Internationalizing Teaching, Localizing Learning

An Examination of English Language Teaching Reforms and English Use in China

paul mcpherron

language and globalization
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Language and Globalization

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This book is dedicated to my father and mother,
Robert and Phyllis McPherron,
who taught me the importance of listening before speaking

Preface: First Impressions: “I Don’t Love Learning English”

English has been taught in China for over 300 years (Gil and Adamson, 2011), but since 1984 and the opening of the Chinese economy, English learning and teaching has been made central to Chinese education policy in order to meet the needs of the “four modernizations” in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology (Mao and Min, 2004). Even more recently as the nation prepared for hosting the Olympics in 2008 and broadening economic and trade links, English was pushed into the lives of even more Chinese citizens, with English introduced at Grade 3 in 2001 (9 years old) in the national curriculum standards set by the Ministry of Education (MOE) and in earlier grades at many private academies and urban school systems (Graddol, 2013). Further, an MOE mandate in 2004 stipulated that 5–10% of all courses at universities be offered in English with the long-term goal of over 20 % of undergraduate courses in English (Wang, 2006, cited in Hu and McKay, 2012). Due to these various language policies, by the mid-2000s estimates range from over 25 million college students learning English in China (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2014) to over 115 million total students, from kindergarten through university, studying English by the mid-2000s in China (Wen and Hu, 2007). As scholars have pointed out, there is a difference between a learner and a user of English (McKay, 2002; Yang, 2006), but generally it is estimated that between 300 and 350 million people throughout China have studied and used English in their daily life to some degree (Honna, 2006; Zhang, 2005), creating a situation in which there are more English speakers in China than the total population of the USA, Britain, and Canada combined (Chuanbo, 2013).

Thus, from a macro-policy perspective and in terms of sheer numbers of English learners, it would appear that the Chinese nation has embraced English as an index of global identity and future superpower status and Chinese learners have embraced English learning as central to their future careers and professional lives. At the same time, during my first semester as an English instructor at a university in southern China in the fall of 2004, referred to throughout the book by the pseudonym China Southern University (CSU), a student with the English name Guy wrote an email to me explaining his ambiguous relationship with English.

> To be honest, I don’t think many Chinese students really love English, include me. I don’t love learning English, I learn it just because I need it, sometimes—maybe I need it more in the future—and because sometimes I found it interesting to use a language which is different from my own, from which I can hide myself and “translate” myself to be a different person, another ego. (Personal communication, October, 2004)

Guy went on to write that many of his classmates were tired of the speaking focus of the classes at CSU, and he suggested fewer classroom speaking tasks and more focused writing help. I was immediately challenged by Guy’s unsolicited and direct comments about his reasons for learning English and his problems with my focus on activities that drew on Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Task-Based Learning Activities (TBLT). I asked myself many questions: why did he write to me, the so-called “foreign” teacher, and not one of the other, “local” Chinese teachers?; did he want me to know something, as the foreigner in China, about what students really thought of my classes?; was he resisting my teaching or more widely the university’s policies that require all students to advance to a high proficiency in English?; and, finally, it may not be necessary to “love” learning English in order to do well in class (and Guy was a top student), but what exactly did Guy mean by “need”? The email provided important insight into my classroom at the time and Guy and I have since become good friends, often discussing his ideas about educational reforms in China and his desire to make studying ancient Chinese characters a requirement for all university students; but the questions that emerged from Guy's email—about globalization, English Language Teaching (ELT), and identity (both mine and Guy's)—remain. In many ways, these questions were the catalyst for my research projects in China and the writing of this book.

When I arrived at CSU in 2004, I had experience teaching English to high-school students in Sibiu, Romania as a volunteer in the Peace Corps, and I had taught writing and oral presentation courses to undergraduate and graduate students at UC Davis during my Master's in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (MA-TESOL) program. I also had experience of teaching in US public schools as an English Education major at the University of Illinois, where I finished my undergraduate degree and received a teaching credential for teaching English in grades 6–12. In all of my teaching experiences, I had always viewed myself as "student-centered" and politically engaged in the needs of my students. Reading Paolo Freire as an undergraduate student inspired me to pursue a career in education, and my readings of critical pedagogy scholars in graduate school such as Sarah Benesch, Suresh Canagarajah, Brian Morgan, and Vaidehi Ramanathan furthered my desire to create socially conscious and problem-posing activities that connected with the lives of my students. As Freire (1970/2000) writes, I envisioned leading my students "to come to feel like masters of their thinking" (p. 124). Thus, Guy's email—in which he later asked me to concentrate on providing grammatical correction on writing assignments rather than on speaking activities—challenged me on several levels; it not only moved me to question the role of English proficiency in my students' lives but also my role as a teacher in the Chinese ELT context and what kind of teacher my students both expected and needed. Could I or should I be the critical and consciousness-raising teacher that I envisioned? Perhaps my students did not want me there in the first place and did not want to learn the main content, English, that I was paid to teach.

During my interviews for my application to become a Peace Corps volunteer, the interviewers emphasized that the Peace Corps would only send teachers to countries and schools that requested volunteers, and in some ways, I justified joining the Peace Corps because I felt that I had to be doing more good than harm if I worked with local teachers who wanted my support and teaching expertise. At CSU, however, is was not clear to me that it was necessary for me, a foreign teacher with little proficiency in Mandarin Chinese before arriving in 2004, to teach students like Guy, who just did not seem to want me to teach them. Answers to my questions were complicated by the fact that at least outwardly, the university and larger CSU community appeared to be doing everything possible to make "foreign" teachers feel comfortable and part of the local community. I was given a rent-free apartment near campus that included a weekly maid service, I shared an office cubicle with a "local" Chinese counterpart with whom I coordinated one of the course levels, and the department organized numerous excursions, parties, and professional-development activities for the English teaching faculty, such as a Thanksgiving dinner and a trip to a local hot-springs resort. Some of my students may have been questioning why they were learning English from me, but my colleagues and the English Language Center (ELC) that housed ELT programs were more than hospitable, and despite my trepidation, I could envision working at CSU for many productive and enjoyable years.

After one year of teaching at CSU from 2004–2005, with the numerous questions sparked by Guy's email still challenging me, I decided to pursue a PhD program in applied linguistics to further think through the complex contexts and motivations for learning English around the world. At the time, I imagined that I would focus on university English learners similar to the undergraduate and international students I had taught during my MA program; however, students such as Guy, and the Chinese ELT context, with its internationalizing spaces and desires, as exemplified by the CSU campus, fascinated, perplexed and intrigued me, and I returned in 2007 to complete data collection for my dissertation and again in 2010 and 2013 as a teacher and researcher after the completion of my PhD. This book is thus the culmination of these numerous trips and stays at CSU over the past 10 years as a teacher, researcher, and member of the CSU community. As detailed, examined, and analyzed throughout that next chapters, CSU is a fascinating place, as it offers a front-row seat to many key issues and processes that define how we live and work in the twenty-first century. As seen in the spectacle of students singing Broadway show tunes with study-abroad students from Romania, Israel, and the Philippines at a festival celebrating English learning, and the presentations given there by famous journalists and researchers from all over the world, CSU is an internationalizing space with multiple community members and interests competing against each other, working together, or simply unaware of each other, and it has become a large part of my professional and personal identity and a home away from home.

Researching Teacher

Part of my reason for writing this preface is to point out that I am not an unbiased observer nor am I claiming to be one, but that my perspective as a “researching teacher” allows me to add a grounded perspective to discussions of globalization, cultural identifications, and English teaching pedagogy. As described in more detail in Chap. 1, I have primarily adopted ethnographic and qualitative-research methods in collecting the multiple sources of data at CSU presented in the following chapters, and I include my own classrooms and living experiences as part of the data collection. Although grounded in my own perspectives and experiences, the multiple examples of teaching, learning, and using English presented in the following chapters represent rigorous qualitative data collection methods and analysis, and these diverse data perspectives allow me to make connections with other internationalizing universities and communities throughout the world.

I prefer to use the term “researching teacher” to describe my position at CSU because the more common term “participant observer” used in qualitative research may signal that I was simply a part of the setting, without an active role in shaping and determining the teaching and teacher community at the university; nor would it make clear that my role was also to provide my own perspective and analysis in building the picture of CSU presented in this book. In fact, whether by participating in level meetings about final exams, giving a lecture on English naming practices, or co-writing a companion teaching book that supplemented the state curriculum, I was not just participating in the CSU context, but was taking an active part in its history and construction. This is why I prefer to borrow the term *autoethnography* from Brodkey (1994) and Phan (2008). In her study of English teaching in Vietnamese universities, Phan (2008) describes why she uses the term autoethnography to frame her work:

> The nature of what is presented in this book dictates the importance of defining my positioning as the writer in relation to English, ELT, the West, Vietnam/Vietnamese and being a teacher. I first need to define myself in the jungle of varied and even conflicting viewpoints regarding these issues. Since the book discusses the identity formation of Western-trained Vietnamese teachers of English, I find myself one of them. I am thus both the writer and the insider. (Phan, 2008, p. 14)

In the same way, I am writing about foreign and local teachers of English in China and the overall context of English learning at universities in China, and I am both an insider of the research site and the writer who is putting together the images of CSU in this book. Just as I draw on data from my own classrooms and teacher notes, I will draw attention to my own positioning and views on the key aspects as I lived them and researched them over the 10-year period the book represents.

As a final point of introduction to the book, the chapters draw on Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) and their call for studies that move beyond the level of description and deal with the messy details of how we can affect and change our teaching contexts. They write:

> It seems time that we go beyond documenting and describing how our current language policies often sustain or create inequalities—we accept this as a truism now—to spaces where we become cognizant of our agentive roles in their enactments. In other words, we wish to go beyond asking, “what do language policies do,” to asking “what can we do with language policies in our immediate professional contexts?” (Ramanathan and Morgan, 2007, p. 450)

Following this call for a move from description to more personal analysis of what we can do in our immediate educational policy and pedagogical practices, and attempting to represent the intricate practices and processes of English learning at CSU in relation to larger theoretical concepts, the book is a study of both the foreign- and local-teacher classrooms that I observed at CSU as well as my own classroom practices. For example, in Chap. 4, I describe CSU student choices and uses of English names, and I also analyze my own role in their creation and discuss how curriculum and policy can respond to this local creative practice. Further, in Chap. 3, I report on the multiple and conflicting teaching roles for local and foreign teachers in CSU classrooms, and I also detail my own negotiation of locally and globally indexed teaching roles. In short, the following book draws on ethnographic data collection, grounded theory, and larger theoretical notions of identity and globalization while contextualizing my own position as a teacher and member of the CSU university community.

Structure of the Book

After this Preface, the book begins with Chap. 1, which further introduces the Chinese ELT context and CSU as well as providing information on the data collection methods and sources. Next, Chaps. 2–6 are the primary data chapters and each focuses on a particular group of participants, aspect of learning or teaching English at CSU, pedagogical activity, or classroom context. Each data chapter begins with a brief narrative from my own teaching experience that will help contextualize the local CSU data and analysis within the larger Chinese and international ELT context. These introductory sections of the data chapters are followed by descriptions of the key research questions, theories, participants, and data collection used in the chapter. After presentation of the data and themes, each data chapter ends with a brief analysis and discussion section that links issues and participants across the chapters and again to the larger Chinese and international ELT context. Chapter 7 then provides an overall summary and analysis of key themes from throughout the book and links the analyses and discussions from the preceding chapters.

More specifically, Chap. 2 investigates the history of English teaching policies in China and how understandings of "foreign," "local," and "reform" affect the professional identities, relationships, and classroom practices of CSU teachers. Drawing on the notion of "super-diversity" (Blommaert, 2013) and a wider definition of citizenship as "being able to fully participate" (Ramanathan, 2013a; Ramanathan, 2013b), the chapter analyzes how foreign teachers became associated with CLT approaches and how local and foreign teachers work to adapt their teaching methods and relationships inside and outside the classroom to build community and "fully participate" as citizens in the CSU community. The main sections of the chapter present examples and case studies from CSU teachers and administrators, including an analysis of the production of the musical *Fiddler on the Roof* as part of extracurricular English language activities at CSU. In many teaching programs in China and elsewhere, foreign and local teachers are provided minimal chances to collaborate, and foreign teachers are often asked to focus on speaking skills or given upper-division, content courses while local teachers focus on grammar and vocabulary. Since CSU's inception, teachers and administrators at CSU have worked to counter that trend and create spaces where everyone can "fully participate" as equal citizens including through extracurricular programming, and the chapter reports on the creative successes and persistent tensions that emerge in the creation of a teaching community. At the end of the chapter, I discuss identity and the multiple "identifications" of CSU teachers as part of an "incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity in which we all, by necessity or by choice, are engaged" (Bauman, 2001, p. 121).

Next, Chap. 3 offers analysis of the teaching roles in Chinese classrooms and educational policy, with a particular focus on recent attempts to reintroduce Confucian education and morality education into Chinese society and education. The chapter offers case studies of local and foreign teachers at CSU who have sought in different ways to bridge Western and Chinese teaching roles. Data comes from teacher and student interviews as well as classroom observations. The chapter shows that many teachers in China hope to incorporate the role of moral guide into their relationships with students in different ways, but that this role is complicated by the teachers' access to local knowledges and identities as well as the way moral education has been used to reinstitute nationalist and often patriarchal values. Through placing an explicit emphasis on moral education as one part of a teacher's repertoire of "cultural identity," the chapter argues that teachers can find spaces to engage with tensions over Western-based reforms of English language policy, and rework traditional teaching roles in their English classrooms.

Chapter 4 investigates the reasons why Chinese university students pick English names at CSU, and how they use them both inside and outside CSU classrooms. As illustrated in the chapter, CSU students choose

English names that range from the traditional names found on lists to playful adaptions and coinages. Many English teachers in China have compiled similar lists of student English names, and a common discussion topic among both local and foreign teachers is: why do our students pick such creative and "weird" names? Makoni et al. (2007) point out that name choices offer locally grounded insights about language use and identity processes, but few studies have investigated the naming practices of language learners, particularly in ELT contexts, and none have examined English name choices over time. The chapter begins and ends with a discussion of how English name choices complicate the separation of local and global spaces and can become a revealing topic in language classrooms, provoking playful appropriation as well as critical reflection on language learning and translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013a, 2013b) In all chapters, I follow Charmaz (2014) and draw attention to my own position of authority as both a participant/teacher and observer/researcher at CSU, but in Chap. 4, I pay particular attention to my own interest in helping students make choices about their English names.

Next, Chap. 5 examines ongoing debates in the field of writing pedagogy over self-assessment and critical thinking skills in multilingual English composition courses (Conner, 2014; Li, 1996; Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999). These principles are widely taught in traditional L1 English writing courses but have been criticized for assuming a Western and unitary conception of the "self" that privileges individualism and autonomy over more fluid and multiple conceptions of "identity" (Atkinson, 2003; Varghese, Morgan et al., 2005). As a writing teacher, particularly as a foreign teacher from the global West teaching in China, or conversely as a Chinese teacher attempting to adopt process and CLT approaches to writing, it can be very difficult to decide on student needs and expected outcomes. In the first sections of the chapter, I present further background on second-language writing studies on self-reflection, critical thinking, and portfolio assignment particularly in Chinese and Asian contexts. The next sections then detail aspects of my academic writing classes including assignments, rubrics, and expectations for a portfolio reflection piece. Throughout the chapter, I include long quotes and extended passages from student writing to let the student interpretations and comments speak for themselves with little analysis provided until the end of the chapter. This allows readers to understand the actual writing performance and practice of Chinese students during writing-class activities.

Chapter 6 is the final chapter focused primarily on data collected in the CSU and China context, and it examines the relationships between the increased role and status of English learning at CSU and the actual English use and experiences of CSU graduates in their professional lives. In particular, the chapter analyzes the results of a survey and interviews that investigated the use of English in the professional lives of CSU graduates. To date, no study has examined the relationships between the university English-teaching reforms enacted in Chinese university English programs throughout the 2000s and the actual English-language practices and desires for using English of university graduates. In contrast to the expectations behind CLT reforms at universities in China, the chapter discusses examples of former students who have a limited need for English, particularly spoken English, in their professional lives. These CSU graduates do, however, still desire to maintain their English proficiency and project an international and English-speaking identity.

Chapter 7 concludes the book with a summary of the key points, examples, and data analysis made in the preceding chapters as a way to explore competing perspectives and offer suggestions and implications for language teachers and administrators in divergent contexts. The chapter is organized around the dominant themes that have shaped the book from the opening chapter: (1) Teacher interpretations and appropriations of West-based teaching roles and methods; and (2) English-language learner responses to internationalization reforms and to the renewed emphasis on learning and using English in China.

In addition, in Chap. 7, I return to the email from my former student, Guy, as introduced above. Guy's words represent many of the issues confronting CSU students and teachers who are responding to given realities and inherent power dynamics in the spread of English as an international language. Each of these participants in the English-language-learning project at CSU are making choices based on dominant trends and the latest processes of globalization, and each group is "translating" itself and performing new identifications that are not necessarily predetermined by the processes of globalization. In this way, the final chapter will advocate a flexible pedagogy in which tensions between diverging policies, cultural expectations and desires can become the basis for teaching and learning English. At CSU, much of the policy and methods for teaching had been introduced by outside experts who did not teach or live in the community, and many chapters in the book reveal that teachers and students at CSU and in similar ELT contexts should have a more prominent role in choosing, interpreting, and implementing the pedagogy and curriculum at their institution, or in any other English-learning context. I hope that this book will form part of a larger trend of allowing a great variety of classroom voices and perspectives to be heard in this debate, with contributions from English teachers and students throughout China. These stakeholders should be the true engine that drives English-language teaching at CSU and elsewhere.

Notes on Terminology: Key Dichotomies

The following chapters will explore a number of key dichotomies and terms in relation to the CSU data, but it is important to define and introduce a few key terms from the outset. First, the split between “local” and “foreign” teachers at CSU is an important, if not tenuous, distinction. At CSU, a “local” teacher is a teacher who is a citizen of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), Macau, or Hong Kong, and “foreign” teachers are everyone else. The terms “foreign” and “local” are in quotes here to highlight their contested and problematic meanings. Outside of citizenship status, it is difficult to define who is “foreign” at CSU as many of the Chinese teachers of English come from other provinces of China and speak dialects and languages very different than the *cháoshàn huà* and Cantonese which are used by many CSU students. Further, teachers from Chinese communities abroad such as Singapore, Malaysia, Canada, and elsewhere often share cultural and linguistic backgrounds with CSU students. Henceforward, the terms will not be in quotes but refer to their meaning in the CSU context.

The foreign/local question brings up questions around the definition of “native” versus “non-native” speaker. The term “native speaker” (NS) has been questioned, problematized, and generally discarded by many in ELT and applied linguistics (Davies, 2003; Pennycook, 2001). Many of the questions and problems around the term deal with the difficulty of defining exactly what or who are the prototypical and authentic native speakers (Mulder and Hulstijn, 2010) and how the promotion of a "native" speaker is based on an underlying monolingual ideology that serves to discriminate and privilege certain groups and speakers (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). At the same time, we cannot simply ignore the fact that the construct of "native speaker" does have important implications in our everyday lives as educators, and certainly, the terms "native speaker proficiency" and "non-native teacher" are important concepts that drive much of the policies and practices at CSU and in the CSU context. As Pennycook (2012) writes:

> Language may be inventions but language policies, language-in-education practices and language discriminations are deeply real …We need to appreciate that the NS is a proxy for many things, for discriminatory hiring practices along racial lines, for ideas of standard languages imbued from birth rather than inculcated through education, for prejudicial categorizations of the language spoken by others. It is a folk concept held in place to signal certain ideas about language. It is very real in the sense that it is invoked as an arbiter on language correctness, as a level of ability or as a preferred employee. (Pennycook, 2012, p. 86)

Because of these inherent language myths and inequalities perpetuated by the notion of a NS, Faez (2011) argues for a movement away from the term "non-native" speaker (NNS) as a label for teachers, even if the argument is being made that NNS teachers are equal to or better than NS teachers. At the same time, it is not enough to simply discard or ignore the use of "native" speaker as an important notion in our field. Instead, as the following chapters attempt to analyze, we can continue to study how the notion of "nativeness" and NS and NNS teachers are defined and actually taken up and used, perhaps even strategically at times, by NS and NNS teachers, students, and administrators. As with *foreign* and *local*, in using and analyzing the terms in the following chapters, I will refrain from placing quotes over NS or NNS, but readers should be aware of my understanding of the problems inherent in their definitions and use.

A few key terms from the field of English teaching should be defined and described in more detail here. In general, I prefer to use the term

ELT as a catch-all term for the entire field of English-language teaching and learning instead of splitting up the field between English as a Foreign Language (EFL),English as a Second Language (ESL), and English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). English learning in China has typically been defined as an EFL context because Chinese learners are considered to be learning English in a setting in which English is not an official language, used in official government or official documents, nor spoken by residents in daily life. On the other hand, ESL settings have traditionally been defined as places where English is the official or dominant language used for education and government and learners will interact with many first-language (L1) English speakers, historically a place like the USA or Australia. Just as definitions of NS and NSS are problematically tied to notions of monolingualism and homogenous cultures, it is increasingly difficult to define any context as clearly ESL or EFL. As previewed above and discussed through the book, English can be seen and heard in a variety of places in China from official state-run newspapers such as the *China Daily* to menus and signs that dot the linguistic landscape of both urban centers and rural villages. Similar to critiques of the concentric circles of the World Englishes paradigm (Kachru, 1986), labeling a national or local context as EFL ignores the multilingual and translingual (Canagarajah, 2013a) realities of global communication practices. At the same time, I am aware that using the term English in ELT in analyzing learning and teaching in China does not in and of itself challenge the status quo in the field nor help usher in an era of disinvented and reconstituted languages (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007), but similar to my approach to the terms foreign, local, native, and non-native in the following chapters, I draw attention to itsuses in the CSU context and will problematize its use, whilst at the same time, remaining aware of instances and examples in which English or any other notion based on a particular myth can be strategically used by teachers, students, and administrators; this is what Gayatri Spivak has called *strategic essentialism*, which describes the way in which the political or cultural distinctiveness of a marginalized group becomes unified in the face of a dominant language or culture (Spivak and Harasym, 1990).

Finally, it is important to note that the next chapters will refer to a number of teaching approaches, methods, and techniques, from the Audiolingual Method to the Natural Approach. As previewed above, CLT and TBLT are two of the most influential approaches to teaching in English in China, but it is unclear in the literature why CLT and TBLT are considered as approaches while other teaching ideas are methods. As conceptualized by Anthony (1963), historically in language teaching, an approach was linked to "the highest level of thinking that deals with the nature of language and the principles of language learning and teaching" while a method was based on an approach and directed the "orderly presentation of teaching materials," in other words, the syllabus (as cited in Liu, 2008, p. 14). A technique was considered as an instrumental activity that teachers used on a daily basis to teach the language. Liu (2008) has pointed out, "the distinction between an approach and a method in language teaching is so controversial that any effort to precisely define each term causes confusion" (p. 18). Similarly, in analyzing ELT in China and CSU, teachers, students, and administrators will use a variety of terms to refer to how they organize, experience, and teach their courses. I am more concerned with how the participants interpret and appropriate these approaches and methods (in particular, how foreign teachers understand Chinese approaches to learning and local teachers draw on Western learning approaches) than worrying about what exactly is an approach or method in language teaching. In this way, I am starting from a *post-method* perspective on teaching, understanding that all teaching draws on local and global influences and ideas (Kumaravadivelu, 2003, 2006), but I am keen to point out the importance of particular sets of teaching ideas, activities, and identities in the CSU and Chinese context.

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1

Introduction: Why Study Globalization and Culture through English-Language Learning and Teaching in China?

Introduction: Unbolting the Desks

China Southern University (CSU) Vice-Chancellor Tsing,[1] who had previously worked as an administrator in the USA and had come to CSU in 2002 to oversee teaching reforms and the implementation of the English Language Center (ELC), often recounted a story about her first weeks on campus and her amazement at seeing all of the desks in the classrooms bolted to the floor and lined up in rows facing the teaching lectern. In her desire to institute student-centered teaching reforms and her belief that Chinese education was becoming more Western through the influence of the many foreign teachers on university campuses across

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[1] As first described in the Preface, China Southern University (CSU) is a psydonym for the focal university examined throughout the book. Vice-Chancellor Tsing is also a pseudonym. Unless noted, all names of teachers and students used in the book are pseudonyms. For example, all teachers throughout the book have pseudonyms, but English names of CSU students are their chosen English names as described in Chap. 4.

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China, Vice-Chancellor Tsing felt that the rows of desks had to be unbolted in order to allow students to work in groups with desks facing each other instead of the teacher. After much debate with administrators and staff, she threatened to go through each room with a wrench and unbolt each desk herself. She eventually convinced the university to buy new desks without bolts for most classrooms, and she often remarked that the unbolting of the desks illustrated the perseverance needed to reform Chinese education and change traditional ways of teaching and learning in China. In this way Vice-Chancellor Tsing argued that China and the global West were moving towards a shared educational culture.

As illustrated in Fig. 1.1, typical CSU classrooms now have unbolted desks. Walking through a teaching buildings and observing classes in different departments, however, it often appeared that many classrooms were still set up with rows facing a teacher who was lecturing, perhaps

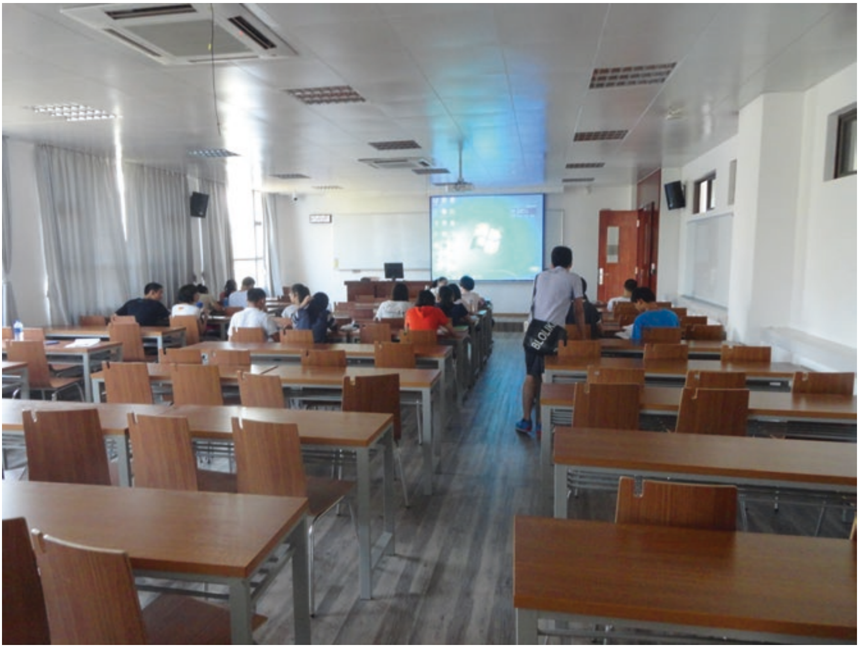

Fig. 1.1 CSU classroom with desks "unbolted" (personal photo, October 2013)

revealing the limits of a simple structural change when it comes to changing hundreds if not thousands of years of Chinese educational traditions and an entrenched "Chinese culture of learning" (Jin and Cortazzi, 2011).

Speaking in a forum about his book *Age of Ambition: Chasing Fortune, Truth, and Faith in the New China*, Evan Osnos questioned Vice-Chancellor Tsing's argument that Chinese and Western cultures were slowly aligning. Osnos noted that conventional wisdom and political thinking in the USA over the past 20 years have assumed an increasing alignment of US and Chinese cultural and economic values and systems, and he noted that he himself had long assumed that prolonged engagement with the USA and entry into international political and trade organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) would eventually move China and Chinese leaders toward adopting a more Western-style political and economic system. In his talk, however, he commented, "Recent events lead me to question seriously whether the US and China are on a path of convergence or serious divergence on a number of issues and basic beliefs" (Osnos, 2015). From reforming English teaching to the broader financial and political engagement between China and Western countries, it is clear that a narrative of converging interests, traditions, and cultures would not only misrepresent the complexity of the ongoing engagement of Chinese and Western cultures and languages but most likely simply be wrong.

In reality, as Osnos and anyone who has studied and followed Chinese political and cultural history would know, Chinese and Western engagement over any number of issues has always been part of an ongoing process of alignment and divergence, appropriation and reappropriation. Just taking the use and learning of the English language as a point of reference, since the moment British Captain John Weddell stepped ashore in Macao in 1637, Adamson (2002) writes that the Chinese views on English teaching and learning have swung back and forth like a pendulum, from being associated "with military aggressors, barbarians, and virulent anti-Communists" to later or at the same time being "the principal language of trade partners, academics, technical experts, advisors, tourists and popular culture" (p. 231). He continues that "at worst, the language has been perceived as a threat to national security. At best, it has been seen as a conduit for strengthening China's position in the world community"

(p. 231). In this way, English use and debates over foreign influence in China reflect what has been called the "*ti-yong* dilemma" (Bolton, 2003, p. 241), or what Gao (2009) describes as the historic dialectic in Chinese education policy between *ti* (essence) and *yong* (utility), in which Western languages and ideas have been conceived as useful only in terms of their economic value, and learning English has never been considered as cultural learning or as being part of the "essence" of Chinese education and identity; a notion clearly captured in the maxim popular in Chinese education philosophy since at least the 1860s— *zhōngxué wèi tǐ, xīxué wèi yòng* (Chinese learning for essential principles, Western learning for practical applications) (Gil and Adamson, 2011).

The scope of the book project can thus be summarized as an investigation into a specific point or space, China Southern University, in which these questions and tensions of convergence and divergence in Chinese and Western histories, languages, and economies are playing out on a daily basis, particularly over how and why to study and use English. From its inception, CSU has been tied to China's economic policies and goals of integrating Chinese society into international business and transnational communities, and CSU graduates have many opportunities to find jobs in the international businesses located in other coastal cities. CSU has also been tied to national efforts to increase the number and proficiency of English learners and reform the traditional teacher-centered classrooms and rote-learning methods that characterized many Chinese language-learning experiences in the past. In pursuing these numerous cultural, linguistic, and economic desires, CSU has hired many foreign teachers and has drawn on the expertise of Hong Kong and foreign administrators, but has always been run as a public university under the direction of the state, national government, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Investigating these various participants in the creation and development of CSU makes CSU an intriguing place to study the interplay of US and Chinese values as well as the effects of and responses to globalization processes in China.

CSU is not only unique in its particular context but also reveals similarities and connections to internationalizing universities, English teaching programs, and English language learners throughout the world that will be explored in the following chapters. In sum, the book offers local and global perspectives on ELT in China by presenting two main organizing themes throughout the chapters: (1) Teacher interpretations and appropriations of West-based teaching roles and methods; and (2) English-language-learner responses to internationalization reforms and the renewed emphasis on learning and using English in China.

Before delving into the data collected over the ten years of the research project at CSU, the following sections here first aim to further introduce the Chinese ELT context in which the book is situated in order to respond to the question posed by the chapter's title: Why study globalization and culture through English-language learning and teaching in China? The sections below will briefly summarize the history of English teaching in China and at CSU and present debates over ELT pedagogy and the role of English in Chinese education and society. In addition to studies and researchers writing in English and Western academic forums, the following sections also draw on perspectives from research and reports written in Chinese newspapers and university journals. Following these introductions, the chapter briefly summarizes the data collection and analysis methods.

The Chinese ELT Context

The initial contact between English traders and Chinese merchants led to the "pidgin English" era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which English was not formerly studied in schools (Adamson, 2004; Bolton, 2002), but after the defeat of the Qing dynasty in the Opium Wars in the middle of the nineteenth century, scholars and government officials began to allow more organized study of English through the establishment of language-learning institutes such as 同文馆 (*tóngwén guǎn*) in Beijing in 1861 and 广方言馆 (*guǎng fāngyán guǎn*) in Shanghai in 1863 (Hartse and Dong, 2015). Bolton and Botha (2015) further point out that the establishment of Christian colleges throughout China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as St John's University in Shanghai and Canton Christian College in Guangzhou, was the beginning of English education in universities in China. Many of these universities had similar goals to those of modern Chinese universities such as CSU. For example, Canton Christian College was attempting to bring "the American educational model to China" through "incorporating local involvement" and "adapting the American curriculum to the needs of Chinese students" (Wang, 2007, qtd in Bolton and Botha, 2015, p. 193). At the same time, other universities had a more colonial and imperialistic perspective on their mission, such as the founder of St John's University who noted that through teaching English, "We are doing our little toward helping in the civilization of China, preparing men capable of coming in contact with foreigners, and of filling important positions in business" (qtd in Bolton and Botha, 2015, p. 191).

All of the Christian colleges and English teaching programs were disbanded or folded into other universities during the twentieth century when the pendulum swung against English and foreign-education models after the Second World War, the ascension to power of the CCP and the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. In the early years of the PRC, the CCP condemned English as the language of the enemy (the Allies had supported the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek), and Russian was lauded as the important foreign language to be studied (Adamson, 2004). By the early 1960s however, Sino-Soviet relations had soured, and Russian lost its popularity as English was advocated again for its "practical" role in economic modernization (Feng, 2009). Like many top-down education policies, the switch from Russian to English was swift, with many teachers—including some of the veteran English teachers at CSU—told to simply switch their syllabi from Russian to English. Despite the brief opening toward English learning in the early 1960s, the Cultural Revolution (from around 1966 to 1976) then restricted English learning again as all foreign-language learning was roundly condemned as part of a bourgeois ideology and the malignant influence of foreign cultures.

Perhaps due to a common reaction to resist any state mandate or simply the entrenched ideology of modernism and progress associated with English even in the 1960s, the Cultural Revolution did not stop many Chinese from continuing to learn English. Liu (2001) writes about his childhood in small city outside of Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution:

> As my father was an English teacher, he was one of the suspicious targets who were thought to be poisoned by Western thoughts and by being in possession of Western books. I remember helping my father remove from our

> bookshelves many, many English books he had purchased in second-hand bookstores when he was a student in East China Normal University in Shanghai in the late ’40s and early ’50s. As we did not have a basement, we strategically hid those books underneath our beds, and covered the books with sheets. (p. 122)

Liu (2001) continues his narrative by noting that he loved the days when he was sent home sick from school because, “I could be left alone at home with the books underneath our beds, looking for the portraits of long-bearded Westerners like Ben Jonson and John Milton” (p. 122). And in a story that appears to have been repeated thousands if not millions of times throughout China during the Cultural Revolution, Liu (2001) describes how his father scolded him for reading the English books while simultaneously encouraging him to read more:

> One day when I mentioned some of these English names in a family conversation, my father was genuinely shocked. While warning me of the “danger” of these books, my father encouraged my sister and me to start reading Rip van Winkle from Washington Irving’s *Sketch Book*. (p. 122)

Thus, when some limited foreign-language and English learning resumed in 1971, students such as Liu were more than ready to continue their studies of English; however, there were no official national foreign language teaching policies, syllabuses, or examinations until after the death of Chairman Mao Zedong in 1976 (Feng, 2009).

Mao’s death and the end of the Cultural Revolution marked the beginning of a period of renewal and reinstatement of foreign-language education at all levels of the Chinese education system. For example, in August of 1978, the Ministry of Education issued a major policy document acknowledging as a mistake the removal of English and promotion of Russian at the start of the PRC and focusing on the following areas for action (Mao and Min, 2004):

1. More emphasis on foreign language education from elementary schools through university and post-graduate education;

2. Focus on English education first but not to neglect other languages such as French and Russian;
3. More resources and emphasis on training teachers, especially at the secondary level;
4. Standardization of foreign language textbooks through a review process led by a team of specialists;
5. Creation of language labs and other audio-visual materials for supporting learning. (Mao & Min, 2004, pp. 324–325)

In addition to the 1978 proposal, Wen and Hu (2007) argue that further policies circulated by the Chinese Ministry of Education (MOE) in the 1980s, including the "Plan for University English Teacher Training" in 1980 and the "College English Syllabus for Science and Technology Students" in 1985 and 1986, increased the popularity of English and its role in the Chinese education system (pp. 8–9). In particular, the 1985 and 1986 syllabuses created the College English Test Bands 4 and 6 (CET 4 and CET 6) which have steered teaching and curriculum for years at the university level in China (Zheng & Cheng, 2008). The CET tests have typically focused more on reading and vocabulary (65 %) than listening and writing (35 %), and many universities have based teacher promotion on the pass rates of their students (Feng, 2009, p. 87). Further, many employers have required pass certificates on the CET 4 and sometimes CET 6 (a higher proficiency test) as requirements for employment, a practice analyzed further in Chap. 6, which investigates the English use of CSU graduates.

As noted in the Preface, at the turn of the twenty-first century, English learning had been connected to the modernization of China's economy and the internationalization of its universities, and to a boom in English teaching resources, curriculum, specialized courses, and language schools (Chuanbo, 2013; Jiang, 2003; Yu, 2005). Drawing on the metaphor of new waves of technology and knowledge completely replacing older ones, as proposed by sociologist Alvin Toffler, Feng (2011) describes the most recent surge in English learning and use in China as at the apex of the "third wave" of English spread. The first wave was the mass migration of English-speaking peoples from Europe to form colonies and settlements around the world. The second wave corresponds to the transition from migration-based colonialism as a refuge for Europe's expanding population to the use of colonies for political and cultural control, domination, and subjugation. Unlike the image of concentric circles of English use from inner- to expanding-circle nations, as influentially proposed in Kachru (1986) and much of the World Englishes scholarship,[2] Feng (2011) writes that the wave metaphor captures "the overall force of the current surge in the spread of English in the world, which pushes the older waves (the historical spread of English in the earlier times as described before) aside and penetrates into every corner of the earth" (p. 5). He adds:

> [W]e feel confident to claim that the current exponential growth is perhaps *the* apex of the third wave, and indeed of all waves, as in human history English has never penetrated so widely and deeply into the hearts and minds of individuals and societies, particularly the societies outside the inner circle," and it is difficult to imagine that the apex will repeat itself in the future. (p. 7)

The wave metaphor does capture the expanding uses and contexts for using English in China, and the term "hearts and minds" invokes the ideological aspects of the globalizing and internationalizing desires of many learners and universities throughout China since the turn of the twenty-first century. In an oft-cited article for the *New Yorker* magazine, Osnos (2008) describes this all-encompassing drive to learn English as "English fever" when he writes:

> China has been in the grip of "English fever," as the phenomenon is known, for more than a decade. A vast national appetite has elevated English to something more than a language: it is not simply a tool but a defining

---

[2] Kachru (1986, 1992) founded the field of World Englishes (WE), and scholarship examining the spread of English and the different regional and global norms and influences on grammar and pronunciation. His influential model of World Englishes is based on either concentric or interlinked circles. The first or "Inner Circle" contains nations where English was primarily an L1 or "first language," and those to which it then spread and also attained this status (such as the USA, New Zealand, and the UK). The second or "Outer Circle" includes nations where English has become an official language or co-language, often after a period of colonization (e.g. India, the Philippines, and Nigeria). The third or "Expanding Circle" represents nations where English has been adopted as the language of business, technology, or government (e.g. China, Israel, or Japan). The WE model has been criticized by a variety of academics for placing so-called native-speaker countries at the center of the model and drawing on a traditional view that equates languages with nation-states (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 2001).

> measure of life's potential. China today is divided by class, opportunity, and power, but one of its few unifying beliefs—something shared by waiters, politicians, intellectuals, tycoons—is the power of English. Every college freshman must meet a minimal level of English comprehension, and it's the only foreign language tested. English has become an ideology, a force strong enough to remake your résumé, attract a spouse, or catapult you out of a village. (Osnos, 2008, para. 13)

At the same time, as detailed in the next section, a growing number of students and academics—similar to my student email presented in the Preface—are questioning "English fever" and the role of English in Chinese society and education policy, and many are calling for a "cooling off" of the "overheated" English-learning desires of Chinese learners (Ruan, 2009).

"English Fever" and the Reforms of the *Gāokǎo*

One main reason many Chinese scholars, politicians, and educators cite for pulling back from the surge in English teaching is the need for "safeguarding Chinese" (Ma, 2004). Advocates of this perspective echo arguments made at various times throughout the last 300 years of English use and learning, such as the fear that learning a foreign language has pushed Chinese language and cultural education aside, and intensive study of Chinese language and culture is needed in order to instill in learners respect of their own Chinese culture, and avoid blind worship of foreign culture (Wang, 2005). Illustrating these writers' fears about an overemphasis on English learning in education, Gil and Adamson (2011) include a letter to the editor of the *China Daily* newspaper from a student who writes:

> There is a junior middle school student, who proves himself the best student in the maths course in his class, but he is poor at English. The maths teacher appreciates him most, and expects him to do something special in mathematics in the future. But this student was not admitted into senior middle schools just because of his poor English score which made him fail the national college entrance examinations. He has no other way to continue studying his favorite course. Maybe a future mathematician has been strangled …These students with special capabilities

> should be given opportunities to continue their study by improving educational system [*sic*] and not forcing them to be proficient in particular subjects. (Gil and Adamson, 2011, p. 39)

As Chuanbo (2013) reports, other academic and general-audience writers have argued that "safeguarding Chinese" and worry over learners' access to higher education "is making a fuss about nothing" because "Chinese is a healthy language now and its teaching process will not be negatively affected by English teaching" (p. 277); but the many forums, articles, letters, and surveys published in Chinese academic presses, newspapers, and online media signal an evolving and perhaps more nuanced orientation toward English learning in China over the past decade.

One of the key educational policies where this debate over the role of English in Chinese education and society has played out is in the discussions over reforms in the *gāokǎo*, the universal college entrance examination that all high-school students in China must take in order to enter university. Proposed in 2013,[3] perhaps as a governmental response to the "third" wave of English in China, the MOE has promoted a new examination that will remove English from the main sections of the *gāokǎo* by 2020. An English proficiency exam will still be given to students, but the reforms propose that the English section be offered twice a year, and students will be able to take the test twice a year over the last three years of high school (Wang and Li, 2014). In this way, once students achieve a high enough score on the English examination, they can stop taking the test and focus more on the key test subjects of Chinese Language, Mathematics, and Arts and Sciences. In addition, the overall weight of the English portion of the test will drop from 150 to 100 points, with Chinese Language rising to 180 from 150, Mathematics remaining unchanged at 150 points, and Arts and Sciences increasing to 320 from 300 (Rui, 2014).

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[3] Soon after the foundation of the PRC, the MOE instituted the *gāokǎo* or National College Entrance Exam (NCEE) in 1952 as a high-stakes exam of students' knowledge of high-school subjects. The test is critical in determining the academic and career future of Chinese high-school students. In many cases, the students' parents' and family's futures also depend on successful results. Annually, millions of students take the test. For example, in 2013, 9.4 million students received scores (Muthanna and Sang, 2015).

The proposed changes, which will be phased in beginning in 2016, have created a large amount of debate over the place of English in Chinese education and society. Rui (2014) reports that 83 % of the 220,000 respondents to an online survey supported the changes (p. 12), but Rui also argues that the reforms are a sign of "cultural indulgence" and that "deemphasizing English, rather than taking the chance to make it less test-based, with a greater emphasis on practical proficiency, will reduce schools' and students' efforts to learn English, at a time of rising demand for proficient English-speaking Chinese employees" (p. 13). At the same time, Zhang Shuhua, dean of the information and intelligence institute at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, argues that some of the reasons for reducing the amount of English in national curriculum and on tests are actually because English is not very useful or practical in many professional settings in China. He notes:

> English is also a hurdle for people to overcome if they are to get a promotion or salary raise, even in cases in which they barely use the language in their work. Many people don't get a chance to use English in their practical work, but they have to conquer the language if they want to pass qualification assessments, a practice that is obviously unnecessary. (Zhang Shuhua, qtd. in Mu, 2013, para. 9)

The debate in China over how and if to respond to the "third wave" of English and what role English learning and teaching should play in national education policy is similar to discussions and debates about English learning and national education policy around the world, which have viewed English learning as both a necessity for growth and development (Brutt-Griffler, 2002) and as a "killer" language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006) that displaces local and national languages and cultures and is an agent of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2009). Ricento (2012) argues that we need to move beyond this binary and look for "an overarching framework to account for English both as a means of social mobility and as an inhibitor of local development" (p. 49). The recent reforms of the English portion of the *gāoka*ǎo appear to be attempts to strike this balance.

As a further illustration of fears over the role of English learning, and attempts by leaders in China to respond to and manage the "third wave" of English learning that brings both a language and access to new ideas and cultures, from at least 2013, President Xi Jinping and the Chinese government have issued numerous statements and edicts that warn against the influence of Western values and foreign interference in Chinese society and culture. For example, the so-called Document No. 9 issued in 2013 stated, "Western forces hostile to China and dissidents within the country are still constantly infiltrating the ideological sphere" (Buckley, 2013, para. 4), and in 2015, Education Minister Yuan Guiren outlined new policies that restricted the adoption of Western textbooks and books promoting "Western values" in university classrooms (Buckley, 2015). As Zhang Xuezhong, a lawyer who has been banned from teaching noted, "Higher education has been designated as a major battleground of ideological struggle" (Buckley, 2015, para. 9).

Thus, by drawing on data from a variety of data sources and perspectives, the data chapters explore this "battleground" and the "ideological struggle" that "English fever" has ignited, both from the macro perspective of educational policy and from the local perspective of classroom teaching, activities, and pedagogy. With a move outside of the classroom context in order to present chapters that analyze what CSU teachers and students are actually doing with English in their daily lives, the book takes as its starting point the simple truth that English teaching and learning is always more than a straightforward matter of practical, neutral goals for national development. Motha and Lin (2014) have argued that the processes and goals of ELT at both individual/micro levels and institutional/national/macro levels—and as clearly evidenced in the history of English education in China—are always much more complex and conflicting than what is advocated in top-down policy. They write,

> It is our contention that at the center of every English language learning moment lies desire: desire for language; for the identities represented by particular accents and varieties of English; for capital power, and images that are associated with English; for what is believed to lie beyond the doors that English unlocks. The lure of English sets off intense yearnings and compels individuals to make tremendous, sometimes unfathomable

> sacrifices in order to gain access to the language; it is simultaneously capable of arousing significant internal conflict, ambivalence, repression, and even animosity. (Motha and Lin, 2014, p. 332)

Indeed, from my student's questioning of their own desire to learn English to the policy goal of making China stronger through increased English learning, much of ELT practice and policy in China can be viewed as a management of desires for English fluency and identities despite the state's ambivalence and at times animosity towards the language. Before exploring these desires in more depth and moving on to the data chapters, the next two sections, however, first provide more context and background on CSU's particular aims for English learning and internationalization as well as a final important summary of the use of CLT (Communicative Language Teaching) methods in Chinese ELT over the past decades.

China Southern University: International Desire

Founded outside of a coastal city in Guangdong Province in 1981, China Southern University was the first university to be built in the region, and its explicit goal, from the start, was to provide a link between the city and the Hong Kong and international business community. In fact, the initial funds for the university came from a prominent Hong Kong businessperson and his philanthropic foundation, and he remains the president of the board of directors and contributes at least half of CSU's operating budget. Also, in the 1980s, the city where the university is located was named a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) by the national government in order to spur and control trade with foreign governments and industries,[4] and since then the city next to CSU has seen massive industrial development and a growing migrant population.

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[4] Created in China as part of the Reform and Opening economic policies in the later 1970s and 1980s, SEZs in China allow Chinese and foreign businesses less government oversight and tariffs than other regions in China in order to encourage businesses to invest in these areas. Many of the SEZs are located in southern or coastal China, in areas such as Shenzhen and Zhuhai. In the 1980s, the Chinese government went on to create free-trade and SEZs in entire provinces, such as Hebei, and regions, such as the Yangtze River Delta.

From its inception as a small regional university in 1981 (with the first students enrolled in 1983), CSU has continued to grow with the support of the "211 Project,"[5] and by 2014, CSU was a top-ranked university in China and considered one of the top nine universities in Guangdong Province. CSU has 21 academic departments spread over nine schools and colleges. It offers over 40 different undergraduate, MA and PhD programs, and of its over 650 faculty members, 55 % have PhDs and over 38 % have degrees from universities outside of mainland China. In 2005, the university's public report on programs and services reported that there were approximately 7000 undergraduate students at the university, including students who attended a medical school facility in the neighboring city. By 2013, that number had increased to almost 10,000. Attracted by the SEZ status of the nearby city as well as the growing national prominence of CSU as an elite public university, many of the students who enroll in CSU are not from the local area and do not speak the local *Cháoshàn huà* dialect.[6,7] In fact, most students at CSU speak a dialect of Cantonese as their first language. Due to the language differences and often bigger opportunities in other coastal cities, many students view CSU and living in the local city as initial, temporary steps before moving from smaller interior cities to larger and more successful urban areas in Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Shanghai after graduation. CSU does not keep records of where and in what profession students eventually find employment nor do they investigate in what ways CSU graduates use their English skills in their professional lives, but the CSU website did cite an employment rate for CSU graduates during their first year after graduation as varying between 97 % and 99 % during the years 2006 to 2013.

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[5] Key universities in China participated in the MOE's "Project 211" that was initiated in 1995 to encourage development at top universities throughout China. Under the Project 211 plan, over $2.2 billion was spent between 1996 and 2000 to increase the research and teaching capacities of the top universities in China. In total, all schools listed as 211 schools were responsible for teaching 80 % of doctoral students, 66 % of graduate students, 50 % of foreign students, and 33 % of mainland Chinese undergraduates (Li, 2004).

[6] According to Li and Thompson (1981) *Cháoshàn huà* is a Min dialect, primarily spoken in eastern Guangdong, near CSU. Most CSU students, however, come from major metropolitan areas around Guangzhou, Foshan, and other cities in central Guangdong Province and speak a dialect of Cantonese. All classes are taught in Mandarin Chinese at CSU.

[7] Linguists, Chinese government officials, and local language and culture preservationists have long contested the terms "dialect" and "language" in the Chineselanguage context. In official government policy and in the opinion of the majority of Han Chinese, Cantonese (or *Guǎngdōng huà*) and *Cháoshàn huà* are dialects of Chinese (with Mandarin or *Pǔtōnghuà* considered the "standard"). Linguists such as Li and Thompson (1981) often set aside political aspect of these distinctions by referring to the popular quote, "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy," and they focus on cataloguing the differences in phonology, syntax, and semantics between what Li and Thompson (1981) call Chinese dialect families. This book does not investigate these complex historical, social, and political definitions of Chinese languages, but the wide variety of first and second dialects/languages spoken on the CSU campus does play a role in much of the identity choices and processes analyzed in the book, and I will refer to students as *Guǎngdōng huà*/Cantonese speakers or *Cháoshàn huà* speakers throughout the book, avoiding referring to these as either dialects or languages.

CSU has followed the overall "wave" of English learning and Westernization of curriculum in China through many curricular reforms including: the change to a credit system in which students take English classes with other students outside of their major classes, the requirement for students in all majors to achieve a high proficiency in English (demonstrated in an exit English exam and completion of coursework), and the creation of the English Language Center (ELC) in 2002 to house all English-language classes (not English literature) and organize the foreign and local English teachers (including myself). The ELC was one of the first departments to offer courses under a credit system by allowing students to enroll in any section of their courses. For undergraduates, the main courses that CSU has offered over the ten years of the study are as follows:

Level 5 (Academic Writing)
Level 4 (Advanced)
Level 3 (Intermediate High)
Level 2 (Intermediate)
Level 1 (Intermediate Low)
Foundation (Beginning)

The ELC has also offered a variety of elective courses in collaboration with different departments such as Creative Writing and Pubic Speaking. The main goal of these courses is to allow students from different majors to enroll in the same class, creating a more vibrant and diverse classroom space for CLT-type activities than if all students were from the same major. Depending on a student‘s major, they must complete at least Level 3 or Level 4. For example, art students are only required to finish Level 3 while most other students in the colleges of Business, Engineering, and Liberal Arts are required to finish through Level 4.

Fig. 1.2 Entrance to CSU University (personal photo, June 2010)

In addition to the overall structure of courses and majors at CSU and similar to other universities in China, CSU has sought to hire more and more foreign English teachers, employing some of the first foreign English teachers in China in the 1980s. With the founding of the ELC in 2002, the university strategically focused on hiring more foreign English teachers, in particular striving to create a balance between an even number of local and foreign teachers of English on campus. As Liu and Xiao (2011) report:

> We realize the importance of creating a supportive language learning environment which is particularly beneficial to students in an EFL setting, so we have recruited many international teachers and Chinese teachers with overseas experience. Currently, out of the 50 instructors at the ELC, 23 are international teachers, and this is unique in higher education in general English teaching in China. (Liu and Xiao, 2011, p. 42)

Through the ELC, CSU administrators sought to create a community in which local and foreign teachers equally belong and collaborate on all aspects of language instruction, both inside and outside the classroom. This explicit goal of hiring foreign teachers, but also creating a community in which local and foreign teachers work together and collaborate on teaching projects, was somewhat rare in China in the early 2000s. Instead, as Liu and Xiao (2011) report, "Because of the composition of the ELC faculty, we have been dedicated to building a community in which teachers from both China and abroad can work together collaboratively, collegially, and comfortably" (p. 44). Indeed, one of the main reasons that I chose to teach at CSU as an MA-TESOL graduate from the USA was the emphasis on building community and collaboration between local and foreign teachers.

With the hiring of many foreign teachers and with the changes to the overall structure of courses and majors at CSU, it is clear that CSU has attempted to mirror the "student-centered" curriculum reforms advocated by the MOE, as described in the *College English Curriculum Requirements* (MOE, 2004) document which states:

> Changes in the teaching model by no means call for changes in teaching practices or approaches only, but, more important, consist in changes in teaching philosophy, and in a shift from the teacher-centered pattern, in which knowledge of the language and skills are imparted by the teacher in class only, to the student-centered pattern, in which ability to use the language and the ability to learn independently are cultivated in addition to language knowledge and skills. (MOE, 2004, p. 25)

There has been a concerted attempt throughout the university to follow MOE policies and adopt new student-centered teaching methods that foster creativity and self-learning, particularly at the ELC through the adoption of CLT and Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT). In fact, CSU's *Report on the Status Quo of the Pedagogical Practice* (Internationalization Committee, 2007) stated that the move to student-centered teaching at CSU had been completed, noting:

> The Pedagogical Reform at [CSU] is based on such higher-education notions as "Student-Centered Concept" and "Self-Autonomy and Self-Responsibility" in students' management of their own study, which begins to tie up with the world practice. By utilizing all of its possible teaching resources and global connections backed up by the generous [omitted] Foundation, the University has endeavored to keep its promise to create for its students an ideal learning environment. While aiming at addressing students' needs, [CSU] also takes on the mission of nurturing students' initiatives in self-learning and self-responsibility for their academic results. Students are bound to invest their time and energy, no matter in class or after class, in the quest for a wider scope of knowledge and deeper understanding … The University has rid itself of the obsolete spoon-feed teaching methodology and renewed with an "Instructive Elite Education" method to train elite students with a broader vision and international knowledge and raise their level of creativity. (Internationalization Committee, 2007, p. 4)

In many ways, foreign teachers are considered the best teachers simply because they come from the West and are associated with reform and student-centered teaching methods; as described in the next sections, foreign teachers have also often been trained to teach English using CLT or TBLT methods, the teaching methods adopted by the MOE in the 1990s as the most effective for learning and teaching English.

Pedagogical Debates: Communicative Language Teaching and Task-Based Language Teaching in China

In the global context of ELT, teaching methods and approaches play a key role in shaping educational realities and teacher identities inside and outside classrooms (Canagarajah, 2005; Ramanathan, 2005). CLT, TBLT, and the related Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) remain dominant teaching approaches throughout the world (Hu and McKay, 2012; Nunan, 2005; Seferaj, 2014), and they have played an increasingly important role in English-teaching policy and practice in China (Feng, 2009; Wen and Hu, 2007). At the same time, numerous scholars and teachers have questioned the appropriateness of communicative-based teaching methods and activities in the Chinese context (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006; Hu, 2005; Zhang and Hu, 2010). Further, as Garton and Graves (2014) have pointed out, teaching materials and textbooks define the available teaching choices and methods just as rigidly as top-down directives on methods from education departments.

As has also been noted with regard to the teaching and learning of foreign languages in a number of other countries, scholars examining the history of teaching English in China have often pointed out how politics and sociocultural changes have affected English teaching and learning policies and practices (Adamson, 2002, 2004; Cheng, 2011; Feng, 2009; Wen and Hu, 2007); and as a final piece of introduction to CSU and the Chinese ELT context, it is worth surveying recent state policies on communicative and student-centered teaching methodologies and curriculum at Chinese universities as a background to many of the issues presented in the data chapters.

For many years in China, before the 1990s, learning English entailed intensive study and memorization or knowledge about English, in particular prescriptive grammar rules, vocabulary, and pronunciation features (Cheng, 2011). Grammar-translation and audiolingual methods were dominant, particularly in the early years of the PRC, and any communicative, pragmatic, or functional skills practices were largely ignored. From the 1990s onwards, Chinese educators and the MOE began advocating teaching methods and activities based on the principles of communicative language teaching in national curriculum and syllabus proposals. As an illustration of both the new student-centered teaching goals as well as echoes of a more "traditional" Chinese culture of learning, the MOE has noted:

> The objective of College English is to develop students' ability to use English in an all-around way, especially in listening and speaking, so that in their future work and social interactions they will be able to exchange

> information effectively through both spoken and written channels, and at the same time they will be able to enhance their ability to study independently and improve their cultural quality so as to meet the needs of China's social development and international exchanges. (MOE, 2004, p. 5)

Although praising communicative and "all-around" English activities that promote individual learning styles, the report focused on using these methods for "China's social development and international exchanges." What is interesting here is the split between, on the one hand, a nationalist discourse that encourages English learning to benefit the group/nation (almost as a family) and, on the other hand, a self-improvement discourse that encourages English learning through self-learning and process-oriented methods.

As detailed here and illustrated throughout the book, CSU has been tied from its inception to the economic and educational reforms at the national level in China and at the ELC; this includes a strong orientation toward CLT-based approaches and student-centered teaching methods, in particular CALL and Content and Language-Integrated Learning (CLIT). For example, the ELC's mission statement notes:

> We believe that a high-level of communicative competence (i.e., grammatical, pragmatic, discourse, and strategic competencies) is the ultimate goal for our students. We also believe that teaching innovation is informed by research, and students' critical thinking strategies and learner autonomy should be developed through both curricular and co-curricular activities (CSU website, accessed March 2008).

The statement later notes the ELC's desire to align its practices with the "international community" and repeats ideas about teaching approaches as advocated by various Chinese MOE policy statements in the 2000s (Feng, 2009). In advocating for CLT-based teaching, the ELC is clearly drawing on common descriptions of CLT and TBLT through collocating terms such as "teacher innovation," "informed by research," and "curricular and co-curricular" activities with a student-centered approach (Brumfit, 1984; Ellis, 2003; Nunan, 2005; Savignon, 1991, 2001). These collocations assume that learning through "action," a central goal of CLT, is the most effective method, and that teachers will assume the role of guides for the students rather than the "sage on the stage" metaphor of teaching associated with traditional Chinese teaching methods. It is important to note that CLT or student-centered teaching approaches have never been advocated as the only approaches to teaching English in China or at CSU, but as evidenced in the CSU and MOE documents, in recent years, a communicative and "all-around" approach to teaching has been preferred as the most effective way to teach English in China, a position that has stirred a large debate about appropriate methodology and Chinese cultures of learning.

Perhaps the first argument against advocating any one particular teaching methodology or particular teaching paradigm is the fact that teaching methods in China and at CSU have always drawn on a multiple influences and students and teachers value and want to continue many aspects of traditional Chinese teaching approaches. As illustrated in Table 1.1, Adamson (2004) provides an in-depth study of the teaching approaches advocated in textbooks and syllabuses published by the MOE since the foundation of the PRC, and he reveals that even with the recent influx of foreign teachers and the focus on functional/notional syllabuses in the 1990s, traditional Chinese methods such as memorized texts and vocabulary-building have remained as important influences in Chinese textbooks and syllabuses.

A second argument questioning the use or reliance on communicative-based approaches in Chinese English classrooms focuses on the position of the teacher in a CLT or TBLT classroom as differing greatly from that in traditional Chinese approaches to teaching. In general, CLT and TBLT focus on the interactive role of communication and the "collaborative nature of meaning making" such as sending or receiving messages among learners (Savignon, 1991, p. 261). CLT teachers and theorists share a belief that learning should be focused on the communicative and pragmatic functions of language rather than linguistic knowledge and prescriptive grammar rules and that teachers should provide learners with as many opportunities to practice their new language skills as possible. Writings on CLT and TBLT present teachers not as the repository of all knowledge and facts for students, but rather as guides who structure meaning-making tasks to facilitate the specific purposes and needs of individual and group learners. Nunan (2005) offers a typical construction of the role of teachers in a CLT or TBLT classroom:

Table 1.1 Recent teaching methods in China (adapted from Adamson, 2004, p. 204)

Phase	Pedagogical influences	Pedagogical features
The Soviet influence 1949–60	Grammar translation; structural approach; traditional Chinese; and USSR pedagogy	Teacher-centered; focus on accuracy and written language; Five Steps
Towards quality in education 1961–66	Traditional Chinese; grammar translation; structural approach; some audiolingualism	Reading aloud; oral practice; memorization; sentence-writing; independent learning
The Cultural Revolution 1966–76	Traditional Chinese and some modern Western influences such as audiolingualism	Various: mainly teacher-centered; focus on accuracy and written language; some reading aloud
Modernization Under Deng Xiaoping 1978–93	Traditional Chinese; grammar translation; modern Western influences such as functional/notional	Oral practice in context; independent learning; accuracy; memorization; written language
Integrating with globalization 1993–present	Traditional Chinese; structural approach; task-based learning; functional/notional	Oral and written practice in context; same as the modernization period

- Help learners to discover ways of learning that work best for them, for example how they best learn vocabulary items.
- Develop ways for learners to organize what they have learned, through making notes and charts, grouping items and displaying them for reference.
- Facilitate active learning by getting students to interact with fellow learners and with you, asking questions, listening regularly to the language, reading different kinds of texts and practising writing.
- Teach learners to live with errors and help them learn from their errors.
- Help learners not to be so concerned with accuracy that they do not develop the capacity to be fluent. (Nunan, 2005, pp. 66–67).

From this perspective, a teacher should “interact” and “facilitate” student learning through “active learning” and “asking questions,” and, although not stated above, classes should focus on the specific contexts and skills of learners.

Hu (2002) argues that the differences between the traditional Chinese model of teaching and the role of the communicative language teacher in the classroom are the most important reasons why CLT, TBLT, or any student-centered and collaborative teaching approach will be difficult, if not impossible, to implement in the Chinese context. He notes that the traditional teacher in China is supposed to "fill" the "empty vessel" of the student with knowledge. In fact, a famous Chinese maxim takes the metaphor further and states, "to give students a bowl of water, the teacher must have a full bucket of water to dispense" (p. 98). In their work on Chinese cultures of learning and survey of recent college students in China, Jin and Cortazzi (1998, 2002) illustrate that this view of the teacher as "sage" and "virtuoso of learning" still exists, and shapes much of the activities in university classrooms. Hu (2002) summarizes academic work on the role of the traditional teacher in Chinese culture as describing a good teacher thusly:

> A good teacher is one who knows what is useful and important to the students, has an intimate knowledge of the students' level, carefully prepares lessons, has all the correct answers at all times, and dissects, presents and explains knowledge in a masterly manner to ensure ease of learning by the students. It is a common belief that a teacher must assume a directive role, having the sole prerogative in deciding what to teach and exerting complete control over the class at all time. (Hu, 2002, p. 99)

This is clearly very different from the image of the teacher as a "facilitator" or "coach" as conceptualized in much of the CLT and TBLT literature as well as the CSU and MOE teaching reforms and curriculum standards. In fact, teachers and administrators at CSU often offered the well-known English aphorism that a teacher should be a "guide on the side, not a sage on the stage" to combat or at least offer an alternative conception of teaching in China.

Many of this book's chapters will seek to unpack some of the ways teachers and students negotiate and describe these new roles in the English classrooms in light of the tensions that have arisen from the promotion of CLT and a new role for teachers in English classrooms in China. As Hu (2002) concludes, although CLT may be very natural and "make intuitive sense to many language teaching specialists" (p. 96), it is a radical change to the way many students and teachers have taught in China for years. Further, due to this divergence of educational cultures of learning, Hu (2002) and others have argued that communicative teaching approaches in ELT have never been effectively implemented in Chinese university classrooms (Hu, 2005; Zhang and Hu, 2010). In fact, as described in Nunan (2005) and illustrated in Zhang and Hu (2010), teachers across China and East Asia often appear to be accepting CLT or TBLT in public as "the new orthodoxy" when in fact their classrooms look very much like traditional teaching and learning (Nunan, 2005, p. 14). This conscious or unconscious resistance and adherence to traditional practices is perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the spread of teaching methods such as CLT in China, and many teachers at CSU openly profess that their classes use CLT, but at the same time these may still very much look like "traditional" classes with primarily grammar-translation and rote-learning exercises. Are they resisting, hybridizing, or simply not understanding CLT methods? It is clear that examples of how teaching approaches such as CLT and TBLT are promoted, adopted, and reinterpreted in local contexts such as CSU offer a fascinating lens through which to examine the confluence of globalizing trends, national policies, and local realities.

Data Sources and Analysis

Following the above introductions to the Chinese ELT teaching context, the history of CSU, and the various reforms that have been instituted at CSU, the final sections of this chapter summarize the research questions, data sources, participants, and collection methods relevant to the data chapters. More specific data collection and analysis information is located in tables located in the book's Appendix, and relevant aspects of the data collection methods will be summarized and introduced at the beginning of each chapter. Also, see McPherron (2008, 2009, 2011, 2016a, 2016b) for further description of the data collection methods and sources used when collecting data at CSU.

To summarize, the book addresses two overarching questions:

1. (How) do teachers at CSU appropriate West-based teaching methodologies and teacher roles?
2. What are the responses of English-language learners to teaching reforms and internationalization efforts at CSU?

In addressing these two overarching research questions, the data in the book present an ethnographic perspective of English learning and teaching at CSU and come from a variety of sources collected while I was teaching, researching, and living in the CSU community from 2004 to 2014. Summarized in tables in the Appendix, data include CSU university language policies and web documents coupled with qualitative and quantitative (primarily a survey) data from: (1) Classroom observations of local- and foreign-teacher English classrooms; (2) case studies and longitudinal interviews with foreign and local English teachers at CSU; (3) case studies and longitudinal interviews of students in ELC courses (including studies of students from when they were CSU students through to their entry into their post-graduation jobs and careers); (4) student journals, projects, and writing samples from my own classrooms; (5) my own teacher and researcher notes taken over the course of multiple years of teaching and living at CSU; and (6) a survey on the professional uses of English among CSU graduates.

In calling for an approach towards ethnography as “that practice of representation that illuminates the power of large-scale, imagined life possibilities over specific life trajectories” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 55), Appadurai (1996) remains a trenchant reminder today that ethnographers and qualitative researchers must train their gaze and analysis to the global linguistic and media-“scapes” that impact local lives and experiences. Similarly, as discussed in the Preface, Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) echo this sentiment in their desire to push applied linguistics and language researchers to not simply describe how policies create realities, i.e. “the givenness of things,” but to examine the responses of teachers, students, and administrators that index both dominant tropes and ideologies but also create new worlds and possibilities. Thus, the data sources in the book were selected to both describe the reality of how English was taught and learned at CSU in the aftermath of the “third wave” in China, and also offer insights into how teachers and students at CSU were creating new identities and realities.

I began the data collection with my own classrooms and then moved outward to examine the classrooms of colleagues and students at various levels and classes at CSU. In this way, the research framework is rooted in a constructivist view of research, knowledge, and reality in which meaning is assumed to be socially constructed and mediated through individuals as they interact with their world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Merriam, 2009). This social constructivist world view has become common in applied linguistics and ELT research, as more studies seek to understand questions from student and teacher perspectives (Holliday, 1994, 2005; McKay, 2006; Richards, 2003; Watson-Gegeo, 1988, 2004), and much in the following chapters draws on these research methods. At the same time, parts of the book also have more pragmatic goals and focus on the “what works” and “why” aspects of English teaching and learning at CSU.

Creswell (2013) writes that a pragmatist’s worldview involves multiple methods of data collection and “is not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality” (p. 28). For example, Chap. 6 analyzes how postgraduate students use English in their daily working and social lives, and I employ a mixed-methods research design in first analyzing the results of a survey distributed to CSU graduates and then comparing those results with analysis from interview data. Further, it is important to mention that many of the quotes and dialogue used in the following chapters come from elicited narratives during interviews and from student journal-writing. Other data, where noted, included extant policy documents, transcripts from classroom and presentation recordings, and curriculum texts which were created for specific contexts and purposes. Attention is given throughout the chapters to the original contexts of the data sources.

In terms of the context of the interviews, the questions were prepared in advance, translated into Chinese, and given to the participants before the interview (see the Appendix for lists of interview questions used throughout the book project). The interviews were semi-structured and interviewees were able to have some preparation on the topics of the interviews, adding a measure of reliability and similarity to the interviews. I used the interview questions as what Richards (2003) calls an "interview guide" and not as an "interview schedule," in which one would ask exactly the same questions of each interviewee. Using a method also described by Richards (2003), in each interview I concentrated on asking reflection, follow-up, and probing questions, drawing on particular stories and points brought up by the interviewees, sometimes not getting to each question with each interviewee. In this way, the interviews could be described as semi-structured; this means that, as Richards (2003) writes, the focus was on "the person, not the program" as "all questioning is hollow unless accompanied by attentive listening" (p. 65).

Data Analysis

> A well-written qualitative research study will carefully use the participants' own words to augment the researcher's vivid description and clear interpretation. It should give readers a sense of entering the participants' worlds and sharing the experience of being there with them. The process is, in a sense, like film-making—the researcher assembles data into montages by blending images, sounds, and understandings together to create a compelling composite creation. (Croker, 2009, p. 9)

Key data-analysis methods and terms are further explicated in each chapter when relevant to tht chapter's analysis, but the following sections explain data analysis methods that pertain to the entire book. The analysis of the data sources involved a systematic transcribing of classroom and interview data and coding for themes related to the primary research questions about ideology, identity, and ELT. I coded, memoed, and sampled themes in all of the data according to an open and axial coding scheme, building to themes and theories to describe teaching perspectives and practices (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Glaser, 1992; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In addition, I performed close readings and discourse analysis of spoken data, news articles, and policy documents, looking for metaphors, repetition, and collocations that frame meanings and create dominant understandings of the world (Fairclough, 2003).

In their classic text, Glaser and Strauss) recommend coding every line or section of data in order to create axial codes and build themes out of the data, but later Glaser (1992) disavowed line-by-line coding as "helter skelter" and an over-conceptualizing of the incident by generating too many categories. I coded a great deal of the transcripts, but I did not code every event or line of interviews and field notes. Instead, I relied more on memoing and selective coding, as well on collecting rich and varied interview data from many classroom contexts in relation to my research questions. In my note-taking process, I audio-recorded each interview and classroom observation, and I also took notes during the interviews and in classrooms. I would later type these field notes and write additional thoughts as memos next to key features and passages. I also kept teaching entries recording observations about my lesson plans and classroom interactions. Perhaps a better description of my coding and memoing would be a process that began with initial impressions, gathered from circling, rereading and comparing parts of different elicited and extant texts. From these impressions, I then built up themes from my journaling and note-taking process. This process reflects what Charmaz (2014) calls moving from focused codes to conceptual categories. A good example of this is located in Chap. 4, which addresses student English names, and in which I present the many reasons for name choices that emerged from my focused coding. These included: Chinese sounds, translations, cool sounds, foreign-teacher role, the role of local and foreign teachers. I then present the conceptual categories, for example "quest for uniqueness," "negotiation of English norms and standards," and "communicative competence as play." These codes are then further consolidated into a larger theoretical discussion of second-language learner identity as determined by practices of "resistance," "play," and "creativity."

In the following chapters, larger theories and constructs are brought in when appropriate to help explain the data, but are often mentioned for how they do not adequately address the data, or too simplistically ignore crucial events and narratives at CSU. In this way, the analyses in the book are examples of what Ong (2011) calls "mid-range theorizing" that "dives below high abstraction to hover over actual human projects and goals unfolding in myriad circumstances of possibility and contingency" (p. 12). In many ways, the data, examples, and participants will take precedence over any theoretical analysis in order to stay as close as possible to the "actual human projects" of teaching and learning English in China and the possibilities and contingencies that learning English creates for students and teachers at CSU.

In working toward this "mid-range" theorizing in the following chapters, it is important to forefront my roles as teacher, researcher, and administrator at CSU, as I did in the book's Preface. I have taught Level 4 (Advanced English) and Level 5 (Academic Writing) multiple times during the ten-year span that the data in the book represent, as well as having led workshops and given numerous presentations, as described in the data-collection tables in the Appendix. In this way, my research methods and questions fit within a long qualitative and ethnographic tradition, drawing on a grounded theory approach first explicated in Glaser and Strauss (1967) and developed in later work such as Strauss (1987), Glaser (1992), and Corbin and Strauss (2008). At the same time, rather than pursuing the overall goal of "discovering" knowledge and themes emergent in the data and separate from the scientific researcher, which has been espoused by many ethnographers in the tradition of Glaser and Strauss (1967), I draw on Charmaz (2014) and Bryant and Charmaz (2007) in pointing toward my role in both the setting and the analysis of the data. As Charmaz (2014) writes:

> Researchers can use grounded theory strategies without endorsing mid-century assumptions of an objective, external reality, a passive, neutral observer, or a detached, narrow empiricism. If, instead, we start with the assumption that social reality is multiple, processual, and constructed, then we must take the researcher's position, privileges, perspective, and interactions into account as an inherent part of the research reality. It, too, is a construction. (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13)

Similarly, the data presented in the following chapters are constructed from my position as a foreign teacher and researcher at CSU, but the data and analysis in these chapters also connect to and critique dominant teaching methods and discourses in the Chinese ELT community, in this way building better understanding of the globalizing processes that occur in internationalizing universities and spaces such as CSU.

Globalization, Cultural Identifications, and Teaching Approaches in China: The Scope and Goals of the Following Chapters

As previewed here, questions of whether China and the so-called West are moving towards a shared identity and culture have been at the heart of education and development policy in China since at least the beginning of the twentieth century if not longer. To paraphrase Osnos, will these tensions eventually lead towards some sort of convergence in teaching styles, language use, and cultural identities; or despite the many studies of globalization and pundits who have declared the world "flat" (Friedman, 2007), will the pendulum in China swing again and contact and collaboration with Western ideas and languages become less integral to Chinese growth and identity?

Broadly speaking, in this book, I investigate these pendulum shifts and tensions in the changing demographics of multilingual and transnational societies and the role English education plays in shaping student and community investment in, and imagination of, international citizenship. More specifically, I argue that the students and teachers at CSU offer examples of how English functions as a global language as well as the complex practices of localization that defy easy categorization and simplistic analysis. While Adamson (2004) looked at national curriculum standards and textbooks, he writes that addressing questions about what teaching methods have looked like in classroom practice in China are too difficult to answer due to the large number of classrooms in very divergent contexts in China. I argue, however, that this is exactly where an ethnographic and teacher-researcher perspective is valuable, and by gathering diverse data on student appropriations of English and teacher interpretations of student-centered reforms, an ethnographic study of a reform-oriented university can illustrate the complex situation that Adamson has presented in his work. The desires, issues, and tensions in every teaching context inevitably vary, making generalizations more qualified but not less instructive.

Jin and Cortazzi (2011) note that given the large number of learners in China, we might expect to be able to draw on an extensive history of research literature into Chinese learners from both classroom and ethnographic perspectives, but in reality there has been very little research from classroom, student, and teacher perspectives about English learning and teaching in China (p. 3). Further, linguistics and sociolinguists have noted that few studies have focused on "how ordinary Chinese students typically engage with English in their daily lives" (Bolton and Botha, 2015, p. 197) nor considered how English is viewed in Chinese learners' social lives and "learners' sense of identity in connection with English" (Wei, 2016, p. 100). With this in mind, the following chapters follow recent ethnographic and qualitative studies of English language teaching in China and around the world that seek to examine how global spreads of ideas, technologies, languages, and people are taken up and appropriated; it does so by studying learning and teaching "on the ground" at CSU and then comparing these findings with those from other recent studies on English learning and teaching in China and elsewhere (Block, 2006; Block & Cameron, 2002; Pan, 2015; Phan, 2008; Stanley, 2013).

Finally, it is important to note that the goal of this book is to use the example of CSU not simply as evidence of a larger grand narrative of globalization and the spread of English but as part of an ever-changing discussion between global and local discourses, teaching communities, and educational realities. Tsing (2001) writes that questions about the inter-connectedness of local spaces with globalizing surges reveal the "messy as well as effective encounters and translations" that occur in all "globalist projects and dreams" (p. 107). Similarly, language classrooms may be the messiest examples of the impacts of globalization, but with grounded observation and careful data collection, a study of globalization and ELT can offer nuanced descriptions and analyses of global/local processes that often remain at the theoretical level. As the following chapters illustrate, researching and pointing to ambiguities does not mean that we should ignore or marginalize the study of globalization in ELT. On the contrary, as Lam (1999) points out, even in a hybridized world, certain cultures, positions, or practices continue to dominate, and a goal of analyzing globalization and ELT must be to constantly question the accepted practices of English-language teachers, similar to what Pennycook (2001) calls adopting "a problematizing stance."

As Luke (2004) points out, the complicated reality of language classrooms that the book attempts to analyze in the CSU context often renders many language teachers and analysts reluctant to theorize and imagine beyond basic descriptions of students, teachers, and policies. By positioning the following chapters in relation to my own role as a teacher and researcher at CSU and connecting the CSU context to the larger Chinese and global ELT context, the chapters here, however, move beyond mere descriptions of tensions and point to the local understandings and practices of English teachers and students at the university, revealing that the engines that truly drive pedagogy at there are the teachers (both local and foreign), administrators, and students, who in working together are constantly (re)articulating new social and political conditions and meanings, outside and inside given discourses and traditions of ELT in China. In the book's conclusion, I argue that these community members must be given a more prominent role in shaping policy and curriculum at CSU and in other English-language-learning programs and teaching contexts, and I point to examples at CSU and elsewhere (as provided throughout the book) where they already are.

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2

Global and Local Citizens and the Creation of a Teaching Community at CSU

Introduction

I still vividly recall the first words spoken by the then director of the ELC in 2004 to the foreign teachers at a welcome dinner after we had arrived at CSU on complimentary air tickets: "Welcome to China, you have come to reform English language teaching." Few of us had lived in China or could speak Mandarin Chinese fluently at the time, let alone had any knowledge of Cantonese or any other local dialects; it was simply the case that our education and cultural backgrounds gave us the expertise to come as reformers to CSU. As further investigated in this chapter, these internationalizing desires and emphasis on foreign teachers as reformers would come to have complex effects on the teaching identities, classroom practices, and community-building of CSU teachers. In keeping with the goal of this book, which is to move away from entrenched dichotomies and modes of analysis, this first data chapter further introduces the CSU context through an analysis of local and foreign relationships both inside and outside the classroom. Specifically, this chapter examines the tensions

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inherent in the national and local English-teaching policies summarized in Chap. 1, and the simultaneous local and global influences and orientations of CSU teachers, students, and administrators.

Further, moving from entrenched political and legal debates around immigration, naturalization, language-testing, and integration, towards a polycentric, processual, and global view in which a wider definition of citizenship as “the right to participate fully” is theorized (Blommaert, 2013; Ramanathan, 2013a, 2013b), this chapter investigates the history of English teaching at CSU and how understandings of “foreign,” “local,” and “reform” affect the professional identities and relationships of its teachers and students. The examples and analysis in the chapter move the discussion of citizenship from a focus on its legal and policy aspects to a global view in which the data, examples, and discussion presented reveal the multiple orientations and integrations of CSU teachers and administrators, including myself, to local and global citizenships. In this way, the chapter reveals the new spaces created at CSU in which teachers and students can “fully participate,” or not, as local and foreign citizens in the CSU and global English-speaking communities.

The chapter draws on data gathered during the ten years of ethnographic field work on which the book is based, and it is focused on the following research question:

> In an era of globalization, how do negotiations and tensions over teaching methods and the expansion of English affect relationships, citizenship practices, and the ability of students, teachers, and administrators to fully participate in local CSU and global English-speaking communities?

I address this question by drawing on the following three entry points: (1) A further sketch of the CSU context and policies and practices regarding foreign and local teachers from 2004 to 2014; (2) an analysis of local teacher interpretations of CLT; and (3) an analysis of the production of the musical *Fiddler on the Roof* in 2010, which was organized as part of the extra-curricular English language activities at CSU. In the following data sections, two teachers in particular are highlighted:

Sue: Sue came to CSU in 2002 and held an MA-TESOL degree from a British university. She was from central China and had moved to CSU in part because of CSU's reputation as an internationalizing university interested in reforming English teaching China. She allowed me into her classroom as an observer and participant during the spring 2007 semester, classes from which the transcripts here are taken.

Dan: Dan came to CSU in 2004. He held an MA-TESOL degree from a US university and had experience teaching university students in China, Korea, and the USA. He taught at CSU for eight of the 10 years of data collection represented in the book.

As with all of the chapters, I contextualize the data from these two teachers with personal reflections from my own experiences teaching at CSU.

"You Have Come to Reform English Language Teaching": A Further Sketch of the CSU ELT Context

Before delving into the research question with further examples of the images and interaction of local and foreign teachers, it is important to offer a few more sketches that illustrate the complexity of interests and motivations of community members at CSU in regards to English learning and teaching reforms. For example, in addition to national and local teaching policies and the physical setup of classrooms, the university policies on housing and salaries have often created divides between local and foreign teachers that affected the ability of all teachers to work together. Foreign teachers lived in rent-free apartments and even enjoyed complimentary maid service once a week. In addition to their free round-trip airfare, in 2007, foreign teachers received monthly salaries of between Y4000 and Y5000 depending on years of service and an end-of-the-year bonus of $4000–$6000 depending on performance reviews. In 2007, the local teacher salaries depended on their rank and number of classes taught, but they typically were under Y3000 per month with no end-of-the-year bonus. Foreign teachers were expected to teach four courses a semester and work with student groups and university programs that supported English learning, such as by serving as judges at English speech contests, participating in English discussion clubs, and giving lectures to the university on aspects of foreign culture. Local teachers taught only two or three classes, and were not required to participate in extracurricular programs. There was little to no outward hostility from local teachers towards the foreign teachers, in fact exactly the opposite, but I was surprised and anxious when I found out after six months of teaching that I was actually living in the former apartment of my colleague. He told me that he had had to move out of the building because the university would make the rent too high if he were to stay. He said that his new apartment was older and a bit farther from campus, but actually bigger.

The focus on making foreign teachers as comfortable as possible fit with the overall emphasis on internationalization at CSU over preservation and representation of local cultures. As mentioned in Chap. 1, the people in the region near CSU, including the prominent businessman who funded much of CSU's budget, do not speak Cantonese as a first language/dialect, unlike most Guangdong residents, but instead speak a Min dialect called *Cháoshàn huà*. Although there are some programs and a research institute at the university which preserve and study the *Cháoshàn* culture and language, the clear focus of the university is to prepare students for careers in Mandarin Chinese and English, with students admonished by teachers and signs on the entrance to the teaching buildings to *qǐng shòu pǔtōnghuà* (Please speak the common Mandarin language). In fact, a majority of the students at CSU are Cantonese speakers and do not come from the local area. The relatively poor business climate around CSU, despite the local SEZ and the strong connection to Mandarin Chinese- and Cantonese-speaking areas, may also contribute to students' desire to find jobs outside of the cities that neighbor CSU.

In addition to its in-class reforms of the teaching methods and curriculum, the ELC aims to align with international communities through the multiple extracurricular activities it offers to students and the professional development opportunities for English teachers in the ELC. In a published guide to the English teaching curriculum and activities at CSU, the ELC writes that extracurricular activities are "an essential part" of English learning "because students are challenged to use their English, helping them to build their overall communicative competence" (CSU website, accessed March 2008). Throughout the school year, the ELC offers many programs aimed at this goal, including: An open discussion space, entitled English Lounge (further profiled in Chap. 4); a monthly English newspaper written by students; an English Festival in the fall semester that includes speech and singing contests, in which students compete against other invited Chinese and international university participants (and the musical profiled later in this chapter); and multiple lectures and films through which students can view and discuss a variety of topics. Participation is generally high at the extracurricular activities, with typically over 30 students competing to be one of three representatives for CSU at the annual English speech contest during the English Festival, and over 30 singers vying for the three spots given to CSU at the English Festival Singing Contest. In addition, over 100 students work as volunteers for the English Festival, including two MCs.

Despite the overall success of the extracurricular programs, some complaints arose over the three years of the data collection. Some students complained about the large amount of money and university resources given to ELC programs such as the English Festival and the lecture series. For example, my student Guy, in the email to me that opened the Preface, asked "why don't we have a Chinese Language Center?", suggesting that it could promote the learning ancient Chinese characters and knowledge. Other students have written pieces in the English-language newspaper about the need for translators to be hired for the famous guest lecturers who come to CSU and present only in English. A student once pointedly asked me, "Would a campus lecture ever be given at your university only in Chinese?" Foreign teachers, while understanding that part of their salary requires participation in extracurricular activities, have often complained about the large amount of time needed to work on these multiple projects, as well as the complete reliance on native speakers and the foreign teachers for these (in the past only foreign teachers were required to participate in extracurricular activities), and the relegation of local teachers to observer roles in all extracurricular programs.

The second form of extracurricular program provided primarily for teachers is that of events such as the professional development meetings at the beginning of the school year, the monthly teachers' meetings during the school year, and an annual TESOL conference in which well-known professors and speakers from the TESOL community are invited to speak and hold workshops for both CSU teachers and teachers at other Chinese universities. The organization of the conference changed over the ten years of data collection depending on the schedule of the ELC director, but at each conference, plenary presentations were given by the invited professors as well as forums in which CSU foreign and local teachers offered a discussion about the reforms and collaborations at CSU. The main themes of each of the conferences have connected to the overall mission statement of the ELC and the role of CLT in language learning. Local and foreign teachers were generally pleased with the chance to meet influential and well-respected professors from China and the larger TESOL field, but the conference presentations did not always directly connect to the classroom practices of CSU teachers.

The sketch of the university and ELC program presented above provides a further context for the key tensions about the reform agenda, student-centered classrooms, and the positioning of foreign and local teachers. The next sections now analyze two specific points of interaction between local and foreign teachers and how CSU teachers are both constricted by and also seek to move beyond given definitions and understandings of foreign and local. In examining the following sections as well as other chapters in the book, it is important to note that CSU was one of the first universities to encourage deep and long-lasting collaboration between foreign and local teachers. As Liu and Xiao (2011) noted in Chap. 1, CSU has been dedicated from its inception to providing a space for true interaction within faculty, not the compartmentalized lives that many foreign teachers in China report experiencing in which foreign teachers are given separate offices and teaching schedules and rarely collaborate professionally with their local colleagues (Hessler, 2001; Stanley, 2013).

"Raise Your Hand. I Just Want You to Open Your Mouth": Local Teacher Conceptions of CLT and Foreign Teachers

In this section, I focus on interpretations of CLT and student-centered learning by local teachers as well as their views of the role of foreign teachers. To start, consider the following examples from Sue, a local teacher I often met with and with whom I discussed teaching activities, the characteristics of Chinese learners, and how she was changing her position in the classroom from one of "knowledge-provider" to one of "skills-facilitator." As she readily accepted the national teaching reforms and their focus on "all-around skills," she would often ask me, "Is my classroom communicative?" or "Do my students speak enough?" In one recorded interview, she discussed how she was changing the way students view teachers in China.

Sue: So that in Chinese culture in student's mind teachers should be resourceful, knowledgeable just like a living dictionary. If you are not sure of the meaning of the word, the teacher will be very embarrassed.

Paul: Do you think that is changing in China?

Sue: For me, I think that I change. If the students ask me some questions, I will turn to the dictionary or turn to other foreign teachers and often share my frustration with the students. And, it seems that they respect me more than before. (Interview, April 4, 2007)

In addition, Sue felt CSU students were "too passive" and worried about being correct when they spoke, and she worked to create activities where students would feel comfortable with making mistakes. An example of Sue's desire to force her students to be more active came during the first weeks of her class in the spring of 2007. On the first day of class, Sue presented the following three PowerPoint slides:

Slide 1: "Why English is very important"

1. English has become an international language for communication around the world.
2. Over 1 billion people use English in the world today.
3. Many companies around the world require English for job positions.
4. Find a better job with good English

Slide 2: What is a successful learner?

- Having their short and long-term goals.
- Grasping every opportunity to practice with native speaker or other people both in and outside of class.
- Think critically and positively.
- Not afraid to make mistakes in public.
- Reflecting on their learning frequently.

Slide 3: What is a successful learner?

- Assuming the responsibilities for their own learning.
- Never rely on the teacher all the time.
- Self-confidence and willingness to take risk.

(Classroom observation, March 8, 2007)

The slides echoed many points that Sue told me she had read in the TESOL literature from Savignon (2001), Ellis (2003), and Nunan (2005).

In order to reinforce these points, during the second day of her class, Sue asked the students to remember the main points from the first day with a clear emphasis on getting students "to open their mouths."[1]

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[1] The transcripts in the book use the following notation symbols:
(( )) = Description or summary of participant/s action
(?) = Question/ Rising tone
CAPS = Emphasis/falling tone
… = Short pause of less than one second
(1.0) = Pause of one second
Sts = Students
S = Student

1 Sue: ((at front of the room addressing entire class))
Why is English important (?)
2 Sts: ((Heads looking at desks or at windows)) (3.0)
3 Sue: ((Opens PPT slide that was shown last class; 1st slide lists four reasons for learning English))
4 Sts: ((reading slide)) (4.0)
5 Sue: ((Moves to 2nd slide which lists aspects of a "successful learner)
6 Sts: ((reading slide)) (4.0)
7 Sue: ((Moves to 3rd slide with further aspects of a "successful learner"))
8 Sts: ((reading slide)) (4.0)
9 Sue: ((closes the slide show))
This is a possible answer to a test that you will take, such as the CET 4 or CET 6 [College English Test].[2] Will you be able to respond? …Why is English important (?) (3.0)
10 S1: English is use around the world
11 S2: English is an important tool
12 S3: English as an international language and with English many things are possible.
13 Sue: I feel a little … maybe you can say a little disappointed at your reaction. Because last time I remember very clearly that everybody hold these ideas clearly in your minds … But not Friday Saturday Sunday Monday … four days have passed and you forget them. So you don't remember them well … I'm a little disappointed … The next question what is a successful learner (?) There are eight points. You came up with how many (?) O.K. one point is O.K. raise your hand … I just want you to open your mouth.
14 S4: Have short and long term goals
15 Sue: YES having short and long term goals
16 S5: think critically

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[2] As described in Chap. 1, the CET stands for College English Test and has two proficiency levels (Band 4 and Band 6) that students take in order to demonstrate their abilities in English when seeking jobs.

17 Sue: think critically (?)
18 S6: and positively
19 Sue: YES think critically and positively
(Classroom observation, March 13, 2007)

The above classroom activity was similar to many teacher-initiated activities in Sue's classroom, and it follows a traditional IRF (initiation-response-feedback) sequence in which positive feedback includes a positive response from the teacher followed by repetition of key phrases in the student response.[3] The activity also offers an interesting example of how local teachers at CSU are interpreting a communicative approach to teaching. The recitation of previously learned texts may not have been truly communicative according to some scholars, but students were still using English to communicate in these knowledge-display exercises, and in our conversations, they noted the comfort and fun they have in her class. Thus, it was difficult for me to tell Sue that her activities looked more like tradition memorization exercises than the "meaning-making" exercises associated with CLT classrooms, and I wrote in my journal, "Can I define what communicative teaching is?" (Personal journal, April 1, 2007). At the time, I was very concerned that my opinions or critiques of Sue's classroom could alter our friendship, and I often asked myself, "What is my responsibility as someone who is supposedly here to 'reform' teaching and help teachers learn about CLT methods?"

By focusing on "opening your mouth," Sue was preparing her students for her view of global citizenship and working through a version of CLT in which confidence is just as important as displaying correct English grammar, and as I noted in my journal, she herself felt greater confidence when using these teaching techniques, particularly when calling on students by name to participate and speaking about her classroom to foreign teachers, and even when being evaluated negatively by local teachers. In fact, Sue narrated a story about a colleague who had evaluated her classroom and told her that she had not criticized and corrected her students enough and instead had let them talk too freely. She felt that this was the opposite of her teaching goals, and she demanded that a foreign teacher observe her classroom, revealing her sense of agency as a teacher who adopts CLT reforms as well as her privileging of foreign over local teachers' opinions. Eventually, a visiting professor from Canada viewed her classroom and praised her use of PowerPoint slides and group seating arrangement to the entire faculty, even suggesting that other teachers should replicate her PowerPoint slides on successful learning. In the end, I did something similar in response to her question, "Is my classroom communicative?" I complimented the way her students participated in class, and I told her how I used her slides and recitation exercises in my own classroom, and we both agreed that "communicative" was in "the eye of the beholder" and perhaps there was a "CLT with Chinese characteristics."

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[3] Often critiqued for being teacher-centered and more focused on what the teacher wants to hear than encouraging student creativity and authentic communication, the IRF sequence (teacher initiation–student response–teacher feedback) or IRE methods (teacher initiation-student response-teacher evaluation) are still dominant aspects of teacher and student discourse in ESL classrooms (Warring, 2009).

By adding the phrase, "with Chinese characteristics" to our discussion of the "contact" of disparate teaching methods, learning cultures, and educational histories, we echoed a common dichotomization or discourse of Chinese otherness and exceptionalism. Perhaps the most famous example is "Socialism with Chinese characteristics," which was coined by Deng Xiaoping in several reports after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 in order to explain the CCP's reform policies, which opened the Chinese economy to private ownership (He, 2001). Since then, "with Chinese characteristics," has since been used to describe everything from neoliberal policies in China (Harvey, 2005; Steger and Roy, 2010) to gender equality (Volodzko, 2015). The problem with the overuse of "with Chinese characteristics" is that it serves to limit, other, and in many ways trivialize the authenticity of Chinese experience, rendering a Chinese perspective illusive and different from common understandings and applications of theories. In effect, the phrase furthers the artificial East/West dichotomy. Instead of being particular to the Chinese context, as Luke (2004) notes, any grand theory, concept, or narrative will be challenged by local realities, contingencies, and "characteristics" because the world is in fact a complex place full of big and small cultures in perpetual contact (Holliday, 1999). At the same, just as I do not necessarily believe in or want to reinforce particular dichotomies or grand narratives and definitions for the way things are, phrases such as "with Chinese characteristics" and the references, frames, and discourses in which they are embedded do have value and meaning in the lives of many people. Sue and I may not agree on exactly what "CLT", "Chinese," or "CLT with Chinese characteristics" are, but by using the latter phrase we were able to find a reference point to continue our discussion of teaching English in China and how it looked at CSU, if not in the wider Chinese and international context.

Sue's empowerment through her creative adoption of CLT teaching methods reveals what Blommaert and Backus (2012) would call the "perpetual reshufflings of norms in a polycentric environment," in that Sue oriented her classroom to both global English teaching practices and her students' needs, abilities, and cultural backgrounds, perhaps not fully integrating into either the local or global community. At the same time, her desire for approval from me and other foreign teachers and administrators, as representatives of the global teaching community, revealed a continued linguistic insecurity among many local teachers at CSU who still typically considered foreign teachers as better teachers of English. For example, Ma, a local teacher with over 20 years' experience teaching at CSU, states:

> I encourage them [her students] to take foreign teachers class. It's not only because their language is better but it's part of their culture. I think that it's one of the benefits of coming to ELC. You can have exposure to the culture that comes here … [Students say] "Teacher, why you don't like us." I say "just go to the foreigner's classes." If they are good person, I'm sure that they are all qualified as a teacher. If they are open, friendly, responsible, they could give more than Chinese teacher give. (Interview, May 18, 2007)

Pam, another local teacher with over 20 years of teaching experience, echoed Ma's position: "If the foreign teacher really pays attention to the methods, then they really are good [better] than local teachers" (Interview, May 5, 2007). And, similarly, Angie, a local teacher of English in her first year of teaching after completing an MA in England, did not directly state that native speakers are better teachers, but she pointed out that she did not have the "personality" to teach in the open and student-centered style associated with foreign teachers:

> Chinese teachers are changed a lot, here. Some local teachers try to change the traditional methods. It's up to individual likes and dislikes. I try to be easy-going and communicate with my students. For body language I can't use it well because of my personality. I can draw them into different groups and do the activities together. For this point I cannot do it like foreign teachers. (Interview, June 6, 2007)

Angie and Ma's attribution of a privileged status to foreign teachers was perhaps not surprising, as from the first day I arrived at CSU, native speakers were at least outwardly considered experts and better teachers than local Chinese teachers of English, and even Sue appeared to seek confirmation from foreign teachers about her classroom activities.

Ma, Angie, Pam, Sue, and other teachers at CSU did not, at least outwardly, resist the position of foreign teachers in the ELC, and in fact, they openly supported and stated the inherent worth of foreign teachers as being better than local teachers, a form of linguistic insecurity in which the teachers validated a prescriptive native-speaker ideology towards language use. Thus, an effect of the education reform in CSU teaching policy and the "foreign" label is to empower teachers such as Sue to participate as citizens in international English-teaching communities, but at the same time, local teachers ultimately connected good teaching with foreign teachers, placing an ideological and at times social barrier between foreign and local teachers and preventing their being seen as collaborators who can each participate equally as local citizens in the CSU teaching community. Put in another way, the discourse and practice of education reform at CSU both expanded and limited the imaginations of CSU English teachers, both foreign and local, in terms of what quality education is and who can provide it.

In addition, just because local teachers adopted the discourses and metaphors of international teaching practices, for example the aims that Sue claimed to be her classroom goals, this did not ensure that foreign teachers saw them as equals. One foreign teacher, Parker, who taught for four years at CSU and other Chinese universities, remarked that in most department and grade-level meetings both local and foreign teachers would agree to specific lessons plans that were communicative and discussion-based, but the Chinese teachers would "do what the hell they want anyways" (Interview, June 18, 2007). While a crude and negative assessment of the methods of Chinese English educators, the comment reveals some of the agency that local teachers expressed through non-compliance. Many teachers at CSU were using and restating the dominant discourse of reform teaching while actually keeping to their preferred teaching methods and views of teaching from before 2002. In this way, the discourses of educational reform and the continuous push for internationalization at CSU was not necessarily imperialist or overtly hegemonic. The local teachers at CSU drew on the dominant discourses and "current" teaching methods in dialogue with foreign teachers and in faculty meetings, but these discourses did little to change local teacher views on teacher practices in the ELT classroom, an issue explored further in the next chapter.

A Musical Production of *Fiddler on the Roof*: The Potential and Inherent Problems with the CSU Model of Global Citizenship

In examining the performance of the English musical *Fiddler on the Roof* as part of the 2010 English Festival program, this section of the chapter picks up the polycentric process of becoming a citizen in both local and foreign English-speaking communities and the role of foreign and local teachers in extracurricular English-learning activities, a key aspect of the English learning curriculum at CSU. The university and ELC had successfully produced the musical *Pippin* in 2006, and in 2010, according to Vice-Chancellor Tsing, the university and its sponsoring foundation wanted to produce another musical in order to bring about "that whole co-curricular environment aspect of large-scale productions" (Interview, June 1, 2010). In an interview, she noted that:

> It's not just classroom English. We want to show students that English is an everyday language. If you work in a certain environment, you use it. So students from different disciplines need to learn how to use everyday English. Productions like this where you have a director who can speak English then everyone has to step up to the plate because that becomes the

> language of function. Using it in singing, using it in language makes it more real so it's not just in hopes that someday they will use it. (Interview, June 1, 2010)

Earlier in the same interview, the Vice-Chancellor stated an additional purpose of musicals and arts education in general as providing more than just language education:

> I'm hoping that students will align their moral compass in that direction that will be beneficial to society … To develop your own character and be a well-rounded person you need exposure to the Arts. We are not in Shanghai or Beijing. You can't just expect students to go to concerts, ever. We have to artificially create their own environment. (Interview, June 1, 2010)

The audition invitation for participating in *Fiddler on the Roof* that was sent to students further illustrated the musical as not just a language-learning activity but as connected to internationalization and cultural efforts at CSU:

> I'd like to recommend you to audition for next year's English musical project—"Fiddler on the Roof." This is a very popular musical drama that has been staged on New York's Broadway every year for the past 45 years. It is a story of a Jewish family during the Russian revolution and how traditions are made and broken in their culture … This will be a big step in promoting and developing global arts and culture at [CSU]. Won't you consider joining us? (CSU flier, September 2010).

The students who auditioned and eventually performed the roles in the play clearly picked up on the musical as not simply a language-learning activity but a connection to "global arts and culture" and perhaps a means to travel and connect with international audiences. For example, one student wrote in an email to the director of the play about his decision to try out for the play:

> I still remember that it was Ming…who recommended me going for the audition before the summer vacation. I was just so excited when hearing

> that there might be possibilities of going to Hong Kong, Israel, and Germany if the show went well. So I went for the audition without hesitation. (Personal communication, December, 2010)

In the promotion for the tryouts, there was no promise, or mention of the possibility that the musical would be performed in other countries, but the earlier production of *Pippin* had been performed in the nearby major city of Guangzhou, and the students clearly saw participation in the musical as a way to travel and gain experiences outside of CSU. In fact, travel, new experiences, and the confidence that comes from completing a difficult task may have been the lasting effects of this musical production, as many students wrote to Dan, the foreign teacher assigned to direct *Fiddler on the Roof*, about their joy in finishing the play, not necessarily focusing on their participation in an English-speaking environment. To sample just a few of the comments, one student who performed as Chava wrote:

> I can proudly say that we made a miracle. For me, it's a most crazy happiness. It make me have got the most touching and sweetest memory. I am fortunate enough to meet all of you. (Personal communication, December, 2010)

And the student who played the character of Tevye in the play wrote:

> When the show finished, the audience didn't want to leave because they said they hadn't watched enough. Two foreign teachers tearfully told our director, "This is a musical! Fantastic! Perfect! Amazing!" Several foreign teachers came to hug me and said, "The musical is the best and the most successful performance in the English Festivals in [CSU]. You did a wonderful job! You sang extremely well!" I felt so grateful and touched that I really wanted to cry out loud. (Personal communication, December, 2010)

Similarly, the student who played the role of Lazar Wolf described his apprehension about singing and acting and the sincere appreciation and sense of accomplishment in an email to Dan.

> I still remember that in the first rehearsal, I wanted to give up. I was concerned that the performance would influence my studies, and I was worried that I couldn't handle the all-English instructions as well as memorizing so many English songs. However, one day, I didn't know where the energy came from, it told me, "Just do it! Do something you like!" If I believed in Christianity, I would have worshiped God; if I believed in Buddhism, I would have worshiped the Buddha; if I believed in communism, I would have … Now I really want to thank the whole team and myself. Without their help during the whole time, I wouldn't have overcome the difficulties. No, it shouldn't be only me who faces difficulties; the whole team had different problems but we all sustained and conquered the difficulties. (Personal communication, December, 2010)

In their comments, the student responses here reveal the continued ways in which foreign audiences and teachers act as gatekeepers to students' citizenship in global English communities; but just as importantly, they show that the students clearly gained confidence to "open their mouths," similarly to the students in Sue's classroom. Further, in small ways, the students took the opportunity of participating in a Western musical as a chance to reappropriate and style the musical according to their own tastes, interests, and senses of humor. For example, the dancers, who had no speaking part in the play, decided to break from the somewhat kitschy, horah-inspired circle dancing found in many of the play's scenes to add individual breakdancing routines, including the grasshopper and moonwalk (See Fig. 2.1). Or in another example, no copy of the Torah could be found at CSU, and the rabbi in the wedding scene used an *Oxford English Dictionary* as a replacement; he spontaneously mumbled random English numbers as a way of mimicking an official proclamation of marriage at a wedding ceremony. Grimshaw (2010) points out that these stylings of Western genres (in this case the placement of hip-hop dance moves into a neo-Eastern European, Jewish dance number) challenge a dominant discourse that constructs Chinese learners as passive recipients of English language and culture, but more importantly in terms of citizenship, they reveal again the individual repertoires and local interpretations of citizenship in global English communities, as in Sue's classroom.

Fig. 2.1 Dancers practice their performance of "To Life" (personal photo, November 2010)

Although the production of *Fiddler on the Roof* was clearly beneficial for the students on multiple levels, Dan commented to me after the play was over:

> I was reluctant from the start to take on the project, because of the underlying politics of being a foreign teacher with a role that demanded (pseudo-) voluntary cooperation with local teachers. Giving someone from the "Public English" department the role of music director was not likely to sit well with the music department, which was also expected to be a major player in the project. Of course, the rationale was that the show was all-English and I did have a music background. Closer to the truth was perhaps that the Arts Education College (music & dance) already had their own agenda for the year (i.e. regional competitions) and did not want the extra burden of a show that would be jointly sponsored by another department (ELC—of which I was the sole representative). Both departments, though, were under the umbrella of the [Foundation] and obligated to the Foundation's request. (Personal communication, April, 2011)

As described here, the production of a musical with direction and input from multiple departments across the university was complicated by differences in language, motivation, and a sense of ownership of the production. Dan was assigned the role of full-time director mainly because no other department or local teacher wanted to take an active role in the musical. Thus, a project and production that was designed to be a collaborative task, where students from a variety of departments would communicate in English with local and foreign teachers across campus, became the sole responsibility of a hesitant foreign teacher, further reinforcing foreign teachers as model teachers and gatekeepers of English.

Further, Dan became very disillusioned during much of the production process, writing in his teaching diary about the "ulcer-inducing" stress of attending meetings that "amounted to zero" in which "the Arts Ed college director would smile and nod to [Vice-Chancellor Tsing] and then, outside of her presence, tell me to handle everything" (Personal communication, 2011). Furthermore, Dan predicted that his position as musical director would create tensions with his colleagues and friends in the music department. He noted:

> I predicted a loss of friendship over this project, and sadly, the prediction seems to hold true. Five years prior to this project, when we had our first attempt at Broadway on the [CSU] stage, I played in the pit band under the musical direction of one of the local music teachers who had become a good friend—in fact my only close friend outside of my own department [ELC]. When I was asked to be musical director of this project, my first question was why my friend wasn't being asked, and how he would react. [Vice-Chancellor Tsing's] pitch was about the English language needs of the show, but perhaps there were other reasons. At some point, my friend was asked to help, and to be the rehearsal pianist. He politely declined and we have not had a conversation since. (Personal communication, April 2011)

Dan did, however, work very closely with another local ELC staff member who was able to translate Dan's directions when needed and help coordinate over 100 performers. Further, the show itself was a surprise success, and Dan wrote me that the show was "the result of what can be done at [CSU] (ulcers unnecessary with proper cooperation)" (Personal communication, April 2011, original emphasis).

Discussion

> Some signs, consequently, will inevitably be seen as signs of citizenship as well as dis-citizenship, and it is likely that the political dynamics of citizenship in superdiverse societies will hinge on the degrees to which people—experts, legislators, opinion makers—are capable of imagining the levels of complexity that characterize the real social environments in which people "integrate." (Blommaert, 2013, p. 196)

In response to the earlier research question, it is clear from the above examples that the structural and discursive framing of foreign and local teachers significantly affected the ability of all teachers and students at CSU (both foreign and local) to fully become citizens and feel as if they belonged or had integrated into the CSU teaching community, but at the same time, many important discussions, dialogues, interpretations, and collaborations occur at CSU that do not simply reinstantiate a foreign/local dichotomy in which foreign teachers are automatically privileged globally but feel left out of local networks. Menard-Warwick (2013) defines citizenship as being about belonging and "the capacity to define and promote one's own interests and values" (Menard-Warwick, 2013, p. 89), and it appears that moments and spaces existed at CSU for teachers and students to promote their values and interests. For example, Sue was able to apply her own interpretation of the official "foreign" teaching methods, and students who participated in *Fiddler on the Roof* were able to gain confidence in their speaking abilities and a sense that their participation and interpretation of a famous musical mattered. As seen in the above example, Dan was not able to connect as much with his local counterparts as he would have liked, but through working on the musical he was able to connect with students and ELC staff members in ways that are rare in other Chinese university contexts and never would have happened in his own classroom.

At the same time, Sue's insistence on interpreting communicative language teaching as primarily about confidence and opening your mouth would not be interpreted as "correct" by all foreign teachers, and it simultaneously distanced her in some ways from local teachers who may have viewed her as not "local" or Chinese enough in her teaching. This is what Blommaert (2013) would call a sign of “dis-citizenship” at the worst, or at least an in-between sense of identity that is not authentically local or foreign. Further, there remain important questions about whether participation in extracurricular activities such as musical performances offers students access to authentic citizenship in global English and whether the money spent on such productions would be better spent on Mandarin, Cantonese, and local-dialect musical and cultural productions. In other words, as some of my students have remarked to me over the past 10 years, is CSU promoting the students’ citizenship in global English at the expense of their Chinese citizenship and language identity? Which citizenship will be more important and integral to Sue’s and her students’ futures?

One important response to these questions is the promotion of spaces to engage in the types of discussions of teaching and identity that Sue and I had about communicative language teaching with Chinese characteristics. Not mentioned above, one innovation that the ELC has implemented in recent years as part of its initiative to encourage individual learning is the creation of a Center for Independent Language Learning (CILL). Importantly, the programs at the CILL do not only focus on English learning, but also offer both group classes and units for self-study for teachers and students to learn many different languages. Many of the units were created by CSU teachers and students, and many of the classes, in particular the Mandarin Chinese classes, are taught by ELC teachers. Further encouraging teachers to use the CILL, in 2012, the ELC Director allowed Mandarin or Cantonese Chinese-language teaching and learning at the CILL to count toward the fulfillment of a new ELC requirement in which all teachers needed to work on extracurricular activities at CSU. This added a social and collaborative aspect to the quantitative evaluation process, and it helped to reframe the privileged status of foreign, English-speaking teachers. As the ELC director stated in 2013, “I want more teachers who are able to talk about teaching from a student’s perspective. How can I help you to learn more effectively rather than how am I going to teach you this content and test you on it?” (Interview, October 11, 2013).

Although this chapter noted the many inequalities, ideologies, and discourses that create barriers and forms of dis-citizenship between foreign and local teachers, the data presented hinted at activities and dialogues in which teachers, students, and administrators sidestepped dominant discourses and built relationships and community, working in collaboration and coordination with each other as well as promoting personal confidence and choice. In a context in which English has become so powerful that some commentators compare it to an "ideology" or "a force strong enough to remake your resume, attract a spouse, or catapult you out of a village" (Osnos, 2008, para. 13), it is not surprising that tensions and misunderstandings exist between foreign teachers ,who are often told that they are the reformers of English teaching, and local teachers and students, who draw on a variety of motivations and desires in teaching and learning English. What appears to be an important aspect that will allow students and teachers to move away from a simplistic foreign/local dichotomy is the creation of spaces outside of the traditional classroom setting in which there is less pressure to perform solely as a foreign or local teacher. CSU and the ELC are still working and striving to create an international community, an important and worthwhile goal for many CSU students. However, in imagining the realities and possibilities of where people actually feel they "belong," CSU and other internationalizing universities should focus on extracurricular programs that create spaces for teachers and students to interact as equal members and citizens of local, global, and in-between communities.

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3

Change, Tradition, and Moral Education in CSU Teacher Roles

Introduction

During the first week of my first semester of teaching at CSU, I attended many "Welcome Week" activities for new and incoming CSU students. At one of the events hosted by the ELC, Vice-Chancellor Tsing played karaoke videos from famous Broadway musicals. During the group singing of the song "Edelweiss" from the musical *The Sound of Music*, the Vice-Chancellor turned to me and admonished the new students for not singing very loudly. She commented, "The students here are not very civilized. They don't have any knowledge of culture." These comments echoed her later remarks in our 2010 interview cited in Chap. 2 about using musicals and extra-curricular activities to "align their [students'] moral compass in that direction that will be beneficial to society," and they struck me at the time as very strange, if not harboring a cultural elitism and even linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2009). Why would students entering a university in southern China be expected to know the words to an older English musical? And why was it the

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responsibility of English teachers and the university to “civilize” the students and “align their moral compass”? In my years of teaching in the USA, I had never been tasked by any supervisor with instilling any particular moral or ethical values with my students. Certainly, it can be argued that any educational context is full of values and part of the aim of attending a university is to be socialized into the “legitimate language” and “habitus” of the ruling elites (Bourdieu, 1991), but these goals and processes were never so clearly stated to me as they were during that first karaoke experience with my students.

Law (2011) argues that even with the creation of a Western-style public education system and a focus on modernization, science, and language study during the late Qing era and Republic of China (ROC) governments, teachers in China have always been expected to teach citizenship and moral education in order to instill a sense of Chinese nationalism and identity. Law (2014) further notes that with the accent of Mao Zedong and the CCP, Confucianism was replaced with socialism as the basis for moral teaching, but Mao continued to emphasize the sociopolitical function of education in cultivating the identity of Chinese people as “new socialist” (p. 339). Many scholars have analyzed similar expectations that teachers in East Asia and South-East Asia, even at universities, educate students in how to behave morally, respect local values, and help build the future of the nation (Bell 2008; Bell and Chaibong, 2003; Berthrong and Berthrong, 2000; Phan and Phan, 2006). In this way, both inside and outside of class, teachers are expected to be the moral guide and connect the local and global worlds of students and thus make their lives more meaningful. In a globalizing world, however, is the focus of these roles diminished, and how could learning English through the singing of musicals help to instill a “moral” compass in Chinese students of English?

In addition to picking up questions about moral education from the perspective of how it is framed by teachers and students in the CSU and ELT classroom, this chapter also analyzes the role of the Chinese nation state in projecting these teaching roles on university students and teachers. Writers on globalization often comment that the role of nation states in the lives of their residents is diminishing and fast being replaced by international culture flows of languages, ideas, people, and media (Anderson, 1983/2006; Appadurai, 1996, 2001). At the same time, Blommaert (2005) posits that the "state" in "nation state" still has a power to shape globalizing surges and changes in linguistic, cultural, and political standards. Thus, this chapter focuses on two central research questions around change, tradition, and moral education in CSU teacher roles:

1. How do teachers (both local and foreign) and students at CSU draw on Western, student-centered teaching roles associated with communicative language teaching while also articulating Chinese traditional teaching roles?
2. How do these negotiations of discourses and traditions affect student–teacher relationships, both inside and outside the classroom?

In analyzing the research questions, data sections present classroom sketches and the perspectives of CSU teachers and students on the changing role of teachers in the Chinese classroom. Data primarily come from three research periods, 2004, 2007 and 2010 and include: (1) Interviews with students and teachers; (2) student journals collected in Level 5 (Academic Writing) courses; (3) teacher narratives as presented through a Digital Storytelling Project in 2007; and (4) notes from multiple hallway chats, dinners, and faculty meetings with foreign and local teachers. The narratives and voices of many local and foreign teachers including my own are presented in the chapter, but the following teachers are highlighted:

Wendy: From the closest city to CSU, Wendy began teaching at CSU in 1988 and has won many teaching awards and much praise from her colleagues.

Irene: From northern China, Irene had also taught at CSU since 1988. Irene received her MA from a Chinese university and had published numerous articles on teaching English in Chinese academic journals.

Kim: A first-year foreign teacher at CSU during our interviews and classroom observations in 2007, Kim had received an MA in

TESOL from a US university, and this was her first time teaching outside of the USA.

Mary: Also in her first year of teaching at CSU during our interviews and observations, Mary had an MA in TESOL from a US university and had taught for three years at the university level before coming to CSU.

Ann: Ann was finishing her MA in TESOL during her first year of teaching at CSU, and she would end up staying at CSU to teach for two years. She had taught high school and junior high school for many years in the USA before coming to CSU.

Moral Education and the Traditional Chinese Teacher

> The Master said, "How would I dare to consider myself a sage 圣 (*shèng*) or an authoritative person 人 (*rén*)? What can be said about me is simply that I continue my studies without respite and instruct others without growing weary." Gongxi Hua remarked, "It is precisely this commitment that we students are unable to learn." (*The Analects of Confucius*, 7.34, Ames and Rosemont, 1998, p. 119)

Before examining the classroom and interview data, it is important to present a further brief survey of the history of moral education and the role of Confucianism in the history of Chinese education. Confucianism has typically grouped together multiple strands of thought and writings, but Reed (1995) writes that the role of education to cultivate the proper values and virtues in society has been a unifying belief in Confucianism throughout its long history. Berthrong and Berthrong (2000) go as far as to write that this focus on maintaining moral harmony in the world through education and the study of the *Analects* even helped to unify the Chinese empire at various times in China's 5000-year history. They note that Confucius set an example by advocating education for all levels of society, and he was willing to teach anyone who was willing to learn and interested in becoming a moral person. Of utmost importance for

Confucius was that education should help students work toward becoming *rén* or having moral citizenship through the practice of rituals, filial piety, and benevolence.

The cultivation of *rén* has always been fundamental to Confucian education but difficult to translate into English. Ames and Rosemont (1998) write that the term *rén*, which they translate as "authoritative person," is not just one characteristic or concept but closer to "human becoming" because it signifies "the cognitive, aesthetic, moral, and religious sensibilities" or "field of selves" a moral person acquires throughout their life (p. 49). In discussing the role of teachers as moral role models in China, Jin and Cortazzi (1998) translate *rén* as "humanity" or "love," and they write that all teachers in the Chinese educational context need to practice *rén* with their students. In fact, modeling of virtuous behavior is a common theme in both Confucian and Chinese histories. Reed (1995) writes that:

> Culture heroes, role models and moral exemplars are one means through which the continuity of Chinese culture has been expressed over the centuries. The incorruptible scholar/official, the chaste widow, the loyal servant, were universally recognized literary and historical types who served as standards for behavior and as conduits for transmitting the most cherished values and ideals of the Chinese culture. (Reed, 1995, p. 99)

From these definitions, the concept of *rén* can be understood as a continual process of personal cultivation and demonstration of caring for others and the world, and not a fixed product determined by natural or cultural constraints. Despite his entreaties that he is not *rén*, Confucius may be modeling *rén* himself by simply working "without respite" and "without growing weary" for the good of his students.

Scollon (1999) points out that both Confucian and Socratic discourses on education place an emphasis on moral education and becoming *rén*, but she notes that each philosophy has a different view of morality and how to teach it. For Socrates, a teacher had the role of a midwife in that the teacher does not give "birth" to the great ideas or morals that students should learn, but "his role in relationship to the youth is to lead him to the truth by means of questioning" (p. 19). Since forming arguments and responding to intense questioning was the primary way to uncover "truths" and "morals," it follows that teachers would want all students to participate in classroom discussions and learn the correct way to form an argument. In comparison, she argues that for Confucians education is not based on uncovering truth, but teaching, or rather, it should focus on imparting wisdom in order for students to learn to practice morally correct actions. She writes:

> The main difference between Socrates and Confucius is the former was interested in truth and universal definitions, his method centering on following out the consequences of a hypothesis, whereas the latter was more concerned about action. One learns in order to gain wisdom so that one may act appropriately. (Scollon, 1999, p. 17)

Scollon (1999) summarizes the Socratic and Confucian discourses on education as sharing a desire to teach moral education, but their different foci on universal truths versus correct actions and "performance" of virtues leads to two different interaction frameworks in the classroom.

As detailed in Chap. 1, the role of teachers in a communicative classroom is much more in line with that of a Socratic teacher who guides the students to discover their own abilities and become self-learners, and recent education policy in China that has focused on CLT methods in many ways breaks from the Confucian tradition of teachers modeling how to act appropriately and becoming *rén*. Jin and Cortazzi (2002) write that these reforms are aimed at imitating Western-based teaching methods instead of a Confucian system that is seen as not emphasizing creativity. They write:

> Following the emphasis in the 1980s and 90s on the development of quantity in education, the late 1990s saw a change of direction towards "quality education" in schools at the national level. This includes reforming and simplifying the curriculum, lessening homework loads and developing more rounded education; recognizing class work in addition to the end-of-term examinations for assessment; and emphasizing creativity, imagination, thinking and independent study skills…To break away from rote learning, it is currently emphasized that at least a third of class time should be devoted to learners' active participation. A shift from the "teacher as the main performer" to the "teacher as a conductor or director" is advocated. (Jin and Cortazzi, 2002, p. 57)

At the same time that moral education has been ignored or at least set aside by recent English curriculum changes in China, there has been a large renaissance of Confucianism in popular, academic, and political writing in many parts of the country. One of the most well-known phenomena of the early 2000s was the extraordinary popularity of Yu Dan's lecture series on state television, "Yu Dan's Insights into the Analects," and her best-selling book *Professor Yu Dan Explains the Analects of Confucius*, a self-help book that has sold over 10 million copies worldwide (Dan, 2006). Bell (2008) writes that many academics, both inside and outside China, are skeptical of the simplicity of Yu's writing, but it is noteworthy that so many Chinese feel comforted by rereading and learning about Confucian morals and values.

In the political context, Kang (2006) writes that Chinese leaders still cannot openly espouse Confucian values, and Wong and Chiu (2005) argue that much of the recent, popular writing on morality and Confucius popular in mainland China and Hong Kong ignores the importance of challenging immoral leaders and questioning corrupt authority. Other commentators have made similar critiques of recent CCP policy and of the Confucian references and moral admonitions in statements by President Xi (Osnos, 2015). Regardless of the political role of Confucius, however, it is clear that ethics and morality still play key roles in educational, political, and cultural landscapes in China despite the new policies that emphasize the "teacher as guide" role, and the following sections expand on how traditional roles for instructors at CSU—including an emphasis on Confucianism and morality education—are re-traditionalized through local and foreign English-language classrooms at CSU.

"I Will See My Student as the Way I Will Treat My Child:" Local Teachers Negotiating Teaching Roles in an Era of Education Reform

Wendy and Irene are both experienced teachers who came to CSU in the mid-1980s soon after the founding of CSU, and both have received numerous teaching awards over their many years of teaching. Similar to Sue, profiled in Chap. 2, they were changing their roles in the classroom because of the new communicative teaching methods. In contrast to Sue and many of the other local teachers, however, their descriptions of their teaching and the day-to-day interactions in their classrooms reflected the metaphors, images, and collocations associated with the Confucian traditions summarized above as much as the student-centered CLT teaching described in CSU reforms.

For example, in our numerous discussions and interviews, Wendy expressed mostly admiration for the teaching reforms and her new role as a CLT teacher. She stated that she was happy to have changed her teaching style to match the learner-centered orientation of the ELC, and she made distinctions between the different teaching traditions.

Wendy: Both methods have advantages and disadvantages. Now they [her students] are free to speak and open their mouths, but they make a lot of mistakes. They always use the vocabulary from high school. In the former method, they are not free, but what they say is grammatically correct. They would speak less but what they say is correct… [In the past] every time I give them a certain amount of vocabulary and they have to practice and practice. But now they learn a lot of vocabulary but we don't ask them to use them in any situation.
Paul: Which do the students like?
Wendy: Depends. If they are brave enough they like the present method. (Interview, May 9, 2007)

Perhaps due to her experience of seeing many fashionable reforms take place in Chinese education over the last 25 years, it is interesting Wendy choose the words "former" and "present" when describing teaching methods. She seemed fully aware that the "present" fashion may soon become the "former," perhaps a subtle critique of the reforms and CSU but also evidence of how teachers are always responding to dominant methods whilst well aware of their limits, a post-method orientation that recognizes the power of methods. Regardless, she restates the common assumption that the CLT methods "free" students to be active, similar to terms and collocations used in CSU policy.

At the same time, Wendy does not simply accept the new methods and reforms as only having advantages, and later in our interview, she describes her role in the class as one of an expert and "boss" of student learning, subtly critiquing the reform policy.

> I want to make sure that my students learn something at each of my class. Make sure that the students have learned some skills. For example, this time I would make sure that the students can learn some words, and really use it. And also writing style, grammatical structure. Be sure in my teaching plan that they learn something, not just have fun. (Interview May 9, 2007)

Wendy was implicitly bringing up some of the criticisms of CSU students who felt that foreign teachers were too easy and lax in their teaching role, and while not advocating an alternative approach to CLT, she was adopting similar criticisms of a "weak" CLT that is only concerned with production of English to those mentioned in Holliday (1994); Holliday argues that a "strong" CLT will maintain a focus on the grammatical structures of key communication events.

In 2007 and again in 2010, I participated in Wendy's class over the course of two semesters, watching the class every other week during a 16-week semester. In my observations and notes, it was clear that her classroom role and relationship with her students was more than that of just a facilitator of student learning. I often noticed the way students talked with her before class and the affection they felt towards her. In an interview, she specifically called attention to her role as a mother in her classroom. She commented:

> For Chinese people, especially they will take responsibility. I will take special care with them [her students]. If I see them and they do something wrong, I will tell them. Because I am a mother, I will see my student as the way I will treat my child. If my child has the same problem, I will treat them the same way. Many of my students call me "Mother." (Interview, May 9, 2007)

Wendy's students were not alone, as other local teachers reported their students often called them "mother" inside or outside classrooms. The depiction of Chinese teachers as parents has often been used as a metaphor for the traditional teaching styles that the reform movement aims to replace, but Wendy and the other teachers went further by actually taking up the term in English and allowing their students to call them “mother”; a communicative practice that seems rare in North American contexts and to my knowledge has not been described in the literature on English teaching in China.

Further, similar to Sue, after I had participated in her classes, Wendy asked me if her classrooms were communicative, and as I had with Sue, I had trouble answering. Wendy and the other teachers at CSU encouraged their students to use English creatively—albeit in ways that ran counter to most descriptions of language use in the CLT literature. More interestingly, Wendy and the other female English teachers used the communicative classroom to establish themselves in caregiving teaching roles, which in some ways went against the student-autonomy focus of CSU policy. Analyzing classroom interactions, Wendy’s question about the communicative practices in her classroom became even more complicated. For example, as the following excerpt from classroom notes describes, it was common for Wendy to require her students to read silently in class.

> Wendy is at the desk at the front of the room talking with a fellow “local” teacher who has a class in the next room. Students begin to enter the class and sit in their work groups. Desks are arranged in groups pointing toward each other and at a 90 degree away from the front of the class. Some students move about and talk in Mandarin, Cantonese, and the local dialect. Wendy notices the students that have arrived and says “Use your time wisely and practice while you have a few minutes before class.” Most students move back to their seats and in groups read aloud to each other from the assigned reading and lists of vocabulary. (Classroom observation, March 29, 2007)

As noted above, Wendy wanted her classrooms to be communicative but more than just “fun.” She stated that university students do not have good study habits, and “I just want them to make good use of their time because they won’t use the time in their dormitories, because this is a chance to read aloud. They won’t in the dorms because they will be embarrassed. This is a study habit." Based on this belief, Wendy's students began many classes sitting at desks arranged for the group tasks while reading word lists and text passages to each other in unison, mimicking the types of exercises that they had used in their high-school English classes. In this way, Wendy was striking a similar tone to Sue's admonition of her students for their forgetfulness, and, through her overt concern with vocabulary and grammatical development, she was also establishing her authority in the classroom as a language expert and not just a facilitator and confidence coach.

The following classroom transcript—from an activity in which Wendy reviews a reading passage and vocabulary related to the day's topic of alternative education—further illustrates her blending of these multiple teaching roles. In the following classroom interactions, the students had already discussed the answers to the warm-up questions in the previous class, and Wendy displayed the questions on a PowerPoint slide.

1 Wendy: This is the warm-up questions. The first one is "what is traditional education?" ((points to PowerPoint slide)) As we learned in a previous day. XXX. Now anyone is able can tell us WHAT a traditional education is. Give us definition or your understanding of this.
2 S1: The kids receive education in the traditional schools not at home.
3 Wendy: Uh huh. Children receive education in public school, private school but not at home. They study(?)…
4 S1: They study for several hours. Maths, Physics and Chinese, in China, and English because teacher talk and with several peers.
5 Wendy: OK. They study with their peers under the same curriculum. They take the same courses at a similar college. They listen to their teachers all the time in class. Now, what is alternative education. You told us some words about the traditional one but what about alternative. Can anyone tell us(?) (2.0) Don't worry about whether you can convey the very correct or perfect.

6 S2: I think I can't give you a very excess concept of alternative education.
I can maybe…tell you some things.

7 Wendy: Yes

8 S2: Alternative education is the modern model of school now. It's different from the format of traditional education. It doesn't require students to just listen to teachers and take notes in the class. It encourages students to develop their own opinion and share them with others. It's not necessary to sit in the classroom and listen to the human teachers. Students can learn through the internet or in their small hobbies.

9 Wendy: OK. Thank you very much. You answered two questions.

10 Sts: ((laugh))

11 Wendy: Let's review. OK. Alternative education is different from the traditional one. Right(?) Students can form a small group of their own in group of several families or within one family. They can choose the courses according to their interests, according to their own talent, according to their own needs. They don't have to listen to the human teachers all the time. OK. Seven [English name of S2] has taught us the characteristics of alternative approaches. Now let's go back to the first one. What are the main teaching approaches in the traditional education(?) Do you know the word approaches(?)

12 Sts: Yes.

13 Wendy: What exactly are the teaching approaches we have in the traditional education(?) I mean all of us SHOULD be very familiar with this kind of teaching because all of us all our lives we have experience. We have this kind of school. But now we are required to express in your words in English. You know the content, but the challenging this is that you have to put it in English this time. Anyone have a try.

14 S3: I think the main teaching approach is order. If some guy says to you you have to do it or you will be punished, so we have to do something we don't like to do, and we can never do something we like to do. It is terrible. I hate it.

15 Sts: ((laugh))

16 Wendy: You can hear his voice. In the traditional school we have to listen to the teachers all of the time. We have to do whatever the teacher requires us to do no matter how painful, how hateful, they are. OK. It seems that Qing Wu [Name of S3] hates the traditional school. So, this is things we talked about in a previous lesson. What is traditional school, what is alternative school. And we also know some details of these two kinds of educational programs. Now let's have a quick read of the vocabulary words.
17 ((Wendy asks students to read silently at desk for three minutes. After silent reading, students as a group repeat each word after Wendy. All words are on the overhead in English and Chinese))
18 Wendy: Now read the words after me twice…Comprise
19 Sts: ((in unison)) Comprise
20 Wendy: Comprise
21 Sts: Comprise
22 Wendy: Compromise
23 Sts: Compromise
24 Wendy: Compromise
25 Sts: Compromise
26 ((Students continue to repeat each word in the list after Wendy reads them))
(Classroom observation, March 29, 2007)

Similar to interactions in Sue's classrooms, Wendy's class was focused on allowing students to speak by responding to questions that they had already read in the previous classes. For example, Seven (S2 above) answered Wendy's next question because she had prepared answers to all of the warm-up questions. Seven did not read from her book or a text, but her response was very rapid and delivered with a monotone intonation that gave the appearance of a recited, memorized text. Similarly, in line 4, the student was ready for the next part of the question, and he only needed a small prompt of "They study" to offer more information. His response, however, was confusing as he connected multiple bits of information from the previous class and textbook into one sentence.

For Wendy, these responses were not perfect, but they fit her goal of warming up and speaking in a communicative classroom. Similar to in Sue's classroom, the students told me that they loved Wendy's class, and they viewed her classroom as an example of "alternative education" because they were often in groups and not always listening to the teacher. Though these classroom interactions may not meet the creative and spontaneous speech expected in some of the CLT literature, Wendy was performing the multiple roles of language expert, parent, and "alternative" teacher that her students expected of instructors at CSU. At the same time, she was articulating her own understanding of "communication" and "interaction" in the classroom, again making it difficult to answer her question, "Is my classroom a communicative classroom?" and "Am I a good example of a CLT teacher?"

A final example of how Wendy takes the role of parent and director of student learning while also encouraging spoken communication and creating a space for students to practice their language skills in a non-threatening environment is through her use of the phrase "I love you" to express her feelings toward her students.

Wendy: In English it's easier for us to express our emotion than in the local dialect or language. In other language it is easier. Many of the boys say "I love you" One student in class says, "When the first time I see Wendy, I came to love her." Everyone laugh. "O.K.," I say, "I love you too." I'm not joking, and they start laughing.
Paul: You would never say that in Chinese?
Wendy: I never say that to anyone. For you [English speakers] it is easy for you to say "I love you." You never say 疼 (*téng*) [trans. "need" or "dearly love"] to an adult, [I would say] 我喜欢学生 (*wǒ xǐhuān xuéshēng*) [trans. "I like the students"]. I would never say that to an individual but to the whole class. I always follow with I am a mother. I tell you as my friend or my children. (Interview, May 9, 2007)

In our interviews, she clarified that to her students that her love is like that of a parent and is aimed toward the entire class and not one particular student, but she allows her students to continue telling her that they love her and call her "Mother." Other teachers at CSU also describe students that use the words “I love you” with them, and similar to Wendy, Pam, another experienced local teacher, noted that she would rarely use Mandarin terms for “love” such as 疼 (*téng*) or 爱 (*ài*) with friends or family members and certainly not with students. Pam, Wendy, and their students are using an English expression, “I love you,” based on their perhaps erroneous interpretation that it is used easily between English-speakers and with university instructors, but more importantly and interestingly they are doing this in order to establish a parental relationship between teachers and students—something that is typically associated with traditional Chinese teaching roles and discourse on education. In this way, the classroom interactions between students and teachers such as Wendy and Pam are not just about learning to use English and gaining knowledge of a new culture, but classrooms become sites where teachers provide care for students.

It is particularly interesting that Wendy and the other teachers use English to enact caregiving roles that are more often associated with Chinese traditions. Wendy and Pam certainly did not begin taking a more parental role with students after the reforms of 2002, but in describing their English classes before 2002, they mentioned that they had mostly spoken in Mandarin during class. Due to the reforms and the focus on spoken communication, more classroom time at CSU is used for student and teacher interactions in the classrooms in English, and students and teachers are using English to enact teaching roles and relationships that are not necessarily aligned with a student-autonomy view of teaching. In many ways, Wendy and her students are rearticulating aspects of a Chinese educational tradition as a counter to the assumption that classroom activities should only be oriented towards skill preparation for future jobs. At the same time, they also reference the values of the education reforms, thus, offering a complex assessment of their classrooms that resists simple classification as reform-oriented or traditional.

Irene: “I Can Always Ignite Their Sparks Into Big Flames”

Irene provides a further example of a teacher as moral guide and expert through the narrative that she wrote for a digital storytelling group at CSU. During the spring semester of 2007, a small group of teachers and students participated in a group called the "Digital Storytelling Club" (McPherron and Nowicki, 2010). As part of the group, participants wrote narratives of specific events in their lives and the lessons they had learned. The group members then created short movies of their narratives with music, pictures, and drawings. For her digital story, Irene shared how she became a teacher and how she views her relationships with students inside and outside the English classroom. It is particularly interesting how in her digital story Irene framed her life as one of overcoming struggles and inspiring her students to follow their dreams. She never overtly instructed students to work hard or be diligent in studying, but through her story, themes emerged about expressing yourself creatively through hard work.

Her digital story begins:

> I was born in Beijing. When I was four years-old, my father was denounced as a rightist, and my family was forced to move to the intra Ningxia Hui autonomous region. There I got my primary and secondary education. Then, as millions of high school graduates did during the Cultural Revolution, I became a farmer working in the field. Two and a half years later I managed to find a job as a high school teacher. In 1977 after 12 years of being closed, universities resumed their examinations and opened the doors to the young students who wanted to study. Fortunately, I seized this chance and went to a local university. I could not enter the famous university that I had chosen because of my father's historical issue. And then, I became a teacher here at [CSU]. If you ask me what is life? I would say life is a journey; you develop new eyes during your journey (CSU digital storytelling club, June 2007).

Later in the narrative, she speaks more explicitly about her role in the classroom and with students.

> Teaching English always bring fun to me. I love to see those adorable young students staring at me, questioning me, and laughing with me. Xiao Ru, one of my favorite students now is a wonderful English teacher in New Zealand. Yun Qian once he wrote a lovely poem made me thrilled and excited for one month. Jing Xuen, a gifted and talented art student gave me a portrait of me, drawn by himself. Students always show their shining potentials in my classroom. One of my strong points is I can always ignite

> their sparks into big flames. As a language educator I have met many distinguished language professors, and I wrote many academic papers and text books. My students love of my books, make me feel proud of myself. And I also feel so proud of my students (CSU digital storytelling club, June 2007).

In her digital story, Irene portrayed herself first and foremost as a hard-working, dedicated scholar and model for her students, an image that Jin and Cortazzi (1998, 2002, 2011) and Scollon (1999) have directly associated with Confucian teaching roles. The first half of the narrative details her problems in entering university, and she pointed out her perseverance and strength in finally achieving her dream of becoming an English teacher. During this first half of the narrative, images of Irene as a young child with her parents in Beijing appear on the screen, followed by pictures of the desert landscape where her family moved during the Cultural Revolution. Next, the movie shows pictures of Irene's classmates at university laughing, and she ends this part of the narrative with a picture of a train, underscoring the metaphor of "life is a journey."

In the second half of the narrative, Irene speaks directly about her position at the center of classroom as she described students who were "staring at me, questioning me, and laughing with me." These three verbs index the traditional teaching roles of being an expert, a caregiver, and a role model, and they reveal Irene's comfort in a teacher-centered classroom. Further, the three student activities of which Irene was particularly proud—(1) becoming an English teacher in a foreign country; (2) writing a poem in English; (3) drawing a picture of Irene—are all examples that emphasize how her students drew inspiration from her own hard work as a teacher. She argues that the students were able to reach their potential because she—as the teacher—was able to light their "little sparks" into "big flames." In a way, this metaphor and emphasis on student expression of talents was common in the larger CLT depiction of the teacher as facilitating student expression, but, in the next sentence of her digital story, Irene reminds listeners of her own expertise and work as an author, implying that her position as an expert teacher has helped to inspire her students. In the digital story, viewers see a picture of "distinguished language professors" standing with her followed by a picture of her books and articles. In addition to being an expert and facilitator of the lighting of "big flames," the multiple examples of Irene's devotion to her students, her enjoyment of the achievements of her students, and her explicit mention of her membership in international communities can be read as a parental aspect of her teaching role similar to Wendy's explicit use of the word "Mother" with her students. In interviews and conversations, Irene never mentions any use of "Mother" in her classroom or that she views herself as a parent to her students. Through her digital story, she did, however, clearly position herself in the traditional Confucian role of teacher as exemplar who students should take inspiration from.

Drawing on multiple discourses and images, Irene's short narrative emphasizes the pragmatic and individualistic goals Irene had for her students, as articulated in the teaching reforms at CSU, while also stating her position as a role model for her students, similar to the Chinese and Confucian educational tradition, and also similar to the teaching narratives in Phan and Phan (2006). In addition, the repeated metaphor of "life is a journey" that ends the first section of her narrative and that she repeats at the end of her digital story—"If you ask me what is life? I would say life is a journey, you develop new eyes during your journey"—embodies beliefs central to both the reform and traditional teaching identity kits (Gee, 1987). From one frame, the journey of life can be an individualistic journey of self-discovery and self-expression. Through personal reflection, one finds the "truths" of life, and Irene has presented her journey as a personal one. This may be in part due to the purpose of the Digital Story Project, which was to collect personal stories and narratives in English to show to the CSU community at public events and use as materials in ELC classrooms. From another frame, the journey metaphor does not represent independence and self-expression, but it implies a movement over time and space that typically requires perseverance and the ability to adapt knowledge and insight to new contexts, and as Irene says, see the world with "new eyes." Scollon (1999) and Berthrong and Berthrong (2000) both describe Confucian teaching as primarily concerned with teaching correct action and the ability to perform morally in multiple situations, while Socratic and Western educational traditions have typically emphasized education as a process of determining "truth" and knowledge through critical reflection and reasoning. In this way, the metaphor of the journey for

Irene and her students is not a path to a particular goal or knowledge endpoint. Instead, the journey represents common beliefs, such as the importance of higher education and the wisdom of experts, both of which Irene and her students draw on in their academic and personal lives. Similar to Wendy's description of her classroom role as her students' mother, Irene's digital story does not fit neatly into the image of reform teaching, or exactly with Jin and Cortazzi's Chinese culture of learning (1998, 2002, 2011); rather, she articulates a teaching identity that is Chinese, local, reform-oriented, and international.

"I Don't Really Want To Be Their Mother or Father": Foreign Teachers Living Up to Multiple Expectations

As the education reforms at CSU were drawn almost exclusively from images and beliefs associated with Western-based teaching methods such as CLT, the narratives of the local teachers typically reveal multiple and at time conflicting stances on their roles as teachers in ELC classes. In different ways, foreign teachers at CSU were also struggling to determine the best teaching role for themselves: should they also try to position themselves as parents and authority figures with their students; or should they live up to their students' expectations of a more personable and fun-loving foreign teacher who is willing to be friends with students and not focus so much on class content and assessment? In fact, many CSU students often asked foreign teachers to be both an authority figure and friend, someone who they could ask for very personal advice, even if foreign teachers had not sought either role. For example, over the course of one semester at CSU, Cadan, a third-year student in Mathematics, came to my office hours at least once a week often just to practice his English, to ask very specific questions about English grammar, and to talk with me about various personal issues such as his application to graduate schools in the US, the performances of his soccer team, and his search for a girlfriend. After the semester ended, he sent me an email asking for further advice and describing his feelings of isolation and loneliness.

> Sometimes I am really confused with my future, sometimes I will imagine the scenes which probably will happen on me in the future. That makes me very excited. Whatever road I choose, they're all long runs during which I need to overcome so many difficulties and go beyond myself. I really want to find someone who understands me and can share with me the feelings. Will you be the right person? I hope so (personal communication, April 2007).

Few, if any, local teachers found this role of caregiver and friend as explicitly difficult as many foreign teachers did. The strong cultural tradition of teachers as role models in China clearly contributed to this, as Bruce, a local teacher commented to me, "You know in China the teacher. Lots of restrictions. You will be the model, yeah, because the students will imitate. They [Chinese teachers] will be easy guides. It the restriction of the traditional Chinese idea."

Thus, the following descriptions of student–teacher relationships between foreign teachers and CSU students offer examples of the different types of tensions and complications felt by foreign teachers as they attempt to negotiate their perceived skills-facilitator and reform-teaching roles.

Kim and Mary

Kim was a first-year, foreign English teacher at CSU who saw herself as scaffolding learning experiences for CSU students, not as an expert, parent, or caregiver.

> I don't see myself as authoritarian. For me, the language is about communicating. And, that's like the beauty of language, to me, is being able to communicate with other people. I think my biggest goal as a teacher is to inspire them to want to communicate in English. I don't really want to be their mother or father. I just want them to see "hey it's useful." You should learn another language. It can help you in your life. You can meet other people. I don't really see myself as wanting to buddy-buddy with them. Kind of set an example for them that it can be fun to learn another language. It's cool. (Interview, May 25, 2007)

She went on to note that some of the local and foreign teachers take a more parental role in their relationships with students, but she focused on the teacher as a guide in classroom interactions, and she repeatedly alluded to the internal motivation mentioned in CSU policy.

> I tend to try to create opportunities for them to use the language and practice, whenever possible. But I'm not going to coddle them and be like——you didn't do your homework, I'm taking 5 points off.|| You know like——if you want to do it, do it.|| You‘re an adult now, you have your own priorities, you got to take care of them. I tend not to be parent-like in that way. (Interview, May 25, 2007)

Similar to Kim, Mary was in her first year as an English teacher at CSU. She also described a similar need for her students to be self-motivated.

Paul: I've had students who want me to inspire them
Mary: Hmm, inspire them to learn English?
Paul: They want the teacher to guide them in the right way to learn and be a good person. They feel lost.
Mary: I guess that goes back to the idea that I think in terms that it should be internally motivated. I guess that I could inspire you by making things interesting. It is my job to make things interesting, but if you are not interested in learning English there is only so far I can inspire you. This is not the Dead Poet's society here. I do think that the teacher should have lessons that make you think. (Interview, May 9, 2007)

Both Mary and Kim specifically positioned their teaching roles away from the role models and parents that they have seen Chinese teachers of English become with their students. Their descriptions of their role as a teacher focused on the practical goals of creating "opportunities to use the language" and inspiring students to use English in communication by "making things interesting," both aspects of a skills facilitator's role, and in keeping with the model found in the CLT literature and CSU policy. They also both specifically mentioned that students must be self-motivated and self-directed in their learning, something that the university and national English education reforms have both promoted.

Although primarily drawing on teacher roles promoted by the education reforms in describing her class as inspiring creativity and individualism, Kim did, however, mention that she had changed the way that she teaches since coming to CSU:

> I think since I've come here I've been taking Chinese classes and it has put me back in touch with being a student, like actually learning a language. It had been a few years. In my graduate program, there is a lot of really touchy-feely stuff like abstract stuff, like the learner-centered model. I mean that's wonderful … I mean a lot of things I've learned in theory sound great but I'm like a lot of it is not really concrete, and it's not really helping to learn the language. I'm not convinced that everything new is great. I mean when I got out of college I was trying lots of new things, but since I've gotten here, like there are some stuff has worked some hasn't. If it ain't broke don't fix it. (Interview, May 25, 2007)

It is interesting that Kim prefaced her evolving opinion about teaching English by mentioning learning Chinese. Local teachers of English teach the Chinese classes for the foreign students at CSU, and these involve memorizing short texts and the repetition exercises associated with traditional Chinese teaching methods. Interestingly, later in our interview, Kim mentioned that one specific technique that she used in her own English class was recitation. She considered repetition as one of the techniques that "ain't broke" but was not encouraged in her graduate program in the USA or by CSU policy.

In addition to determining the most comfortable teaching role in the classroom, foreign teachers such as Mary and Kim often expressed discomfort and confusion in the numerous encounters they have with students outside of the classroom. For example, Kim described invitations to dinners with students and hosting cooking parties in her apartment, but she questioned her position as a woman in the community and as a foreign teacher, particularly when asked to join her students in drinking alcohol.

> I'm always, what do they [her students] expect from us. I feel like I notice that not many girls here ever go out drinking, or whatever, but yet, whenever

> Ann and I will walk by [the cafeteria or local restaurant] they really want us to come join them. They are very respectful they really want us there. There's like kind of a double-standard there. How the women here act and how they expect us to act.
>
> It's kind of weird. I don't really understand it sometimes. (Interview, May 25, 2007)

Similar to the arrangement of many university campuses in China, a strip of restaurants and bars was located just outside the gates to the university, primarily catering to students from CSU. Since most foreign teachers during my years at CSU did not have children or extended family to eat with and cook for at home, they often ate lunches and dinners in these local restaurants, frequently running into their students. Kim described a common dilemma faced by foreign teachers from the USA; it felt comfortable and, in a way, freeing to be away from the strict rules and social expectations that govern student/teacher relationships at home, whilst at the same time, Kim feared that she would further a stereotype of Westerners and in particular Western women as casual and as less serious than Chinese teachers of English. Local teachers, who typically only eat out on special occasions and not in the restaurants near the university, did not mention difficulty in deciding when and how to eat and drink alcohol with their students.

Ann

Mary and Kim were in their mid-20s at the time of our interviews and class observations, and younger than Irene and Wendy. In addition to the cultural differences in taking a role model and parenting role with students, age may have played a more important factor in their student–teacher relationships. For example, Ann, a 35-year-old first-year foreign English teacher at CSU, was more comfortable in openly stating that she was parenting her students than Kim and Mary. Ann described her students as part of her family in stating, "I don't have my own family [at CSU]. This is my life. They are my kids. I really get involved with them emotionally. I found my perfect students[s]. As close to perfect as they can be." Ann routinely helped students pay for medical and dental bills, and allowed one student to live in her extra bedroom for two months while studying for a graduate school entrance exam. Ann's relationships with her students were more intense and closer than those of other Chinese or foreign teachers, and she was respected by her students and routinely invited to eat meals with them and give guest lectures to student groups. Ann explicitly did not, however, allow students to call her "Mom." Ann's description of herself as a teacher and as more than a skills facilitator invokes Noddings (2002) and her description of an ethics of caring in the classroom, as well as Phan and Phan (2006) in their description of teaching as moral education in Vietnam.

It is instructive to note that no local or foreign male teachers at CSU mentioned allowing their students to call them "Dad," but male teachers often played basketball, soccer, and other sports with students and enjoyed meals and social events throughout the year. The close living arrangements of most teachers to the residence halls facilitated these interactions, and it was common to see male teachers and students share a cigarette or beer at local restaurants or after sporting matches. The close relationships often expected of students and teachers at CSU raises questions about how much care to offer students, and in what forms, as traditionally in China teachers have been held accountable for student test scores as well as the personal well-being of students. In addition, some foreign teachers may be crossing norms and expectations of foreign teachers by positioning themselves as caregivers.

In fact, Ann‘s close relationships, while contributing to her popularity and the comfort students clearly had in her class, also at times led to some misunderstandings and student misreadings of her role as a friend, parent, and teacher. In our interviews, she described an experience in the English lounge, a room on campus near the main cafeteria where students come during the evenings to read English books and have conversations in English.

> The first two weeks that I was here. I was in the English lounge and I was surrounded by five or six people who were really good [in English]. One of my students came and sat down with us and she said "Are you going to be studying teaching methods that you can use to improve your teaching in

> our class, because other foreign teachers had us talking more and in your class we basically just listen." We had been having this high level conversation, [and] I said "Excuse me, I'm new here so I'm just getting to know you. A lot of what we are doing is just getting to know each other." I went home and cried as I was so embarrassed. The other girls were also so embarrassed. The other girls were like "Oh we need to go." After that, I was a little bit irritated with her and I called on her everyday and there were times she wasn't prepared, and I would jab back at her. And after a while she just warmed up to me. (Interview, March 29, 2007)

Ann's student was framing her in two ways. First, she felt that foreign teachers must be student-centered and base their classes on discussions; otherwise they are neither effective nor performing as foreign teachers are expected to perform in the classroom. Second, just as Wendy was re-interpreting English-speakers' use of "I love you," Ann's student interpreted the interaction style of foreign teachers as valuing direct comments, and she spoke to Ann as she might speak to a friend, offering a specific request and comment.

"The Global Economy Requires Diversifications Not Just Moral Disseminator": Student Perspectives on Teacher Roles in the Era of Reform

Just as foreign and local teachers at CSU are navigating their teaching identities in response to multiple desires and traditions, students at CSU—such as Ann's blunt student who criticized her methods for not being student-centered enough and my student who was actively seeking a teacher who was a mentor and best friend—are navigating relationships in the reform-oriented classrooms of CSU, and their perspectives further complicate CSU policy statements about student and teacher goals of personal autonomy, creative expression, and communicative competence. For example, in my writing courses over many semesters at CSU, I often would have students respond to the following prompt as an essay or journal entry:

> In your opinion, what makes/constitutes a good teacher of English? What do you expect to learn from a good teacher of English? Do you agree that English teachers should also be moral role models for their students? For example, there is a saying in Chinese, 为人师表 (*wéi rén shī biǎo*), "a teacher instructs the right path." Do you agree with this? For both foreign and local teachers of English? Please provide details, examples, and comparisons of teachers you have had before (no need to give names).

Over the years, I received a wide range of responses to this prompt, revealing the different ways CSU students invoked and desired traditional teachers as guides and mentors in the classroom while simultaneously seeking teacher–student relationships that they viewed as more representative of Western-style classrooms and learning. In the analysis of student responses to this prompt in the following section, the student responses come from their written answers for this assignment and our subsequent classroom discussions and interviews during the spring 2007 semester.

First, many students agreed with Bruce, a third-year student in business, who wrote in his journal that more than anything, a teacher must be knowledgeable in the grammar and usage of English:

> There are two parts of a good English teacher: a lot of knowledge and a good personality to make class interesting. As everyone knows, "If you want to give your students a bowl of water, you should own a bucket of water."

Kyra, a third-year English major, similarly wrote that, "When concerning to be a good teacher, one should be firstly qualified in his or her specialized field and have a vast scope of knowledge in different fields." She continued by noting that English students already have large amounts of knowledge of English language and literature from high-school courses, and she recommended that students need an appropriate model of how to use English correctly in speaking and writing. Kyra did not point out that foreign teachers are necessarily the best English teachers, but other students such as Jay, a second-year art student from Macau, wrote that "an English teacher must be a native speaker for non-native speaker would never have the same intonation or tone like native speaker." This desire for foreign teachers because of their speaking ability was common among English majors, who often felt that they would be using English on a daily basis in their future jobs, and that their English teachers must be a good model of how to use spoken and written English. In their writings and class discussions, Kyra, Bruce, Jay, and others still wanted a teacher to model knowledge of English grammar and structure but they also focused on teachers as models of speaking as they equated good speaking skills with the larger business community and their future careers.

In addition to the expectation that they should be experts in English with perfect pronunciation, Windy, a third-year student majoring in English, voiced a second characteristic of a teacher's role: the ability to criticize students and offer corrective feedback, and she felt ELC teachers were too easy in this respect.

> ELC teachers just take English classes too easily. Their easy-going style makes Chinese students think they can be lazy or do work not seriously. Playing games, watching movies and other entertainment are good for students in some situations. To tell the truth, I'm not an excellent or smart student. As a result, I will hope my teacher help me improve my English skills. Also, I'm a little lazy and too proud sometimes. So I expect my teacher make some comments on my work directly, even negative. I think many Chinese would be affected by their teachers' activities.

I first heard this critique of the easy standards of ELC teachers from Guy, who wrote the email described in Chap. 1 that spurred this book project, and Windy's complaint is common at CSU, particularly in relation to foreign-teacher classrooms. In interviews, many senior students who had taken a lot of ELC courses stated that foreign teachers did not prepare them for important exams such as the CET 4 and CET 6. Windy described Chinese students as too "lazy" to study on their own, especially to speak on their own, a position that was echoed in Wendy's comments about the need to "take special care" with Chinese students, who expect teachers to encourage them through explicit correction and evaluation. In a way, the students and teachers offer a negative depiction of Chinese students, who are used to being "force-fed" knowledge through traditional teaching methods, an image also found in CSU's report on teaching practices (Internationalization Committee, 2007) and its review of its “obsolete spoon-feed method.” The ELC students I interviewed and taught, however, do not advocate a complete acceptance of CLT methods; rather, they demand speaking practice as well as the explicit guidance and expertise described by teachers such as Irene and Wendy in their narratives. In fact, many students described effective teachers they had had who had taken central positions in teacher-centered classrooms in order to get the attention of students and allow students to feel that they were acquiring important knowledge.

In addition, many students in their journals over the years wrote about a third aspect of good teaching: demonstrating high morals and ethics through leading by example. These descriptions of teachers fall in line with the way Irene and Wendy taught and conceived of their classrooms. For example, Echo, a third-year student in English, wrote:

> What kind of teacher you are speaks louder than what you teach and how you teach. What I mean here is that a teacher’s behaviours and personalities are more important than his or her career success.

She added a description of a Korean scientist defamed for plagiarism as an example of a failed role model for students, and she agreed that in making choices, teachers and researchers should think not just about their careers but how they are viewed by their students. She made one qualification: “A teacher is allowed to make mistakes. Even a good teacher is not necessary to be a sage.” Other students, such as Julie, a second-year English major, also comment on how “teachers should teach the students both by saying and acting,” and Joyce, also a second-year English major, described a good teacher as someone who “sets himself as a hardworking image, and encourage us to learn more.” Students in journals and interviews mentioned that all teachers, both foreign and local can be moral role models and as Joyce writes, that all teachers should teach “good qualities such as hard-working, goodness, critical towards our study, and life, and so on.” Joyce interestingly commented on how the position of teachers as moral role models is mostly a social construction. She wrote, “The old saying, *wéi rén shī biǎo* [“a teacher instructs the right path”] has existed in Chinese people’s mind for thousands of years, it is a truth in many people's mind." This truth may be an historical construction, but it was one that many students at CSU appeared to embrace.

Perhaps not surprisingly, not all CSU students took pride in or happily accepted the cultural tradition of *wéi rén shī biǎo.* After members of the Digital Story group showed Irene's and the other digital stories to the entire campus at a large screening at the end of one semester, I showed the videos to students in my academic writing classes. Students at the campus presentation and in my class commented on Irene's ability to overcome adversity and her deep respect for academic work and professors, and many students in my class wrote about Irene as a model teacher in their journals and someone they hoped to emulate one day. One student, a third-year business major named Joe, however, noted that teachers should not be viewed as role models anymore, and they should not explicitly teach moral education at universities. In class discussions, he said that the story of overcoming the Cultural Revolution and struggling to learn at universities was "something we've heard many times before" from teachers and had become "boring."

In addition, Serena, a second-year journalism major, specifically questions the idea of the teacher as moral role model in a globalizing world.

> I am not going to say it [teachers as moral role models] is an outdated criterion, but I think this criterion is unfitting for today's teachers. In the past of China, the teachers were not expected to teach maths, science, foreign language, etc. Those teachers were great thinkers. They lived with the students and taught them morals or political strategies. In that case, the teachers would have greater influence on the students. However, today, the students should be diversified to adapt to the changing world. The global economy requires diversifications not just moral disseminator. In addition, some English teachers are from foreign countries. They may show much respect for freedom. They may have different acknowledgments about morals. So I don't think it is a good idea to judge a good English teacher by *wéi rén shī biǎo*.

In calling for students to "be diversified" through the abandonment of moral education, Serena described teachers as having less influence on students in China today in comparison to the past, and she appears to be calling for the skills-facilitator teacher, not the parental role or dominant expert that her peers describe.

Similarly, Mitchell, a second-year English major from Guangzhou, described teachers as professionals and nothing more. She wrote, “Teaching is a simply kind of occupation. Teachers are responsible to what they teach to students, besides which everybody has his own life.” Student critiques of traditional teaching roles used similar terms and images of teachers as “professionals” and often appealed to the images of the business and global world which were also found in CSU policies. These student critiques were what CSU administrators expected from the reformed language teaching at CSU and many teachers and administrators told me that students who preferred traditional teaching roles are “just not well-acquainted with the new teaching styles.” Teachers and administrators also argued that those students with low spoken proficiency cannot appreciate the strength of the new teaching styles and relationships between students and teachers, but that in the future all CSU students would have a high level of spoken proficiency.

A student journal from my Level 5 writing class offers a final student interpretation of foreign teachers, and of the new teaching roles and classroom relationships advocated by the ELC at CSU, that summarizes many of the aspects of the previous student descriptions of good teaching. In her journal, Erin, a fourth-year law student, drew on both the practical assumptions of CLT as focused on informal, spoken tasks and her desire for a more authoritative teacher figure in the classroom. In addition, she picked out the language of communicative competence found on the ELC website and in school policy statements, and connected it directly to her need to gain employment in her future.

> Usually, foreign English teachers are enthusiasm and full of youthful spirit, good at creating vivid and vigorous class atmosphere. But sometimes they do not know what problems Chinese students will come across in learning foreign language. They encourage students’ free discussion in class. It is good to stimulate students’ brainstorm and provide chances for students to exchange their ideas. However, foreign teachers seldom correct student’s errors and students discussed in wrong English each other, but they don’t know…

> I am thinking about some questions these days. Do I really achieve the ultimate goal of gaining a high-level of communicative competence (i.e. grammatical, pragmatic, discourse, and strategic competencies) as ELC requires me? Am I qualified enough to enter the profession? If you want to encourage me like "don't worry, you are fine," I want to raise one more question, "If you are a boss need some employees proficiency in English, will you employ a student like me always make errors in writing and whose English still need to be improved?" I don't think so.

In this passage, Erin praised the student-centered classrooms and open exchange of ideas and brainstorming. At the same time, her response questioned what Nunan (2005) lists as an important goal of CLT classrooms—"help learners not to be so concerned with accuracy that they do not develop the capacity to be fluent" (p. 67)—because Erin's future boss supposedly would not hire her if her English was not perfect (most likely by native-speaker standards). Erin and many of her classmates at CSU were requesting both an expert teacher who would guide them like a parent and a skills facilitator who would use CLT methods, inspire them through the appropriate topics, and make connections to the diverse globalizing world, a high requirement for both local and foreign teachers to meet.

Qīn Hé Lì

As a final note on the expectations of teacher–student relationships at CSU and in China, an interview with two CSU students, Sam and Echo, and one local English teacher, Iris, summarizes many common ideas found in the interviews, journals, and classroom transcripts analyzed throughout the chapter. In discussing the translation of the term 亲和力, *qīn hé lì*, the group raised aspects of what an "effective" teacher is in the English classroom, a definition that incorporated concepts of many roles and discourses found in CSU classroom teaching and student-teacher relationships.

(1) Sam: 我觉得,这个问题,就是要善于引导学生去讲,就是善于沟通,
亲和力要强 (I think, this question, [a teacher] is good at conducting students to speak/talk. That is [teacher] should be good at communication, and *qīn hé lì*)
(2) Iris: 这个亲和力 (this *qīn hé lì*) I don't know how to translate.
(3) Echo: Easy-going 亲和力 (*qīn hé lì*). A charm with the students.
(4) Iris: The teacher should easily dominate the class, lead the class, lead the whole students to do what he or she expect them to do. The teacher is very nice and knowledgeable. The teacher is the model or is the facilitator.
(5) Echo: Want to follow. Students want to follow the teacher. Oh, my teacher is so wonderful. (Interview, April 4, 2007)

Qīn hé lì cannot be broken down compositionally into its individual character meanings, and as implied from the discussion, understandings of *qīn hé lì* appear to be context- and situation-dependent. It can be noted, however, that alone as an adjective *qīn*亲 can mean "close" or "intimate" or, as a noun, "parent" or "relation," and is used in terms such as *qīn'ài*, "dear," as a formal letter greeting, and *qīnqī* "relative." In the same way, *lì* 力 stands for "power" or "strength" alone as a noun, and is used in two-character terms such as *nénglì* "ability" and *lìqì* "physical ability" or "energy" (Manser et al., 2009). Also, *hé* 和 is a conjunction meaning "and" or "together." Taken together, Iris's final statement in (4) appears to be a common definition of *qīn hé lì* as it incorporates a teacher who "easily dominates the class," "is very nice and knowledgeable," and "is the model or is the facilitator," a description that incorporates many of the roles of teaching at CSU discussed in this chapter, and perhaps could be translated simply as "caring but authoritative".

The broad description of *qīn hé lì*, as shown above, however, sets a high standard for English teachers in China because, as Echo mentioned above, students will just "want to follow" a good teacher, implying that good teaching may somehow just come naturally to the most effective teachers. For the students and teachers at CSU, good teaching seemed to embody morals- and manners-teaching to varied degrees; and good teachers tended to be those who were also seen as role models and moral guides, though there were different ways to define this role in contemporary China, as indicated in the data.

Discussion

> The "problem of identity," which has haunted men and women since the advent of modern times, has thus changed its shape and content. It used to be the kind of problem that pilgrims confront and struggle to resolve: a problem of "how to get there." It is now more like a problem with which the vagabonds, people without fixed addresses and *sans papiers*, struggle daily: "Where could I, or should I, go? And where will this road I've taken bring me?" (Bauman, 2001, p. 126)

The chapter analyzed descriptions of teachers in CSU English classrooms, and it revealed that despite broad educational reform of the pedagogy and curriculum at CSU, teachers and students are not unanimously abandoning the roles that they have traditionally taken in Chinese educational settings (Cortazzi and Jin, 2002, 2006, 2012; Jin and Cortazzi 2002, 2011), nor are they rejecting the expectations of spoken proficiency and student individualism articulated in CSU and Chinese MOE policy as well as through oft-used discourses of education reform and internationalization. Instead, in articulating Chinese educational traditions while indexing international norms, these teacher–student relationships illustrate what Bauman (2001) calls the multiple identifications or paths available to teachers in the globalizing age. This notion of identifications as an unfinished process describes well the divergent descriptions and images of teaching in the above chapter.

CSU policy and many administrators and teachers, however, do not seem to expect these multiple identifications and ways of performing teaching roles to be put into practice. For example, in faculty meetings, the Director of the ELC often praised the local teachers since they "know the backgrounds and abilities of Chinese students well" while mentioning that the foreign teachers “know how to teach using the new communicative methods” (ELC faculty meeting, March 2007). In contrast, Wendy‘s performance as a parent and director of student learning revealed a different type of knowledge about the local students then portrayed by administrators and teachers. In addition, the use of “I love you” between students and teachers is a different type of communicative competence than that which was intended by the reforms. In further discussions, I told Wendy that from my perspective not everyone I know easily says “I love you,” especially not to students, and that many teachers in English would not allow their students to call them “Mother” or “Father.” Whilst understanding this aspect of English, however, Wendy plans to continue to tell her students that she loves them, and she is happy when they call her “Mother.”

Regardless of the specific teaching practices and roles of local and foreign teachers at CSU, the multiple articulations and negotiations of traditions at CSU challenge the policy, which is written primarily from a “teacher as skills facilitator” model of student–teacher relationships. It appears imperative that teachers and students at CSU be encouraged to view their classrooms and their own identities as evolving and changing through their personal and collective classroom practices. This is not just the situation at CSU, however, and to the detriment of teachers at universities worldwide, from China to the USA, policies often reify teaching roles as stable entities that do not change over time and place.

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4

"My Name is Money": English Names and Creative Play Inside and Outside the Classroom

Introduction

Toward the end of the academic semester at CSU in late May 2007, Nashville, one of the students in my Level 5 Academic Writing course, asked me to come to the "English Lounge" to give a presentation. Open seven nights a week throughout the school semester, the English Lounge was a student-run organization and event space that provided CSU students with a place to practice English in a comfortable and informal environment. With its large selection of English-language videos, newspapers, board games, and magazines, it was one of the most well-known and well-attended co-curricular English programs at CSU. Already wondering why students spent so much of their free time in the evenings studying English and reasoning that most students would not be interested in another of my lectures on academic writing and how to organize paragraphs and reports, I asked Nashville if I could give a talk about English names in China. She checked with the lounge staff who said that my topic "sounds very interesting" and that they would be happy if I talked about whatever interested me. Nashville added, "And you seem so interested in our English names."

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One of the reasons that I was so interested in English names and wanted to talk about English name choices in China was because earlier in 2007, I had attended the Multilingual Discourses Conference at Zhejiang University in the coastal Chinese city of Hangzhou, where one of the Chinese presenters had given a talk about her students' use of English names. She was from Beijing and used her student journal entries about their English names to describe the phenomenon. Her overall recommendation was that her students should not choose "exotic" or non-traditional names but she sympathized with student desires for uniqueness. During the discussion that followed her presentation, the audience members, who were primarily foreign English teachers at universities in China, offered some of the more interesting names their students had chosen, including one teacher who noted, "I've had an Osama and a Saddam in the same class." A few English teachers from Japan and Korea noted that their students generally do not choose English names, either creative or traditional, and that in the East Asian ELT context the practice of choosing English names is primarily located in Chinese classrooms. In my many years teaching at CSU, I have participated and witnessed many similar teacher discussions about the most "weird" and "outrageous" names chosen by our students. One of my favorite names to add to these conversations was "Sayyousayme," a student named after the Lionel Richie song with the same title.

These conversations about student English names are similar to anecdotes in Hessler (2001), a popular account of the author's time teaching at a university in Sichuan province, in which he describes a student named "Money" that he began calling "Mo' Money." In many ways, these discussions also reflect similar ones held in expatriate communities around the world as teachers deal with culture shock and adapting to the language uses of local cultures. Despite the desire to find humor in new and unrecognizable practices, in 2007, I wondered what students such as Nashville felt about the amazement of foreign teachers and the disdain shown by many local teachers toward their English names. I often felt uncomfortable at my own laughter when the discussion of names continued for long periods and led to depictions of the peculiar classroom habits and pronunciation features of our Chinese students. I wondered if, in laughing at the names of Chinese students, we were both orientalizing and othering (Said, 1979) our students as different and uncultured in comparison with our unmarked and “normal” naming practices. The interest, perhaps even obsession, that many English teachers had concerning the English names of Chinese students seemed to point to a slight insecurity about who controls English and the linguistic norms associated with naming practices. In the past, the popular website engrish.com has employed a similar humorous take on English use in East Asia by posting T-shirts and public signs found in Japan in which conventional rules of English syntax and semantics were altered.

In addition to websites and multiple foreign journalists documenting the creative use of English on everything from billboards to restaurant menus in China, the fact that many Chinese teachers of English also appeared to dislike the untraditional names, such as the presenter at the conference in Hangzhou as well as many teachers at CSU, reveals the pressures students already feel to conform to naming conventions even before foreign teachers arrive and ask questions about the student names. It seemed that this most basic communication choice of “what to call oneself” was tied to larger tensions in the appropriation of linguistic practices in teaching English in China.

As was also the case with my concerns about teaching practices at CSU and my attempts to fit in with local teaching practices, as described in the previous chapters, I was often pulled in two directions at CSU. I wanted to respond honestly to students and teachers who asked if their names were appropriate in the USA, but I also wanted to respect local name choices and appropriations of English culture. As I prepared for the English lounge presentation, I aimed to present the topic of English names as an open question about identity and language-learning, not as a joke in which student names were the punchlines. I constructed a slide show based on some journals that my students had written in my academic writing class about their English names, and I listed some questions for students to consider, such as: what English names do North Americans pick?; what English names do Chinese students pick?; how do North Americans pick names?; how do Chinese students pick names?; why do Chinese students pick such original names?; and finally, what’s in a name?

About thirty students were present as I started my talk and more came in throughout the talk. My talk began rather dryly with a description of popular names in the USA and a discussion of the growing trend of names such as Neveah (heaven spelled backwards). Some students nodded their approval of this name and smiled at its growing popularity. After I concluded my first description of how students pick their English names, I opened the presentation up to comments.

1 Paul: Do you have any other ways that you pick your English names(?)
(1.0)
2 S1: By your major.
3 Paul: By your major(?)
4 S1: I know someone who choose their English name by their major
5 Paul: So, like what(?)
6 S1: Like “Business”
7 Paul: They … He named himself “Business”
8 Sts: ((laughing quietly))
9 Paul: Liberal Arts(?)
10 S1: No, I know one guy named “Lawman” because a law student is a man
Who studies law and so he’s a “Lawman.”
11 Sts: ((laughing loudly))
12 Paul: He’s a LAWMAN
13 S1: In that direction, I should call myself “Businessman.” OK(?)
14 Sts: ((laughing loudly))
15 Paul: Or, Englishman.
(English Lounge Presentation, June 9, 2007

One minute later, I ask one of my students about his similar reason for choosing his name.

1 Paul: Joseph, your name used to be “CEO.”(?)
2 Sts: ((laughing loudly))
3 Joseph: Yes, I have two names before [his previous names were “CEO.” and “EFG”]

4 Paul: Did you want to be a CEO.(?)
5 Joseph: Yes, I want … ed … wanted to be a CEO. Someone will present you … your dream.
6 Paul: So you pick your name on what you want to be.
7 Joseph: Just a good pronunciation. EFG … I think it's a really good pronunciation.
(English Lounge Presentation, June 9, 2007

In the transcript from this English Lounge discussion, the students articulated a few of the main factors in choosing English names, including pronunciation, future goals, and the uniqueness of names. Edwards (2006), in one of the few applied linguistic studies on Chinese learners' English-name choices, notes that unlike European and North American names, Chinese children are often given names that have a meaning related to an event at the time of their births rather than an etymological meaning. The names given to Chinese children are typically composed of any combinations of characters and morphemes in the Chinese language, and thus few children in China have the exact same written names. For example, many Chinese names, such as my student whose name referred to "newly fallen snow" because she was born in winter during a snowstorm, have meanings that are very personal and related to life experiences. Edwards (2006) also notes that many Chinese change their names throughout their life; such changes are often connected to an important transition, such as from youth to adulthood, or other related personal-growth experiences. She contrasts Chinese naming practices, which she argues represent a fluid and contingent view of identity, similar to postmodern theory, with British naming practices, which she considers as strictly humanist, "whereby the subject retains an essential self across time and space" (p. 93).

In considering the complex dialogue and discussion over English names that my students and I had begun at the English Lounge and which regularly takes place in many elementary and high-school English classrooms across China, continuing when Chinese students transition to English-medium universities, this chapter investigates in depth the claim that in choosing their English names, Chinese students are projecting a more fluid notion of identity, in comparison with the humanistic culture of British and North American English cultures. In addition, since names are such an integral part of communication, identity, and language-learning, the chapter examines in more detail the reasons for the names students choose at CSU and the roles foreign and local teachers play in this identity-construction. Specifically, the chapter focuses on the following sets of research questions:

1. What are the names? How do they pick the names? How do foreign and local teachers influence student name choices?
2. What do student name choices reveal about student investment in learning English and playful reappropriation of English naming practices?

In addressing these research questions, the chapter draws on data from: (1) Interviews with focus groups of current and former CSU students and teacher participants at multiple points over the ten years of the study (n = 81); (2) student journals from a 2007 classroom project on English names (n = 32); (3) and discussions at a student English club as previewed above (n = 1). As with earlier chapters, multiple perspectives are presented in an attempt to represent the complexity of the research questions as well as capture the many perspectives and attitudes towards names at CSU. In particular, the English Lounge presentation and student journals are central in revealing the attitudes and reasons behind name choices. The students who visit the Lounge were perhaps more motivated to learn English and acquire the habits and customs of international citizenship than others at CSU. These students' use of traditional and non-traditional names and playful appropriation of English offer revealing comparisons with students at other proficiency levels, and are markers of how students are socialized into learning the English language and negotiating perceived norms and customs. This analysis is similar to the investigations of teaching methods and teacher roles presented in previous chapters. In order to further compare and contrast the different name-choices across proficiency levels, the focus groups consisted of students on ELC Level 2, 3, 4, and 5 courses (see description in Chap. 1) as well as focus groups of senior CSU students and CSU graduates who had all taken ELC courses.

Before exploring the data and research questions in more detail, the next sections offer more discussion of some recent work on naming practices in sociolinguistics as well as a summary of recent articles from popular media about creative English naming practices. Then, the data sections address the research questions and offer an analysis of student journals, interviews, and further conversation transcripts from my night at the English Lounge. The chapter ends with a discussion of how English name-choices complicate the separation of local and global spaces and can become a revealing topic in language classrooms, provoking playful appropriation as well as critical reflection on language learning.

Media Accounts of English Names in China and the West

Writing about the effect of names, particularly "bad" and unusual names, Sherrod and Rayback (2008) document what many social psychologists have argued for years (Ford et al., 1984; Steele and Smithwick, 1989), that many English speakers with untraditional names, such as Candy Stohr, Mary Christmas, and Cash Guy, exude pride and experience few ill-effects as a result of their unusual names. Further, in his book on popular and unusual names, Evans (2006) analyzed census reports to find that the top 50 names for boys account for less than 50 % of the names in America, showing a growing use of non-traditional names that he attributes to a reaction against the rise of a homogenous, suburban culture in the USA. Evans (2006) reports that female names may be even more creative, with the top 50 names only accounting for 40 % of all girls' names in his study, and he further cites the rise of names that are brand names, such as Lexus, Jaguar, or Armani, as signifying a trend in American culture that views children as accessories and projections of social and material wealth, very similar to trends in the 1890s to name daughters Opal or Ruby. The use of untraditional names is clearly growing in the USA for a variety of social reasons, and the process of choosing a name for a child has fostered a huge industry of books and name consultants.

At the same time, there is widespread interest and surprise when non-BANA[1] English-speaking countries and English learners create new naming traditions and begin assigning what some consider non-traditional names to themselves and their children. In 2007, the *New York Times* reported on the use of creative English names in Zimbabwe such as Enough, Godknows, and Hatred, which were chosen based on the weather or political and personal circumstances at the time of a child's birth (Wines, 2007). The author reports that some Zimbabweans, similar to local English teachers in China, felt that these names would cause problems for children, and she cites the *Financial Gazette* in Harare which opined, "These names amount to a form of child abuse" (para. 5).[2] However, similar to the reasons for the names chosen by students in China, though this was not explored in the limited space of the newspaper article, the English names in Zimbabwe may also be markers of creativity, playfulness, and the local community's English-language culture.

In the East Asian and Chinese context, Lee (2001) wrote again in the *New York Times* about students in Taiwan choosing untraditional names similar to those chosen by students at CSU. Describing students named Medusa, Skywalker, and Satan, she quotes Medusa Wang who states, "I'm not saying I'm evil, but I'm a bit cold. I also like the feeling of having a name which has the connotation of great power, the power to change people into stone" (para. 3). Similarly, in Beijing, a video series entitled "Sexy Beijing" presented an episode entitled "Lost in Translation" in which the host, Anna Lowenberg from the USA, interviewed local Beijing residents about their English names. During the five-minute video, she talks in Mandarin and English with Beijing residents who have names such as Smacker and Frog as well as with a woman who named her dog Samanfar.[3] On the video-hosting site YouTube.com, comments ranged from "I think it's an interesting topic, but at the same time, I feel she is kinda of making fun of chinese ppl" to "It's not really shallow, it's funny, and it is still funny as a chinese person, there was nothing in the video that insulted chinese ppl, instead it showed how comical chinese ppl are.”[4] The comments on the website are overwhelmingly positive and complimentary but do point to some tensions in laughter that is inspired by how Chinese learners of English are using English names.[5]

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[1] Holliday (1994) defines BANA as Britain, Australia, and North America.

[2] Makoni et al. (2007) offer a much more complex and thorough analysis of English naming in Zimbabwe. Similarly to this chapter, they draw on ethnographic data and interviews that are often missing from media reports and large-scale surveys.

[3] http://www.sexybeijing.tv/new/video.asp?id=15 (accessed December 13, 2015).

More recently, the Western media’s intense interest with the English names of Chinese English learners was illustrated in a 2014 faux webpage that drew the attention of many international English media outlets including CNN, *The Guardian*, the BBC, *National Public Radio* and *The Straits Times*. The faux webpage (since removed) had the appearance of an official page on the CCTV (China Central Television) website, and it purported to offer advice for English learners in China when choosing an English name. Many news media quickly linked to the webpage and offered summaries of the site’s “advice.” For example, the site instructed Chinese students to avoid names that are also food because, “To put bluntly, names like Candy, Lolly, Sugar (think anything sweet), are typically thought of as ‘non-smart girl’ names or ‘stripper’ names” (Chan, 2014, para. 1). Instead, the faux site recommended picking traditional names such as William, Michael, or Catherine because they are associated with “Britishness” and “wealth” (Chan, 2014, para. 1). The site was quickly discovered and taken down by Chinese censors, but the fact that so many news organizations quickly wrote stories about the “crazy” names that Chinese people chose, and emphasized the role the Chinese government was supposedly playing in trying to control the name choices of students, illustrates the near-obsession Western media have with any story that reveals Chinese people to be different, not cultured, and controlled by a hegemonic government that even tells them what names to choose when learning English. Even when the hoax was discovered, only a few media outlets amended their stories to note that the original website was not in fact created by the Chinese government.

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[4] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S3U5u3D2L9Q (accessed June 5, 2008).

[5] Some foreigners who laugh at Chinese English names are likely perplexed about whether to laugh with or laugh at the Chinese people who have named themselves in this way. Many foreigners are uncomfortable because they are not sure if the humorous name choice was made accidentally or on purpose. There is a stereotype of Chinese people as humorless, which would lead to the conclusion that the humorous name choices are accidental and embarrassing. Many of the consciously humorous names used by my CSU students and in films like *Lost in Translation* run counter to this stereotype.

Western media interest in the English names of Chinese students also reveals a tension and perhaps fear that the norms and rules for English usage are not controlled by the BANA countries, at least not as overtly as in the past. In 2015, this fear of losing control of English naming customs was illustrated by a website with the purpose of helping Chinese students pick English names. Lindsay Jernigan comments that she created the website http://bestenglishname.com to "help you find a name that is cool and unique but that won't make Westerners feel uneasy" (Phillips, 2015, para. 5). For a fee of 50 yuan, visitors to the site could take a personality quiz that would then generate a list of appropriate English names to choose from. Similar to the furor over the faux CCTV webpage, Western media from *The Telegraph* to *NPR* quickly posted interviews with Jerrigan after the website came to their attention, and many news organizations offered articles in which commentators were amazed at the variety of English names among Chinese students and professionals (Langfitt, 2015; Nguyen, 2015). None of the media commentary offered discussions of the playfulness of using English among students nor was the notion taken up that some cultures and contexts may choose to use English and English names for purposes that do not align with English usage in BANA countries.

Though interesting as well as troubling as documentation of social trends and prejudices about language use, media accounts can only offer a superficial analysis of culture and language. Clearly, more in-depth sociolinguistic research and ethnographic interviews are needed in order to throw more light on the humorous and complex cultural practice of English name choices among students and English learners in China.

Recent Work in Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics on Naming Practices

> Although language socialization models tend to imply that the appropriation of target culture norms and practices is *always* desirable, virtuous, inevitable, and complete, a greater range of possible intentions and outcomes actually exists, including non-conformity, partial and multiple community memberships and linguistic repertoires, and social exclusion. Seen

> in this way, knowledge and participation in educational activities are co-constructed and are crucially linked with issues of *identity, agency,* and *difference*. (Duff, 2002)

In her study of the naming choices of Korean immigrants in the USA, Thompson (2006) notes that much research into naming practices has focused on the psychological perspectives of first-language name choices, ranging from work on self-esteem, personality disorders, and the effects of uncommon names on child development. She echoes Duff (2002) in arguing that for second-language learners and immigrants, the practice of keeping a name from your first language or adopting an English name is a complicated decision that involves the co-construction of identities linked to communities of practice in a second language. She writes that “names are elements of language fraught with complicated social implications,” and second-language learners, in particular immigrants, “negotiate not only bilingual and bicultural identities, but also binominal identities, which are far more complex than may be imagined” (p. 180).

Citing Rymes (1986) as pointing sociolinguistics toward a theory of naming as social practice in which names are closely tied to the “identity concerns” of speakers and communities, Thompson (2006) further points out that the study of English name choices is connected to work in applied linguistics on investment in linguistic communities (Norton, 2000/2013) and imagination (Wenger, 1998). She concludes, “I found that although the participants in my study did index different social identities, it was not necessarily invoked by language, but often by the context that the language is a part of, and, most important, an investment in membership within desired communities of practice” (Thompson, 2006, p. 203). Unlike the choice of the three participants in Thompson (2006) between Korean names and more traditional English names such as Ellen and Kelly, however, students at CSU choose very creative and untraditional English names. This use of names by students at CSU and in many Chinese universities appeared to illustrate much more than the processes of assimilation or adaptation, and in analyzing the data below, I argue that these names require more complex readings of identity and local culture, as students sidestep these processes.

Mentioned above, Edwards (2006) is the first study of Chinese students choosing English names, and similar to Thompson (2006) she draws on language socialization and poststructural perspectives to analyze English names and the identity processes of language learners. She too focuses on the compliance of Chinese students' English names at British universities and adds further analysis of English names as resistance to British culture.

> It is my contention that the tensions experienced with regard to names and their use in the classroom is an example, at a fundamental level, of strategies of compliance and resistance adopted by students vis-à-vis British culture and learning English; strategies which may well be evident in other areas of their studies. (Edwards, 2006, p. 95)

Using questionnaires and some interviews, she reports that many of the Chinese students first used English names in their English classrooms in China because of CLT methods that emphasized an equal relationship between teachers and students. She further notes that many of her participants were required to have English names while students in China, and certain names were considered inappropriate for certain students. She writes that the adoption of English first names by Chinese students in Britain serves at least two purposes. First, students are able to perform a new identity and "belong to a cultural group in a society in which they can perceive themselves to be, and in some cases are, treated as Other" (p. 101). At the same time, the English name allows the students not to use their given Chinese personal names, which they would never use with teachers and professors in China, thus maintaining a sense of cultural practice and comfort. From this perspective, taking up an English name entails literally performing another identity separate from your "home" language. Edwards (2006) makes an important connection between student–teacher power dynamics, cultural assimilation, and the very personal issue of choosing a name; and further follow-up interviews and observations of students and teachers in China, as I attempt to offer here, can add to her analysis.

Edwards (2006) also goes on to write that the use of English names by Chinese students may serve to "other" both teachers and students.

> The problem created here for native speakers of the EFL profession is obvious. The teacher is being constructed by students as a stereotypical Other who is incapable of getting to grips with even the most basic aspects of Chinese culture. For the lecturer, who sees that Chinese learners are so willing to adopt English names and forgo their own names, the hazard is that the Chinese learner is constructed as an Other who does not have a strong sense of identity. (Edwards, 2006, p. 96)

Edwards (2006) also mentions that the non-traditional name choices of students, which were primarily taken by male students in her study, signal an even greater resistance or mocking of English standards, particularly when students retain the names despite a teacher's insistence that they change. I agree with Edwards (2006) in that the practice of using English names is more complicated than simply saying "Chinese people always take new names for new situations" or that Chinese people "don't see their names as 'real' names." As illustrated in the examples presented below, however, I also see the practice, particularly the reasons for why Chinese students in China choose their names and the influence of foreign and local teachers on their choices, as part of a more complicated dialogue than simply "compliance" or "resistance." Throughout this analysis, I draw on Blommaert (2005) in showing that student naming choices are intended and indexed to foreign norms or foreign teachers, and at the same time, that the choice of names is crucially linked to the student communities and local meanings given to English names. Often in our rush to theorize a communication or linguistic practice, researchers place too much emphasis and interpretation on a prevailing theory or popular generalization about identity or social communities, losing the nuance present in the immediate social situation and linguistic utterance. The naming practices at CSU can be viewed as supporting theories of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991), power/discourse (Foucault, 1980), or investment (Norton, 2000/2013), but they must also be read as the immediate production of creative and playful students, outside of a specific theoretical lens or analytical tool.

With this extended introduction and summary of recent media and academic work on English names completed, the next sections will now present summaries of the data on English name choices and practices at CSU.

Findings: Playing with English Names

What Are the English Names Used at CSU?[6]

In summary, analysis of all of the student journals and interviews of CSU students and graduates from 2004 to 2014 reveals the following types of English names used by students:

1. Names based on the sounds or meanings of the characters in their Chinese names: Susan, Money, Ice, Fun, Fish, Rain, Joe, Seven.
2. Names that represent aspects of a student's personality or future goals: Lucky,
   Login, Blue, Ivy, Rainbow, Celery, CEO, Shadow.
3. Names that are playful creations of new words: Masgo, Dodo, Bluff, EFG, Shooin, Sayyousayme, Bluewave.
4. Names from popular music, television, and movie stars: Echo (a Taiwanese writer), Bruce (after the actor Bruce Lee), Yumiko (a Japanese singer), X-boy (a character in a science fiction novel).
5. Names that are chosen from a list of names or given by a teacher: Alice, Karen, Tim, Ava, Noah, Cadan (given by a Russian teacher) (McPherron, 2009).

The English names and student reasons for choosing an English name are further explored in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 below. The tables offer selected examples of the student names across proficiency levels followed by further quotes and analysis from interviews with different focus groups of CSU students. In addition, the tables describe student classroom name preferences and the use of English names outside of class. In the far-right

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[6] The English names presented in the data sections are the students' chosen names. Their Chinese names are omitted to protect confidentiality, except where permission was granted. The participating students agreed to allow me to use their English names.

Table 4.1 Selected names of Level 2–5 students at CSU

English name	Gender	Classroom level	Use English name outside of class	Classroom preference	Reason for name choice
Mitchell	F	5	Yes, with friends and teachers.	English	Read *Gone with the Wind* and appreciated Scarlett's strong spirit; The name is similar to her Chinese name.
Shooin	F	5	Yes, with friends and teachers.	English	She created it because it has a nice sound.
Login	M	5	Yes, mostly with foreign teachers	English	The name sounds close to his family name; "I am glad to 'login' to your world and bring you a lot of fun."
Wendy	F	5	No	English	The name was the last name left on a list given by teacher in elementary school. Her teacher chose it for her.
Joseph	M	5	Yes, mostly with foreign teachers.	English	He became a Christian and picked Joseph as a name from the Bible; his earlier names were "CEO" and "EFG."
Bruce	M	4	No	English	From the movie star Bruce Lee; "I don't think that I can be king of boxing, but I can be a king of study."

(*continued*)

Table 4.1 (continued)

English name	Gender	Classroom level	Use English name outside of class	Classroom preference	Reason for name choice
Masgo	M	4	Rarely	English	He is always in a hurry and so combined "must go" into one word for simplicity.
Sure	M	3	Yes, primarily online.	English	His friend gave him the name; he uses his English name on the internet often and likes the joke that someone may ask him if he is sure, and he'd reply "Yes, 'I'm sure."
Seven	F	3	Yes, all of the time at university	English	The name sounds like her name in Cantonese and it's a lucky number; her previous name was Swim.
Money	M	2	No	English	He likes money; "Just think. I think that the future I may be rich."
X-boy	M	2	Yes, with many friends both foreign and local.	English	The name is from a science-fiction book and means unknown boy; many friends call him X-boy and do not know his Chinese name.

Table 4.2 Selected English names of former ELC students

English name	Gender	Classroom level	Use English name outside of class	Classroom preference	Reason for name choice
Lucky	M	Graduated	Yes, primarily known as Lucky at CSU; Also uses at work.	English	He chose this name because he was going to study English and he felt that he was lucky to be in university despite poor high-school exams.
Felix	M	Graduated	Yes, with friends and at work.	English	His first English name was Dick, but friends made fun of him, and he changed to Felix.
Harry	M	Graduated	Yes, with most friends and sometimes at work.	English	In high school he had the name "Hobby" and he changed it to Harry when he first had a foreign teacher; he picked the name from a list.

(*continued*)

Table 4.2 (continued)

English name	Gender	Classroom level	Use English name outside of class	Classroom preference	Reason for name choice
No/ Noah	M	Senior	Yes, at school (in the UK) and with friends.	English	He did not have an English name when entering CSU and wrote “No” on his background form under the line “English name”; He kept the name “No” for one year and then changed to Noah.
Celery/ Serene	F	Graduated	Yes, with friends and at work.	English	She picked Celery at CSU because it sounded unique and she liked to eat it; she used Serene at work because it sounded more professional.
Dodo/ Doe	F	Senior	Both, depends on context	English	She picked Dodo in high school because she liked the way it sounded; she switched to Doe when she attended a speech contest.

Table 4.2 (continued)

English name	Gender	Classroom level	Use English name outside of class	Classroom preference	Reason for name choice
Kate	F	Senior	Yes, with friends and foreign teachers.	English	Many stories in high school had a character named Kate and she thought the name was popular.
Rain	F	Graduated	Yes, with work colleagues and friends.	English	A teacher gave her the name Jennifer in high school, but she changed to Rain at CSU because a friend was named Wind and she wanted a more unique name.
Lyle/ Andy	M	Graduated	Yes, with friends but not work colleagues.	English	He chose Lyle in high school because of the sound; he uses Andy at work because it is easier to pronounce.

column of the tables, a short summary or quote from student journals or interviews is included to explain how or why the students chose their names.

Some of the students chose names that were popular in the USA or the UK, but few chose names from the MOE (2004) list (Table 4.3) instead

Table 4.3 List of English names for college English students in China (MOE, 2004)

Male names	Female names
Adam, Frank, Nicholas, Alan Fredrick, Patrick, Andrew Geoffrey, Paul, Ben, George, Peter, Benjamin, Henry, Philip, Bill, Hugh, Raymond, Brian, James, Richard, Charles, Jeremy, Robert, Christopher, John, Roger, Cliff, Jonathan, , Sandy, Clifford, Joseph, Smith, Daniel, Kevin, Stephen/Steven, David, Mark, Stuart/Stewart, Douglas, Martin, Thomas, Edward, Matthew Timothy	Alison, Isabel, Patricia, Amanda, Jacqueline, Rebecca, Amy, Jennifer, Rosa, Angela, Joanna/Joanne, Ruth, Ann, Anne, Judith, Sally, Barbara, Julia/Julie, Sandra, Carol/Caroline , Karen, Sarah, Christina, Kitty, Sharon, Clare, Laura, Sheila, Deborah, Linda, Shirley, Diana, Lynn, Suzan, Dorothy, Margaret, Theresa, Elizabeth, Mary, Tracy, Emma, Pamela, Victoria, Helen, Wendy
Eric, Michael, William	

preferring to find their own names. Some names were in the 2014 Social Security Administration's list of popular names in the USA,[7] but often the students desired a unique spelling or pronunciation to make it personal such as Login and Megin. Unlike in Edwards (2006), the names chosen by females were also untraditional and creative, often chosen for their dictionary meanings, such as Ivy, or their unique pronunciation, such as Shooin. Also, many students were on their second or third name. Joseph was formerly "CEO" and before that "EFG." Perhaps his increased competence and exposure to the naming practices of foreign teachers changed his choice of names, a point further explored in Chap. 6 when discussing the English names used by CSU graduates in their professional lives.

Of the 81 students interviewed, only two did not have English names to use in class, and only one student had never picked an English name. The reasons for both male and female student names were various, but a desire for uniqueness and simplicity and a tendency to replicate sounds in their Chinese names were common reasons across the proficiency levels. As students took more English classes at CSU and their English proficiency improved, they were more likely to adopt and use English names in a variety of contexts, but they did not always pick more traditional names. For example, at Level 5, all students had chosen an English name, and 31 of the 33 Level 5 students used English names outside of class with friends and teachers. In contrast, fewer students at Levels 2–4 used their English names inside or outside of class, with two Level 2 students commenting that they did not need English names because they would not study or use English after taking the required English classes at CSU. As illustrated by Joseph's name changes, there appeared to be a tendency toward adopting and changing English names to sound more "professional" and to move away from creative neologisms at the higher proficiency levels, but the desire for uniqueness remained strong at all proficiency levels.

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[7] https://www.ssa.gov/OACT/babynames/ (accessed December 14, 2015).

In surveying all of the student names and reasons for choosing names included in the interviews, it was clear that students found pleasure, creativity, and a sense of "coolness" in choosing an English name. When asked why students choose English names, a Level 2 student, Benson remarked, "They feel cool. Some people say to me that they feel cool if they have an English name" (interview, May 14, 2007). Another Level 2 student, X-boy, commented, "Some people choose the name Michael Scofield from Prison Break. So cool" (interview, May 14, 2007). X-boy added that his English name is a way to become distinctive and memorable to his friends, "Maybe it is just fun. My Chinese name is hard to pronounce. People just remember that I am X-boy, not my Chinese name" (interview, May 17, 2007). In the interviews, the students also described the process of choosing an English name as both serious and meaningful. Benson looked for a long time through lists of names in books to find the name that suited him the best. Chopper, another Level 2 student, had taken great care in selecting his English name, and he noted that he would switch between two names, "I will use Macross next term. I love Chopper this period of time, but I love Macross all the time" (interview, May 14, 2007). All of the students interviewed agreed that they would use their English names if they moved abroad or worked in an international company in the future.

During the interviews, some of the student names were particularly interesting for the groups to discuss. For example, Masgo commented that he does not spell his name M-U-S-T-G-O because "I think that it is too long." In addition, once he used Masgo his friends all knew him this way and he commented that "Masgo won't die" even if he wanted to change his English name, which he was considering (interview, May 5, 2007). Yumiko also felt that she could not change her name, even though she was disenchanted with it. She chose her name based on the name of a famous music star, but she did not realize that the name was Japanese. She would prefer a more English-sounding name because she actually did not like having a Japanese name in English classes, but her friends and teachers all knew her as Yumiko (interview, May 5, 2007). In many Chinese universities, students take their major classes together and have the same professors for multiple classes, and the choice of English names, while both serious and playful, can often last for the entire four years of student life.

A final group of students that participated in the focus-group interviews had taken ELC classes through Level 4 (Advanced) and were now senior students or CSU graduates working in their first year after graduation. None of the students in these interviews were currently in ELC classes at the time of the interviews. Each student had had at least one English name and, with the exception of Harry who worked in an office at CSU, all of the students, including the seniors, were working in international trading and manufacturing companies in Guangdong or neighboring provinces in internship or full-time positions. All of the former ELC students used their English names with work colleagues and foreign clients. Some postgraduate ELC students made their names more professional when entering the work force, for example Lucky to Lucas. Other students, such as Dodo, Celery and Rain, kept or created new, untraditional names despite knowledge that their names may be different from those of their work colleagues. For example, Celery changed her name to Serene when applying for jobs as she thought that Celery would be considered “unprofessional”; but she uses Celery with friends online, and it was important for her to still use a unique name in her professional life that represented her personality.

One story told during the interviews with former ELC students illustrates well the discussions and negotiations over English name choices that many CSU students face as they graduate and enter the workforce, as well as the role peers and context play in name choices. In our interview, Dodo began by describing how she had first picked her name in high school because of the way it sounded and she was mimicking the name Coco. At that time, she only used the name with friends as a nickname but not in English classes. During her first English class at CSU, Dodo reported, “an American teacher told that it could be, you know, stupid. She mocked my name in her class and I was you know so upset” (interview, May 15, 2007). Despite this comment, Dodo kept the name and most her friends began using her English name to the point that they did not know her Chinese name. In her second year at CSU, she won a competition to represent the university at a speech competition, and the foreign teacher who was her speech coach recommended that she drop the second “do” and change the spelling to Doe. After the speech contest, she went back to Dodo since that was how everyone knew her.

The next time she changed her name was when she was a study abroad student on a semester-at-sea program in which students travelled around the world on a boat while taking classes on board. She commented: “You know I went on semester-at-sea, and I never told my friends about my English name. When I go on serious occasion, I only use my Chinese name. Dodo is only for friends” (interview, May 15, 2007). Unlike the students described in Edwards (2006) who used their Chinese names in informal contexts and their English names in formal contexts such as in classrooms, Dodo used her Chinese name in formal speaking contexts as well as on her resume and job applications.

The final time Dodo recounted changing her use was in the Swiss elevator company where she was working at the time of the interview. Dodo had listed Shufen as the name on her resume, but her Swiss friends at the company learned her English name and told other foreign employees to call her Dodo. She did not mind using Dodo, but she wondered if she would never escape the name at her company as even though she tried to use Shufen, her colleagues kept calling her Dodo. It seemed that her colleagues were attracted to the sounds of Dodo, just as she had been in high school. Dodo’s story, along with Masgo’s and Yumiko’s, illustrate the co-constructions and identity struggles involved in using English names in China as well as the role of foreign teachers and co-workers in deciding the appropriateness of name choices.

How Do Students at CSU Choose Their Names?

In interviews, it was clear that all of the CSU students who had chosen an English name had taken the task seriously and sought a name that represented their personality or identity in some way. In her journal, Echo, a student in my Level 5 class, described the typical procedures a CSU student undergoes when looking for an English name.

> They sit in front of an Oxford dictionary, place a blank sheet of paper next to it and then start their trip of seeking a name. At first, they read through the dictionary and pick up some with a glance, sooner or later, the piece of paper is filled with dozens of names of different kinds; nouns, verbs, adjective words, are treated equally.

In addition to the dictionary, teachers, both in high school and universities, play a centering role in determining students' names. Wanda, a student in my Level 5 course, described in her journal how attaining an English name was a competition for her roommate in high school.

> One of my roommates who named Karen said that her English name was given by her teacher when she was in Grade 6 in Primary school. Before one English exam, her teacher promised to give an English name to the students who reached the goal she set. My roommate got her English name as a prize from her English teacher after that exam as top 1 in her class.

Finding a novel word in the dictionary or winning a prize in school illustrates that in finding an English name a key desire for students is that of displaying uniqueness and standing out from their classmates.

In her journal, Megin, another Level 5 student, further illustrated why uniqueness was so important even after picking a traditional name that other students had selected:

> I got my English name Megin on TV in 2003. I noticed a Chinese movie star had an English name of Maggie. It sounded great. I was fascinated by this name. However, it would be ungraceful to copy other's name. I wanted my name to represent myself only. It should be unique and special. I thought over to make a similar one. Suddenly, "Megin" struck my mind. That was a simple, short and grace name. I spoke one hundred times in my

> heart. I seem I’d got some gold. The next week I told my name to the class and I could hear “Megin” called sweetly. Some changes of an English name made my unique name.

Drawing on multiple processes of name selection, the students clearly focused on finding a name that would set them apart from other students. This is probably not surprising in classrooms of 35–40 students and in a crowded university.

In addition to uniqueness and the expression of different and perhaps multiple selves, the English names described above also reveal a strong desire to connect with international English-speaking communities. For example, in her journal, Nashville, a Level 5 student, described well this process of self-discovery and identity construction through her experience of choosing an English name.

> I will strongly insist that an English name means much, as a second language learner. If you’re going to have one for yourself, find a wonderful one that fixes you. I had my previous name “Carry” before going to university. It was given by my cousin who studies in USA when I was 10 years old. With little knowledge of English I was satisfied about my name. Can a verb be an English name? It’s informal. But at least, it can be a unique name because it‘s a verb.
>
> I am a person who is always looking for differentiation with others. By emphasizing to be special, I began to search for a new name which it’s able to represent myself and make myself easily remembered. I looked up the dictionary and was fond of a place name “Nashville,” especially its pronunciation. Thanks to it, American friends would like to start a chat with me.

Nashville’s desire “to start a chat” with American friends was similar to many other CSU students interviewed. Seven, a Level 3 student, had chosen her name in high school, earlier than most other students, due to her strong desire to live abroad and study in the USA. She mentioned that she loved hearing her English name used by her classmates and asked her friends to use it as well. She commented that she was “lucky” because “all my friends call me Seven” and “my name can be used more times, more possible.” For many students, like Seven and Nashville, an English name was a chance to be creative, and it became an integral part of their membership in imagined international English-speaking communities.

The Role of CSU Teachers on English Name Choices

My discussion with Nashville about her name is also instructive in analyzing the role of foreign teachers in how CSU students pick and use English names. When I first met Nashville, I asked her if she liked country music, and I was surprised to discover that she actually was not familiar with country music. When I described country music, she informed the class that she would have to change her name since she did not like country music at all. The interaction, however, is typical in that I was not trying to mock or look down on Nashville‘s name, nor get her to change her name. Quite the opposite, I had intended to support her decision to choose the name Nashville as I associate the name with the capital of country music. Nashville had chosen her name to enter into conversations with Americans and as an entry marker to English-speaking communities and as an authentic member. Our different interpretations of her name reveal the difficult negotiations and balancing of cultural perspectives that occur between foreign teachers and their Chinese students.

Drawing attention to student naming practices may appear a simple way to meet and learn about a new group of students, and as Edwards (2006) advocates, bringing the practice of English name choices into classroom discussions and the curriculum can empower students in their view of themselves as English speakers. Teachers must be very careful, however, as many students at CSU take these names and their cultural symbolism very seriously, as summarized in Windy’s journal entry below.

> Windy sounds more softly and attractively than “wind.” It makes me think about a pretty and lovely girl in my dream. I want people to call me with this name, because it sounds like my Chinese name too. Sincerely, I have used this name for several years. Thanks to god, I haven’t met some trouble with it. Frankly, a name isn’t just a name, it could bring good or bad affection to you. Choosing an English name can be very serious.

Clearly, students such as Windy and Nashville were attuned to the impressions their names gave to other students and teachers, particularly foreign teachers, and any discussion of student names inside or outside the classroom needs to be sensitive to the complex desires and motivations students have in choosing names, as misinterpretations can lead to silencing of the types of creativity and re-appropriations of English that communicative approaches to teaching English often seek to encourage.

In interviews and informal chats throughout my years working at CSU, local and foreign teachers typically had differing opinions on the creative names chosen by CSU students. Dodo mentioned that American teachers had mocked her name and asked her to change for a formal occasion, but the foreign teachers interviewed over the 10 years of data collection expressed opinions of comfort and acceptance of creative English names. For example, Mary, a first-year foreign teacher at CSU profiled in Chap. 3, expressed her enjoyment of her students' names and even mentioned that the stranger the name, the easier it is to remember the student in a class of 35 students, a key goal for many of the students.

> It's harder to remember her as Tanya. I think if they have a strange name it's easier to remember the students. And in the long run it doesn't matter. There are plenty of hippies in America with strange names. It's not going to hurt anyone. (Interview, May 9, 2007).

In the same interview, Mary said she would give students a traditional English name based on the sounds of their Mandarin names if they asked her for a name. She added that her lower-performing students often have the most creative names.

> One of my kinda lowest-skilled students who never talked was in Art last semester and was named "Mr. Anderson." I assume that he got it from the Matrix, and it just cracked me up, because I was like "Mr. Anderson" and he never had the answer. "Mr. Anderson!!" (Interview, May 9, 2007)

In the same way, all of the foreign teachers interviewed over the course of data collection thought that the creative English names allowed students to relax in class and provided an immediate discussion point for students and teachers on the first day of class.

Local teachers, on the other hand, tended to equate traditional names with linguistic and cultural fluency, and overall, every local teacher insisted that their students use more traditional English names. For example, Ma, an experienced teacher at CSU profiled earlier in this chapter, admitted that her students' names could be funny, but she asked me to hold a program to educate them on English names.

> They don't have real English names. They have real funny ones. I think we should give them a lecture. Or maybe at English lounge or something. They make their names a laughingstock. I have a student called like "Yamaha," like really silly name and "Easy girl." I can't remember many (…) Very funny. (Interview, May 18, 2007)

In addition, several local teachers compared English name choices with Chinese naming practices. For example, Pam, a local teacher at CSU introduced in Chap. 3 and earlier in this chapter, explained how serious names are in Chinese culture: "For Chinese we have such a habit that when you choose a name you have to be careful. You have to choose a name with a right meaning." Ma also commented, "I think that we should have traditional [names]. It's better. Like when you come to China you don't want to be Paul. You want to be *Bǎoluó* (保罗) more Chinese." Ma and Pam's argument is that it seemed natural for me to want a "more Chinese" name when I speak Chinese; thus, CSU students should also choose traditional English names. In fact, all of the local teachers interviewed discussed how they had been given English names by previous foreign teachers or students. None of the local teachers used a creative or non-traditional English name. Pam explained:

> I don't know what does Pam mean. I know that it is the short name for Pamela. In 1986, some foreign students came to Shantou and more than 100 students came here. They gave me this name. They choose this name from 20 names … They wrote down 20 names on the blackboard. They raise their hands and choose Pam [for me]. I don't know why they choose Pam. I don't know the meaning of any names. And they choose Pam. Because I have an English name given by my foreign teacher when I was in college. My teacher gave me the name Alex. I like that name but I don't

> know the meaning of the name. I told my students that my name was Alex. And asked them whether they like it or not and they said no it is too childish and they gave me another name. (Interview, May 23, 2007)

Most local teachers used their English names with their students and other local and foreign teachers, even when speaking Mandarin Chinese or another Chinese dialect outside of the classroom. Some local teachers felt strange at first using their English names. In fact, Angela, a first-year teacher at CSU in 2007, commented that she did not want to use an English name, but when she started at CSU she was told by ELC staff that she should use one with her students. The recommendation to use an English name illustrates the value CSU places on biculturalism and bilingualism and is a further example of CSU administrators attempting to create an international space through the promotion of English-learning and English-speaking identities.

Concluding this section with a further view of the English Lounge discussion, the negotiation of culture, play, and resistance in name choices was perhaps most apparent in the collected data from CSU in my own use of a Chinese name. At CSU, I often discussed my own Chinese name with my students. When I first arrived in 2004, my students and Chinese teacher at the time immediately gave me the name *Bǎoluó* (保罗) based on the pronunciation of “Paul” in Mandarin Chinese. The first character can roughly be translated as “protect” or “care for” but together the characters do not convey a particular meaning. After a year of meeting students with many of the creative names listed above, I often asked my students if I could change my name to *Bōluó* (菠萝) which is still phonetically related to Paul, but means “pineapple” in Mandarin Chinese. The following transcript from the discussion at the English Lounge was similar to many of my discussions over the semester with students in class and interviews. The students in the transcript are Tomato, Dodo, Joseph, and Shadow.

1 Paul: Can I be *Bōluó* (?) would you think that it is funny if you met someone and they said *ni hao wo jiao* “*Bōluó*” [Hello my name is Pineapple].
2 Tomato: It is a kind of food.
3 Paul: But people are called Fish (?)

4 Dodo: You laugh at Fish and people will think that you are so funny.
5 Paul: What about *Bōluó bāo* (?) [pineapple bun]
6 Sts: ((laughing loudly)) (5.0)
7 Joseph: Paul is from the English bible, according to the Chinese bible you are Bǎoluó.
8 Paul: It's not *Bōluó* (?)
9 Dodo: When Paul is translated into Chinese it is *Bǎoluó*.
10 Paul: But I want to be *Bōluó*.
11 Sts: ((laughing quietly))
12 Shadow: We have another name for *Bōluó*, you can also be *Fènglí*.
13 Sts: ((laughing loudly) (5.0)
14 Shadow: It sounds better *Fènglí*.
15 Paul: But I like *Bōluó*… But if you were hiring for a job (?)
16 Shadow: I would fire *Bōluó*.
17 Paul: Well that's what may happen in America.
18 Shadow: If we go abroad we will pick a traditional English name.(English Lounge Presentation, June 9, 2007)

My desire to change my name to *Bōluó* was of course primarily a joke to start discussion of names, but just as many students changed their names after our discussions of English naming norms, the students interpreted our playful discussion as a critique of untraditional names as Shadow's final comment suggests. The discussion shows my attempt at playfulness in Mandarin Chinese as well as the power given to native speakers to control name choices. As a foreign teacher and L1 speaker of English, it was difficult not to engage in discussions about names with university students in China without students interpreting my position as representing the "right" way to choose names, and they take a similar position toward my Chinese name. The relationships of power that dictate many interactions between Chinese and English speakers were a large factor in the movement toward more traditional English names as students progressed from Level 2 to Level 5. It is also why *Bōluó* never became my Chinese name except with other foreign teachers, outside of the prescriptions of Mandarin Chinese speakers.

What Do the English Names Reveal About Investment and Play?

Discussing the refusal of some students to change apparently inappropriate names even after British university teachers had asked them to change, Edwards (2006) writes:

> In one sense, the adoption of an English name which is not a personal English name, but merely an anglicized one, might be seen as the ultimate form of resistance in that it parodies the very process of taking on an English name, but manages to hide itself as compliance and more often than not is interpreted as ignorance. (Edwards, 2006, p. 100)

It is tempting to place a theoretical and political interpretation of resistance onto student name choices, particularly if the students are consciously choosing English names and openly resisting teacher pressures to comply with English naming customs, but for the most part this was not the case at CSU. The name choices of students at CSU certainly index complex intersections of identity, difference, and multiple-community and cultural membership, and these relationships evolved and changed through the different proficiency levels. At the same time, students such as Dodo or Masgo appeared to feel more ambivalence and lack of control toward their creative names than an overt resistance to English-speaking norms.

In discussing English names at the English Lounge, my student from Level 5, Joseph, pointed out that the process of inventing English names may have more to do with sidestepping dominant Chinese naming traditions than a resistance of English.

> Chinese people. Chinese names. Our Chinese names. Almost all Chinese names have meaning. So when we are choosing English names, we will think about its name, like Fish, has meaning. But your names have no meaning. (English Lounge Presentation, June 9, 2007)

Although he was somewhat mistaken in saying that English names lack all meaning, this was his understanding, and his feeling that he can give English any meaning he wishes holds great utility for CSU students. For example, a similar view of English names leads Harry in his interview to describe the power of having an English name, even when speaking with friends in Chinese languages, because of its informal connotations, outside of the formal and fixed meanings inherent in Chinese names.

> David [his Chinese friends and co-worker] calls me Harry and some friends call me Harry. When they call me Harry we feel that we are friends and just friends, you know the Chinese name always means something behind that, and that's complicated … Harry is simple, we are friends so you can call me Harry, we are equal. (Interview, June 12, 2007)

More than resistance to English-speaking norms, it seems that English names are, more importantly, used to construct and perform new identities and relationships even when speaking in Chinese. The predominant use of untraditional names at the lower-proficiency levels also reveals not the ignorance or resistance of students to naming practices, but more importantly the playful attitude many students at CSU and China take toward learning English. At the same time, some high-proficiency students such as Dodo or Rain were resisting or confronting the norms of English by asserting their right to choose non-traditional names. Their narratives, however, reveal more of an ambivalence toward their name than an overt resistance, and if anything Dodo's resistance is not revealed in her use of an English name, but in her desire to be Shufen in her company after her Swiss co-workers have deemed her to be Dodo.

Discussion

> Yet for both the first and second language learner, language play is much more than merely a potential means. As a widespread, highly valued use of language, of social and cognitive importance, it is also an end. Knowing a language, and being able to function in communities which use that language, entails being able to understand and produce play with it, making this ability a necessary part of advanced proficiency. (Cook, 2000, p. 151)

Cook (2000) reminds us that unfortunately play is often ignored in second-language-acquisition research (SLA) and applied linguistics because it is not viewed as part of a communicative, "real-world" language event, or innate grammatical structure. He goes on to write that "despite their different starting points—psycholinguistics/sociolinguistic, innatist/relativist, discipline/practitioner—they all converge to promote a view of language teaching and learning which is quite antithetical to play" (p. 179). Drawing on Cook (2000) and his focus on play in language learning, the student negotiations of name choices presented throughout this chapter offer some important implications and complications for teaching and theorizing English-language learning. First, almost all students at CSU have an English name, often choosing a name because of enrolling in their class with a foreign English teacher but then using the English name for multiple purposes with various friends, teachers, and work colleagues. After the initial impetus to either make things "easy" for a foreign teacher or gain acceptance in English-speaking communities, many students change their names for a variety of creative and playful reasons. Their reasons for picking names reveal that the use of English names is not a simple dichotomy between assimilation and resistance to English-language cultures. Not all language teaching and language socialization is a bifurcated choice of compliance or resistance, and while power is implicated in relationships and interactions between foreign and local teachers, many student names—particularly when the names are used between students, online, and outside of formal professional or work situations—represent a playful expression of personality and not an overt call to reject English norms.

In the discussions and interviews with students at CSU, certain common reasons for picking names emerged; the theoretical constructs of investment, imagination, and communities of practice were clearly revealed and would be well worth analyzing and critiquing, but the choice of names at CSU is tied to very specific communities and classrooms as much as it is a marker of global language norms or theories of learning. As Cook (2000) points out, the names are an "end" in themselves, or as Blommaert (2005) writes the names have "to make sense here" in the local context. In interviews, students such as Masgo and Bluewave mention that they do not particularly desire to use English in their future jobs and will not necessarily look for work in international companies or travel abroad in the future. Regardless, they enjoy creating and using English names, particularly in class. This suggests the importance of English as revealing an orientation towards transnational identities and communities, but the fact that their names are understood as humorous and mostly used between friends and other speakers of Chinese languages suggests that the names primarily make sense "here" at CSU. Resistance to international norms may be part of some student name choices, but most students change their names or at least alter them slightly as they move into higher-proficiency classes such as Level 5 or enter positions at international companies; when names are purely intended for use between students, the choices index more a desire for uniqueness and creativity than resistance or compliance with English-language cultures.

As I mentioned earlier, a second implication for teachers is the delicate approach needed in bringing the topic of naming practices into classroom discussion, journals, and research projects. Most university students at CSU, and probably elsewhere in China, have an opinion about and experience of choosing English names, and thus, the topic is easy for students to relate to and draw on personal experiences. There is always the danger of students reading the teacher's position as a prescription, as seen by Tomato's telling me at the end of our English Lounge discussion, "I will take my name more seriously now." In addition, foreign teachers in particular must be aware of the difficulty of discussing student names without appearing to laugh at students. I knew Dodo's first teacher at CSU personally, and while Dodo interpreted the teacher as mocking her name choice, it is possible that the teacher was trying to laugh with the student, just as I did when the student in English lounge told me about Lawman. Dodo, however, in her first experience with a foreign teacher, felt that her name was not taken seriously. For foreign teachers, the discussion of English names in the classroom and the accompanying laughter may extend the view of Chinese students as strange, "other," and uncultured. It can also potentially fix foreign teachers as obsessed with English names and even, in some cases, as preferring creative names since they are unable to use or understand Chinese names or local Chinese student naming practices. The topic of student English names may not be relevant for local English teachers in China, as many students use their Chinese names at the lower proficiency levels. In addition, many local teachers expressed dislike for the creative English names, and for them a discussion of English names may become normative and focused on altering student preferences.

Despite these difficulties, however, drawing attention to the practice of names in China is almost inevitable for many foreign teachers because it is very difficult to call on a student named "No" or "But" without a smile and some confusion. As with all sensitive topics, a teacher must take great care to establish trust with students in order to prevent unintended readings of both teachers and students. In addition, although the use of my own Chinese name brought out more laughter than reflection in the transcript above, in classroom discussions, I was able to move the conversation with students beyond the laughter at my name towards a more nuanced discussion of who owns any particular language and culture.

In terms of further research, the topic of English names in Chinese university education appears to be an intriguing area that deserves more sociolinguistic and ethnographic attention. Many students change their names as they advance in proficiency and experience but others do not. More longitudinal views of a student's English names could be particularly revealing. In addition, larger survey and interview projects could garner more data as well as comparisons across university contexts within China or between university English learners in multiple countries. In further analyzing and theorizing about the use of English names among Chinese students, it is important to note that much of what goes on when students pick English names is more complicated than it may first appear to be, and takes place in a context outside of the current theoretical perspectives on identity and relationships in the classroom. Much of the name choices at CSU can be analyzed as related to the power dynamics mentioned in works such as Edwards (2006), and in particular Foucault's (1980) points on the presence of resistance and power in social and linguistic relationships; equally, they can be connected to Thompson's (2006) discussion of the investment and imagination of English-speaking communities. In the narratives and discussions presented here, however, I argue that student decisions about English names are, more importantly, a dialogue with teachers, administrators, and fellow students as well as with those students' own constructions of Western culture and international citizenship. This dialogue moves between local and global spaces by articulating personal identities that exist outside of the sphere of power and influence of Western cultures. These personal and community naming practices offer a playful outlet that is an attempt to sidestep overly determined relationships between global and local culture, and it cannot be simply categorized in terms of power and resistance.

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5

Individualism, Voice, and Self-Assessment in the Advanced Academic Writing Course

Introduction

Throughout a 10-year period of teaching, researching, and observing classrooms at CSU, I recorded many examples of students trying to position foreign teachers as representatives of a general culture of English-speaking people, and, at the same time, my data contain numerous instances in which foreign teachers changed their teaching practices in an attempt to fashion a Chinese teaching identity. One particular interaction from my first day of classes in 2004 reflects these attempts at cultural interpretation:

> Noting that teachers dressed rather formally in buttoned-down shirts and slacks, but most without ties due to the humid weather, I went to the first class in my best business casual look. I also noted how university professors were called "Wang lao shi" or Teacher Wang and was prepared to be Mr. McPherron or even better Professor McPherron. As I entered the classroom on the first day, the director of the English language center was present to watch my first class, wearing shorts and sandals. I should write that he has a dual appointment at a university in the US Southwest which may have

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> influenced his wardrobe style. Regardless, I started my class from the front of the room where an elevated lectern looked down on 40 new faces. After I wrote "Mr. McPherron" on the board I turned around to hear 40 students say in almost unison, "Hi Paul!" (Personal teaching notes, September 2004)

This was just the first of many situations where I intended to fit into a Chinese culture that I had viewed as formal and deferent to authority. My students were also attempting to "fit in". Were they accommodating a perceived loose, informal style to my personal teaching or was it a larger translation of their educational selves into the world of global English, where the constraints imposed by the idea of what is a "good" Chinese student are altered or no longer in place? Regardless, it was clear from the first day of classes that simple explanations would not suffice when discussing student and teacher identity positions and practices at CSU.

In many ways, our interactions on the first day of classes reflect recent work on learner and teacher identity in TESOL and applied linguistics research identity, which has drawn on a communities of practice model to reveal how learning is inherently a social practice situated in the participation of peripheral members in target communities (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Influenced by this model, authors such as Pierce (1995) and Norton (2000/2013) have described the process of identity formation in language-learning contexts as constantly renegotiated through participation in social communities, both existing and imagined, whose standards are either in flux or non-existent. In particular, Norton (2000/2013) argues that the investment of learners in viewing themselves as part of these real and imagined communities, as well as the communities' acceptance of new language learners, influence students' motivations to learn and their eventual linguistic abilities and identities.

Taking on board this understanding of identity as based on participation in communities of practice and, as Block (2006) describes, "the crossroads of structure and agency" (p. 28), a key notion that has informed much of the material in the previous chapters comes from what Martin Cortazzi and Lixian Jin in their diverse work have called *cultures of learning* and, more specifically, a *Chinese culture of learning* (Cortazzi and Jin, 2002, 2006, 2012) or the "interpretative frameworks through which classroom events, other participants and their educational identities are evaluated"

(Cortazzi and Jin, 2002, p. 55). These scholars argue that any reform program in Chinese higher education must take into consideration the text- and teacher-based traditions of Chinese education. Previous chapters explored this notion of a Chinese culture of learning and other contested notions of identity, culture, and identification in relation to teacher roles, CLT pedagogy, community building at CSU, and English name choices. In this chapter, the theoretical concept of a Chinese culture of learning is further contextualized in relation to the use of portfolio assessment, specifically the self-reflection statements in my academic writing courses (Level 5) for advanced English learners.

The use of portfolio assessment has gained popularity in writing classes in ESL programs in the USA in recent years, but it is still a relatively underused practice in EFL settings. For example, Hamp-Lyons (1991), Hamp-Lyons and Condon (2000), and Macaro (2001) and Song and August (2002) all report on how portfolios encourage student–teacher dialogue and student reflection in ESL writing classes, arguing that this type of assessment forces students to self-direct their own learning. In addition to student autonomy, Elbow (1993) reports on the usefulness of portfolios as an efficient model of the process approach to writing, widely used in L1 and ESL classrooms, and Ferris and Hedgcock (2005) detail the practical applications of using writing portfolios in ESL department-wide assessments. In these ESL settings, portfolios typically include the following pieces: (1) Student-selected writing documents; (2) student analysis of samples and previous work; (3) revision of previous work; (4) reflection on learning goals; (5) portfolio writing assignments (Crokett, 1998).

In one of the few studies based in an EFL setting, in this case a university academic writing class in Portugal, Nunes (2004) specifically examines her students' analysis of previous work and their reflections on learning goals. She notes that students were able to learn the language of reflection and that her role in the classroom became that of a guide instead of the traditional center of knowledge. To my knowledge, no other research or writing has explicitly examined the use of portfolios in an Asian EFL context nor performed an in-depth typology of the content of student reflection writing. Thus, a key purpose of the chapter is to expand on the work of Nunes (2004) and extend the investigation of

EFL students' reflection writing to a Chinese university setting as well as connect student reflections to processes of teaching reforms, in this case Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and its clear emphasis on student autonomy. Further, examining portfolio assessments at CSU will add to the analysis in previous chapters of the notion of a Chinese culture of learning and the ways in which my students and I have tried to find common ground in our student–teacher relationships.

Considering the characteristics and critiques of a Chinese culture of learning (see Kubota, 1999) as well as the numerous problems with CLT and other Western-based pedagogies in EFL settings, the implementation of a portfolio approach is a contested practice and not a simple matter of adoption and replication of student-centered teaching. In addition to analyzing both "how" and "what" CSU students are reflecting on, I am particularly interested in how students frame me as a foreign teacher and how they negotiate the CLT reforms that I was explicitly hired to implement at CSU, thus exploring the cross-cultural dimensions of the Chinese university writing classroom. More specifically, the chapter investigates the use of portfolio assessment by addressing the following research questions:

(1) What types of comments do students include in their portfolio reflection and analysis statements?
(2) What do these comments reveal about English-language learning in the Chinese university context?

The structure of the chapter is as follows. The next sections provide further background on recent research on portfolios and teaching methodology and describe my CSU academic writing students. Then, data sections present a typology of student comments as well as some unexpected responses in their personal writing reflections. In these written reflections, included in their year-end writing portfolios, the students reflect on the construction of their portfolios and their overall learning goals throughout the semester. The chapter ends by returning to the research questions and pointing out the unique aspects of portfolio assessment at CSU as well as the broader implications of portfolio assessment in a Chinese EFL setting. As in previous chapters, I weave traces of my own narrative as a teacher and researcher at CSU throughout the following chapter.

Portfolio Assessment in Writing Classrooms

Portfolio assessment is a writing activity that directly relates to a CLT or TBLT approach to writing and language learning (Brown, 2014; Nunan, 2005; Richards and Rogers, 2014). The conventional understanding of portfolios is that they help students learn to work independently, provide samples of student work for future employment, and lead to department-wide comparison of multiple student writing pieces. Ferris and Hedgcock (2005) describe five steps in the portfolio process that replicate the process approach to writing: (1) Collection; (2) selection; (3) reflection; (4) communication; (5) evaluation (p. 323). They write that the process of creating portfolios offers more opportunities for formative assessment, i.e. assessment of students while they are still developing a skill or competency, instead of the summative assessment that is typical of academic writing classes, i.e. final grades on projects and papers. In addition to teaching student autonomy, Ferris and Hedgcock (2005) recommend using portfolios primarily to determine reliable measurement standards and encourage student autonomy. No studies or examinations of portfolios have seriously examined the differences in student backgrounds and cultures of learning, or looked into student reflections as a space in which to appropriate new meanings and forms in English.

Nunes (2004), one of the only studies of portfolios in an EFL setting, does investigate student reflection statements found in her student portfolios. In her analysis, she describes two features of student writing in their portfolios dialogue (both interpersonal and intrapersonal) and reflection. She considers the dialogic comments found in her students' reflection writing important as these are comments in student writing that reveal interactions between the student and teacher, the student and himself/herself, and the student's other classmates. She offers the following examples of dialogue comments from her sample data.

(1) Interpersonal dialogue: "Dear Teacher, Finally, I have cable TV at home. My father bought it in Christmas, and I can watch more programs in English without legends, programs about nature, etc." (p. 330)
(2) Intrapersonal dialogue: "I sometimes am very angry with myself. For example, I know very well that we use the infinitive (would to-) after the modal verb, but I wrote it wrong on the test!" (p. 330)

Nunes (2004) counts the number of reflection comments, but she does not count the number of dialogue comments or state if the dialogue and reflection categories overlap. Overall, she focuses on the types of reflection comments, only offering the examples of dialogue comments in her student essays.

In counting the reflection comments, Nunes (2004) lists the topics of students' reflections under the following categories: (1) Syllabus, "reflections on the contents of the syllabus including the relevance for the students" (p. 331); (2) instruction, "the students' reflections on teaching aids and materials, teaching methods, instructional activities, strategies and tasks" (p. 331); (3) learning, "reflections on the contents dealt with in class, on the students strengths, weaknesses and needs, and learning strategies" (p. 331); and (4) assessment, "reflections on the students' competence and skills, their performance in classroom tasks and conventional tests, as well as reflections on the portfolio itself" (p. 332). The following are examples from her student writing samples.

(1) Syllabus comment: "I liked English and the themes discussed in class, specially the topic Space Exploration." (p. 331)
(2) Instruction comment: "In this class, I liked most the debate in class about the advantages of tourism." (p. 331)
(3) Learning comment: "When a text had some comments that I didn‘t understand, I tried to infer the meaning from context or I asked my colleagues." (p. 331)
(4) Assessment comment: "I think my portfolio is complete. It has many texts, many reflections about grammar, themes, and also many exercises." (p. 332)

In her study, she counts the number of comments that students make under each reflection category and notes that students feel the most comfortable reflecting on class instruction and their own learning, but they do not offer many critical comments on classroom assessments or their overall competence. Nunes (2004) concludes that EFL learners in particular need help in mastering the language of reflection in order to learn how to demonstrate the metacognitive skills required for portfolio reflection and analysis.

The following data sections in this chapter draw on the typology of reflection topics in Nunes (2004) and her descriptions and examples above. I compare the types of comments found on my student self-assessments with her results, but I renamed her category of "assessment" as "assessment/assignments" and changed "learning" to "learning goals" to more clearly differentiate the topics and accurately reflect the type of comments that students made on classroom assignments and the portfolio assignment itself. In addition, I counted the number of dialogic comments as a category separate from the reflection comments. As revealed below, these dialogue comments introduce new content, not specifically found in the reflection categories listed by Nunes (2004), and reveal particularly creative interpretations of the norms of English language writing and student–teacher relationships. Learning the language and organizational norms of reflection in English can be an important skill to address in using a portfolio assessment in EFL writing classes, but in addition to "what" they reflect on I am also crucially interested in exploring "how" CSU students reflect (often through creative dialogues with teachers and students) and what this shows about language learning in a Chinese university setting.

Portfolio Assignment in CSU Academic Writing Classes

The portfolio reflections collected and analyzed in this study come from two of my academic writing classes (ELC 5) during the spring semester of 2007 (n = 36). In the two classes analyzed in this chapter, the students' majors were: English (15), Journalism (8), Business Administration (3), Law (3), Engineering (3), Math (2), Art Design (1), and Chemistry (1). Student construction of the parts of the portfolio took place throughout the semester and followed the accepted process approach to writing described in Elbow (1993) and Ferris and Hedgcock (2005). During the class, the students completed three formal writing assignments and five informal journal writing responses. Each of the three writing assignments went through multiple drafts and revisions and I gave a final grade to the student's third draft. For the portfolio, I asked students to include the following:

(1) A revised, typed, final draft of essay 1, 2, or 3 (their choice), including all intermediate drafts, a peer-response worksheet, and all written instructor feedback;
(2) A revised, typed, one-page, piece of informal, personal, or self-selected writing (e.g. a journal entry, a reading response, a letter to the instructor, etc.) that was written at some point during the semester;
(3) A one-page, typed self-assessment of performance and progress over the semester. In other words, "What did you learn this semester?" This could have included a reflection on why the student picked the essay and journal selections for their portfolio, and what changed over the process of revising their essay for a second time.

As this was the first time that any of the students in the class had put together a writing portfolio and written a self-reflection on their learning, I presented reasons for portfolio assessment as found in the ELT literature (Elbow, 1993; Ferris & Hedgcock, 2005). I also listed questions for students to respond to in their reflection writing, including:

(1) What have you learned about academic writing from this class?
(2) What have you learned about writing in general from this class?
(3) What are you still curious or worried about?
(4) How do you think you can address these concerns?
(5) How was the portfolio selected or created?

Following this introduction of the classroom portfolio assignment and the categories for analysis, the subsequent data sections will first reveal the numbers and types of dialogue and reflection categories in relation to Nunes (2004). The next sections will then address the creative organizational patterns and content of the student writing.

Typology of Portfolio Content at CSU

I recorded and categorized 201 comments from 36 essays. Comments ranged from one or two sentences to full paragraphs. Some paragraphs contain two categories, as students began with a comment about their

Table 5.1 Typology of student portfolio comments (*n* = 201)

Dialogue comments		Reflection comments			
Interpersonal	Intra-personal	Learning goals	Syllabus	Assessment/ assignment	Instruction
28	27	75	13	43	15

work on assignments and then added comments on learning goals. Table 5.1 lists the number of times a certain comment type appeared in student papers.

In comparison with Nunes (2004), my academic writing students had a larger percentage of assessment/assignment comments in relation to the total number of dialogue and reflection comments (22 % of the total compared with 12 % of the total in her study). In one way, this represents my own coding decisions under the assessment category and the specific questions I asked students to consider in their reflections about classroom assessments. It also points to student familiarity with assessing their abilities on graded assignments and comparing their skills with other students. By the time they reach university, most Chinese university students have taken many high-stakes tests and assessments and have little difficulty in describing their competence in a wide variety of tasks, particularly in relation to other students. In addition, teachers and departments in Chinese high schools and universities typically rank students in relation to each other, and in their portfolios many students compared their performance on classroom assignments to the work of their classmates.

My students had a similarly high number of comments on their learning goals (37 % compared to 4 3% in Nunes, 2004) and a similarly low number of comments on syllabus topics (both were 7 % of the total), but in contrast to Nunes (2004) my students had few specific comments on instruction methods (8 % of the total compared with 36 % of her total responses). CSU student syllabus and instruction comments were typically compliments about classroom teaching and my classroom instruction. Some students took the opportunity to offer suggestions on the organization of the entire class or the ELC department as a whole, but no students openly disagreed with any topics or methods of instruction, only asking for more attention to a particular topic, such as reading instruction. Nunes (2004) did not keep statistics as to the number of dialogue-type comments, but out of the total number of comments coded (both reflection and dialogue), the 55 dialogue comments made up 27 % of the total, revealing that students placed an emphasis on writing the formal reflection comments, but they did not avoid the more informal comments that directly addressed the reader or other students and texts in the classroom. The next sections offer examples of each type of dialogue and reflection comment and further analysis.

Dialogue Comments

The comments from students that directly addressed me or continued a dialogue with other students or topics from the class were somewhat surprising; in formal writing assignments, students had striven to maintain a professional and distanced stance, but many of the interpersonal comments directed to me were in the form of giving thanks and hoping to stay in touch. For example, JS[1] ended her self-reflection stating, “How I wish to share my English learning with you now and again!” Other students gave thanks to classmates for helping them learn throughout the semester, as ML did in commenting, “I should be more serious on study as Echo does, and read more books like Vivian does.” Some students used the space of a self-reflection essay to open a dialogue with the ELC and offer overall suggestions for future courses, as WL did, writing “I have one piece of advice for the ELC, which probably could be helpful. I hope ELC could set up a reading course before students get down to academic writing.”

In terms of intrapersonal comments, the students at times would analyze their own efforts and abilities, often offering frank comments on their own shortcomings and needs for improvement. For example, PP commented on the dialogue he had throughout the semester with himself about his writing.

> Writing is not easy because Dr. Liu, a great English speaker, also finds it difficult to write. I still remembered what I spoke to myself after learning the essay about Dr. Liu’s writing experiences in the second class. After that, I determined to write more and write better. (PP)

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[1] Student names were represented using the initials from their English names when coding the data.

Some of the intrapersonal comments tied the academic writing lessons students had learned to their personal beliefs about life. For example, AI wrote, “I really appreciate that I have already started the real writing—the academic ones. It tells me what has to be precise is not only writing but also your thinking of life.” There were about the same amount of interpersonal and intrapersonal dialogues, and in addition to their shortcomings, students articulated their future plans and mentioned their overall feelings about the class. Of the dialogue comments, the intrapersonal comments about personal characteristics were probably the closest to the student-autonomy and self-reflection skills advocated by CSU. The large number of interpersonal comments, however, reveal the comfort students find in writing informally about their learning, and these comments illustrate student desires to reflect in dialogue with a broader audience, particularly teachers and fellow classmates, making self-reflection for my students a community discussion not just a personal one.

Reflection Comments

Most comments on classroom instruction itself were lists of activities that students liked and overall comments on ELC classes in general. For example, one student commented:

> Moreover, the revisions and writing conferences are also very useful. The revision is like a mirror, knowing that where my weakness is. Some kinds of mistakes are always happened to me, such as word choices, non-idiomatic words and clause errors. The writing conference gives me face-to-face chance with instructor, which helps me make an improvement in my writing skills. (RA)

PH even wrote that other Chinese teachers should learn to use the peer review and process approach to writing:

> It’s a good method to let students turn in several drafts with peer review and teacher’s instruction. By that, we learn how to improve an essay step by step. Chinese teacher should learn to use this means in teaching. (PH)

Many of these comments felt almost like a pitch for why my class was useful, and I began to question if students were truly reflecting on classroom instruction or just attempting to say what they felt the teacher wanted. It seems that some students viewed the chance to reflect on their learning as a time to show the instructor how hard they had worked and how much they appreciated the class. Of course, I was happy to read about the benefits of my teaching, but since the main idea of portfolio assessment is to help students focus on personal assessment of their own abilities, the large number of these comments appears to distract from more personal reflections and also reify the role of the teacher as expert and central to student learning. In fact, determining what kinds of comments are truly "reflective" or "critical" is one of the most difficult decisions for teachers in adopting a portfolio approach in academic writing classes. Particularly, foreign instructors in EFL contexts may have different notions of "critical" reflection and have expectations about "guiding" students toward self-reflection, and they may be surprised, as I was, by students who use the reflection assignment to praise teachers, not as a display of self-autonomy.

In comparison with the reflection comments, which praised the modes of instruction, discussion of classroom topics, coded as syllabus comments, tended to include lists of topics that students liked as well as more personal reflections on the topics we had learned about. For example, AW listed the topics that she enjoyed:

> Moreover, I benefited a lot from [academic writing] because of the topics covered. In classes, we discussed a lot interesting and complicated topics with which I opened my eyes to a more academic world. Through discussing the topics with other students and searching for more information about the topic, I knew more about plagiarism, about Hit-Hot [Hip-hop], about English names and signs, about Cultural Revolution, just to name a few. (AW)

In contrast to simple lists of topics or personal reflections, two classroom topics that students did choose to reflect in more detail upon was plagiarism and the characteristics of academic writing in English. In particular, we read some contrastive rhetoric studies and I led a classroom discussion in which we examined the various and changing definitions of plagiarism and academic writing. KA voices some frustration with imprecise definitions of plagiarism:

> However, up till now. I still don't make clear that what kind of things is plagiarizing exactly. There may be different between China and United States. Americans are focus on the specific information and individual. If they use other people's work or ideas, they will quote it specifically, in order to respect the original work. While in China, most of people do not remember the original author, they just quote the sentence they needs. Especially when they are describing some beautiful things. They may quote some poems or some sayings. It is normal and common that using beautiful sentences which are not their own work. Is it plagiarizing? It is just a technique for writing, for using some beautiful poems or sentences to express your own idea. (KA)

In addition, CL wrote that he finds English academic writing rather simple:

> Actually, Chinese writing is different from English writing in some facets. And academic writing makes me feel a little bit mechanical—the same frame filled with different content. (CL)

It is not surprising that these two syllabus topics garnered reflection, as they are both rather abstract ideas and in some ways go against ideas of writing students had received in previous composition classes. As a teacher, I was happy to see students challenge the ideas that I had presented in class and articulate opinions of how academic writing makes them feel "mechanical" as well as some skepticism about quoting famous lines as plagiarism. These comments reveal the types of critical thinking on issues of academic writing that I have been trained to value, but I again wonder if these were the types of self-analysis comments the CSU administrators envisioned in their adoption of communicative language classrooms. Regardless, the portfolio reflections appear to offer a space for students to voice these comments on classroom topics that some students may not have found in classroom discussions.

The reflections on learning focused on student reflections about the skills they had learned in the course of the semester. The comments consisted of a mix of lists containing things the students felt that they had gained from the class as well as detailed narratives about how much they had changed over the course of the semester. For example, SL wrote about learning how to organize essays and become critical of her own writing:

> My academic writing skills improved a lot. Before this semester, I know nothing about the English academic writing. I have learned several kinds of writing, such as the comparison writing, the CV writing and the book-review. Some of them are very useful for us, especially in our future time. For example, how to write a CV is very important for us, because we will go to find our own job in nearly future, and a perfect CV is very important. Also, I have learned some different styles of English academic writing, such as APA style. From the practice, I learned how to organize an essay and be critical about the writing. (SL)

Others moved toward a meta-level discussion of their progress over the semester, similar to the type of reflections cited in the literature on portfolios. JB even gave the specific amount of words that he could include in an essay:

> How time flies! The end of this semester is coming and maybe my final English course in university also will be concluded. Through this semester, I think my English has improved much, especially writing. I couldn't image that several mouths age [sic], I couldn't write an essay more than three hundred words in English, but my final writing assignment is more than one thousand five hundred words. I think this is big advance. (JB)

Interestingly, many students in assessing their learning wrote about the number of words that they could now write or the numbers of hours that it took them to complete an assignment. It appears that for CSU students part of reflecting on their writing involves converting writing ability and work into numerical quantities of words or hours.

Unlike learning comments that focused on "what" a student learned, the final category, "assessment/assignments" consisted of comments that specifically reflect "how" students performed on classroom assignments and tests and what these performances reveal about competencies in a range of language activities. Comments ranged from discussions of portfolio selections to descriptions of the personal circumstances that students encountered during the writing assignments. Many of the student assessments of their own abilities contained negative appraisals of their work on classroom assignments and connected their poor work to their need for personal self-improvement. For example, AA wrote about his need for more life and work experiences:

> I choose the resume and cover letter simply because they are of significant importance to my job hunting in the future. When I tried to write down my skills and experiences I developed in these years in [CSU], I were finally aware of that I seldom had experiences of taking part of the activities held on campus, as well as that my specialized knowledge and language skills were needed further cultivated. It is known to all that a qualified resume or cover letter is a good introduction for applying for a job after graduation. Thanks to this writing training, I have chance to try my best and dig out all my solid knowledge and vocational abilities developed in school. When I am correcting the essay for a third time, I discover that although my experience and knowledge can hardly make a nice resume, I at least have learned how to write it. (AA)

Similarly, LL offered a more critical assessment of her work on the book review assignment:

> The last essay is the book review, which take us the longest time to finish. At the beginning of the semester, the teacher told us to choose a book to read and to write a review after reading the book. To finish the book is a tough job for me, because I changed another book just two weeks before handing the draft one. Luckily, I finished the work. Though my review is not enough critical and expanding, writing the review is a rare experience for me. (LL)

Overall, the CSU students appeared to have little difficulty in reflecting at some level on all of the categories, but interesting features emerged, such as the praise that they gave to teachers and fellow students at the beginning of their writing reflections and the self-critical narratives of overcoming struggles and becoming a better person through the writing assignments. The following sections examine these creative content topics in their writing as well as features of the overall organization of the reflections.

The Organization and Content of Reflection at CSU

There were many creative organizational patterns in the student reflection essays. I had not specified exactly what type of organization I expected as I hoped that the students would make the reflections relevant to their own needs. In previous CSU classes, if I gave a model to students, they would be tempted to replicate the model. Of the more creative organizational patterns, I received three reflections in the form of letters which all began with "Dear Paul" and ended with either "Best wishes" or "Yours." Even if students did not use formal letter conventions or salutations, they often ended reflections by thanking me and their classmates in writing: for example, "Thank you very much. I will remember you and all the classmates forever" (AC). Instead of a letter, some students used the reflection essay to showcase their abilities to write an organized thesis statement, something we discussed often in class, as one student wrote: "In this paper, I want to give myself a assessment in what I've learnt and my performance in the class, explain why I've chosen the 2nd essay to revise in the portfolio, my plan in further English studying as well as give my thanks to my [academic writing] teacher Paul and all my classmates" (EL). The organizational forms of reflection writing in portfolios were not clearly outlined in the literature on portfolio assessment, but the personal letters to me reveal CSU students' creative interpretations of reflection writing, and the use of thesis sentences points out the prevalence of the five-paragraph-style essay, even in more informal writing contexts. In addition to the varied organizational patterns, certain content topics were prevalent in multiple student essays, each pointing to particular interpretations of reflection writing and relationships with teachers, fellow students, and larger communities of learning.

Compliments

In reviewing student writing, I observed that numerous essays gave at least one compliment to me personally or to fellow students. Often students started their reflections in an impersonal manner by offering their thoughts on classroom instruction and their assignments, but they would end with statements of praise. For example, ML wrote in her penultimate paragraph:

> Last but not least, apart from the academic knowledge I talk above, the instructor, Paul, educated me by his personality and virtues. I learnt to be serious on academic work and easy-going on informal occasions. In class, all of us are friends talking freely. As I see it we all like him, which makes the class successful to a certain extent. (ML)

LL also thanks me personally for my hard work, as well as thanking her fellow students. She wrote:

> Thank Paul for teaching me to want to "talk," like to "talk," and how to "talk." Thank him very much for his hard work for us, and I am also happy to make a friend with him. Fortunately I knew many students with different background, and I learned many things from them. (LL)

As a final example of these types of compliments, which typically appeared at the end of student reflections, MW went as far as to comment on my appearance:

> Last but not least, I want to say thank you to Paul, my dear ELC 5 teacher. Paul is really a good teacher. He is handsome, knowledgeable, talkative, and careful. At the same time, I want to thank all my ELC 5 classmates. I learnt a lot from them in the class and during the group discussions. They are all very friendly and kind. I feel grateful to have such lovely classmates! Thank you, lovely Paul! Thank you dear classmates! (MW)

As Nunes (2004) points out, novice writers may not have acquired the pragmatic and discourse knowledge of the language of reflection, and they may choose topics not typically considered acceptable for reflections. While I initially wanted to discount these comments as empty "space-filler" that were aimed at making a good impression on me as the teacher, based on the fact that they are so numerous and often offer comments on my personal virtues, it seems that the students were doing more than ingratiating themselves with their teacher and evaluator.

Considering the description in Scollon (1999) of the Confucian teacher as modeling wisdom and hard work for students and leading by example not through explicit guiding or scaffolding, the student compliments were not necessarily commenting on me personally but rather on my role as a model of knowledge, virtue, and hard work in the classroom.

In this way, LL's comments were particularly interesting as she adopted the clear communicative and speaking goal as presented in CSU and ELC policy, but she expressed her newfound ability as something that she had learned directly from modeling herself after me, not as something that she has achieved herself. It was unclear exactly what I did in class to teach her "how to talk," but clearly she incorporated something from my mannerisms and perhaps from the way I "talk" about writing and essays in class. Examining these compliments and direct statements of praise as reflecting a Chinese culture of learning, I concluded that the students are in some ways sidestepping an explicit student-centered writing reflection, with some even pointing out that the friendships and overall atmosphere of the classroom were just as important as classroom knowledge. For example, LP wrote: "All in all, this semester is a memorable time in my English learning. From ELC 5 class, I have gained friendship, happiness as well as knowledge." The compliments were surprising for me as a teacher and difficult to assess in terms of achieving the critical learning goals of the ELC, and it would be interesting to note if students would offer such compliments of how local teachers "talk" and act in class. The student compliments of their classmates and teacher do, however, illustrate the value of the social aspects of our classrooms and that gaining friendships and creating a classroom community of learning are just as important as formal or personal learning goals.

Stories of Personal Struggle and Perseverance

Another repeated topic of student reflections, often explored in the form of a short narrative, was a story about how the writer had worked hard to improve themselves, in terms of both their writing and their personal habits. For example, RQ wrote about giving up other classes to take on the challenge of academic writing:

> How time flies this semester! I still remember that I told the classmates I had given up two courses to choose Level five's course. Now I would say it worth doing so, because I have learnt English writing skills and kept my English-learning passion. Though the essays make me busy and agonizing from time to time, but I feel substantial now. (RQ)

Similarly, AL wrote about the tough work of learning to write in English and how her work reveals her "efforts and progress":

> I spent many of my weekends and finally finished three big projects, a resume and cover letter, which will be useful for my job hunting in two years, an argumentative essay, which concerns the topic of all major courses in English in STU, and a book review of Vanity Fair, a classical novel. They are not the best in class but I am satisfied because they symbolize my efforts and progress. (AL)

Part of these narratives of perseverance, many students ended their reflections with a view toward the future:

> In conclusion, it is memorial semester for me, and I learned a lot from this semester. Also, i know i still need more time to study and practice how to writing, I will do my best to improve. (SL)

The students in my academic writing class had all been taking English for 10 years or more, and many had passed the Chinese English test (CET), Levels 4 and 6. Despite these experiences, many students commented on how they felt very nervous when writing academic essays, a fear that shows up in their writing about overcoming great odds and showing moral strength to keep trying, and in their narratives of perseverance.

In writing about their experiences over the course of the semester, many of the narratives repeat common phrases such as "how time flies" and one student revises the saying "No pain, no gain" into "I pain, I gain" as the last line of his essay. The use of these clichés and famous phrases invokes the student comment on plagiarism mentioned earlier and the use of "beautiful words," as many students completed their reflections with references to these well-known sayings. One passage from WZ's reflection piece contained many such phrases and an extended reference to the "Give a man a fish" aphorism:

> If we want to make great progress, we should know our weaknesses and work hard. However, it is easier to say than to do. What we need includes determination and perseverance. I really learnt something valuable in this

> semester. Something stimulates me to continue English study more seriously. Maybe I still cannot write the excellent essay, but it is much more important for me to know how to improve writing skills. You will eat out all the fish if someone just gives you fish; but you have endless fish to eat if someone teaches you how to fish. What I need is fishing skills, not just fish. (WZ)

This comment is particularly interesting as WZ draws on the discourse of student autonomy in learning to write academically that is found in CSU teaching policy, but he also connects these skills to his life, not just one written assignment. As in the other narratives of perseverance and their metaphors about the pain and struggle that must be endured in order to learn to write academic English, WZ described such writing as something that requires serious attention and personal commitment.

Stories of Perseverance: Evaluations of Personal Characteristics

Going further, the stories of perseverance of some students became frank dialogue with me and themselves about their personalities and morals. For example, BL wrote about his lazy habits:

> Every essay we had to write the first, the second and the third draft. I learned a lot from this kind of writing and modifying. I am not a serious or hard-working student. And I am lazy to write an essay again and again. But I still learned a lot from the writing although I was a lazy boy. (BL)

In addition to general laziness, the topic of plagiarism created the most significant stories of personal flaws as well as perseverance, and it was a significant topic for students to comment and reflect on. As an example, JL spoke in his reflection essay about the different cultures of plagiarism and the lessons he has learned. He commented:

> Though I got a bad mark in essay 3, I learn a very good lesson which in my opinion is more important than the knowledge. The lesson is that it is wrong to plagiarize. At first, I don't think it matters much because many

> Chinese students may plagiarize part of other people's essay so that they can hand in to the teachers. And most Chinese teachers know that and accept. Maybe it is the difference between two cultures. So I did the same in my essay 3. But at the conference hour, my teacher Paul told me that I really did something wrong. I should not do that in my essay. No matter how busy I was and how I thought, essay was my own duty. I had to finish it by myself. That is a responsible attitude I should have. I failed in the essay 3, but I learn a responsible attitude. It will guide me in all my life. (JL)

In his response, JL commented on his perceived differences between local- and foreign-teacher views of plagiarism, and he positions plagiarism as a moral problem in that writing his own words is a "duty" to himself. I had not intended to teach a view of plagiarism as a sin, but JL, offering a slight justification based on his previous teachers, describes his plagiarism as a lapse in his "responsible attitude."

In the same way, LY included as part of his class reflection a two-page letter that he had written to me about why he plagiarized. He had originally written the letter as a response to our writing conference in which I had marked large sections of his book review assignment as copied from the Internet. After writing the letter and sending it to me, we agreed that he could revise the letter and include it in his portfolio as part of his reflection on his writing over the semester. The transcripts below are from the opening and ending sections of his letter and are full of complex reflections and dialogue on the topic of plagiarism and academic writing, and how his writing experiences have shaped his view of himself as a person:

> Dear Paul,
>
> Thank you very much for your advices to me. I am very sad for my plagiarism and I feel terribly sorry for that. Plagiarism is lie, cheat and theft and I should be responsible to any results from that. It proves my dishonest. My faith of honest disappeared radically at this moment and I understand myself more from this. This result will certainly come at the beginning of my plagiarism. I don't want to plagiarize but in fact I did. I don't think I am lazy in learning English and I think I like writing too. At this semester of [academic writing] class, I prepared a lot and make myself active in class. I like to speak, I like to communicate and I also feel comfortable in writing journals. But I am nervous at academe writing and I can even unable to

> write a sentence that satisfies me. Once I pick up my pen at the beginning of my academe writing, I feel terribly ill as if each sentence I have wrote was Chinese English and completely wrong in grammar, spelling or APA style. I was scared of that and it made me filled with pressure. I can only get back my little confidence in my oral English for no one will care whether I have said something wrong. So I speak fast sometimes to avoid my mistakes being found. This advantage radically disappear once I write. So I try to avoid. The best way is to copy English writing directly from the Internet which is perfect in grammar and structures, etc. I can guess that you can tell them apart with a glance. I try to stop my plagiarism but I did not manage to. This is the worst way and it is totally wrong. And I apologize for that seriously.

At the end of the letter, he closed with further reflection on writing:

> I have written more than I imagined so far. I feel free in this way of writing: Just record what I thought and don't need to care about anything else. It may be easier for me to write a self-review rather than a book review. To me, writing with my true feelings is a most enjoyable entertainment and I like it very much. To be honest, the rewriting of book review is annoying and I wish I can hand in this self-review instead. Still, I will rewrite it and I want to know the deadline of my forth draft. I hope you can give me a little more time for I have to prepare for my final exams these weeks. However, I will try my best to finish it in time. Thanks for you patience and advice for me.
>
> Yours,
> [LY]

LY's letter raises very complex questions about portfolios and student views of academic writing. At the time, the response made me wonder about his view of the reflection assignment and his desire to include this letter in his portfolio. In many ways, LY was framing me, the teacher, in the role of moral role model, and he seemed to be responding to me as if I were a parent or someone to confess to. Despite my references to scholarly work on plagiarism and the difficult cultural and political definitions of plagiarism, the students interpreted my writing the word plagiarism on their drafts as a comment on their moral and ethical standards, and they felt the need to "confess their sins" in their reflection writing. In retrospect, I needed to more fully address the assumptions and negative connotations of plagiarism in class, having students reflect in writing and perhaps in small discussion groups on their experiences and own definitions.

Conclusion

> So I suggest, together with encouraging and valuing users' appropriation of English, TESOL workers also need to promote an EIL (English as an International Language) pedagogy in which the teaching and learning of EIL should involve valuing and nurturing the expression of other cultural voices in English, making explicit the values that support judgments about "good" English and individual ability, and helping students to construct identities as owners, meaning makers, and authorised users of EIL. (Phan, 2008, p. 102)

In a similar fashion to Phan, cited above, Kramsch (2006, 2008) advocates teaching English from the standpoint of a "pedagogy of reflexion" in which the multiplicity of cultures that both unite and differentiate language learners are viewed as new and creative mythic potentials for words and meanings in English. She writes, "whereas for monolingual speakers words have become one with the world around them, for multilingual subjects different words evoke different worlds they can play off one another … Learners can be made more aware of their third place potential through a pedagogy of reflexion and imagination, of translingual experience and poetic creativity" (2006, p. 108).

As seen in the creative content and responses found in this study, writing teachers can encourage students to draw on these "third space" pedagogies through the use of portfolios and reflection writing. For example, the large number of compliments that students wrote to me and their classmates point toward a reinterpretation of self-reflection as a classroom activity and a space for students to recognize the role of teachers as experts in the classroom. In addition, by reanalyzing famous quotations such as "No pain, no gain" and "Give a man a fish" in terms of overcoming writing difficulties, students also reinterpreted English sayings in creative and innovative ways, turning the acquisition of academic writing into a symbol of hard work and personal virtue. Some teachers may not accept these reflections as evidence of self-reflection on specific learning goals, but by enforcing norms in how to reflect, we limit the potential for new ways of reflecting in English and the opportunity to open classrooms up to discussions of new competencies and pedagogies of appropriation.

In examining student responses as examples of appropriation, it is important to also note that not all students may desire the appropriations that Phan (2008) and Kramsch (2006) discuss, nor actively pursue new English meanings and reinterpretations of writing norms. In fact, many students, such as AL, write in their reflections about the need to work hard to write "more beautiful English like native speakers" (AL), and a majority of student responses praised process approaches to teaching and student-centered activities such as writing conferences, multiple paper drafts, and peer reviews. Teachers need to seek a balance, both encouraging new and fascinating appropriations of English and reflection-writing and at the same time honoring the choices of students such as AL. In addition, much of the student writing represented traits of Jin and Cortazzi's Chinese culture of learning, particularly the way CSU students modeled themselves after my "virtues" and ways of speaking. The notion of a culture of learning may essentialize the complexities and local realities of Chinese university classrooms (Kubota, 1999), but the prevalence of certain traits in student reflections points out sedimented meanings and practices that we cannot cast aside as irrelevant, as they affect the lived realities and frameworks in which students view language learning at CSU.

What is important is not to let any one particular practice become the dominant standard of teaching, and as teachers to model a type of questioning stance toward our own beliefs, something that I may have failed to do in our classroom discussions about plagiarism and academic writing. Atkinson (2003) has already discussed this type of "turning culture back on ourselves" (p. 51), and he argues that writing teachers must make the debates over contested terms such as "culture," and in my case academic writing itself, into opportunities to examine our own socializations as language teachers and researchers. This turning the lens on ourselves must occur before we can work toward pedagogies that represent student appropriations. In retrospect, I could have more explicitly demonstrated this type of questioning of academic writing and plagiarism. In addition to the question, “What are you still curious or worried about?” which is a common question that aims to spark self-reflection, I could have followed with a more pointed question such as, “What is your opinion of definitions of academic writing, plagiarism, essay organization, and research writing?” or “Why do you think academic writing standards exist?” and, most importantly, answered these questions myself in classroom dialogues and talks with students.

In conclusion, while portfolio assessment in academic writing courses has primarily been used as a part of a process approach to writing and a tool to further CLT goals, I argue that we need also to consider portfolios in EFL contexts as spaces in which students can ask questions about English language identifications and their own appropriations of academic writing norms. In this way, portfolio assessment can become a place in which to further discussion of cultures of learning and the role of teachers in ELT classrooms. This type of cross-cultural and transnational dialogue is just as important, if not more so, than the development of communicative language skills and student autonomy, and in this way, we can push student reflections in class to be less about “what they learned” and more about “how they are learning.” In the future, more studies on portfolio assessment in China and other EFL contexts can expand our understandings of the uses of portfolio assessment and self-reflection writing, and of local appropriations of English teaching pedagogies.

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6

"It's Like Some Kinds of Skills Like Swim[ming]. You Know It But You Don't Use It": (Dis)connections between University Teaching Reforms and the Lives of Recent Graduates

Introduction

In the spring of 2007, I traveled around southern China visiting many former students who had graduated from CSU and had begun jobs and careers in a variety of industries and cities including in Hong Kong and Macau. My main interest was to interview my former students about their experiences in ELC classes and programs during their time at CSU, but we often discussed how much English they were or, more commonly, were not using in their daily jobs. Many of the students were worried about losing their English proficiency because their colleagues rarely spoke English with them, and many had supervisors or bosses who did not speak English at all. Depending on their position, they noted that they primarily used English in emails. Many noted that their companies required that they were fluent in English in order to be hired, but English, in particular speaking skills, was not needed in their daily activities. I was immediately intrigued and wondered if the content and lessons that I and other ELC teachers had spent so much time preparing were useful in our students' working lives. In short, I wondered, do university graduates

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who stay and build careers in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macau continue to study and use English in their professional and personal lives?

This chapter, thus, moves outside of the CSU classroom setting to examine the postgraduate lives of recent Chinese college graduates and the relationship between the increased status of English learning at Chinese universities and the actual English use of recent graduates in their professional lives. Work by Wei (2016) and Bolton and Botha (2015) has examined the attitudes and perceptions of university English learners in China about the role of English in their education and personal lives, but missing from much of the work on the expansion of English teaching in China are the perspectives of English learners after they finish their education and enter the workforce, particularly in the growing coastal metropolises of southern and eastern China. Drawing on Motha and Lin's (2014) framework of desires as central to English-language teaching and learning moments, this chapter seeks to understand the changing and perhaps weakening desires of a particular segment of postgraduate students in China as concern learning and using English. It is clear that CSU students finish their formal studying of English in an environment in which multiple community members influence them to learn and use English in a variety of ways and for a variety of purposes; but do these students continue to use and learn English after graduation? And if so, do they view English as just one of many "tools" or "utilities"? In other words, what happened to my student and others like him who told me they "didn't really love English"?

Some recent studies have focused on the English needs of professionals "on-the-job" in China and other Asian contexts (Fitzpatrick and O'Dowd, 2012; Kassim and Ali, 2010), but these studies offer mostly broad portraits of the expected uses of English among college graduates, from the perspectives of teachers and managers who train and supervise those graduates. Evans (2010) offers analysis of the actual English usage of working professionals through his survey study of workplace English in Hong Kong, and Graddol (2013) offers one of the most all-encompassing summaries of the status of English in professional settings throughout southern China, providing useful summaries of educational and company policies, learner statistics, and public uses of English in the southern Pearl River Delta where many CSU graduates seek employment.

Although important, these macro studies do not delve into the complexities of the individual experiences of graduates on a personal level when they graduate from the Chinese educational system and enter the workforce, and most of these studies rely only on survey data and policy analysis without connecting the increase in university English teaching in China with the later professional needs of university graduates.

The following chapter adds to these broad perspectives by analyzing the professional needs and experiences of recent CSU graduates, drawing on both survey and interview data sources in order to examine in more depth the effects of the increase in English teaching in Chinese universities and its relationship with the students' professional lives. In presenting this study of the needs and experiences of recent CSU graduates, one primary research question is addressed:

> What roles do English proficiency and use play in the professional lives of university graduates who stay and build careers in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macau?

Data Collection and Analysis

The data collection and analysis for the chapter formed part of the ten years' work at CSU represented in the other data chapters, but this is the only chapter that draws on a mixed methods design (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009) and pairs a qualitative method, in this case a series of interviews with CSU graduates, with a quantitative tool, in this case a survey of CSU graduates. In collecting the data for this chapter, a questionnaire in both English and Mandarin Chinese was first distributed online through SurveyMonkey®. The survey had 35 questions that used multiple-choice questions, five-point Likert-scale items, and open-ended responses (see example survey in the Appendix, section A.6). The survey was used in order to find overall trends among CSU graduates that could be further explored through interviews. Participants were anonymous and recruited through email solicitation by current and former CSU instructors. Participants were instructed to respond in the languages that they felt most comfortable. All respondents graduated from CSU between 2003 and 2012, and they represented a variety of majors and professions. In total, 88 graduates responded to the survey. Some respondents did not respond to all questions; thus, some figures below report less than 88 responses. In total, 60 % of respondents were female and 40 % identified as male, similar to the CSU student population. Over 75 % of respondents lived and worked in the Pearl River Delta or Hong Kong with the remaining respondents based in Shanghai, Beijing, and Chengdu. Table 6.1 summarizes the background information of survey participants.

After the completion of the surveys, 19 survey respondents participated in semi-structured interviews. Two CSU administrators were also interviewed to provide context about CSU teaching policies. As in the survey, interviewees were asked questions in English and Mandarin Chinese and given the choice to respond in any language. Most interviewees responded in English because they were more comfortable speaking in English about English topics. Mandarin and Cantonese were also used in the interviews. Interview participants who were selected represented: (1) A range of graduation years from 2003 to 2012; (2) a variety of professional contexts and coastal cities; and (3) a diversity of major subjects at CSU. Interviews were conducted in person and lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours. Table 6.2 summarizes the background

Table 6.1 Background data on CSU graduate survey participants ($n = 88$)

Gender	Female: 53 (60.2 %); Male: 35 (39.8 %)
Graduation year	2003: 3 (3.4 %); 2004: 10 (11.4 %); 2005: 3 (3.4 %); 2006: 10 (11.4 %); 2007: 9 (10.2 %); 2008: 15 (17.1 %); 2009: 7 (8.0 %); 2010: 10 (11.4 %); 2011: 7 (8.0 %); 2012: 13 (14.8 %); 2013: 1 (1.1 %)
Major subject	English: 26 (29.6 %); Business: 10 (11.4 %); Law: 9 (10.2 %); Engineering: 7 (8.0 %); Journalism: 16 (18.2 %); Chemistry: 2 (2.3 %); Mathematics: 3 (3.4 %) Biology: 6 (6.8 %); Physics: 2 (2.3 %); Computer Science: 2 (2.3 %); Chinese: 4 (4.6 %); Public Admin: 1 (1.1 %).
Field of work	Education: 10 (11.4 %); Manufacturing: 9 (10.2 %); Law: 5 (5.7 %); Finance: 5 (5.7 %); IT: 5 (5.7 %); Media: 13 (14.8 %); Government: 8 (9.1 %); Real estate: 4 (4.6 %); Energy company: 2 (2.3 %); Hospitality: 4 (4.6 %); Trade: 9 (10.2 %) Sales: 8 (9.1 %); Research: 6 (6.8 %).
Location of work	Guangdong: 54 (61.4 %); Hong Kong: 14 (16.0 %); Shanghai: 8 (9.1 %); Beijing: 6 (6.8 %); Other provinces: 6 (6.8 %).

Table 6.2 Background data on CSU graduate interview participants (n = 19)

Gender	Female: 11 (65.0 %); Male: 8 (35.0 %)
Graduation year	2003: 2 (5.3 %); 2004: 2 (10.5 %); 2005: 3 (15.8 %); 2006: 1 (5.3 %); 2007: 4 (21.1 %); 2008: 0 (0.0 %); 2009: 2 (10.5 %); 2010: 2 (10.5 %); 2011: 2 (10.5 %); 2012: 1 (5.3 %)
Major subject	English: 8 (42.1 %); Business: 3 (15.8 %); Law: 1 (5.3 %); Engineering: 1 (5.3 %); Journalism: 3 (15.8 %); Mathematics: 1 (5.3 %); Computer Science: 1 (5.3 %); Chinese: 1 (5.3 %).
Field of work	Education: 3 (15.8 %); Manufacturing: 3 (15.8 %); Law: 1 (5.3 %); Media: 3 (5.3 %); Government: 2 (10.5 %); Hospitality: 4 (21.1 %); Trade: 2 (10.5 %); Research: 1 (5.3 %)
Location of work	Guangdong: 10 (52.6 %); Hong Kong: 7 (36.8 %); Shanghai: 1 (5.3 %); Beijing: 1 (5.3 %)

information of interview participants. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and organized into a 200-page database using *NVivo 10*. In comparing data from the surveys and interviews, a structured analysis of themes in the interview transcripts and open-ended survey questions was conducted, following the constant comparative method, until clear themes emerged in relation to the primary research question (Creswell, 2013). Interviewees agreed to use their chosen English names in the themes reported below. Table 6.2 summarizes the interview participants’ background information.

Transcriptions from all of the interviews were used to construct the themes, but the particular professional stories, perspectives, and narratives of the following interview participants are used extensively as a way to focus the data presentation and offer an illustration here of the variety of personal background stories of participants.

Serene: A 2006 CSU graduate in English, Serene had worked primarily in the manufacturing industry in Foshan with companies that connect foreign merchandisers with Chinese factories.

Rain: A 2004 CSU graduate in English, Rain had primarily worked in university administrative departments in Guangdong and Hong Kong universities.

Jasmine: A 2010 CSU Graduate in Business, Jasmine had worked as a sales associate and marketing advisor for a variety of hotel chains in Shenzhen.

Lyle: A 2004 graduate in English, Lyle worked for various small businesses in Shenzhen before securing a permanent position as a guard at a minimum security prison in Dongguan, Guangdong.

Shadow: A 2011 graduate in Journalism, Shadow had worked in Hong Kong for the *China Daily*, an English-medium newspaper, before taking a secretarial position with a construction union.

The above participants represent the diversity of recent CSU graduates who work in a variety of fields in both Hong Kong and Guangdong Province, and they illustrate the key similarities and differences that emerged from the analysis of all 21 interviews in conjunction with the survey data. Comparisons between CSU graduates working in Hong Kong and mainland China were made but no significant trends were evident, and their responses to the survey and interview questions are combined in the following sections.

Themes in Professional English Use Among CSU Graduates

Theme 1: English as a Requirement in Job Searches

English proficiency had been a necessity in terms of securing a job for a majority of the survey and interview participants even if their positions did not actually require English in their daily work tasks. Figs. 6.1 and 6.2 summarize survey results about the importance of English in securing a job offer.

More than half of all survey respondents had been required to have some level of spoken and written English proficiency in order to gain employment, and nearly half were required to demonstrate this proficiency during an in-person interview. For example, Serene, a 2006 CSU graduate in English, told a typical story when recounting the details of her first job search, in which she had obtained a position as a Customer Service Representative for a trading company based in Hong Kong.

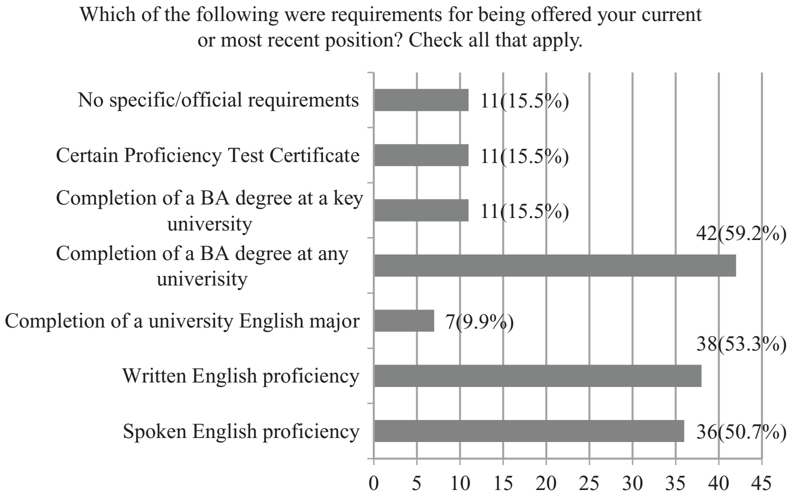

Fig. 6.1 Job requirements for CSU graduates (*n* = 71)

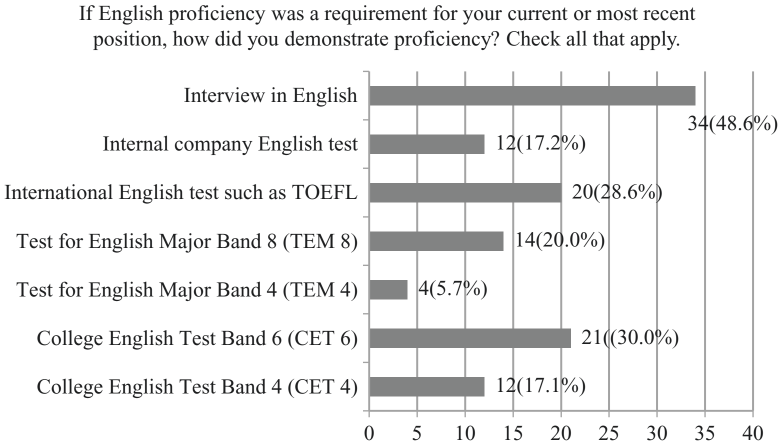

Fig. 6.2 Demonstration of English proficiency on job application of CSU graduates (*n* = 70)

> They just interviewed me in English looking at my certificates. I had my TEM-8 but CET-6 would be enough. In mainland [CET] 4 is enough. Even if the job does not involve any English skills, they still require you to get the CET-6. I don’t know why. They just want you to have that skill. (Interview, October 5, 2013)

Other graduates echoed the importance of both the tests and the spoken interview in English as critical for being offered a position. For example, Jasmine, a 2010 CSU Business graduate, noted that for all of her positions to date in the hotel industry, "the English tests are necessary for resume but they are not that necessary to get the job. Interview is the most important. The tests are just for people to know that you take the tests."

Theme 2: Few CSU Graduates Worked in English-Speaking Environments

Despite the need to show proficiency in English as part of the interview process, as illustrated in Fig. 6.3, only 16 % of the respondents were working in predominately English-speaking environments and 82 % worked in predominately Chinese-language environments.

The two respondents who signaled "other" both noted that they used English and Mandarin equally. One respondent stated that he primarily used English at work when interviewing job candidates; however, he rarely used English among co-workers. Similarly, a survey respondent

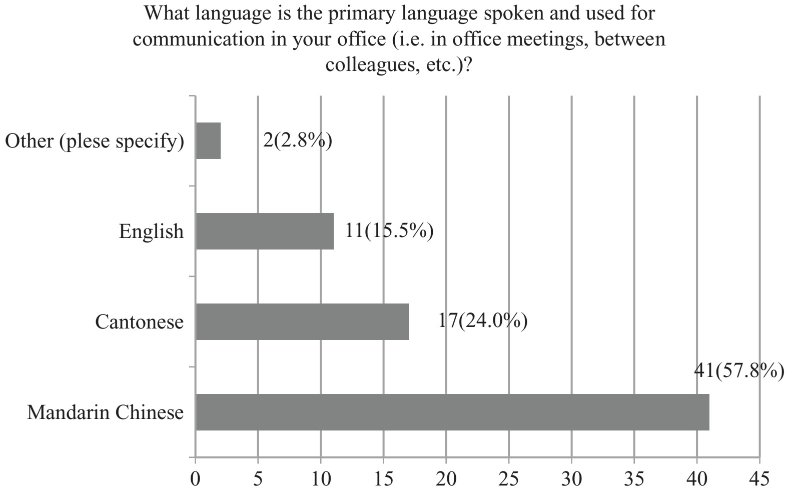

Fig. 6.3 Primary language spoken in workplaces of CSU graduates ($n = 71$)

wrote the following in an open-ended response box, in answer to the question about the primary language used at work:

> 在面试该公司的时候,有要求用英语做自我介绍。但是在日常工作中,英语对我的工作没有很大的帮助,几乎不需要用到英语。
>
> (When the company interviews potential candidates, it requires them to use English to introduce themselves. However, when we work on a regular basis, English is not that useful and I hardly use it).

Further, in an interview, an ELC Assistant Director described a colleague’s recent meeting with CSU graduates:

> They were all talking about what a waste their English was and how they weren’t using it at all. It was useful for the interview and required for the interview, but once they were in the job even though they were working for an international company, they were hardly using English. (Interview, October 12, 2013)

Although some CSU graduates have found work in jobs with English-speaking environments, it is clear that for most CSU graduates, English is useful primarily as a skill to demonstrate during interviews but not in the day-to-day interactions of their jobs.

Theme 3: Dominance of Writing and Reading Skills in English Job Tasks

Although English was not the primary language in the workplace for most survey participants, when CSU graduates were asked to complete English-language tasks at work, as detailed in Figs. 6.4 and 6.5, reading and writing in English surpassed other skills.

In Fig. 6.4, combining the percentage of respondents with the first two responses—1 (most often) and 2 (very often)—reading in English is ranked as the most common English skill used in completing job tasks by respondents, as follows: (1) Reading: 65.7 %; (2) writing: 52.9 %; (3) translation: 47.8 %; (4) listening: 45.7 %; 5) speaking: 44.3 %. The centrality of reading and writing in English is further supported in Fig. 6.5,

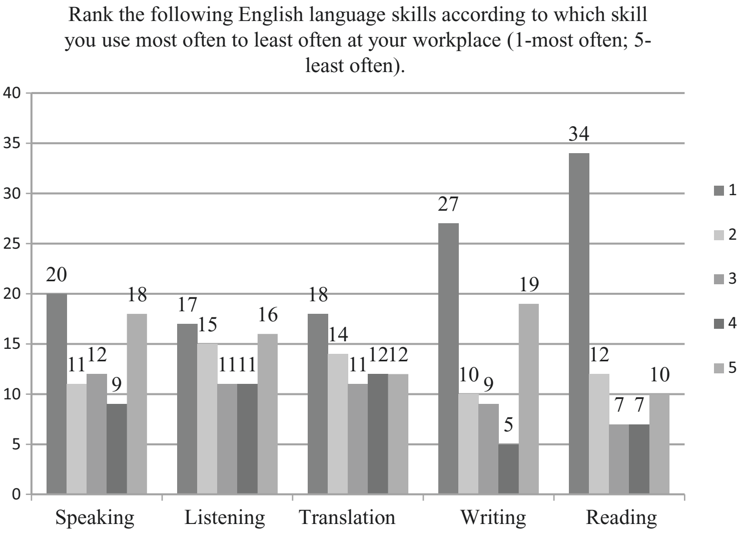

Fig. 6.4 Frequency of English skills used in the workplaces of CSU graduates (*n* = 70)

in which the percentage of respondents with either 1 (daily) or 2 (almost daily) were as follows: (1) Reading English websites (49.3 %); (2) writing emails in English (48.6 %); 3) reading English reports (40.0 %); 4) writing English reports (34.3 %).

In addition to confirming the dominance of reading and writing tasks in English, Fig. 6.5 reveals that many graduates report English tasks that they rarely or never perform in comparison to reporting English tasks that they perform daily or almost daily tasks. For example, combining responses with “4 (once a month)” or “5 (rarely to never)” results in the following percentage rankings of survey respondents: (1) Giving English an presentation (78.8 %); (2) translating spoken language between a Mandarin/Cantonese speaker and an English speaker (77.3 %); (3) having face-to-face conversations with company representatives or customers, etc. (73.1 %); (4) making phone calls to other enterprises in foreign countries (68.7 %); (5) translating written texts from Mandarin/Cantonese to English (67.2 %); (6) translating written texts from English to Mandarin/Cantonese (62.1 %). It is important to note that most CSU

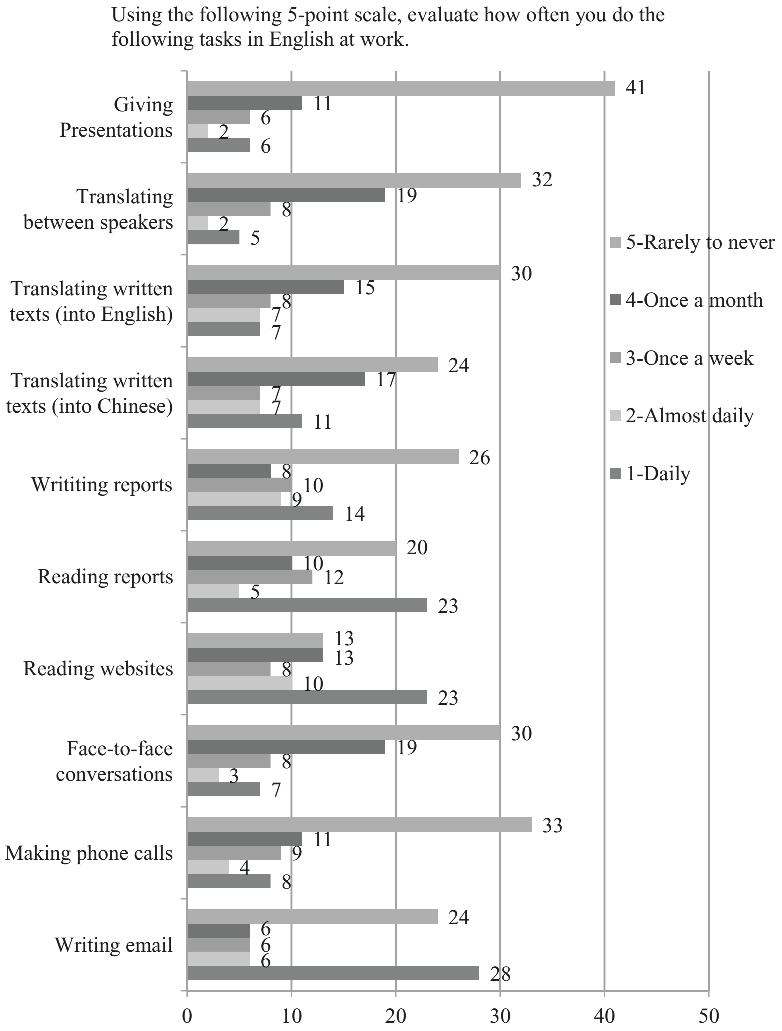

Fig. 6.5 Frequency of specific English tasks in the workplaces of CSU graduates ($n = 70$)

graduates are rarely or never asked to give presentations in English at work, even though oral presentations have become commonplace over the past decade in many university English courses. As Lyle, a 2004 graduate in English, said in an interview, “Sometimes I think we were majoring in presentation," but he noted that he has never given an English presentation in his work at a correctional facility.

In many cases, survey participants explained that emails in English were the preferred way to communicate with both foreign companies and Chinese-language-speaking colleagues, as it was an office policy that written English be used in order to establish a common language between offices where different Chinese languages and dialects are used. As one respondent noted, "Working in a multinational company, the communication language used in written emails, presentations, reports are mostly in English. [But] I speak Chinese when I am with Chinese bosses or colleagues."

In an interview, Serene described a similar situation of using English for email but Chinese for spoken communication at work: "We talk to each other in Cantonese, but we use English when we email each other. We copy the US side's information to make sure the information is correct because those are in English. So we automatically use English." In another interview, Rain reinforced the role of written English and added that CSU courses did not address this type of writing.

Paul: In particular, what type of English is most important, reading, writing, or speaking, listening, etc.?
Rain: I think it is writing. We usually write much more than speak. In my office, everyone speaks Cantonese, but we write every email in English.
Paul: Did you think [CSU] prepared you for written challenges?
Rain: The writing we learned in university is quite different from the kind of writing at work. I basically didn't know how to write English emails when I was a student. I started to learn it when I became a staff member. (Interview, October 4, 2013)

By using English as the medium of communication for most written tasks at work and Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese for most spoken communication, CSU graduates are constantly translating their ideas and work tasks between multiple languages and audiences, often in order to communicate through email with clients who are primarily English speakers, and supervisors and bosses who primarily speak only Chinese languages.

Theme 4: English Remained Important for Personal Identity and Professional Development

Despite few graduates having jobs that required English proficiency, all of the interview participants and many of the survey respondents felt that English was an important part of their professional identity, and a large majority of CSU graduates expected to continue to study and use English. For example, Fig. 6.6 reveals ambivalence about the preference for working in an English-speaking environment or being skillful in English, but a large percentage of respondents felt that English was an important part of their identity and that they would continue to seek out

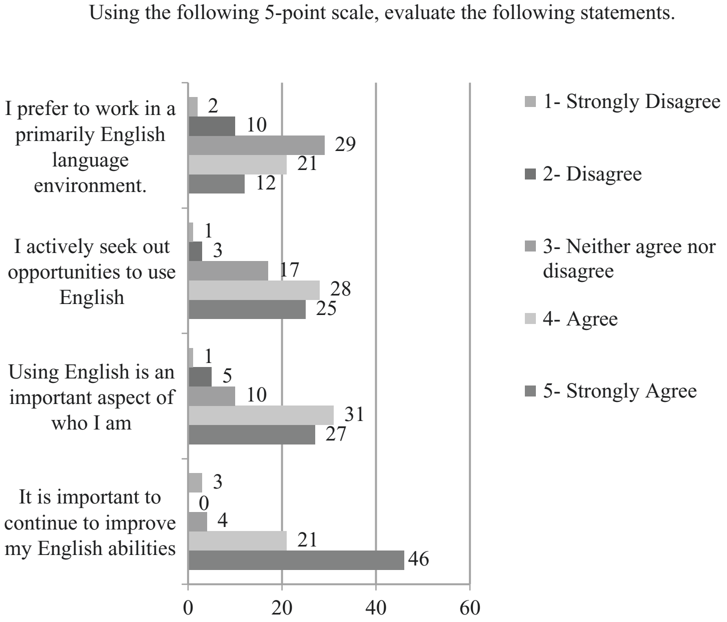

Fig. 6.6 Role of English in professional identity of CSU graduates ($n = 74$)

opportunities to improve it. Lyle summarized this ambivalence by noting, "Now it's just some kind of skills, like swim[ming]. You know it but you don't use it."

As further evidence of the graduates' desires to maintain an English identity, all interview participants had chosen English names when learning English at CSU, and all but one used English names in their jobs even when speaking or writing in a Chinese language. Serene explained that the informality of English names was one of the advantages of using her English name at work. She commented:

Serene: Among my own friends, we don't use English names. Only work colleagues call me Serene. English names are just easier! It seems easier. Like I said when we email each other, we use English, so using English names are much easier.
Paul: Would you use your [Cantonese] first name with your Chinese colleagues at work?
Serene: I will feel very awkward. Usually when we speak to a Chinese, we would call his/her first and family name. It sounds awkward when we call them by their first name [referring to first names in Cantonese or Mandarin].
Paul: From day one when you start working, you use your English name?
Serene: Yes. (Interview, October 5, 2013)

Similar to the university students' English name choices, discussed in Chap. 4, all interviewees agreed that using an English name helped them connect with colleagues and peers in an informal way that was not possible with their Chinese names, and many noted that English names allow Chinese professionals an opportunity to demonstrate aspects of their personality that otherwise would be hard to show.

Below is a list of the English names of all CSU graduates who participated in the interviews, grouped according to the taxonomy presented in Chap. 4 and published in McPherron (2009). The categories reveal the different reasons the students or CSU graduates gave for choosing their English names.

(1) Names based on the sounds or meanings of the characters in their Chinese names: Jasmine, Ivy, Lyle, Kim.
(2) Names that represent aspects of a student's personality or future goals: Shadow, Serene, Lucky, Wow.
(3) Names that are playful creations of new words: Iceena.
(4) Names from popular music, television, and movie stars: Echo (a Taiwanese writer), Leo (a US actor), Rain (a Taiwanese singer)
(5) Names that were chosen from a list of names or given by a teacher: Mona, Mavis, Felix, Christine, Audrey, Mary, Harry.

In choosing to use and sometimes change their English names, CSU graduates revealed similar motivations to those of the CSU students when first choosing a name. In fact, the desire to project an informal and unique English speaking identity, including the use of an English name, may be more important than practical English skills for CSU graduates. In this way, English is not so much a "tool" or "utility" as it is something to be displayed, an identity to be performed.

As described in Chap. 4, many CSU students over the years have chosen particularly creative and non-traditional names, and this playful practice of creative names continued after graduation with some leveling and changing of names to more traditional English names. For example, my student Lucky changed his name to Lucas once he began working in Shanghai, and Dodo changed her name to Doe and used her Chinese name on her CV even though her colleagues at work still called her Dodo. In addition, some CSU graduates continues to use different names in different contexts. For example, my former student Celery preferred to continue using the name Celery with foreign teachers and friends because she thought Celery was a fun and distinctive name. At the same time, she changed her professional name to Serene because she liked the name Serena, but similar to other CSU students and graduates, she wanted to change her name slightly to make it unique. This desire for distinctiveness was echoed in my interview with a CSU graduate named Kim. He had changed his name from Leo to Wow to Kim because he said "in different periods we have different thinking about ourselves … and we want to be the focus or the center of every group of persons" (Interview, October 15, 2013).

In moving between new and different English names, it is also important to note the lasting influence foreign teachers have on CSU graduates' name choices. For example, Shadow, who moved to Hong Kong in 2011 after graduation, was considering changing her name to something more traditional. As in Dodo's case, however, her foreign teacher and foreign friends wanted her to maintain her unique name. She commented:

> When I am in Hong Kong, I think I need to have another name because they think Shadow is weird, I need to have a real name … I know it's a little bit silly [referring to her name] but I ask about the question of changing my name. I asked [name of former foreign English teacher withheld] about it, and she said "never change your name. I will always call you Shadow." If she says it's OK, then I'll keep it. (Interview, October 3, 2013)

Similar to the students who participated in my English Lounge discussion, described in Chap. 4, Shadow values the opinion and role of a "native" speaker even if she felt that she needed to pick a more formal, traditional name.

Finally, although most graduates viewed English as an important skill to maintain and an essential identity to project, it is important to note that some CSU graduates expressed feelings of guilt at not maintaining their English skills or making it part of their daily lives. In discussing her classmates who moved to Hong Kong, Shadow commented:

> I feel like I have failed [CSU] because I abandoned English at all, and didn't use English and I didn't keep up learning it. So the idea of other students might still be out there … [and] English is kind of their daily language. So, you know, I actually envy. (Interview, October 3, 2013)

In another example, Lyle described English speech and singing competitions that he had created at the correctional facility where he worked because he and his fellow prison guards felt that they must keep up their English proficiency despite little use for English in their daily work. Based on the survey and interview results, however, it is likely that many of Lyle and Shadow's classmates were also not using English very much in their professional lives.

Theme #5: CSU Curriculum Supporting Graduates' Careers through Building Confidence

A final theme that emerged from the data sources was the clear value many CSU graduates felt they had gained from the CSU English curriculum even if they did not use English in their daily professional life. Figure 6.7 and the quotes from the open-ended questions in the survey illustrate both the importance of classroom activities as well as the role extra-curricular English activities at CSU played in CSU graduates' lives.

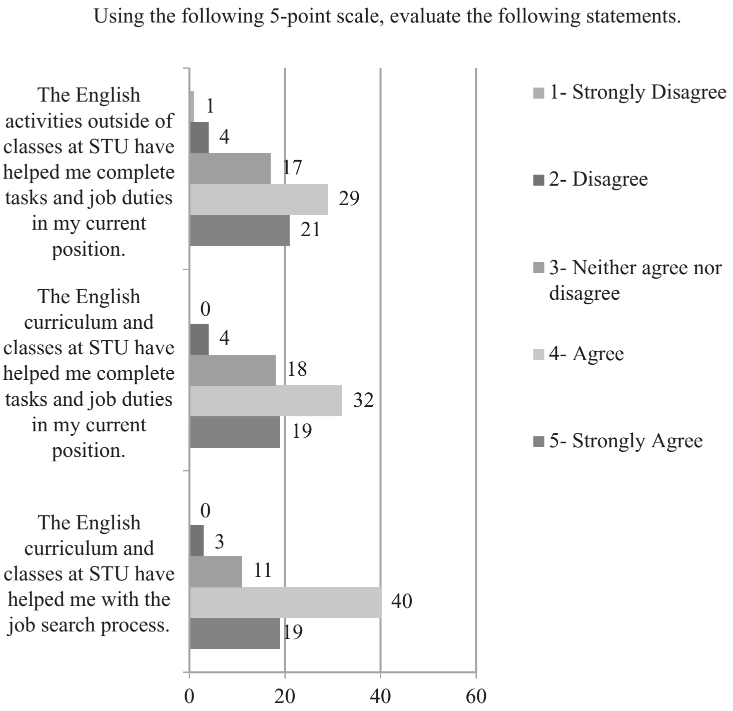

Fig. 6.7 Role of CSU classes in professional lives of CSU graduates ($n = 73$)

From the above responses, it is clear that a wide majority of CSU graduates feel that the English curriculum and extracurricular activities at CSU have helped their career. Perhaps because the interview process often required an interview in English, the highest response rate came from students who felt the CSU curriculum and classes helped them with the job-search process, with 81 % of all respondents indicating 4 (Agree) or 5 (Strongly Agree). In open-ended sections of the survey, respondents confirmed the connections between the CSU curriculum and their professional lives, often indicating that extra-curricular activities and personal interactions with English teachers had been as important as any proficiency gains. For example, a survey respondent wrote, "Things about learning English at [CSU] that helped all my jobs: Stress on critical thinking, cultural differences, and international exposure [to] native-speaker instructors," and another respondent stated, "I have to say English classes in [CSU] doesn't give me a lot of help in improving my English. However, English Lounge gave students who love English to participate. The atmosphere there was relax and it is more close to the real life."

Further, the interviews help to demonstrate that the confidence the graduates had gained in CSU's English classrooms and from participating in its extracurricular activities was just as important as or more important than the actual proficiency they had gained from studying English there. For example, Rain noted that in CSU courses, she felt like it was the first time teachers had really listened and "heard" her in English or Chinese courses. She described an ELC teacher who allowed students "some time to think about how to voice our opinions" and who had given her confidence after graduation to move to Hong Kong and begin a career in university administration. Similarly, Jasmine described moments of being "heard" for the first time:

> I participated in the speech contest in 2008. That was the first time my classmates started to notice that there was a person who spoke English so well. At that time I felt so confident about myself. Studying in the Chinese background education for so long, I felt not so confident about myself. But that was the first time I thought that I could do things and I could become confident. This kind of activities from ELC is very important not only for college education, but also for our later life.

Jasmine later offered that her life without English would have been "quite different," because she would probably have stayed in her hometown and taken a job in local government, similar to her parents. Civil service jobs in government are very attractive as they offer guaranteed pensions and job security, but many of the interviewees described their desires to work in more international and cosmopolitan jobs in the coastal cities of Shenzhen, Guangzhou, and Hong Kong. In fact, many students such as Jasmine had changed jobs numerous times since graduation, a sign of their confidence and a key difference from their parents' generation.

Despite enthusiasm for the "all-around" English approach at CSU, some survey and interview participants described the CSU curriculum as creating unrealistic expectations. As a survey respondent wrote:

> 对于那些性格比较内向,对英语兴趣不是那么浓烈,做事情目的性不强以及基础比较薄弱的同学来说,就是得过且过混过日子,最后导致各种知识技能薄弱。比如我这种,能够过4,6级但是并没有完全真正掌握英语这项语言技能,并将其很好地为现在工作以及再发展服务的人便是一个例。子
>
> (For students who are introverts, because they are not very interested in learning English, have little motivation to gain achievements, and a low level of English proficiency, they tend to muddle along and dawdle away their life and eventually end up having little knowledge and weak skills. For instance, I am one of those people whose English is only at the level 4 or 6 [on the CET] and did not truly master the actual usage of English-language skills and did not plan to improve my English to serve my job and others.)

This response highlights an important caution that although many graduates have gained from the CSU curriculum, others, perhaps less motivated or more introverted, have left CSU without gaining the skills needed for their professional lives nor the internalized desire to continue studying and using English.

Discussion

Returning to the research question, it was clear that English proficiency is an important skill to list on a CV and demonstrate in an interview when applying for a job. At the same time, similar to the results reported in Evans (2010), the practical uses of English proficiency on the job were often limited to writing and reading tasks, with email the most common English-language task among college graduates. In fact, the most common communication practices among CSU graduates were writing emails and reports in English while communicating in the office in Mandarin or Cantonese with colleagues. In contrast, the formal presentations and speaking skills that form the basis of many university courses at CSU and throughout China were rarely part of graduates' professional lives. Despite this reality, English remained an important element in CSU graduates' professional identity, with all interviewees and a large majority of survey participants stating an interest in maintaining their English proficiency and seeking places in which they could use English.

In summarizing recent educational and employment trends in southern China, Graddol (2013) writes that we may be about to witness a major shift in the status of English in China, in that whilst once "the main driver" of English learning was national exams, now "the need to obtain a real communicative competence in English may be increasing" (p. 44). From the themes and examples analyzed here, it is true that the status and role of English is changing, and there is certainly a need for communicative competence in English for certain positions and professionals. At the same time, the actual communicative needs of many college graduates who work in the growing economies of coastal China may be few, or at least restricted to more specific writing and reading tasks and not the "all-around" communicative competence envisioned by MOE policy and many Chinese university administrators. Further, although the stated expectations of English proficiency may be rising throughout mainland China for many positions, the experiences of CSU graduates caution against making claims about the growing importance of English in the actual day-to-day professional lives of college graduates in China. As Graddol (2013) writes in summarizing Leslie Chang's ethnography of factory workers in Dongguan, *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China,* "acquiring a sound functional proficiency in English was often less important than the skills to 'blag' their way through a job interview, or to pass themselves off as a more educated person" (p. 58). College graduates in China appeared to share this performative aspect of English proficiency with factory workers, and the ability to display an English identity and to seek opportunities to use

English was much more important than actual proficiency skills for both factory and university-educated employees.

In addition, the survey and interview data connect to the important debate in Chinese education about the role of English in the secondary and university curriculum and as a job requirement. As summarized in Chap. 1, this debate was spurred in 2013 when the MOE in China proposed reducing the weight of the English score on the *gāokǎo*, the national college entrance examination (Rui, 2014). The findings here lend support to arguments for reducing the role of English proficiency on high-stakes tests and university graduation requirements. At the same time, many college students in China and around the world are learning English in order to work or study abroad in English-speaking environments. The key point is that countries such as China which have seen a huge rush or "wave" (Feng, 2011) of English learning should balance their curriculum reforms with the professional realities and desires for English proficiency and use among its college graduates.

If high levels of proficiency are not actually needed for success in many positions for CSU graduates and others around China, and if the importance of English continues to lessen on national high-stakes tests, English-language teachers and curriculum planners in China and elsewhere need to reconsider the proficiency and spoken communication goals of their curriculums. Reading and writing tasks clearly dominant the English work tasks of many CSU graduates, with emails the most common English task, used even when communicating with Chinese-speaking colleagues. In contrast, the formal presentations and debates that form the basis of many university courses at CSU and elsewhere in China and around the world are rarely part of graduates' professional lives. It seems clear that curriculum planners from national ministries to local university officials need to reconsider the rush to focus on certain types of spoken communicative language skills in university English courses. Instead of a blanket approach to universal proficiency requirements in English, universities should carefully consider the types of tasks required of different professions and work contexts in order to create courses that can refine the language skills, such as writing emails or reports, that are actually needed by university graduates. This may require creating some Business English courses or other English for Specific Purposes courses that explicitly teach reading and writing skills in professional contexts, and CSU has responded by creating these types of courses in recent years.

In addition to a re-emphasis on writing and reading skills and in light of the English use of university graduates, a further reconsideration of translation, not as formal translation but as part of daily life and communicative competence, is needed. As revealed in the surveys, formal translation of written documents or spoken conversations has not figured significantly in CSU students' lives, but CSU students work in increasingly translingual environments (Canagarajah, 2013a, 2013b) in which they constantly code-switch or code-mesh between languages. Whether it concerns a written English email that is discussed with co-workers in Cantonese before arranging a meeting with a supervisor in Mandarin Chinese, or simply the movement between Chinese and English names, CSU graduates are constantly translating among a variety of available languages and codes, and this communicative practice could become a part of university curriculum. In his argument for reintroducing translation into ELT, Cook (2014) presents a variety of activities that connect "traditional" and "communicative" approaches to translation. For example, he draws on task-based teaching strategies in outlining an activity in which students enter into negotiations with a foreign partner and receive documents in a foreign language, and need to translate the materials in order to have a discussion with their monolingual staff (p. 149). CSU and other universities around the world should move to include these types of activities, in which students replicate the translations and movements between languages that they will actually be performing after graduation, and teachers can add a further element of reflection by asking students to consider the implications of moving between different languages and codes and whether students prefer to work and live in an environment where multiple languages and codes are used.

In de-emphasizing speaking activities in the classroom, more emphasis can be placed on developing extracurricular activities and English learning outside of classrooms where all skills can be practiced in more realistic environments, both confident and shy students to explore their desires for further English study. In emphasizing extracurricular activities, programs should be conceived of as creative spaces in which students feel free to practice their language skills without evaluation and partake in playful activities in which proficiency is not as much the goal as is gaining confidence and trying out new identities (Cook, 2000). Teachers and students at CSU have already begun to create some of these types of projects. For example, a recent instructor began a Digital Storytelling Group that introduced students and teachers to the basic elements for creating digital stories (Lambert, 2006), and the group created and presented their own stories to the CSU community (McPherron and Nowicki, 2010).

In closing, it is clear that we need more case studies of professional and personal experiences of English use among Chinese graduates and university graduates around the world, and we must adapt our curriculum to reflect the changing needs and desires for English. As mentioned above, in our interview, Lyle described an English speech and singing competition that he created for the prison guards at the prison where he worked; prison guards met for monthly competitions complete with judges and prizes for top performers. English is of little use in their daily work, but Lyle and his colleagues' competition illustrates again the importance that many college graduates in China place on not just "seeking the opportunity to use English" but creating the opportunity to use it. The English curriculum in Chinese universities and elsewhere must continue to adapt to these changing realities of English use among college graduates, and instead of only focusing on English as a "tool," connect to the playful and translingual realities of university graduates' personal and professional experiences.

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7

Conclusions: Moving Beyond the Enduring Dichotomies in ELT

Introduction

In the previous chapters, I have analyzed the practices and policies of English language-teaching and learning as they are reworked in the CSU context. During this process, many of the classroom examples and participant narratives illustrated the ways teachers, students, and administrators in China were seeking to use and control English as a symbol and signification of modernity and progress. I started the book with chapters that discussed the history of English in China and how the PRC has used English in its education policy as a means to meet the needs of the state and further its goals in terms of the "four modernizations" in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology (Mao and Min, 2004). In many ways, the chapters have attempted to examine not simply how Western or state conceptions of modernity have been applied or resisted; rather, I have looked for instances in which a dialogue about teaching or a classroom practice has revealed how progress, modernity, and internationalization is being constructed and framed both in relation to East–West oppositions and outside of them. In a similar approach to that of Ong's (2005) study of Chinese culture, I have looked into the "everyday

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practices of having a modern Chinese subjectivity" (p. 27), and analyzed how, in those practices, English learning and teaching have come to signify divergent aspects of having an international perspective and identity in China for different participants both local and foreign—from my student Guy, to myself, to Vice-Chancellor Tsing, to the Chinese MOE.

Writing about the inherent incompleteness of all language and policy research, Canagarajah (2005) writes, "rather than treating them [unresolved tensions] as a problem for policy formation, we should think of tensions as opening up more complex orientations and dialogues to language in education (LIE)" (p. 195). In the same way, this book has investigated tensions between foreign and local teachers, notions of native and non-native Englishes, and responses globalization through English language learning in my own teaching context at CSU; and its chapters have explored ways in which these such tensions and the competing perspectives and uses of English at CSU can become the basis for teaching and learning the language. Canagarajah (2005) further points out that we need to do more than deconstruct the dominant assumptions and myths in ELT; instead, echoing Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) and their call for investigations of "what we do with policy," he writes that we must also work toward reconstructing effective and equitable teaching and learning practices. To conclude this book, I want to further explore some of these reconstructions of practice and policy in relation to the data presented in the preceding chapters. More specifically, the next sections review some answers and implications to the guiding research questions that framed the book and focus on the concerns of ELT professionals who are worried about linguistic and cultural imperialism when taking English-language-teaching positions in China and elsewhere.

Research Questions

Research Question #1: (How) Do Teachers at CSU Appropriate West-Based Teaching Methodologies and Teacher Roles?

As evidenced in the repeated request for students to "open your mouth" and the insistence on individual development and speaking skills in multiple local-teacher classrooms, it was clear that there was widespread acceptance of CLT methods and at least the appearance of student-centered classrooms in CSU policy and the practices of local teachers. As one teacher remarked to me, she and other local teachers were doing all they could to become "communicative competence teachers." In addition, foreign teachers also generally viewed their classrooms in terms of the skills-facilitator model presented in ELT teaching literature (Brown, 2014; Ellis, 2003; Nunan, 2005; Savignon, 2001). At the same time, local teachers and some foreign instructors of English mixed rote memorization with the text-centered learning traditionally associated with Chinese education cultures in an attempt to internationalize their teaching while respecting and maintaining an understanding of a Chinese culture of learning.

For example, teachers at CSU did not outwardly resist or attempt to stop the reform teaching program, but many local teachers mentioned felt restricted in their abilities to fully create the active and personal teaching styles that they felt foreign teachers (i.e. "native" speakers) naturally offered. Some students also articulated the connection between the foreign-teacher classroom and the creativity and speaking skills expected in the international business community, and such classrooms all had high enrollment, with some students expressing the belief that only foreign teachers can effectively teach English. As we saw in Chap. 3, it was interesting to note, however, that many foreign teachers used similar methods to the local teachers, often emphasizing students' speaking skills and "opening your mouth" over creative and critical thinking.

Further, in terms of teaching roles and responsibilities, both local and foreign teachers were performing multiple teaching, role-model, and caregiving roles inside and outside of their classrooms, roles that do not necessarily correspond to the skills facilitator teacher model embedded in CSU teaching policy and common understandings of CLT pedagogy. CSU policy and administrators often frame the role of local teachers as important since these teachers know the backgrounds and Chinese culture of their students, while foreign teachers are considered "foreign experts" and integral to the reforms at CSU because they were experienced in the student-centered and communicative teaching methods expected in the reform teaching program. This division of abilities, however, only captures part of the dynamic situation occurring in local and foreign teacher classrooms. Through Wendy's students use of the word "mother" to Ann and Kim's negotiations of personal relationships with students in restaurants, bars, and their own homes, it was clear that the relationships students and teachers perform at CSU are complex and multiple, offering foreign teachers the chance to have closer contact with students than they would have felt appropriate in the USA, and opening spaces in which new meanings could be articulated for English words and phrases such as "I love you."

Teachers and administrators at CSU often viewed the teaching reforms as "empowering" local teachers through new connections with international teaching English communities and professional organizations, such as Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Local teachers such as Sue, Wendy, and Irene did take pride in attending the international symposium hosted every year by the ELC as well as the multiple professional development seminars throughout the school year. At the same time, the reliance on foreign teachers as models of the reforms and as outside experts who should lead seminars furthered a divide between local and foreign teachers, and between research and practice, that exists throughout the field of applied linguistics and TESOL.

Research Question #2: What are the Responses of English-Language Learners to Teaching Reforms and Internationalization Efforts at CSU?

Similar to local teachers, CSU students expressed excitement about the teaching reforms and their increased focus on speaking skills, but they also appropriated the focus on the creative use of English in order to perform new identities and relationships in unexpected ways. For example, their creative use of English names—often changing names to fit different needs and contexts—and their appropriation of reflection writing to achieve a variety of communicative goals revealed that English learning in China is not a simple binary choice between assimilation and resistance to norms. The example of Dodo/Shufen illustrated this interesting and complex approach to name practices well, as her name both expresses her uniqueness and creativity and creates tensions and restrictions in interactions with local teachers and work colleagues.

In addition to general enthusiasm and interest in taking ELC classes, some students expressed more skepticism and ambivalence about the new teaching program and learning English in general, including my students Guy, Erin, and Echo. Such students are revising their ideas of what foreign teachers offer students as well as how English—in particular, what English skills and identities—will play a role in their future careers and lives. Similar to their counterparts at other Chinese universities, the students at CSU have begun to view their futures as part of international business and academic communities that were severely limited in their parents' generation, and certainly there is acceptance of and often enthusiasm towards the fact that English knowledge and use will help facilitate their careers; but at the same time, this book reveals that the "third wave" of English spread previewed in Chap. 1—in which motivations for learning English have "penetrated so widely and deeply into the hearts and minds of individuals and societies" (Feng, 2011, p. 7)—appears to have been overstated and to have been too simplistic an analysis of the status of English in China.

A recent survey by the international company Education First appears to confirm the ambivalence that many Chinese university students have developed towards learning English (Education First, 2015). Their 2015 survey of over 910,000 Chinese adults revealed that Chinese university students had weaker proficiency than younger students and working professionals, and overall English language proficiency levels in China had fallen each year since 2011 (Zhang and Zhao, 2015). China now ranks 47th out of 70 countries surveyed worldwide in terms of English proficiency, and 11th out of 16 Asian countries. Perhaps not surprisingly, some English professors in China, such as Cai Jigang of Shanghai's Fudan University, feel that the problem with the lowering English-language proficiency of university students indicates a need for more stringent requirements for English learning because university students "lack the goal and motivation to study or use the language" (Zhang and Zhao, 2015, para. 11). The previous chapters suggest, however, that not everyone in China needs to, nor should be required to learn English. If anything, learning English should be the choice of the student, based on the type of career and lifestyle they envision.

With the increased attention paid to China's economic and social changes in media and academic reports and studies throughout the first decade of the twenty-first century, a common image has emerged of the younger generation in China as determinedly focused on economic gain, English learning, and international travel, but the students at CSU offer a more complex picture of college students in China. For example, CSU students in Ann's and my classrooms sought traditional relationships with teachers as caregivers, both inside and outside the classroom, and many students, such as Guy and Erin, desire English classes that provide moral and intellectual topics pertaining to Chinese history in addition to the speaking skills currently emphasized in ELC classes. In summary, through their creative use of English in phrases such as "I love you" and their multiple reinterpretations of reflective language in portfolio assignments, the students at CSU offer a clear reminder of the complexity of student motivations and goals in any educational system, a complexity that is often ignored in national and local English-teaching-reform policy in China and elsewhere in media and academic reports on English-learning and -teaching in China.

Globalization and Chinese ELT

> The varying perspectives on Chinese modernity—from the state, from the ordinary people, from overseas Chinese modernity—reveal that imaginaries and practices of modernity are developing in different sites, are in dialogue with one another, and, in an emerging region of the world, are challenging Western hegemony … The new narratives indicate more forcefully than ever that modernity is "a matter of signification," in which forms associated with Western modernization are renamed and reworked in local contexts framed by East–West opposition. At issue is who controls that which is signified as modern. (Ong, 1999, p. 54)

The reappropriation of English and complex responses to surges in English teaching and learning by CSU teachers and students were certainly exciting to witness and be a part of in my 10 years of working and researching at CSU, but this is not to argue that, during this period, English learning and use at CSU and in the Chinese ELT context was always liberating and free from the dangers of the neoliberal logics that often manage and influence global movements of people, languages, and ideas (Park, 2009; Park and Lo, 2012). In describing English as a tool that all university students will need for their future careers as well as to enable them to further the cultural and political interests of the PRC, MOE and CSU policy offered a view of language as separate from speaker choices and identities, rendering studying and learning a language an instrumental task devoid of the creativity, divergent orientations, and ambivalent motivations illustrated by CSU students in the preceding chapters. The fact that English played a role as a gatekeeper among CSU graduates who needed certain scores on the CET 4 or CET 6 exam in order to be granted a job interview represents a further example of a neoliberal orientation to language learning and individualism, particularly since many graduate' actual job tasks and day-to-day work environment often required little to no English. The use of English proficiency as a requirement for getting a job defined English as synonymous with being educated, qualified, and a desirable job applicant, and it rendered all other language proficiencies, including knowledge of local Chinese languages and dialects, unimportant and not desirable, in this sense erasing local cultures and language in order to promote perceived international English and business communities.

In the same way, policies that elevated so-called foreign teachers into influential positions at the university—such as that of director of musicals for the English Festival or expert in implementing CLT pedagogy—are examples of what Irvine and Gal (2000) call *iconization*, or the reinterpretation of a linguistic form (e.g. a particular accent or language) certain scores and the goal for CSU students. This ideological process that equates "nativeness" with correctness through the iconization of foreign or "native" speakers is supported by the general lack of alternative models of speaking and teaching supported by CSU policy and administrators, an ideological process Irvine and Gal (2000) have called *erasure*. In this way, by requiring all students to acquire a certain level of English and learn in student-centered, CLT classrooms taught increasingly by foreign teachers, CSU policy has erased the traditional role of teachers in China as models of knowledge and morals, furthering a transactional view of classrooms in which students should focus on individual success and improvement in order to increase their economic worth. Perhaps the best example of this ideological process was the English Festival, held every year, with its focus on English learning through participation in singing contests, Broadway musicals, and a debate contest. Every time I attended these festivals, I was struck by how much students enjoyed the shows and activities but also wondered what else could have been done with the money and time other than celebrating English and asking students to participate in dated Broadway musicals. In many of these instances, I seriously questioned whether globalization and the teaching and learning of English in China really were complex "de-terriorialized" processes of appropriation (Tomlinson, 1999), East–West dialogue, and resignification. It certainly did seem that there was only one definition of modern and it involved attempting to learn English so as to approximate as closely as possible West-based learning and culture.

Despite these moments of clear ideological control over English learning and use at CSU, the chapters and participants profiled in the book project again and again point out places where cultures, identities, and projections of Chinese and global futures really were in dialogue and were not simply reflections of a hegemonic, global language and culture that will eventually limit or replace local cultures and languages. The key point in examining globalization and ELT in China is not only that ideological processes of iconization and erasure are present *or* that neoliberal logic and conceptions of individuals and learning are prevalent. These dominant processes and logics are well-documented realities of the current era of globalization. Instead, for me, the most important and fascinating point of living, working, and researching at CSU is that despite the huge pressures on CSU students and teachers to assimilate or adopt specific ways of speaking, thinking, or identifying, they continue to find ways to use English and English learning for their own local and community purposes. Of course, more classroom and extracurricular activities at CSU and elsewhere in China could help foster these moments and dialogues. For example, the Digital Storytelling group proved to be an enormous success at CSU both as a language-learning activity and as a space for students, teachers, and administrators to build community and tell new and creative stories that challenged others at CSU to see purposes for learning and using English outside of the instrumental goals prescribed by state education policy. CSU and other internationalizing institutions need to foster more activities and spaces such as these in which language can be practiced and learned without focus on overt proficiency goals or standards.

A common critique of globalization in general and globalization through English learning in particular is that English is destroying local cultures and creating education policy whose primary goal is serving the interests of global capital and business interests. Certainly, this is part of the reality of what is happening in China and cannot be ignored in an analysis of ELT, but English learning at CSU and throughout China is about much more than simply hegemonic globalization. The CSU participants profiled in the preceding chapters clearly still desire to learn English, and gain more than employment or instrumental goals by learning English. They use English to perform new and creative identities as well as gain confidence in other aspects of their social and professional lives. Of course, the participants in the book could potentially grow and develop in these ways without learning English and many students do throughout the world, but it is impossible to ignore or remove English as part of Chinese life at this point in history. As a desirable language for study and use in China it forms part of and is changing the course of Chinese politics, economy, and culture; rather than resisting this, it seems more important to work towards creating the types of activities and pedagogy that draws on and promotes the exciting appropriations of English-language use demonstrated in the previous chapters.

Cultural Identifications and Chinese ELT

> Conversations across boundaries of identity—whether national, religious, or something else—begin with the sort of imaginative engagement you get when you read a novel or watch a movie or attend to a work of art that speaks from some place other than your own. So I'm using the word "conversation" not only for literal talk but also as a metaphor for engagement with the experience and the ideas of others. And I stress the role of imagination here because encounters, properly conducted, are valuable in

> themselves. Conversation doesn't have to lead to consensus about anything, especially not values; it's enough that it helps people get used to each other. (Appiah, 2006, p. 85)

As illustrated and argued throughout the chapters, in celebrating the triumph of the hybrid, global self, which chooses from multiple identities depending on context, we should consider refining the definition of identity to draw more attention to the process of identity formation. Bailey (2007) points out that the terms hybridity or hybrid identity are problematic in that they connote the existence of the opposite: "pure and coherent anterior systems" (p. 270). Hybridity can be a useful and powerful term as a counter to the essentialist positions prevalent in the dominant discourses circulating both in CSU policy and in common-sense arguments about Western and Chinese culture; but the analysis presented in the data chapters moved away from labeling any one practice, utterance, or position as simply representative of hybridity. In this way, I have pointed out that CSU students and teachers do not just have multiple identities, but what Bauman (2001) calls identifications, "a never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity in which we all, by necessity or by choice, are engaged" (p. 129).

The students and teachers at CSU adopt so many discourses, ideas, and affiliations, even within the course of one classroom, that the term identity—even if defined as multiple and contested—connotes a coherence that does not exist in any student or teacher at the university, and the use of a term such as identification draws attention to the unfinished work of all identity processes in the English-language classrooms there, including my own sense of self as a teacher moving into a new physical and cultural space. This does not imply that the term identity should be replaced with identification; rather, the process of identification is part of the larger theoretical construct of identity. In their invocation of "our China" and a common tradition, students and teachers reveal the power of a common collective identity, and it is important to continue to examine identity in terms of the terms people use to label themselves and their groups; however, we must also continue to examine identification as the continual process of defining these cover terms. In this way, the identity practices of CSU students and teachers can be understood as illustrative of a position between Lixian Jin and Martin Cortazzi's model of cultures of learning—in which identity is viewed as emanating from a more static and neutral view of language and culture—and Suresh Canagarajah's more practice-based model of citizenship, language and culture as *dialogical cosmopolitanism*—in which "languages don't determine or limit our identities, but provide creative resources to construct new and revised identities through reconstructed forms and meaning of new indexicalities" (Canagarajah, 2013a, p. 199).

Returning to Guy's email, with which this book began, it mentions his ambivalence about learning English:

> To be honest, I don't think many Chinese students really love English, include me … sometimes I found it interesting to use a language which is different from my own, from which I can hide myself and "translate" myself to be a different person, another ego. (Personal communication, October, 2004)

His words seem to take up the space between an identity based on a fixed definition and understanding of culture and one that celebrates and emphasizes fluidity and continual change and realignment. More importantly, Guy represents many CSU students and teachers who are responding to given realities and inherent power dynamics in the spread of English as an international language. Guy has to learn English for his "future," CSU feels that it must invite teachers and TESOL experts from abroad to teach and speak at its events in order to align itself with the "international community" and attract the best students, and local and foreign teachers feel the need to accept and use a communicative approach to teaching and learning in China as the "current" fashionable method (as Wendy described CLT in Chapter 3). Each of these groups of participants in the English-language-learning project at CSU are making their choices based on defined and sedimented understandings of cultures and traditions—both local and global—but each group is also "translating" itself, reconstructing new meanings, and performing new identifications that are not entirely predetermined by the processes of globalization nor their previous affiliation with a particular culture of learning. These are the conversations that Appiah (2006) writes about that do not lead to consensus and homogenization; rather, they help "people get used to each other" (p. 85). They are the conversations that make CSU and other similar internationalizing spaces such interesting spaces to live in and study. They are the conversations and spaces that our teaching and research should strive to create and maintain.

In examining globalization and identity processes in China, more longitudinal studies of CSU students, such as the surveys and interviews presented in Chap. 6, are needed in order to reveal learner responses to language norms and internationalization surges in English-language teaching after students have left formal education contexts and begun careers. It is clear that Chinese university graduates work in increasingly translingual environments in which they constantly code-switch or code-mesh between languages (Canagarajah, 2013a, 2013b), and it is clear that these graduates still desire to maintain their English proficiency if only to project a modern and international identity. In doing more longitudinal work with English learners in China, we can continue to develop our understandings of the identifications and identity processes of language learners and pursue research into the connections between language socialization in divergent contexts over time and in multiple contexts. These insights can then be applied to developing teaching activities that draw on actual language uses among Chinese students and their motivations for learning English.

English Teaching Pedagogy and Chinese ELT

I began this book concerned with my role as a foreign expert in China and wary of the linguistic and cultural effects my teaching position may have. I considered my teaching and research into CLT in the classrooms of CSU as an example of the ideology of modernization as described in Tollefson (1991), and a potential form of the linguistic imperialism as described in Phillipson (1992, 2009), or worse the actions of a teacher of a "killer" language as described in Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 2006). In the complexities and perceptions I found in the classrooms at CSU, I argue that West-based theories and pedagogies of language learning are certainly dominant and contribute to the relationships between foreign teachers and students, but norms in language teaching, just as Duff (2002) notes in terms of language socialization, are never inevitable nor purely one-sided and imperialistic. Teachers and students at CSU are assigning new meanings and interpretations to English and language pedagogy and the field of applied linguistics and TESOL should investigate the conditional aspects of all classrooms, not simply the assimilation of or resistance to dominant theories and methods. Pedagogists such as Kumaravadivelu (2003, 2006) and Kramsch (2006) have begun to articulate visions of the *post-method* classroom, and this book reinforces that a greater emphasis on teachers as producers of meanings and knowledge in the field, not simply as readers and receivers of ELT methods, is a necessary but still not completed move in our field.

In terms of actual ELT classroom practice, one clear implication based on the data gathered from student and teacher interactions in the classroom is the need to move away from making every classroom encounter "authentic" and connect to the perceived future careers of students. Much of the literature on CLT has focused on making classrooms "real" and addressed play as perhaps a "means" to reaching practical real-world goals, but the data in Chaps. 5 and 6 reveal that as language teachers and researchers we should be concerned with making the language classroom represent both "real" and "imaginary" worlds and with defining the functional and playful aspects in language-learning tasks. The focus on language play as described in Cook (2000) connects to Kramsch's (2006) description of a "pedagogy of reflexion" as classrooms become spaces in which students and teachers appropriate new meanings, standards, and uses for languages, not seeing them as a "means" to an end but as classroom goals in themselves.

Hu (2005) argues that the influx of Western culture in coastal and urban cities in China has led students and teachers in these areas to be much more accepting of reform and CLT-based classrooms, and the various examples from teachers and students presented in the chapters of this book confirm the rapid acceptance and change of teaching methods in coastal universities such as CSU. At the same time, the teachers and students at CSU reveal dimensions of a larger conversation about effective learning and teaching methods, one element of which is that teachers are not simply accepting the reform methods, top down, in the form in which they are often presented in CSU and national policy.

As illustrated in the above teacher and student negotiations of reform teaching, this conversation is not limited—nor should it be—to one definition or theory of language learning, be it communicative, functional, or Chinese "traditional."

In his popular and often-used teacher-education book, Brown (2014) writes, "we are all practitioners and we are all theorists. We are all charged with developing a broadly based conceptualization of the process of language learning and teaching" (p. 309). Unfortunately, as Brown himself notes, the ELT community has for too long been divided into researchers (mostly based in Western universities) who theorize and practitioners (located around the world) who teach. Based on the multiple appropriations of CLT at CSU and the complex interpretations of local- and foreign-teacher classrooms by CSU students, I wonder if the charge should be not to develop one, unitary conceptualization of language learning, but many, un-unified conceptions of ELT and communicative teaching methods. This more divergent orientation towards language learning defines classroom teaching as a continual process of personal discovery and as inherently post-method (Kumaravadivelu, 2003, 2006), and as Sullivan (2000) notes, it would return the idea of CLT to its earlier more open and unrestricted position in the field of ELT, before it became a dominant discourse, with its own often restrictive metaphors and understandings.

Foreign teachers in China, such as myself, have often been trained in communicative language-based methods that forefront speaking fluency and creativity above repetition and rote memorization. At CSU, often against our desires, we became the models of "correct" communicative and reform teaching as local teachers reproduced their understandings of our model of CLT and asked us, "Are our classrooms communicative?" These imagined reproductions of Western-based teaching methods by local Chinese teachers are not surprising, nor necessarily negative, but in the Chinese ELT context, programs such as the ELC often overlook the fact that foreign teachers are going through similar changes to local teachers in terms of their views of communicative language teaching and appropriate methodology. Just as local teachers are reproducing and reimagining reform classrooms, foreign teachers are revising their practices based on local knowledge and experiences. Kate, Mary, Ann, and I are just four examples of the process of teaching reflection that all teachers begin on their first day of teaching in China or any new cultural environment. English programs around the world should welcome the dynamic process that occurs in all English classrooms and move away from relying heavily on expert speakers and in-service workshops that present a unified approach to what makes a communicative classroom. Instead, the multiple understandings of both local and foreign teachers (and perhaps these terms themselves could be removed) can become more central to professional development programs, with in-service workshops using teacher reflections and action-research projects as content.

In fact, these personal interpretations of effective pedagogy could take a more central position in teacher education courses around the world. For many practicing teachers, it seems as though the field of ELT is saturated with method books and theories on language. Instead of focusing on abstract generalizations, teacher education materials and classes should be centered on more ethnographic studies based in actual teaching and learning contexts. These studies should not be peripheral readings used as examples of a theory, but should form the basis of the core readings and discussion topics for a course. Curriculum planners and course administrators often cite ethnographic studies of classrooms as important parts of teacher education, but they worry that novice teachers would not feel empowered by descriptions and action-research studies of the realities of language learning, feeling helpless and overwhelmed by "what do I do on Monday morning" panic. I think we can do both. We can prepare future teachers with the linguistic and pedagogical tools to create effective and meaningful lessons, and, at the same time, we can inculcate critical readers, consumers, and creators of ELT research, teachers who question given teaching methods and theories of language and learning and work toward building their own community-based understandings of their students and teaching.

In the university MA TESOL programs where I have worked, however, this de-centering of teaching methods and theories has already occurred, and with positive results. Responding to the generalized and decontextualized classrooms in most TESOL methods books, instructors have put together reading packets for ELT methods classes that focus on ethnographies and action-research studies. Future teachers discuss in detail the appropriations of teaching methods and look for themes and practices across settings. More importantly, novice teachers notice the unique tensions and heterogeneity of each educational context. The teachers examine these ethnographies in terms of what Watson-Gegeo (2004) calls *limit experiences*—or the encounters in which our preconceived notions and knowledge of the world are challenged and recategorized—and they reflect on their own assumptions about learning and teaching in their local contexts. This emphasis on personal and local community meaning-making in response to global flows of ideas, such as CLT, is an explicit attempt to show teachers that local appropriation should be expected. In training teachers this way, however, a common theoretical vocabulary is not ignored; the focus is simply on adapting theories to local contexts, not changing local contexts to fit a theory such as communicative competence.

In drawing ethnographic studies and local meaning-making and contexts more centrally into teacher education, the field of TESOL can continue to emphasize teaching as a community process, not just the experiences of individual students and teachers in independent classrooms. In addition, by placing "limit experiences" as more central to teacher education, we expand our understanding of these experiences as part of the practices of entire *thought collectives* (Ramanathan, 2002), and we locate ELT squarely in the practices of teachers and their responses and cross-examinations of teaching methods and theories, particularly the communicative language and student-centered approaches. In this way, we work toward pedagogies of English-language teaching that are not restrictively unified but intentionally divergent, and we do not only ask "what are the local meanings here?" but more importantly "how are the local meanings changing here?" and "how are teachers and students changing them?"

As a final implication in relation to ELT pedagogy and practices, the data chapters here point out again the power of pedagogy that is based in issues and topics from the community and pertinent to the experiences of students in a given context; this corresponds to calls for community-based pedagogy from teacher-researchers such as Morgan (1998), Benesch (2001), and Canagarajah (2003). Using Chinese English names as a topic for students to write about and research was just one of the many strategies I used to connect issues and choices in student lives to classroom activities. Drawing attention to this theme is particularly important, because it is inevitable in the Chinese context that students will have considered choosing an English name in their past learning, and it is a relevant entry point to a larger discussion of language standards and norms.

In Closing

> In so far as globalization can be represented at all, it is through the contradictory pluralities of such enforced in-betweenness and the tactics of serious play to which it gives rise. Glimpsed, but not grasped. (Perry, 1998, qtd. in Edwards and Usher, 2008)

The image of "in-betweenness" can be troubling for ELT and applied linguistics as sub-fields of social science departments that strive to make accurate definitions and models of social life. Similar to the above quote about globalization processes, talk of glimpses may strike some linguists as being far too vague to be of help in representing how language works in our minds; something for cultural studies, not linguistics. Drawing on the metaphor of rhizomes, Ramanathan (2006) describes researching and identity processes as lacking fixed roots and being taken up again and again, extensions of meanings without fixed origins. As a practicing teacher, I have often heard teachers call for concrete examples of what works and what does not, but in closing this book, I wonder if the metaphor of the rhizome might be useful in capturing what actually does happen in teaching departments such as the English-language department at CSU. In the face of the complexity of, and the globalizing and localizing currents found in CSU policy and student and teacher responses, framing our teaching in terms of unfinished processes is not going to resolve the tensions, myths, and discrepancies between policies and practices, but as part of the reconstruction of a new discourse of education, it is a start.

In addition to continuing to build discourses of teaching and identity as inherently "in-between" processes, follow-up ethnographies of similar universities in China or elsewhere in the East Asian or Southeast Asian context could be revealing. As one point of interest, it appears that students in Chinese-language contexts (Taiwan and the PRC) are the only students that take such creative names in language classes. In discussions with teachers and students in Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, I have never heard of similar phenomena or playful adaptations of English names in those countries. To be sure, language play is part of these classes and learning cultures (Sullivan, 2000), but why do only Chinese students appear to appropriate naming practices? In addition, comparisons of divergent English-language programs, both in the Asian EFL or North-American ESL context will help to more fully develop our glimpses and notions of globalization and language teaching.

I end by pointing out that at CSU much of the policy and methods for teaching were introduced by so-called experts that did not teach or live at CSU, and a major point of the project has been to reveal what teachers and students actually "do" within their given policy, linguistic, and cultural contexts. Based on the data presented and analyzed here, it is clear that teachers and students at CSU and in similar ELT contexts should have a more prominent role in choosing pedagogy and curriculum. Teachers and students know infinitely more than local or foreign administrators about student needs, including how to use language communicatively and how to lead a moral life. As stated throughout the book, these community members should be the "true" engines that drive English-language teaching, policy, and practices.

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Appendix

Data-Collection and Description Tables

Table A.1. Data-collection time periods and researcher roles

Time period	My role
August 2004–June 2005	Lived in faculty apartments at CSU. Taught four sections of English Level 4 (Intermediate High) course in fall and spring semesters. Worked as co-coordinator of Level 4 teachers (including curriculum planning). Kept teaching diary and notes on lesson plans. Kept notes on conversations and events at CSU, including emails and hallway chats with students and teachers.
August 2005–January 2007	Kept notes on conversations and emails with teachers and students at CSU while living in California.
February 2007–June 2007	Lived in faculty apartments at CSU, and taught two sections of Level 5 English (Academic Writing). Kept notes on conversations and events at CSU, including emails and hallway chats with students and teachers. Interviewed CSU students (both current and former), teachers (local, foreign, current, and former), and administrators. Observed classrooms across all levels for an entire semester.

(*continued*)

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Table A.1. (continued)

Time period	My role
August 2007–May 2010	Kept notes on conversations and emails with teachers and students at CSU while living in California and Illinois. Presented and published papers based on 2004–2007 data collection. Collaborated with CSU teachers on curriculum development projects. Interviewed CSU students who came to the USA for study and work. Interviewed former CSU students (online) and current and CSU teachers (online).
May 2010–August 2010	Lived in faculty apartments at CSU. Led digital storytelling group of students and teachers. Kept notes on conversations and events at CSU, including emails and hallway chats with students and teachers. Interviewed CSU students (both current and former), teachers (local, foreign, current, and former), and administrators. Observed classrooms across all levels.
August 2010–May 2013	Kept notes on conversations and emails with teachers and students at CSU while living in Illinois and New York. Presented and published papers based on 2010 data collection. Collaborated with CSU teachers on curriculum development projects. Interviewed CSU students who came to the USA for study and work.
May 2013–October 2013	Conducted surveys of CSU graduates on their professional and personal use of English. Traveled to southern China and CSU to conduct interviews with CSU students (both current and former), teachers (local, foreign, current, and former), and administrators.
November 2013–May 2014	Presented and published papers based on 2013 data collection. Interviewed former CSU students (online), current CSU teachers (online), and former CSU administrators and consultants (online).

Table A.2. Data sources and description

Data source	Description
My classrooms: (1) Classroom notes and diaries from 2004–2005 school year; Spring 2007 semester; Summer 2010 digital-story project.	I recorded notes and coded for themes during the school year, first by hand and later in Word documents.
End of semester reports: (1) Participating instructors at CSU and myself (*n* = 24).	At the end of each semester, formal reviews of classroom activities are required of all teachers by the university. This is a means of ensuring that communicative and task-based teaching methods are in place. I analyzed reports at the end of fall 2004, spring 2005, spring 2007, and spring 2010.
CSU teacher and administrator data: (1) Interviews with foreign and local teacher at CSU (*n* = 42) (2) Interviews with CSU administrators and English Language Center administrators (*n* = 15) (3) Numerous discussions in hallways, streets, and over meals with all English teachers at CSU.	In-person interviews with participating instructors and administrators took place during 2007, 2010, and 2013. Online interviews (via Skype) took place in 2009, 2011, and 2013.
Classroom data: (1) Recordings from participating instructor classrooms (*n* = 60). (2) Classroom observation notes from participating instructor classrooms.	I observed, took notes at, and audio-recorded five classes of two teachers (one local and one foreign) at Levels 2, 3, and 4 during the spring semester 2007 (30 classes in total). I observed, took notes at, and audio-recorded courses at various teaching levels during 2010 and 2013 trips to CSU. I later transcribed the recordings and coded them for themes. I also typed up my handwritten notes from the classroom observations.

(*continued*)

Table A.2. (continued)

Data source	Description
CSU student data: (1) Email exchanges with CSU students (2) Interviews with current and former CSU students ($n = 60$). (3) Notes from informal discussions in hallways and at meals. (4) Student journals and writing examples from CSU English classes (Levels 2–5). (5) Surveys of CSU graduates ($n = 88$)	In-person interviews with participating students took place during 2007, 2010, and 2013. Online interviews (via Skype) took place in 2009, 2011, and 2013. In 2007, I interviewed students from every proficiency level 2–5 as well as a group of former CSU students. As described in each chapter, a core group of students were interviewed multiple times over the years, and other student participants were interviewed just once. Writing examples, journals, and other student project data were collected in 2007, 2010, and 2013 from participating instructor classrooms as well as my own. In 2013, I conducted an online survey with CSU graduates about their professional and personal use of English. Follow-up interviews with survey participants were conducted in 2013 and 2014.
English-language-teaching policies at CSU: (1) Web documents and policies about the ELD department. (2) Reports prepared by the internationalization committee at CSU. (3) Chinese MOE national English curriculum policies and documents.	The ELC documents are located on the center's website and are in English. The university reports were prepared by an internal review committee are written in English. The Chinese English curriculum policies are available for all university English departments and are written in Chinese and English as cited throughout the book (MOE, 2001; 2005; 2007)

Table A.2. (continued)

Data source	Description
Recordings at CSU: (1) Recordings from presentations and seminars I led at CSU in 2004, 2007, and 2010. (2) Recordings from an English Language Center conference at CSU in 2004. (3) A performance of the musical *Fiddler on the Roof* by CSU students in 2009.	I audio- or video-recorded and transcribed the following presentations and audience discussions that I gave at CSU: US and Chinese sports stars (2004); English names (2007); research methods in TESOL (2010); and the digital stories of CSU students (2010). I video-taped the presentations of guest presenters at a conference in 2004 held on the CSU campus on the topic of Communicative Competence and English-language learning in China. I videotaped the performance of the musical *Fiddler on the Roof* that was performed as part of the English Festival at CSU in 2009.

Interview Questions Used for Current ELC Students

(1) Why did you come to [CSU]?

你为什么来[CSU]大学呢?

(2) Did you know about ELC classes before you came to [CSU]? Can you remember your expectations of ELC classes? Explain please.

来[CSU]]前你了解英语语言中心的课程吗?你记得你对英语语言中心课程的期望吗?请解释

(3) What ELC classes have your taken? Describe what you do in your classes.

你选了英语语言中心的哪些课程呢. 请描述你在英语语言中心课程的课堂上做的事情

(4) Is there a difference between the local and foreign teachers in class? Please explain.

本土老师和外教在课堂上有区别吗 请解释

(5) Why did you pick the ELC class that you are currently taking? Time period, teacher, location? Explain.

你为什么选择你现在正在修的英语语言中心课程的课的呢,基于哪些方面的考虑? 时间,老师还是地点? 请解释

(6) Please describe what a good English teacher does in class.

请描述一个好的英语老师在课堂上做什么。

(7) Do you think that an English teacher should also serve as a moral role model? Please explain.

你认为一个英语老师应是道德模范吗?请解释

(8) What do you like about studying English at [CSU]? What do you not like?

你喜欢在[CSU]?大学学习英语的哪些方面,又有哪些方面不喜欢呢?

(9) If English were an optional course at [CSU], would you still have chosen to learn English? Why or why not?

如果在大英语是门选修课,你还会选择去学英语吗?为什么呢

(10) Do you have an English name? If yes, could you describe how you got your name and what it means to you?

你有英语名字吗?如果有,请描述你是怎样取这个名字的,它对你意味着什么呢?

(11) When do you use English now in your daily life? At work? In your personal life?

在现在的日常生活中你什么时候使用英语呢?工作中,还是个人生活中?

(12) At this point, is knowing English important for your career or personal development? Which skills are most important if any, i.e. writing, speaking, etc.? Please explain.

懂英语对你的职业和个体发展重要吗?如果重要,哪项是最重要的呢,写,说或其他?请解释

Please add any additional comments on English learning and use in your life below.

请写出你对英语学习和应用的任何看法

Interview Questions Used for CSU Graduates

(1) What did you study at [CSU]? When did you graduate?

你在[CSU]時的專業是什麼?你是哪一年畢業的?

(2) What did you like about studying English in the ELC at [CSU]? What did you not like?

在[CSU]大學英語語言中心學習英語時,你喜歡哪些方面?不喜歡哪些方面?)

(3) If English were an optional course at [CSU], would you still have chosen to learn English? Why or why not?

如果英語是[CSU]的選修課,你還會選擇它嗎?為什麼?

(4) Please describe where you are working now, where you have worked in the past, and/or where you are looking for work?

你現在哪裡工作?你之前在哪裡工作,或者你現在哪裡找工作?

(5) Was English proficiency a requirement of your current or any previous positions? If so, how did you demonstrate proficiency? What skills were required? (i.e. speaking, translating, etc.)

你現時或之前的職位對英語能力有要求嗎?如有,你是如何展現你的英語能力的?哪些技能是必須的(例如,口語,翻譯等)?

(6) What language is spoken and used for communication in your office? (i.e. in office meetings, between colleagues, etc.). Or are multiple languages used in different settings? Please explain.

在你的辦公室,人們日常交流是用什麼語言的(例如,在會議上,同事間等)?或者,在不同的場合會使用不同的語言嗎?請說明一下。

(7) On what tasks at work do you use English? Please describe a work task and in what way English is used to accomplish the task.

你工作中的哪些內容是用到英語的?請舉例你如何用英語來完成一項工作任務。

(8) With whom do you use English at work (both in speaking or writing)?

你在工作中會和誰用英語(包括口語和書寫)?

(9) Do you have an English name? If yes, could you describe how you got your name and what it means to you? Do you use your English name at work? Have you ever changed your English name? If so, why?

你有英文名嗎?如有,可以形容一下這個名字是怎麼取的嗎?這個名字對你有什麼意義嗎?你在工作中會用你的英文名字嗎?你曾經更改過你的英文名嗎?為什麼更改?

(10) Do you continue to study English? How? For what purpose?

你有繼續學習英語嗎?如何學習?繼續學習的目的是?

(11) At this point, is using English important for your career or personal development? Which skills are most important if any, i.e. writing, speaking, etc.? Please explain.

目前,英語運用對你的事業或個人發展重要嗎?哪項技能是最重要的,例如,寫,說,等等?請形容一下。

(12) Please add any additional comments on English learning and use in your life (both professionally and personally).

對你的生活中(包括工作和個人)的英語學習和使用,你還有什麼想補充嗎。

Interview Questions Used for Local English Teachers

(1) How did you become an English teacher?

你是如何成为一名英语老师的?

(2) What were your English classes like in college/high school?

你大学/高中的英语课是什么样子的?

(3) Were you trained in language-teaching methods at university? Please explain.

你在大学接受过语言教学方法的培训吗?

(4) Why did you come to teach at [CSU]?

你为什么来[CSU]大教书?

(5) Describe your teaching style. What do you do in the classroom?

请描述你的教学方式 你在课堂上做什么呢

(6) Have you changed your teaching style since the reform program at [CSU] started in 2002? Please explain.

自2002年[CSU]大改革计划实施以来你改变了你的教学方式吗? 请解释

(7) Do any of the tasks in your classroom follow Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) or Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT)? Which ones? What is your opinion of these methods?

你的课堂任务有按交际语言教学(CLT) 或任务驱动式教学(TBLT) 拟定吗? 如果有, 是按照哪一个呢?你怎么看这些教学方法呢?

(8) Do you think that there is a difference between the local and foreign teachers' classrooms? Explain.

你认为本土老师和外教的课堂有差别吗? 请解释

(9) Do you think that an English teacher should teach about culture, either Chinese and/or the culture of English-speaking countries? Please explain.

你认为一个好的英语老师应该讲授文化吗,包括中国文化和英语国家文化。请解释。

(10) Do you think that an English teacher serves as a moral role model and guide as well as a teacher? Please explain.

你认为一个英语老师应是道德模范吗? 请解释

(11) Do you allow Chinese to be spoken in your class? When, why, how much?

你允许你的课堂上讲中文吗?什么时候,为什么,讲多少呢?

(12) Do you have an English name? If so, how did you choose your name?

你有英文名字吗?如果有,你是怎么取这个名字的呢?

(13) Do you usually use the students' English or Chinese names in class? Why or why not?

课堂上你常用学生的英文名还是中文名? 为什么?

(14) Why do you think that some students use creative English names such as X-boy or Shadow?

你对有些学生取富有创意的的英语名字如X-boy 或者Shadow怎么看呢?

(15) In what ways do you think that students will use English in their future, both professionally and personally?

你认为学生在他们将来的职业和个人生活中会以什么样的方式运用英语呢?

(16) If English were an optional course at [CSU], do you think that most students would still choose to take [ELC] courses? Why or why not?

如果英语在[CSU]大是选修课,你认为大多数学生还会选择英语语言中心的课程吗?为什么?

(17) Do you think that English should be the main medium of instruction at [CSU]? Please explain.

你认为英语有一天成为[CSU]大学教学的主要媒介吗

(18) What is your opinion of the lectures given by foreign guests at [CSU]? Do you think that the lectures should be translated into Chinese?

你对外国客人在[CSU]大做的讲座怎么看?你认为讲座应该翻译成中文吗?

Please add any additional comments on English learning and teaching in [CSU].

请写出你对英语学习和应用的任何看法

Interview Questions Used for CSU Foreign Teachers

(1) Why did you come to teach at [CSU] at the ELC?
(2) Did you know about ELC classes before you came to [CSU]? Can you remember your expectations of ELC classes? Explain please.
(3) What have been some of the biggest difficulties for you in terms of teaching or living here in [CSU]?
(4) Describe your teaching style. What do you do in the classroom?
(5) Have you changed your teaching style since coming to teach at [CSU]? Please explain.
(6) How would you describe the relationships and collaborations between the local and foreign teachers? What have been some of the best successes and/or frustrations?
(7) Do you feel that you are part of the ELC community? [CSU] community? Please explain.
(8) Do students use English or Chinese names in class? Why or why not? Why do you think that some students use creative English names such as X-boy or Shadow?

(9) In what ways do you think that students will use English in their future, both professionally and personally?

Please add any additional comments on English teaching and learning at CSU.

CSU Graduates Survey Questions

(1) What is your age? (您的年龄?)
(2) What is your gender? (您的性别?)
(3) What year did you graduate from [CSU]? (您哪一年毕业于XX大学?)
(4) What was your major? (您本科时的专业是?)
  English (英语)
  Business (商科)
  Law (法律)
  Engineering (工程)
  Art and Design (艺术与设计)
  Journalism (新闻)
  Chemistry (化学)
  Mathematics (数学)
  Biology (生物)
  Physics (物理)
  Computer Science (电子计算机)
  Other (please specify) (其他,请注明)
(5) Where do you currently live? (您现在的居住地?)
(6) What is your current work situation? (您目前的状态是?)
  A. Employed (就业)
  B. Unemployed (held job previously) (失业)
  C. Unemployed (new college graduate, seeking first position) (待业)
  D. Full time student (学生)
(7) In what field are you currently working (or have most recently worked)? (您目前或最近工作的 领域是?)
  Education (教育)

Manufacturing (制造业)
Accounting (会计)
Finance (金融)
IT (互联网技术)
Media/Mass communication (媒体/ 大众传媒)
Government (政府部门)
Transportation (交通)
Other (please specify) (其他,请注明)

(8) What is your position? Where is your employer located? What product or service does your employer provide? (您目前从事工作的职位是什么?您的公司坐落在什么地方?贵公司提供的商品和服务是什么?)

(9) Which of the following were requirements for being offered your current or most recent position? Check all that apply. (下列哪一个/哪一些是您获得目前职位的必要条件? 可多选)

Spoken English proficiency (英语口语能力)
Written English proficiency (英语写作能力)
Completion of a university English major (毕业于英语专业)
Completion of a BA degree at any university (大学本科毕业)
Completion of a BA degree at a key university (毕业于国家重点大学)
Certain Proficiency Test Certificate (e.g. computer, accounting, etc.) (某种能力测试资格证书，比如计算机等级证书,会计资格证书等。)
No specific/official requirements (沒有特定要求/条件)

(10) If English proficiency was a requirement for your current or most recent position, how did you demonstrate proficiency? Check all that apply. (如果英文能力是目前工作条件之一，依据什么判定? 可多选.)

Score on the CET 4 (大学英语4级成绩)
Score on the CET 6 (大学英语6级成绩)
Score on the Test for English Major 4
(TEM4) (英语专业四级成绩)
Score on the Test for English Major 8 (TEM8) (英语专业八级成绩)

Performance/score on other international large-scale English test (TOEFL, IELTS, TOIEC, etc.). Please specify. (任何国际性的英文考 试认证, 请注明考试/认证的名称)

Performance/score on a company English test (公司内部英文能力测试)

Interview in English (英语面试)

Other (please specify) (其他,请注明)

(11) Which of the following were factors in your being offered your current position? Check all that apply. (你认为得到目前工作的因素是什么? 可多选.)

College Degree from STU (毕业于汕头大学)

English classes at ELC (参加汕头大学英语语言中心的课程)

Friends or connections at the company (通过朋友或亲戚的关系进入)

Performance/score on a company English test (公司内部的英语能力测试成绩与表现)

Performance/score on a large-scale English test (TOEFL, IELTS, etc.) (国际性性/国家性英语能力测试成绩及表现)

Other (please specify) (其他,请注明)

(12) Rank the following English-language skills according to which skill you use most often to least often at your workplace. (请用1-5依序排列你在工作时使用以下英语技能的频) (1 most often; 5 least often) (1代表最频繁; 5代表最少)

Speaking (口语)

Reading (阅读)

Writing (写作)

Listening (听力)

Translation (翻译)

(13) Using the following five-point scale, evaluate how often you do the following tasks in English at work: (请根据下列五个选项来选择您在工作中使用英语的频率)

1 – Daily (每天); 2 – Almost daily (几乎每天); 3 – Once a week (一周一次); 4 – Once a month (一月一次); 5 – Rarely to never (几乎不或从不).

Writing email in English (用英文写电子邮件)

Making phone calls to other enterprises in foreign countries (与外国企业用 英语电话交谈)

Having face-to-face conversations with company representatives or customers, etc.) (面对面与外国公司代表或顾客交 谈)

Reading English websites (浏览英文网站)

Reading English reports (阅 读英文报告/报表)

Writing English reports (撰 写英文报告/报表)

Translating written texts from English to Mandarin/Cantonese (翻译英文书面资料到中文或粤语)

Translating written texts from Mandarin/Cantonese to English (翻译中文或粤语的书面资料到英文)

Translating spoken language between a Mandarin speaker and an English speaker (在中国人和外国人交流之间当口 译者)

Giving an English presentation (做英语演讲展示)

Other (please specify) (其他,请注明)

(14) Mark any of the following skills that you RARELY/NEVER use in English for your job. (请从以下五种英语技能里选择你工作时最少使用或从未使用的技能. 可多选)

Speaking (口语)

Writing (写作)

Listening (听力)

Reading (阅读)

Translation (翻译)

(15) What language is the primary language spoken and used for communication in your office? (i.e. in office meetings, between colleagues, etc.). (在您的办公室,下列哪一种是主要交流的语言? 例如:开会或同事间的对话等.)

Mandarin Chinese (普通話)

Cantonese (粵語/广东话)

English (英文)

Other (please specify) (其他,请注明)

(16) With whom do you primarily use English? Please check one. (从以下两者之间选择一个你主要使用英文的对象)

With colleagues from countries where English is the official/primary language. (和英文为母语或官方语言的同事们)

With colleagues from countries where English is NOT the official/primary language. (和非英文为母语或官方语言的同事们)

Other (please specify) (其他,请注明)

(17) List the nationalities of the people you primarily interact with in English. (请列出您主要用英语沟通对象的国籍。)

(18) "Overall, I think being skillful in English is more important than being skillful in Chinese at work." (我认为在工作中, 一口流利的英语要比中文更重要。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(19) In the space below, please add any more comments on your language use at work.

Include more description of the varieties of Chinese used and/or the accent features of English (US, British, Australian, etc.) used in the office. (请在以下空白处更详细地叙述其它你在职场上或办公室里的语言使用情况. 请描述使用 中文时的多样性或不同的英文口音(美式, 英式, 澳洲式等等)

(20) "The English curriculum and classes at CSU have helped me with the job search process." ([CSU]大学提供的英文课程对于我在找工作的过程有帮助)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(21) "The English curriculum and classes at CSU have helped me complete tasks and job duties in my current position." ([CSU]提供的英文课程对于顺利完成我目前各项工作有帮助。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(22) "The English activities outside of classes at CSU have helped me complete tasks and job duties in my current position." ([CSU]的英语课外活动对于我完成目前工作有帮助。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(23) In the following space, please add any further comments on the above statements or other aspects of learning English at CSU in relation to your current or most recent job. (请在下列空白处具体解释前一题回答,或描述[CSU]英语学习对您目前或最近一份工作其他方面的影响。)

(24) Overall, rank from 1 (very comfortable) to 5 (very uncomfortable) how comfortable you are in using English according to the following skills. (总体来说对于以下的各项能力,请选择你使用英语的熟练自如程度)

1 – very comfortable (非常自如); 2 – comfortable (自如); 3 – somewhat comfortable (有点自如); 4 – uncomfortable (不自如); 5 – very uncomfortable (非常不自如)

Speaking (口语)
Reading (阅读)
Writing (写作)
Listening (听力)
Translation (翻译)

(25) "It is important for me to continue to improve my English abilities." (对于我来说,继续提高英语能力很重要。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(26) "I actively seek out opportunities to use English." (我主动寻找使用英语的机会。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)

3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(27) "Using English is an important aspect of who I am" (使用英语是我重要的一部分。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(28) "For me, communicating with some foreign friends in English is more important than using English in my professional life." (对我來说,用英文和外国朋友们交流比在工作中使用英文更重要。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(29) "For me, I prefer to work in a primarily English-language environment." (对我来说,我更愿意在以英文为主要语言的的环境下工作。)

1. Strongly disagree (非常不同意)
2. Disagree (不同意)
3. Neither agree nor disagree (中立)
4. Agree (同意)
5. Strongly agree (非常同意)

(30) Using the following five-point scale, evaluate how often you do the following activities in your free time/personal life. (请使用1~5来回答下列你在个人生活/休闲时使用英文的情况)

1 – Daily (每天); 2 – Almost daily (几乎每天); 3 – Once a week (一周一次); 4 – Once a month (一月一次); 5 – Rarely to never (几乎不或从不).

Speak to Chinese friends in English (和中国朋友用英文交谈)
Speak to foreign friends in English (和外国朋友用英文交谈)
Read English websites (浏览英文网站)

Listen to music with English lyrics (听英文歌曲)

Listen to English radio stations (收听英文广播)

Sing English songs (唱英文歌)

Read English magazines/books/novels/articles (阅读英文杂志/书籍/小说/文章)

Watch English movies without subtitles (看无字幕的英文电影)

Watch English TV episodes/programs/series (看英文电视剧/节目)

Write to Chinese friends in English (和中国朋友用英语写信)

Write to foreign friends in English (和外国朋友用英文写信)

Update or respond to status in English on social media (在社交网站里用英语更新或回复状态)

Write on personal blog in English (在自己的博客上使用英文)

(31) In the space below, please comment on any other aspects of the use of English in your free time/personal life. (请在下面空白处简要叙述您空闲时间/私人生活中使用英语的其他方面。)

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