Ideology in Education—A Critical Discourse Analysis of Chinese and Western Ideological Differences in Education from *Are Our Kids Tough Enough?—Chinese School*

By

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Abstract

Research on ideology in education has illustrated that ideologies are grounded in educational pedagogies. However, little is known about cross-cultural ideological differences in education. The researcher conducted a comparative analysis of Chinese educational ideologies and Western educational ideologies through a case study of BBC’s documentary Are Our Kids Tough Enough?—Chinese School from a critical linguistics’ point of view.

A mixed research design involving a visual document analysis and questionnaires was implemented to conduct the research. The documentary was chosen as the data source because the participants reflected some representative Chinese and British ideologies. All the utterances (including non-verbal behaviors) were first transcribed to a Word document. Fifty segments of discourse were selected to provide data for linguistic analysis. Based on Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of conducting critical discourse analysis, a methodological framework built upon discourse analysis and Rogers’ methodological framework for doing critical discourse analysis in education was used to code the linguistic features of the participants’ utterances. Six sets of hypotheses were tested using Chi-square distributions. Through critical discourse analysis, educational ideologies were shown, and then comparative methods were used to explain why people held such ideologies and why ideological confrontations occurred.

Major findings of the study include: 1) classroom language is heavily influenced by one’s ideologies; 2) there exists a high correlation between social and cultural environment and people’s educational ideologies in a given society; and 3) ideology is both stable and dynamic. This study enhances people’s understanding of the relationship between language, education, and ideology in educational settings, improves people’s awareness of the “taken-for-granted” ideologies through education and potential misunderstandings that might be caused by this effect, and raise teacher’s awareness of intercultural communication when teaching students from different cultural background.

**Key words:** cross-cultural ideological difference; comparative analysis; educational ideology; critical discourse analysis
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Chapter One
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Research

Education has been an inherent part of any society. Although the content of education has been adapted a great deal throughout history, the ideological nature of education remains unchanged. Ideologies are mostly invisible and taken for granted; they are regarded as the accepted norms by the majority of people within a community, and ideological conflict and ideological struggle may occur when people from different ideologies meet. People are rarely conscious of the ideologies they grow up with or the effect the latter has on them. Common sense undergoes a process called naturalization and becomes “ideological common sense” (Fairclough, 1989). There can be a variety of ideological common sense in a given society, such as political ideologies and educational ideologies, but they barely receive equal treatment, struggling between the center and the margin. Once one ideology has gained the upper hand and been naturalized or legitimized by the majority, it will become the dominant social ideology symbolizing a certain political purpose. And if/when there are few divergences in a certain community or between several communities, ideology will manifest itself as collective sub-consciousness or unconsciousness. Naturally, those in power always endeavor to impose a unified ideological common sense which holds for everyone, whose effect is called “ideological uniformity” by Fairclough. Admittedly, there is always a certain degree of ideological diversity, even in the forms of ideological conflict and ideological struggle, so ideological uniformity can never be fully achieved in practice.

In the context of education, it has been illustrated that the ideological character of education is unavoidable. Schools initiate students into prevailing cultural, political,
and economic doctrines. These ideological orientations appear in different configurations, depending on the location of the school and the nature of the schools’ commitments. Each society may inculcate ideologies in children, but not all ideologies or methods of inculcation are equally suitable to every kind of society. Traditionally, education has always been a widely discussed topic in academia, and substantive research has been done on various parts of education. These discussions range from educational policies to student-teacher interactions and to pedagogical implications.

What is largely missing in the literature is the study of the ideological side of education and cross-cultural comparative research on educational ideologies through the observation of daily classroom language. Moreover, due to the fact that most of the previous research was done through questionnaires and interviews, the research on ideology has mainly focused on studying either students’ or teachers’ thoughts, opinions, and values, and has not fully extended itself into revealing cross-cultural ideological differences and confrontations by examining the interactions between students and teachers.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the optimal choice for this thesis because it goes beyond form-meaning correlation and explores how such correlation is linked with specific social practices that help comprise the very nature of such practices. Also, there has been an emerging interest in exploring ideologies via all sorts of documents such as movies and documentaries because they allow researchers to capture and examine as many details as possible. This study aims to focus on BBC’s documentary Are Our Kids Tough Enough?—Chinese School to describe the correlation between classroom language use and people’s ideologies and the ways in which ideologies are embodied in an educational setting containing teachers and students from two different cultures and the reasons why they differ. This is made possible from the perspective of critical discourse analysis especially Fairclough’s three-dimensional model, because it enables the researcher to uncover the interwoven relationship among language, education, and ideology.

1.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses

Through a comparative study of the speech characteristics of the participants in the documentary Are Our Kids Tough Enough?—Chinese School from a critical
linguistics point of view, this thesis aims to identify and explain how ideologies are embodied in education and the interrelation between language, education, and ideology.

**The research questions that guided the research were:**

1) What are the linguistic features of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students?

2) What are the ideological differences between Chinese education and Western (British) education?

3) Why do the Chinese teachers and the British pupils have ideological confrontations?

To answer the first research question, the following six sets of hypotheses were designed and analyzed using Chi-Square Tests to identify the linguistic features of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students in the documentary:

Null hypothesis 1: There is no difference in the choice of voice of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Research hypothesis 1: There is a difference in the choice of voice of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Null hypothesis 2: There is no difference in the choice of tense of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Research hypothesis 2: There is a difference in the choice of tense of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Null hypothesis 3: There is no difference in the choice of process of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Research hypothesis 3: There is a difference in the choice of process of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Null hypothesis 4: There is no difference in the frequency of major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.

Research hypothesis 4: There is a difference in the frequency of major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.

Null hypothesis 5: There is no difference in positive and negative descriptors of the four major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.
Research hypothesis 5: There is a difference in positive and negative descriptors of the four major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.

Null hypothesis 6: There is no difference in turn-taking transitions of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Research hypothesis 6: There is a difference in turn-taking transitions of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

1.3 Significance of the Research

The significance of this study is to help people, especially educators, to have a better understanding of the power of language in classroom teaching, to be more aware of the relationship between ideology and educational pedagogies and practices, and to be better prepared and more understanding when teaching students from different cultural backgrounds.

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five parts.

Chapter One gives a brief introduction to the research, including the background of the study, research questions and research hypotheses, significance of the research, and the organization of the thesis.

Chapter Two first presents previous studies on critical discourse analysis and some specific applications of critical discourse analysis in education both at home and abroad.

The third chapter gives an idea of the theoretical framework and the methodology that guided the entire thesis. The former comprises Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA and functional discourse analysis; the latter explains why and how the data were collected and analyzed.
Chapter Four presents the findings of the study. Linguistic features of the utterances are analyzed first, and comparisons of Chinese educational ideologies and British ones are made.

Chapter Five first concludes the findings, provides explanations to these findings, and then points out the future application as well as the limitations of the research.

Figure 1.1 shows how the thesis is organized.
Figure 1.1 Organization of the thesis
Chapter Two
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Previous Studies on Critical Discourse Analysis

The goal of this chapter is to give a critical overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and explain the key notions in the field and their interrelations.

2.1.1 Overview of CDA

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), or critical linguistics (CL), is a relatively new discipline with deep roots both in such orthodox linguistic theories as discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, systemic functional grammar, and the less or non-linguistics-centered side of study, i.e. critical science. The term CDA is currently used to refer to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who share a certain perspective on conducting linguistic, semiotic, or discourse analysis. Fairclough (2001) asserts that CDA is a theoretical perspective on language as “one element of the material social process.” He defines critical discourse analysis as an approach which seeks to systematically investigate:

often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes…how such practices and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power…how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (Fairclough, 2001, p.121)

CDA is particularly interested in exploring the hidden power relations between discourse and wider social and cultural institutions and to uncover social issues such as inequality, power relationships, ideologies, injustices, discrimination, and bias. In short, what makes CDA distinctive from other approaches to discourse is that it not only concerns describing and interpreting discourses in real contexts, but also reveals the mechanism for why and how a discourse may function.
Many scholars believe that Fairclough’s *Language and Power* (1989) establishes the foundation for critical discourse analysis. In fact, it is argued that CDA ought to be traced back to the early 1970s or at least the mid-1970s (Hall et al., 1980, Ji Yuhua, 2001) when critical research on language emerged as a substantial and distinct area of study. Therefore, some scholars like Chen Zhonghua (2002) hold the idea that CDA “has its roots in critical linguistics, which is a branch of discourse linguistics that extends beyond the description of discourse to a detailed explanation of why and how certain discourses are produced.” However, the two terms CDA and CL are used interchangeably, though CDA is preferred by most scholars.

Some of the representative works published at the very initial stage (1970s to mid-1980s) of CDA include Fowler et al.‘s *Language and Control* (1991). Van Dijk later published a book titled *Text and Context: Exploration in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse* which further laid the crucial foundation for CL and CDA by providing a large quantity of detailed analyses of critical linguistics. Another representative work is Chilton’s (1985) *Language and the Nuclear Arms Debate: Nukespeak Today*, which not only applies a sustained and consistent application of the theoretical framework of CDA to a specific political issue, but also offers tremendous insights into drawing from other descriptive viewpoints such as rhetorical strategies, metaphor, causal syntax, and lexis. The period between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s saw the consolidation of CDA, resulting in the fact that CDA was able to describe its purposes, perspectives, and analytical tools at length by the end of the 1980s. Fairclough’s *Language and Power* (2001) has been universally regarded as a practical guidebook for CDA because an elaboration of the social theories supporting CDA is provided in the book with quite a few textual instances. In her book, *Language, Power and Ideology*, Kodak (1989) makes a comprehensive summary of some of the most distinctive and important features of CL. The book also reiterates the necessity of associating language use with its specific institutional setting and introduces a new emphasis on the need of a historical perspective, which means that CDA practitioners have already started to look beyond the sphere of linguistic landscape and draw from other theories and disciplines. The following decade also witnessed the publications of numerous works in the field, most of which focused on wide-ranging social phenomena, including racism, sexism, chauvinism, to name but a few. What is of special interest in this period is that Fairclough (2001) started to rethink the role of CDA, in which “CDA
is best seen as one contributory element in research on social practices—in this sense, it should be seen as working in combination with other methods in social scientific research” (16). This marks a break with the statements of CDA proposed by previous CDA practitioners. In the book, less apparent are the Marxist discourses of earlier work on CDA. For instance, emancipation does not seem to have the same appeal it once received, in place of which Habermas’ concept of the emancipatory knowledge, which is regarded by the compilers as central to any critical study, is of great interest.

CDA has progressed rapidly in China. Although the themes of critical studies remain the same, ranging from inequality, power relationships to ideologies, injustices, discrimination and bias. Some of them are especially associated with concerns that are of China’s national interest or image, which is characteristic of CDA’s explicit partiality in terms of standpoint.

Despite its success, CDA has not progressed without criticism. Hammersley (1997), one of the critics of the founding principles of critical research, argues that “CDA’s philosophical foundations, namely Marxism and Frankfurt School’s critical theory, and Habermas’ universal pragmatics, are all open to serious question.” Hammersley is not entirely right, for today’s CDA has diverged to a large extent from some of its founding principles and has equipped itself with an improved understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences. Hammersley is not wrong either. As Max Horkheimer (1937), scholar of the Frankfurt School of social science, claims in his essay Traditional and Critical Theory, “Critical theory is a social theory oriented toward critiquing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional theory oriented only to understanding or explaining it.” However, Max and other critical scholars presuppose or assume that people are all confined in certain respects and therefore “freedom” is needed, which gives the impression that this type of “revelation” or “enlightenment” is a necessity for social emancipation at the society level, and this clearly cannot be achieved merely via critical studies and people with critical awareness.

In addition to theoretical debate, most criticisms are centered around methodological issues: (a) researchers’ projecting of power and ideology onto the data instead of letting ideological relationships emerge from the data, and (b) an imbalance between linguistic analysis and context. Toolan (1997) also thinks that CDA
needs to critique some of its own theoretical distinctions (e.g. between description and interpretive explanation), it needs to be more critical and more demanding of the text linguistics it used, and it must strive for greater thoroughness and strength of evidence in its presentation and argumentation. (Toolan, 1997, p. 101)

The above-mentioned criticisms are consistent with the very self-reflexive and interdisciplinary nature of CDA, which leads future CDA practitioners to a more diversified multidisciplinary study of CDA. What is unique about CDA or critical discourse analytical approaches at large is that they side with the less privileged or the oppressed social groups. In view of this, CDA does not position itself as politically neutral, but as a critical approach committed to social change.

2.1.2 Key concepts in CDA

This section introduces three central concepts pertinent to this study—discourse, ideology, power, and their interrelations.

The first concept is discourse. It represents and includes what Luke (2000) referred to as “systematic clusters of themes, statements, ideas and ideologies.” Discourse also includes the chain of production, consumption, and distribution of texts and talk. From a functional point of view, discourse is a system of meanings or “systematically organized set of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution” (Kress, 1985: 6). Discourse both reflects and constructs the social world, and it is referred to as constitutive, dialectical, and dialogic. In other words, “Discourses are always socially, politically, racially and economically loaded” (Rogers, 2004: 6). Judging from this perspective, Brown and Yule (1983) conclude that the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designed to serve. The use of the term discourse over text throughout the thesis needs to be clarified first if the interplays of the three concepts are to be explained. The term “text” is used by the linguist Michael Halliday (2004) to refer to both written and spoken texts, which is analogous to Fairclough’s idea of the kind of language used within a specific field. Nevertheless, Fairclough (1989) also uses the term “text” for a product rather than a process and the word “discourse” in its most abstract sense for the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part. This view of discourse is in line with CDA’s aim of exploring hidden power
relations behind social formations, and hence the term “discourse” is preferred in present thesis.

Ideology, as Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1796), the one who first proposed the term claims is about the “the science of ideas.” Marxists treat ideology as “an abstract system of values that works as social cement, binding people together and thus securing the coherence of the social order (Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips, 2002: 75).” For instance, Althusser (2014) considers society as an interconnected collection of these wholes—economic practice, ideological practice and political-legal practice—which although relatively autonomous, together make up one complex structured whole (social formation). People, according to him, are passive ideological subjects. Nevertheless, this view is dismissed by Fairclough arguing that Althusser actually underestimates people’s possibilities for action. Fairclough (2001) claims, “The most effective common sense will be common in the sense of being shared by most if not actually all of the members of a society or institution (85).” It is widely acknowledged that ideology is largely related to common sense. Common sense undergoes a process called naturalization and becomes ideological common sense. There can be a range of ideologies in a society, such as political and educational ideologies, but they barely receive equal treatment, struggling between the center and the margins. Consequently, ideological conflict and ideological struggle are likely to occur.

Once one ideology has gained the upper hand and is then naturalized or legitimized by the majority, it will become the dominant social ideology symbolizing a certain political purpose. If/when there are few divergences in a certain community or between several communities, ideology will manifest itself as collective subconsciousness or unconsciousness. Naturally, those in power always endeavor to impose a unified ideological common sense which holds for everyone. This effect is called ideological uniformity by Fairclough. Admittedly, there always is a certain degree of ideological diversity, even in the forms of ideological conflict and ideological struggle, so ideological uniformity can never be fully achieved in practice. It can be concluded that ideology is both a stable yet dynamic process or a system of beliefs, thoughts, and knowledge that are used to maintain the established order of society.

Power, another centerpiece of CDA, is sometimes used interchangeably with hegemony. Power exists in various modalities, ranging from the concrete to the unmistakable modality of physical force, while hegemony is leadership as much as
domination across the political, economic, ideological, and cultural domains of a society. Power can be found between men and women, young and old, and between people from different classes and different ethnic groups. Althusser (2014) holds that state power not only includes repressive state apparatuses like the government, the police, and the army, but it also involves ideological state apparatuses such as schools, churches, media, and family. Together they ensure the dominance of the ruling class in two general ways: coercion or consent. It is always less risky and less costly to rule by consent if possible, but repressive forces are used to coerce if necessary. Hegemony is another type of power. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemony is used to describe the discursive construction of consciousness. Hegemony within society is constructed to manufacture popular consent for the unequal distribution of power and wealth depending on changing social circumstances, and this means that power, or hegemony is never stable but dynamic.

Discourse has two connections with power: power in discourse and power behind discourse. The first kind has to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining how non-powerful participants may contribute to a discourse, especially a face-to-face one. Power, therefore, consists of the ability to control orders of discourse and is used to see to it that orders of discourse are ideologically in harmony with each other. Power behind discourse means that the entire social order of discourse is linked as a hidden effect of power. Fairclough’s Language and Power (ibid) mentions standardization and codification of language as the primary channels through which power can ‘hide’ behind discourse, though he only confines those two terms to the explanation of the functioning of the standard social dialect in English. This way of ‘empowering’ a particular dialect can also be broadened to relate to various facets of language use in different discourse types, be it teacher-student talk or doctor-patient dialogue, normally a routinized way of communicating and behaving in those scenarios concerns both the verbal and non-verbal aspects of the way in which people position themselves in relation to one another. Fairclough and Kodak (1997) also claim that discursive aspects of power are not fixed and monolithic. Much work in CDA has centered around how power relations are reproduced through discursive practices, but more attention should be given to discursive aspects of power struggle and of the transformation of power relations.
Ibid: 34, hence discourse is of substantial social importance because it is the preferred vehicle of ideology in this respect. The nature of ideological assumptions is embedded in specific conventions. In other words, the exercise of power is achieved through ideology, and more importantly, through the ideological workings of language. To put it simply, power, coupled with ideology, generates ideological power. However, most discourse tends to reveal hegemonic struggles in specific social institution such as schools, family, and law courts instead of having direct connections with politics or propaganda. If different ideologies are in conflict with each other within a given society, the privileged class will normally undermine the ideologies of the less privileged or resort to what Max called deceptive strategies. Once this is achieved, social ideologies, mainly the mainstream thoughts or values held by the upper class or the ruling class in a society, are formed. However, this does not mean that the minority has no ideology of its own. The less privileged class will either continue to be ‘controlled’ ideologically or rise up against it. Discussing how it may work would require another chapter, but it is certain that there is such a possibility.

To dig a little deeper, the way in which discourse is structured in a given order of discourse and the way these structures change over time are determined by shifting relations of power happening at the level of social institution or society. Besides, the power behind the conventions of a discourse type belongs to the power-holders in an institution rather than the institution itself. Such shaping of discourse conventions is achieved through ideology. This unequal distribution of power is nothing more than a reflection of the ideologies that people are tuned into or imposed on. Since both ideology and power are an “unstable equilibrium,” chances are high that their superficial reflections, namely discourses, are bound to change with them.

It has been fully demonstrated that discourse, ideology, and power are interwoven, so a successful critical linguistic study should not be limited to the description of discourse features. Instead, it should also uncover the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world.

2.2 Previous Studies on CDA in Educational Settings
This section is designed to narrow the topic down to the study of CDA to education both at home and abroad. Research on educational ideology acknowledges that ideologies are grounded in different educational pedagogies.

2.2.1 Previous studies on CDA in educational settings in the West

Generally speaking, overseas literature pays special attention to learning, especially language learning and its impact on people’s ideology. CDA contributes to the understanding of learning in two ways according to Rogers (2004). First, analyzing discourse from a critical perspective allows one to understand the processes of learning in more complex ways. Secondly, in the process of conducting CDA, researchers’ and participants’ learning is shaped. Gee (1996) points out, “Learning involves changes in participation and the subsequent shifts in identity.” This is because in educational settings, language is the primary tool through which learning occurs. Educational settings, including schools, colleges, and even on-the-job training, are one context in society where CLS or CDA might help in the struggle for social emancipation. As a result, having critical language awareness is the first step towards social emancipation.

In addition to that, language use is a big part in language teaching and acquisition processes, and ideologies and power relations are umbilically linked to language. Moreover, discourse is not just a matter of performing tasks, it is also a matter of expressing, constituting, and reproducing social identities and social relations, including relations of power. What happens in schools can be decisive in determining whether relations of power are to be reproduced or transformed. A case in point is the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL). Based on those statements, a more “crucial” job for teachers and educators at large is to help students see the extent to which their language rests on common-sense assumptions and the ways that those common-sense assumptions can be ideologically shaped by relations of power.

CDA has also shown much promise in educational research in North America where educational practitioners focus on how texts are put together, interactions in classrooms and schools, and studies of educational policies. Rebecca Rogers (2004) in her book An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education defines CDA as “the systematic study of ways of interacting (genre), ways of representing (discourse), and ways of being (style).” Relationships among language and important educational
issues can be described, interpreted, and explained with the help of CDA. In education, conversation, as a particular discourse type, not only involves approved rules both in and outside classrooms and initiated formally by teachers and obeyed by students, but also plays a part in shaping one’s behavior and mentality. One of the emerging topics in the field is the interplay between educational practices, national policies, and the economy. Analyses of the way in which education and other institutions train children to accept and fit into the existing system of power relations are persuasive.

Compared with much literature of applications on CDA to educational setting and educational behaviors, studies of ideologies in education have been a less traveled field. This does not mean that ideology in education receives little attention. Many people believe that the ideological character of education is unavoidable. All societies instill beliefs and customs. Most countries think that schools are among the most significant institutions to carry out ideology education, in view of the systematic nature and powerful influence of schooling on teenagers. Schools are the places where students have access to basic knowledge of science, arts, and literature that they will probably use in their future life. In schools, students are also consciously or subconsciously exposed to a day-to-day infusion of established societal ideologies through school curricula and daily interactions with their fellow schoolmates and school staff. For example, as early as the British Bourgeois Revolution, John Locke (1693) proposed the idea that educational ideologies should work in line with the emerging British bourgeoisie. From then onwards, there has been a relentless presence of bourgeois politics and ideology in Western education. Nowadays, the worldwide spread of ideology has taken new forms. These manage to penetrate other developing countries of different political systems via social media, the Internet, and popular culture. This tendency is still on the rise, for most countries are driven by the increasing fierce competition around the globe. As a result, the significance of ideology education has received full attention by all those current economies.

With regard to another essential concept in CDA—hegemony, Fairclough finds that power is actually even more prevalent in schools than in politics. For instance, the dominant group appears to exercise power by way of forming alliances, assimilating rather than dominating subordinate groups, gaining their consent, and attaining a precarious equilibrium which might be destroyed by other groups. Fairclough further
gives a detailed elaboration of how “subject positions” are formed in school scenarios with reference to orders of discourse:

The school has a social order and an order of discourse which involve a distinctive structuring of its ‘social space’ into a set of situations where discourse occurs (class, assembly, playtime, staff meeting, etc.), a set of recognized ‘social roles’ in which people participate in discourse (headteacher, teacher, pupil, prefect, etc.), and a set of approved purposes for discourse—learning and teaching, examine, maintaining social control, as well as a set of discourse types. (Fairclough, 1992: 38)

In other words, subject positions are established by discourse types, and it is only through the occupation of subject positions that one becomes a teacher or a pupil. Occupying those positions is fundamentally a matter of doing, by way of discoursal obligations and rights of students and teachers. This exemplifies the point that social structures, in the forms of discoursal conventions, determine discourse in an educational setting.

2.2.2 Previous studies on CDA in educational settings in China

As far as the study of ideology in education is concerned, the construction of socialism and Marxism in the modern era has been the theme in China, with a particular interest in instilling ideologies that are in line with the ruling party—CPC (Communist Party of China); the study of ideology, however, has not extended itself thoroughly into education. In theory, a researcher may derive the assumption that a stable community has only one dominating or mainstream ideology, and this was indeed the case in ancient societies, but the truth today is that this premise is often challenged in most modern societies. Professor Zheng Jinzhou (2003) puts all this in one sentence, namely “a discipline free from social ideologies and walking towards independence,” in his thesis the Trend of Chinese Educational Theories in the 21st Century. He also expresses similar ideas in the conclusion of the paper, saying that the transition from being manipulated by ideology to a discipline of autonomy is an actual manifestation of the internal law of education throughout China’s educational development.

When it comes to applying CDA to education, much research done by Chinese scholars puts emphasis on power relations in educational settings such as schools to see how power is distributed between teachers and students. Nevertheless, this sort of
power relation is confined to the environment where research subjects are of the same cultural background with few attempts at exploring how ideologies and power relations work among people from different cultural backgrounds. Although there is not enough research directly related to educational ideologies, many researchers have conducted comparative studies to investigate teachers’ pedagogical differences and preferences which are primarily influenced by their ideologies.

For instance, Jinfa Cai and Tao Wang (2010) studied Chinese and U.S. teachers’ cultural beliefs concerning effective mathematics teaching from the teachers’ perspective and found that the teachers from the two countries hold quite different views on what constitutes effective mathematics teaching. Those ideas are closely associated with their views on the nature of mathematics, ranging from their conceptions of classroom instruction to engagement and management. The differences are thought to be influenced by local-social circumstances particular to schooling and historical cultural values in learning and teaching. Their study also showed an inconsistency between the teachers’ beliefs and their practices, and this inconsistency is more conspicuous for the Chinese teachers than for the U.S. teachers. Other scholars, on the other hand, chose to approach the topic from students’ perspectives. Through a cross-cultural comparison of British-Chinese, White British, and Hong Kong Chinese students, Yin Man Chan (2000) proved a strong connection between students’ levels of self-esteem and factors such as social environment and styles of education and parenting, which are greatly influenced by the mainstream ideologies of the society.

Chinese scholar Ji Yuhua (2007) explored the possibility of integrating CDA and intercultural communication research and education, which includes case studies of remarks by US/UK politicians in intercultural contexts. It fits well with the demand for the development of critical cultural awareness and a critical understanding of Intercultural Communication (IC), and for the development of competencies for IC which include the capacity to analyze language critically. He (2007) thinks that the importance of critical reflection in foreign language and culture education and intercultural training has been too often neglected and has been replaced “by the memorization and interpretation of facts and by cultural generalizations or even stereotyping (Phipps & Guilherme, 2004: 3).” His study has a special implication for the teaching and researching of English at/above tertiary level in China, because ‘as English has become the language of global capitalism, it has also become “a powerful
instrument for influencing people’s outlooks and beliefs” (Charteris, 2004: 251). In the same vein as Fairclough, Ji Yuhua (2007) advocates helping Chinese students acquire a critical awareness of their own and other languages, their own and others’ cultural backgrounds, and intercultural discourse, i.e. discourse with an “intercultural-meaning dimension” (Shi & Wilson, 2001: 80). This includes a critical reflection on education, the importance of which is unquestionable.

Despite all these efforts to conduct cross-cultural comparative analysis of educational ideologies, the research on ideology has mainly focused on studying either students’ or teachers’ thoughts, opinions and values, and has not fully extended itself into revealing cross-cultural ideological differences and confrontations by examining the interactions between students and teachers. Besides, most previous research was done through questionnaires and interviews. Nevertheless, there has been an emerging interest in exploring ideologies via all sorts of documents such as movies and documentaries because they allow researchers to capture and examine as many details as possible. This study focuses on BBC’s documentary *Are Our Kids Tough Enough? — Chinese School* to describe the ways in which ideologies are embodied and distributed in an educational setting containing two sets of vastly different ideologies. Besides, this study also explores the hidden factors contributing to the formation and conflicts of the two contrasting ideologies in education. Given the insufficiency of previous studies on educational ideologies in China, it is both a theoretical and practical necessity to approach educational ideologies from an intercultural perspective. This will be dealt with in the following chapters.

### 2.3 Summary

This chapter first gives a critical review of CDA with special attention to the key concepts such as discourse, ideology, power, and their interrelations. It is concluded that these concepts interact both explicitly and implicitly in society, and their effect is not completely realized by people, so this Chapter helps the readers to have a better understanding of the choice of thesis topic and research background of the study. The second part of the Chapter presents previous studies on CDA in educational settings. It can be seen that there is a gap between CDA and study of education, especially
comparative education study into the educational ideologies. CDA therefore holds much promise in education.

Chapter Three
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK and METHODOLOGY

Wodak argues that CDA is not a homogeneous theory with a set of clear and defined tools; rather, it is a research program with many facets and numerous different “theoretical and methodological approaches” (Wodak, 1999: 186). This chapter presents a synthesis of the three supporting theoretical foundations that guided this thesis and specific methodological tools that were used to collect, code, and analyze the data for this study.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

3.1.1 Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA

As previously discussed, the relationship between discourse, power, and ideology is the core of CDA. Based on the idea that discourse is a social practice, Fairclough (1989) claims that any kind of discourse is a three-dimensional concept that consists of text, discourse practice, and social practice. He then proposes the widely accepted three-dimensional model of CDA corresponding to those three dimensions of discourse. It includes three interrelated dimensions: textual analysis (description), discursive analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation).

![Figure 3.1 Fairclough’s three-dimensional Model](image-url)
Each of the three processes aims at analyzing a particular aspect of discourse. Textual analysis is concerned with descriptions of formal linguistic features of texts which exist either in verbal or visual forms. Analyses usually start from the description of a text, including the analysis of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Vocabulary has to do with individual words. Grammar is related to clauses and sentences. Cohesion is associated with how clauses and sentences are combined. The last element, text structure, is involved with the organizational features of texts. Discursive analysis is the intermediary step between description and explanation. It seeks to interpret the relation between discourse and the ways in which discourse is produced and received, including speech acts, tones, intertextuality, and social semiotics. The term intertextuality is first put forward by Kristen in the 1960s and refers to any utterance or text shaped by prior text that it responds to and by subsequent texts that they “anticipate”. Intertextuality emphasizes the productivity and creativity of discourse practice. The last dimension, social practice, intends to explain the relationship between interaction and the wider social context, taking into consideration the hidden social, cognitive, cultural, or even historical factors. This procedure not only includes revealing social actions determining the processes of production and interpretation, but also deals with the possibility of social and institutional reality being reproduced and reconstructed by discursive practice.

The reason why Fairclough’s three-dimensional model is so important is that it provides multiple entries, which implies the possibility of analyzing discourse from any dimension, and, more importantly, from an interconnected perspective. In this respect, Fairclough’s three-dimensional model makes it convenient to represent discourse from both the micro and macro perspective.

3.1.2 Functional discourse analysis

Functional discourse analysis means studying discourse from a functional perspective. In other words, it is a combination of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and discourse analysis. SFG, which contributed to major theoretical principles of CDA, is a linguistic theory with unique analytical methods particularly associated with Michael Halliday (2004), the founder of Functional Grammar. SFG is especially interested in the relationship between language and many aspects of social life, and its
approach to linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts. This purpose of SFG is in harmony with the fundamental standpoint of CDA. Within a functional approach to language, linguists believe that language responds to the functions of language use and has different functions to perform. Halliday (1994) holds the idea that language is made up of “meaning potential” which is composed of three meta-functions that are dependent on situational and cultural contexts. These meta-functions are ideational function (transitivity, voice, polarity), used to express one’s experiences and views of the world; interpersonal function (mood, modality, modulation, appraisal system, key), intended to convey speakers’ attitudes, forge, and maintain relations with others and influence or change others’ behaviors and attitudes; and textual function (thematic structure, information structure, cohesion), useful for the production of sentences.

Another important concept in the area of functional discourse analysis is context. Language is tightly linked with context. Certain language forms create certain contexts, and these contexts in turn require certain forms of language. There are two kinds of contexts: cultural and situational context. The former is the broader, more abstract ethnographic context which is constituted by the histories, cultures, customs, mindsets, and values of a given speech community. The latter is the specific context that interlocutors are involved in. It normally functions within cultural contexts and is divided into three parts: field, tenor, and mode. Field of discourse concerns “what we are talking about” (Halliday, 1978: 221), namely, the subject matter that the actual chat group focuses on. Tenor of discourse refers to “who is taking part” (ibid: 189). Mode of discourse, the third of the three situational determinants, carries the information on “how” the communication is carried out.

According to Fairclough’s (2003) Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research, discourse analysis entails detailed linguistic analysis of texts, which is not the case for discourse analysis under the influence of Foucault’s tradition. Gee (2004: 19) asserts, “All discourse analysis that intends to make empirical claims is rooted in specific viewpoints about the relationship between form and function in language.” This is similar to Van Dijk’s (2001) view that it is important to study the many forms of implicit or indirect meanings, such as implications, presuppositions, allusions, and vagueness. Implicit meanings are related to underlying beliefs, but are not openly, directly, completely, or precisely asserted for various contextual reasons,
including the well-known ideological objective to de-emphasize one party’s negative expressions and the other party's positive expressions. In Van Dijk’s words, “Discourses are like icebergs of which only some specific forms of (contextually relevant) knowledge are expressed, but of which a vast part of presupposed knowledge is part of the shared socio-cultural common ground” (ibid: 114). It is, therefore, an absolute necessity to construct discourse as an instance of, or as part of many other forms of action at several levels of social, cultural, historical, and political analysis.

3.1.3 Rogers’ framework of applying CDA to education

Based on the very visual nature of the documentary, Rogers’ analytical framework was included to conduct this thesis.

Rogers (2004) proposed a more inclusive analytical framework in An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education. It consists of three aspects: style, genre, and discourse. Style includes linguistic variations at the morphological, phonological, and syntactic level. This domain also encompasses ways of being and includes active/passive voice, modality (e.g., tense and affinity), transitivity (e.g., action, affective, state, ability, cognitive statements), and pronoun use. Aspects of genre include: thematic structure of the text, cohesion devices (parallel structure, repetition), wording, metaphors, politeness conventions, turn-taking structures, and interactional patterns. Discourses necessarily embody tensions. The three dimensions proposed by Rogers and Fairclough’s three-dimensional model overlap to some degree, though Fairclough’s model has been widely used in plenty of studies in CDA. The researcher adopted Rogers’ model because her categories enable the researcher to focus more on the production, consumption, and interpretation of language and therefore are more suitable for analyzing visual documents such as the documentary in question.

In a nutshell, CDA has drawn heavily from SFG and discourse analysis, for the latter two are able to provide concrete theoretical resources for CDA. However, both SFG and discourse analysis are text-oriented. This can be helpful in analyzing linguistic features of a given discourse or a text, but when it comes to the third dimension of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model, explanation, a theory more relevant to the broad social and cultural contexts is needed.
3.2 Research Design

This is a mixed study involving both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The quantitative method was embedded in qualitative method, and the two were used together to analyze the data. Specially the investigator used Chi-Square Tests to assess the six sets of hypotheses. A 0.05 significance level was used.

3.2.1 Document analysis

As the primary research method for the entire thesis, document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) (Glenn, 2009). Document analysis is a low-cost way to obtain empirical data because it is not obtrusive or reactive. Also, document analysis requires more data selection than data collection. Whereas document analysis has served mostly as a complement to other research methods, it has also been used as a stand-alone method. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Documents that can be used for systematic evaluation include advertisements, agendas, brochures, newspapers, maps, books, and radio and television program scripts. Based on the criterion that the document to be selected should reflect classroom interactions, cultural differences, and ideological confrontations, the purposive sampling method was used to select the document and the data source for this study.

3.2.1.1 Selection of the document

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)’s documentary *Are Our Kids Tough Enough? —Chinese School* is the primary data source for this study. The documentary was released in the year 2015 by BBC and recorded a four-week long experiment in the field of comparative education. Five Chinese teachers (a mathematics teacher, a science/physics teacher, a Mandarin Chinese teacher, a physical education teacher, and a social education/English teacher), fierce advocates of traditional Chinese methods of teaching, were sent to England to teach 50 British, year-nine pupils (aged between 13
and 14), at a comprehensive called Bohunt School in Liphook, Hampshire. The documentary consists of three one-hour-long episodes, all available on the Internet. The intent of making the documentary can be summarized by the words of the Head of the school, Mr. Strowger:

Chinese students are the people that our children will be having to compete against for jobs in future. There is something happening in China, and it’s trying to identify first what that is. Secondly, can that transfer back into the classrooms of this country?

After a four-weeks experiment, the students in the Chinese school were tested against their British counterparts who were taught by British teachers using British methods. Classroom teaching and interviews of major participants (the five Chinese teachers and British students and their parents, British teachers, and headmasters) account for approximately 70% of the coverage.

This documentary is the optimal choice for this research due to the following reasons. First and foremost, the three-episode documentary recorded many actual classroom teachings and interactions including verbal and non-verbal communication. Participants’ utterances, expressions, and behaviors were accurately recorded. This gave the researcher multiple opportunities to observe, extract, transcribe, and analyze data comprehensively. Secondly, the representativeness of traditional Chinese educational pedagogies and practices demonstrated by the Chinese teachers provided helpful clues to compare Chinese educational ideologies with British ones. Thirdly, in addition to classroom scenarios, follow-up interviews (in the documentary) of major participants, including the five Chinese teachers and the British students, their parents, local teachers, and even the headmasters were included in the documentary as well. This allowed the researcher to validate previous observations and findings about classroom interactions. This increased the credibility of the documentary considerably and therefore served as important complementary materials for the analysis. Thus, the lack of obtrusiveness and reactivity guaranteed the smooth progression of analyzing the data.

One of the advantages of this form of data collection is that it captures events and activities as they happen, including “nonverbal behavior and communication patterns such as facial expressions, gestures, and emotions” (Marshall & Rossman, 2016, p.186). What can be captured on video is limited only “by what the mind can imagine and the camera can record (184),” though we are always limited by the camera
angle. Moreover, Atkinson and Coffey (1997, 2004) advise researchers to consider carefully whether and how documents can serve particular research purposes:

We should not use documentary sources as surrogates for other kinds of data. We cannot, for instance, learn through records alone how an organization actually operates day-by-day. Equally, we cannot treat records—however “official”—as firm evidence of what they report […] That strong reservation does not mean that we should ignore or downgrade documentary data. On the contrary, our recognition of their existence as social facts alerts us to the necessity to treat them very seriously indeed. We have to approach them for what they are and what there used to accomplish. (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997, p. 47)

Despite the availability of the documentary in question, relying on the documentary itself could not guarantee the full credibility of the research for the documentary was produced independent of a research agenda and therefore did not provide sufficient details to answer the research questions. It was hence of absolute necessity to refer to previous scholars’ studies on teaching philosophies, values, traditions, and social-cultural factors that have played an important part in shaping or influencing educational ideologies both in China and in Britain.

3.2.1.2 Selection of the discourse

All three episodes of the documentary with both English and Chinese subtitles were downloaded from the Internet, transcribed with the help of a website called speechmatics.com and then copied into a Word document. Due to the interference of the voiceover in the documentary and the fact that there were too many participants involved in the videos, the transcriptions provided by the website contained many errors. The researcher then watched the videos over and over again and paused occasionally so that the utterances of different speakers were marked separately and mistakes of the transcriptions could be corrected. Meanwhile, the researcher also added to the transcriptions detailed descriptions about certain scenes, including verbal and nonverbal behaviors of the participants, their body language and paralanguage, and the length of the pauses in teacher-student interactions.

During the process of collecting raw data, many observation notes and Word files were made to organize the data. General patterns (such as clusters of discourses) in the documentary emerged within and across the domains, and then the researcher
returned to the paper-and-pencil method to include the complexity of the boundary crossings with the ethnographic data. Because the documentary in question consisted of classroom teachings and interviews of the participants, they provided different data resources for the analysis. Scenes of classroom interactions were more suitable for linguistic analysis for it was easy to observe the teachers and the students’ speech characteristics and patterns. After reading through the transcriptions many times, the researcher selected 50 samples (scenes in the videos) to serve as the data base for data analysis. Among those 50 samples, 14 were about classroom interactions between the Chinese teachers and British pupils; and 36 were about the interviews of the participants, including the Chinese teachers, the British pupils, and the British faculty at the school. The selected samples of discourse were then coded at the level of the phrase and clause or what Gee (1999) called “idealized lines.” After the transcribing process, the coding process, and the tabulation process, six goodness-of-fit tests were conducted to see the Chi-square distribution of the corresponding data to compare the expected with observed distribution of the data, so the above-mentioned six sets of hypotheses were tested and conclusions about the linguistic features of the utterances of the Chinese teachers and British students were drawn.

3.2.1.3 Analytical tools

The analysis of the linguistic features was conducted with reference to the analytical framework (style, genre, and discourse) proposed by Rogers (2004) in her book *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*. Her model of style-genre-discourse also overlaps with Halliday’s (2004) systemic functional grammar and traditional English grammar.

1) Description of style

The description of style includes voice, tense, and transitivity. Active voice refers to sentences with an action verb; the subject performs the action denoted by the verb. If the subject does or “acts upon” the verb in a sentence, the sentence is said to be in the active voice such as “he stole the car.” If the subject is being “acted upon,” the sentence is said to be in the passive voice as in “the car was stolen by him.” The passive voice is used when the doer of the action is unknown, unwanted, or unneeded in the
sentence such as “the car was stolen.” This means the speaker wants to emphasize the action or the result rather than the doer of the action.

Tense in traditional grammar is understood as a category that expresses time reference. It places a state or action in time. English has three tenses: 1) present tense, which can be further divided into present simple, present continuous, present perfect, and present perfect continuous; 2) past tense, which includes past simple, past continuous, past perfect, and past perfect continuous; 3) and future tense, which consists of future simple, future continuous, future perfect, and future perfect continuous. Table 3.1 shows the categorization of English tenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present simple</td>
<td>Subject + Verb (present form)</td>
<td>He lives in China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present continuous</td>
<td>Subject + IS/ARE + Verb (continuous form)</td>
<td>He is sleeping.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present perfect</td>
<td>Subject + HAS/HAVE + Verb (past participle form)</td>
<td>I have read the book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present perfect</td>
<td>Subject + HAS/HAVE + BEEN + Verb (continuous form)</td>
<td>He has been working as a teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past simple</td>
<td>Subject + Verb (past form)</td>
<td>He was angry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past continuous</td>
<td>Subject + WAS/WERE + Verb (continuous form)</td>
<td>She was talking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfect</td>
<td>Subject + HAD + Verb (past participle form)</td>
<td>I had met him before you did.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfect</td>
<td>Subject + HAD + BEEN + Verb (continuous form)</td>
<td>They had been dating for 3 years before we got married.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future simple</td>
<td>Subject + WILL + Verb (present form)</td>
<td>He will come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future continuous</td>
<td>Subject + WILL + BE + Verb (continuous form)</td>
<td>It won’t be raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future perfect</td>
<td>Subject + WILL HAVE + Verb (past participle form)</td>
<td>I will be gone by the time you get here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future perfect</td>
<td>Subject + WILL HAVE BEEN + Verb (past participle form)</td>
<td>By the end of the year, I will have graduated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitivity in Halliday’s (2004) systemic functional grammar refers to how meaning is represented in the clause. According to Halliday, there are six types of
processes in the transitivity system: material process, mental process, relational process, behavioral process, verbal process, and existential process. Material process is the process of “doing,” so it means something is done by one entity to another. This process is mainly realized by an “Actor,” a “Goal,” and most importantly an action verb such as kick, resign, and hit. The “Actor” is the “Doer” of the action, and the “Goal” is the object of the action. Both participants are optional, as in “The teacher opened the window.”

Mental process is the process of “sensing,” expressing the conscious creatures’ mental activities that fall into three categories: the perception activity such as seeing, looking, and smelling; the reaction activity such as hating, pleasing, and loving; and the cognition activity such as convincing, considering, and believing. There are two participants in the mental process: “Sensor” and “Phenomenon.” “Sensor” is the conscious subject of those three mental phenomena, and “Phenomenon” is the object being perceived by the subject as in “I felt it.”

Relational process is the process of “being,” and it marks the relationship or attributes between two separate entities. It can be divided into two types and three modes. The two types of relational process are “attributive” and “identifying.” Attributive explains the certain attributes an object owns or the certain type it belongs to. Identifying explains the identical qualities of two entities with their positions interchangeable. The three modes are “intensive” (x is y), “circumstantial” (x is at/in/on/with/for y) and “possessive” (x has y).

Behavioral process is the process of “behaving,” consisting of typical physiological and psychological behavior, for example, laughing, crying, grumbling, smiling, breathing, and watching. Usually, there is only one participant in this process, namely, “Behaver,” often a human being. What distinguishes behavioral process from material process is whether the activities involved are physiological and/or psychological. An examples of behavioral process is “he smiled happily.”

Verbal process is the process of “saying.” It is usually used to exchange information. Verbs that belong to this category include talk, tell, say, describe, present, and criticize. It generally has three main participants, “Sayer” (who speaks), “Receiver” (whom it is spoke to), and “Verbiage” (what is said). For instance, “she told him to
Existential process is the process of “existing.” It expresses that something exists or happens. The existential process is usually described as a “there be” clause. Typical verbs in this process are exist, lie, follow, take place, follow, and emerge. The participant in this process is “Existent.” This can be a person, a thing, an agent, an action, an event, or some abstract concept as in “there is a dog running around.”

2) Description of genre

Description of genre includes in this thesis includes thematic structure, wording, and turn-taking transition. Thematic structure that serves the thesis is different from the “theme-rheme” distinction in systemic functional grammar. It refers to the themes of a discourse, namely the topic. When people talk, they usually center around a certain topic. Wording here is approached by the dichotomy between words of positive meaning such as “like” and words of negative meaning such as “hate.” Wording is important in exploring people’s opinions of and attitudes towards things.

The last type in this category is turn-taking. Turn-taking is a central issue in classroom interaction and an important constituent of the teaching-learning process (Barbara et al. 2008). Speakers tend to follow the principle of “no/gaps/no overlap” (Sack et al., 1974), which means utterances move from one to the next in a “soft” way via pauses and synchronization between speakers, and this can also be done in a “non-soft” way (Oreström, 1983) which means conversations are linked by overlaps and mutual interruptions. This usually happens when parties talk simultaneously changing the interactive rhythm. Table 3.2 on the next page shows the categories of turn transitions. The 13 categories can be put into two general categories: soft transitions (synchronization and pauses) and hard transitions (overlap and mutual interruption). Turn transitions can be an important indicator of the dynamics of a conversation.

Table 3.2 Categories of Turn Transition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitions</th>
<th>Operative definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latching</td>
<td>Perfect synchronization between turns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pause between turns</td>
<td>Pause without the selection of the speaker, shared by participants + duration.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Description of discourse

The description of discourse encompasses clusters of discourse reflecting the topics and themes that emerged from the utterances. After recursive studies of the transcription, several general themes and patterns were revealed. Interpretations are made possible according to the relationships between the data and the people producing them via the identification of the construction of social relationship and social identity. The emphasis of this interpretative analysis is on various interactions between different facets of discourse (production, distribution, and consumption). The researcher then chose selections of the transcriptions to focus on what provided the greatest conceptual
leverage (i.e., where there was an obvious mixing of domains and/or the places where she could clearly see each domain so that she could code each excerpt from each of the domain with orders of discourse to begin to look for patterns within and across the domains). Discourse was generalized into several categories, and comparisons were made about views of learning and teaching, expectation, and competition. The researcher chose these domains because they represent the core pieces of public education on both sides and are interwoven with most people’s taken-for-granted ideologies.

3.3 Summary
   Above all, this chapter presents three methodological frameworks for the study. A mixture of qualitative and quantitative study was specially designed to conduct the research. A document analysis embedded with quantitative data analysis was made to show the linguistic features of the interactions between the participants in the documentary. This part enabled the researcher to identify the linguistic features of the classroom interactions and draw conclusions about the hidden ideological differences of the participants. The two surveys of the college students in the United States, not only supplemented the findings by providing insight into people who have exposure both to Chinese teaching practices and pedagogies and the American ones. In this way, a relatively comprehensive comparative study of Chinese and Western ideological differences could be completed.
Chapter Four
RESULTS

This chapter’s purpose is to describe the findings of the data analysis. The linguistic features of the interactions of the participants in the documentary will be presented first, and then comparisons are made concerning the hidden ideological differences between Chinese education and Western education. During the whole process, quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis were used together to code and analyze the data. The second part of this chapter uncovers the ideologies that were revealed by the participants in the documentary.

4.1 Linguistic Features of the Discourse

The first part of the analysis was done based on Rogers’ (2004) model for applying CDA to education, which overlaps with the first two dimensions of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model, i.e.: textual analysis and discursive analysis.

The focus of this part is to describe the linguistic features of the teachers and the British pupils through their interactions recorded in the documentary. Halliday (1978, 32) claims, “There is a systematic correspondence between the semiotic structure of the situation type (field, mode, tenor) and the functional organization of the semantic system.” That is to say, a person is addressing the questions of form and meaning as he or she analyzes a text in CDA. As mentioned before, the researcher mixed three frameworks of analyzing the linguistic features of discourse to better meet the needs of the present document analysis, so the general framework of this thesis was extracted from Rogers’ approach to CDA in education. Under each subcategory, references to Halliday’s Functional Grammar were made to complete the analyses. Altogether, 50 such scenes were extracted from the documentary. Fourteen scenarios were about the classroom interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students; 36 contained the interviews of the participants. The six sets of hypotheses proposed in the Introduction chapter were tested and then analyzed in this section.
4.1.1 Analysis of style

According to Rogers (2004), description of style includes such parameters as active/passive voice, modeling (tense and affinity), transitivity, and linguistic variations (at phonological, morphological, and syntactic level). However, given the fact that the five Chinese teachers were all proficient in English and exhibited little linguistic variations, only the first three parameters were used to present the findings about the use of style. To identify the distribution of sentences with active voice and passive voice between the Chinese teachers and the British pupils, only the 14 segments about the interactions between the two were referred to in this section.

4.1.1.1 Use of voice

This part describes the distribution of the sentences with active voice and passive voice used by the Chinese teachers and the British pupils. The first set of hypotheses proposed before was:

Null hypothesis 1: There is no difference in the choice of voice of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Research hypothesis 1: There is a difference in the choice of voice of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

A two-way Chi-square test was conducted to identify the distribution of the use of voice of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students, which is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Distribution of voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active voice</th>
<th></th>
<th>passive voice</th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese teachers</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>155.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British students</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60.75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision rule: Reject the null hypothesis if $x^2$ greater than 3.84.

$x^2=3.24$
Figure 4.1 Decision of rule of voice

Decision: Accept the null hypothesis.

Two major findings can be extracted from the process in Table 4.1. The first one is that there is a difference in the number of sentences spoken by the Chinese teachers and the British students. The number of sentences spoken by the Chinese teachers is twice as much as those spoken by the students. The second finding that there exists an uneven distribution in the use of active voice and passive voice. Also, among the scenes extracted, both the Chinese teachers and the British students use more sentences with active voice than sentences with passive voice, and only about 3.5% (8 sentences) of the sentences uses passive voice. They are as follows:

1) You will be tested next Thursday. (Sample 1)
2) Something electrical…is totally not allowed in class. (Sample 2)
3) Our experience of U.K. students will be mainly based on you. (Sample 3)
4) It’s not allowed in this classroom. (Sample 4)
5) …which is unknown…which is unknown. (Sample 5)
6) I’m not impressed by you and I need a little bit of time to talk to you. But not now. I’m not impressed. (Sample 6)

Among these sentences with passive voice, only Sample 1 and Sample 5 are about classroom teaching while the rest of the samples (Sample 2, Sample 3, Sample 4, Sample 6) are about classroom management. In other words, sentences with active voice account for a large part of the utterances. This means the teachers want to point out the doer of the action clearly most of the time while in the classroom. Frequently used subjects include first person pronouns like “I” and “we” and second person pronoun “you.” The following cases discuss the implication of the choice of different pronouns in the specific situational context.
7) Yang Jun (Chinese science teacher): It is a big class and it’s a large room. I, as one teacher in this room, cannot do the practicals and discipline you in the same time. If I see any of you misbehave, I will separate you immediately. And I don’t have a problem with it. The discipline is really important. Without discipline, you don’t learn well. That’s a matter of fact. Sometimes it annoys other students as well. It’s going to a long day and it’s only the first day...Are you still talking while I’m still talking?

Conor (male student): Sorry, Miss.

Yang Jun (Chinese science teacher): Can you turn around, please? So I’m going to teach you in a traditional Chinese way. Now Chinese students they don’t tend to waste other people’s time. (Pointing at the board on the wall in the classroom) Now, I would like to introduce this board here. Ok. Now, I have only picked Confucius quotes here. I would like you to look at this, “Knowledge makes humble, ignorance makes proud.” Think about it, it’s a very deep philosophy. Yeah, it’s knowledge that makes you a humble person...

Sophie (female student): I don’t know what humble means.

Yang Jun (science teacher): So I wish you to look at those things and try to experience those philosophies. (Sample 7)

As the above samples show, all utterances spoken by the science teacher Yang Jun are in active voice. What is interesting about her words is that she uses the first person pronoun “I” to refer to herself seven times. Although in a typical classroom setting, a teacher would use the first person pronoun “I” quite often, the intensive use of “I” by Ms. Yang delivers the message to the student that “I am in charge of the class and you should follow my lead.” “I” is replaced with “you” when the teacher refers to the misconduct of the students. This pattern has been confirmed by many other similar scenes in the documentary. It is not hard to tell that the Chinese teachers have a hard time gaining control over the class, but they still use “I” frequently to assert their position.

8) Zou Hailian (Chinese math teacher): Go back to your seat. Attention, attention, attention. (look at Sophie) I can read what you say in your mouth. It’s very rude. Ok? (Sophie laughs with embarrassment.) Our experience of U.K. students will be mainly based on you. And we do hope when we go back, we have some unique and positive experience. Sometimes we do find something not in the right place. (Showing the kettle to the whole class) I don’t know whose this is. But this...something electrical...is totally not allowed in class. (Students murmuring their shocks and objections). It’s dangerous. We kind of have a responsibility for
your safety in school. And I never really expect your behavior like this. I can tell you very honest. (Sample 8)

This drama happens in Mr. Zou’s mathematics class where he not only loses most students’ interest due to his fast teaching pace, but he also has a rough time maintaining order in the classroom. He just finds that a male student has been making tea in the classroom with his tea kettle. The teacher is obviously trying to “talk some sense” to the students. Sentences in this paragraph are mostly in the active voice. This makes the doer or the agent of the actions clear, especially when something inappropriate happens in the classroom. The use of the exclusive “we” indicates that he is very clear about their relative positions in that scenario. On the one hand, “we” in this case refers to Mr. Zou himself and the other four Chinese teachers. He puts himself into the same category as his Chinese colleagues, and it sounds more like what he is trying to do resonates with and is supported by them as well. On the other hand, “you” denotes the British children who have been acting out. The teacher’s implied meaning is that “you” (the British pupils) are the reason why the teaching in the Chinese school has not been going as well as expected. The separation of “we” and “you” makes it clear that each person has a responsibility for what they are supposed to do in the Chinese school. The underlined sentence is the only sentence with passive voice. The teacher is saying that making tea is absolutely not allowed in class, and this time the use of passive voice focuses on the act (making tea in class) instead of the doer of the action. His implication is that what the student has been doing is not only unacceptable in his class, but it will also not be tolerated by other teachers as well.

Apart from these two scenes about classroom teaching, interviews of the participants also show a relatively high frequency of sentences with active voice associated with the same pattern of choice of pronoun as subjects. Generally speaking, the use of sentences with active voice indicates an emphasis on the doer of the action, i.e., who is responsible for the action, especially when some unpleasant things have happened. Both the Chinese teachers and the British students have to find someone to blame for the problem, and the choice of passive voice shifts the focus from the doer to the action itself. Although the documentary does not include many scenes about how British teachers teach, it can be seen from what is available that they prefer using
elliptical sentences of passive voice such as “well done.” This type of sentence is usually used by the teachers to provide positive feedback to the students.

4.1.1.2 Use of tense

Tense is understood as a category that expresses (grammaticalizes) time reference; namely one which, using grammatical means, places a state or action in time.

Null hypothesis 2: There is no difference in the choice of voice of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Research hypothesis 2: There is a difference in the choice of voice of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

A one-way Chi-square test was conducted to identify the distribution of tense, which is shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Distribution of tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present simple</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present continuous</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present perfect</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present perfect continuous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past simple</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past continuous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfect</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfect continuous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future simple</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future continuous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future perfect</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future perfect continuous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision rule: Reject the null hypothesis if \( x^2 \) greater than 19.68.

\[ x^2 = 392.23 \]
Figure 4.2 Decision rule of tense

Decision: Reject the null hypothesis and accept the research hypothesis.

It is shown that there is a huge difference in the choice of tense by the participants in the documentary. The frequency of tenses comes in descending order: present tense (109), past tense (9), and future tense (7). In the first category, present simple tense and present continuous tense are used most frequently, which indicates the teachers and the students talk about things in class. Present tense is used to teach content and manage the classroom, and present continuous tense is mostly used by the teachers to ask the students to stop talking in the classroom. What is notable about the use of present tense is that it can be used not only to refer to things that are happening at the moment of speaking, but it can also indicate a mood, a condition, or even a command. However, there are some cases where the participants in the documentary used past tense, which has to do with intertextuality and which will be dealt with at length under the Data Interpretation section. The following passages intend to show the use of sentences with various tenses to achieve communicative function of the language.

9) Zou (Chinese mathematics teacher): (Shouting at Conor in the corridor.) Come out! Conor! Come out! You embarrass all Bowhunt students and the school. I’ve never seen a student like you. You embarrass Bowhunt. (Sample 9)

Mild-mannered Mr. Zou has finally been pushed to the breaking point because of the students’ misbehaviors. These are the sentences he says to one of the students called
Conor. Four out of the five sentences are of present tense, especially the first two sentences with imperative mood. They indicate that the math teacher is really mad at what the student has done. The use of present perfect tense “have never seen” in negation intensifiers this sort of “mad mood.”

10) Li Aiyun (social education and English grammar teacher): If you haven’t finished your homework, then do your homework. If you have finished, you can read a book. But please...be...quiet. (Sample 10)

11) Li Aiyun (social education and English grammar teacher): When you learn this, tenses and voices are very important. We talked about verbal tense already. Okay, let’s go over them one by one. What about the irregular ones? You need to learn them by heart. For example: see, saw, see; swim, swam, swum. (Sample 11)

From these two cases, it can be seen that present tense is not just limited to teaching factual knowledge. In classroom settings, teachers use sentences with present tense to give instructions such as imperative sentences. The combination of present perfect tense and present tense used by social education teacher Li Aiyun follows the pattern of “condition” indicated by present perfect tense and “outcome” indicated by present tense. This kind of language is characteristic of teacher language and is usually used by teachers to give instructions to their students.

So in general, the Chinese teachers tend to use more sentences with present tense when teaching content knowledge, and sometimes they use sentences with past tense and future tense to relate to past experiences or future consequences depending on the specific context.

4.1.1.3 Use of transitivity

Participants are linked by processes, which are realized by verbs. Material process is a process of doing, relational process of being and having, mental process of sensing and feeling, verbal process of saying, behavioral process of human behavior, and existential processes are usually signaled by there. As the Table 4.3 shows, among the chosen interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British pupils in the
documentary, there is an interesting display of the use of different processes. Following is the third set of hypotheses:

Null hypothesis 3: There is no difference in the choice of process of the interactions between Chinese teachers and British students.

Research hypothesis 3: There is a difference in the choice of process of the interactions between Chinese teachers and British students.

A two-way Chi-square test was conducted to identify the distribution of processes, shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Distribution of processes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Chinese teachers</th>
<th>British students</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material process</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>83.23</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational process</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>60.07</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental process</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36.91</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal process</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>49.94</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioral process</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.86</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential process</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision rule: Reject the null hypothesis if \( x^2 \) greater than 11.070.

Figure 4.3 Decision rule of processes

\[ x^2 = 13.40 \]

Decision: Reject the null hypothesis and accept the research hypothesis.
The result shows that there is a difference in the choice of process of the interactions between Chinese teachers and British students. Generally speaking, Chinese teachers use more sentences (241) than British students do (92). Specifically, material process (115), relational process (83), verbal (69), and mental process (51) are frequently used by both parties. In contrast, behavioral process is not used as much as the previously mentioned processes, and existential process is not used at all. The fact that the Chinese teachers speak more than the British students has to do both with the power relations between the two parties and the nature or content of the interactions.

Sentences with verbs of material process such as “Can you turn around, please? Turn around, thank you” have the highest frequency because they emphasize the doing of a specific action. Nevertheless, the number of sentences of this kind used by the Chinese teachers is three times that of the British pupils. Usually in an educational setting, it is the teachers who have more control over the classroom and the interactions, and the reason why material process is prominent is that most of the interactions involve commands, i.e. many verbs denoting doing. This is because usually in classroom settings, the language used by teachers is mostly action-based. That is to say, they need to use language to command, to teach, and to manage the classroom.

Relational process denoted by verbs such as be and have is the second most frequently used process by the Chinese teachers and the first most frequently by the students, and most of the sentences that fall into this category are used when the Chinese teachers are dealing with classroom management such as maintaining discipline. For instance, “And I don’t have a problem with it. The discipline is really important.” in the first episode. Be-verbs are usually used to describe the subject’s attribute. The subject can be a thing as in “It is a big class and it’s a large room,” or a person as in “I don’t have a problem with it,” or an incident as in “It’s quite exciting.”

Verbal processes, as denoted by verbs like say, tell, deny, and command are the third most often used processes. “Stop talking. Sh... OK. Now, I would like you to watch this. Yes, reactants are, in this case... (moving toward Conor) why are you talking...keep talking? Do I have to every time tell you? Do I have to? Can you stand there please? Stand there.” In this extract, because the teacher is focused on disciplining the students who have been talking while she is teaching, which is regarded inappropriate in a typical Chinese classroom, the teacher is trying to ask the students to quiet down. This an example where the process of the interaction is dependent on the
content of the talk in the classroom. One thing to be noted under this category is the uneven distribution between the number of verbs spoken by the teachers (57) and the students (12). The explanation to this kind of phenomenon is that the teachers tend to exert more control over the conversation in class when students are misbehaving.

The fourth most frequently used process is mental process such as feel, think, and wish. Verbs of this category are generally used to convey the speaker’s feeling, attitudes, and views. For instance, “I think you are a very good teacher. I think you should stay that way.” This type of structure is quite common in teacher-student interactions either in class or after class, especially when conflicts show up. In these scenarios, participants tend to express their personal feelings and attitudes through the use of verbs typical of this process.

Sentences indicating behavioral processes appear not to be used that frequently by the participants in the documentary. This might be caused by the fact that verbs in this category such as sleep, cough, and look are exclusively used to refer to human behaviors that are indicated by human actions.

Existential process as denoted by such sentence structures as there be has no representation in the selected extracts, partly because the focus of the extracts is on classroom management instead of teaching. If it is the latter, the teachers would use such sentences to deliver content knowledge.

In summary, based on the number of verbs from the selected extracts about interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students in the documentary, Chinese teachers speak almost three times more than British students do. Also, among all those processes, material process, relational process, and verbal process have a higher frequency than mental process, behavioral process, and existential process. The distribution of these processes illustrates that the focus of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students is on doing, being, and saying.

4.1.2 Analysis of genre

The description of genre involves the analysis of thematic structure, cohesive devices, wording, metaphors, conventions of politeness, and turn-taking. Only three of them—thematic structure, wording, and turn-taking—were used as references in this
section. In the same vein as the previous part, utterances used for description of genre are primarily drawn from the 14 interactions between the teachers and the students as what has been used when the researcher analyzed the use of transitivity. Corresponding interviews of the participants in the documentary are utilized as well because they show linguistic features along with their attitudes and opinions about what has happened during the experiment. This shows any discrepancies between what they did and why they did it in class. However, not all interviews were selected; only those associated with the themes identified through the analysis of the interactions are included in this section. The use of classroom interactions and interviews is very important because the interactions in class are usually dominated by the Chinese teachers stressing their priorities, and the interviews of the Chinese teachers and British faculty, students, and their parents serve as supplementary data to predict what they have to say in hindsight about certain episodes.

4.1.2.1 Thematic structure

Themes are first generalized in each of the 14 extracts, and then 36 interviews about what happened are analyzed as well. Each piece of discourse is assigned a theme based on the topic of the interaction or interview. Some interactions or interviews show more than one theme. Four themes were generalized: discipline, classroom management, teaching and learning, and Chinese philosophies.

The theme of discipline refers to any disciplinary utterances among the selected scenarios in the documentary such as the importance of maintaining discipline in the classroom, comparisons between Chinese and British classroom discipline, and disputes about the handling of classroom discipline. The theme of classroom management refers to the scenarios where the Chinese teachers manage the classroom or the scenarios where the participants are interviewed about their views of teacher classroom management. Teaching and learning involves situations in which the focus of the discourse in on Chinese teaching methods, British teaching methods, or the comparison of the two. The last theme concerns Chinese philosophies of classroom teaching and discussion of traditional Chinese philosophies such as Confucianism. The four themes are supplemented by corresponding interviews to see how frequently they appear. In terms of the four themes emerged from the documentary, it is projected that in a typical
Chinese school, the frequency of themes should come in the following order: teaching and learning, classroom management, discipline, and Chinese philosophies. Table 4.4 shows the observed distribution of the four themes in the documentary. Following is the fourth set of hypotheses:

Null hypothesis 4: There is no difference in the frequency of major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.

Research hypothesis 4: There is a difference in the frequency of major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.

A two-way Chi-square test was conducted to identify the distribution of themes, which is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Distribution of themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Interactions in class O</th>
<th>Interactions after class E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.53</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom management</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching and learning</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.68</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese philosophies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision rule: Reject the null hypothesis if $x^2$ greater than 7.815.

![Chi-square distribution](image)

Figure 4.4 Decision rule of themes

$x^2 = 11.89$

Decision: Reject the null hypothesis and accept the research hypothesis.

The test shows that there is a difference between the frequency of major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary. As what can be seen from Table 4.4, discipline and classroom management are the most frequently mentioned topics in the classroom, followed by themes such as teaching and learning.
and Chinese philosophies. This is in contrast with previous expectation that teaching and learning should be the priority in the Chinese school. However, according to the findings from interviews of the participants after class, most of the interviews are about teaching and learning instead of discipline or classroom management in the Chinese school. The discrepancy between themes in the classroom and after class may be caused by the fact that, when teaching, the Chinese teachers pay special attention to discipline and classroom management to serve the purpose of teaching and learning, and in the interviews after class, the participants tend to reflect more on Chinese methods of teaching. This implies that the dislike of Chinese method might be one of the reasons why the students misbehave in the classroom causing the teachers to spend extra time managing the classroom and maintaining discipline. This phenomenon reflects the challenge faced by the Chinese teachers in the classroom. After class, people tend to be more calm and reflective so they can think more deeply about the factors that have caused those problems in class.

4.1.2.2 Wording

In this section, the choice of words is the focus for analyzing the lexical features of the discourse between the Chinese teachers and the British students. Positive and negative words about the Chinese school from the 14 selected scenarios were categorized into the themes identified in the previous part. The assignment of the value of the words is based on nouns, verbs, and adjectives in a sentence because they convey a significant amount of conversational implicature. Since separate words do not always express the full meaning of the speaker, chunks, phrases, and sentences are analyzed primarily to explore the connection between the choices of words and personal stance. For clarity, the term *segment* is used here to refer to any piece of utterance in the selected sentences of the documentary.

A *segment*, on the one hand, is considered positive if the speaker uses certain nouns, verbs, adjectives, or chunks and phrases such as *good, cute, better, like,* and *enjoy* to express positive feelings, opinions, comments, attitudes, or judgments about the major components of Chinese education that have been identified in the last section, namely, discipline, classroom management, teaching and learning, and Chinese philosophies. On the other hand, a sentence is regarded as negative if there is one or
more than one word such as *strict, rude, annoy*, and *not allowed* to express the one’s negative feelings, opinions, comments, attitudes, or judgments about the above-mentioned references. Apart from the analysis of the interactions between the participants, interviews are also included to see how the participants perceive the experiences through their lexical choice. This is the fifth set of hypotheses:

**Null hypothesis 5:** There is no difference in positive and negative descriptors of the four major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.

**Research hypothesis 5:** There is a difference in positive and negative descriptors of the four major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary.

A two-way Chi-square test was conducted to identify the distribution of positive and negative words about Chinese education, which is shown in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5 Distribution of wording**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>discipline O E</th>
<th>classroom management O E</th>
<th>teaching and learning O E</th>
<th>Chinese philosophies O E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>positive Words</strong></td>
<td>2 2.9</td>
<td>2 2.9</td>
<td>5 4.4</td>
<td>3 1.8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>negative words</strong></td>
<td>8 7.1</td>
<td>8 7.1</td>
<td>10 10.6</td>
<td>3 4.2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10 10</td>
<td>10 10</td>
<td>15 15</td>
<td>6 6</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision rule: Reject the null hypothesis if \( \chi^2 \) greater than 7.81

**Figure 4.5 Decision rule of wording**

\( \chi^2 = 2.03 \)

Decision: Accept the null hypothesis.
The results show that there is no difference between the positive and negative descriptors of the four major themes revealed from the discourse of the participants in the documentary. This might be caused by the fact that the test is based on the distribution of *segments* of positive and negative meanings across four major themes in the documentary, and compared with the other criteria, the use of words is limited by its small number. When seen from the total amount of positive and negative words, something interesting appears. It is not hard to notice that, when it comes to Chinese education depicted in the documentary, words of negative meanings are used more often than words of positive meanings by the Chinese teachers, British students, and British faculty at the school. The Chinese teachers use such negative words in classrooms when they have problems managing the class, and they use a few positive words when they are referring to their perceptions of Chinese education. Most negative words in all four themes spoken by the British students and the Chinese teachers come from communications in class or interviews after class. British teachers at Bohunt also participated in some of the interviews, and most of what they said about Chinese education is negative too. However, there are a few positive words, most of which are spoken by the Chinese teachers. The rest are used by a couple of British students in the first week of the experiment. It was also found that, as the experiment proceeded, the number of words with negative connotations increased. This reflects the escalation of the tension between the Chinese teachers and the British students and how the latter perceive the Chinese way of teaching at the Chinese school. Overall, it can be inferred that most utterances contain the participants’ negative feelings, opinions, or attitudes towards the Chinese teaching method.

4.1.2.3 Turn-taking

In this section, attention is given to class interactions and a change in the use of turn-taking strategies such as overlaps, pauses, and interruptions. In order to achieve this, the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students are the main data used. Codes and their respective operative definitions are shown in Table 4.6 using the Bazzanella system (1994) and the Cacioppo and Maroni scheme (2004). The sixth hypothesis was tested here:
Null hypothesis 6: There is no difference in the thirteen turn-taking transitions of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

Research hypothesis 6: There is a difference in the thirteen turn-taking transitions of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students.

A one-way Chi-square test was conducted to identify the distribution of turn-taking transitions, which is shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Distribution of turn transitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turn transitions</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latching</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pause between turns</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pause with selection</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pause with selection with nonverbal response</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pause with selection without response</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overlap</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective overlap</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous start</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple interruption</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silent interruption</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive interruption</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed interruption</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical error</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decision rule: Reject the null hypothesis if $x^2$ greater than 21.026.

$x^2 = 46.68$

Figure 4.6 Decision rule of turn taking

Decision: Reject the null hypothesis and accept the research hypothesis.

Figure 4.7 Percentage of soft and hard transitions

Table 4.6 and figure 4.6 show that there is a difference between the 13 turn-taking transitions of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students, and figure 4.7 shows the relative percentage of soft transitions (synchronization and pauses) and hard transitions (overlap and mutual interruption). It can be seen from the two charts that in the Chinese school, over half of the utterances (67.6%) have soft transitions while 32.4% of the utterances are interrupted to some degree. Soft transitions include latching/synchronization (36%), pause between turns (11.8%), pause with selection (5.1%), pause with selection with nonverbal response (10.3%), and pause with selection without response (4.4%). On the other hand, hard transitions encompass overlap (0.7%), collective overlap (2.9%), simultaneous start
distributions broaden participants, selected discussed although throughout several intertextuality text puts speech between establishing important consistency larger students. 4.1.3 analysis of discourse

After viewing the linguistic features of the utterances of the teachers and the students from a micro-perspective. This part of the chapter is devoted to looking at the larger piece of utterances-discourse. Specifically, the researcher looked at the use of consistency of themes in contributing to the cohesion of a particular episode. It is important to analyze these texts due to the interdiscursivity and intertextual nature in establishing and breaking the norms in the school setting. Discursive analysis is the intermediary step between description and explanation. It seeks to interpret the relation between discourse and the ways in which discourse is produced and received, including speech acts, tones, intertextuality, and social semiotics. The term intertextuality is first put forward by Kristen in the 1960s and refers to any utterance or text shaped by prior text that respond to and by subsequent texts that they “anticipate (Fairclough, 1992).” Intertextuality puts emphasis on the productivity and creativity of discourse practice. Several types of discourse about various facets of education appear repeatedly throughout the documentary. The purpose of this section is to show those themes. Although themes that are mentioned or revealed from the documentary have been partly discussed in section 4.1.2.1, the focus of that part is on the themes revealed from the 14 selected scenarios in the documentary and the corresponding interviews of the participants, namely the topics of classroom interactions. However, this part aims to broaden the topic by using a more detailed categorization of the utterances to show the distributions of the themes. Four main categories that are also core to traditional
Chinese education have been identified here: views about learning and teaching, views about discipline, views about expectation, and views about competition. Views here include opinions of and attitudes towards those themes both from the Chinese education side and British education side. At the same time, respective utterances about British education will be shown too so as to compare the differences between the two cultures.

4.1.3.1 Views about learning and teaching

Teaching and learning are among the most mentioned topics in the Chinese school both in classroom interaction and in the interviews after class. From the interactions in the classroom, it can be seen that both the Chinese teachers and the British students and faculty view learning as a two-way interaction though with a different focus. However, the dynamic is rather different in the two systems. The teaching methods used by the Chinese teachers are mainly tuned to traditional Chinese ways of teaching which are characteristic of passive learning, rote-learning, teacher-centered classrooms, and pattern drillings. On the Chinese side, according to Chinese educational philosophies, teachers are supposed to have acquired all the knowledge, and all they need to do is to pass on the knowledge to their students. Teaching is the teachers’ delivering content knowledge, and learning is students’ automatically absorbing of knowledge irrespective of teaching methods or management of the classroom. Following is an example:

12) Rosie (female student): Sir, I don't get it.
Zou (math teacher): Let's one by one, ok? Can you get the first one?
Rosie: Yeah, I just don’t know what I’m doing at all.
Zou: You can get the first one. Look at that (Pointing at the screen where one can find the formula.).
Rosie: Yeah, I’m not going to learn if I keep copying. I don’t know what I’m doing.
Zou: Just use the definition. (Sample 12)

Mathematics teacher Mr. Zou, who teaches at a prestigious high school in China, later revealed in an interview after class, “I find students here are not used to memorizing formulas. Their levels are quite behind Chinese students, and that makes your teaching slow.”

From this extract, it can be seen that the student Rosie, one of the low-achieving students in a class of 50, is falling behind in math again and just expresses her
frustration and dissatisfaction with the math class, but it seems that the teacher does not get her message and does not intend to make any accommodation for her. Instead, his focus is on the delivery of the knowledge because he believes, as long as one copies the teacher notes and listens in class, there is no way that one cannot access the knowledge. The following words show how British students and teachers view this Chinese way of teaching and learning:

13) (A couple of girls are talking about the math class)

*Girl 1: What’s trigonometry for? Why do we need to these things?*

*Triangles...stuff.*

*Girl 2: I don’t think we are gonna use it in our lives. I think they should be telling us how to pay our taxes and get jobs and stuff.*

*Girl 1: Get drunk.*

*Girl 3: And live.*

*Girl 2: I get what you do, but not why. (Sample 13)*

These girls are already some of the best mathematics students in the Chinese school. They are motivated and cooperative and willing to keep pace with the Chinese teachers. They are OK with other classes offered in the Chinese school, but they tend to be more critical about abstract math teaching. Their comments reveal that they do not see a connection between math teaching and real-life problems. Sophie (a female student) says, “I think coping in the Chinese way they’re going to teach us. I think I will find it all right, but I think I will be tired at the end of the day because they will actually force you to learn.” Another female student says, “He (Mr. Zou) was just moving on to the next one coz everyone was talking so it was, like ‘oh they’re doing it by themselves, I’ll just move on.”

For British students, the Chinese methods, which feature such characteristics as fast pace and lots of note-taking, are regarded as “forcing” them to learn. Here is an extreme case of a female student’s comments on the meaning of schooling:

14) Sophie (female student): If it wasn’t for the social life and for the friends, I wouldn’t bother with school. People always ask you, “What you want to be when you’re older?” And you’re not gonna know that, like, 13 years old. But if you don’t have an education, you can’t really live coz you can’t do stuff without money. And to get money, you either kill people and get their money or you work. (Sample 14)
So for Sophie, learning is not the priority in getting an education. Instead, socializing and making a living are her purposes for being educated.

15) Jay Bremner (Bohunt math teacher): It appeared that the information was largely given to them, very quickly, all in one go just with the expectation that it’s there, copy it and do it. Teaching and learning and classrooms have changed so much. It’s not the teacher’s lesson any more. It is the student’s lesson, and if we, as teachers, don’t develop lessons tailored to the needs of our particular groups, it’s just going to fall on deaf ears, either the children will misbehave, the children won’t access it, the children won’t understand it, and you’ll be just talking out to them and they will be just sitting there waiting for you to shut up. (Sample 15)

After observing the Chinese mathematics teacher’s class, the regular mathematics teacher is rather shocked by the class, expresses his personal criticisms about the way the Chinese teacher teaches, and compares it with the normal British way of teaching. In accordance with what some of the students have said earlier, the Chinese method is not individualized and fun enough to meet every student’s needs. Mathematics is regarded the most important subject in school in China, and the methods used by Mr. Zou in these extracts are representative of China’s mathematics education in general and can actually be applied to other school subjects because the core pillars of Chinese teaching methods are basically the same. What is interesting in the documentary is that some students intentionally have gone through such a huge “personality change” to turn into “rebels” against the Chinese school in front of the teachers and in the interviews after class. Some of them are normally well-behaved students.

Another thing that goes hand in hand with teaching and learning is classroom management, including discipline. The way in which the Chinese teachers manage the class is quite simple: they usually ask the students, with simple directions, to quiet down when they misbehave; however, most students misbehave, and some of them have done things that would not be tolerated even in a normal Bohunt class. This is an example of how the Chinese teachers manage the classroom:

16) Yang (science teacher): It is a big class and it’s a large room. I, as one teacher in this room, I cannot do the practicals and discipline you in the same time. If I see any of you misbehave, I will separate you immediately. And I don’t have a problem with it. The discipline is really important. Without discipline, you don’t learn well. That’s a matter of fact. Sometimes it annoys other students as well. It’s going to be a long day and it’s only the first day…Are you still talking while I’m still talking? (Sample 16)
A “good” classroom is one that features students’ listening to the teachers quietly and attentively. This is very important for Chinese education because the teachers expect the students to be quiet in class so that they can focus on teaching, and they also have a low tolerance level for students’ behaviors other than listening and taking notes. Instead, they expect absolute silence in the classroom and any action or utterance that is irrelevant to teaching, and it is thought of as a misbehavior or even a challenge to teacher’s authority, which is rare in a typical Chinese classroom. Following is an example from Mr. Zhao’s (the Mandarin teacher) classroom, “I found some, I think around 5 to 6 of them a little bit naughty, you know, in fact noisy. I said you need to stay with me after lesson. He said, ‘What did I do? He kicked me!’ Like this, just keep arguing back and keep making excuse.”

Since words do not have any effect on the kids, the Chinese teachers also try a few other strategies to manage the classroom such as time-out and detention, which is considered by Sophie, a student, “I think they try to embarrass you a little bit. I think they try to make you think that you won’t want to do it again because you would have just got in trouble in front of the whole class. But you don’t feel like that, you find it funnier.”

In terms of teaching and learning, in Chinese education teaching is more important learning, and teachers play an essential and active role in teaching while students play a passive role in the process. This way of teaching is not favored by most British students and faculty at the Chinese school, and they generally hold a negative attitude towards the Chinese method, Chinese teachers, and China’s education.

4.1.3.2 Views about expectation

Expectation here refers to the kind of expectation of students from teachers and parents. Throughout the documentary, it can be observed that the Chinese teachers and parents have high expectations of the students in terms of academic performance, classroom behavior, and obedience to authority. They attach great importance to students’ academic performance. A good child is a someone who is successful academically and who listens to what teachers and parents say, which is a way of showing respect to the elderly. Compared to their British counterparts, Chinese teachers and parents have much higher expectations for the students. Despite the worsening of
classroom behavior and management in the four-week experiment and resulting frustration, this kind of expectation from the Chinese teachers never wavered, and they tended to make their expectations clear to the students, both in and after class. Although most students do not fit in the Chinese school well, and the experiment does not go smoothly in the first three weeks, the teachers still try their best to encourage the students in a Chinese way.

In line with this high expectation of studying, Chinese teachers are also looking forward to seeing a strong drive for studying in the British students. They expect the students to be highly motivated and engaged. At least, they expect them to take learning seriously and be respectful to the teachers. However, this expectation has been smashed several times by the students, as math teacher Mr. Zou says in hindsight, “I didn’t expect the level of students like this. They don’t take mathematics as serious as Chinese students.”

A couple of students do express their liking for the Chinese method by saying that the Chinese teachers’ instructions are clearer and more systematic:

17) Angelina (female student): You know I really enjoy science and I really like Miss Yang and I think she’s my favorite teacher. I just love writing. It just feels so good. You're just writing and writing and they're like she's talking and then like you understand that it's really good I really like it. But I like my English science as well. (Sample 17)

However, most students say that they have a hard time catching up with the Chinese pace, and the Chinese school is too much pressure on them. This lack of drive, on the other hand, is considered as having a bad attitude by the Chinese teachers. For example, Ms. Li (social study teacher) reveals, “I just feel English students might be a little bit easy to give up. As soon as they found it challenging academically, they start to talk to each other and they give up.” However, the British students such as Angelina and Rosie (female students) think in this way, “I think the teachers expect us to be really like the army, basically. In China, aren’t the children, like, really, really good and well-behaved. And we are not. We will be like really new for them.”

In the documentary, there are many occasions like this where the Chinese teachers’ enthusiasm is met with nothing but obliviousness and misunderstanding from the students. In order to enhance the students’ motivation for learning, the Chinese teachers have tried prolonging study time, giving extra class, incorporating Chinese
culture such as making dumplings and organizing fan dance, holding teacher parent meetings, and even having detentions. The result of all these attempts, however, is not that positive. The students’ internal motivation has not grown that much, but some of them start to work really hard when the experiment is coming to an end, though most of them do not seem to enjoy the Chinese method. This is because they are aware of the fact that they are participating in an educational experiment and they will be tested against the other 50 British students who are taught in a normal British way, but this sort of external pressure does not prove the increase of their intrinsic motivation to learn.

Apart from a high expectation of academic excellence and motivation, the Chinese teachers also expect the students to follow their lead both in classroom teaching and classroom management. However, this high expectation has not been met by the British students who are not at all “afraid” of the Chinese teachers and the Chinese methods. Instead, some think the classroom management skills demonstrated by the Chinese teachers are funny; some with a British “rebellious” spirit even stand up to “fight against” the institution. A case in point is:

18) Josh (male student): I'm normally super hardworking. And in Chinese school, it just hasn't happened. It's just a complete personality change. You can rebel against something. You can be different. I could be a rebel at the moment. I'm just not that into the Chinese methods of teaching. I’m gonna bring kettle because I cannot go a few hours without tea. (Sample 18)

Josh is a good student by British standards and a bad student by Chinese standards. Hse himself is completely aware of the reason why he does not fit into the Chinese school, and for him and his mother who defends him when the teacher calls her to school due to the kettle issue, his “misbehaviors” are nothing more than a direct challenge to the Chinese teachers’ authority and a declaration for human rights instead of “problem behavior” as defined by the Chinese teachers. Josh is one of the students who decides to go against the Chinese method just for the sake of not liking it. As a result, the Chinese teachers all show frustration and decreased confidence in motivating the students. As Mr. Zou (math teacher) says, “No one can help them, if they don’t want to learn. If they don't want to be positive, to be a part of this school. Of course they can change now, very quickly, but I don’t think we can achieve or we can make… personally I'm not that sure now.”
The documentary does not show many scenes with parental involvement during the experiment, but based on what can be observed so far, Chinese parents have higher expectations for their children’s education. They devote a lot of time to their children study and enroll them in many extra classes so that they can learn more while British parents tend to not put so much pressure on their children. Thus the British students have less of a workload and are more relaxed and have time to develop many interests outside the classroom. This kind of parental influence is not big enough to make a difference to the British children, but they do have a confrontation with the social study teacher Li Aiyun after she refers to a quote by Confucius, “Your parents are always right.” This part sparks a heated discussion among the pupils. As Angelia and Rosie (female students) say, “I really dislike how they teach social education in China. Your parents are always right! (exaggerating face) No! They could be racists. They could be xenophobic. They could be sexist. But if they say if their opinion is always right…”

After hearing the teacher’s words, a boy first shouts, “Parents aren’t always right!” and then a girl named Angelia stands up and expresses her opinion, which is followed by a big round of applause. There are quite a few similar scenes in the documentary where students are expressing their disagreement with the Chinese teachers directly or implicitly.

In general, Chinese teachers and parents hold high hopes of the students academically. However, this kind of high expectation does not motivate or inspire all students. Instead, not only do British the children not understand the teachers’ expectation, they also feel overwhelmed and stressed and even “rebel” intentionally against the Chinese teachers and the Chinese school.

4.1.3.3 Views about competition

A high level of competitiveness is one of the most prominent features of China’s education. Since the very onset of the experiment, the British students have been told and reminded repeatedly that they will be tested against their British counterparts after the four-week experiment. In a traditional Chinese school, tests and quizzes are commonplace. Ranking usually comes afterwards, and it is usually open to a whole class or sometimes even the whole school. At the end of each semester, awards are given as encouragement to those who are at the top of the list. One of the biggest
differences in terms of competition between the two systems is that British education tends to encourage students to compete against themselves and to try their best while realizing their own limits, while in Chinese education students have to face the competition coming from their peers, especially in terms of big important national exams. One of the Chinese teachers describes the importance of competition, “As a teacher, I just try my best to encourage the students because in China you have to compete with people around you, in all kinds of examinations.”

In the documentary, the Chinese teachers give tests and quizzes mainly because they want to see whether or not the students are absorbing the knowledge and how far they have progressed, but there seems to be much more competition in P.E. class. At Bohunt, students usually have P.E. class once a week to let off steam. However, in the Chinese school, P.E. is the most competitive class because it is designed in accordance with China’s P.E. classes, and its goal is to prepare the students for China’s Zhongkao, a nation-wide exam that decides which senior high school students will be able to enter. In the Zhongkao exam, the P.E. test is one of the tests that all Chinese students have to pass, so in the Chinese school, P.E. is more exam-based. From the very first P.E. class, students are told that every one of them has to meet certain goals in several tests. Both the British students and the British P.E. teacher are shocked by the competitiveness of the Chinese way of teaching P.E., and they think it is not fair and not individualized enough. The Bohunt P.E. teacher, Anna Hogg, reveals in an interview:

19) They’re a bit shocked that in China this is compulsory rather than optional. We do fitness test, but it’s very much ability-set, so they would run against people that are the similar ability. I think it’s the idea that having the pressure that they have to pass, students are scared of failing. (Sample 19)

Some of the British students find it hard to pass the test, and then they feel overwhelmed and stressed. This is especially the case for those who excel in academic subjects and are not very good at physical education. Joe is one such student who dose not like the Chinese idea of competition, “It’s a bit disheartening if you’re in a class of people who have a lot higher ability than you. It’s kind of, like, it’s not really going to help your confidence, if everyone is seeing you, and you get the worst in the class.”

One of the biggest differences between Chinese and British education is that the latter is more individualized, which means students are supposed to participate based on
their own abilities, so they have to face much pressure from their peers, while the
former has only one standard for all students. This is how the British P.E. teacher feels
about the difference,

20) It’s really hit home to me why we set students in PE. But effectively, this
Chinese way, they are being told that their best isn’t good enough. It just puts so
much pressure on them to pass, and if they don’t pass, they feel like a failure, and
it just breaks my heart to see students get so upset. (Sample 20)

Facing such huge pressure of passing the exam, some students who are not able
to fulfil the requirements become really frustrated. A student, Joe, says, “When you run
around the track, and you see that everyone’s finished, now you’re thinking that
everyone’s gonna see that you're not good enough and it is kind of a bit embarrassing or
makes you upset a bit.”

How the Chinese P.E. teacher and the British P.E. teacher handle stressed
students is worth noticing. The Chinese P.E. teacher, on the one hand, keeps telling the
students who are falling behind to push themselves a bit harder so that they can reach
the goal. The British teacher, on the other hand, focuses more on providing positive
feedback to the students and on encouraging students to try their best with less focus on
how they are compared with their peers. For example:

21) Anna Hogg: If your best tell you that you don’t get six points, then you don’t
six points. Don’t worry yourself about it, you’ve got to breathe properly. You can
do it. Yeah, you can do it ... I don’t agree with that. Not everyone did it easily,
but what you had to do was really proud was the fact that you finished it. Are you
proud of yourself? (Joe nods) Coz you wanted to finish it, that’s what you need to
remember. So if you’re not excelling in PE. I guarantee you will be excelling in
another area, and it’ll be like that for Harvey, for example, Katrina, but maybe
the find science more difficult than you or math more difficult than you. (hugs
him) Good boy. (Sample 21)

In the Chinese school, there is a higher level of awareness of competition among
peers, and students are expected not only to compete against themselves but also against
their peers. This atmosphere is not well accepted by the British students and faculty.
Competition is not a big thing for the British, but the high competition brought by the
Chinese teachers does impose pressure and frustration on the British students and
teachers.
In summary, with the help of Rogers’ model of style, genre, and discourse, the analyses of the linguistic features of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students and the interviews of the participants show some general patterns. One is that the Chinese teachers have more control over the students in the classroom. This goes with previous research showing that usually classroom language is more dominated by the teacher. However, one thing revealed repeatedly from all the criteria is that although the Chinese teachers exert more control in general, there is still a certain amount of evidence of the students’ gaining or fighting for more control in the classroom. As Halliday’s (2004) systemic functional grammar and functional school assert, language reflects people’s ideologies, and ideologies are heavily influenced by education. The next section deals with comparative analysis of educational ideologies in China’s education and British education that were revealed in the documentary.

4.2 Analysis of Educational Ideologies

This section gives a brief overview of the major ideologies of traditional Chinese education and British education by reference to linguistic features of the discourse between the Chinese teachers and the British students. Although the activities demonstrated by the Chinese teachers also show some Chinese ideologies, this section mainly focuses on the ideologies shown through the analysis of the discourse, i.e., dialogues and interviews of the participants representing the two systems in the four-week experiment.

4.2.1 Power relation

It can be observed from the analysis of linguistic features in the previous section that generally speaking, the Chinese teachers speak more than the British students do. This is not abnormal in a regular classroom setting, and the teachers’ classroom language show certain features that resonate in general classroom teaching too, such as, the frequent use of active voice, present tense, material process, and hard transitions. Some nuances of these linguistic criteria were already discussed before. In any classroom, how teachers intend to control student behavior and promote student learning can be observed from the ways in which teachers interact with students. This has been illustrated previously through linguistic analysis that direct discourse is central to the power interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British pupils.
The Chinese teachers tend to build invisible “walls” in the classroom through the use of language. In a typical Chinese school, there exists a hierarchical relationship between the teacher and the student. The teacher is in charge of the entire class, including the orders of discourse, the content of learning, the control of activities, and student behavior. As much as the Chinese teachers endeavor to maintain their power and authority in the classroom through both verbal and non-verbal discourse, the British students still break this invisible power relation established by the teachers. Then the teachers try to restore the hierarchy which is again disrupted by the students. This was reflected by the distribution of turn transitions. Quite a few utterances of the interactions between the teachers and the students were met with hard transitions, which indicates an unstable flow of conversations. More often than not, Chinese teachers are questioned and challenged by some of the students, though the latter are just being themselves, a lively and loud bunch, or simply expressing their disagreement with the teachers. However, this is regarded by the Chinese teachers as “unacceptable.” This reflects the fact that the British students have been used to the British methods of teaching that enable one to express one’s opinions relatively openly in a classroom, and the power relation between British students and British teachers is less hierarchical than that between Chinese students and Chinese teachers.

4.2.2 Correlation between education and life

It was shown from the utterances in the documentary that the Chinese and the British have different expectations of education. It is only natural that human beings living in modern society tend to link education with many other social semiotics such as career and social status, and the importance of education is widely acknowledged by both parties in the documentary. It is agreed that schooling has two primary purposes: learning knowledge and socializing. Participants from both sides agree that being educated means that one has a higher chance of living a better life. What is special about Chinese education here is that the Chinese teachers and Chinese parents at the secondary education level attach much greater importance to the academic performance of the students than their British counterparts do. For most Chinese students, school life is basically their life. It is a place to acquire the skills that one will need to survive in a highly competitive society.
Although British teachers and parents value education no less than their Chinese counterparts do, for them the fun part of education can never be eliminated. Learning is supposed to be fun, engaging, and motivating. Unlike Chinese students, British students’ school life is only one component of their life, which means studying may not necessarily be their priority and their attention can be directed to other fields of interest too. British parents and teachers at the secondary education level tend to put less pressure on their children and their academic work, for they feel that for children at this level, having fun and learning go hand in hand. Keeping the students motivated and engaged is more important than how much information they can absorb. This is part of the reason why the British students use more words of negative meanings instead of positive meanings.

In short, people from Chinese culture pay more attention to the academic part of education, namely, the learning of specific skills, while people from British culture tend to see the two sides of education. They think that education should not just be acquiring knowledge from the teachers, but also part of a lifestyle.

4.2.3 Work ethic

Throughout the documentary, the Chinese teachers advocate a typical Chinese work ethic such as hard work and dedication. This can be concluded from the teachers’ perspective and the students’ perspective respectively. The Chinese teachers hold deep beliefs in the time-honored philosophy of “where there is a will, there is a way.” Nothing is unachievable if one really puts one’s heart into it. According to this logic, all students are able to be successful in their schoolwork; if they are not, there has to be a reason for it. It could because they are lazy, have a bad attitude, are not dedicated enough, lack motivation, or are not paying enough attention in class. These are the explanations provided by the Chinese teachers in the documentary for the British students’ lack of drive.

Based on the Chinese standards, most British students do not have such a strong and strict work ethic when it comes to studying. In the Chinese teachers’ eyes, the students are lazy and they are quitters because they do not seem bothered to do their best and learn what the teachers have to offer, though the teachers do think that they are nice and intelligent students. Therefore, the Chinese teachers keep pushing them based
on the traditional Chinese value of “try harder and you will succeed.” This Chinese style of encouragement, however, does not make much difference for the British pupils. Facing high pressure and competition in the Chinese school, some students break down. The first category of students who experience such a “cultural shock” are low-achievers in the Chinese school. They lag behind because of the fast teaching pace of the Chinese teachers, and the Chinese way of “encouraging” only makes them feel more overwhelmed and frustrated. The second category of students are more like the kind of students that the Chinese teachers expect to see. They are intrinsically motivated, they have such high expectations for themselves. They will try their best to fulfill the requirement, and they feel very frustrated when they fail. The majority of the students are just like the students in the first category. They find it hard to keep up with the Chinese teachers’ pace and they start to misbehave, to complain, or to fight against the Chinese school system.

The embodiment of the work-hard philosophy can also be found in the Chinese teachers. They are dedicated and hard-working. They prepare their lessons well and try their best to encourage the students to be real models of Chinese values. In spite of that, the “work harder” ethic has not been well accepted by the British students most of the time, partly because they cannot keep pace with the Chinese method of teaching, and partly because they do not like being challenged to try harder.

It can be seen through the analysis of the linguistic features of the participants and the ideologies behind them that schooling is not limited to the teaching and learning of content knowledge, it is also largely related to the instilling of the ideologies held by the instructors. This teaching of ideology can cause ideological struggles when the teachers teach students from a different society or culture. There is no doubt that behind all these ideologies, there is something more and deeper influencing the way people think and behave in an educational system, and it is necessary to think about the reasons why ideological confrontations occur in the documentary from a larger and deeper perspective. This will be discussed thoroughly in the next section.

4.3 Explanation of the Findings

The findings will be explained with the use of a comparative method drawing from two major approaches: social perspective and cultural perspective. Social factors
refer to socioeconomic constructs of society such as the policy of a nation, the economic well-being of a society, and the educational system within that society.

4.3.1 Social perspective

Educational policies play an important role in steering the direction of education within a given society. Education can be influenced by the maneuvering of curriculum, syllabus, and testing systems.

4.3.1.1 Governmental influence

Compared with Britain, China’s education is more centralized. Education is run by the government named the Ministry of Education, which is a branch of the government. All school children in China must have a nine-year education, which is mostly funded by the government. This type of centralized power in education, coupled with regional differences in terms of economy and resources, has made it hard for the central government to design customized syllabi or curricula to suit the needs of students in various regions. The Chinese government has been trying to de-centralize its power in education, but this effort still has not made a big difference in education nationwide.

Education in Britain enjoys more administrative flexibility, because each part of the country has its own system under separate governments. England’s education is governed directly by the UK Government, and at a local level, local government authorities are responsible for implementing policies for public education. This means that they can provide students with a more individualized and customized education.

Apart from national policies, the education systems in the two countries also differ. The testing system in China is such an important and much-debated issue in China’s educational system. China’s secondary education includes junior high school, senior high school, vocational high school, and technical secondary school. After finishing junior high school, graduates can choose to go into senior high school, vocational high school, or technical secondary school. The majority of students will go to senior high school, which is more focused on academic study because its goal is to get students prepared for higher education. These different phases of education are
linked primarily to several exams: Junior High School Entrance Examination (Xiaokao), Senior High School Entrance Examination (Zhongkao), and College Entrance Examination (Gaokao). Despite the fact that many initiatives have been adopted by the government to deal with issues related to exam-oriented educational practices and their subsequent social impact, exams continue to play a critical role in educational assessment and have a huge influence on classroom teaching and learning. Critics of such an exam-centered system hold that it may hinder the development of fairness for those in a disadvantageous position due to the regional differences in Chinese education. They think the established system puts too much pressure on academic achievement instead of all-round development of children. Some crucial social realities stand in the way of China’s endeavor to make its education better, such as its huge population, unequal distribution of wealth, and lack of qualified teaching staff. However, the Chinese government has been trying to establish a more individualized, fairer, and multi-evaluation educational system.

Compared with China’s education, education in Britain has always been one of individuals’ choice, and there is more flexibility, though students are required to be in school full-time education till the age of 18. However, full-time education in England does not necessarily have to happen at a school, and quite a few English parents choose to educate their children at home. All state-funded schools are supervised on a regular basis by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). Reports on the quality of education at a particular school are published by Ofsted. This sort of supervision not only helps to hold the schools accountable for their students’ schooling, but also keeps the Ofsted updated on the needs for any educational changes. A prominent feature of England’s secondary education is that public schools are mostly comprehensive, though there is a wide variation in the enrollment of students at comprehensive schools. Approximately 90% of state-funded secondary schools receive extra funding to develop one or more subjects. Public schools in China, on the contrary, are quite selective and competitive, but in England competitiveness is mostly limited to certain selective schools or grammar schools. What is also different in England’s education is that many state-funded schools are faith schools, while in China education is basically separated from religion. Instead, the government plays a bigger a role in education than religion does in China.
In short, how much influence a government has on education determines what to teach and how to teach. More importantly, it also affects how much flexibility and autonomy an educational institution has.

4.3.1.2 Socio-economic influence

People’s views of education can be affected by socio-economic factors such as the general economic situation of a society, the government’s macro-policy in general, and social welfare in that society. This partly explains, from a comparative socio-economic perspective, the reasons why the participants in the documentary hold different ideologies.

Ever since the reform and its opening-up in the late 1970s, China, the world’s second largest economy and the fastest-growing major economy, has yielded a number of fruitful results and has made great achievement in relieving the majority of the Chinese people of poverty. However, China still has a long way to go to be able to provide equal and quality educational resources for children, especially for those in rural and underdeveloped areas. Policies have been made and modified constantly by the Chinese central government to embrace globalization. Within just about four decades, China’s industrial structure has experienced profound shifts from being labour-intensive and resource-intensive to building a more knowledge-based and technology-intensive industry. Despite such a huge economic success, China is still a developing country, and there are vast regional differences in terms of economy along with many social issues such as inflation, housing, infrastructure, and social welfare. Due to the unequal distribution of resources throughout China, the influence of these social issues on education is that the Chinese tend to attach great importance to education. Students study hard throughout their schooling so that they can enroll in a good university in a major city and then find a well-paid job after graduation. Moreover, the competitiveness and instability of the job market adds to the already very high motivation to work harder. In the documentary, the Mandarin teacher Ms. Zhao, discussing the lack of drive in the British students, points out:

Yeah, even if they don’t work they can get money and they don’t worry about it, but you know, in China you can’t get these things, for they know I need to study hard, I need to work hard to make money to support my family... Yeah, I totally agree. For example, now I think that the British government tries to cut the benefit
down. If they really cut the benefit down, force people to go to work, they might see things in a different way. If I get a better education, I get better, you know, I might be able to get this.

Ms. Zhao’s words reflect the impact of social-economic factors on Chinese students’ motivation and perception of education. Britain, as one of the modern welfare states, provides a relatively higher percentage and wider coverage of insurance and money for its citizens. Socialist China, on the other hand, has been endeavoring to redistribute social wealth to bridge the gap between people’s growing needs for a more cultured life on the one hand and social reality on the other hand in order to create a more socialist and communist country that can provide benefits for all. So the availability and affordability of social welfare in China and in Britain may have contributed to the formation of people’s attitudes towards education.

4.3.2 Cultural perspective

As civilizations with a long history and splendid cultural heritage, both China and the UK have formed their unique philosophies and traditional values that play a crucial part in the shaping of people’s ideologies.

4.3.2.1 Influence of traditional values

China, as one of the oldest countries around the globe, has developed its own identity throughout its 5,000 years of history. One of the most important philosophies that lies at the very core of Chinese culture is Confucianism, though it has gone through many adaptations throughout different times. According to Confucianism, family and social harmony are the centerpieces of being a complete human being. At home this kind of filial piety is portrayed as being submissive to one’s parents, including showing respect for them, caring for them, and not living too far from home. In society, this is reflected as social hierarchy existing between people with different amounts of power or authority. One should show one’s respect to people who have more authority such as parents, teachers, and superiors. After so many changes in dynasties, this mentality has not changed much for most people.
This way of interacting has projected itself into the sphere of education. In a typical Chinese classroom, the class is usually controlled by teachers who act in the role of having absorbed all the knowledge, and all they need to do is pass on the content knowledge to the students. Because teachers are older and have acquired much more knowledge than the students, their authority is not to be challenged. Similar to the dynamics that one experiences at home, one is supposed to be quiet and accept what is told by people having more authority. The influence of this way of interaction on children is that they do not usually question or challenge others, and this also means that teachers who grow up in such a culture are not used to being challenged at all. As Bohunt head teacher Neil Strowger reveals in the documentary, “Yeah, but in your (Ms. Zhao) experience, they’ll just accept it coz that’s what they’ve been conditioned to accept. I think we just say...I mean, I speak for myself, encourage the children to do well at school, say that’s important and they’ll have more choices.”

Generally speaking, Chinese parents tend to have more expectations with regard to education and career for their children that their British counterparts do. This relates to the ways in which parents are raised and educated in a society. They naturally inherit what they have been told and conditioned to do growing up and then expect the same from their children. As the social study teacher says in the documentary, “Teenagers in China, they spend most of their time and effort on study. Even if they are not at a school, they are on the way to extra classes, which means that they seldom have time for their hobbies. Their life is mostly school life.” She points out the high academic workload faced by Chinese students. It is the norm for Chinese parents to pay for their children’s education all the way through their graduate school, if one gets there. Since parents are the sponsors of their children’s education, and there is the influence of traditional obey-your-parents culture, Chinese parents are involved in many aspects of a child's life, especially in education. British parents, though they also care deeply about their children, tend to encourage them to make decisions on their own instead of making decisions for them. Also, it is considered natural in China for a child to receive criticism from someone who is in a higher position in the social hierarchy. This is regarded as caring for the child, so generally speaking Chinese parents and teachers tend to point out the things that a child needs to work on more than praising and encouraging the child to try harder because they believe that there is always room for improvement. In
this respect, the British pay great attention to each child’s strengths and weaknesses, and help them to make the most of their potential and compete against themselves.

This explains why the Chinese teachers in the documentary have such a hard time managing the class, because in Chinese classrooms the focus is on the teachers delivering the knowledge and students’ accepting it with no or little attention paid to classroom management. This is what the science teacher Ms. Yang thinks of the discipline in the Chinese school,

We are also learning. We are also learning the classroom management skills because in China we don’t need to have classroom management skills coz everybody is disciplined by born, by nature, by families, by the society. Whereas here that is the most challenging part of teaching.

Ms. Yang’s words point out how difficult and challenging it is for the Chinese teachers to teach without being disturbed by students’ problem behaviors. Britain, or the West at large, is influenced by educators and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, John Locke, and William James. They all held the idea that education should be holistic, including facts, skills, physical discipline, music, and even art, which is considered the highest form of endeavor. To date, this philosophy has evolved into the cultivation of all-round citizens. This is very different from the Chinese focus on content knowledge acquisition, i.e. academic performance. Although the Chinese government has embarked on education reforms years ago to steer its education towards a more diversified and inclusive end, namely from exam-oriented education to quality-oriented education, the progress has been hindered by quite a few social issues such as economic inequality and uneven distribution of educational resources.

4.3.2.2 Influence of collectivism and individualism

Compared with British culture, collectivism has penetrated into almost every part of Chinese education. This is also shown in the documentary. Apart from teaching, the Chinese teachers also let the British pupils have a taste of collective and communist culture through activities such as the election of a class committee, morning exercise, fan dance, and making dumplings. At a typical Chinese school, these things are commonplace. Students have been told from an early age that they need to be assimilated into the group. One should not stand out too much, as the Chinese proverb
says, “Shoot the bird which takes the lead”, so following others is always a safer way to navigate. Otherwise it will be considered a lack of humility, and humility is one of the core virtues in Chinese culture. This is reflected in the students obeying their parents at home and their teachers at school. There is a strict and tacit agreement of the orders of discourse in a Chinese classroom. Students are allowed to talk and express their opinions when asked by the teachers. Another characteristic of collective culture is that more often than not one should put someone else’s interest above one’s own interest and care for others. At the national level, this fostering of a collective sense expresses itself in nationalism and patriotism. In today’s world, the infusion of national ideologies is usually realized by the daily routines at school, as the activities that the Chinese teachers try to spread in the documentary show.

Most activities are “accepted” by the British pupils and faculty, though they are not accepted without complaints. Instead, the British students sometimes find the activities funny, hilarious, or even stupid. The Chinese style of “being silent in class is a virtue” shows respect to one’s teacher by listening attentively to what the teachers deliver. Different from that, the Western idea of a good education is one where individuality is highly encouraged and fostered both at home and at school. Children are expected to question the world instead of accepting what they have been told. Critical and creative thinking lies at the core of Western education. More importantly, in the West children’s individual differences and potential are recognized and encouraged. Students are expected to do their best irrespective of the outcome.

An interesting phenomenon in Chinese culture is the “dilemma” caused by the discrepancy between the broad competitive economic and social environment and the traditional value of being humble. If seen from another perspective, this “dilemma” explains the Chinese parents’ and students’ high motivation for and dedication to study, because both believe that a good education is positively related to a quality life; on the other hand, in social interactions and interpersonal relations, one is not expected to show too much drive for competition since it is against the philosophy of humility in Chinese culture.

4.3.2.3 Ideology and power in intercultural communications
Intercultural Communication (IC) is defined as communication among culturally diverse persons. When people participate in a community of practice or enact and recognize a discourse, they learn cultural models. Cultural models are everyday theories (i.e. storylines, images, schemas, metaphors, and models) about the world that tell people what is typical or normal, not universally, but from the perspective of a particular discourse. Cultural models serve to define people’s beliefs, values, and choices based on achieving objects related to work, school, and relationships. From a critical linguistic point of view, discourse genres and orders of discourse differ from culture to culture. Communicators of dominant cultural communities are likely to impose their “taken-for-granted” conventions, thoughts, and values on members of the less dominant groups. Also, orders of discourse have the potential of causing cultural hegemony, with dominating groups struggling to assert and maintain particular structures within and between them. To conduct effective discourse with people from other cultural backgrounds, sensitivity to cultural differences is a must. Mainstream IC theories have generally centered around two sets of interrelated assumptions: (1) success or failure of IC depends on individuals’ knowledge and skills in the relevant linguistic and cultural systems; and (2) the medium of communication contains and conveys objective meanings.

According to the criteria, it can be observed that lack of intercultural communication awareness, competence, and necessary communication skills is another contributor to the communicative clashes between the Chinese teachers and the British pupils in the documentary. These communicative clashes between cultural groups may not be a matter of merely linguistic and cultural competence, but such events may have ideological bearings, i.e. advancing the interest of one group at the expense of the other. That is the reason why the Chinese teachers are trying very hard to instill traditional Chinese ideologies in the British students.

It can be seen from the study that education is never just about delivering content knowledge. It involves not only the delivery of content knowledge, but also the appropriate use of interpersonal skills and strategies to cope with students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. What one chooses to teach and how one teaches may have a far-reaching impact on students academically, mentally, and socially. The differences in educational practices and philosophies in China and England are “overwhelming” enough to be accepted by the British pupils, and the
differences may into conflicts or confrontations when coupled with ignorance or negligence of each other’s cultural background. This is especially pertinent in today’s classroom that is moving from the teacher’s classroom to the student’s classroom. This requires the teacher to create a comfortable and inclusive environment, to function as a manager instead of the “dictator” in the classroom, to be culturally responsive, and to be aware of what kind of citizens they educate.

4.4 Summary

This chapter showed the findings of the research, including linguistic characteristics of the utterances of the participants, the hidden ideologies that emerged from the discourse, and the reasons why the participants hold different ideologies. It can be seen that although the teacher-student talk shares some similarities with regular classroom language in general, there are still some specialities of the classroom language shown in the documentary. This type of interaction is not the norm neither in Chinese culture nor British culture. However, this abnormality serves as a mirror through which the ideological differences and struggles are shown.
Chapter Five
DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS and IMPLICATIONS

After examining the discourse of the participants in the documentary from a critical linguistics’ point of view, this chapter first aims to provide answers to the research questions proposed in Chapter One first, and then see how the research can be applied to future research.

5.1 Answers to Previous Questions

The three research questions that guided this thesis were: (1) What are the linguistic features of the utterances between the Chinese teachers and the British students? (2) What are the ideological differences between Chinese education and Western (British) education? (3) Why do the Chinese teachers and the British students have ideological confrontations? Through the data analysis in the last chapter, all three research questions can be answered now.

As for the first research question, after testing the six sets of hypotheses, only the first set and the fifth set of null hypotheses were accepted, and the other four sets of null hypotheses were all rejected, meaning there were no significant differences in the use of voice and the choice of wording of the interactions between the Chinese teachers and the British students, and the discrepancy was rather obvious according to other criteria. The accepting of the two null hypotheses could be caused by the small sample of data. However, in terms of classroom language, it can be concluded that generally speaking the Chinese teachers have more control over the discourse in the classroom, especially the theme of the discourse and the orders of discourse. What is different from regular teaching-learning interaction is that there are many discursive confrontations (such as turn taking, choice of words, discussion of content and teaching methods) between the Chinese teachers and the British pupils. Some specific findings about the linguistic features of the utterances between the Chinese teachers and the British students follow:
(1) In terms of the style of discourse, the Chinese teachers prefer sentences with active voice and present tense, and material process, relational process, and verbal process are frequently used as well.

According to this criterion, compared with the British students, the Chinese teachers have more control of the discourse most of the time, and they give orders using sentences with active voice and teach and manage the classroom using present tense, especially present simple tense and present continuous tense. The high frequency of the use of material process, relational process, and verbal process is line with the nature of the verbs falling into these categories. Through material process, the teachers use language to teach and discipline the students; through relational process, they use the language to manage the class more than they use it for teaching; and verbal process reveals that “talking” is a big thing in the classroom, which indicates that the teachers have spent a considerable amount of time asking the students to quiet down in class.

(2) As for the genre of the interactions, discipline and teaching and learning are the most frequently talked about topics in the Chinese school, though the former is more prominent in classroom interactions while the latter is more frequent in interviews outside the classroom. Negative words are used by the participants twice as much as positive words. Hard turn transitions are also used twice as much as soft turn transitions.

Based on this criterion, it is shown that discipline is a big problem in the Chinese school. The interactions between the teachers and the pupils do not proceed smoothly most of the time, for the discourse is interrupted in a hard way. The disruption of the orders of discourse is an indicator of the communicative melt down between the teachers and the students. It is also clear from the choice of words with positive or negative connotations that the Chinese teachers are not content either with the students’ academic performance or their behavior in class, while British students, have negative attitudes towards both the Chinese teachers and their teaching method.

(3) With regard to discourse, three major themes emerge throughout the participants’ utterances: views about learning and teaching, views about expectation, and views about competition.

These are frequently mentioned topics throughout the entire documentary, not just in the classroom interactions. The elaboration of this part should be done together
with the answer to the second research question: What are the ideological differences between Chinese education and Western (British) education?

Chinese and British have different perceptions of the four themes, though they do not go against each other for each theme. The Chinese teachers adhere rigidly to this sort of teacher-centered method of teaching because of their perceptions of the teacher’s role in learning and teaching. They think that teachers have acquired all the knowledge, and students are supposed to be absorbing the knowledge through intensive note-taking and attentive listening without any distraction in class. However, the British view teaching and learning as a two-way process. Teachers are the managers, not the “dictator” of the classroom, and they ought to make learning fun and engaging. Another difference is that the Chinese teachers do not consider the British students as serious and motivated as the Chinese students. Also, the power relation in British education is less hierarchical than that in Chinese education. This can be tested by the fact whether or not students are allowed and encouraged to challenge authority. This is part of the reason why the Chinese teachers find it extremely difficult and challenging to manage the class. As for views of academic expectations, compared with the British, the Chinese have higher expectations of children’ education, and they also attach particular importance to academic excellence. In terms of the differences of the perception of competition, some of the British pupils apparently have a difficult time fitting in with the competitive Chinese method of teaching. They feel frustrated when they cannot complete a task that is considered the norm by Chinese students and Chinese teachers.

It has been shown that the Chinese teachers and the British pupils and teachers have different perceptions of and attitudes towards education, and the focus now shifts from “how” to “why.” It was uncovered in the study that education has a huge influence on a person or even a nation’s ideology, and this type of ideology is considered the norm, natural, and “right” by the people in a given society. In this sense, ideological uniformity is achieved. The Chinese teachers in the documentary try to achieve ideological uniformity when teaching, but this has been met with nothing but ideological struggle. This is due to social, political, historical, and cultural differences between the two nations. This kind of ideological differences, coupled with the two parties’ lack of cross cultural communication awareness and skills, evolve into ideological confrontations. What is worth noting from interviews of the participants is that both the Chinese teachers and the British students are able to reflect upon the
differences in the teaching styles and ideologies of the two nations, though they do not do this without their own preferences. This is especially the case for the Chinese teachers because they start to think about Chinese education and the ideologies that come with it when the Chinese method that they endeavor to spread does not go well with the British students. This demonstrates the very dynamic nature of ideology.

In summary, a person’s ideology is, to a large extent, shaped by education. Ideology permeates many facets of education, and ideological uniformity can be found in a homogeneous society where people share the same or similar cultural, political, and social backgrounds. However, the differences at the social level do not mean that ideological confrontations will necessarily occur. Admittedly, there is an overlap of ideologies across cultures, and ideological struggles and ideological confrontations are likely to occur when people from different backgrounds interact, especially in the context of classroom teaching. Once ideological uniformity is disrupted in a certain scenario, one party or both parties will on the one hand try to restore order by asserting their own ideologies, this might escalate into ideological struggles or confrontations, as what happened in the documentary. Ideological struggles and confrontations, on the other hand, indicate the possibility of breaking one’s established ideological system and absorbing new ideologies from the other part. This whole process means that ideology is both stable and dynamic. In educational settings, because teachers are the ones that have more control both over the discourse in a classroom, they tend to teach not only content knowledge but also the mainstream ideologies of that society. This is achieved through the teaching materials and teaching methods. It seems that the influence of teaching materials on students’ ideology has been widely acknowledged, but the importance of teaching methods on the shaping of a person’s ideology has not received a widespread recognition. This is because the latter is more invisible and harder to control than the former. In a word, language, education, and education are closely related.

5.2 Application of the Research

This study has several implications. First, it broadens the study area of critical discourse analysis by looking at the ideological effect of education and potential ideological struggle and confrontations caused by teachers and students from different
cultural backgrounds. Second, this research also shows the feasibility of conducting comparative education studies from a new perspective-visual document analysis, for it guarantees the comprehensiveness of the data while allowing multiple entries to the document. Third, this study points out the importance of incorporating intercultural communication awareness and skills in education for educators and helps them to not only reflect on educational practices in their own culture and society, but also to reach out to see what people from other cultures can learn from one another.

### 5.3 Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research

Although this thesis was done with no small effort, it still has several limitations.

First, the researcher could only observe and analyze what the producer of the documentary chose to show. Second, the whole picture of education, either in China or in Britain is too complicated to be compared and explained merely based on a documentary, so multiple channels of data collection could have been employed to substantiate the findings. Although the Chinese teaching methods used by the Chinese teachers in the documentary were representative of traditional ways of teaching, they did not represent the whole picture of Chinese education, leaving much more room for research into the topic through a more holistic viewpoint. Third, the researcher’s Chinese identity and potential bias might come into play when interpreting the data.

Future research can be done from the following perspectives: 1) resort to multiple channels to obtain data of the topic; 2) observe classroom teachings both in China and Britain and then make comparisons of the two; 3) conduct in-depth interviews of people who have exposure to both education in China and in the West; 4) extend to education in other Western cultures.
Bibliography


Appendix:

1) *Are Our Kids Tough Enough?*-Chinese School Episode 1
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MzV2U_nplws

2) *Are Our Kids Tough Enough?*-Chinese School Episode 2
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ieFn0RkYstQ

3) *Are Our Kids Tough Enough?*-Chinese School Episode 3
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tLFTdHkROtY