno-narratives of actors in the field. Fieldworkers in the GT tradition
> take their theoretical clues from the 'ethos,' the lived experience of a
> people as bounded by various structures and processes" (p. 244-245)

Besides the use of constant comparative analysis, which is a characteristic of

Grounded Theory and the categorization of similar information, ethnographers can

more easily analyse the field notes and observation data into more manageable

segments. In addition, Grounded Theory analysis has the advantage of putting forth

theory that is grounded and founded in the collected data. "Grounded Theory encourages an in-depth familiarity and granular analysis of micro data to produce empirically backed-up generalisable theoretical claims" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, p.246). Charmaz (2006) states that Grounded Theory provides an excellent framework for analysing ethnographic data, as a typical problem with ethnographic studies is that there is a significant amount of data everywhere the researcher looks (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001).

5. Differences and similarities of Grounded Theory and Ethnography

Some have compared the research traditions of Grounded Theory and Ethnography through their similarities and differences. Roberson (2002) notes that the focus of Grounded Theory is developing a theory founded in data from a field of Sociology, while Ethnography describes and uses forms of interpretation for a definable cultural or social group in the field of sociology or anthropology. Both Grounded Theory and Ethnography use in-depth interviews of key participants. However Ethnography additionally uses observation for extended periods of time. Ethnography analyzes, interprets and describes the collected data, while Grounded Theory codes, categories and attempts to put forward substantive theory, which emerges from the data analysis.

Roberson (2002) notes that when carrying out research questions, one of the particular research traditions need not remain in its "purest form." A combination of two or more traditions may be effective in answering the research questions. Strauss (1995) points out that when developing or acknowledging a theory a researcher may borrow procedures from other research traditions. In fact relevant methods are appropriate when directed and influenced by the research questions. Grounded Theory analysis has been used in a variety of research areas and in combination with

other methods (Wells, 1995). Glaser (1992) argues that Grounded Theory analysis of data collected from any particular method can be effectively achieved. Pettigrew (2000) argues that there is compatibility between using ethnography and grounded theory analysis within consumer research studies. Pelto (1978) points out that a multi-instrument approach to research "enhances the credibility of research results" when researching the actions of a cultural group. Battersby (1981) calls for a combined approach of Ethnography and Grounded Theory and called it "Grounded Ethnography" (p. 93).

While Ethnography involves participant observation and then writing a descriptive narrative of the data, it should be noted that a significant difference between Grounded Theory and other qualitative methods is that Grounded Theory emphasises the development of theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As a Grounded Theory proceeds with the ongoing analysis of data it will influence the choice of further interview questions. The interview direction's goal is conveyed forward by theoretical sampling (which is emerging theory) (Wimpenny & Gass 2000).

The two methodologies are similar, in that they include data drawn from informal interviews borne out of participant observations (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). Researchers argue that Ethnography and Grounded Theory "fit within a critical-ideological paradigm" (Todd, 2012, p. 232). Ethnography has the advantage of being able to examine the actual and meaningful social processes within cultural groups (Tseng and Seidman, 2007). In addition meaningful knowledge emerges from data because of the engagement and observation of target group (Charmaz, 2006). Grounded Theory allows data to be understood more meaningfully because of the ongoing comparative analysis. Grounded Theory can aid Ethnography by

emphasizing constant comparison of current data with earlier data, which can aid in categorizing and showing relationships between the observable concepts and designated categories (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001). Ethnographic studies have, at times, lacked a sufficiently rigid system of data analysis. Grounded Theory methods "preserve an open-ended approach to studying the empirical world yet add rigor to ethnographic research by building systematic checks into both data collection and analysis'" (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001, p. 160).

6. Elements of research study's methodology

The current study is a combination of interviews and classroom observations of six English language teachers. These teachers from two Shanghai secondary schools were selected out of a greater numerical group of English language teachers. These six may be considered as representative of the larger definable, cultural group. The role and responsibilities of non-native English language teachers are the focus. These in-depth, longer term observations used Grounded Theory analysis to establish theory in the layers of data which were constantly compared throughout interview and classroom observation period.

Using both interviews and observations provided a way of getting closest to the teachers' perceptions. The collected data passed through a number of stages, including the initial sensitizing concepts, through in-depth analysis of notes, recordings, and classroom observations, and the data further went through a period of further analysis with theoretical sensitizing. Finally the data produced noticeable educational theories that have been categorized and consistently compared, and evaluated.

7. Researcher's positionality and experience

The researcher is positioned as a post-positivism realist who holds that knowledge and underlying theory can be discovered and then interpreted from given contexts. This researcher brought a measure of awareness to the data collection, having been a university English language teacher in Hong Kong for a number of years and who had visited these two Shanghai schools at least twice a year for over five years. While there were various pre-research observations, a serious attempt was made to approach the teacher questioning and data collection with an open mind and without pre-conceived views as to what theories and concepts might emerge. This is in keeping with what Ethnography and Grounded Theory, which encourage discovery of knowledge from the situations observed situations and the types of interaction seen. As secondary school teachers in Shanghai, the participants were seen as having a unique perspective of English teaching and that in particular is what the data attempted to capture. These six also represent a much larger group of non-native English language teachers in China.

III. GROUNDED THEORY ANALYSIS

1. Grounded Theory: History and development

The initial studies in human behaviour using Grounded Theory were done in the field of nursing. Glaser and Strauss (1965) studied terminally ill patients and the nurses who cared for them. Glaser and Strauss found that they discovered a methodology that seemed to merge the idea of generating theory and verifying it, not just testing existing theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Grounded Theory methodology has now been used in many other fields including, but not limited to, business, human resources, and more recently education (Maloney, 2005). Using Grounded Theory analysis of data collected in this ethnographic study, in which in-depth interviews

were conducted, provided an opportunity to categorise and evaluate data related to teachers' thoughts and perceptions.

In addition to the real-life ethnographic observations and collected data used to describe is chosen cultural sub-group of teachers, Grounded Theory analysis can give an explicit voice to the teacher. The interview text of discussion becomes their story. To start with, a limited amount of analysis and categorization of their words is done without separating them unduly. The teachers' words themselves are the valuable commodity of the study. There is no need to fracture their thoughts unnecessarily as concepts, beliefs, and perceptions but only to note and group similar responses and connect them together with what other teachers say.

The emerging patterns of words from the teachers' views can indicate a sense of significant themes. These identifiable thoughts can be grouped together as a theory that fits contextually within the teacher's current situation. Classroom observations of them teaching helped to enrich and inform the researcher's understanding of the developing theory.

2. Grounded Theory analysis explained

Grounded Theory has been used in the realm of qualitative research and has been stated by Thomas and James (2006) as a "contributor to the acceptance of the legitimacy of qualitative methods in applied research" (p. 767). Glaser and Strauss began their research together collaborating in a study of terminally ill hospital patients and published a work entitled "*Awareness of Dying*." Shortly after the study Glaser and Strauss published their book, "*The Discovery of Grounded Theory*" (1967), which described the methodology they had used in that particular study. In 1978 Glaser published a related book on "*Theoretical Sensitivity.*"

Grounded Theory has been described by Allan (2003) as the opposite of the scientific method, which tests hypotheses. Grounded Theory allows the data to dictate the production of underlying theories. Glaser has said that "all is data" (1998, p. 8) which includes the process, the questions, the interviews, the answers, the analysis of the data, and the writing up of the data. Charmaz (2005) states that a study's credibility rests upon the depth and scope of the relevant collected data. This all-encompassing view of the process of data collection and analysis can ensure that a suitable picture of what is happening in the life of the teachers properly emerges.

This particular study relied upon the methods of analysis mentioned in what is known as Classic Grounded Theory. Glaser has called it "Formal Grounded Theory" (2007, p. 99). There was a divergence of opinion between Glaser and Strauss. Glaser (1992) redefined the importance of letting the data 'emerge.' Strauss had written a book with Corbin (1990), in which a more specified approach to obtaining data was promoted. Glaser (1992) viewed this extra data collection apparatus as a deviation from the original Grounded Theory and attempted to rebut it. More recently Grounded Theory has evolved further by Charmaz in constructivist grounded theory and Clarke with situational analysis (Morse, 2009).

Burks and Mills (2011) note that whichever form of Grounded Theory researchers follow in their study, there is an accepted set of essentials that must be used if the study can be considered a Grounded Theory research. This study has incorporated those key components. It is beyond the scope of this study to note all Grounded Theory developments in the field and this study does not attempt to analyze their interpretations and in some cases modification of the original theory used by Glaser and the Classic Grounded Theory that he continues to advocate.

This thesis and the research underpinning is used various methods of coding, memos

and theoretical sensitivity that characterize Classical Grounded Theory. The basis of data collection was through the interviews with the teachers and the initial labelling and coding of their interview responses. From reading field notes and listening recorded interviews, areas of deeper interest or patterns were noted and then compared between the various interview subjects. The teachers' differing, expounded thoughts were evaluated and then elaborated in memos, which were added to the record of material analyzed. Using key Classical Grounded Theory techniques, including initial coding of interview transcripts, data was organized and grouped together into relevant themes or core categories. After grouping similar information together, additional coding was carried out with analysis of patterns. All teachers' comments were reviewed to see repeated patterns from which underlying theory was drawn from their combined perspectives.

3. Teachers' interviews and voice worthy of analysis

Research relies on the data voiced by people whose views are being studied. A specific value is applied to the answers given and in most cases accepted. Lind and Gronlund (2000) state that the "oldest and best known method of obtaining information directly from an individual is the personal interview" (p. 333). This form of data collection in a self-report assumes the accuracy of the interviewees' views. It can be noted that interviewees are not expected to fake data so in studies they are given the benefit of the doubt. In some cases the interviewees may not accurately remember what previously happened. However as Elbaz (1991) contends, "many have been committed to return to teachers the right to speak for and about their teaching" (p. 10). Qualitative research depends on the reporting accuracy of the words expressed by its research subjects. The subjects are the key to further discovery. Lind and Gronlund (2000) further note that it has been accepted that those being interviewed self-report accurately, especially if they have nothing to gain and if

the interviewer reinforces the importance of clear and frank responses. Freeman (1996) states that not only do words convey thoughts but teachers' words in particular have been linguistically studied and their words have been shown to portray their inner world with credibility. He advocates studying not only the content of teachers' speech but also the way they say it.

In line with the research questions, the teachers interviewed in this study were asked to convey what they thought about their secondary school occupation and role of training students in English language usage. They understood that their responses should reflect what they were thinking. There was no preconceived standard or proper viewpoint that they should embrace and they were encouraged to give answers to the questions as they themselves saw fit. They had nothing to gain by misleading or misinforming the researcher as there would be complete confidentiality and no monetary rewards given. In evaluating the sincerity of their answers to the questions one would be hard pressed to dismiss their view point. Interviews were conducted in English because it is the language used and understood by the researcher. Teachers were selected to participate in this study because of their English speaking proficiency.

4. Grounded Theory and Ethnography: origination of sensitizing concepts

Sensitizing concepts of underlying patterns of human behaviour in research have been discussed by American sociologist Blumer (1954). He noted that sensitizing concepts suggest directions to take note of in research. He contrasted sensitizing with "definitive concepts" which provide a prescription of what can be seen. Blumer (1954) further noted that "sensitizing concepts merely suggest the direction along which to look" (p. 7). Bowen (2008) noted that the idea of sensitizing concepts can be

"interpretive" and used in qualitative research. According to Kelle (2007) "sensitizing concepts" allow researchers to explore a wide variety of situations. Glaser and Strauss (1967) encourage Grounded Theory researchers to approach their research situations without pre-conceived expectations and to allow the theory to be unveiled.

A researchers' awareness of the background ideas within the areas being studied can be helpful to overall understanding. As a researcher collects more data, theoretical concepts can emerge from the information gathered. In sociology, 'sensitivity' has been a goal by others including the early Chinese sociologist, (in 1947) Fei Xiaotong. Fei (1992-translation) mentioned the idea of 'sensitizing concepts' and called them "idea types." Idea types are considered to be exaggerated patterns of behaviour or merged views of the possible best pattern. These can be compared to the actual behaviour being studied. In addition to "sensitizing concepts", Fei also said that social theory should be evaluated and created by those who themselves are involved in the studied situation. Fei further stated that "firsthand knowledge" needed to be evaluated and not be hearsay or speculation. He advocated intensive research that can be compared with historical data as well as current data.

5. Sensitizing concepts applied to this study

This ethnographic study used background information that included awareness of 'sensitizing concepts' to lay the groundwork for the data collection via interviews. An interview wheel (see appendix) consisting of eight parts was developed as a starting point to begin areas of questioning. The researcher has been involved in teaching for over thirty years and the contents of the interview wheel were borne out of his personal reflections of his teaching experiences. Concerning the interview wheel areas related specifically to language teaching, the researcher relied on personal reflections and literary materials provided by two universities in Hong Kong: Hong Kong University and Lingnan University. The researcher finds it difficult to point out specific authors because of numerous language teaching concepts he has learned and used in teaching contexts.

As the rounds of interviews progressed the researcher referred to the interview wheel topics less frequently. The goal of the interview was to follow the information on which the teacher was elaborating and those topics about which the teacher seemed to have a perception. If the teacher stated that the area of questioning was of minor importance then the researcher moved on to a question that touched on another category. The interview wheel served as a way to sensitize the interviewer to general information. As the goal of the interviews was to uncover the perceptions of how the teachers saw their role and responsibilities, and then to apply constant comparative analysis to the data collected, the responses served as a launch pad for the follow-up questions. Grounded Theory methodology attempts to approach a research area with sensitivity yet openness to the data, thus allowing what is really happening to emerge. This tension between sensitivity without preconception has been attempted in this study.

IV. DISCOVERING THEORY THROUGH RESEARCH

1. Theory as infrastructure of human behaviour

A theory is a way of understanding and analyzing a subject. In addition, a theory can explain how a particular group may be expected to respond based on previously observed behaviour. In observing an emerging theory, assumptions can usually be made for the future actions and predications with a measure of certainty. Theory is to human behaviour what infrastructure is to the physical, constructed world. A city's roads and transport system supply physical materials for use and service, so human patterns of behaviour carry life substance and response to particular stimuli.

Discovery of underlying concepts can be observed from analyzed data. The end product of a Grounded Theory data analysis is a theory grounded in data that is comprehensive and integrated. These theories then are capable of explaining a process associated with a particular phenomenon (Birks and Mills, 2011). The value of these grounded theories is to enlighten observers to new, underlying concepts that are in place within a group of people. In this study the group being observed and investigated is non-native English teachers in secondary schools in Shanghai, China.

2. Opposition view of Grounded Theory

There has been opposition to Grounded Theory methodology. Freeman (1996) believes in the context of an ethnographic research methodology that if the word of teachers is accepted the data should be linguistically analyzed. Freeman (1996) calls this the "presentational" approach to language, as a social system accepts that individuals are defined by what their language communicates. Without in-depth language analysis of collected data, this view holds that the words spoken during interviews cannot be valid. Others have held that what teachers say should be

valued because they will speak truthfully and will honestly describe their role as genuinely as possible (Richards and Lockhart, 1994).

Grounded Theory has been questioned in its fundamental issues by Thomas and James (2006). They base their criticisms on analysis of the term 'theory' as to why Grounded Theory should be considered theory. Dey (1999) presents a list of unanswered, ambiguous questions and states the level of confusion Grounded Theory brings. Thomas and James (2006) believe Grounded Theory has made a major contribution to the legitimacy of qualitative research but with the various procedures used they render the idea of fracturing and taking apart the data and then reconnecting it as possibly not discovering theory, but clouding the very voice of the subjects from which the data has been collected. This study has attempted to render the voice of the subjects from which the data has been collected as the preeminent concern. Fabricating theory is not in the interest of this researcher. Rather, the researcher aims to analyse specific data and attempt, through sound judgment, to bring to light those perceptions that the teachers actually demonstrate.

V. APPLIED METHODOLOGIES

1. Grounded theory accepted procedures: Coding

Grounded theory methods follow basics steps that begin with the coding of data. After data is collected it is coded and labelled according to the researcher's preferred notation. While there is no expressed pattern to follow, the main idea is to fracture the data and determine what is happening in that data (Holton, 2007). Holton further notes that coding has two separate processes. The first is called "substantive" coding which is done early on the data analysis and the second is called "theoretical" coding. Substantive coding involves first, "open coding" of all data, which means essentially taking the data apart piece by piece and attaching labels to the data. This is followed by noting which similar categories of data emerge.

The second step in coding is called "theoretical coding" in which constant comparison is done between categories as similar indicators are observed, and then theoretical possibilities emerge from the data. Early in his career Glaser (1967) observed that qualitative research theory emerges because of the researchers' "constant comparison" of data. Living in an era in which quantitative studies dominated the social science field caused Glaser to validate his data through this constant comparative method. This method became a key ingredient of Grounded Theory analysis.

2. Divergent views of coding

As methods of grounded theory evolved over time, Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998, 2008) added a more systematic form of coding. They added steps within the coding process and described them as a way of making better connections within the categories of data. They prescribed the detailed coding process to follow,

which included "axial coding", in which core categories are identified in the open coding. Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998, 2008) further identified the "core" categories and prescribed more categories including the "casual conditions" involved, the "strategies", which are actions taken by the interview subjects to respond to that data category. Strauss and Corbin further defined their coding system as needing to observe "intervening conditions", which are factors that have influenced subjects actions and finally they noted the "consequences" or "outcomes" of the strategies (Creswell, 2007).

Glaser reacted negatively to these extra steps in the coding process and other parts of these newly introduced "systems" introduced by Strauss and Corbin. His book entitled "*Basics of Grounded Theory: Emergence vs. forcing*", (Glaser, 1992) attempted to refute what he considered an error of over-prescribing the data, which seemed to predetermine the outcomes. This split in views between the founders of Grounded Theory has been the subject of much debate, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. The methods used in this thesis follow more closely the emergence aspects noted by Glaser's original Classic Grounded Theory (Holton, 2007). Corbin (2009) a co-author with Strauss, who introduced a more detailed approach to coding, notes that coding techniques are only tools to obtain data, not a "set of directives to be rigidly adhered to" (p.40). Without becoming obsessed with the coding process, remember that it is a technique for discovery of theoretical connections. Birks and Mills (2011) state the two seemingly opposing ideas should not be considered mutually exclusive or too black or white. Glaser and Strauss could be considered the fathers of Grounded Theory and discovered in a search to understand dying patients. Their followers should keep the goal of understanding at the core of their research. Methods of discovery may continue to evolve.

3. Memos written during the data collection and analysis

Throughout the data collection and analysis process the researcher makes mental and written observations called memos. Glaser (1998) noted that memos are comparisons of the ideas that arise in considering the various parts of the data. These memos are considered to be tools of the researcher to compare situations, context, and incidents. Memos are basic to the tracking of emerging comparisons and ideas. They can be simple or in-depth and vary from researcher to researcher.

Data is observed and compared together and noted relationships emerge. The researcher makes use of this thought process and in-depth consideration of the recorded and transcribed data to note the emergence of theory. Theory can be described as explanations of the research subjects and why they think and act as they do. Grounded theory attempts to conceptualize data and answer the basic question of 'what is happening.'

Hand written memos, verbal digitally recorded memos, and typed memos were made from time to time throughout this study's data collection process. These memos reflect the thoughts and impressions of the researcher. (See the appendix for samples of memos.)

4. Theoretical saturation

In the course of data collection core categories of understanding seem to become more predominant. This core data is compared with other data and similar information can be observed. Glaser (1967, 1992) refers to this plateau of data "theoretical saturation." Holton (2007) states that, "theoretical saturation" has been reached when the "constant comparison" does not discover any new dimensions of the core categories.

When interview answers become repetitive and no new information is forthcoming, a saturation level has been reached and no further information will be added to the emerging theory (Birks and Mills, 2011). Glaser (1992) adheres to the view that without the emergence of theory on its own the data should not be manipulated to produce the researcher's pre-determined or desired results.

This study uses the above mentioned aspects of Classic Grounded Theory. Open or initial coding was done from field notes and notes from recorded interviews. After developing an interview wheel (see appendix) of possible areas for questioning, the interviewer pursued responses as they were delivered. Each answer essentially became the building block of further exploration. After reviewing the notes and recordings of previous sessions, subsequent interviews were reviewed and similar questions repeated, which led to confirmation of previous data and their developing categories. In some cases repeated questions added new information or data that was then pursued into new enlightenment of the teacher's perceptions.

A serious attempt has been made by the researcher to allow data to emerge, and even though some aspects of theoretical sensitizing have been used by the interview wheel, no preconceived views were held to or incorporated into the data collection. The researcher further attempted to allow the teachers' perceptions be the guiding principle of theory development. The aim of the data collection was to learn from the teachers' communicated responses.

VI. INTERVIEWS AND CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

1. Interviews

Open ended interviews with teachers were used extensively to collect data to provide the basis for determining the underlying perceptions of the teachers themselves. As interviews progressed and responses were probed further, teachers' perceptions and various theoretical teaching views started to emerge. These were confirmed in further comparison of categories between the interviewed participants. As patterns and descriptions were observed, they were noted, the researcher's sensitivity to these patterns was applied, and ultimately, theories emerged and were recognized.

In this study a description of the interviewees is included in the 'Research Contexts' and various categorized findings are later discussed in the 'Findings'. In the 'Discussion', section of this study various theories grounded in data are set out and their links to the language teaching field and other aspects of education are analyzed working from the patterns that have been observed and communicated.

According to Payne (1999) semi-structured or unstructured interviews are the method most commonly used to collect data used for analysis in qualitative research. Kvale (1983) states that the interview should be focused within the "life-world" of the interview subject and it should be about their views of the issue being researched. Other conversations may take place within the context of the interview but this may be used to establish rapport with the interviewee (Payne, 1999). Bowling (1997) categorized the types of questions used during interviews to include closed or open, more than one choice, or multiple choice questions.

During the interviews, mostly open ended questions were used. In some cases the interviewer gave a multiple choice style question to the interviewees, and in some cases, where it seemed that the interviewees did not fully understand the question,

the interviewer would rephrase the question for their benefit. Potter and Wetherell (1995) note that interviews provide an opportunity to cover a variety of topics with each participant and they support using follow-up questions as a means to lines of communication that pique the interest of the researcher. Within the constraints of the time available for the interviews to be conducted, efforts were made to create an atmosphere of free flowing, natural discussion.

It should be noted that the six teachers were not asked the same, exact questions. If categories of responses seemed to be leading to other interesting data, then the interviewer pursued that line of questioning. The teachers' role and responsibilities were explored in a variety of questions. What was on the mind of each teacher during the interview was a focus of the questions. All teachers were asked to respond to general teaching categories, such as dealing with parents, or assigning homework, handling disciplinary problems, or lesson planning. Questions exploring a variety of issues were asked to allow the teachers to comment freely as they saw fit. If the teacher mentioned potentially interesting data, then the interviewer would probe further. Since the degree of consistency has been noted by Hammersley (1992) as important to interview reliability, major areas that were raised by the individual teachers were also probed with the other five teachers. Hammerley (1990) further defines validity within a study as to what extent the data accurately reflects the social phenomena to which they refer. The actual in-context words and expressions of the teachers themselves became major data for consideration. Using a Grounded Theory approach to coding, categorizing and ultimately reaching a thoroughly saturated view of the data was diligently exercised by the researcher.

2. The length and quantity of the interviews

Each interview averaged around fifty minutes with a few of the interviews lasting less than forty minutes and a few extending over sixty minutes. The interviews were conducted privately in the offices of teachers near the classrooms in which they taught English. The interviews were conducted in English because the interviewer spoke little Chinese. The teachers had been selected as interviewees because they were proficient in English and had previously agreed to answer the interview questions in English. The interviews were digitally recorded and then the digital data uploaded to a computer. Duplicate copies of the recordings were made. Field notes were taken during the interview and reviewed before the next interview. Points of interest from reviewed notes and recordings were brought up as questions in the next scheduled interview. Each teacher was interviewed at least four times with some being interviewed as many as eight times, depending on the teachers' schedule and availability. See Table 2 in the Appendix for more information.

3. Classroom observations in this ethnographic study

Four of the six teachers were videotaped while conducting an English lesson. It was not possible to see the teachers teaching the same content due to the teachers' and researcher's scheduling issues. The classes themselves were forty minutes in length and the teacher was interviewed after the lesson for their views and perceptions of their lesson.

It should be noted that a researcher bringing a video camera to a classroom may change the nature of the teacher's instruction delivery and the students' responses to the teacher. However in these two secondary schools visitors to their classrooms were a common occurrence. The researcher himself had been a frequent visitor at these

schools for five years before this study commenced. His presence in the classroom was noticeable but not disruptive of normal classroom actions because he was a well-known to the teachers and students.

The teachers in Shanghai were fully briefed by the researcher about this particular study and how the collected data would be used. They were also made aware of the need for them to continue as normal and that the goal of the researcher was to be like a "fly on the wall" and not create any disruption to the classroom. Teachers were encouraged to conduct their classes as usual and that all video tapes and recorded data remained confidential.

Marriott (2001) notes many teachers have missed out on the opportunity to be observed in their classrooms or even to observe other teachers. She further notes that observation of teachers has not been used enough in the field of education to analyze aspects of teaching and learning. Classroom observations are a way to understand how teachers put into effect those things they consider important for their students.

4. Data management

Digitally recorded interviews and video tapes of classroom observations were reviewed on a number of occasions. The pertinent data were highlighted on the notes and recorded in transcriptions that included the significant responses of the teachers. The interviewer listened to the recordings again, before each repeat interview and areas for further discussion were noted in a memo. After the completion of all interviews, the manuscript of notes was typed out and studied and then further coded for categories to continually compare for areas of potential Grounded Theory.

Analysis of both the voice recordings and the typed notes derived from the interviews allowed for various levels of discourse analysis. While transcription was thorough, it was undertaken with the aim of identifying the specific substance of the interview content, and did not include recordings of the teachers' unconscious mannerisms and gestures as they answered the questions. O'Connell and Kowal (1995) state that "only those components of spoken discourse should be transcribed and only what makes analysis intelligible should be presented in transcripts for the reader" (p. 98). Verbatim transcription of the recordings was therefore not carried out; rather the transcription focused on the context and meaning of the teachers' words.

5. Responses of interviewees can be trusted

A large number of studies are aimed at soliciting direct views from the subjects involved. These views and perception are essentially trusted if conditions are right. There is no reason for a subject to falsify information as the subject has nothing to gain and the responses are kept confidential. In their study, Koziol and Burns (1986) found that teacher self-reporting was accurate when compared with observers' reports of the same classroom. In this current study, the researcher was known by the teachers and students from his previous involvement and visits to the school. He had rapport with the interviewed and observed teachers. Interviewees seemed comfortable with the areas of questioning and if a sensitive area was touched upon the interviewee was reassured about confidentiality and privacy. At no time did the teachers refuse to answer questions posed by the researcher. Teachers seemed eager to be observed in their classrooms and welcomed input from others.

6. Ethics

In all research, it is important to maintain proper ethics and this is especially true in qualitative studies, where individuals will often bare their souls and place great trust in the researcher. Christians (2005) argues that a social science study should have the following four elements to be considered ethical. The first element is informed consent, which means subjects participate voluntarily after understanding all potential uses of their responses. Christians' (2005) second element involves avoiding deception. No questions should be asked deceitfully or with motives other than finding the genuine data. Element three is privacy and confidentiality, which guarantees anonymity for those interviewed. The fourth element is accuracy in the use of data. All data should be collected and used properly without fabrications or omissions that may lead to other conclusions other than those being represented.

Teachers involved in this study were selected as a result of their English proficiency and their ability to discuss and be clear with their expressions. They were asked to fill in a declaration form (See Appendix) acknowledging that their words and responses would be included in this study. The form states that their responses would be held in confidentially, including their names and the name of their school. This study meets Christians' (2005) four elements of ethics. Conclusions and findings drawn from the data have been presented as the best possible theories from the data collected.

7. Research steps

Each teacher was interviewed a number of times during the period when the research period and each interview was digitally recorded. Handwritten notes were also used by the interviewer. The recordings were listened to before conducting the

next interview. Handwritten notes were added and highlighted for repeated. Four of the six teachers were observed teaching lessons and these sessions were videotaped. Memos were both entered in a computer and handwritten according to the researcher's convenience. The videos were watched by the researcher and pertinent questions asked and followed up in another interview. After completion of a number of interviews and observations the researcher began to categorize similar information. Core categories began to emerge by way of repeated patterns. The researcher then probed these categories by asking follow-up questions seeking further clarification.

A significant amount of teachers' relative comments were transcribed and compared with each other until ultimately five core categories emerged that seemed to be grounded in comparison. The process of comparison included repeatedly reading and listening to recordings (six to eight times). A chart was created (see appendix) and further notes were developed in the form of brief memos. Further questions were asked in subsequent interviews to verify the teachers' perceptions and to confirm that the theories were generated by the data.

8. Chapter summary

Although Grounded Theory has gone through many stages of evolution and has been criticized in some circles, no one can deny the spread of its use in a wide number of fields. Grounded Theory has become the most widely used method of qualitative research (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). If the study is done with proper comparison of data it can demonstrate a suitable fit, relevance, workability, and modifiability (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Glaser 1978, Glaser, 1998) and it can add knowledge to the fields being studied. Grounded Theory methods and (in the specific case of this study) Classical Grounded Theory methods are worthwhile

and generate data for theoretical emergence.

Qualitative research and especially ethnographic studies using Grounded Theory analysis are appropriate for education and the study of teachers' roles. Various aspects of human behaviour have been analyzed and described using qualitative methods, with education being one particular area of society that has been researched using these methods. The qualitative aspects of description have led to a greater awareness and further holistic exploration of the educational field.

This chapter has further described and listed the various instruments of data collection and analysis, as well as the steps taken in the research. Further details of the context in which this research was conducted will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Four RESEARCH CONTEXTS

In this chapter, the context of the location where this research was carried out and with whom the data was collected will be described. The choice of Shanghai school districts will be highlighted and noted as being important to English teaching throughout China. The classrooms within the two selected school in the same suburban school district near the city of Shanghai will be described, along with a thorough description of the experience and characteristics of the six teachers recruited to this study.

I. THE RESEARCH SETTING

1.   The research setting: Why Shanghai schools were chosen?

Shanghai has been on the cutting edge of educational reform in China for many years (Hu, 2005). As a city, Shanghai has led China in population numbers and in international interaction and contacts, making it a prime location in China for change. It is known as a gateway city for the world (Zou and Zhang, 2011). This societal change, which has occurred a number of times in Chinese history, beginning in Shanghai, has covered areas of politics, finance, and education.

Historically, many educational reforms that found their way out into the rest of China began in Shanghai. Recently many other education areas researched, developed, and piloted new ideas, such as Task Based language learning (TBLL) and Content Based English instruction (CBEI). Hu, (2002) established Shanghai as the significant place of educational reform. Feng (2011, p.16) calls Shanghai "the linguistic capital" of China because of its emphasis on English within Shanghai schools. Research and experimentation in curriculum and teaching methods have taken place in Shanghai for many years. Shanghai was one of the first metropolitan areas to develop its own

variation of the university entrance examination. Many other provinces and municipalities have followed suit, developing their own university entrance examinations for the students within their own jurisdictions.

The two secondary schools in which this particular study took place were also experimenting, developing, and piloting educational reforms in English language teaching. One secondary school was using half the standard size classes in Shanghai or small-class teaching for its English teaching classes. The standard class size in Shanghai classrooms is usually around fifty students but this particular school was only assigning less than 25 students within their English classes, allowing for more teacher interaction with individual students. The other secondary school in which this research took place was experimenting with various forms of teaching innovations. Educational change, reform, and development are a part of the Shanghai educational structure. Their role in educational leadership is well-known and established. During the course of this investigation, various innovations were implemented and tested for their effectiveness. The usual classroom teaching classes were supplemented with oral speaking practice, listening practice exercises, and reading of authentic materials. These innovations were all being tried out during the research period.

In 2009 Shanghai joined the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OCED) The Programme for International Students Achievements (PISA) examinations for the first time (OCED, 2010). PISA is an international assessment exam that is used to compare OCED countries in three educational areas. Shanghai fifteen and sixteen year olds scored highest in the world in all three areas of reading, mathematics, and science; higher even than previous high scorers, Hong Kong, Singapore and Finland. In 2012 Shanghai repeated its success, in the PISA

results, scoring higher than the world's best (OCED, 2010, 2013). This is a prestigious achievement and because of these high PISA scores, a number of educational experts have begun to study the teaching methods, curriculum, and students' rather aggressive attitudes toward learning in Shanghai. Although PISA is not directly related to English language teaching and learning, it is indicative of the students' high standards, and by implication, their teachers and schools.

Using teachers from Shanghai secondary schools in this study of the teachers' perceptions of their role and responsibilities can indeed give insight to the reasons for their students continued high achievement. The PISA results give another element of the rationale for investigating teachers in Shanghai secondary schools.

2. Levels of experience of interviewed teachers in Shanghai secondary school English classes

This study highlights three groups of teachers, who perceptions were grouped to give insight into the changing effect over time. Group One comprises three experienced teachers A, B, C, (twenty years plus) [See Table 1 below]. Group Two has only one teacher (teacher D) in it and this teacher has 14 years teaching experience. In the final group (Group Three) are the two teachers with the least experience (teachers E and F). One of these is in the second year of teaching at a secondary school and other teacher is in the sixth year of teaching experience.

Table 1. Table showing experience levels

Teacher identification	Years of Experience	Group identification
Teacher A,B,C	20-30 years	Group one
Teacher D	13-15 years	Group two
Teacher E,F	1-6 years	Group three

A detailed description of the six teachers in Groups One to Three is included below so the context in which their words were spoken can be fully appreciated.

3. Other participant observers interviewed

In order to obtain further background information concerning the Chinese examination system, a current university student was also interviewed for 45 minutes in order to gain a better understanding of her experience in taking the university entrance examination. This student described the year leading up to her examination, the three day exam and her response to her disappointing results. She was not from the Shanghai school system but took the NMET in another province.

In addition to the above mentioned interviewed participants, a native English teacher who worked with the teachers in Shanghai for a period of two years was interviewed. This interview was orientated to collecting further background about the teachers and their schools. He was helpful in providing useful background information about innovations to the curriculum, since he was also working in the Shanghai secondary schools which were investigated.

4. Further context and rationale for studying teachers in Shanghai

While teachers around the world face a number of similar issues as they do their roles, English language teachers in Shanghai, China have their own set of challenges. These challenges make for an interesting study, adding to the work that has been done in the study of teachers' perceptions of their roles and responsibilities. The way teachers think about their role and themselves within the context in which they are working is valuable because their descriptions, shared in interview, give the teachers voice, especially when using Grounded Theory analysis.

It is important to understand all teachers' perceptions about their language teaching role. It is especially important when considering lesser known and somewhat unusual learning contexts, such as the context in Secondary schools in Shanghai, China. While Shanghai itself may not necessarily be representative of all of English language teaching in China, it has been on the forefront of educational reform and it is a centre of educational experimentation (Feng, 2011). As a result, Shanghai English teachers would likely have higher proficiency standards than teachers from other, less developed areas of China. Shanghai's educational reform, particularly in English language teaching, makes the findings of this research of interest. Reform and experimentation may develop in Shanghai and spread to other provinces and school districts who look to them, or like some other educational experiments, officials may find Shanghai's piloted methods ineffective and unworkable. Shanghai teachers are in many ways educational leaders for the rest of China.

Shanghai was chosen for this research because of this leadership and because of previous relationships with the English teachers at two secondary schools that had been developed by the author. Five years before the onset of this research the author periodically visited and interacted with various English teachers in Shanghai. However since Shanghai is also known as a cauldron of educational reform, ELT teaching experimentation and piloting of new methods and curriculum were areas the researcher hoped to observe. The ELT methods successfully trialled and adopted in Shanghai will most likely find their way into the rest of China's secondary schools. This makes the study of Shanghai secondary school English teachers a prime area of research. In addition, this study's research design was such that teachers' English language proficiency had to be at a high enough level for interviewees to understand and answer questions in fluent English. Those teachers capable of that level of language proficiency would most likely be found in

Shanghai.

In addition a further rationale for using Shanghai has been its historical openness to educational innovations and has become a model to other provinces and their school districts (Lee, Ding, and Song, 2008).

5. Shanghai Secondary School descriptions

The school districts in Shanghai have a four-tier administration system consisting of National, Shanghai City, county, and district supervision. All levels of administration exert various degrees of leadership and accountability to the schools. The education system operates as a 6-6-4 programme, which means six years of primary school, six years of secondary education that is divided into two parts (junior middle and senior middle), and finally, four years at university.

In a typical secondary school classroom in Shanghai there are around fifty students. Most English teachers teach two groups, or classes, of fifty students in five or six forty-minute classes each week. The teachers teach from a textbook that follows the prescribed curriculum called "New Century English." This particular textbook was chosen because it best reflects the type of information that would be a part of the university entrance examination. This curriculum goal is not necessarily communicative competence. Rather, it is strongly reading-based to fit the exam format students will face in the university entrance examination (NMET).

Secondary school students are classified as Grade I, Grade II, and Grade III following the three year senior secondary school format. Before moving up to secondary Grade I students complete three years at Junior Middle school, which is equivalent to an American Junior High school. Junior Middle students are also

required to take a secondary school entrance examination, from which secondary school placement selection is made. There are enough secondary school places for all junior middle school students. However, the students' current school on the entrance examination determines the quality of the secondary school they may attend.

It is common for English teachers in Shanghai classrooms to follow their students and teach them through all three grade levels of their secondary school. If a teacher is not very experienced, he or she may only teach Grades I and II. Grade III is the examination preparation year or NMET preparation. The Grade III curriculum is taught by the most experienced teachers. A typical school year begins on September 1st and finishes on June 30th. Grade III starts a few weeks earlier in August during the students' final secondary school year because their university entrance examination is typically held over three days the following June.

Teachers in Shanghai secondary schools have a large number of students in their classes. In the schools used for this research, the number of students in one class was between forty and fifty. In Teacher A's 'experimental' English classes, there was a notable exception to this large norm, where classes averaged fewer than 20 students. English classes lasted around forty minutes in both schools and at least one class was conducted per day by teachers to each of their classes. On some days the teachers taught a second class to their group for the second time during that day. This was called a six day a week schedule that rotated around the five days.

II. PARTICIPANT OBSERVERS: SIX TEACHERS' BACKGROUNDS AND EXPERIENCE

1. Teacher A

Teacher A had the most experience in education. He had worked for thirty years as an English teacher. He had begun teaching English at about the time of the education reform under the then leader Deng Xiao Ping. He had lived through the ten year Cultural Revolution and had been living in a commune in the countryside with his wife when, as the country began to reform, he was asked by government leaders to become an English teacher in the countryside school because of his aptitude for learning language. He received ten months of teacher training at a university.

While Teacher A stated that at the time the request was made, he would have preferred to teach a different educational subject however he soon willingly embraced his role as English teacher and began teaching in a suburban district of Shanghai. After teaching for four years, he began to teach English in the same school district where he had once had been a student. His son would later attend this same school and graduate with honours. When Teacher A became an English teacher in 1977, this was also the first year of the National Matriculation English Test (NMET). Deng's education reforms called for the reinstatement of this National Examination and the reestablishment of China's university system as quickly as possible. Educational reform was to be a key component in the modernization of China. English was included in the university entrance examination because of its perceived ability to help China establish international contact. Knowing and understanding English also made Western knowledge accessible to the Chinese.

Teacher A had taught for approximately twenty five years in the same school. He was viewed by his peers as a successful English teacher and was asked to become one of the vice-principals of the school. He taught his students from the established National

top-down curriculum and, as Shanghai gained more educational choices, Teacher A adapted teaching methods and imparted content according to the evolving system. Teacher A, because of his lengthy experience, was perceived as an English expert. He had also travelled abroad to England for specialized English teacher training. He participated in advanced training in a course designed to "train English teacher trainers." He had also travelled to Japan to study Japanese English teaching methods.

Many of the teachers interviewed in this study mentioned him as an expert and some even spoke of him as their mentor. His observations, both of the changing education field during a time of great change, and his understanding of China's English learning culture, provided invaluable information in this study. He was working in an administrative role during the time of our interviews so no classes were available for observation.

2. Teacher B

At the time of the interviews and classroom observation this teacher was very experienced and had been teaching English for twenty-one years. When this study began she was teaching Grade III secondary school English students. This is the students' final year and the year of preparation for the NMET. Grade III is the most challenging and pressure-paced year, with Teacher B teaching eighteen hours of English to two classes of around 45 students. This included some teaching on the weekends in order to cover as much of the syllabus as possible. This teacher was a Shanghai native and studied in Shanghai Normal University. She began her career by teaching junior middle school and had taught at the junior level for fourteen years. She had a son, who at the time of her teaching Grade III, was studying at the same level but at a different school. She taught two classes of students whom she had followed up according to their grade level. That means she had spent Grades I, II, and

III teaching approximately the same one hundred students for the past three years. She noted that this method completing what she called "the cycle" with the same students was preferable to other assigned teaching, such as teaching a group of Grade II students that someone else had taught.

In addition to teaching the difficult routine of Grade III examination preparation classes, she was the Class Teacher with the extra supervision responsibilities. The Class Teacher essentially cares for the students' overall welfare. Any disciplinary actions begin with the Class Teacher and then move up the school's administrative chain of command. If a student is having behaviour or academic problems the Class teacher becomes involved and encourages the student or meets the student's parents for a consultation. During the 2007-2009 school years while this study was being done this teacher was, in her own words "extremely busy" and under "very heavy pressure."

Teacher B had also been appointed as the director of the Foreign Language Department of the school, which had been established under a previous principal. Teacher B replaced Teacher D who left the school for a teaching position in another school district. The director of the Foreign Language Department was responsible for maintaining contact with a half dozen countries whose cities had an exchange student agreement. Teacher B had a full time administrative assistant who handled most of the correspondence between the countries of South Korea, Germany, New Zealand, and Japan, and the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong. Under direction of the Foreign Language Department a number of students visited these countries, accompanied by teachers and she therefore needed to make many decisions. Teacher B also handled the school's English summer camp. American students would come for a language and cultural visit for around two weeks and Teacher

B was the school camp director. Earlier in her career, Teacher B had attended extra English training in Denver, Colorado for around three months and commented that both her English language skills and teacher knowledge were expanded and increased. This Shanghai school district had developed a program of sending English teachers for three to four months of training in the USA and Teacher B was one of the participants of this teacher further education program.

3. Teacher C

Teacher C had been teaching English for twenty years and had spent the preceding ten years teaching at Teacher A's school. She had taught Grade III for the four years up to her first interview with the researcher. This was unusual because of the increased workload Grade III brings. In this school students in Grade I and Grade II are placed in smaller classes of around twenty students. The goal of this arrangement is to ensure the students have more contact with their teacher.

Before moving to Shanghai Teacher C had taught in another Chinese province and had been trained at a "Normal University" which is the name of the teacher training universities in China. She chose the position as an English teacher rather than being appointed and stated that she would choose this area of the profession again, as opposed to teaching a different secondary school subject. She reported that she particularly liked teaching Senior Middle school students because they are "more disciplined than junior middle school students."

Her experience and knowledge of language teaching seemed effective and she was well-respected among her peers. She had been recommended for this research study by Teacher A, who was her supervisor at the start of this investigation.

Teacher D

Teacher D had taught English at a secondary school for 13 years and at the time of the first interview had recently changed schools and was working in a new secondary school. She was chosen as an interview subject as a result of fitting into neither the long-time veteran category nor the novice category. Her length of service in her English teaching career offered a good opportunity to gauge teacher perceptions of mid-range experience levels and teaching involvement. She also had experienced a large amount of change within the English teaching field, both within her first school and then within her career at her new school.

She had worked with the same principal for her entire 13 year English teaching career and had found him to be an excellent leader. This principal was an innovator and Teacher D became the implementer of his innovative ideas, especially those ideas applied to English language teaching. During the period of his leadership Teacher D's career developed significantly. This innovative principal coordinated many English teacher exchanges for further training, in New Zealand, the USA, and the UK. This exchange of three to six months enabled Teacher D and others to experience immersion in an English speaking environment and to train in the English teaching field. Teacher D had accompanied students to New Zealand for a few weeks and stayed with a family in a home stay programme.

Teacher D had been appointed as the initial Director of the new Foreign Language Department at the school. This involved developing a bilingual language team of teachers who were to teach select lessons in their subject areas. This is known as Content Based English instruction (CBEI). Subject areas, such as Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Geography, and Politics were some of the subject areas the bilingual team

developed for students to take part in, voluntary. This will be discussed in greater detail in a later section on CBEI. Teacher D both implemented and coordinated this for around five years.

Another innovative idea that Teacher D supervised was the principal's goal of multi-lingualism. New language courses were offered to students in the subjects of German, Russian, and Japanese. These classes took place in three, forty-minute weekly teaching periods. The principal wanted to develop more international contacts so Teacher D developed student exchange programmes with areas such as Korea, Germany, New Zealand, the Hong Kong SAR, and the USA. Teacher D was the initial director of the school's annual English Summer Camp in which twenty to thirty secondary and university age students came to Shanghai from the USA for a two week language and culture exchange. As many as 175 secondary students participated in these camps from the Shanghai schools and surrounding community, which were held for six consecutive summers. The principal of the school even invested a significant amount of money remodelling a student dormitory, to accommodate foreign guests.

5. Teacher E

At the time of this research Teacher E had been teaching English in the Shanghai secondary school for six years. She is not originally from Shanghai but from another nearby Chinese province. She had received teacher training from a Normal University. Normal universities have 3-4 year programmes and focus on training teachers for Middle and Senior middle schools.

Teacher E had begun to pursue a career in education at the encouragement of her parents. They felt that education would enable her to have a stable job. Teacher E

had been inspired by a secondary school history teacher who she said 'thought very clearly' and this inspirational teacher had encouraged her and her classmates to 'think for themselves' as well. He had encouraged her independence and she wanted to emulate him in her teaching. She says that even though her parents encouraged her, she had 'decided for herself' to be an English teacher. She had been recruited for a job in Shanghai by the former principal of the secondary school after he had visited her Normal University and offered her a job. She signed a standard six year contract and she moved to Shanghai.

At the time of these interviews she was teaching Grade I. As Senior Secondary school is three years it encompasses Grades I, II, and III. It is common for teachers to follow their students up the secondary school class ladder. This means that if you are teaching a Grade I class then when that class completes that year and moves on many English teachers then become the same class's English teacher for Grade II. Since this was teacher E's sixth year she had followed this cycle twice and then in year five of her contract she taught Grade III. She said that teachers could not teach Grade III in their "first cycle." Grade III is the most difficult as Grade III is the preparation year for the National Matriculation English Test (NMET). Grade III students usually start school three weeks earlier (in August) than the rest of the students. It is common to have classes on the weekends and most of the work done in English is done by studying past papers. Exam skills are discussed and exam tips are commonly passed on.

Teacher E was now teaching her third cycle in year six of her contract and she was teaching Grade I, Class One of English. This class had thirty-nine students. She had also been asked or assigned to teach a listening course that supplemented the regular

English curriculum. This Listening class was taken by all Grade I students and Teacher E taught five different classes (Classes 1-5) once a week. In Grade I, there were ten classes. A different teacher taught Classes 6-10 weekly.

It was noted that the regular English curriculum already does listening exercises and when asked why the school offered this extra weekly 40 minute class for the students, Teacher E replied that because "listening is part of the formal exam" the school resources needed to be applied to this listening area. Special listening exercises curriculum patterned after the NMET examination were used in this class taught by Teacher E. This class was held in a special room with a CD player and Teacher E supervised the weekly listening practice session.

6. Teacher F

Teacher F was the least experienced teacher interviewed, having taught for only one full year at the current secondary school in Shanghai. He had selected a teaching career after pursuing a Master's degree at a local university. He had assisted the Master's programme as a teaching assistant with some English teaching in this programme. Teacher F had some business experience and had lived in Europe for one and a half years, working in an export company. According to him, he had been "educated in a top school" in Shanghai during his primary and secondary school years. This school had a strong English focus and he had developed his English skills through the many opportunities this education provided.

Teacher F was affected by his own real-world business experience and felt that in this current school, the emphasis on English was very limited. He believed that use of English by the students should match society's expectation of them. He believed he should prepare the students for more than just the university entrance examination; he

verbalized his desire to prepare them for their future lives. Teacher F noted that there seemed to be a conflict of interest between the exam and communicative competence of his students. He stated, "My practical experience has affected me but nobody can break this (exam regulation). This is the task or objective of the school to see how many students can get (high) marks."

Teacher F viewed Teacher A as a trainer and mentor. They had communicated about various curricula and methods. They also worked together to help to develop and implement a reading enhancement programme for secondary school students. This was instituted to help students improve their reading skills. Teacher F also, during the course of this study, took six students to Germany during a summer exchange programme.

Teacher F's motivation for choosing the teaching field was to help young people reach their life goals and especially to assist them in their English learning. He noted that although the salary of a teacher was less than that of the typical businessman in China, he was willing to receive less pay if he helped students.

7. Chapter Summary

This chapter has described the location and context in which this research was carried out. The importance of Shanghai English language teaching has been noted. In addition the characteristics and teaching experience of participant observers who were interviewed have been described. The six teachers' work within the particular structure of English teaching classrooms, as well as a brief view of their workplace in the Shanghai educational system has also been included. These descriptions now set the stage for a discussion of the research findings.

Chapter Five FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This chapter will introduce the differing viewpoints taken from interviews with the six English teachers who were the focus of this study. Their individual comments have been compared with those of the other language teachers have been categorized within this section. This initial grouping of data taken from interviews relates to the teachers' specific activities and their responsibilities within their classrooms and schools.

I. INTRODUCTION

While some characteristics reported in this section may be similar to those of other language teachers (native and non-native), English language teachers in Shanghai have some unique characteristics and perceptions of their role and responsibilities. Each country and ethnic group has certain cultural characteristics that are unique to their specific group and these characteristics affect each country's education system and its designed purpose. This is also true with the teaching of English in Shanghai's secondary schools. The descriptions and details in this section will highlight the non-native English teachers' perceptions of their work.

1. A variety of findings from interviews and research process

In the many hours of interviews conducted with the six Shanghai, non-native English teachers, recurring themes in their responses were observed. The goal of the interviews was to provide an opportunity for the teachers to talk about their role and their routine as language teachers. The interviews followed no specific pattern, except the pattern to follow-up on areas that were mentioned by the teachers themselves. This follow-up revealed deeper layers of understanding that were noted and coded to connect patterns with the ultimate goal to find working theories in the language

teaching field.

The researcher had a starting place and an interview wheel (see appendix) that categorized possible areas to probe. In reality, the interviews were designed to be free-flowing and non-directed. Questions were asked about the daily routine and then, as an area of interest emerged, further questions were asked. This attempt at deeper exploration based on verbalized information provided by the interviewees themselves was the interviewer's template, and all teachers were not necessarily asked exactly the same questions. Each question became the launch-pad for further questions.

2. Reoccurring themes discovered in interviews

Consistent themes that were raised by the teachers are covered in this findings section of this thesis. General discussion of the teachers' comments have been categorized and included in order to give a view of the teachers' perceptions of their role and routines in their English teaching. The interviews were conducted were as follows: The initial, basic information interview was discussed so that the researcher could become acquainted with each teacher's level of linguistic ability and teaching experience. Then the teacher was asked to describe his or her life as a teacher. The researcher noted various key words that indicated a particular line of teacher thinking and then asked additional, related questions. The interviews were digitally recorded and after the interview was concluded the researcher listened to the interview again before the next interview was conducted. The aggregate interviews were then analyzed, coded for similar information and patterns, and were grouped together for similar information and comments achieve a clearer picture of these teachers' roles.

Using the information gleaned in the first interview, follow-up questions were devised consecutive interviews. For example, when Teacher C said that she and her colleagues would "argue" about the curriculum, in the follow-up interview the researcher asked for clarification to the word "argue" and Teacher C clarified they were "not quarrelling but just discussing the curriculum." Another example of a follow-up question was when Teacher D said in an early interview that she had not felt supported in her role as Head of the Foreign Language Department after the long- term principal she had worked for was dismissed by the school district leaders. A series of follow-up questions was then asked in subsequent interviews to develop a more complete view of why Teacher D felt that she was not supported. This method of follow-up on previously discussed material not only clarified various points mentioned in the previous interview but was valuable in attempting to determine theories that help display a deeper picture of non-native language teachers' perceptions of their role.

Various areas of discussion are included in this findings section, such as the teachers' relationships with their students, their use of the English language curriculum, and their dealings with both minor and major changes and responses that were miscellaneous in nature. As a result of the repeated patterns of teacher responses, underlying theories of how teachers perceive their role and responsibilities are presented. A further comparative attempt is made to determine if veteran teachers of twenty to thirty years have a distinguishably different perspective than those teaching for less than six years.

II. SPECIFIC DISCOVERY OF DATA FROM FINDINGS

1. Responses by teachers concerning their relationships with their students

For teachers to be successful, they need responsive students. The students in this secondary school study were adolescents who were growing and developing in all areas of life. In the educational system of Shanghai, students, as in most language classes, are expected to sit together in a classroom with forty to fifty other students and give their attention to a teacher. Since this study targets the English teachers in the Shanghai school districts, the focus is on how students respond to each specific teacher of English. Teachers may find some students resistant to the learning of English because it is a compulsory subject. In these cases where there is resistance to learning English, teachers must be creative to attempt to draw students into agreement with the English learning purposes and how they ultimately fall in line with the Shanghai school system's desired outcomes.

During the interviews teachers made a number of comments about their students. A number of teachers mentioned the development of positive relationships; some even mentioned long term relationships that began during their years of teaching of English. Teacher A stated:

> "I taught a group of students throughout their three years at a secondary
> school and some students even continued their relationship with me
> for over twenty years."

In regard to his students, he further mentioned that his students that he genuinely, "liked them and they liked me." The positive nature of the Shanghai teacher-student relationship seems to have existed for all six teachers that were interviewed. In this endeavour of teacher and student working together toward a common language learning goal; bonds of respect and even true friendship have developed. Teacher A had made it a point to, "tell new teachers that they should love their job and love their students."

Teacher B commented that:

> "Teaching is a kind of love, in my opinion. If you show love to your students they will give some response to you and then we can work together and communicate and understand each other better. It is very helpful to us as teachers."

This positive student response and bond between language teacher and language students provided the foundation of working together as partners in language study. Further, this relationship extended beyond the classroom to one-on-one teaching or small-group meetings with the teacher outside of the regular classroom hours. Private tutorials were conducted and were mentioned by all the teachers as being necessary to further clarify specific curricular material to their individual students. The offer to meet after class was generally extended to students to indicate that the teacher was available if they needed assistance. In many cases, in addition to the offer of small-group teaching, the teachers specifically asked the students to meet with them privately. Students were obliged to attend these after-class meetings in order to listen to the teachers extra instruction. Both Teacher B and Teacher C noted that "over ten percent" of their work time involved these encounters with students out of classroom. Both noted the necessity of talking face to face with those students who usually needed extra help in their language knowledge and skills.

Teacher F commented that he knew his students English ability quite well and felt confident he could provide the "guidance and assistance they needed to attain their goals." He used some specific teaching methods to attempt, as he put it, "to draw students out of their shyness." These methods included calling on them in class and asking students to elaborate on specific questions. He attempted to cultivate more oral expression from his students with his questions throughout his lessons.

2. Teachers knowing and understanding students

Teachers E and F, the youngest and least experienced teachers, both discussed the need to be aware of students' language ability. They both had been in a sense sensitized to who their students were as English learners. They had made evaluations of their classes and certain students in particular. Teacher F expressed his views and frustration about students' proficiency levels in English. He noted that students "pronunciation and speaking was so lousy and quite poor." Both Teachers E and F also made more generalized observations of their students, mostly in comparison with their own secondary school experience. They felt that the students had more competition in today's education system but they also thought that their students were lazier and maybe even spoiled by their parents and relatives. Teacher E mentioned her perception that students today "were spoiled."

Teacher F, who, as a young man, had attended a secondary school with a very high standard of English learning, observed that generally, this present secondary school he worked in produced students "with a very limited proficiency of English language" and he felt a need to attempt to help his two classes as much as possible with their oral and listening skills. This, he believed, would make the longest lasting impact on his students' lives.

Teacher C, a much more experienced teacher, with twenty years of experience, commented that it took her "around two weeks to understand the various English levels" of her students and she felt more confident in calling on them publicly to answer questions without them being embarrassed. All teachers spent time thinking about their students with attempts to teach them in a more suitable, productive way. Teacher C spoke about classifying her students as "active" or "not so active" or even

as "one class is too quiet" when referring to their responsiveness and willingness to participate in the learning process. Teacher D shared that she was aware that the students in her new school were "weaker" than those she had previously taught. She said;

> "I needed to adjust methods to weaker students in the new school. I feel that if I just answer all their questions I will just waste a lot of time because I can't cover material."

By being aware of and knowing and understanding her students' ability. She had to adjust her methods to fit who were less proficient. She realized that the students could not paraphrase the textbook sentences and that they could not understand her if she introduced any of the textbook in a paraphrased manner. This class, which she classified as "lower level" could only use the material they were reading in the textbook.

Teachers expend mental energy in thinking about their students and are, on the whole, interested in their students' general and educational wellbeing. This interest in most cases is directed in a caring way towards the students. In some cases the teacher thinks about the student in terms of results or projected, future results. This can also be construed as concern for their students. In a few cases the students' results may actually be considered in the light of how those results reflect on the teacher's teaching ability. These six teachers, at various times in their career, had been negatively affected by students who did poorly on the university entrance examination. If a number of students had done poorly this could affect the reputation of their teacher and/or the reputation of the school itself. Teacher B commented on this affect on the teacher:

> "If your students don't do well you would feel ashamed about marks. In our school, in most of the schools, the principal will judge a person according to their scores. If your students do not do very well in your class or in the exams, maybe you would be scolded but even if the principal don't scold you, you don't feel very good."

She was asked if she had been scolded or disciplined because of her students' poor marks.

She said she had not:

> "been scolded yet, but sometimes my students didn't do very well, I feel very worried and ashamed. I'm worried that the students cannot pass and cannot enter university."

In a system so dominated by comparison of the averages of the students and consumed by rankings in reference to language and subject knowledge ability, it is not surprising that numerical comparisons between groups can cultivate a pressurized working environment.

When a person is assigned a number, such as an average score, and that given number is compared with others, esteem is likely to be attached to that persons' number because of this comparative ranking. This can be, at the very least, de-motivating to those outside the top ten percent and very disconcerting to those in the lower half of the compared rankings. Students within this pressure packed teaching system continually complained to their teachers of their dislike the current learning system.

Recent laws have been passed in Shanghai limiting the amount of students' at-school study hours. Teacher D had been teaching a remedial style speaking and listening class on Sundays for her "lower level" classroom. The change in the number of hours mandated by law was in response to student reaction to the feeling of being overwhelmed by study. In a few cases it was believed that study pressure has been a contributing factor to students who had committed suicide. To avoid undue pressure, the Shanghai Educational Bureau has now said these extra classes may only be scheduled on Sundays for Grade III students. Teacher D expressed some dismay in this new limitation of hours because she knew her students needed extra time to develop English skills.

3. Teachers are concerned and interested in the way students learn

A number of different teachers mentioned the concept of students' study habits and how necessary these habits were to the successful learning of English. Teacher A noted that thirty years ago it was difficult to teach English because students were not interested in learning this language. This period of time was directly after the Cultural Revolution, when Chinese people had been encouraged to reject all things "foreign." However as Deng Xiao Peng's reforms began in 1978 and the university entrance examination was reinstated, most students adapted to the new standards and requirements and began to seek success in English.

Teacher A had very clear opinions about the way students should learn and stated:

> "If you want to teach well you must first teach the students how to learn. And encourage students or motivate students to learn. This is the most important. Not just tell them about what this is or that it. In the end if the teachers can lead them and the students can learn quite well this is the best teacher."

> "Many years the teachers have been dominant and now there is a change in teaching students how to learn by themselves."

In Shanghai, teacher centred classrooms seemed to be evolving into more learner-centred environments and students were being encouraged to develop the skills and habits needed for personal success in studying. Teacher A did not want students to just understand sentence patterns and spelling but to acquire communication skills in English and study skills that would be helpful in their independent learning. This idea of "learning by themselves" or more independently, may have developed from the prevailing teaching beliefs being passed from teacher to teacher or from a less altruistic logic: i.e. that the teachers had to manage such large classes that they recognized the impossibility of overseeing all of their students all of the time.

A third possibility is that the curriculum they needed to cover was too great to be successfully completed in the limited amount of school time. The general view of all teachers was that if students were going to be successful they needed to be able to learn by themselves.

Success is most readily quantified by observing the students' success in examinations. Teacher A noted that students learn better these days than previously but the teachers find it more difficult to teach in the modern setting, for a number of different reasons. In today's English teaching and learning environment there is great competition and a limited number of university places. Teacher A believes that students have better study skills but that the overall target for the students learning to study is to pass the examinations. He commented that without the examination, "I am afraid many students will not study." He noted that there were entrepreneurs in China that were famously trying to improve people's language of communication. One businessman started learning new methods of teaching English such as "shouting out the words loudly" in English.

Teacher A hoped that students would actually learn to like to learn English and not just think of it as just difficult. He wanted to help his students to enjoy learning English. He considered that a teacher's role should also be to motivate a student to learn. He further mentioned the idea of lifelong learning as being part of a teacher's role. Some student's might be considered as "lazy" if they did not know how to learn English. He advised new teachers about their role and responsibilities:

> "Teachers must be professional and improve their own English levels. If they want to teach well they must be good at English first. Second, they must be student-loving, love (the) job and love the students. Then in classroom teaching the most important is to use their head to raise or stimulate the students' interest. Don't let the students feel the teacher is boring."

Teacher A had attempted, in conjunction with other language teachers, to implement more reading strategies for students to help them to learn to read and develop a "habit of learning." Teacher D had similar views about the study habits of students being very important to educational success. Some of her suggested steps for the students were to preview the English text before the upcoming lesson and to try to acquaint themselves with the vocabulary and grammatical choices before the lesson. Then, to have good learning habits, students ought to participate and raise their hands to answer questions during the lesson. After the lesson the student with "good study habits" would reflect on the lesson, complete any homework as soon as possible and go over all the text again and review any supplemental material not covered in the class.

Teacher E also mentioned the idea of students learning to learn by themselves. It is likely that both Teachers E and D had this concept of learning and study habits imparted to them through Teacher A, who was their senior colleague and also their mentor. This transfer of perception and belief seems to have had some affect on these teachers' perceptions of their students' work and study habits.

Teacher B also worked with Teacher A as a subordinate when Teacher A was vice-principal of her school. Teacher B noted that she felt that the hard-working students were the successful ones. She especially valued their "efforts," which she said she could observe and had a sense of whether the students were, as she put it, "trying their best." Teachers seemed to be confident that they knew if a student had appropriate study habits and the English language teachers were confident of being able to identify the level of effort a student was making.

III. ENGLISH TEACHING RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Teaching role in specific areas of English learning

The university entrance examination (NMET) specifically examines the following areas of English; listening, reading, grammar, writing, and translation. The entire examination is worth 150 marks, with a varied weighting for each of the above areas. Speaking is not a compulsory part of the national university entrance examination, but is provided as an optional test for students desiring to take it. The secondary school curriculum textbook was titled, "New Century English" and is taught in units that contain vocabulary, grammar exercises, and reading texts. Some speaking examples are included in the form of dialogue. Listening practice for the included texts and a section of vocabulary words are also included in most English lessons.

Several teachers commented about various aspects of this curriculum. In an interview after having her teaching lesson observed, Teacher C mentioned that her students in Grade III specifically enjoyed studying grammar and liked using multiple choice grammar tests, which usually had four possible answers. The students were reported by this teacher as being keen on learning why the correct grammar answer was chosen and why the other options were grammatically incorrect in the sentence. While Teacher C seemed to enjoy a detailed grammatical explanation in classes, Teacher D commented that "teaching grammar makes me crazy." She preferred students to improve their speaking fluency and to be able to present English in oral presentation. Teacher D valued student speaking skills as her highest priority.

In the natural course of their teaching a number of teachers shared in the interviews that they shifted to Chinese explanations for grammar rules and for material that required more intricate understanding. Learning situations were in most cases communicated in English to provide more of an English atmosphere.

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Teacher E, who had taught for six years at the time of the interviews, said she had noticed that in the newest curriculum;

> "Grammar is taught more easily than in previous years. Before it had lots of details but now it changed from a detailed approach."

Grammar seemed to be presented in the textbook through more "real situations," rather than through explanations of grammar rules with less of a context.

Reading was an area that all teachers had begun to give a growing and increased focus on as the interviews progressed. It had been determined by the local school district that a number of students lacked sufficient proficiency in their reading ability. The school district considered that this lack of reading skill lead to misunderstandings on the university entrance examination by the students. According to Teachers A and C, the weighting on the Reading test was 35% on the NMET, so a commensurate amount of teaching time was needed in this area. While the emphasis on class teaching of the units included a substantial part of reading, Teacher A had observed that the school district noted that students spent a lot of time during the examination scanning for the correct answers within the texts but fewer students read the entire text.

The renewed emphasis in developing students' reading skills included trying to bring more enjoyment to the student in reading by using a weekly secondary school newspaper in English published by the Shanghai Daily. The specifics of this will be discussed under the section on change but it suffices to say that teachers are evaluating their students' language skills and, as weaknesses are observed, teachers begin to formulate plans to build up student performance.

Writing is also on the university entrance examination and is given a strong time

commitment in the classroom. Teacher C noted that "students will write at least six 120 word compositions each semester." These are relatively time consuming and require a lot of marking and for weaker students a lot of individual discussion to point out various ways to improve students' ability to express themselves. A conscious effort to analyze the student writing and give helpful feedback was a part of the teachers' routine.

Teacher E, in addition to teaching a Grade I class was also responsible for teaching a listening comprehension class to all students on a weekly basis. This listening class was held in a different classroom than the usual classroom where students were taught. Listening equipment was provided and the students followed a set of listening texts. The listening tape was played and then the students would write their answers on the provided worksheets. After the listening practice Teacher E then asked the students to choose the answer they thought was correct from a list of possible answers. According to Teacher E "this listening class was added to the curriculum to give the students more listening practice." The Teacher noted that the regular curriculum already included a listening section and helpful vocabulary pronunciation that could be played within the language teachers' individual classroom. However both secondary schools had adopted this additional weekly forty-minute listening class practice period for all students in Grades I, II, and III in order to give the students more exposure to what the Listening Examination would be like.

It can be noted that the teachers interviewed were very conscious of the examination culture within their school system. The students had been chosen to be in this particular school and sometimes in the particular class, based on the secondary school entrance examination scores. After three years at senior middle school they would

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again be subjected to a high-stakes examination that would set the parameters of their life path for another few years. These two high-stakes examinations were only a part of the exam culture and exam dominance that is within these two secondary schools. In this educational system, the primary mode of operation comprised unit tests from the taught curriculum, and monthly tests, mid-term and final tests were also held within the semester to then be evaluated and in some cases compared and ranked with peers. Both teachers and students felt the "very heavy pressure" to perform, as stated by Teacher B.

2. Teaching responsibilities beyond or outside the subject of English

Another job that was periodically assigned to all subject and language teachers at Shanghai's secondary schools was that of the "Class Teacher." Teacher F, the newest teacher interviewed, mentioned that a teacher, especially filling the role of being a Class Teacher, needed to "keep an eye on your students." Teachers are also responsible for their students' moral education, which means to present the proper societal response to normal human interaction. Class Teachers are charged in the Shanghai secondary schools to be responsible for the students' overall academic performance and proper behavioural responses. This role of Class Teacher incorporates more of a holistic approach to the student. The Class Teacher is a disciplinarian and functions as a Dean of Students, who provides encouragement and discipline to urge the students toward appropriate and acceptable behaviour. The Class Teacher generally handles communication with the parents so that this teacher stays informed of the overall progress of their students. These teachers act as the "go between" with parents and the subject teachers. This role of class teacher is assigned by the school administration on a rotating basis. In each of Grades I, II, and III, there are 10-12 classes in each secondary school, so this means that at any given time there

are thirty to thirty-six class teacher positions needed.

The Class Teachers manage the students only; they do not manage the subject teachers or give instruction to them. Teacher D noted that as a Class Teacher she had visited many of the homes of her students to better understand their home environment in which the students live. She felt that she understood her students' personalities, "better after my visits to student homes." The purpose of her house visits was also to connect with parents and hear their views of their own children. This establishment of in-depth contact was said to be "very helpful" to the teacher, who was better informed and could respond more effectively to the students. As a Class Teacher she noted that sometimes being a Class Teacher, "can be heart wrenching." She mentioned that she needed to deal with two fifteen year old students who were developing a dating relationship with each other. Most secondary school students' parents and teachers discourage dating due to the distraction it tends to be for students. The Class Teacher said, "I became like a policeman" to attempt to deal with it. This particular case was complicated by the fact that the student's parents lived in another province of China and only saw their daughter a few times a year. In cases such as this one, the Class Teacher appears to be beginning to take more of a parental role in the student-teacher relationship in addition to the classroom teaching role.

Teacher F, who found himself accompanying students to Germany as a part of a two-week student exchange programme stated that, being in such close proximity with the students in a foreign country, provided, a "wonderful opportunity to observe students in real life settings." He stated that the students behaved well, alluding to the behavioural aspect of his teacher role and beyond his role of English teacher.

Teacher F further agreed that:

> "Students need to learn to express themselves better. We teachers are thinking of every way to help them and then they are like babies. They have lost themselves; they are not using their brain and cannot do the other things."

Other teachers expressed a similar view of students, who were being actively encouraged to attempt to learn English for themselves and develop less dependence on others.

Regarding this concept of less dependence, Teacher D said that students, "in many cases wait for direction from their teacher." One of her goals was to help them become more independent learners. She noted that some students were not responsive to her method of teaching especially if she attempted to be more proactive and required the students to be more participatory. She said that she would like her students to improvise on the dialogue practice rather than just reading it.

IV. PRESSURES FACED BY TEACHERS

1. Students learning and examination results are a reflection on the teacher

Teacher F noted that he wanted to display the "strength of my students mostly through their results on the various exams" in which they participated. Examinations are an intrinsic part of the Shanghai school system and have become very dominant within the role of the teacher. The teacher is responsible for teaching the curriculum specifically chosen by the administration and then the students are evaluated via paper tests.

The results of the teachers' classes were typically compared with the other teachers presenting the same curricular material to their group of students. Typically there were five to six teachers teaching the same grade level and each teacher would be responsible for two classes of students. Teachers' results on the various tests and

examinations would at times be compared with the other Grade level teachers and the average among the teachers would be noted. The teachers felt a lot of pressure to score above or at the average.

2. Teachers facing miscellaneous situations requiring their involvement

These in-depth interviews that were conducted in Shanghai happened at various times of the school year. It was noted that regardless of the weather, the teachers taught in their classrooms without heating or air conditioning. In cases where the weather outside was either very cold or very hot teachers were expected to continue at the same level of excellence. Teacher C noted that in especially cold weather the lessons were negatively affected but she tried to continue to stay on schedule regardless of the temperature. During a particularly cold lesson that was observed by the researcher and follow-up interview she said "my students gave me warmth." The teacher's positive attitude undoubtedly rubbed off on the students who were facing some adverse learning situations. A positive, can-do approach to language learning no matter what the circumstances was a characteristic that teachers shared. Seldom were there any complaints or negativity expressed.

3. Relating to other teachers with teamwork and camaraderie

Sometimes teachers would mention their colleagues during an interview. When asked about curriculum planning Teacher E noted that he met on a weekly basis to coordinate the teaching units with teachers who were teaching the same material. In addition, Teacher E noted there were moral/political meetings in which administration officers would inform the teachers of the government's direction for teachers to maintain. Teacher C referred to teachers' curriculum meetings at the beginning of the semester but not on a weekly basis. Teachers B and C mentioned that they found the

teacher meetings to coordinate curriculum implementation helpful.

No teacher specifically emphasized the aspect of the teachers being a team, which was somewhat surprising because those teaching the same grade were all working together to accomplish a similar purpose. Even though the teachers were attempting to accomplish the same purpose, because of the ranking system used in these two schools and the comparison of student mean scores, teachers work together but in a somewhat reserved manner. Teachers may share lesson plans and ideas but each teacher essentially operates individually and has a sense of ownership of their students. It is possible that the teaching camaraderie is somewhat undermined by the comparison of examination results and the competition that seems to derive from this comparison policy. This will be further discussed in the later paragraphs.

4. Presenting the curriculum chosen by the education administration

While the National Bureau of Education in China has allowed more flexibility in each major city or province selecting or developing their own curriculum, once an area like the Shanghai Municipal Education Bureau chooses a textbook for English learning there is an expectation that teachers teach through it in a scheduled and even lock-step method. The selected textbook used by both schools in Shanghai is called the New Century English and is published by the Shanghai Foreign Education Press.

Each group of teachers, teaching Grade levels I, II or III, works together to manage their own groups' curriculum delivery to the students. A relatively tight schedule is decided upon at the beginning of the semester. Examinations are scheduled periodically to test the units that the groups should have delivered. There is little time to free-lance and few teachers can deviate much from the appointed lesson plans.

Some teacher groups communicate less with each other, as in Teacher D's Grade II classes where the three teachers responsible for curriculum teaching rarely discussed their progress or ideas. They obtained the schedule at the beginning of the semester and were responsible for following it on their own. That lack of communication at Teacher D's current school can be contrasted with Teacher F's group, "spoke daily together about what they had covered" and if they had found a new or better way to present various parts of the textbook that would be shared with other teachers.

The curriculum is in a textbook in groups of units. Teacher D stated that she was responsible for teaching eight units per semester. She noted that in her new school, they used a different textbook and that she needed more than three hours preparation before each lesson, acquainting herself with the new material and practice exercises. Other teachers spoke of their need to prepare themselves and plan their lesson, even if they had previously taught the material. Teacher F noted, "an English teacher's preparation is similar to a subject area teacher."

When asked to describe his basic teaching responsibilities Teacher F said:

> "How to improve students' English is the basic task all the time. The major challenge we have is that we have a lot of tests and then comes the National examination test."

While the current curriculum occupies a serious amount of teacher thinking there is an overriding concern for the upcoming national examination even for students two to three years away from it. Teacher F noted that he wished he had more flexibility within the system. Teacher D, said that even though she is teaching Grade I students she would, "always urge students to become well-prepared for the university entrance exam."

Teacher D stated that a typical presentation of a curriculum unit would start with a review of vocabulary words presented in the unit. These words might be explained using a PowerPoint presentation or by having the class recite the words. A regular lesson starts with vocabulary and then introduces the reading text. After the reading text is introduced, various activities are added to enhance comprehension and usage of the material. Some interactive tasks are introduced and sometimes accompanying activities such as listening tasks. Usually in the lesson a series of translation practice exercises is added. Students who have learned the words and observed the sentence structure are then expected to translate English sentences into Chinese and are given some Chinese sentences to translate into English. In an observed lesson Teacher F gave the students a few minutes of class time to work out the translations and then called on students one by one to read out their translations in front of the class.

In the New Century English textbook curriculum units, there is a reoccurring pattern of a reading section, a section on grammatical structures covered in the reading texts, and a section on functional language. Then there are sections on listening and speaking as well as writing. Some units have additional, "study skills" sections. A unit generally takes a couple of weeks to finish and then teachers will use some class time to revise various materials within that unit. Most teachers spoke of the difficulty of covering the curriculum in a short amount of time. All teachers spoke of the students' difficulty in understanding the material and all felt there was not enough time to cover it adequately. Various tests and examinations were held, usually on a monthly basis and usually covering two units of the curriculum.

VI. OBSERVATIONS OF TEACHERS AT WORK

1. Classroom lessons that were observed

Classroom observations were carried out on four of the six interviewed teachers as a part of this ethnographic study. Teacher A was not teaching any classes at the time of the interviews because he was handling administrative duties. Teacher D changed schools and it was not possible to observe her teaching any lessons. She had been observed in classrooms before the commencement of this particular study, conducting some educational activities and during the school's English summer camp. The goal of the observed lessons was to compare the items that were discussed with the impartation of the teachers to the students. This section will highlight some of those observed lessons. It should be noted that the researcher's curiosity about whether teachers used rote learning and memorization in their English language teaching as opposed to presentation, practice, and production prompted the early direction of this study.

2. Teacher B's classroom

Teacher B was observed teaching a Grade III lesson. In the lesson she attempted an integrated lesson of student discussion of the topic of who their heroes were. The students discussed within a small group and what seemed to mostly be a brainstorming session in Chinese and then were asked as a group to write up sentences in English describing a few of their heroes. Students were selected to read out what they had written as a group. This was an interesting lesson in that she attempted to use group work on Grade III material. Most material is presented in a lecture style in Grade III and the students are not participatory but sit and passively take notes. They also complete a lot of practice test papers that are marked and returned to them with some feedback or encouragement to be more adept in certain English skills.

In this particular lesson Teacher A and another school district representative were also observing. The district representatives were attempting to observe various Grade III lessons and make recommendations to help Grade III teachers and students make better English progress. Because this lesson deviated from the normal lesson, the district representative commented to Teacher B that she did not see how this would help the students be more prepared for the high-stakes examination. It was not necessarily a criticism but an observation and a question. Teacher A noted that there were exam skills such as writing that were being practiced.

Teacher B was observed in teaching a Grade I lesson the next school year. She also tried to use some group work with her students. In the interviews she had noted that she wanted her teaching to be more learner centred and her group work was in her view an attempt to help the students be more interactive. Students did respond in short English answers when called upon but in the groups themselves there was very limited English usage. It was also observed that Teacher B complemented her students in their efforts to produce English. She stated that she encouraged her students to "try their best" and when they tried to produce English she wanted praise them.

3. Teacher C's classroom

Teacher C was observed teaching her smaller class at the experimental secondary school. She appeared to be systematic in following a prescribed lesson and it seemed quite smooth and seamless. She set up a vocabulary competition between two groups of her students. The students would discuss various vocabulary words and then try to fill in the multiple choice questions. It was noted that she could have asked the students actually verbalise the vocabulary words but instead she allowed them to answer with the letter a-d to indicate the corresponding vocabulary word. The

students appeared to enjoy both the game and the challenge. She used this vocabulary competition to revise previously taught material.

4. Teacher E's classroom

Teacher E was observed teaching a lesson to a Grade II class and a listening class. The listening class seemed quite mechanical: she would call the students' attention, play the recording, and then allow time for the students to fill in the correct answers. She would then call upon them for the correct answer choices. Again the students answered with the alphabetic key (a, b, c, or d) rather than using the actual words and they seldom repeated the actual word choices from the questions. Teacher E did not know all the students in this class because she taught these listening classes to approximately three hundred students twice each week and she said that it was not possible to know all their names. Instead, she called for their answers by their seat numbers, from one to fifty, depending on the actual number of students in the class at that time. In her Grade II class she spent most of her class time reading from her textbook and, unlike the other teachers, had little interaction with her students. Some of the things she mentioned in the interview time, such as encouraging her students to "learn for themselves" in English literature in order for the students learn to appreciate the deeper meaning of the lessons were not evident in her teaching style. It is possible that after teaching English for only six years she was still developing adequate teaching patterns. Her students appeared to produce satisfactory results and she stated that they were not scoring below the average of other classes.

5. Teacher F's classroom

Teacher F was observed in a Grade I lesson and then a year later teaching the same class of students, who were now Grade II. When they were in Grade I Teacher F spent approximately fifteen minutes asking English questions and calling upon individual

students to answer those questions. It was evident that he was giving them a lot of speaking practice. Along with the textbook material he was emphasizing the parts of the text that asked students to describe a picture in a sentence or two. The students themselves responded with attempts to fulfil the challenges that he had set. At a later classroom observation and by the time the students moved on to Grade II, Teacher F had modified his lesson, with less emphasis on speaking because, "speaking is not tested on the exam." Speaking is an optional part of the university entrance examination and a majority of students do not take it, especially if their planned course of study is not expected to include English as a specialist subject. He had adjusted his classroom activities to now include more translation of sentences because this skill of translation was, "tested on the exam" and was a productive skill that students may need later on in their occupations.

These classroom observations made it possible to see the teachers at work and were helpful in noting their perceptions about what their role and responsibilities were. In three of the four teachers the perceptions they specifically expressed in the interviews were generally observable in their classroom teaching. Teacher B and Teacher F were observed for four lessons while Teacher C was observed twice and Teacher E was observed for three lessons. (See Table 2 in the appendix)

VII. OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Homework assigned

A number of teachers mentioned that they assigned extra homework. Some work was assigned because the material was not able to be covered in class due to time limitations. Teacher F provides an example of this. At the end of the lesson being observed, Teacher F asked students to complete, as homework, the unfinished part of

the unit he had been teaching. Another example was when homework was assigned to individual students who needed extra work on vocabulary to prepare for the upcoming unit.

Another aspect of homework was the new emphasis on reading. Students were asked to look through a student newspaper and chose articles to read. In some cases the specific articles were assigned to students. They were then given a task sheet or exercises designed to evaluate how much of the article they understood. These reading comprehension exercises were developed by the language teachers and were mostly fill-in-the-blank style questions that were filled in with specific words from the text. It was hoped that this homework would help the students to develop better reading skills and perhaps help them to develop a habit of English reading. No marks were usually given for completed homework but instead the homework was encouraged in the belief that when students were given a test or examination, their mark would improve. Homework became a means to the goal of a higher mark, so in most cases the students accepted it and made the effort to complete it.

Homework in at least one case was assigned by a teacher as a punishment for bad behaviour. Teacher F spoke about his experiences as a Class Teacher when he had used homework in a punitive manner when students he classified as, "lazy" needed extra work.

2. Parents' and Teachers' roles described

As educational agents, teachers periodically come into contact and communicate with parents. The teachers have an understanding that the parents are ultimately responsible for their children's education. Throughout China and indeed in Shanghai, English teachers typically are viewed as the English language experts by both parents

and students. The majority of Chinese parents have a limited understanding of the English language so they rely on the teachers for their children's progress. Those teachers who teach the subject of English normally have limited contact with the other subject teachers. There are parent teacher meetings held two to three times a year but these are for general information and there is limited time for individual conversations with the English teacher. Parents may ask a few questions about their adolescent child. According to Teacher D, all the parents have the teachers' telephone numbers and are encouraged to contact them. More often communication with the parents is through the Class Teacher, who is a subject teacher who is responsible for the welfare, discipline, and academic progress of one class. According to Teacher F, the Class Teacher essentially supervises all the students and deals with any discipline issues. The Class Teacher is authorized to assign punishments such as extra homework or even cleaning chores on the school grounds when applicable.

The Class Teacher, not the subject or English teacher, is the primary communicator to the parents but the Class Teacher will mostly speak with the parents to make parents aware of any behavioural problems that may have arisen. Parents will normally accept the teacher's assessment of the situation over that of their own child. Teacher D commented that when she took the step to visit the homes of students over whom she was appointed as Class teacher. She made the observation that, "the parents would scold the children in front of me and call them lazy." In addition they would ask her to give their children more work in English. Parents were also consciously aware of the university entrance examination, which may have prompted them to ask the teacher to help their children more.

A parent would rarely challenge or disagree with a teacher. There was an underlying trust extended to the teachers because they were the experts. The language teachers

especially felt the weight of that trust and attempted to work toward helping the students to accomplish the parents' ultimate goal of getting their child into university.

Although parents supported the school over discipline issues, they did hold the school responsible for physical injuries to their children if accidents occurred on the school grounds. Teacher D related an incident during a summer camp in which a student broke an ankle playing basketball. The school had limited insurance coverage on the camp members and this injury was an activity organized by the school. The students' injury was quite serious and necessitated surgical repair. The hospital billed the parents and the parents asked the school to cover most of the rather large sum. The school itself had limited funds for this type of situation. The parents ultimately sued the school in court. The judge in the case ruled in favour of the parents and the school had to pay for the majority of the treatment, since they had been conducting the activity that had resulted in the original injury.

In regular academic areas parents would cede authority to the teachers. However parents did not entirely abdicate their parental authority, especially since in Chinese culture the children are expected to financially take care of their elderly parents. If a child can be accepted into university it will likely result in a better economic situation for the family in the long term. Parents are the beneficiaries of a child's attendance at university. They therefore expect the teachers to do their best to help students be successful in all their subjects including English.

3. A large amount of time dedicated to examinations

In a large number of interviews with the language teachers the subject of examinations was a dominate topic. Teachers admitted that the overall target of

teaching and how they evaluated their overall success were based on their students' marks on tests. In the interview with Teacher B, who was teaching Grade III, the examination preparation year, the upcoming university entrance examination was seen as a "great pressure to be faced by staff and students." Teacher D, who was teaching a lower grade level (Grade I), also said that she often reminded her students of this examination, even though it was two years away. She was attempting to motivate them and not have them relax too much in Grade I after they finished the secondary school entrance examination. She noted that parents often brought up their concern for the NMET. The parents encouraged Teacher D to give their children more work to help them prepare for that high-stakes examination.

It was evident that the more experienced teachers had a relatively calm approach to the pressure. Teacher C had taught Grade III for four consecutive years and seemed relaxed about it, seemingly because of her over twenty years of experience in language teaching. She viewed the examination as the:

> "first floor of a building; Students had to build that floor first in their lives
> and then they could move on to further language building within
> themselves."

For her, language learning was a long term, even a lifelong endeavour. She felt the pressure of the desire for success but if a student did not score well enough to enter university she felt that she had done all she could. Teacher B, also a highly experienced, veteran teacher who was teaching Grade III at the beginning of the interviews said that she always tried to do her best and encouraged the students themselves to make the same kind of maximum effort.

The younger teachers expressed the pressure they felt to have their students achieve higher scores. Teacher F noted in early interviews that he seriously wanted "my students to be successful in their speaking skills" and he sought opportunities for his

students to speak out in class. By the beginning of his second year he had reduced the speaking time in class because, as he said about this major adjustment, "speaking was not on the exam" and he had been advised by more experienced teachers to do more translation work within his classes because "translation of sentences was on the exam." In observing his classes over two different school years, it was evident that he had adjusted his original teaching premise of using more speaking opportunities within his class, which was initially in his mind because it was "better for the future careers" of his students to have a more short-term goal of better readiness for the university entrance examination.

It should be noted that the university entrance examination would not be the last English examination that students would take. At university students needed to pass other English examinations in order to be eligible for various careers that would identify with the English language.

4. Teacher perception of the pressure added by examinations

According to Teacher A, who was involved in the first English examination of the reformed education system in 1978, "the teacher feels that the teaching English is not so easy now." The students and the teacher both feel "very oppressed." "It's a burden." The scores, the marks, and the examination score are very important. "Sometimes they (administrators) have to ask the teachers to do more (extra) papers. Teachers need to teach students how to do these exam papers better, more than learning skills like speaking English."

Teacher F noted about this exam based system that, "it is a pity that the teachers' marks are compared with other teachers" teaching the same curricular material. He felt the need to adjust his presentation of the material to include less speaking

opportunities and more translation exercises. His reason for including more translation material for students to learn was because "the exam had parts of translation and not speaking." Teacher E had a somewhat different perception of the university entrance examination in that the teachers who prepared their students adequately were held in high esteem. She noted that teaching Grade III was, "a very heavy responsibility," from students, teachers, and parents. She believed that once she had taught Grade III she felt a sense of satisfaction that she had taught the exam preparation year and others felt she "was qualified" as a teacher. She stated that she preferred to teach Grade III. She believed that she was successful in teaching Grade III and that students thought she was a good teacher. However, some of her success may have been tied to the fact that the ranking of the school had improved.

Previously, the school had been ranked 100 out of the 754 secondary schools in Shanghai (A survey of basic education in Shanghai, n.d.). During the year she taught there, the school improved its ranking to 80 out of all the schools in the area. Higher rankings means schools were able to recruit students achieving higher marks and were better able to increase their overall student averages. A higher ranking is sought after by secondary schools.

5. Another concern expressed by teachers in interviews—Changes

China as a country has undergone massive and sweeping change. As noted previously, the field of education and specifically English language teaching has not escaped the hyper-change. In the few years of association with these two schools the researcher observed the following major changes: Teacher A was transferred from his position as Vice-Principal to be the Acting Principal of a different school. After that

significant change in administration, the long time Principal of around fourteen years was moved out of his position. He had reached the retirement age of sixty but because of his success, according to Teacher D, the school district allowed him to continue leading past retirement age. This retirement employment was rescinded by a new district leader who "disliked the Principal" according to Teacher D.

A new Principal came in for the new school year to replace him and stated that he wanted to continue in a similar direction but this new Principal was often absent from work because he was being groomed for a job elsewhere. In his absence the teachers carried out his policies but according to Teacher D, he did not give the same level of support but encouraged the teachers to continue in their previous responsibilities. After this Principal moved on a new Principal arrived and began to adopt a different direction. This included disbanding the school's Foreign Language department and attempting to limit the previous exchange programmes and English camps. He set a new academic direction and cut out many "distractions from study."

These abovementioned major changes were repeatedly mentioned by Teacher D in her interviews. According to Teacher D, the new Principal's dramatic new vision and direction ended up costing Teacher D her job as she believed that these new changes contributed to her decision to change schools. Her replacement as Foreign Language director was Teacher B, who attempted to continue the emphasis on English until the department was disbanded and she went back to teaching her previous English subject. The personal trauma and her discouragement were evident in an interview, which was conducted shortly after the disbanding.

6. A teacher's sense of duty toward school and classroom

A number of teachers had been in situations in which they willingly accepted the

administration's position on a number of issues. According to Teacher C, this could be in things such as a teaching schedule, in which a teacher may express preferences but the administration made the final decisions as to which classes a teacher would teach. When Teacher A was essentially transferred away from the school in which he had taught for twenty years and sent to another school in the same district, he willingly "did my duty" There was a need for his expertise and he responded. The Older, more-experienced teachers especially mentioned this idea of "duty;" it was evident in this teacher's mind, that the role of teacher was that of a "government official" and perhaps even as a dutiful soldier for "the cause."

Teachers B and C noted that they would wait until they were given their "assignments" for their position and even though Teacher B felt initially disappointed that her Foreign Language department was disbanded, she soon accepted it as the best thing because of the new and different vision of the Principal.

There was some verbal discussion and even limited dissent about this new direction, which focused students more on academic work and less on work that was outside of that realm, such as international contacts and cultural exchanges. Two teachers felt that the new emphasis on academic performance and an increased workload of practice tests did not help students to do better on the NMET. This appeared to be evidenced when, after a year of increased testing among all students, the percentage of school's students scoring adequately on the NMET, was reduced by a 1-2% points. Teachers B and D noted that the extra testing of students to prepare them for more tests did not bring about the Principal's expected results. They said little more and went back to their "duty" to continue to perform their role in their students' lives as best they could.

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Teacher D, who had taught for fourteen years under the school's long term Principal, did reach the limit of her duty when those programmes that she was actively supporting and working in as the Dean of the Foreign Language Department lost support under new management. If the changes had been less traumatic, she stated that she may have tried to continue at that school to which she had devoted so many years but, as previously stated, her situation became untenable, and she moved on to another job.

Teacher E was one of the younger teachers interviewed and had worked for six years at the school when there was a Principal change. The long term Principal had hired her on a six year contract and then when he left she signed another contract of three years even though the initial Principal she worked for was no longer there. When asked about her reasons for signing a new contract even with the Principal change she noted "this job is a secure job." While the older generation of teachers seemed to have accepted their duty under all circumstances the younger teachers felt a greater freedom to choose their jobs for themselves. The fact that the "sense of duty" was not at the top of their personal list for accepting their responsibilities reflects a greater freedom in China for individuals to make their own decisions for their own lives. The new generations of teachers are more apt to be more concerned for job security benefits than being civil servants. Teacher A noted that "teachers are free to stop teaching and choose other professions if they desire." He believed that teachers should sincerely "desire to teach so they could be effective." He had essentially been drafted into the English teaching job thirty years before but had grown to love it.

Today, the salary of a teacher in Shanghai is relatively low compared to other jobs. With the lateral freedom to choose other occupations China may have an increasing

problem recruiting teachers, as other occupations are more lucrative to potential teachers and their families. Certainly, a percentage of teachers will do as Teacher E did and accept a position for the security of the job and not hold salary in high esteem. Others, like Teacher F, may even sacrifice higher paying positions to assist the students. This sense of duty still rings true among those who have taught for over twenty years.

7. A teacher's personal preference in teaching

The teachers' teaching preferences were expressed from time to time in interviews. When asked if they preferred to teach subjects other than English, all of the interviewees said, "No." Teacher A stated that when he began teaching English during the Cultural Revolution, Chinese society was against most foreign things, including the learning of English. In his first couple of years he said he wished he was teaching another subject, but after he moved to a secondary school in suburban Shanghai he began to enjoy teaching his subject. Teacher B stated that if there was an opportunity to change what she taught she would prefer to teach English subjects, she called "more learner-centred."

Teacher C noted that she was happy with the way her teaching role was working at the time. Her experience had tempered her desire to teach a different subject. She accepted the way things were and just tried, "to do my best" whatever the teaching situation. Teacher D, with thirteen years experience, wanted her students to, "be more capable in the area of speaking and listening." She viewed the oral aspects of English as critical and used many opportunities to give students time to practice their oral skills. Teacher E preferred to teach English literature, including poetry, because as she said, she "liked to consider the deeper meaning of the writers' words." She noted that

she enjoyed reading English novels and poetry and that this made language study more meaningful to her. She felt that the students would benefit from this type of reading of literature but there was little opportunity to implement her preference.

Teacher F, who had experience in an import-export business before beginning his teaching career, wanted to improve the students' oral skills more than other aspects of English but by the beginning of the second year he had shifted his belief or preference to more translation, rather than just cultivating students' speaking and listening skills.

8. Chapter summary

The interviews with the six teachers and the classroom observations solicited a wide range of teacher perceptions and core themes. These interviews gave the teachers' the opportunity to voice their perceptions of their role and responsibilities. Teachers wanted to improve the English ability of their students, and were motivated to a great degree, if not primarily, by the competitive nature of the ratings system and the entrenched examination culture. Some teachers felt hampered and distressed by this and the behaviour of their Principals but were able to adjust. Teachers sometimes included parents in the discipline of students. Finally, duty was a strong motivation for older teachers, but less so for younger teachers. Similar comments have been grouped together and compared with other remarks made within the interviews. These categories and points will be expanded and compared in the discussion section as five grounded theories are set out to describe an in-depth view of these non-native English teachers in their roles.

Chapter Six DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the results of comparative Grounded Theory analysis of data which resulted in five specific theories that can be attributed to English language teachers' roles and responsibilities in Shanghai secondary schools.

I. INTRODUCTION TO EMERGING THEORIES

In this thesis, the following questions have been researched:

1). What perceptions do non-native secondary school English teachers have about their role and teaching responsibilities?

2). What do these teachers think about their position and their relationships with others in their own education system? (Foreign educators have commented on China's English teachers' roles but how do those working within the system feel?)

3). Are there differences in the perceptions of teachers about their role and responsibilities, according to their length of teaching experience?

Using Grounded Theory analysis and the methods of coding and categorizing similar themes, until saturation of information has been reached; a number of theories will be expounded in an attempt to answer the above research questions. Notes of recorded interviews have been reviewed a number of times and similar themes observed from a majority of teachers. These themes and emerging theories will be discussed and compared with literature from language teachers teaching elsewhere. The theoretical areas that will be discussed are as follows:

1. The dominance of examination culture in Shanghai secondary schools.

2. Teachers' consistent interest in and knowledge of their students'

learning process.

3. The theory of teacher beliefs and how their inner curriculum is woven into their lessons.

4. Language teachers' responses to continual change and how those changes relate to other proposed theories.

5. How different, newly evolved generations of teachers relate differently than the older generation to this present education system using more of a prism of self-interest as it relates to others and their role.

II. THEORY NUMBER ONE:

1. Shanghai's examination culture and how it dominates the teaching of English where examination preparation takes precedence.

The first interview in this study was conducted with Teacher B, who was teaching Grade III at the time. Grade III is the year of preparation of study for the university entrance examination (NMET). This year of preparation and study is pressure-filled for teachers, students, and parents. All involved have spoken of the examination pressure. Since the first interview involved a view of the teachers' role of exam preparation for students it was initially believed and noted in a memo that perhaps other teachers not teaching Grade III would have a more relaxed view towards examinations. Firsthand experience of the NMET was discussed with a university student who was also interviewed in a forty-five minute interview for this study. She had scored poorly on the NMET and noted that her third year of study at a secondary school in China was a pressure-filled year and spoke about breaking down and crying at one point during that year of study. Her description of her Grade III was that it was, "like a rite of passage for most secondary school students." She looked back at the NMET experience, being glad she had made it through the process. She scored

poorly on parts of the NMET and decided to attend a university in Hong Kong, which she viewed as equivalent to a top-tier university in China.

Other teachers who had taught Grade III, including Teachers' C, D, and E mentioned that the entrance examination was a serious challenge. Teacher C had taught Grade III for four years consecutively and was looking forward to, "hopefully teaching a Grade with less pressure." Teacher D had taught Grade III and had found it all-consuming of her thoughts and time. A teacher normally teaches an increased number of hours when teaching Grade III, up to eighteen hours of actual teaching hours a week compared with teaching twelve hours for Grades I and II classes. Teacher D noted that even when teaching Grade I, she spoke "often of the examination" that was still two to three years away. Teacher E noted that a teacher who taught Grade III, "was considered to be a good teacher" and that although there was, "very heavy responsibility" she said she preferred to teach that level. Other peers regarded Grade III teachers highly.

The examination is like the mountain summit of the educational experience in China among high school students. Chinese students are apt use metaphors to describe their educational experience and their learning as a journey or like climbing a mountain (Jin and Cortazzi, 2011). The rest of the school system throughout various grade levels feeds into the examination summit experience and students are pressed to score well in primary school examinations so that they can find a school place in a "better" secondary school. A "better school," according to teachers interviewed is one in which more of their students are able to win places in the more highly regarded universities. These "better" schools with "better" reputations help to prepare students "better" for their university examination. As a result of students gaining access to

better quality schools, students obtain a better examination ranking. This in turn gives students more opportunity to study at a recognized or "better" known university. In China, this is seen as the cream floating to the top. The entire Chinese educational system is involved in and based on this important examination process.

This selection system has a number of problems and if pressed to answer what they believe about them, all teachers said they would prefer a different system. However Teacher A rightly questioned what would happen to the NMET system and the culture that emerges from it, if it were to be replaced, what would replace it? There currently seems to be no other alternative. Historically, China, with its Confucian heritage has been known for its acceptance of examinations and has continued to use the examination as a qualification system. Cheng and Qi (2006) note that university selection is based solely on the scores of this one university entrance examination (NMET) and not on whether a student is qualified to attend. The NMET matches the student with the university they are qualified to attend.

While the NMET supposedly promotes fairness and gives opportunity to Chinese students who study at a secondary level anywhere in China, the pressure can be counter-productive to accepted learning procedures. Zeng (1998) states that when China reinstituted the National Matriculation Examination (NMET) that equality of opportunity was for the first time realized since communism took over in 1949. Bond (1996) states that during the Cultural Revolution from 1966-76, students were selected for university by recommendation from other comrades. This previous selection system was abandoned because of its failure and lack of fairness. According to Hanson (1993) "qualifying tests" as he calls them, may not be appreciated by the participants but are necessary and important to living in modern society. This seems to be the case in modern China.

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2. High-stakes examinations are held in other East Asian countries and in the USA and the UK

Kellaghan and Greaney (2001) have noted that there has been a significant increase in the amount of countries now measuring their students' achievement outcomes as a means to evaluate their national educational systems. Zeng (1999) states that entrance examinations in East Asia are a measure of a student's character and determination to succeed. While entrance examinations measure a student's academic achievement and likely intelligence the difficulty a student goes through to attain this position reflects the long journey that he or she has taken. These examinations are not intended to be easy.

There is an increasing number of compulsory achievement tests that are now being required in the USA. At the same time that improved, comparable scores are being implemented, concern for the effect that these tests on students and teachers has grown. In the 1992 study by Nolen, Haladyna, and Haas, teacher surveys revealed that teachers felt threatened by the tests and that pressure on students indicated they were increasingly displaying symptoms of anxiety because of their tests. They also note that the common result after adopting standardized achievement tests is that local and state instructional and achievement goals are disregarded. The test becomes the target of instruction.

Popham (2001) differentiates between two ways of teaching to the test. One is to teach the curriculum toward the expected content of the test and the second method is called "item-teaching" which is essentially giving the expected test items to the students and having them memorize them. Posner (2005) has a broader view of teaching to the test. He states that high stakes examinations are beneficial because for

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these types of exams the teachers are following through with the actual teaching of the curriculum. If indeed the curriculum is what actually is being tested, then this view means that the high-stakes test causes the teachers to devote classroom teaching time and all their resources so that their students will be adequately prepared for the examination. In China it could be said all teaching energies and resources are targeted toward the NMET.

Concern has recently grown in the USA about the overuse of measurement and it has been suggested that the result of measuring a student or a school is counter-productive to learning. Coffman (1993) notes teachers will likely narrow the curriculum to focus on what is expected to be on the test. This has been the historical precedent set in other countries and it repetitively happens that the examination exerts an increasing amount of control on the learning process. According to Spolsky (1995) the National examination began in China during the Han dynasty from 201 BC to 8 BC with civil servant examinations. Yet many other countries have begun to use examination scores as a more dominant, controlling element in school and teacher effectiveness. While in the UK and USA national examinations and standards of student results have been adopted, both of those countries have attempted to avoid the use of a single score to determine a ranking for the student (Gipps, 1990). In China, the NMET result provides a single score and rank for selection of a university place. This makes the NMET an extremely high-stakes examination for Chinese secondary school students.

In a comparative study of the training of secondary school language teachers in China and England; Sharpe and Ning (1998) note that there were differing themes of

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study within their teacher training courses. In particular and in relationship to the examination or assessment, Chinese teachers focus mostly on academic achievement, while the teacher training in England focuses on the future teacher's teaching capability. This difference of emphasis could indicate the dominance of the NMET and the examination culture in which the Chinese teachers operate. Lewin and Lu (1990) state that the emphasis on national examinations means the curriculum focuses on academic work rather than practical learning. Credit or marks are only given on material related directly to exams and not for other work that may be done by the students. If a teacher attempts to implement learning activities not directly related to the students' ideas of what they will need for examinations, students are reluctant to be distracted with such work. Teachers then are subtly put on notice that they should stick to the syllabus and strictly target their teaching to the examination. The dominance of this examination culture permeates the education system and can stifle a teachers' creativity.

Students in a number of western countries have educational and career alternatives if the results of their high-stakes examination are inadequate. For instance, the USA has many colleges and universities available for students without top examination scores on the SAT or ACT. These tests, while important are not the only consideration for university acceptance. In addition, job opportunities in the west are less tied to the university from which the applicant has graduated than in China. In the UK, while students strive for acceptance into a university based on league table scores, there is an underlying confidence that possibilities exist if there is disappointment in educational results. These positive possibilities for American and British students are not available to Chinese students. Losing this educational opportunity essentially dooms a student and the student's family, who is also counting on them, to second

class economic status.

Zhang, Huang and Rozelle (2002) state that the more education one has in China the greater the possibility they have of retaining a job, avoiding unemployment and earning higher wages. There is great pressure in the employment market in China and the name of the university and its societal ranking can be the determining factor in a successful job application.

Students in China are only beginning to see more possibilities for further education as the number of universities increases there. However there are fewer opportunities for high levels of employment without a high-tier university degree on their resume`. The Cultural targets of education and familial piety force Chinese and other Asian young people through this, "rite of passage" as so aptly described by an interviewed university student.

3. Assessment in language teaching and real knowledge acquisition

Since the goal of most educational systems is to prepare students with knowledge of various subjects so that they may contribute and function within a field such as mathematics or history, it would seem appropriate to determine if the educational system is measuring up. Black and Wiliam (2006) state that, the main purpose for assessment is to provide support for learning. Lind and Gronlund (2000) note that within a classroom, there should be intended learning goals, that fulfil the predetermined instructional goals. Assessment or measurement of whether these learning goals are being reached by students would be appropriate but they note the possible consequences of a high stakes test, such as retaining a student in a particular grade or acceptance or rejection into programs of study. However, in China, the goal

of obtaining a higher examination mark may have replaced its original educational principles of acquiring knowledge and instructional goals. Those learning goals have been overtaken by a ranking system of students that contributes to the gap between the rich and the poor and stratification within the society (Fang, Zhang, and Fan, 2002). The educational system that is intended to promote increased knowledge seems to have been sidetracked into measuring other areas. A student's numerical score on the NMET seems to have become the only current targeted goal. The theory of examination dominance within the education system is evident.

In this dominant examination culture, which was evident in both of the Shanghai schools investigated, teachers sometimes adapt their lessons and learning plans to prepare students for exams. Teacher F, who so initially so strongly stated that oral and listening practice in the classroom were critical to his students' future, changed his teaching patterns and presumably his strongly expressed belief, to teach more translation exercises after an extra year of teaching experience. This accommodating change is not without precedent. In a study of an individual, secondary school teacher's teaching pedagogy, the inner conflicts that teacher had as they tried to balance their personal beliefs with the curriculum dictates, was also evident (Zheng and Adamson, 2003).

Another example of this theory of examination dominance in China is that some school principals who lead the schools institute, as a matter of policy, a denser schedule of more frequent monthly examinations. This causes teachers to develop and then mark more of these examinations. The results are published to students and sometimes to parents, who react with demands for more homework, desiring better lessons so their sons or daughters improve their class ranking. The ultimate pursuit is the NMET but throughout the educational system, the teachers' thoughts are

affixed on the ongoing testing scores. Their perception is that their role and indeed their responsibility include examinations as a dominant part of their teaching. Students, although not an investigated part of this particular study, are also consumed with examination thoughts and perceive the examination as the ultimate goal of their education. Grade III students in Shanghai and other areas spend up to fourteen to sixteen hours a day, six to seven days a week, studying throughout their senior year of study. According to Teacher B, in Shanghai, there is a relatively low suicide rate among students in secondary schools but in other parts of China, where there is less educational opportunity and the university entrance examination can make or break a student's future, "the rate of students attempting suicide is rising."

4. Teacher discussion of marks and student averages

When students enter the Shanghai secondary schools their places are allocated according to the results of the senior middle school district-wide examination. This high-stakes examination ranks all the students within the school district and then provides the highest and best school to select the six hundred highest scoring students. The next best six hundred scores are selected for the second best senior middle school and then the next six hundred students who scored lower are offered a place to study in the third ranked secondary school. There are eight senior middle schools run by the Shanghai government within this particular school district, according to Teacher A.

Students are not compelled to attend their government selected school. According to the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, there are also over two hundred private senior middle schools (A survey of basic education in Shanghai, n.d) that offer students the opportunity to study. According to Teacher A, these private schools are less expensive than the district, government run schools but

their staff and facilities are lacking because they are not subsidized by the government. The quality of private schools in Shanghai varies greatly but a student score is a factor when it comes to moving ahead of those who scored lower on the ranked examination according to Teacher A.

The higher ranked schools who have selected the higher scoring students on the senior middle examination typically have higher scores on the NMET, which the students take three years later, after senior middle school. According to Teacher A the highest ranking secondary school is normally able to send 80% of its graduates to suitable universities, while the second ranked secondary school typically sends 70% of its graduates to acceptable universities. As the students who enter senior middle school score lower on that entrance exam, it is not surprising that fewer of the lower scoring students are able to make adequate English language progress to be accepted to university.

Teachers working within this system are evaluated by their class averages on exams and how their classes rank in relation to the other classes being taught. In one class students may be randomly selected according to their entrance examination score but because the averages are the most significant marker of evaluation, English teachers are consistently compared with their peers based on their students' examination results. The choice of means being compared tends to make the goal of the teacher to at least be average. Teachers may be somewhat handicapped if they have particularly difficult students who score poorly on examinations and bring their class average down. It is necessary for a teacher to help these lower scoring students, both for the students' welfare and to maintain the class average and consequently the credibility of the teacher.

It would seem that a better method of comparing teachers could be devised by the

school administration, such as testing actual progress by use of a pre-and post-test. The use of a comparison of classroom means after pre- and post-testing would give a better idea of what actual progress students were making. Since student results are generally connected to the perception of how a teacher is teaching, a comparison of progress means would give the administration a better and more genuine picture of the teachers' efforts.

There is a lot of blind marking to ensure fairness of the means and a lot of teachers are considered above reproach when it comes to corruption of marks. In a system dominated by comparison of averages it would seem that a teacher could, in order to improve his or her overall standing in the profession, tweak a few marks here and there to improve the class average. A better system could be implemented to alleviate the pressure that teachers feel in these matters beyond their control.

Teachers' yearly student average scores are typically compared with their colleagues in an effort to squeeze more teaching effort out of the teachers and achievement out of their students. Teachers are consistently concerned with, "getting at least the average" and not falling below their other colleagues to the point that they might be "talked to" by administration members. Teacher B states that if students do not do well, "you would feel ashamed." Linn and Gronland (2000) assert that if teachers' effectiveness is evaluated by the use of a test then the teacher will likely, "teach to the test," which can distort the purpose of the test. Evaluating the effectiveness of a teacher should be determined more holistically and include such areas of consideration as students' level of ability and the level of difficulty of the curriculum. Pre- and post-testing of all students to measure actual learning gains would be an improvement in the Shanghai secondary schools. This could offer a better picture of their students' learning and provide a better picture of teacher effectiveness.

Ranking and comparison are the by-products of the examination culture. All this dedicated time, effort and energy by all involved, prompts a question; what are the students actually learning and is their knowledge being increased? Besides English language, students are learning what might be called the life-lessons of what hard work and persistence bring. In some cases they are learning to fine tune their time management skills to eke out every minute to work toward their goal of an acceptable score for a higher tier university. A number of books and articles have been written concerning the "Chinese Learner" yet few have addressed the role of the Chinese teacher, especially in the area of tester of language proficiency (Watkins and Biggs, 2001, Xing, 2009, Jin and Cortazzi, 2011). Jin (2010) has studied the number of courses related to the area of Language Testing and Assessment at tertiary institutions in China and states that China has a noticeable lack of literature in the area of assessment. With the importance of the examination system in China, training a greater number of educational professionals in the area of assessment would be a positive step for China's educators.

The theory of examination dominance may be noticeable in teaching faculties in other places of the world but the education system in China, with its overwhelming population numbers being managed year by year, could in fact be considered the most highly dominated by exam culture. This is likely to be true throughout Asia. The desire to measure and compare in the exam culture seems to have become like the "god" to which all else is sacrificed. For a culture and government that typically rejects religions and promotes atheism it is indeed interesting that they zealously and religiously devote themselves in the dedication and pursuit of higher educational marks and better placement opportunities, which can lead to a better economic status

in China. Jin (2010) states as a way of beginning to adjust the "heavily testing-oriented educational culture" is to implement and use more formative assessment and add it to the high-stakes summative assessment.

Formative assessment is more diagnostic in nature and is a way of evaluating genuine learning progress. In includes a number of possible ways of learning what students actually know of the lesson. Having shorter tests as opposed to longer ones and increasing the interaction between teacher and student in classrooms are the basis of formative assessment (Boston, 2002). A restructuring of classroom activities could replace Shanghai's current examination focus while returning to the education principle of acquiring knowledge as the primary goal.

Perhaps a better understanding of what these high-stakes examinations really represent should be discussed. Linn and Gronland (2000) state that a single examination result should not be the measure of a choice of candidates because it is unlikely that students would be able to replicate such a result on any other day. Besides the problem of replication of the student score, Hamp-Lyons, (1997) states that the hoped for positive wash back may not be possible in high-stakes examinations. In Shanghai teachers are not allowed to see the completed NMET examinations so they are not aware of which testing items may be causing their students difficulty. They are able to read reports on the testing process and receive general suggestions from testing authorities about the test. One example of general feedback on a recent examination was that the area of reading was problematic, in that students seemed to be only be scanning for answers, rather than reading the examination texts. Cheng and Curtis (2010) argue that using a test for both selection (as is done with the NMET) and learning may not be compatible goals. Test

developers in China initially had in mind the goal to positively influence English teaching by using the NMET (Cheng & Qi, 2006). However, it was concluded by Qi (2005), through an extensive study that the wash back had limited effect on students because the NMET is an examination for university selection. More studies could be done relative to wash back from the NMET to see how it could more aptly wash back into student learning behaviour.

In USA universities, applicants supply their SAT score and their high school grades plus their ranking within their graduating class. The students may also offer a letter of recommendation and evidence of extra-curricular activity to bolster their university application. With the examination score being the only determining factor in China, it is possible that the best candidates are not being selected for university admission. Since the 1990s in the USA, there have been increasing public expectations for schools' and students' grades. According to Nolen, Haladyna, and Haas (1992) almost all States in the USA conduct mandatory, standardized achievement tests. However the students score on a single examination is not the final decider of university placement as it is in China.

5. Teachers' perceptions of examinations

In a questionnaire of 378 English teachers who were teaching Grade III, it was noted that English teachers in China were affected in all aspects of their professional career by their students' NMET scores (Qi, 2003). The specific areas of their concern were, first, how they were viewed by colleagues, parents, students, and administrative bosses. Second, the results of their students affected their own self-evaluation and feeling of accomplishment, as well as their opportunity for promotion at their school (Qi, 2003). The NMET is indeed dominant in a teachers' thinking and they perceive

it is vital to their teaching role and responsibility. As Teacher A stated, "the number one target of learning English in China is to pass the examination." And the second reason to learn English is for better employment possibilities after graduation. Teacher A further stated that if English was not an examination subject most students would not be interested in learning English. Teacher D noted in interviews that "students are unable to master knowledge by only focusing on exams."

Teachers, who are preparing their students for the NMET, have little direct input into the actual examination and on what their students will be tested. The teachers prepare in-class tests to evaluate the units of the curriculum they have delivered to their students. The teachers have access to examination practice papers that acquaint the students to the layout and plan for the test; however the specific content is kept confidential to ensure fairness among the testers. Teacher D noted that in a limited number of cases teachers are overly competitive and give the test answers of their school-based examinations to their students in order to raise their students' mean score.

The teachers interviewed for this study made specific comments about test preparation and their shared responsibility within their teaching group. During the year of periodic interviews, one school's testing schedule had been increased because the newest principal believed that more practice testing benefited all the students. In a sense increasing the frequency of examinations may help one to be better prepared for the exam. As a result of their principal's more frequent testing policy, the teachers found themselves developing more tests and spending less time on preparation for their lessons. As stated by Teachers B and D, this more frequent testing throughout that particular school year did not manifest significant improvement in the percentage of students scoring adequately on the NMET. In fact

these two teachers saw the increase in practice examinations as being counter-productive to students' learning.

Lind and Gronland (2000) state that, teachers are in a unique position to evaluate student assessments because the teachers are aware of what they have been teaching. They are also aware of the likely results of their students. Teachers have observed the students' work first hand and can thereby predict the likelihood of success. Teachers in Shanghai were not consulted enough in many of the tests and not consulted at all in the top-down policy decision to increase the number of tests within each grade level. It would be to the administration's advantage to access more teacher input into the decision making process. Ongoing training in many areas is provided for China's teachers, including theory-based classes taught by national experts or regional educational leaders for particular methods or practical teaching skills (Zhang and Wang, 2011). More instruction could be provided in the area of assessment and evaluation taught by Applied Linguistics professionals (Cheng and Curtis, 2010).

6. How examination dominance affects teachers' daily lives

As stated in the section the examination culture in Shanghai secondary schools is pervasive at all levels. Teachers are responsible to teach the curriculum in units and then the students take a monthly test on two particular units. In preparation for the unit monthly tests teachers may spend one or two class periods revising these curriculum units. Sometimes the teachers themselves design the monthly examinations and sometimes they are sent to the schools by the school districts. Halfway through the school year the Shanghai students take a mid-year examination covering all taught units. This particular study was limited to the English teaching departments so the teaching of other subjects will not specifically

be discussed, only to say that students also took monthly tests in the other subjects they were studying. The culture of the examination consumes a lot of the teachers' thought processes. In preparation for the tests, teachers may provide practice test papers to their students if they are available. They may also write new examination materials or modify existing materials. This is especially true for Grade III classes.

After the testing periods are finished, teachers need to mark these tests. These tests are summative in nature and not generally used for formative assessment. The interviewed teachers said they would identify students with lower scores and sometimes if the test was an in-school test, the teacher would go over parts of the test with weaker students. In many cases in the monthly examinations, student test takers would be ranked. If it was a monthly district test then the school average might be noted so that comparison could be made with other schools. The entire examination process is one of preparation, coordination, execution of the test, followed by marking, and finally ranking the participants.

The ranking of student test scores gives the students a general idea of where they fit in comparison to other students. Their ranking among their classmates could and does change with every examination. Teachers said that sometimes class teachers inform parents of the examination results. There is a school policy not to make ranking public among all the students. However, even without explicit publication of scores, students compare their own scores with each other. If a student consistently scores below the publicized class average he or she may begin to label or classify themselves as a lower level of student. Teacher F noted that as the ranking process unfolds over a school year or two a small but growing percentage of students lose motivation and begin to fall behind the others. These students falling behind become

a greater challenge to keep motivated for the English teachers.

Each teacher's class examination marks is typically compared with other teachers within their teaching group. Sheldon and Biddle (2010) state that if teachers are evaluated by comparing their students' results with other teachers they become less desirous of encouraging students to attempt to discover new information outside the syllabus. The authors go on to state that teachers with performance pressure also become less intrinsically motivated and this is usually passed on to their students. This examination and results pressure on teachers puts them is an unwinnable situation with their weaker students. Teacher F, the least experienced teacher, stated that he needed to keep thinking positively about these weaker students because they not only took more time to understand materials, but also had limited ability to increase their English proficiency. Teacher F said he "consistently reminded these weaker students to not give up." Teachers in Shanghai schools perceive that while they want the student to succeed, in reality, approximately thirty percent of this school's test-takers each year will not score well enough to attend a suitable university. Teacher C summed it up when she said teachers should, "maintain a realistic perspective of their students." The educational system in Shanghai is not designed for all to succeed.

7. Examination dominance theory throughout generations

Every Shanghai teacher interviewed commented on the exam culture and the ultimate goal of their efforts being the NMET. Teachers in all three experience groups commented on the "pressure" or even "heavy pressure" or the "serious responsibility" or being "oppressed" by the examination scores. One commented, "teaching just for the exam will make me crazy." The teachers have this aspect of relating to the

examination culture as a major part of their role. There was little difference in the perception of how important the examination is and how it affects so much of what they do.

It was evident in the amount of responses in interviews that the discussion of the dominance of the examination culture was a primary role that they fulfilled in their job. While other countries have national examinations, China is unique in the size of its population and the vast numbers of its citizens who are studying English. The examination plays the role of selecting the students for a university place. The university graduates historically have been able to enjoy more of the financial prosperity of the society. Thus the desire to attend university and endure whatever hardships one must, is pushed upon students even at a young age.

III. THEORY NUMBER TWO:

1. The Theory of interest in, concern for, and knowledge of their students

A theory is determined by asking the question, "What is happening or going on here?" (Glaser, 1978) or "What are people doing in this phenomenon?" (Charmaz, 2005). These questions encompass consideration of either of the following two levels: the fundamental social processes involved and the basic social psychological process (Charmaz, 2006). In determining theory, exploration of these levels is pursued and data interpreted according to the researcher's methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Theory is defined by Birks and Mills (2011) as "an explanatory scheme comprising a set of concepts related to each other through logical patterns of connectivity" (p. 176). In looking for the underlying patterns of why these particular teachers are

doing what they do and what they perceive is happening, a noticeable portion of their comments related directly to their students.

It may be an obvious assumption that teachers are of course, interested in their students but other areas of education, such as curriculum development or ranking of schools may dominate the teachers' thought processes. However, a language teacher in Shanghai perceives that teachers do what they do for a major segment of the school population, and that is their students. Teachers interviewed for this study showed a strong interest in their students and they were knowledgeable of the students' language learning ability and other personal characteristics. This section will demonstrate what role and responsibilities the teachers perceive they have in their students' language study.

A number of different categories of information have emerged in interviews with teachers. Those categories mentioning the teachers will be discussed. Effort has been made to include information that multiple teachers have mentioned. How these interviewed teachers' perceptions of their role and responsibility will be compared in some cases with existing literature.

2. Teachers' relationships with their students

The first category of note is the relationship the teachers have with their students. During a normal school year a teacher will have approximately two hundred classroom lessons of forty minutes each. The teachers, because of those contact hours, have the opportunity to know and be known by their students. A teacher typically makes the most of this time and opportunity to build positive and productive interaction with students. While personality and character play a strong role in

teachers, their training in teaching methods can also be evident in their interaction with their students.

Five of the interviewed teachers commented specifically on their relationship with their students. It was noted that students would respond positively in the relationship and come to talk with their teacher as a mentor. It was observed that students depended on teachers. Two teachers commented that they were happy and satisfied with their students and how they related to the teacher. Four teachers stated specifically that students needed guidance while one noted students were like "babies" needing to learn how to express themselves. Another teacher said she felt like a "mother to them." This feeling of being extended family can be common in some classrooms. The relationship between teacher and student is mentioned in the literature as being a factor that can enhance learning of a foreign language. Papalia (1976) states that when teaching a foreign language the levels of communication and interaction are significant elements of successful teaching. Foreign language teachers have personal contact with their students and should understand their students and their language learning needs. Lange (1990) suggests that teacher education training programmes should encourage teachers to understand their learners' needs and be careful not to let their view of the classroom activities dominate the learners. Due consideration should be given to the learners' characteristics and capabilities. This knowledge of their students is an important component the many interviewed language teachers mentioned. With all the discussion and somewhat technical methodology imparted to teachers, sincerely expressed concern for students, although not able to be empirically measured, is important to an adolescent's learning process. As Freeman (1990) has stated, "teaching is a helping profession which depends on the relationship created between the teacher and the learner" (p.103). It was evident

in Shanghai secondary schools; English language teachers take their relationship with their students seriously.

Only two teachers mentioned directly that they "loved" their students. Others noted their concern by the amount of time and effort they gave on the students' behalf. One stated that "students understand that you care, because you take the most time with them." The student-teacher relationship is important and has long been held as a key for the teacher to be perceived as skilful. Proefriedt (1975) states that a teacher "ought to establish loving relationships with their students" (p. 55). Rogers (1969) encouraged teachers to "prize" their students. Postman and Weingartner (1969) observed that "loving students" is important within education systems. Modern teachers may feel it is not their role to love but to teach, but in Shanghai, the interviewed teachers still had the attitude of "prizing" their students.

Teachers give advice and guidance in academic affairs and also in real life. Teachers can become surrogates on behalf of parents; especially when the parents are unable to give their own children the necessary skills, they will appoint surrogates. In the case of English language learning in Shanghai secondary schools parents tend to rely of the teachers as language experts and entrust the training in English to their teachers. This takes a lot of the teachers' time and one commented that they need a lot of patience for this role.

In interacting with their students, teachers showed their interest in their students in a number of different ways. Besides communicating with them in the classroom they would spend time, usually in their office after classroom hours. Sometimes these hours were even after school was dismissed after 5:00pm. One teacher noted that students were indeed time-consuming but the students needed the training a

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teacher could give. Two teachers specifically mentioned working late and that students understood that work was on the students' behalf.

One teacher mentioned that she enjoyed praising and complimenting the positive behaviour or academic results of her students. When this teacher was being observed in her class, she carried through in this idea of complimenting her students and verbally encouraged and praised them extensively as they attempted to use English. These compliments and positive feedback help the students with their positive self-concept. Kohonen (1992) noted that students' feelings and experiences should be given teacher attention and are not insignificant to the students' expected outcome of their learning. This positive reinforcement practiced by Teacher B seemed to put her students at ease about their English learning. Other teachers mentioned that they wanted to listen to and help the students to solve their frustrations and stress. Some students may ask the teachers to adjust their teaching style when it comes to language teaching. For example, one teacher noted that the students asked her to slow her classroom teaching down because in their view she was presenting the material too quickly. Other teachers found that their teaching role included being able to handle student resistance and disagreement. Students are seriously pressed within the Shanghai system, as the previous section mentioned, and dominated by an examination culture. Students complain and sometimes express that they hate examinations, according to one teacher.

Yet in the middle of this education system relationships are developed and sometimes last throughout a lifetime. Teacher A, the oldest and most experienced teacher, stated that, "teachers should love their job and love their students." He noted that teachers sometimes would continue their relationship for many years beyond the

classroom. Such is the nature of the Shanghai English teaching role. Teacher A further noted that, "love for your students" could be translated into real life teaching by presenting interesting and stimulating language lessons to the classroom audience. He was concerned about the day to day contact and reminded other teachers that they should avoid boring lessons. They should prepare extremely well. Knowing your students, the way they learn English, their strengths and weaknesses, as well as their difficulties (Elbaz, 1983) are important factors of successful language teaching.

3. The teachers are expected to know their students

All teachers mentioned the aspect of knowing their students and recognizing their language ability. Teacher C noted that it took her a couple of weeks to get acquainted with the language level and personality of her students so that she could interact with them properly in the classroom. Teachers noted that they were able to tell the level of their students, whether high or low. They noted that they knew their capability and whether they were "active or not" in the classroom. Teachers could also evaluate the work ethic or effort a student is willing to exert to learn and remember language aspects. This knowledge included being able to classify the students as either "hardworking" or "lazy." The longer that teachers related to a particular group of students the more confident they were in knowing them and even any long-standing learning problems they might have. If teachers were given the chance to discuss their individual students, they could give a number of examples of their students' language ability. Teachers seemed to be able to adequately evaluate and make recommendations for their students' improvement. This teaching insight seems to be quickly acquired early in a teacher's career choices. In these schools it was often true that teachers follow their students through "the cycle" which means teaching the same group of students for three continuous years in Grades I, II, and III. In this case

a teacher would become closely aware of a students' English proficiency and work character.

In observing the lessons and interviewing four of the teachers after their lesson, each spoke about their presentation of material. In the course of presenting the English Units, the teachers followed a stringent schedule to cover all the necessary and specified material. Teachers felt pressed to cover the curriculum or assign it as homework to their students. Most units are covered in about two weeks time or ten to twelve forty minute class periods.

4. Teachers discussed their responsibility in relation to students' study and work

All teachers made comments about the lessons that they taught. The teachers were interested in and concerned with the work the students were doing. Teachers said they needed to know the textbook and be knowledgeable in English and in other resources. They wanted to devise ways "to go deeper into it" and one was nervous about "not being able to cover the entire curriculum."

The English teaching role consists of being able to effectively present material and help students to both practice and produce it. Teachers need to be able to explain their subject, and in this case, use English effectively as a non-native teacher. Specific areas of the English subject were mentioned in the course of the interviews. Teachers mentioned the need for them to assign homework and reading materials, to develop practical tasks and exercises for the students. The students essentially trust the teachers' expertise and perform the prescribed work, which can include specific parts of the textbook, extra teacher-crafted exercises or extra materials, such as newspapers or books.

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5. Teachers' knowledge of their students and curriculum adjustments

Specific language skill areas were also mentioned by the teachers. Improving reading comprehension and reading ability was an area receiving a concerted effort at the time of this study in both schools. According to Teacher A, NMET scores have been evaluated and it was noted that a high percentage of students were not reading the texts but it was assumed they were only scanning the text for specific answers. This resulted in lower reading scores and prompted a newly designed effort to have students read more of the full text was being addressed in this particular school district.

Four out of the five teachers mentioned the desire to have their students improve their English speaking and listening skills. One thought that if students could improve their speaking skills, their confidence would also be enhanced. English grammar was mentioned as being difficult to teach. One teacher noted that it was challenging to teach in an interesting way. Another teacher noted that in some cases grammar was explained using the students' mother tongue of Chinese because students understood the grammatical concepts better that way.

Other materials mentioned by teachers that needed their attention, were preparing listening materials and equipment. Two other teachers mentioned the need to help their students improve their writing skills. Textbooks cover all these various aspects of language but the choice of aspects that are emphasized is up to the teachers. Teachers noted that while the units of curriculum were on a relatively strict schedule, the implementation and delivery of the curriculum was the individual responsibility of the teacher. It is assumed that the teachers are aware of the instructional goals and how those goals will be examined so the specific delivery of the curriculum is left to their discretion. The examinations also served to moderate

and control the pedagogy. The teacher, while having some teaching discretion, has limited opportunity for creativity when fitting the curriculum into the externally produced time schedule.

6. Motivating and pushing students to do better

The concept of motivating students was mentioned as a part of a teacher's role and responsibility. Teachers mentioned this concept in a variety of ways. Two teachers mentioned their need to "push" their students, especially if their students exhibited "laziness." Other teachers mentioned how they encouraged their students to work hard. Teachers should be interested and concerned for their students' progress and were expecting them to "do better." This "doing better" can be interpreted to score better on exams as that is the normal method of measuring students' progress. Teachers expressed their hope to help their students not to give up and if the students were shy they would be encouraged to "open up their mouth." Language teachers face an ongoing challenge to keep their students motivated. According to Oxford and Shearin (1994) there are six factors affecting language learners' motivation, these relate to students' attitude and self-belief, as well as their goals and personal characteristics. The students' involvement in the learning activities and the environmental support are two further factors. Environmental or external support includes teachers' involvement in the learning process and the teachers' response to their students. Dornyei (2001) states that maintaining discipline in a classroom is the teachers' most serious difficulty and their second difficulty is keeping their students motivated. The teachers of Shanghai have faced this ongoing challenge to keep their students motivated in their English learning.

In a few cases a teacher resorted to a more disciplinary method of motivating students. This correction mostly used was, "talking to them after class" or asking them questions to get them to acknowledge their problem. Two teachers mentioned that they were aware of teachers who often scolded students but this was not their "style" for their students. The success or otherwise of these disciplinary encounters is not a part of this particular study.

Ultimately the teachers felt that their students' well-being and success were the teachers' burden of responsibility. While it was noted by a number of teachers that students usually would use limited amounts of self-study, the students tended to rely on the teachers to direct them in their learning. A majority of teachers mentioned that one of their goals was to help students learn how to learn by themselves. This desire for students to be responsible and even autonomous was held in check with the reality that the teachers would be held responsible for the scores of their students. One teacher mentioned it was her responsibility to, "help the students make realistic progress." One teacher felt it was her duty to, "produce in my students the needed results." Teacher A commented that a major part of a teachers' role was to provide many opportunities for their students to produce aspects of language. With this sense of responsibility weighing on them, the teachers interact daily with their students, actively considering their accomplishments. The more veteran teachers stated that they became knowledgeable of their students within the first two weeks. Younger teachers also seemed confident they could adequately know their students' language levels and apply the curriculum and learning resources to them appropriately. In most cases the concern for their students seemed to outweigh their concern for how their students' results and learning progress reflected on them.

Findings for Theory Two indicate that the teachers perceived their students to be fundamental to their job. The teachers spent a lot of time interacting and assisting their students in their responsibilities. The teachers knew their students with a measure of depth and considered their students their primary reason for of their role and responsibility. The reoccurring discussion of these repeated themes can be seen in the responses of the interviewees. Indeed the teachers' role is filled with concern for their students.

IV. THEORY NUMBER THREE:

1. Within the rigid curriculum structure and curriculum presentation schedule, individuality can be observed—a teacher's "inner curriculum"

In the many hours of interviews and observations; the researcher's understanding of the teachers themselves and the stringent educational system in which they function were also observable. The units of English were presented on a start and finish time schedule, so the teachers were limited to a rigid time frame to deliver the material. If teachers fell behind they would assign the students more homework. If the teachers wanted to deviate from the prescribed curriculum schedule, they did it at their own peril. Teacher F's innovative method of questions posed to his students for 10-15 minutes at the beginning of each of his classes to enhance their speaking skills was replaced in his second year with more translation activities. His initial professed belief was that students needed more oral and listening skills and he attempted to adjust his classroom activities to his belief but ultimately changed his methods to more translation exercises because of the exam dominance.

Teacher D also declared that she held oral and listening ability as the most important skills that students should have. She designed special speaking and listening activities for her students and practiced these on a weekly basis during one of the periodic afternoon free periods. At the time she was working with Grade I and Grade II students to enhance their speaking skills but when she taught Grade III she changed and adapted to more examination preparation materials that included very little of her preferred patterns of teaching.

Both Teacher F and Teacher D professed important aspects of language learning that they personally held or felt should be preeminent in their teaching but both of their deeply held preferences or beliefs were overridden by other educational factors. Beliefs can be like buoys that can surface at any time. The buoy or belief may have been suppressed within the classroom but can bubble out at limited opportunities presented within the lesson. This is what this study calls, "inner curriculum." This was first introduced by Brubaker (2004) and defined as what, "each person experiences as learning settings are cooperatively created" (p. 21). Brubaker gives an example of this cooperation in the teacher asking a janitor in a school, who has an interest in gardening, to lead his/her class on a field trip through a park. The students then experience something that is essentially birthed from within the person explaining it not the externally designed curriculum. Brubaker (2004) argues that inner curriculum differs from outer curriculum which is what teachers are normally imparting to their students. This outer curriculum comes to the teachers from outside themselves and is not necessarily part of their inner reality. A person's inner reality or thoughts and their fundamental beliefs about reality are not seen.

This theory of a teacher's inner curriculum addresses this aspect of a teachers' role. It can be theorized that every teacher is motivated to teach by a particular reason and

that they approach their life of teaching with the hope that they can find a place of expression for their yearning, desire, and motivation. This section discusses teacher preferences, yearnings and passions for a particular part of their inner self that they hope to find opportunity to insert into their classroom teaching. This is called the theory of a teacher's inner curriculum. Inner curriculum can be related to epistemic beliefs, which are beliefs that a person holds about the nature of knowing or how knowledge is acquired (Walker et al., 2012).

When interviewed, teachers were asked questions about what they would change about their teaching or what they preferred to teach, teachers expressed a variety of their own personal preferences. Because these are deeply tied to who they are as people and because this teaching preference or motivation lies within them, they been called the teachers' inner curriculum. The inner curriculum proceeds from what might be called the core values or morals. Schommer-Aikins (2004) calls these inner beliefs the teacher's "core" because they influence other knowledge, beliefs, and the understanding teachers have about their own teaching. These beliefs are controlling or influencing teachers' practice or views about their teaching (Cheng et al., 2009)

2. Examples of teachers' inner curriculum

There were examples throughout the interviews of teachers' inner curriculum. These preferences, or in some cases, deeply held and expressed beliefs, were evident in each teacher. Teacher D and Teacher F's strongly expressed desire to emphasize speaking skills, especially when speaking is only an optional part of the NMET could be considered their inner curriculum. When Teacher D moved to a new school, her inner curriculum prompted her to try to have her students use more spoken English in her classes. She stated that if she could get them to speak more, "they would grow in confidence." She was motivated by this desire to help students develop this aspect of

English and included it in her teaching whenever possible.

Teacher E had an inner curriculum in which she would prefer her students to learn English poetry and literature so she could help them, "catch the deeper meaning of the English words." She noted that there was little or no opportunity to add this level of English appreciation into any of her teaching. She made no specific attempts to include any of her inner curriculum into her teaching; perhaps as she gains more experience she could incorporate her inner curriculum into her actual classes. She noted in a later interview that she was able to teach a special weekly class on the subject of English literature for about thirty interested students who volunteered to take her class. She was quite happy to teach this special weekly class, but she did not attempt to include her inner curriculum of poetry and literature during her other regular class at this time. It did not seem possible to her.

Teacher E also stated that she had a desire for her students to make their own choices for their lives. She wanted them to discover the "truth of life" and learn to "think for themselves" and in addition to be able to "communicate their own heart ideas." At times, within her classes, she would suggest to the students that the try to think of further definitions of vocabulary words and not just rely on the definitions from the textbook. Although she did not mention rote learning, she was describing a teaching method that was outside the traditional view of her teacher training.

The most experienced teacher, Teacher A, had student excellence as a professed part of his inner curriculum and desire. Teacher A had a deep desire to have students learn English autonomously. He believed this was the ultimate goal of his previous teaching and even trained other teachers to help the students, "learn by themselves."

Teacher C also professed this same desire for her students. She said she had learned it from Teacher A. This means that this inner curriculum may indeed be transferrable or an inner desire of one teacher may be embraced by another. Teacher B stated a number of times that she wanted for her students, that, "they do their best." She seemed to be quite confident in her ability to judge the amount of effort her students were putting forth. She also seemed to be the most satisfied if they were working hard toward their goals. Her inner curriculum along with the other two most experienced teachers centred on something they were able to do for their students. Inner curriculum can be observed because a teacher is usually motivated to teach by a particular reason and they approach their life of teaching with the hope that they can find a place of expression for their yearning, desire, and motivation. The six teachers all hoped their teaching would be meaningful for their students and would result in their students' personal improvement.

3. Inner curriculum and teachers' core beliefs

The inner curriculum that can be periodically observed in teaching seems to come out of an inner reality of teachers' core beliefs. Woods (1996) divided language teacher thinking into three areas: belief, attitude, and knowledge (BAK). Clark and Peterson (1986) divided teacher thinking into three domains: teacher planning (pre-teaching and post-teaching), teacher interactive thoughts and decisions (while teaching) the outer curriculum and finally, teacher theories and beliefs. It is in the third area of theories and beliefs from which a teacher's inner curriculum seems to flow. Teachers D and F both believed that speaking was the most important English skill and this inner reality was periodically introduced into their lesson. Teacher A spoke about his desire to have students "learn by themselves" and designed activities in which his core belief could affect students. Teachers' motivation and yearning

will bubble out from time to time in their lesson and in most cases can be beneficial for their students.

Pajares (1993) attempted to coordinate the terms describing this inner reality of teachers. He noted the definition problems and the wide variety of terms researchers used to describe teacher thinking and belief. Fang (1996) researched ways in which researchers attempted to ascertain a teacher's inner world but none included the Grounded Theory analysis of data used in this study. Jannesick (1977) stated that a teacher's perspective combines his or her intentions and beliefs that teachers interpret and react continually to social interaction. In the case of these interviewed teachers, they responded to the social pressure of the educational system administered by principals and district leaders. As well as students, parents and other teachers attempted to modify a teacher's curriculum delivery to expected norms. Teachers expressing their inner curriculum could be in conflict with social expectations and was observed to be the case in this study.

Teachers' responses to their inner curriculum could be to adapted to known realities, as was the case with Teacher F who change his method of teaching, commonly called pedagogy, and included more translation exercises, which did not match his inner curriculum of the importance of speaking had previously been. Xiamin and Adamson (2003) researched a secondary school teacher's conflict between his or her belief or personal pedagogy and the curriculum's pedagogy and noted that usually a teacher would do his or her duty and accept the curriculum's pedagogy but this did not change that researched teacher's inner belief or inner curriculum. Teachers' beliefs and personally held teaching theories should be areas of further study within the language teaching field. This includes the study of teachers' cognition as was described by Borg (2006) who researched a number of studies of language teachers'

cognition and thinking observed that while teacher cognition is not easily definable, it seems that a teacher's belief can be affected by training and life experience.

This was true for the interviewed teachers in this study. Some of their deeply held beliefs, from which their inner curriculum issued, were the result of their life experience and training. Teacher F, for instance worked in an import/export business before taking up teaching. He came to believe that his students needed communicative competence in speaking and listening skills. Teacher D also believed that speaking was the predominant skill that her students needed and sought to arrange learning situations for her students accordingly. Teachers' expressed core beliefs could indeed be seen to bubble up in their lessons from time to time and, as noted by Tabichnik and Zeichner (1986), a teacher's actions and beliefs are unable to be separated.

While this theory concerning inner curriculum proceeding from teachers' core beliefs was noticeable, it was also a minor part of the teaching role and responsibility for the Shanghai English teachers. Their primary role was to deliver a curriculum that would result in positive examination scores. These positive results were indeed meaningful for the teachers but their inner curriculum seemed to touch them deeply from within. Their inner curriculum and their deep and personal desires, when realized within their students, are indeed one of their stated reasons for teaching. In addition, their core beliefs or beliefs about the way knowledge is learned would at times become visible in their teaching.

4. Teachers and China's moral education

In Shanghai schools, teachers are keenly encouraged to use the curriculum to impart

moral education. Kennedy and Lee (2008) note that China has included in its curriculum an emphasis that attempts to develop moral citizens. The values include national loyalty but also to attempt to enhance life and connect individual members of society. The curriculum promotes examples of good citizens and there are national examples, such as the Chinese astronauts who went into orbit in 2008. A teacher's role in China includes this added element. Teacher F encouraged the generosity of his students as he took up donations for the Sichuan earthquake victims. He expressed his pride in his students for their willingness to give beyond his expectations. Traditional values are typically emphasized, even though there are astounding and tumultuous changes taking place in China. Other countries have limited moral education in their public secular schools. MacNaughton and Hughes (2007), state that moral values education is not explicitly evident in Australia.

This section has demonstrated that the observed theory or the teachers', "inner curriculum" proceeds from their inner reality and yearnings which can be periodically observed and highlighted within their lessons. Various examples were noted and connected with previous literature in the thirty year history of researching teacher thinking. While the relatively less used term, "inner curriculum" is used here, the study of a teacher's beliefs and core values should be something of which the teachers' themselves are aware, as well as their school administrators. This inner curriculum will likely become a part of their mosaic of pedagogy and expressed at opportune moments within the classroom.

V. THEORY NUMBER FOUR:

1. A teacher's persistence in the ever-changing educational system: You can count on the consistency of change.

Thus far, three particular theories have emerged from the data collected from the six teachers in Shanghai. First, the examination culture and how it dominates the language teaching was discussed. Second, the area of teacher interest in, concern for and knowledge of the students led to the development of the theory of the teachers' role and responsibility. Third, the theory of the inner curriculum that can bubble up during lessons or other communication with students was expounded upon. The fourth theory discusses change and how teachers adapt to the shifting of various aspects of their responsibilities. Adamson (2004) observes that change in the world is ongoing and unending, even repetitive. Educators throughout the world may face this type of change. However, in China the pace of societal change is extreme, the need for China's language teachers to respond to evolving trends in language teaching is important. Hu (2004) states that the language teaching syllabus has been renewed a number of times because educators have a serious desire to keep up-to-date with international language teaching developments. The language and words about change mentioned by the interviewed teachers are significant. How they responded, adapted, and dealt with their daily new realities is a fourth theoretical area of discussion in their role and responsibilities. Some aspects of change were mentioned by all interviewed teachers, which is why the data support this particular theory.

There have been huge changes in the thirty years of teaching English language since the educational reforms in the 1970s. There has been societal upheaval and development that has rivalled the quickest upgrading of any society at any time. Conroy (1992) observes that China's higher education system has played a significant

role in the country's technological development. The educational reforms in China in their vast scope have gone beyond others in history. Besides the societal change in China, there have been many developments taking place in the field of English teaching over the last thirty years. There has been a continual improvement in the methods used to teach language, which has started with the audio-lingual methods that most governments' Foreign Service language learners used, to today's much more communicative approach (Brown 1987). A variety of changes has affected the writing of a number of English textbooks in Shanghai. This has challenged the teachers to an ongoing adjustment of their presentation of their classroom material. Besides the curriculum improvements and upgrades, in Shanghai teachers have been exposed to a great number of innovative ideas, such as small class teaching and content–based English instruction (CBEI) teaching methods.

According to Hu (2004) CBEI became popular in Shanghai and began to be promoted at a few key schools within school districts. The use of CBEI was instituted at one of the secondary schools whose teachers were interviewed for this study. In fact Teacher D became the director of the CBEI unit at that secondary school. The other researched secondary school, in which Teacher B and Teacher A worked, was called an, "experimental secondary school" and had tried a number of innovations in English teaching. In these two Shanghai schools the amount of societal, educational and language teaching methods have put a language teacher in what could be called a role of constant state of flux. This requires the teacher to continuously adjust and be responsive to changes. This requires serious determination and persistence if the teacher is going to be able to continue to perform at an effective level within this state of flux. One noticeable characteristic of these two schools and these six interviewed teachers was that they needed great determination and persistence as

they faced the myriad of changes.

2. Teachers respond to changes within their students

Besides the external changes affecting language teachers in China on a massive scale, their students are also changing and moving away from the traditional respect they have for teachers. Teachers B and D commented specifically on this change within their students. Students are growing and developing as well as being affected by new cultural developments. These cultural differences have been an issue seemingly in every generation; however the pace of cultural change and how it affects students generally are working at a much greater speed, maybe even at hyper-speed. This pace of change within Shanghai has been exacerbated by the changes of technology and globalization. Although these two elements are not a part of this particular study, how these are brought into the learning experience, and how they affect the traditional relationship between teacher and student can be seen through elements of change. Teaching is a job that needs a significant amount of patience because it addresses people during intense stages of transition in their lives. Teachers adjust moment by moment to their students on a daily basis and the six teachers had the temperament to stay consistently and persistently with their noses to the figurative grindstone. This persistence over the long term is one of the answers to the question, "What is going on here and what is happening?" These are continually asked when doing and ethnographic study using Grounded Theory analysis. Throughout the various interviews during which this particular theory has emerged, teachers in Shanghai need both patience and serious strength of will to stay on their teaching road in an ever-changing education environment.

3. Teachers perspectives on changes

Teacher A commented that the educational system had undergone a great number of

changes in his thirty years of teaching. He said specifically that the NMET English examination had become much more difficult. He noted that the competition within society for access to the best jobs and resources had intensified and had affected the competition between students. The exam pressure and the outcome of this high-stakes examination to enter university were increasingly noticeable to him.

One of the changes observed during this research period was that there was somewhat of a backlash against schools providing too many teaching hours for their students. Teacher D had been involved in teaching classes on Sunday to her, "weaker students" as she called them, to provide more insight and personalized English teaching, as they seemed unable to keep up with the pace of her classroom teaching. These classes lasted one to two hours but the Shanghai Bureau of Education enforced a ban on teaching on Sundays and after school hours. The Bureau, according to Teacher D, had begun to sense that the pressure on their students was counterproductive to their educational process. Students who were overly tired from an intense focus on learning began to learn less as time went on. In a mental health study of six hundred and twenty-one secondary school students in Hong Kong, almost two-thirds of study participants showed an elevated rate of depressive symptoms in comparison with other non-Chinese students (Chan, 1996). Kruger, Wandle, and Struzziero (2007) speculated that the pressure from the high-stakes examinations may have serious negative consequences for students. Although Mainland Chinese students have not been tested, it is possible that if this study of negative consequences took place in Shanghai, the results might be similar. High-stakes examination pressure has been shown to have a negative effect on students.

4. Teacher innovation and attempts to enhance the curriculum

A number of teachers commented on their attempts to enhance their students' learning experience. It has been previously stated that teachers are knowledgeable about, concerned for, and interested in their students. Without students a teacher's role would not be necessary. Teacher A had been involved with a visiting native speaking English teacher to implement a listening enhancement class. They developed and found appropriate resources from a Chinese educational company and the school purchased listening materials to provide a curriculum for all students to take this listening practice class. This was arranged especially because the entrance examination contains a listening segment.

According to Teacher A, it was believed the students needed more listening exposure to English speaking situations, so this once per week listening class for all students was instituted. It had continued for over five years and was currently being taught by Teacher E. She was teaching a forty minute class each week for Classes One through Five of Grades I and II. She noted that because listening is very hard to improve it was necessary to supplement the regular curriculum because in every examination paper the first section is the listening test. Teacher E noted that the NMET listening examination is twenty-five minutes long and students listen to a short and long conversation twice and answer comprehension questions. Teacher E's listening class was observed by the researcher and the following comments can be made.

First, the listening class was quite mechanical. The students would sit in their assigned seats and the teacher passed out their listening comprehension books and started the tape. After listening to the passage twice, the students would answer the questions in their book. Secondly, the teacher would periodically stop the tape and

explain in English and sometimes in Chinese the meaning of the listening text. Students would verbally state their answers by using only the letter of the correct answer choice (a, b, c, or d) but would not speak the answer directly. Teacher E would use the students' numbers to call upon them and did not seek to interact with her students in any personal way. It is difficult to see what actual value these classes served, except that the teachers believed that this extra exposure to English speaking would be beneficial to students' listening skills and thus produce increased marks on the examination.

More recently, another curriculum enhancement feature was being implemented in the two schools. This was to improve reading skills and ability. The reason for the innovation was again because the NMET contained a reading examination. It was noted by Teacher A that students were not in the habit of reading their exam texts but would read only the questions and then scan the examination texts for the answers. This meant that students were unable to understand the overall gist of the article and had only limited comprehension. It was believed that the students needed to improve their reading ability. The teachers were currently implementing a programme of extra reading of English articles from a Shanghai young people's newspaper that was available for students. The teachers took turns each week to devise a comprehension quiz for a specified selection of the articles.

It was not possible during this research to evaluate the possible success of this curriculum innovation or enhancement since it had only been implemented the first semester. A few interview questions were asked about the extra time that teachers needed to put in for this new innovation and the consensus was from one to two hour

per week. Classroom time of around thirty minutes was used to go over the newspaper articles. Students were not given any mark if they completed the extra reading or any punishment if they failed to complete the task. Because this was a new change that seemed to have a perceived benefit for the examination, most students participated. This seems to be the case in general for changes related to possible benefits for the examination. These listening and reading enhancements to the curriculum had staying power because they were perceived to enhance the opportunity for examination success.

5. Other curriculum changes that lasted only a short time

A relatively significant innovation was implemented in 2002 when the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Education decided to select schools within each district to add an element to their English teaching curriculum. There was growing evidence that a programme that included Content Based English Instruction (CBEI) would provide more English exposure to students, allow them to acquire vocabulary through association and participate in subject lessons that were delivered in English medium. The school where all but one of the English interviewees worked became a model school for what was termed, "bilingual education." Teacher D became the head of this department. Teacher A participated in the teacher training process. Content-based English instruction (CBEI) is founded on the idea that when students are exposed to English in other subjects, such as Chemistry, Biology, Physics, Geography, or Politics, their English proficiency can be improved (Wesche and Skehan, 2002). This new change and proposed enhancement targeted secondary students who volunteered to participate.

Considerable time and resources were poured into this new focus. The long term Principal was supportive and embraced the new language teaching programme. It was

stated by Teacher D that only a select number of schools in Shanghai pursued this

bilingual program and around thirty schools attempted to teach some of their subject

area lessons in English. The school's normal pattern was to teach the lesson in

Chinese first and then within a few days teach the same lesson in English. In this

school thirty secondary school students volunteered to consistently attend each of the

various subject taught in English. Initially, these were well received but as the time

passed, there seemed to be limited English benefit to the class. The teachers

developed adequate lessons but the students did not demonstrate significant ability to

increase proficiency. These bilingual classes were held weekly. Teachers met weekly

with the bilingual department to discuss their lessons and to speak more in English.

These were not English subject teachers but other subject teachers selected based on

their English ability. For these non-English teaching teachers, this was particularly

challenging as they now spent a lot of extra time developing their weekly lesson.

CBEI was only temporarily popular and the school districts that promoted it for

around five years ultimately laid aside the experiment. Teacher D noted that the

Shanghai Municipal Bureau let the programme die a quiet death. She was unaware

of the reasons why this bilingual programme was put aside. What had started with

great fanfare and hope, ended with a feeling of disappointment and wasted effort.

Teacher D stated that there was disappointment among the teachers but without

research to test and verify the direction of bilingualism, no one felt compelled to

continue putting in the extra effort.

The way the change was implemented was viewed as positive by Teacher D but the

long term support for these innovations was lacking. It also seemed that that research

mechanisms needed to track the results of the bilingual programme were lacking.

This was one of the most involved changes made at the secondary school. Yet another innovative change intended to help students learn better English went by the wayside.

Another innovation around the same time at the secondary school was the English summer camp. The long term Principal had agreed to allow a group of young American students to come for two weeks and stay at the school and conduct English activities for students who had finished Grade I and were going into Grade II. It was deemed to be the optimum time for local students to have more interaction with foreign students. The number of Shanghai students was normally around 150, which were about twenty-five percent of a Grade level at this school. This programme was carried out consistently for seven years, even after Teacher D and the long-term Principal had left the school. Teacher B became the English summer camp leader and it was only when the new academic Principal had been there a year that he discontinued the camp. This new Principal focused inwardly on academics and minimized the previous international emphasis.

Curriculum change and innovations were only short-term success stories but in the long run examination preparation and focusing on academic work pushed out other English goals and methods. Teacher D noted that the students wanted to put their time into examination related study and that other parts of their education were of limited concern. The students communicated that they were not interested in educational efforts that they perceived did not enhance their examination chances. Innovations had to be framed in light of their benefit to examination preparation. These curriculum changes and innovations required teachers to remain persistent.

6. Changing personnel and changing roles

During the time of this study the long time Principal of fourteen years had been replaced with a new Principal. In China, the Principal typically sets the emphasis and mission for the school. The first, veteran Principal mentioned above added international and culture emphasis to the school's normal curriculum. During his tenure he instituted a number of student and teacher exchanges with different areas, including New Zealand, Germany, and the USA, plus the Hong Kong SAR. In addition to short term exchange programmes, the Principal welcomed a group from the USA to conduct an English summer camp. This innovative Principal also started and staffed a Foreign Language department who would attempt a new English teaching method. This was the content based English language learning mentioned previously. He further added language courses that included German and Japanese, so that interested students could broaden their education. He attempted to model English language learning by studying English himself and attempting to speak English in public situations.

After fourteen years of administering this Shanghai school, this veteran Principal was replaced with a younger, less experienced Principal who's leadership style was, predominately, to let what was previously implemented remain. Teacher D, who was appointed as director of the Foreign Language department commented that the veteran Principal was very supportive and "gave me many ideas" to implement.
When the administration changed, Teacher D noted that the newly-hired, second Principal was also supportive but did not add anything effective to what was happening with her department. She stated he, "did not give me any ideas to work with." Principal number two (for the purposes of this study) also did not involve

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himself in the current day to day activities, in Teacher D's view. After being on the school campus for only a short time, Principal number two was selected to take over a higher ranked school in the district. Because of this he needed to be away from Teacher D's school for at least four months of the school year, readying himself for his new role. This administrative change was traumatic and ultimately resulted in Teacher D leaving this school and taking a job elsewhere. There were personal mitigating factors but changes in personnel at the administrative level can result in disillusionment (Abrahamson, 2004).

Teacher B replaced Teacher D as the director of the Foreign Language department. Teacher B had worked under the first, veteran Principal for many years and was accustomed to his style and innovation. She remained at the school during the tenure of the second Principal and when the school appointed a third new Principal. As Principal three took over the leadership reigns it became evident that he wanted to de-emphasize outside and international contacts, viewing them as costly and largely a waste of time. Principal three quickly refocused the staff attention on in-school academic work and instituted a more rigid testing schedule. The new Principal told Teacher B that he essentially did not understand what her Foreign Language department did and he later disbanded it. This vast difference between the Principals in their leadership mission and purpose was discussed in interviews. These personnel changes of different views of their academic mission and emphasis negatively affected a number of the interviewees. This theory of maintaining persistence during changes and adjustments was indeed manifested in these schools during the course of this study.

7. Change in position

Teacher A had previously worked at the other school with Teachers B, D, and E before being promoted to a new role in the newer, experimental secondary school, as it was known. This change happened quite quickly in the middle of a school year. The position of the new school needed to be filled so it became the overriding concern. Teacher A perceived this change as a job that needed to be filled. He was told of the opening and essentially decided to do his "duty" and fill the role. He maintained his former contacts with his long term work place but his position in this school as Vice-Principal, teacher, trainer and developer ended. These types of changes in position and personnel especially in the middle of the school year can create extra pressure on other teachers who need take up the slack. In this case, Teacher A was working on more developmental aspects of language teaching and those were able to be continued with periodic contact and meetings.

The theory of a teacher needing persistence in the ongoing change taking place was evident in the collected data. The interviewed teachers needed to stay focused on their role and responsibilities in the midst of reform and innovation. In the midst of personnel changes and changes of mission and teaching emphasis and in the ever-changing growth and development of their students, teachers drew upon their inner strength to maintain their role and responsibilities.

VI. THEORY NUMBER FIVE:

1. The theory of the value of veteran teachers

This study selected teachers with varying degrees of experience in teaching English for the purpose of comparing generational perspectives. In China there have been tumultuous changes over the last thirty years, and as Chinese society has changed so has the English Teacher. Bolich (2001) noted that it should be the goal of administration to encourage teachers to persist in their job, since nearly fifty percent left their first school after five years. Veteran teachers add stability and experience to school systems and they can become the mentors of new teachers (Thies-Sprinthall and Sprinthall, 1987). In Shanghai, veteran teachers played an important role in the two schools researched.

2. Veteran teachers in this study

It can be noted that three teachers in the two schools had taught over twenty years each. These teachers were older and more mature in their teaching but also seemed willing to carry out administration orders without question. In the 1970s Teacher A had first been appointed as a language teacher without genuinely seeking that job. Later he found out that he flourished in the role he initially did not like. He saw it as his duty to help his reforming nation and students who needed to learn English. Many years later he accepted a position as acting Principal that he did not seek but again did his duty. His willingness to put aside personal feelings was paramount in both situations.

Teacher B had been teaching for over twenty years and carried a similar mindset about "duty and responsibility." While teachers in these two schools from time to time were able to express their preference for teaching, their choices were only

preferences. The administration placed people in positions as they saw fit. There were few complaints made and there seemed to be in these veteran, experienced language teachers, a resolve to embrace whatever challenge was handed to them. Teacher C had taught Grade III consecutively for four years without complaint or seeking a rest from that heavy responsibility. She viewed this as her calling and demonstrated her maturity as a teacher.

3. Less experienced teacher in this study

The teachers with less experience and those who had been raised and educated in the next generation asked more questions as to why decisions were made. Teacher D did not publically question changes made by the Principals above her, but ultimately made the personal choice to leave her job, rather than continue as the older veterans did. She had taught for fourteen years but had less commitment to her school than the older veterans. She, like many other Chinese teachers today, look at employment opportunities, not as the previous generation did, as a duty, but as a matter of personal choice that should be to her own benefit.

4. Least experienced teachers of this study

The least experienced teachers were much more of this mentality. Teacher F had the least teaching experience but his life experience was substantial, having lived and worked in France for a period of time. He viewed his choices as his, "service to my students, not necessarily to my nation." He valued his opportunity to help young people grow, develop, and make progress. Feldman (1976) studied the views that students had of their teachers and found that students valued teachers who were friendly. Concern and respect for their students as well the teachers' helpfulness were important qualities for teachers. Although Teacher F was patriotic, his sense of duty

was not what he pursued; but the opportunity to help others.

Teacher E, who had taught for six years, took a job in education because of the job security, not the sense of duty and responsibility. She looked to her own welfare and not necessarily the welfare of her students or school. This view puts self-interest over other pursuits. Teacher E said she was willing to do the hard jobs but those jobs would need to enhance her perceived value. She wanted to be a good teacher and do her job well but was there because she was considered a government worker and that meant the government would take care of her. This more individualistic view of her role and responsibility seemed to be a change from earlier generations of teachers who "did their duty" and did not seem to consider their own needs.

There was great value in the teachers with a deeply ingrained sense of duty and responsibility. They were not only able to persist in their job, irrespective of what they were assigned to do, but had adapted for the most part their personal teaching beliefs and inner curriculum to the needs of the whole. Younger teachers still making attempts to work the system for their own benefit might make more effort to implement their teacher beliefs than the more veteran teachers. Beliefs tended to become more pragmatic the longer the teacher taught at the school. Borg (2003) states that teacher cognition is affected by teacher training and life experience. This assumes that the more life experience the better the teacher thinking can become. The veteran teachers are of great value to school systems, especially as mentors (Rowley, 1999). This theory of veteran teachers' value was evident from the data.

VII. CONCLUDING THIS DISCUSSION CHAPTER

These five aforementioned theories emerged throughout the interviews with the selected teachers. The use of Grounded Theory analysis enabled the researcher to ground the theories in collected data. The data of these theories were collated and compared to what the teachers said. It is believed that the researcher reached what is called, "theoretical saturation" from the data. This means that these theories were established as important to the role and responsibilities of the English teachers in Shanghai.

The theory of examination dominance is the more recognizable and maybe the least surprising finding. Another theory of interest and concern for their language students is somewhat expected and foundational, but not always noticeably present within language teachers. The theory of inner curriculum confirms the individuality of teachers and their preferences and beliefs that seem to emerge, even in rather closed and regimented educational systems. The theory of dealing with change is a global phenomenon but in a country like China, which is being transformed from an inward-looking developing nation to an emerging superpower, change can be overwhelming. It is to their credit that Chinese English language teachers are able to persist in their duty when faced with such transformational change. Finally, as been confirmed in other literature, veterans and experienced teachers add both stability and insight to English language courses. Not only does their longevity help to stabilize the English curriculum, but their insight and experience in teaching the curriculum can be passed on to younger teachers who are learning the curriculum and teaching system. Their longevity as language teachers also makes them the English language experts and a resource as well as an example to the less-experienced teachers.

Chapter Seven IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

As a result of this ethnographic study with data analysis, a number of suggestions can be described to improve the role and responsibilities of an English teacher in Shanghai. These twelve implications and suggestions are listed below in categories.

I. IMPLICATIONS FOR EXAMINATIONS AND UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE

1. There is a need to use examination results to wash back into curriculum and language teaching

It is a well-established fact that China's university entrance examination will continue to exert strong dominance over the students and teachers. While some have suggested scrapping such a pressure-filled learning culture, others note that it is the best and fairest way to select the best candidates for China's limited number of university places. It appears unlikely that those suggesting major transformation of the examination system will succeed in having their suggestions realized. Given the fact that university placement will continue to rely upon NMET scores for university selection, the following suggestions for improving the examination may offer an acceptable alternative to improve the current pressure-cooker system.

First, use the examination for more informed wash back into the lessons. Gates (1995) defined wash back as how testing or examinations influence the teaching and learning components within a classroom. Bailey (1996) noted that teachers can use wash back in their teaching strategies, if examinations have clear and detailed goals of language learning. Teachers can use these goals to influence their language teaching. Spratt (2005) studied the effects and implications of using wash back from EFL high-stakes examinations and noted that teachers may be use the wash back effect to positive promotion in their language teaching.

Shanghai English teachers could use information from examination analysis to enhance their own curriculum presentations within the classroom. Although English teachers may not have access to details of the National Examination, they would be able to better familiarize themselves with the exam in general. It would seem possible to allow English teachers to view examination results so that they could be aware of language test items on which their students did not score well. Particular grammar features, such as conditionals, translation mistakes, or weaknesses in knowledge of certain vocabulary could be studied. If language aspects of the test could be made available to individual teachers they could supplement their lesson with extra materials and those language aspects could be better understood by students. The NMET would not necessarily cover the same points from year to year but wash back would be likely to cause increased focus by teachers on the students' weaker curriculum areas. The teachers would at least have the opportunity to enhance or supplement their teaching of the unit in which the testing item was found. Teacher C taught the NMET preparation for Grade III for four years and knowledge of testing items could have washed back into her teaching and would have likely benefited her students' language proficiency.

2. Add a speaking component to the NMET as is done in Hong Kong

If the concept of wash back is true for language test items, then it would seem to be a positive step to expand the examination to include an oral English testing component. Using the examination to promote their teaching could be especially positive if it included a speaking component. Since students, teachers, and parents believe that the preponderance of secondary school teaching should be done in preparing for the NMET, the elements that are being tested will be given more attention within the curriculum. If a speaking component was made mandatory in China, as it is in Hong Kong, then English speaking could be given a higher status. This higher status, perhaps including more CLT could then be exploited to develop better pronunciation

and communication strategies for China's secondary school students.

Hong Kong is in the process of changing its public examination system to a 15% school based assessment (Davidson, 2007). However the university entrance examination has retained the oral component of presentation and discussion for each Hong Kong student. This emphasis on oral English tends to wash back into more English speaking and listening usage. Currently, China has an optional oral English examination. Li and Wang (2000) noted that oral testing on a massive scale for China's students had obstacles because of the large need for examiners but concluded that the NMET oral subtest was a, "successful innovation" (p. 160). This oral subtest could be used in a broader way within China's provinces.

A study of the effects of a national oral examination being included in Israeli schools resulted in an increased focus by teachers and students and the promotion of more oral skills (Ferman, 2004). The study also reported that a negative aspect of including oral exams was an increase in anxiety by students and a narrowing of the curriculum by teachers. According to Li (2008) current educators tend to rely on the English examination within universities themselves, called the, "College English Test" (CET), as all students must pass an English exam to receive their bachelor's degree. If the mass number of secondary school students added a compulsory oral component to their examination, increased communicative competence could result, as expressed by interviewed teachers.

3. Make more university places available to secondary school students, which could lessen examination pressure

In countries such as the USA there is a wide variety of university places available to graduating secondary school students. There is competition to enter the more reputable schools but there is not the heavy selection pressure that is placed upon the shoulders of Chinese secondary school students. There are limited alternatives for most secondary school students in China due to the lack of alternative school places.

With the growth and development of higher education in China, there have begun to be more alternate places to study at universities. China has over 1,500 universities and graduates about 1.7 million students annually (China's Ministry of Education, 2011). Teacher A reported that vocational schools are available for secondary school students who did not score adequately on the NMET. However making more university places available could make the high-stakes NMET less dominant. Private universities are increasing in number in China and have a growing reputation. This continued trend could alleviate some of the secondary school students' NMET preparation pressure.

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR IMPROVING TEACHER WORKPLACE ISSUES

1. Continue to enhance communicative competence throughout the curriculum and in classroom activities

After observing a number of the taught classes in the two Shanghai secondary schools, it seems possible for English teaching to incorporate more oral practice into classroom activities, even within the current curriculum. Teachers can start classes with a warm up of English speaking activities. In addition teachers can have students read out the actual answers to multiple choice questions, rather than the

representative letter of the answer. While it is understood that English is not widely used in China for communication (Zhao and Campbell, 1995), in order to remain competitive and to continue the economic reforms started thirty years ago, English language instruction must be improved (Farrell and Grant, 2005). Medgyes (1999) encourages non-native English teachers to increase student talking time (STT) ratio and decrease teacher talking time (TTT) within the classroom.

Simple additions of English speaking activities and refraining from the use of Chinese while teaching could further enhance communicative competence, which should be the goal of language programmes (Savignon, 1997). Liao (2004) encourages the adoption of more Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) within Chinese schools. Brown (2000) observes that a less proficient, non-native teacher may feel less confident in the use of CLT and opt for drills and repetitive exercises; however with increased use of available technology, resources can aid these teachers.

2. Institute a pre-post test to evaluate student gains, rather than only comparing class averages to evaluate teacher performance

The research and interviews of the teachers revealed that the results of students' examinations are compared and evaluated as a means of evaluating the teachers' quality. The scores of students used for comparison are the class averages on examinations. A fairer method of comparing student gains would be for schools to use a pre- and post-test system. Pre-and post- testing is a common method used to report gains or results of treatments by the language teaching field (Cohen, 1999). In Shanghai, instituting pre- and post-test comparisons would seem to be workable because all students' secondary school entrance examination results are used for student placement in schools. A system of handicapping the average with the students' secondary entrance English test results would alleviate unnecessary pressure

on teachers. Linn and Gronland (2000) state that if a teacher's teaching effectiveness is evaluated by the use of a test or by class averages, as is done in Shanghai, then the teacher will be more likely to "teach to the test." This can distort the purpose of the actual testing. Evaluating the effectiveness of a teacher should be determined more holistically and include such areas of consideration as students' level of ability and the level of difficulty of the curriculum. According to Li (2008) the NMET is major tool of evaluating schools and the English results are used by schools and parents as well as students to evaluate English teachers. Instituting pre- and post-testing of students can be a more appropriate descriptor of actual student academic gains.

In a study of teacher creativity versus performativity (Troman, Jeffrey, and Raggl, 2007) primary school teachers preferred creativity, which included them being allowed to innovate using the curriculum, maintain ownership of the delivery and presentations so that students are allowed to internalize knowledge, and teacher control of the learning environment. Teachers functioning under performativity policies saw them as negative and even disrespectful to the teaching profession. In Shanghai, teachers function continuously under performativity policies that leave little room for creativity.

3. Awareness of the potential inner curriculum of teachers

Better awareness of teachers' inner preferences and beliefs from which a teacher's inner curriculum proceeds is needed. An emphasis on how teachers can implement the inner curriculum as a part of the regular curriculum should be included in teacher professional development courses, both internally within the school, and externally. Each teacher is an individual who has extensive training and a number of life experiences that can be passed on to their students. A teacher's individuality can lead to professional autonomy within the restraints of school policy and curriculum

(Hargreaves, 1993). Teachers generally feel entitled to use their best judgment because of their understanding of their teaching and learning relationship with their students (Clement and Vandenberghe, 1999). If teachers include their inner belief and preferences in their curriculum presentations, this inner curriculum could be beneficial to their students. This area of inner curriculum is an area for future research in Shanghai. Tickle (1999) called for a better understanding of teachers' "core virtues" and their teaching. How often do teachers resort to their inner curriculum? What is the effect of their inner curriculum on students? How do teachers respond if there is a conflict between their inner curriculum and the outer curriculum they are presenting from their syllabus? Korthagen (2004) believes that teaching at only a technical or instrumental level is a shallow goal but that teachers should return to their core qualities or inner curriculum. Further study could establish these areas of inner curriculum interest to teachers with the goal to enhance teaching among the students by making use of a teacher's inner curriculum

The use of a teacher's inner curriculum should be encouraged within Shanghai schools and teachers should have freedom to do so. It is important to the administration to be aware of these inner beliefs that a teacher holds before encouraging that freedom. The cultivation of a teacher's preferences and beliefs from which the inner curriculum proceeds should not be viewed as a threat but an opportunity to positively affect more student minds. In addition, adding inner curriculum to the teacher education training showing how to incorporate it into their lessons would help teachers to understand the most opportune moments to the inner curriculum to be used. Tapping into the teachers' passion for what they deeply hold meaningful can ignite passion within their students. This is possible because in Shanghai and many other school systems across China, the teacher is held as an example of life and learning by students. A teacher being a role model is one of their

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twelve roles according to Harden and Crosby (2000). In Shanghai, China the teacher is indeed a model of English language learning.

4. Give teachers a greater voice in curriculum choices

As teachers are responsible for delivering the mandated syllabus and curriculum they should have a greater voice in their development. As was shown in this study Shanghai English teachers have little or no input into the writing of the curriculum used in their classrooms. There are few opportunities to give feedback or make any changes in the curriculum process. The administration chooses the textbooks and expects the teachers to carry those choices into effect. This is contrary to other thinking in education that states teachers should be active participants in curriculum development, using their classroom experience and knowledge as an asset for the syllabus (Carl, 2009). A teacher should be viewed as a professional and not just as a foot soldier carrying out orders. If teachers are consulted and viewed as necessary to the curriculum process they will be more likely to feel a sense of ownership and deliver it with more enthusiasm.

5. More support for teachers within the classroom, including more resources, training, and overseas exchanges

In Shanghai, teacher support can be observed in a number of ways. First, there is oversight and supervision by more experienced teachers, such as Teacher A, who became a mentor and expert teacher. He had been sent by the school system to the UK for training as a "trainer of teacher trainers." He became a mentor to younger teachers and worked to coordinate teaching activities. All the other interviewed teachers had been overseas for three weeks to six months for training in English language teaching methods or to visit schools abroad in cross-cultural exchanges. This aspect of teacher

development was a positive characteristic of the English teachers interviewed.

There is an ongoing schedule of classroom observations that are scheduled so that younger, less experienced teachers may view and learn suitable methods of English teaching. In-service training was also apparent through the interviews. Teacher support for English language teachers in Shanghai is evident because Shanghai is considered the home of educational innovation. Teacher opportunities to visit and be involved in further study on a short term basis should be made available to other school districts outside of Shanghai. Shanghai undoubtedly has more resources available to teachers for these out of country visits but school districts should make it a priority. All interviewed teachers spoke positively of their overseas visits and of what they learned. This seemed to enhance the learning experiences of the students and the language teachers felt more connected to English language teaching in other countries.

III. ADDRESS SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION POLICIES

1. Ensure that the administration takes better care of fundamental personnel changes and other situations affecting teachers

The English teachers' workplace is challenging for non-native teachers. In curriculum presentation and delivery it is necessary for them to spend a number of hours preparing for their lessons. In the case of the Shanghai interviewed teachers, they would spend two to three hours in preparation for each forty minute class that they would teach. They needed to be concerned with their students' examinations results because it reflected on their quality of teaching and the students' class average marks were compared with other teachers teaching the same class. There is enough pressure for them to handle with their large classes of almost fifty students on average. Added

pressure coming from sudden personnel changes, changes in curriculum, and attempts to implement untested teaching methods should be minimized.

The added pressure of these numerous areas of change was reported by all teachers as creating more challenges for them than the ones they were already facing. Teachers' determination and desire to help their students should be highly valued by school administrators and not taken for granted. Changes in leadership and mission take a toll on teachers and, in some cases, like Teacher D, leave them disillusioned. Language teaching innovations should be properly piloted and thoroughly researched before implementing the new curriculum and policy changes. Hargreaves (2007) studied fifty Canadian teachers' emotional responses to educational change and found that while teachers' initiated change was viewed positively, change mandated by others was viewed negatively. He concluded that change should be inclusive not exclusive. Shanghai teachers have rather low-key emotional responses to changes, possibly as a result of their sense of duty and responsibility, but Shanghai English teachers are negatively affected by mandated change.

The observed change of Principals in Shanghai brought not only a dramatically different mission for teachers to adjust to and embrace but also the possibility of loss of their own position. The insecurity created by personnel changes should be avoided if at all possible. In the case of Shanghai, the sudden change of three Principals in two years seemed unnecessary and the upheaval could have been avoided by better and more timely implementation of personnel changes.

2. Ensure that appropriate research has been done on any new language teaching innovation before it is implemented

The Content Based English instruction (CBEI) seemed to have been implemented prematurely in Shanghai without thorough piloting and evaluation. After significant efforts at implementation by a number of teachers, ultimately this innovation was unceremoniously dropped from the English teaching programme. This failed start-up caused unnecessary difficulties for the teachers. When CBEI was introduced, teachers made significant attempts to implement it and carry its learning principles into effect. Had the administration who implemented these changes, looked at other programmes more thoroughly, they would have realized that CBEI, while adding certain strengths to the English learning, also carried significant downsides which could have been seen through English immersion style programmes in Hong Kong (Littleton and Liu, 1996). Teachers helped to implement the programme and then when the programme was discontinued, administrators essentially forced teachers to readjust their teaching to other previous methods that they had used. If curriculum change is implemented, thorough testing should be done before attempting it in schools. In the UK in the 1990s, changes to the National Curriculum without adequate consultation and negotiation with teachers caused great stress on the educational system, as teachers resisted these changes (Elliot, 1994). Teachers have unique insight into their students' needs and goals and should be consulted and included in the change process, especially if significant changes are being instituted. Language teachers are educational professionals, their views are worthy of respect.

3. Learn from the veteran teachers and use their experience to better implement them into the system rather than retiring them at 60 years of age

Veteran teachers and Principals are assets to schools and not liabilities. As

previously noted they can be used to help younger teachers and Principals to be mentored and better integrated more quickly. The years of experience and accumulated teaching knowledge should be made available in a systematic way for teachers who been teaching under five-six years. Williams, Prestage and Bedward (2001) call for, "structural collaboration" (p. 260) within the educational system to produce a continuing teacher culture. While the development and monitoring of a mentoring system can be challenging, according to Bullough (2005) mentoring is a necessary step within a teacher's career and identity.

In Shanghai, extending the mandatory retirement age up to 65 years old should be considered. The Principal with fourteen years experience who was at one of the studied schools reached the mandatory retirement age of 60 years old and was given a waiver by the school district to continue working. This was a welcomed development by the interviewed teachers. The school district administration initially told him he could continue until he was sixty-five then reversed their decision after two years. This lack of continuity in school leadership contributed to the teachers' difficulties and confusion, according to a number of teachers who were interviewed. This long-term Principal did not have an opportunity to mentor the new Principal but essentially was removed by the school district. A smoother transition could have been insisted upon by the school district leaders rather than the traumatic path they followed.

Veteran teachers and Principals add stability to a school and give it the best opportunity to succeed in its long-term educational mission. They are a potential strength to school continuance as well a potential strength to new and less experienced teachers. Veteran teachers can be mentors who enable and build upon

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the less-experienced teachers' strengths and ideas but help those ideas to be implemented in a proper fashion according to the school context (Trubowitz and Robins, 2003). Better students' learning is the goal of all teacher mentoring programmes (Tomlinson, 1995).

4. Increase the salaries of teachers so better candidates can be attracted to the teaching profession

Teachers in China are considered government workers and have a lower average salary than the median salary of the private sector. Because of this it is more difficult to attract quality candidates to the teaching profession. The Government could raise teachers' salaries to better reflect the value they hold within the society. In Shanghai, the interviewed teachers noted that rather than increasing their monetary compensation, districts tend to add more personal titles to a teacher or Principal. While appreciating the titles, an increase in salary, especially if the teacher is the main source of income for their family would be more practical and concrete evidence of the value the state places on the teachers' contribution to the society.

IV. CONCLUSION TO THE IMPLICATIONS SECTION

These twelve implications and suggestions have been arrived at as a result of the data collected in this study. The teachers themselves did not specifically suggest these points but the researcher suggests them as a way of helping the teachers and the Shanghai school systems to be more successful in their roles. By implementing some or all of these suggestions into the Shanghai school system; it is believed by the researcher that these suggestions would promote a better teaching role for teachers and ultimately a better learning environment for students.

Chapter Eight EVALUATION OF THE STUDY

I. This study's components which should be evaluated and reflected upon.

1. Interview participants

In selecting the participant observers for interviews there were two considerations. First, the teachers needed to be proficient enough to communicate and express their views in the language of the interviewer, which is English. The second consideration was length of teaching experience. It was desirable to select two novice teachers to compare to more experienced teachers. Teacher E was selected for the novice group, although she had spent six years teaching. It may have been preferable to have interviewed a younger, less experienced English teacher. Teacher E was suggested by Teacher B, who knew the requirements of the interview and that thought Teacher E would be the only other communicative teacher among their current teaching group.

Teacher E's involvement did add a different dimension to the study, as her teaching responsibilities were different from those of the other teachers. She was essentially the listening practice specialist. This, coupled with her view of teaching being like a civil servant, added a different insight to the study.

2. The interviews and classroom observations

Interviews were done is a rather sporadic manner. The researcher needed to travel by plane at least three hours to arrive at the schools for the interviews. The researcher had limited availability to travel and to interview and observe the teachers' classes. It would have been better to do these interviews over a shorter period of time, of

one to two months. This shortened period for interviewing may have given a more focused view of teacher perceptions.

However, it seemed acceptable to do the interviews over a year and a half because the changes in teachers' responsibilities over that length of time gave an evolutionary feel to their work. Since teachers were dealing with different responsibilities, how they adapted to them and how they related to the change taking place during that period of time was indeed, interesting. Given the interviewees' teaching schedule, it was not possible for them to be available for classroom observation or, at times, for the interviews themselves.

3. The choice of Grounded Theory analysis of data

This ethnographic study was assisted in data analysis by Grounded Theory. Grounded Theory has been used to investigate many aspects of society. Education may be somewhat of a late-comer to the Grounded Theory research. Grounded Theory is a growing and evolving field and research decisions had to make as to whether to use Classic Grounded Theory or Straussian Grounded Theory. Later varieties of Grounded Theory were evolving as the researcher was doing this study but were not accessible during the early data gathering. The researcher was initially familiar with the principles of what came to be known as Classic Grounded Theory, having read the early writing and methods used by Glaser and Strauss. The researcher would like to explore the new varieties of Grounded Theory to see if they might add something to the study. However, the researcher is both confident and satisfied with his findings. The methods of data collection and the use of open-ended questions allowed the teachers to express their voice and the views that they held. This non-threatening approach provided the rapport necessary for deeper insight into their perceptions.

The researcher would like to explore more fully, some of the findings of the described, generated theory, as there may be more theoretical underpinnings that could be indentified given the broad number or responsibilities that a language teacher has. In this study these discovered perceptions could be considered only the tip of the iceberg and it would take more interviews and data analysis to cover further study in more detail. The areas of theory that were identified within the data are valid and credible but there may remain other theories that could be uncovered, given more time. Saturation was judged by the researcher to have been reached in these theoretical areas yet others remain unverified.

4. The schools

The schools were chosen because of the researcher's previous relationship with them. To replicate the study might be difficult if a different researcher approached other secondary schools in China without the trust that was already present within the school/researcher relationship. A researcher approaching a new school for the first time would be likely to face obstacles that would limit the openness of the teachers whose perceptions the researcher was attempting to ascertain. In that sense this study would be difficult to replicate. Perhaps after a substantial number of visits and relationship building, another researcher could do the study in a similar way.

There are many issues that happen as a result of a positive relationship with secondary schools. The researcher is usually viewed as an expert and if the expert also takes an approach of being a learner, more openness from teachers may be the result.

5. Data management

The large amounts of data were difficult for this inexperienced researcher to manage. A better system of tracking references and the interview data would need to be devised. While the many hours of interview notes and field notes from classroom observations made it possible to analyze data with care, some might say that something is missed because there was not a direct transcription of the interviews. The researcher made a decision not to spend the extra time necessary to transcribe all interviews but instead to listen to the voices of the teachers again and again. The written transcription can sometimes miss the voice inflections and emotions that are carried in the human voice. For the analysis and number of times the points are discussed are counted, transcription may have helped, but it seemed to be a better use of available time to note the significant words of the teachers relative to the research questions and listen to how they were presented, rather that only reading their voiced responses.

6. Limitations of language ability and cultural understanding

It has been shown that teachers who communicate in their mother tongue are more likely to convey their views and perceptions more clearly and understandably. One adjustment to the study might be to involve a translator at certain points within the interview so the teacher being asked the question can answer in his or her mother tongue. While there might be clarity and more involved descriptions, using a translator slows the interview process down. It makes the communication process tedious and time consuming. Using a translator may well make the data more explicit and detailed. However an extra, unknown person could have inhibited the teachers from sharing as openly as they did.

A number of factors should be considered in evaluating the effectiveness of this research. First of all, the researcher had previously met and had a rapport with many of the schools teachers. The interviews and communication were conducted in the researcher's native language of English. The non-native teachers, although they were selected mostly based on their ability to speak in English, were able to express their answers in less depth than they would have been able to in their mother tongue. Jin (2012) notes that when Chinese are interviewed in their native tongue of Mandarin Chinese, there is a possibility that they can be up to twelve percent more expressive in Chinese than they are in English. This blind interview study was carried out in mostly general observations by a bilingual speaker who spoke both English and Chinese. Jin further noted that there were many variables in arriving at that percentage. Although she believed the language of the interview could make a significant difference in the data collected, she believed that stronger the teachers were linguistically, the more they were able to convey their perceptions in depth.

It was necessary for the researcher to periodically ask leading questions. These questions and observations were typically agreed to by the interviewed teacher. This could sometimes lead to the researcher view of the data being imposed on the teacher and negate the actual voice of the teacher. The researcher seemed to be held in high esteem as a foreign expert in this school, having been a frequent visitor and this may have curtailed the data collection somewhat.

7. A year and a half long ethnographic study

A number of unpredictable events took place over the course of this year and a half long study. Attempting to schedule interviews regularly met with some difficulty. Sometimes scheduled interviews and classroom observations needed to be rescheduled for a later time. The researcher had limited opportunities to travel from his home in Hong Kong to Shanghai. Sometimes the plans and timing of data collection needed to be adjusted and this was not considered optimum for the research. These interviews were conducted at various times throughout the day and in many changing seasons. Scheduled interviews were in some cases at the mercy of the moment, depending on a teacher's actual availability. Examinations and teachers meetings were scheduled without prior notice to the researcher. Teachers themselves changed classes over the year and a half. There were changes at the top of the school's administration, which brought a new and different emphasis with the new Principal's direction for the school. There was shifting of personnel and thereby a shifting of educational purpose. Some of these have been included in this research.

Overall the study was effective and while discovering the day to day responsibilities and giving the teachers a voice, gave the researcher significant insight into the English teaching in Shanghai.

8. Ethics

Maintaining ethics in studies has been a hallmark of effective research. Kiely and Rea-Dickens (2005) maintain a list of five aspects to help maintain ethics within a study. In this study, the researcher has maintained ethical integrity by following these five "rules". Anonymity has been guaranteed and the individual identities of the participants have not been recorded. Written, informed consent was obtained

from all participants. The third aspect mentioned by Kiely and Dickens (2005) to maintain ethics in the study, is to use data properly. Subjects were informed of how the collected data would be used. Complete confidentiality was maintained. All information collected is to be held in utmost confidence.

Chapter Nine CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

English teaching is a major endeavour in China. The pace of the educational reform in China has been astounding and it has been very worthwhile to gain a deeper understanding into it. This study has attempted to go deeper than the early surface and mostly negative observations of English experts visiting and advising China. The non-native English teachers in Shanghai that were interviewed approach their role and responsibilities to their students and schools quite seriously. While embracing the significant challenge of large classes, limited proficiency and sometimes lacking support, they seek to do their "duty" of assisting young people as best they can. These teachers' individuality, inner preferences and beliefs have become much better known. There is a complexity that defies simple generalization and the teachers were genuinely interested in their students' success. The layers of understanding uncovered in this study have confirmed there are significant, positive aspects of English language teaching in Shanghai secondary schools. The recent PISA success of Shanghai's students indicate Shanghai secondary school classrooms need further investigation into the reasons for teaching and learning success. Educators' interest has been growing in the teaching methods of Shanghai classrooms and what goes on there. This study has provided a look within the inner working of those classrooms and how English language teachers' perceive their role and responsibilities.

 Ultimately the vast numbers of English teachers and learners in China could affect and wash back into the global English language teaching field. It is important to understand the general English language teaching policies of China from the voices of the teachers themselves and from observing their teaching. The five theories that emerged in this research are: examination dominance, teacher

interest in, and concern for, their students, teachers' inner curriculum, dealing with change, and the importance of veteran teachers.

More research can be done to further refine information contained in this thesis. The effects of the examination culture, the effects of change on teachers, and the inner curriculum are especially in need of further research. It is to the advantage of the English language teaching community to know more about these particular types of determined, persistent and caring teachers faced with great changes taking place. It is important not to generalize or categorize their methods without appropriate measures of study and grounded data.

Changes in China are likely to continue to profoundly affect its educational system and the teaching of English language. The implication for teachers in China, as well as other domains where English is taught, could be significant. Non-native teachers who carry the weight of young peoples' future examination success should have their voices and perceptions heard. This study has elevated their viewpoint so that they can be better understood.

Appendices

**Interview wheel of questions as a starting place for interview questions.
Developed by Bradley Mellen**

Facilities
Heat/cold
Equipment
Travel to school

Curriculum
Lessons
Exams
Homework
Marking
Medium of
Teaching

Use of English
Personal
development of
English skills
outside class,
Reading, etc

Pressure
Challenges
Timetable
Salary
Benefits
Policy

What does it
mean to say I
teach English?
What is English
teaching? Role,
Theories

Teaching plan
Training
Preparation
Meetings
Coordination

Thoughts
Values
Attitudes
Perspectives
Mindset/define
Success/failure

Administration
Parents

Students
Colleagues

Family

relationships

Profession

Historical

Honour
Community
Culture

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Participation in Research Release, Confidentiality and Ethical Disclosure Form

I _____ agree to participate in interviews and classroom observations for research purposes during the school years 2007-2009. The current study will be done to attempt to better understand teacher and student views of what teaching and learning English is in Chinese secondary schools.

In participating in this study, I understand that I will not be compensated in any way for my involvement. I agree that any and all results may be published, read and analyzed by interested parties. I understand that all attempts will be made by the researcher to maintain anonymity and confidentiality. School, teacher and student names will be changed within the report to protect the identity of participants. No attempts shall be made to inappropriately use any data collected.

I, the undersigned participant, fully understand the abovementioned information and I agree to answer all questions to best of my understanding.

Signature   Date

_____

Parent's signature if applicable _____

Date_____

Timetable of interviews and observations with each teacher
(Amount of time spent interviewing and observing various teachers.)

Teacher	Number of forty minute classes observed	Number of interview sessions	Total amount of interview time in hours
Teacher A	0	7	5.5 hours
Teacher B	4	8	6.5 hours
Teacher C	2	5	3.5 hours
Teacher D	0	4	3.5 hours
Teacher E	3	4	3.0 hours
Teacher F	4	6	3.5 hours
Total	**13 classes**	**34**	**25.5 hours**

Memos

Sample 1

October

I am now close to end of year one of periodic interviews. I was thinking about curriculum and wondering if a teacher had much opportunity to incorporate their own ideas into classroom learning. I wonder if national identity is promoted within teachers and if they are somehow required to pass on or in some way propagandize students.

I talked with teacher A and B about allowed deviations from curriculum. They seemed to indicate a teacher's personality or inward belief as I would term it did come out at times in their teaching. I had read a book recently about inner curriculum and want to begin to explore this possibility of teacher individuality.

The methods of teaching the curriculum is not specified exactly so there seems to be freedom for teachers but the exam is the overriding concern and if curriculum is not all covered then teachers may not feel they have adequately prepared their students. So inner preferences while can be seen to bubble up periodically are not completely sought after. A teacher may not identify it as anything more than what they really their students to know.

Sample memo 2

Memo after a trip to a vocational school with Teacher A

I was taken to visit a rather large and significant secondary school that focused on vocational training for students who needed a trade after secondary school because they were not as good at academics and capable of going to university.

Many machines and lots of supposed efficiency was evident. I was surprised to see that this depth of vocational training was available to secondary students. This school was one in which students could still apply for and take the NMET and this vocational school even had English classes to help students gain more proficiency in English.

If a student received a vocational diploma they would most assuredly find employment but not so much as those graduating from university. This vocational training was a Chinese government attempt to provide a skill for those not very academically inclined. This left me with the feeling that there is life after low marks on the NMET.

Sample memo 3

Memo after an interview with Teacher A

Talked with teacher A about teaching practice and whether teaching was coaching. Mentioned sentence transformation as a teaching practice. Having students replace words within the sentences or rearrange them and keep the same meaning.

I asked about implement new ideas that would be successful and he added they should be interesting and not boring for students.

Also talked about how students' scores and average can be a pressure for teachers. Examination is a dominant force in students and teachers lives.

I will try ask teachers about this averages issue to see how they perceive it. I made up a list of 25 possible scores. (See next page). Two columns of 25 different marks with various numbers between 50-150 and five very low marks in class A that brought the overall averages down to just below another average of another column Class B. All scores were higher in Class A except the last five. See next page for sample.

The teachers suggest the highest average would be their preference. This indicates that the average mark is really the 'law' of averages. This seems to be unfair aspect of their teaching.

Class A	Class B
126	120
125	119
126	120
130	120
135	121
129	123
120	115
120	118
125	121
130	120
120	115
125	120
126	120
125	124
127	121
126	123
130	124
137	125
120	115
130	125
121	120
123	118
124	120
145	120
70	100
60	100
50	100
50	100
75	100
Average 115.5	Average 116.7

Comparison chart of similar comments by teachers.

Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C	Teacher D	Teacher E	Teacher F
Happy to work with	Talk to and they listen and come to me		Students respond positive to help	Students depend on teachers and should be happy with school	I'm grateful students will be satisfied for speaking and listening
Meaningful relations	Relate with				
Love your students	Teaching is love-mother them		Students need guidance	Give advice. Want to be a caring teacher. On exchange take care of students life for six weeks	Guide students. Train them like babies. Help them express themselves
	Meet them individually—give weaker more time		Know them and visit them in their homes with parents present— Give individual attention especially after school	Very heavy responsibility. More time and effort	Keep an eye on students. Observing weakness. Give time take most time with them. Train them after school. Time-consuming
			Limited time available to help. No time to correct pronunciation	Communicate with them	
			Lower level can't seem to grasp even with more time	Need patience	
	Listen to their complaints and solve frustrations or stress		Listen to them to slow down as you are teaching		
	Praise and compliment				
	Handle resistance and disagreement—such as hating exams		Students resist work and need to be challenged		Students feel pressed
Love job	Teach well—work hard on their behalf and work late			Care about colleagues	Work late students will 10-11pm
	Deal with assigned				

	students				
Stimulate interest in English—not boring classes	They like English cultivate doing best	Look for improvement – keep them interested not sleepy during lessons.	Arrange improvement for student	Improvement through better learning strategies, resources and equipment	Sign up for summer English camp
		Create light and relaxed atmosphere for learning			
Know the textbook	Knowledgeable	Devise ways to go deeper and give context	Nervous about covering it all		
Know about other resources					
	Explain materials				
			Teaching grammar monotonous and boring		
			Teach vocabulary and help them accumulate more not just memorize for test		Memorizing is important for exam preparation
Assign reading materials	Assign and develop exercises	Assign homework, prepare practical tasks and exercises	Reading newspaper but limited vocabulary. Lots of difficulty.	Give them homework and don't take up class time	Build up reading ability. Give book list to them
Develop reading skill					Improve their reading
Coordinate reading materials					
Prepare listening materials				Prepare listening materials	
	Enhance speaking and listening		Help to speak oral English build confidence	Discussion skills make more learning possible	Give practice in listening and speaking
	Improve writing and have them write more	Give feedback in writing			
	Adjust teaching		Adjust methods to		Adjust time in

	emphasis		weaker students		classroom for tested questions
Investigate results	Notice poor results. Identify ability	Identify weaker as calling on them in class		Every one is worried about results	Help students get good marks. Picking weaker to answer. Call on strategically
	Evaluate and classify students	Note active and non-active students	Students only want exam subjects		Learn English for a mark or job. 20% learn because the want to
Comparing ranks	Worry about results—rank and respond to rank	Ranking is positive because the need to compete—some teachers tell ranks	Monthly tests ranked. Different ranking for formal tests. Some to parents some not	Knowing their ranking	Comparing class to other teachers. Prove self through student's marks
	Differences between students	Okay and lazy students	Students bored and discouraged by low marks		
Aware of weaknesses	Know students and long standing problems in areas like writing	Know capability but not label them	Classes at two levels one high and one low. Some struggling hard.	Hardworking	Know levels of students well
Class size smaller more practice		Smaller classes more individual time			
Create activities resourcefulness					
Selecting students for school—recruit best					
Lead and model learning	Be a learning model			Be an example to students	
Teach students how to learn				Teach how to study. How to preview. Pronounce.	
Develop study habits	Work ethic in them and form good habits	Help them improve themselves	Know their study habits		Push them to develop good study habits. Preparing before

					class, participating in class and revising after class.
		Repeat until they get it	Students wait to be told by the teacher. Little self study	Getting students to think for themselves. Encourage them to make their own choices	Detailed explanations to weaker
	Moral and life education			Help to develop broader	Remind to act properly and giving to earthquake victims. If text is morally valuable highlight it
Prepare for exam	Prepare for exam		Urge students to be well-prepared for exams	Exam is like a machine and a system	Evaluate, give work. See Progress. Revision in exam quite necessary Give them practice test papers
Exam skills ready			Teaching to the exam-makes me crazy		
	Exam process: Prepare, coordinate, execute, mark and rank		Examination is the students life	Score is not the only thing important. Feel helpless about it.	
Motivate them	Persuade them				
	not punish—	Correct privately not publically		As a student considered system cold and cruel. Teachers may scold which may affect students	
	Expect them to do better	Challenging to meet their goals and parents			
	Push lazy students		Pushed to learn for the exam	Encourage to hard work	Require them to speak out. Pronounce tape
	Communicating				Realist

	failure up to 30%				percentage of students will not go to university
Address attitudes				
Encourage them		Help and encourage them		Encourage shy students to open mouth	Encourage not to give up
Participate in exchange	Coordinating exchanges				
Provide opportunities to produce language	Produce in them	Help them make realistic progress			
	Teach Grammar in Chinese		Students learn grammar more than oral		
	Follow them through cycle				
	Gender issues and differences Afraid of male teacher				Boys struggle more with language
	Attend various other meetings				
	Suicide				
	Freedom to teach use own feeling	Can teach in your own style			No choice but to teach what is required
	Know their family background		Visit family with student present		
		Allow students to survey and comment on teachers			
			Previous principal didn't only pursue marks also wanted culturally aware		
			Teachers sometimes competitive		
			Homework to students recording a text then listening to it		

			Dorm students homework on weekend		
			Class teacher work boy girl relationships		
			Negative reports to parents affect her relationship with her students		
			Providing extra classes till banned		
Travel and training to UK, Japan	Denver and exchange	Travel to New Zealand with students	Training in coordinated exchange program	Visited Australia accompanied an exchange program	Went to Germany with students
	Use ppt				Use ppt

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