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Since the beginning of 1990s, various forms of international education, and International Baccalaureate (IB) curricula in particular, have developed rapidly in mainland China. However, this is still a new area in educational research. Few empirical studies have been undertaken to investigate the process of intercultural learning and communication in individual IB programmes, widely seen as important in promoting intercultural understanding. My research, as the first case study of an IB diploma programme serving mainly Chinese students, aimed to address this gap, offering insights into its healthy development and inspiring future academic studies.

1. Conceptual Framework

Drawing on recent development of socio-cultural theories in educational research, my study took a social constructionist perspective on both learners and learning, giving particular significance to their ‘socially constructed’ nature. I tried to apply Wenger’s (1998) conceptualisation of learning – an ongoing process of social participation. This process suggested not only engaging in certain learning activities, but also being active participants in certain networks of relationship and constructing identities in relation to these communities of practice (CofPs).³

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1 International Baccalaureate is a curricular system of international education offered by the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO). The IBO is a non-profit and non-governmental educational foundation founded in 1969. It does not own or manage any schools, but works with schools around the world by authorising them to offer the IB curriculum. It also provides teacher training and related publications. Any authorised schools are called IB World Schools (IBWSs), no matter whom they mainly serve (expatriates or citizens).

2 IB diploma programme is a two-year curricular system, primarily aimed at students aged 16 to 19. It leads to a diploma accepted by most Western universities. In this programme, however, the Dean extended the total class hours to two and a half years because he wanted the students to have more time to get used to English – the language used in most lessons. The second semester in grade 12 – the last semester in high school – was given to the students to apply to universities.

3 From the social constructionist perspective, as learning proceeds, certain social networks – sets of interpersonal relations characterised by mutuality are constructed, maintained or transformed. Wenger manes the dynamic notion of relationship networks ‘communities of practice’. They are defined simultaneously by their membership and the
Since the social participatory perspective of learning is less about what happens in individuals’ heads but more about what happens among people’s actions and interpretations of the word, as Wenger (1998) suggests, the analytical unit of learning shifts to CofPs. In light of this, organisations, consisting of a constellation of CofPs, become an important research setting in Wenger’s ‘design’ for learning. An increasing attention has been paid to organisation members’ everyday interaction and communication. These processes may be viewed as a platform, on which we can observe how people’s social relations and identities are (re) constructed throughout negotiation of meaning, as either promoting or depreciating learning. In school settings, researchers such as Toohey (2000) and Gutierrez et al (1995) view a classroom as a kind of community, examining its practices of identifying classroom participants as learners and of affecting their access to classroom communication.

Among different approaches under the umbrella of social constructionism, discourse analysis is a fast growing field enriched by the transformation of linguistic theories and methodologies in social science since the 1970s. This approach was adopted in the research to investigate classroom communication because it focused on the discursive role of language. That is, language does not objectively mirror the world, but rather plays an active role in constructing meaning and social relations to a greater or lesser extent. By introducing discourse analysis into Wenger’s framework of CofPs, we may gain insights into how linguistic negotiation of meanings within small-scale social interactions generates and communicates relationships of tension and harmony, conflict and coordination.

Since discourse analysis draws on distinct schools of social inquiry, the approach embraces several ramifications, holding distinct viewpoints with regard to whether discourse is ‘constituted’ or ‘constitutive’. In this research, I referred to Chouliaraki and Fairclough’s (1999) critical realist perspective. That is, discourses and other moments of social practice, which may not be semiotic in nature, are ontologically

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4 The term ‘constellation’ refers to a particular way of seeing things as being related; no matter that they may not be of the same kind or be particularly close to one another (p.127).

5 By ‘design’, Wenger (1998) means ‘a systematic, planned and reflexive colonisation of time and space in the service of an undertaking’ (p.228). He realises the use of the term ‘design’ would convey a modernist paradigm, with a strong belief in human’s control over both the natural environment and the social world. Thus, he gives particular significance to the dialectic relationships between ‘the designed’ and ‘the emergent’, ‘the global’ and ‘the local’ (p. 232-234).

6 the neo-Marxism of the Frankfurt school, poststructuralist deconstruction and critical realism

7 Discourse analysis drawn on poststructuralists’ perspectives, especially Foucault’s theories, hold the view that discourse itself constructs ways in which people interpret their identities and their mutual relations. In direct counterpoint to the constructivist ontology, critical realists believe that social structures exist independently of discourse. The former conditions, if not constrains, the latter to a significant extent.
different but lie in a dialectic relationship.\textsuperscript{8} They are not mutually reducible but internalise the effects of each other.

To further account for the dialectic relationship discussed above, the concept of ‘orders of discourse’ – the discoursal aspect of a network of social practice – offers valuable insights.\textsuperscript{9} Drawing on both the constitutive and constituted natures of discourse, orders of discourse cut across the division between discoursal and other aspects of social practice, revealing how the inclusion and exclusion of linguistic features in texts are conditioned by broader social contexts, and simultaneously contribute to the construction of the world in meaning.

According to Fairclough (2003), an order of discourse is a particular combination of ‘genres’ (discoursal aspects of ways of interacting with others), ‘discourses’ (ways of representing particular parts of the world) and ‘styles’ (discoursal aspects of ways of positioning oneself and others) (p.26).\textsuperscript{10} These three elements are both ‘textual’ and ‘social’ elements. In texts, they respectively generate three aspects of meaning. They are ‘action’ (produced by enacting certain interpersonal relations), ‘representation’ (produced by representing particular aspects of the world) and ‘identification’ (produced by committing to a particular sense of self) (ibid, p.27). As social elements, the ‘articulation’ of them in texts is inherently selective and socially conditioned.\textsuperscript{11}

To address the political nature of orders of discourse,\textsuperscript{12} a large body of literature on discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 2003; Gee, 1994, 2004; Wodak, 2001) is

\textsuperscript{8} As Fairclough (2005) notes, the term ‘discourse’ in his theoretical framework of CDA was mainly used in two ways. First, it refers to semiotic moment of social life in an abstract sense, involving spoken or written language and visual semiosis (e.g. body language). Second, discourse is used in a specific sense for ways of representing particular aspects of social life, a constituent of orders of discourse. In this sentence, the term discourse takes the first meaning. It is defined in relation to other moments of social practice, which involve ‘material activity, […] social relations and processes (social relations, power, institution), and mental phenomena (beliefs, values and desires)’ (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p.60-61).

\textsuperscript{9} ‘Orders of discourse’ is a key construct in Foucault’s (1972) understanding of social practice, referring to discursive practices at an abstract level, which themselves construct institutions or societies. However, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) redefine this form of social practice as being dialectically related to social structure.

\textsuperscript{10} According to Fairclough (2003), genre, discourse and style are distinguished for analytical purpose. However, they are not completely discrete dimensions, but are dialectically related with one another. For example, ‘particular Representations (discourses) may be enacted in particular ways of Acting and Relating (genres), and inculcated in particular ways of Identifying (styles)’ (p.29).

\textsuperscript{11} Chouliaraki and Fairclough’s (1999) concept of articulation is drawn on Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) understanding of social practice. It implies ‘the view of elements of the social as first, in shifting relationships with each other, though capable of being stabilised into more or less relative permanence as they are articulated together as moments within practice; and as second, transformed in the process of being brought into new combinations with each other’ (p.21).

\textsuperscript{12} The political nature of orders of discourse is embraced by the inherently selective way of articulating linguistic registers in text.
committed to uncovering and explaining the role of discursive practice in the construction and maintenance of unequal power relations, and is devoted to social change. Among these critical social linguists, Fairclough initially used the term ‘critical discourse analysis’ (CDA) in the book *Language and Power* (1989) to describe the critical study of discourse, as both theoretical and methodological frameworks.

To sum up my conceptual framework, I viewed learning as a process of participating in CofPs, which was socio-culturally constructed. Central to an understanding of this constructive process was the dialectic relation between discourses and other moments of social practice, which linked the negotiation in local interactions to the construction of social relations and identities within a broader socio-cultural context.

Referring to Fairclough’s theoretical framework of CDA, classroom communication was conceptualised as processes of discursive practices, ‘producing’, ‘distributing’ and ‘consuming’ texts among participants within a given institutional and social context (Fairclough, 1992, p.71). On the one hand, the communication process was shaped or conditioned by certain material recourses, institutionalised structures and authority relations in a classroom. On the other hand, it contributed to (re)construction of classroom participants’ power relations and subject positions, leading to either reproduction or transformation of CofPs that comprised the classroom. To account for the constituted and constitutive processes, both the ‘negotiated’ (meaning-making in the service of power) and ‘social’ (meaning-making as contextualised in sets of social networks) natures of communication needed to be addressed.

This research had a critical intention – to unmask how dominant cultures and discourses were (re) produced through discursive practice in a classroom setting, and to illustrate both the need and potential for change. It is also important to note that any unmasking process cannot achieve a purely objective reality, but ‘a new mask’ – an alternative form of construction. Owning to this, I was self-reflexive about how I myself, as a researcher, jointly constructed meanings with research participants, and how these were included in the subject matter I was trying to understand.

### 2. Research Design

The major concern of this research was to explore the construction of classroom participants’ power relations and identities through the communication process, as
either promoting or impeding their participation in CofPs in the classroom. My research questions were:

1) How did certain school participants, from a variety of cultural backgrounds and with differing institutional status, describe the historical and current status of communication among them in the classroom?

2) What were the power relations among these teachers and students, and how did they evolve through the communication process?

3) How was the participants’ identities constructed and transformed through the communication process?

4) How did the power relations and subject positions affect the participants’, especially the students’ access to communicative events and thus to possibilities for negotiation of meaning?

5) How were the participants’ shifting power relations related to the contingent organisational and social contexts?

With these inquiries, the research methodology presented me with four tasks. First, to enter a naturalistic setting and to study the participants’ communication process in its natural state; second, to provide an holistic picture of the communication web in a specific time-and-space bounded system, involving a range of people with differing institutional status; third, to analyse language beyond words and sentences for meanings that are related to power; fourth, to use a reflexive methodology, bearing in mind that the critical constructionist approach entails a self-reflexive stance towards the co-producing ethnographic knowledge.

Led by these principles, I employed an ethnographic approach, single case study and Fairclough’s textually centred approach of CDA in this research. The three methods consisted of a coherent and systematic inquiry into communication, centred on the methodological framework of CDA.

Fairclough’s approach of CDA has three dimensions: text, discursive practice and social practice (see Figure 1). The textual dimension involves the study of the linguistic features produced in a text, describing how textual features signify power relations at the micro level. Analysis of discursive practice concerns the production, consumption and interpretation of texts. It not only explores the ‘interdiscursivity’ of texts by identifying how genres, discourse and styles are articulated in orders of

13 Drawing on the social participatory theories of learning, although my research mainly aimed to discuss the students’ participation in classroom communication, it was not confined to this group of participants. Rather, I involved teachers – the students’ interactants – in the research sample, and situated these undividable groups in a classroom context.
discourse, but also traces the ‘intertextual chain’ across different communicative events. The societal dimension addresses the link between language use and social practice. As Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) have suggested, social and cultural theories should be applied in analysing what ideological and social consequences of certain discursive practices.

Figure 1 Fairclough’s three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (1992, p. 73)

Drawing on the dialectic relations between discourses and other moments of social practice, Fairclough’s CDA give particular significance to the ethnographic study of social contexts, of which the discursive practice is part. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), the researcher’s prolonged immersion in the research field will gain insights into multiple aspects of social practice in addition to the discoursal one. This helps to explain how discourses are constituted by non-discoursal contexts, leading to a more contextualised understanding of the ‘interdiscursivity’ and ‘intertextuality’ of texts. The approach of CDA could also contribute to ethnographic studies by revealing reflexively how social contexts are discursively constructed and transformed through the negotiation of meaning.

3. Methodology

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14 Intertextual chain refers to ‘a series of texts in which each text incorporates elements from another text or other texts’ (Fairclough, 1995b, p.77).
3.1 Selecting the case and the participants

I located my research in an IB diploma programme which had a relatively long history and large enrolment in mainland China, and particularly highlighted international mindedness in its school’s philosophy. I believed that this programme offered rich opportunities to undertake my inquiry and be stable enough to secure the research process.

Since the research aimed to investigate communication within an organisational context, I took a class in grade 11 as the case under investigation. My choice of class depended on the question: in which class did students and teachers show the strongest interest in participating in the research? Before the fieldwork started, I sent out letters, with a questionnaire attached to each of them, to all grade 11 students and teachers to explain the research and explore their willingness to be involved. The result of this survey revealed that my research was mostly welcome in Class 2.

In Class 2, my research participants had differing institutional status – students, subject teachers and the lead teacher. As discussed before, this research sample enabled me to explore the communication web in its entirety and in a natural context. The five research participants were the lead teacher, Teacher Dai; the economics teacher, Matt; the Chinese literature teacher: Teacher Zhao; two students: Yuki and Jack (see Appendix 1 for information with regard to their backgrounds, age, gender and citizenship).

3.2 Data Collection

The fieldwork for this research took place from December 2006 to July 2007. During this time frame, first, I conducted observation in each of the three teachers’ lessons

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15 In this IB programme, students in grade 10 had propaedeutic curricula, many of which were taught by Chinese teachers, while those in grade 12 had a relatively heavy load of exams. Therefore, I decided to conduct my research in grade 11.

16 The lead teachers helped me to send out the questionnaires for students before I entered the field, and I posted and emailed the questionnaires to the subject teachers by myself. The letters for students and Chinese teachers were written in Chinese, and those for foreign teachers were written in English.

17 Issues such as the research aims, detailed research methods and procedures, time frame and ethical protection were covered in these letters.

18 The lead teachers are called ‘Ban Zhu Ren’ in Chinese. According to the MoE’s Temporary Regulations Regarding the Responsibilities of Ban Zhu Ren in Primary and Middle Schools issued in 1998, Ban Zhu Rens are supposed to be the leader, the organiser, and the educator of a class, who are in charge of facilitating students’ academic study, implementing classroom disciplines, organising extracurricular activities, keeping in contact with subject teachers and parents involved in this class. In contrast to the general situation in public high schools in China, the lead teachers in this programme do not teach any subjects at the same time as their other duties. Each of them is responsible for managing two classes.

19 Before letting them sign the consent form, I talked to each participant who ticked the box ‘I would like to be a participant in the research’ in the questionnaire, to further clarify the research procedures. Some of them withdrew from the research at that stage for different reasons. My efforts in respect would, I hoped, ensure the participants’ collaboration in the future research.
twice a week to investigate the patterns of discursive practices adopted in teacher-student and student-student interaction. In order to capture what was going on in the participants’ moment-to-moment interaction, I refereed to Hymes (1972)’s approach of ethnography of communication. I recorded the observations in ethnographic field notes.

Interview was another data collection strategy employed in this research. In agreement with the social constructionist epistemology, the ethnographic nature of interviews, which were characterised by sufficient frequency of interviews and unstructured conversation flows, has been highlighted throughout the fieldwork. Bearing in mind pragmatic issues, semi-structured interviews were also used during the first month of the fieldwork when my contextual knowledge was relatively small and the intimate research-researched relationship was not yet established. According to the participants’ preference, Mandarin was used in interviews with all Chinese participants, while English was used when interviewing Matt, the American teacher.

3.3 Data Analysis

Since the approach of CDA was sensitive to linguistic features, I kept my data in the languages (s) in their original form when I collected and analysed data. Translation was necessarily used since the research was aimed for a wider range of readers.

Drawing on Fairclough’s framework of CDA, my analysis of data involved three tasks: to describe the linguistic features of texts, to interpret the ‘interdiscursivity’ and ‘intertextuality’ of texts, and to explain the relationships between texts and broader social practices in the service of reproducing or transforming power relations. These tasks were structured within a two-stage analytical framework, consisting of the interpretation of meaning and the explanation of power (see Appendix 2).

Specifically, my interpretation comprised reciprocation between ethnographic analysis of contexts and discourse analysis of textual data. The former took the form of inductively-deductively hybrid coding, depending partly on literature-derived
themes and partly on what emerged in the research field. Discourse analysis was adopted to deal with both interview transcripts and snippets of verbatim dialogues quoted in observation notes. The analysis went through four steps. First, selecting pieces of transcripts which displayed the main conversation flow in particular communicative events or revealed participants’ interpretations of their communication with others; second, coding each of the selected pieces of text with genres, discourses and styles; third, investigating how the genres, discourse and styles were articulated into orders of discourse; fourth, recontextualising the analyses by returning each selected piece to the overall transcripts where it was originally located.

To explain how discursive practices proceeded in the service of meaning and power, when I identified genre, discourse and styles upon which a text drew, I was concerned with why certain ways of articulation was legitimated while others were rule out, and what their ideological consequences were. I also questioned: what kind of institutional structures and authority relations conditioned, and were reinforced or challenged by, the discursive practices.

4. Research Findings

4.1 Discursive practice in lessons

A socio-cultural perspective on learning has drawn attention to the significance of classrooms as socio-cultural communities, with particular communicative events that socialise both teachers and students into specific ways of learning. Adopting the approach of discourse analysis, many researchers (Cazden, 2001; Gutierrez et al, 1995) have looked closely within classrooms to uncover what power relations and subject positions are (re) constructed through everyday discursive practice, in the service of encouraging learning. Through a semi-pattern-matching process of data analysis – referring to the ‘generic structures’ summarised by previous research and simultaneously paying attention to the unique features of data, I identified four discursive patterns adopted in the classroom: teachers’ large group instruction, teacher-managed group discussion, peer discussions and the lead teacher’s admonishment.

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25 For example, Fairclough’s four moments of social practice
26 The coding schemes developed by Fairclough (1992, 2003) and by a number of Chinese linguists (e.g. Ho, 1993, Xu et al, 2003) were drawn as points of reference.
27 ‘Generic structure’ of texts, for Fairclough (2003), refers to the relatively stabilised and rationalised staging of discoursal aspect of activities. It is usually organised strategically, aiming to achieve certain purposes (e.g. a teacher’s leading marks to elicit particular information from students).
4.1.1 Large group instruction

Large group instruction was the main discursive patterns adopted in the Chinese literature class. From my entry into the field, the content of the lesson was Chinese ancient novels. Generally, Teacher Zhao’s approach to each novel consisted of four sections: background of the literary creation, plot of the novel, description of characteristics and central idea. As well as lecturing in an expositive mode, she always extracted some key words from her speech and wrote them on the blackboard, providing a written record of her exposition.  

When Teacher Zhao was speaking, I observed few students making notes, but browsing magazines (e.g. Yuki) or doing assignments of other subjects (e.g. Jack). However, when the teacher began to make blackboard notes, most students stopped what they were doing immediately and began to copy it on their notebooks. They did so without the teacher having to instruct them.  

To conclude, in the Chinese literature lessons, it seemed that information and ideas were conveyed from the teacher’s blackboard notes to students’ notebooks. The teacher’s role as a knowledge provider and students’ roles as ‘recorders’ appeared to be taken for granted and be routinised in their everyday interactions. Despite the seemingly disciplined atmosphere in the classroom, most students were distracted while the teacher monologically attempted to transmit knowledge.

4.1.2. The Teacher-student Conversations

Many researchers (Cazden, 2001; Toohey, 2000) have noted the commonality in classrooms of a three-part sequential exchange of discursive practice – Initiation, Response and Evaluation (IRE). That is, a teacher asks a question, a student responds voluntarily or by being nominated, and then the teacher evaluates the student’s answers in certain ways. In Class 2, such a discursive pattern characterised classroom interactions in Matt’s economics lessons.

Typical of the discursive practice in the economics class was the following: one day in April, when Matt was giving an example that there was another increase in GDA

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28 A typical example was that when talking about the characterisation of an ancient novel, Teacher Zhao said: ‘From Cheng Yuanyu’s narratives, we can learn that Shi Yiniang’s swordsmanship was exquisite. However, the author did not describe it directly in the novel. Therefore, we do not need to discuss it extensively’. She paused and wrote down: ‘swordsmanship, exquisite’ on the blackboard.

29 At the beginning, I was struck by the way in which students copied Teacher Zhao’s notes conscientiously. In later interviews with Jack and Yuki, they mentioned that the teacher was in the habit of checking their notes regularly and claimed that her evaluations would affect their final grades.
when people conducted opencast mining of coal, he called upon Yuki to explain the phenomenon.

As shown in Except 1, with regard to Yuki’s answer, Matt affirmed that opencast mining could cause pollution. However, the idea of water pollution seemed to be unexpected to him as he checked this answer with Yuki twice and took a five-second pause in the middle. Matt’s hesitation made the student appear to be less confident. By contrast, Jack’s promotion of planting more trees fitted in exactly with what Matt was looking for. But his reason that trees could stop erosion did not elicit much feedback from the teacher. Rather, Matt began to talk about the situation in his country, viewing planting trees as a way of restricting visual pollution.

In this example, Matt not only checked whether the students had mastered certain knowledge, but also organised his conversations with them in ways to elicit the expected answers, and thus to construct meanings as he planned. This, however, gave students few opportunities to express ideas freely. Furthermore, based on Matt’s evaluation, individual students were positioned differently, as excellent or less capable. My field notes showed that Jack was often called on immediately after another student’s inappropriate answer, and he was always able to say something that the teacher expected. This served to highlight his intelligence as a ‘star’ student in the class.

4.1.3. Students’ peer conversations

Almost in every economic lesson, Matt let every four students engage in a group to discuss questions listed in his handouts. When the conversation was ended, each group was expected to elect a student to present the outcome of their discussion. As I observed, most students spoke to each other in Chinese, except for Jack who insisted in speaking English throughout peer conversations.

In a lesson at the end of March, Matt let the students draw a picture showing what a poor Chinese village might look like ten years into the future, drawing on their imaginations for change. The conversation in the group where Jack and Yuki participated was exemplified in Excerpt 2.

30 See Appendix 3 for all excerpts quoted in the thesis.
31 This activity regularly lasted approximately fifteen minutes.
32 In order to exhibit the process of switching code between Chinese and English, I cited their original language – either English or Chinese – in the following example, with the English translations written in brackets and italic.
33 Since Jack, Steve and Yuki sat together in the classroom, they were usually in the same group in Matt’s lessons. Jane, Jack’s good friend, usually moved her chair next to Jack’s to participate in their group.
As shown in this excerpt, with the frequent use of the modalised term ‘we should’, Jack’s claims about his design of the picture sounded apparently authoritative and imposing. Furthermore, the fast speed of his utterance made himself hard to follow, which may have further subordinated others to his expert authority. In the following conversation, Jane and Steve solely asked Jack the meaning of some words, yet never questioned his ideas as to how the village should be constructed in the future.

The students’ differing performances in this example may illustrate that peer conversations were not immune from dominance and subordination, despite the participants’ equal status as students. Jack, who mastered the knowledge and skill related to the teacher-mandated task, positioned himself, and were positioned by his peers, powerfully in the communication process. Moreover, orientated by the teacher-mandated task, Jane appeared to take on the voice of the teacher, enforcing the group focus on the task.

Despite the unequal access to ‘voice’, students appeared to be more relaxed in peer discussions than they did in IRE. For instance, by making faces at Steve, Yuki glossed over her embarrassment when her distractedness was pointed out by him. As I observed, being close friends with Steve and Jack, Yuki was always able to find someone in the group to talk to. Although such communication appeared to be ‘phatic’, being of little relevance to the teacher-mandated tasks, it could be viewed as positive for Yuki by providing her with a comfortable environment where she found herself confident.

4.1.4. The lead teacher’s admonishment

Without taking any teaching tasks, the lead teacher only visited the classroom during the Friday summary meetings, supervising students’ discussion. On a few occasions, I observed her criticising particular students’ mistakes and issued a reprimand in front of the whole class.

Generally, Teacher Dai’s admonishment consisted of three steps: first, letting the student who was found to be disobeying school rules stand at the platform, carrying out a piece of self-criticism; Second, commenting on the appropriateness of the

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34 According to Hymes (1972), phatic communication refers to ‘talk for the sake of something being said…is far always from a universally important or even acceptable motive for conversations’ (p.40).

35 At the last period every Friday morning, the student chair of the class committee – a student union – led the students discuss their learning and living on campus during the week. It was called ‘Friday summary meetings’ by the students. The meeting was usually supervised by the lead teacher.
self-criticism; third, announcing punishment to the student. I took Teacher Dai’s criticism over Yuki as an example in the essay. One day in May, Yuki was criticised for walking together with a boy at night on campus. She described her mistake in Excerpt 3.

In this excerpt, Yuki gave particular significance to her seemingly innocent motive of walking with the boy – ‘just chatting’. Moreover, she only indicated Teacher Dai’s negative attitude towards her behaviour, but did not explain what was harmful as the teacher saw it. There was a sense that Yuki was managing to avoid discussing what the teacher had wished her to address.

Teacher Dai was not satirised with this piece of self-criticism at all. She condemned Yuki, yelling: ‘Were you really just walking and chatting? You should consider carefully about the nature of the problem that you two went to the garden alone late at night!’ She further pointed out that ‘You two were in fact dating! It is clearly stated in our school regulation that students cannot date. I also have talked about this on numerous occasions since your enrolment. However, you broke the rule deliberately.’ Through these arguments, Teacher Dai clearly revealed the erroneous nature of the student’s behaviours, contravening school regulations.

When Teacher Dai announced the punishment to the miscreant student, she usually raised her voice significantly and spoke in an agitated tone. These phonological features, together with the frequent use of imperative clauses and modal auxiliary verbs (e.g. ‘should’ and ‘must’) illustrated her categorical demands on the student.

To sum up the example, the lead teacher’s admonishment consisted predominantly of imposing and authoritative discourses, which apparently restricted students’ voice and defined them in a powerless position. In these circumstances, the misbehaving students and his/her classmates who acted as audience, could be viewed as being excluded from negotiation of meaning.

4.2 Discourses of communication – analysis of individual participants

This section discusses how each of the focal participants actively took up and/or resisted the identities offered them by the social contexts to which they were exposed. My analysis focused on individuals’ interview transcripts, exploring the interdiscursivity of texts. Since my research explored the ‘negotiated’ and ‘social’

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36 Due to each participant’s particularities, his/her narratives was analysed as a single case, with careful attention to contextual issues. A cross-participant analysis that synthesises these five cases is discussed in the next section.
characters of classroom communication between teachers and students, discourses that represented the communication process were given primary significance, leading the analysis of style and genre.\textsuperscript{37} In doing so, I have gained an avenue into each participant’s emic perspectives, in relation to whom he/she communicated with, in what ways and in what circumstances.

4.2.1. Yuki

\textit{Communication as sharing with pals taking the same position}

Yuki viewed her communication with most classmates as generally ‘very comfortable and relaxed’. As shown in Excerpt 4, she set forth the discourse of communication as chatting with like-minded ‘friends’ (Clause 2), without pressure from teachers and exams. Although on some occasions she had difficulty keeping pace with others in discussions of academic tasks, she still positioned herself positively\textsuperscript{38} because she was allowed by others to deviate from the teacher’s direction.

\textit{Language barriers in communication with foreign teachers}

As I observed, Ivy seldom volunteered to speak in foreign teachers’ lessons. She attributed the limited communication to her low level of English, as exemplified in Excerpt 5. That is, by valuing the power of Standard English, Yuki positioned herself in an inferior position to many of her classmates.\textsuperscript{39} From this disadvantageous position, she withdrew from the competition to practise English and gave up her right to participate in classroom communication.

\textit{Restricted communication as having no ‘right’ to speak}

Yuki often described her relationship with teachers, especially the lead teacher, as hostile, complaining that they cared little for her opinions and feelings. For example, in Excerpt 6, she described to be how Teacher Dai refused her proposal of taking ‘Erhu’ lessons\textsuperscript{40} during dinner breaks. In this excerpt, it was easy to observe an unequal distribution of turn takings between speakers, which, according to Fairclough (2003), could be attributed to an inequitable social relation. That is, being interrupted by the teacher frequently and

\textsuperscript{37} Compared with Fairclough’s (2003) analysis of macro level social changes in media studies, discourses in my research, which focused on micro power relations in a classroom context, were at a lower level of abstraction. However, this did not mean that I viewed every separate representation as a separate discourse. Taking the form of ‘communication (with some persons) as doing something’, the discourses that I identified from the narrative transcripts transcended some concrete and local representations, serving to holistically representing the communication process. Each of them involved roles of participants, their social relations, ways of interacting with each other and contingent contexts. Some of the representation repeatedly occurred in participants’ narratives, given space limitation, I chose the most salient example in the report of research findings.

\textsuperscript{38} with a positively affective statement – ‘I feel very comfortable talking to them’

\textsuperscript{39} ‘This was reflected in a set of negatively affective statements – ‘not good’ (Clause 4), ‘funny’ (Clause 6) and ‘do not feel comfortable’ (Clause 7)

\textsuperscript{40} A traditional Chinese instrument
harshly, Yuki seemed to be unable to finish her speech. Her construction of meanings was therefore restricted.

4.2.2. Jack

**Communication as responding to teachers’ behaviours and attitudes**

Jack often contrasted his foreign teachers with Chinese teachers in terms of their pedagogical beliefs and teaching methods. Their differences affected him in distinct ways and, therefore, brought about different responses from him. As exemplified in Excerpt 7, Jack linked Matt’s behaviour to the image of ‘a friend’, without attaching much institutional authority to it. Clause 6, which described Jack’s reactions, acted as the consequence of the first five clauses. This ‘cause-result’ semantic relation highlighted the teacher’s agency, while placing the student in the correspondingly subordinate position. That is to say, it was Matt’s behaviour that led to a friendship-like teacher-student relationship. By the same logic, Jack seemed to argue that it was Chinese teachers’ actions that established a top-down, manager-subordinate relationship.

**Communication as manoeuvring authority**

On some occasions, Jack commented on his teachers from a pragmatic perspective – whether they were helpful in improving his academic achievement. Taking Excerpt 8 as an example, when Jack related teachers’ behaviours to students’ exam grades, his perception of what counted as a good teacher seemed to be blurred. On the one hand, the Chinese teachers’ ways of ‘pushing’ students could be viewed as being ‘responsible’; on the other hand, the foreign teachers’ ways of empowering students could lead them to a low academic achievement.

Going a step further, in Clauses 6–8, Jack pointed out what should be done to minimise the negative effects resulting from foreign teachers’ weakness. Instead of the first person pronoun ‘I’, he used a generic ‘you’ to represent actors. Together with the marker of denotical modality ‘need to’ (Clause 6), this expression suggested Jack’s intention to generalise his own experience and, therefore, to strengthen his claim: ‘You just need to listen to them’. It seemed that Jack placed himself in an authoritative position to make use of teachers for his own ends.

4.2.3. Matt

**Communication as speaking English**

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41 According to Halliday (1976), denotic modality is one’s affinity to the obligation and necessity of something.
Matt emphasised that students’ proficiency in English was key in their understanding of the lectures. For instance, he said: ‘If the students cannot follow my English, you know, um, a lot of them don’t, actually, it makes the communication very difficult, it makes the communication more difficult.’ These two clauses constituted a causally semantic relation, with the former as determinant of the latter. There seemed to be two hidden assumptions. First, it was the students’ fault that communication was limited; Second, it was others’ responsibility to improve their English and, in turn, to improve communication.

**Communication as telling others about situations in America**

As I observed, Matt often talked about the differences between this IB programme and the American high school he used to go in front of his students. Taking Excerpt 9 as an example, Clauses 1–11 constituted an argument with the semantic pattern of ‘the situation is…they should do it’. This pattern helped to support his claims that ‘they should do something outside the academic arena’, as being determined by the reality in America. The phrases ‘very common’ and ‘quite common’ (Clauses 3 and 9) may be viewed as a rationalisation of the need to conform to situations which necessitated students’ compliance of his assertion. In light of this, his description of the American situation was not simply a statement of reality, but with strong value attached to it.

**Restricted communication as lacking common interests**

Matt felt that his communication with students was ‘generally more on the surface’, because they had little in common. For example, he said: ‘It [communication with students] is just, um, about schools, um, and their hopes of going to university. These are what they talked to me about. They don’t follow sports much, like football. It’s quite common in America but rare here.’ In this excerpt, it seemed that Matt positioned himself passively in his conversations with students, merely following the topics initiated by them. The contrast in the last sentence appeared as a negative evaluation of the students who were not as interested in sports as he was.

4.2.4 Teacher Zhao

**Communication as a way of carrying forward the national cultural heritage**

As exemplified in Excerpt 10, Teacher Zhao viewed her communication with students in lessons being aimed at carrying forward Chinese culture, which she believed to be of fundamental importance for students. As a teacher who benefited students in this respect, Teacher Zhao rationalises her own action of ‘introducing the social background of classic literature as much as possible’ (Clause 5) and strongly defended herself in the face of
students’ non-cooperation or even challenges. Such a legitimising process exemplified Habermas’s conceptualisation of ‘instrumental’ rationality (1984).  

**Communication as doing her duty as a ‘parent’ to manage students**

Teacher Zhao She also persisted in her way of lecturing and managing classroom discipline. In Excerpt 11, she equated her role as a ‘teacher’ with that as a ‘parent’, and adopted a parental voice to tell students what they should or should not do (Clauses 14–15). This way of communication was taken for granted as meeting a Chinese teacher’s duty. Furthermore, Teacher Zhao contrasted her beliefs and actions with those of her foreign colleagues. By valuing and insisting on the former, she seemed to reject the latter, although there was no direct comment about it.

**4.2.4. Teacher Dai**

**Communication as telling students what to do**

In interviews, Teacher Dai emphasised that her job was not only managing student discipline, but was also acting as a ‘mentor, who leads students to improve their personalities.’ This identity was exemplified in Excerpt 12. In this excerpt, Teacher Dai contrasted discourses of communication as commanding students and as enhancing students’ genuine understanding. She negated the former while underlining the latter. However, when this principle was applied to a specific context consisting of ‘children of this age’, her ‘mentor’ identity appeared to be destabilised by her pragmatic concerns, which necessitated the identity of a ‘manager’.

The teacher’s ambivalent discourses were also exemplified in Excerpt 13. With the conjunction ‘however’, Clauses 1–4 and 5–9 constituted a contrastive relation. Semantically, the argument developed in the first four clauses – you were encouraged to develop diversity – was shaken by the teacher’s promotion of ‘a higher moral level’. In other interviews, Teacher Dai pointed out its two connotations: to get a better achievement in IB exams and to be more self-disciplined. In my view, these were not congruent with the discourse of pursuing diversity.

**Communication as convincing herself and then convincing students**

42 As Fairclough (2003) notes, the instrumental rationalisation process takes certain purposes as a given. By viewing particular actions or procedures as the only way of achieving the assumed ends, these means are constructed as self-evidently justified. Instrumental rationalisation usually overlaps with moral evaluation, ‘in the sense that the reasons and purposes given for the procedures evoke value systems which are taken for granted and constitute the “generalised” motives which according to Habermas (1976) are now widely used to “ensure mass loyalty”’ (p.99).
As a lead teacher, Teacher Dai was obliged to pass on school managers’ requirements and to discipline students accordingly. As shown in Excerpt 14, she used the verb ‘convince’ to describe what she did and expected of her students in the face of school mandates. Teacher Dai seemed to position herself as subordinate to the school managers, while superior to her students. As an intermediary between school authority and students, her action of convincing herself and her students was located in, and appeared to reinforce, a vertical management system, and a top-down and impersonal communication process.

5. Discussion

Based on the in-depth understanding of each individual’s case, I conduct a cross-participant study to further explore the ‘negotiated’ and ‘social’ characters of classroom communication, in view of the overall organisational context.

5.1 The ‘negotiated’ nature of communication

Across participants, I discussed how certain meanings have achieved hegemonic power in the classroom through identifying the mutually ‘aligned’ and ‘conflicting’ relationships among participants’ orders of discourse. Evidence pointed that values attached to the language of English, to the exam-orientated education and to teachers’ authority had taken root in the thinking and behaviours of many classroom participants. The corresponding ways of communication were taken as given, no matter how powerless the participants, especially the students, were positioned. For example, mirroring foreign teachers’ perspectives, Yuki blamed her restricted communication with them on her low proficiency of English. Maintaining a negative self-image, she gave up her opportunities to participate in classroom conversations; valuing exam grades as much as teachers, Jack appreciated his Chinese teachers’ usefulness in improving his academic achievement, while doubting foreign teachers’ approaches to teaching and to communicating with him; giving priority to teachers’ authority, both Teacher Dai and Teacher Zhao rationalised their dominance in communication with students. Aligned with teachers’ perspectives, Jack passively responded to their behaviours but never challenged the relationship established by teachers. In these circumstances, both teachers and students seemed to give little

43 According to Roger (2004), alignments of discursive patterns suggest consistent viewpoints and values with regard to the organisational life and the ‘self’ invested in them. They lead to the production of relatively stable and universalised meanings, which are taken as given and are therefore of great ideological significance. By contrast, disjunctions in orders of discourse between texts indicate different or even contradictory perspectives. They are places where critical reflections arise to challenge the (re)production of hegemonic meanings. Struggles for meanings among individuals and groups are noteworthy on these occasions.
thought to what they could have done to make a change. Thus, the imbalance in power relations was progressively reinforced in the communication process.

On some occasions, the students developed alternative meanings, which highlighted their own agency, while challenging teachers’ authorities. For example, in interviews, Yuki explicitly positioned her Chinese teachers as her ‘enemies’ who despised her and gave her few opportunities to make her own meaning in conversations; through manoeuvring authority in his communication with Chinese and foreign teachers, Jack made use of them for his pragmatic concern. However, the students solely advanced their dissatisfaction or criticism of teachers in the interviews with me, yet never made them public. Remaining in the classroom under-life, the students’ alternative perspectives were always ignored by teachers and, thus, contributed little to develop a positive sense of self or agency.

5.2 The ‘social-ness’ of communication

By viewing communication participants as members of specific social collectivises, my attention moved towards examining the contextual conditions for communicating and learning. Wenger’s (1998) three mode of belong – engagement, imagination and alignment – were employed to discuss whether certain networks of relationship and organisational design facilitated or impeded individual’s access to negotiation of meaning.

First, as discussed in Section 4.1, students and teachers were less mutually engaged with each other in lessons, especially when large group instruction was adopted. Many students were apparently distracted when Teacher Zhao was lecturing. By contrast, with less control of teachers, in peer conversations most students felt little hesitation in voicing their opinions. They drew on their friendship and expertises outside the academic arena to gain positions of importance when debating with others.

With regard to participants’ imagination, in interviews I found that the three teachers knew little about their students’ performance in extra-curricular activities or in other teachers’ lessons. As a consequence, their perception of students appeared partial.45

44 According to Wenger, ‘engagement’ refers to being actively involved in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning’. Within the bounds of engagement, people’s perspectives constitute those of each other through moment-to-moment interactions; ‘imagination’ describes the activity of seeing connection between the ‘self’ and the context by extrapolating one’s own experience; ‘alignment’ is concerned with connecting people by controlling and unifying their actions to serve a particular purpose.

45 For example, Yuki was the Chair of one of the largest student clubs and was very popular among students. However, during the eight months’ fieldwork, the teachers hand never mentioned Yuki’s strong social abilities and
Moreover, it seemed that the teachers were limited in conceiving ways of drawing on students’ strong points outside the academic arena to facilitate their participation in classroom communication.

Alignment could either be based on individual’s willing commitment or submission to authoritative commands, leading to either collaboration or disempowerment. The later was the case in this classroom. Being required to obey certain classroom disciplines, students’ deviant behaviours usually led to teachers, especially the lead teacher’s, admonishment. Furthermore, by setting up certain communicative framework and evaluative criteria, the discursive pattern of IRE constrained students’ contribution to the meaning-making process.

5.3 Reasons for restricted communication and issues for improvement

The above analyses pointed out that the restricted communication between teachers and students may result from three issues: the dominance of ideological meanings, the asymmetrical power resources to classroom participants and the disempowering institutional structure. On the one hand, the students were unable and/or unwilling with regard to communicate with teachers due to language barrier or tense teacher-student relationship; on the other hands, teachers were unaware of the need to communicate with students in alternative ways. As a researcher, I wished to help the participants to reach a better understanding of what they could do to change the status quo. Two main issues are suggested for improvement in this regard.

First, in the face of the hegemonic meanings with ideological significance, students’ alternative perspectives need to be valued and indeed encouraged as moments for potential reconfiguration of social practices. This could be achieved if teachers were able to adopt a more self-reflexive stance, appreciating and respecting diversity. In my opinion, the ‘professional development programme’ provided by the IBO could play an important part in improving teachers’ international-mindedness. The situation in this programme, however, suggested that there was still considerable room for improvement in the IBO administrative system, in terms of effectively enforcing all IB charisma leadership in her club. I assumed that they did not notice this strong point of Yuki.

For example, the foreign teachers could ask themselves: ‘Why was I still using the strategies adopted in the American schools?’ Or, ‘why couldn’t I learn some Chinese language and teaching experiences from my Chinese colleagues?’ The Chinese teachers might consider ‘why didn’t I try to integrate the role of a responsible parent with the image of an equal friend?’

The professional development division (PDD) is committed to ‘the ongoing development of a worldwide professional learning community comprising internationally minded teachers, school leaders and school administrators’. http://www.ibo.org/programmes/pd/. The four regional offices of the IBO conduct comprehensive annual programmes of workshops and conferences designed to help teachers and schools to better understand and deliver the IB curricula.

In interviews, all teacher participants said that they had never attended workshops or conferences as planned in
programmes to have their teachers receive trainings as scheduled.

Second, a reform of organisational structure was of importance in facilitating participation in communication. Evidence pointed out that there was a need to establish mutual supervision among school participants. Instead of merely top-down supervision, students could evaluate their teachers and even school managers. Taking into consideration the emphasis on harmony and saving face in Chinese culture, making the supervision surveys or other forms of evaluation anonymous would be important. Furthermore, in order to improve communication among teachers, it is suggested that horizontal networks could be strengthened, embracing collaborative teamwork. For example, it would be feasible to create periodic meetings linking together teachers of different subjects. In doing so, teachers’ communication with students could also be improved based on their in-depth understanding of the latter.

Reference


### Appendix 1 Background of the research participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Institutional Status</th>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educational and working experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yuki</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Born in a city in Western China, Yuki went to primary school and junior high school in that city. She was transferred to this IB programme until her parents started a business in City A and moved the family here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jack was a resident of City A. He used to study at a leading junior high school in the city. Since he did not do well in the high school entrance exam and was not able to continue his studies there, he was sent to this IB programme by his parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matt</td>
<td>The economics Teacher</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Early 20's</td>
<td>Matt had completed three semesters in this programme, working as an Economics teacher. Before this, he was in the US military and had no teaching experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Zhao</td>
<td>The Chinese literature teacher</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Middle 40's</td>
<td>Teacher Zhao had three years’ teaching experience in Chinese literature in this programme. Before this, she had worked as a Chinese literature teacher in a leading public high school in another province for 12 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Dai</td>
<td>The lead teacher</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Early 20's</td>
<td>Teacher Dai started her career in this programme and was appointed the lead teacher of Class 2 in September 2005, at the same time as her students matriculated. This was Teacher Dai’s first full-time job after graduating from a Chinese university in another province, with a major in education.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2. Analytical Framework

Interpretation

Ethnographic Analysis of Context
a) Physical circumstance
b) Personal background
c) Individual’s beliefs and desires
d) Forms of organisational structure, regulations, and authority relation
e) Researcher-researched relationships and ethical tensions
f) Everyday communicative events

Discourse Analysis
a) To identify Gs, Ds and Ss on which a text drew
b) To map out the Gs, Ds and Ss on to discourse patterns, addressing ‘interdiscursivity’ of text.
c) To recontextualise analysis, addressing ‘intertextuality’ of texts.

With the aid of social theories

Explanation
Appendix 3 Quoted Excerpts

Excerpt 1.

Yuki: Um, people, um, there, um, pollution. People may need to find clean water.
Matt: Ok, so pollution is a problem, and the solution is (0.1) Purified water? What kind of pollution are you talking about?
Yuki: Water. (0.5) ((It seemed that Julius was thinking something at this moment.))
Julius: Water pollution? From opencast mining?
Yuki: Um: yes. °
Matt: Maybe, um. °possible°. JACK.
Jack: If there are mountains, the rocks may collapse when it is raining. So we can plant more trees.
Matt: YES, to PLANT TREES. Here is an example in my country. This is a legal requirement. Activities such as opening cast mining cannot start until you get an agreement with the government with regard to the amount of money you would pay to make the scene more beautiful, VISUAL POLLUTION.

Excerpt 2.

Jack: First, according to the description of the village, we should draw a mountain and a pond. Then, we should draw threes and some cable cars and a ropeway. Under the mountain, we should draw some restaurants and hotels.
Yuki: 完了? (Finish?)
Jack: Yes.
Yuki: 再说一遍吧。(Would you please say it again?)
Yuki: 太快了嘛! (You were too fast!) ((She made a face at Jack.))
Jack: Ok, first, we should draw a mountain and a pond. On the mountain, there are many trees and a ropeway.
Steve: 什么东西? (What?)
Jack: 索道和缆车啊 (a rope way and cable car)
Jane: 怎么说? (How to say it?) Ro:?
Jack: Ropeway. Ropeway是索道 (is ropeway)cable car 是缆车 (is cable car).
Jane: Oh. 然后, 山下有饭店和旅馆, 对吧? (And under the mountain, there are restaurants and hotels, right?)
Jack: Yup.
Steve: 等我会 (Wait a second) ((He copied the words in Jane’s notebook.)) (0.3) 知道了, 知道了。那咱开始画吧。(I see. I see. Let’s begin to draw it.)
Jane: OK. Yuki, 你来吧. ((Yuki was showing something on her mobile screen to Rebecca at that moment.))
Yuki: 啊? 叫我呢? (What?You call me?)
Steve: 哈哈, 又没听吧! (Ha-ha. You were not listening again!)
Yuki: 你又批评我! (How come you criticised me again!) ((Yuki kicked Steve and made a face at him.))
Jane: 别闹了! 快画吧 (STOP! Let’s hurry up!)

Excerpt 3.

Last night after the self-study period, I had a walk with a boy lass 3. I thought it was OK, um, just chatting with a boy, "no big deal". But, then we met
Teacher Dai. Teacher Dai talked to me. She made me understand how serious it was. Um, Boys and girls cannot, "um: do that" on campus.

Excerpt 4.
1. I feel very comfortable talking to them.
2. There are always friends chatting with me.
3. None one in my group acted as ‘study machines’ in public high schools.
4. Even though someone like Jack studies very hard, 
5. I mean, um, they (0.1) never passes on the teacher’s pressure to you,
6. pushing you to focus on work.
7. I know I cannot follow their discussion on many occasions.
8. But it’s not a big deal,
9. nobody holds you in contempt as teachers do.

Excerpt 5.
1. In fact, I want to be more active in lessons,
2. like some other students.
3. I know it’s a good opportunity to practise English.
4. However, my spoken English is not good.
5. Compared with those who have lived in Western countries,
6. my accent sounds a little (0.1) funny.
7. um, I really do not feel comfortable speaking in front of them.

Excerpt 6.
1. When I just mentioned the idea of learning ‘erhu’,
2. without other things spoken,
3. she rejected it immediately.
4. Then I hastened to explain: ‘Teacher, erhu is very important to me. I have been learning it since’
5. You know, when I just opened my mouth to say it,
6. She threw me a sentence: ‘FORGET IT! Impossible!’

Excerpt 7.
1. Matt never let students pass around test papers,
2. but did it all by himself.
3. While he never explained this,
4. I sense his sincere respect for us.
5. By contrast, the Chinese teachers NEVER respect students’ privacy.
6. Therefore, I respect Matt as a friend,
7. not solely a teacher.

Excerpt 8.
1. The foreign teachers give us more freedom in lessons.
2. In a positive way, they want us to be the master of study.
3. But negatively, they are not as responsible as Chinese teachers,
4. never push you to study,
5. never worry about your exam grades.
6. So you need to be self-disciplined,
7. to ask them questions,
8. whenever you need.
9. Otherwise, you would learn nothing!

Excerpt 9.
1. I always told them that
2. In American schools,
3. student clubs are very common.
4. Every student can go to any club.
5. It’s not mandatory.
6. And in America,
7. if you want to impress people in high schools and in universities,
8. you have to do something outside the academic arena.

Excerpt 10.
1. These children began to learn foreign curricula at this young age,
2. speaking English and watching English movies.
3. My class is the only channel through which they come into contact with Chinese culture.
4. This is of great meaning.
5. I always try to introduce the social and historical background of classic literature as much as possible.
6. I think this is how to carry forward the national cultural heritage,
7. and let them inherit it.
8. Although children of this age always think it’s boring,
9. and do not pay attention [to my lectures],
10. I cannot stop lecturing these subjects,
11. just follow their interests and let them chat about junk literature.

Excerpt 11.
1. I heard that foreign teachers do not always discipline students,
2. They can even play games on their laptops or chat in lessons.
3. But these definitely cannot be done in my class.
4. I never let them drift.
5. As a Chinese teacher,
6. I developed my own professional ethics.
7. For example, the Chinese proverb: ‘A teacher for a day is a father for lifetime’.
8. That is, the teacher-student relationship should be like the bond between parents and children.
10. Correspondingly, we teachers should do our duties,
11. caring about them as their parents do.
12. I always feel that I am responsible to correct their inappropriate behaviour.
13. For example, when some boys made fun of certain ancient phrases,
14. I told them: ‘STOP! That is a joke in VERY poor taste!
15. You should not abase yourself like that!’

Excerpt 12.
1. It’s not just telling them
2. ‘you should not be late’,
3. or ‘you must wear uniform’.
4. The point is to reason things out,
5. to let them understand why,
6. and to let them be self-disciplined.
7. However, for children of this age,
8. they do not always understand your reasons,
9. or deliberately refuse to understand you.
10. Then, you need to force them to do it.
11. When they are used to these norms,
12. they will truly understand how good they are.

Excerpt 13.
1. The IB programme should be an all-embracing environment,
2. As long as you do not go beyond the bottom line,
3. violating school regulations,
4. we encourage your diversity.
5. However, you cannot talk about the bottom line all the time.
6. I tell them that I am ashamed to talk about the bottom line.
7. If you always think where the bottom line is,
8. you will lower your own standard.
9. Our IB participants should always seek for a higher moral level.

Excerpt 14.
1. Sometimes I do not understand their school managers’ requirements.
2. On these occasions, I always try to convince myself first,
3. and then use the reasons to convince my students.
4. Um, I don’t think I am making concessions,
5. but doing something (0.3) I am supposed to do as a teacher.
6. It is my responsibility.