

Status Matters?

Relationship between teachers' social status, teacher supply and teacher quality in senior secondary school in China

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Abstract

Senior secondary education plays a vital role in improving the overall educational level of the entire Chinese nation and also better preparing the youth for their future career in China. The supply and quality of senior secondary school teachers are the keys to the development of senior secondary education. Attentions towards their working conditions, professional and mental development should be given to teachers—the greatest resource for developing education. Therefore, this thesis will focus on a) social status of senior secondary school teachers and b) the relationship between teachers' social status, teacher supply and teacher quality.

Through the surveys done for this thesis, it is evident that the social status of Chinese secondary school teachers is unsatisfactory, supported by both subjective and objective indicators. This unsatisfactory social status has influenced individuals' choice of teaching as their career. Many student teachers are inclined to avoid stepping into teaching while some of the teachers are trying to quit. Measures should be taken to improve social status of senior secondary teachers. In this way, supply and quality of teachers in senior secondary schools will have positive changes accordingly.

Key words: Social status of senior secondary school teachers, teacher supply, teacher quality

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Abbreviations

CNC—Chinese National Commission

EGP—Erikson and Goldthorpe’s Class Categories

ISCO—International Standard Classification of Occupation

ISEI—International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status

MoE—Ministry of Education

NBSC—National Bureau of Statistics of China

NECC—National College Entrance Examination

OECD—Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PRC—the People’s Republic of China

SCNPC—the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress

SIOPS—Treimen’s Standard International Occupation Prestige Scale

SPSS—Statistic Program for Social Science

UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

US—the United States

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Chapter I Introduction

Teaching is the most glorious profession under the sun.

Johann Amos Comenius 1592—1670

1.1 Introduction

The main purposes of this chapter are to a) present the reasons for doing this research and a brief introduction to the study, b) introduce the main research question and supporting research questions, c) spell out the goals and delimitations of the thesis, and d) outline the organization of this thesis.

1.2 Reasons and background for the study

1.2.1 Reasons

Two main factors contribute to the writing of this thesis. First, there are many negative opinions and reports in media about teachers, especially secondary school teachers. Senior secondary school teachers are accused of being irresponsible and immoral. Many complain that teachers care more about money and themselves than students' growth and learning. They charge students extra fees for after-school tutoring. They punish students who are weak at learning, which can cause students' mental disorder or distress. Reports of this kind can often be found in different media. Second, nowadays students, parents and school leaders are even less cooperative than they used to be and they also show less respect to the teaching profession. There are reports about how teachers have been beaten up by their students in class. Besides there are quite a number of articles about the dilemma teachers are in. There is one noteworthy article called "Even if you have been a

teacher for a day, you will be cursed all your life²". The title of this article is a distorted version of an old Chinese saying: "One should respect his/her teacher as if he/she were his/her father even if he/she has been his/her teacher for only one day."³ Traditional values concerning the high status of teachers seem to vanish gradually. If one can read Chinese, one will find it even more ironic. Why does this happen in a country that has a long history and reputation of respecting teachers and their profession? Why is the widely held "morally and intellectually superior" image of teachers disappearing? This thesis is written to shed some light on these issues.

1.2.2 Background for the study

The important role secondary school plays in the society

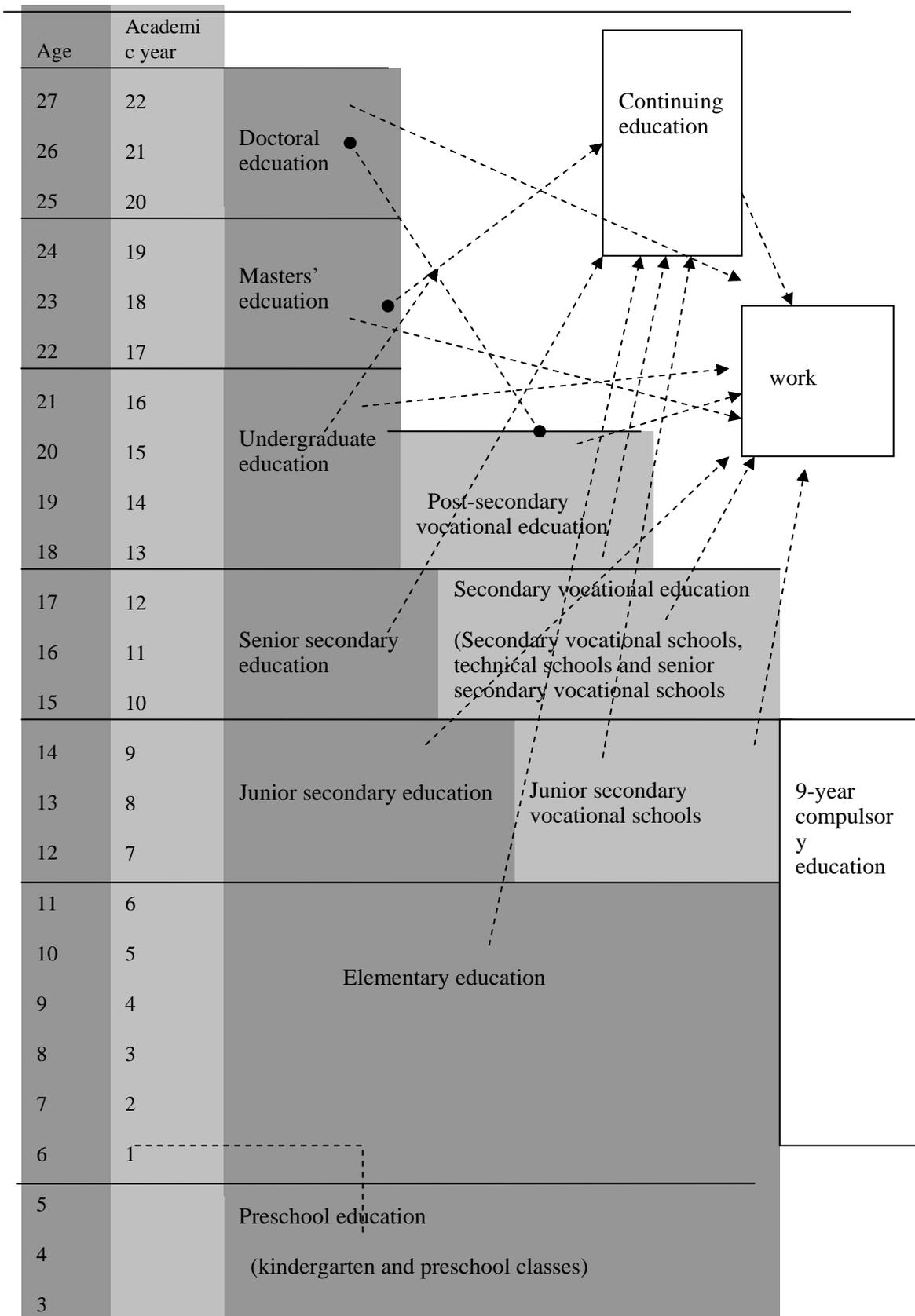
Relatively speaking, secondary school education is a new educational phenomenon in China. It was at the beginning of 20th century that China developed secondary education as a result of learning from the West. Before that, there was no clear distinction between different levels of schooling.

However, since the emergence of secondary schools, they have always performed important tasks. Secondary education plays a versatile and significant role in China (Thøgersen, 1990:14). Thøgersen is very right at this point. From the appearance of secondary especially senior secondary education, it has all the time been fulfilling at least two main functions: to improve the overall educational level of the whole Chinese nation and to better-prepare the youth for their future career. This stage on education plays a decisive period for the youth.

² read the whole article on <http://ks.cn.yahoo.com/question/1307043002497.html>

³ 一日为师，终身为父：yiri weishi zhongshen weifu, while the distorted one is 一日为师，终身受骂 "yiri weishi, zhongshen shouma"

As shown in figure 1.1, if students are not able to continue their study in senior secondary level, they usually have to work, ending up as workers, technicians or clerks. If they can study in a senior secondary school, they will have the chances to study in college or university, which means a lot for their future career and life. And even if they can't go to a university, they have plenty of choices in front of them. So one can say that secondary school is responsible for the development of the society in both national and personal level in China. The clear function of Chinese secondary education is to qualifying succeeding generations for future participation in society in general and in production in particular...besides middle school select students for different career paths...selection takes place at all levels of education, but most important are the screenings carried out between junior and senior secondary school and between senior secondary school and university (Thøgersen, 1990:14). As a result, it is important to pay attention to the development of this sector of education. But if there is no teacher, nothing exists in education. Following this principle, the focus of this thesis is placed on senior secondary school teachers.



Source: Compiled by the writer from Zhou (2006:12)

Figure 1.1 The basic education system in China

The importance of teachers

When asked what has helped the development and progress of human being, people will say knowledge and science. Then how can individuals achieve and pass on the knowledge and science? Without doubt, people should owe all these to education. But who are the transmitters of knowledge and science in education? It is held as a common belief that teachers accomplish this great and indispensable task for the development and progress of mankind. No country can afford to overlook education. Nor can they deny the importance of teachers in education. The important role of teachers in education is out of question. It is well-agreed that teachers are those who pass on social value, culture and knowledge to the next generation. They shoulder the responsibility to educate qualified and moral builders of every society. Teachers, on one hand, have to follow the teaching materials designated by education administrators and the lead of education administrators and principals, but on the other hand, can teach as they like in class. Therefore, it is really vital to have qualified teachers with high morality.

Teachers are key figures in the whole educational system. “Teachers hold the key to the success of a school in training qualified personnel for the proletariat; namely, workers with both social consciousness and culture who are developed morally, intellectually and physically” (Deng Xiaoping April 1978 cited in Little *et al.*, 1997). So it is reasonable to say that teachers are at the center of all efforts to improve schools, that without their full participation and leadership, any move to reform education—no matter how well intentioned or ambitious—is doomed to failure (Lieberman and Miller, 1999: xi). Consequently, it is important and necessary to show concerns about teachers and their life.

Life of senior secondary school teachers

“Those who have been high school or middle school teachers know that secondary school teaching is demanding work. They have taught 130-plus adolescents per day, have spent weekends and evenings grading papers and planning lessons, and have negotiated the competing demands of various stakeholders including administrators, community leaders, colleagues, and students. A teacher is defined as an individual who should go above and beyond the call of duty for the benefit of the young people with whom he or

she works, with no expectation of extra reward, much less even adequate compensation” (Alsup, 2006:20).

Alsup has vividly portrayed typical life of an American secondary school teacher. Supported by the working diaries collected for this thesis, it is safe to conclude that this illustration is applicable to describe the situation of Chinese secondary teachers, too. Besides, Chinese secondary school teachers have more to do than their counterparts across the world. In addition to what Alsup has described, teachers in China have to care about students’ personal life and pay visits to students at their house every now and then. They have to attend meetings to build up their political awareness once a week. They also have meetings once a week, to discuss what they have done at work in the passing week, as well. What’s more, they have to write various reports about their academic and political growth for the passing semester at the end of each semester. Working diaries of senior secondary school teachers of different titles—a class advisor (Banzhuren), major subject teacher (Zhuke laoshi) and minor subject teacher (Fuke laoshi)⁴ have proved the hard job teachers are doing. In the appendix B, a class advisor’s working dairy will be present to give people some idea about what teachers are doing for work in China.

If the media coverage on education is of any indication, being a teacher in China grows even harder, because the general public seems increasingly suspicious of teachers. There are quite a number of negative reports about teachers. Fairly speaking, there are some reports about “model teachers”. But most of them become a model at the cost of either their health or their family’s and own happiness. They are more like martyrs than “real” persons. Inferior public perception of teachers’ role also contributes to unfavorable status of teachers (Hoyle, 1995; Poppleton, 1999). This unfavorable status will lead to difficulty attracting academically able applicants into teaching profession.

⁴ Class adviser (Banzhuren) shoulders two tasks one is to teach certain subject and the other is to manage the daily practices of the class and students. The so-called “major” subjects (Zhuke) refer to Chinese, English and math and so on. And the “minor” subjects (Fuke) are history, geography and PE and so on.

1.3 Problem statement and research questions

Social status of teachers will influence the recruitment of individuals and further the quality and quantity of teachers in the following ways. Because of the marginal conditions for the teacher and the profession's low social and economical compensation, talented people would tend to make other choices than going into the field of teacher education (Raviola, 1998:6). The assumption in this thesis is that in China the same thing is happening in senior secondary education. Besides, the low social status and economical compensation also contribute to the failure of retention of qualified teachers. To test this assumption, the following questions will act as lines for the development of this thesis. Each of the questions is followed by an assumption. Then in the progress of the thesis, the assumptions will be tested through the analysis of collected data and existing data available and suitable for this thesis:

1. To what direction is the social status of senior secondary school teachers changing?

The assumption to this question is that the social status of senior secondary school teachers is declining. Senior secondary school teachers do not enjoy high social status and respect from the society in present China.

2. Does the change of social status of senior secondary school teachers influence the supply of teachers? And how?

It is assumed that the change of social status of senior secondary school teachers currently in China has negative influence on the supply of teachers. That is to say fewer are interested in working as a teacher because of the declining status of senior secondary school teachers and fewer especially young and qualified teachers are leaving teaching post for other profession.

3. Has teacher supply affected the quality and quantity of teachers? And how?

The assumed answer for this question is that teacher supply exerts influence on the quality and quantity of teachers. If there is a good supply of teachers, which means student teachers are academically talented students and are willing to be teachers and qualified teachers are willing to stay in the teaching post, the quality

and quantity of teachers will be guaranteed. But if not, the quality and quantity of teachers will be threatened.

4. What kind of relationship exists between social status, teacher supply and teacher quality?

The relationship between these three elements is illustrated in Chapter two. It is assumed here in the thesis that these three are related and developed in somewhat vicious circle in nowadays China.

1.4 Purposes and delimitations

1.4.1 Purposes of the research

The prime purpose of this research is to draw people's attention to situations of secondary school teachers—a forgotten and important group in the society. Every sector of education is important. And all the teachers are important.

Nowadays most research is focused on higher education. Seldom have people paid their attention to either basic or secondary education in present China. Though the enrollment of tertiary education is increasing year by year, higher education is still for the minority of Chinese. However, in contrast to this, secondary education especially non-compulsory senior secondary education is becoming a mass education. Besides, there is not much research about teachers, even teachers in tertiary level. What should be done is to pay more attention to basic and secondary education, especially senior secondary education. It can indeed help improve the average educational level of Chinese to a higher level by making it an education available for as many as possible and at last for all. In fact, making senior secondary education an education for all is one of the educational aims of the Chinese government. To achieve this goal, it is important and indispensable to recruit and retain highly qualified senior secondary school teachers.

The other aim of this thesis is to inspire more people in China to do research on teachers of different levels about their life, development, mentality and alike. In

this way, teachers can be better understood and helped. Thus the development of education will benefit a lot from it, which in turn will produce beneficial results to the development of Chinese nation.

1.4.2 Delimitations

Time delimitation

As well-known, China is a country with a long history. It is not possible to talk about situations of senior secondary school teachers in a wide range of time in this thesis. Besides, in recent years, great changes have taken place, which induce great difficulty in talking about the situations in a great time span. Therefore, the time span is focused on the late 1990s till now, when China has undergone quite great and fast changes.

Location delimitation

China ranks the third in size in the world, so it is impossible to give a holistic picture on issues like social status, supply and quality of senior secondary school teachers across the whole China. Consequently, the thesis focuses on what is going on in mid-sized and big cities where things are changing faster than those in towns and villages. Therefore, more changes have taken place in senior secondary education there than those in towns and villages, as well.

Literature delimitation

As mentioned above, not many researchers in China have studied about secondary school teachers, and not to mention the research about secondary school teachers' social status, supply and quality. In fact, there are not many literatures of this topic in the other part of the world, either. As a result, there is not much reference available in either China or the other part of the world to refer to for this thesis.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized as follows: The first chapter outlines the reasons, purposes, delimitations of the study and the organization of the thesis. Chapter two looks at theoretical issues and conceptual framework used in the thesis. The next chapter—chapter three, is an overview of situations about educational system, schools and teachers in senior secondary level in China. The fourth chapter deals with research and data collection methods employed in this research paper. The next chapter is analytical presentation of the collected and existing data for this paper and opens some discussions about the findings from the analysis. The whole thesis ends up with conclusions and some tentative recommendations.

Chapter II Theoretical issues and conceptual framework

Because a few words or concepts may be used differently by social scientists than by others in the society, or even by other social scientist, we must be precise. At the same time, we have to avoid overdoing the definitions and concepts now or we will only compound the confusion.

Kerbo Harold R. (2006:9)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals exclusively with the theoretical concepts relevant to the study. Four aspects respectively: secondary school teachers, social status, teacher supply and teacher quality and quantity will be illustrated in the light of making clear important concepts employed in this thesis. Following these four concepts and theories is the outline of the conceptual framework of the study.

2.2 Senior secondaryteachers

Not all of those who work in schools are called teachers. According to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (1966), teachers are those persons in schools who are responsible for the education of pupils. Therefore, it is proper to define senior secondary school teachers as follows: those who accomplish the task of educating the senior secondary school students are called senior secondary school teachers. They are the target group of this thesis.

2.3 Social Status

2.3.1 The meanings of social status

This part will first clarify some concepts related to social status. But evidences have shown again and again that it is not easy to have widely accepted definition for quite a

number of concepts. So definitions of concepts employed in this paper are chosen in the light of relevance and suitability after some comprehension work.

“Status is an ambiguous term because sociologists often use it to mean different things” (Kerbo, 2006:12). It is really hard for one to find two similar not to mention identical definitions employed by different sources and authors or sociologists.

For the literal meaning of status, the thesis borrows Botton’s idea: “Status is one’s position in society, the word derived from the Latin *statum* or standing (past participle of the verb *stare*, to stand)” (Botton, 2004:1). But for the connotation of status how Kerbo puts it is favored.

On one hand, status is often used to indicate positions in a social structure—for example, student, teacher, father, child—with certain rights and duties attached to such positions. On the other hand, status is often used to indicate something like class position within a hierarchy. In this usage, however, the criterion of status consists of occupational prestige, or the popularity ranked esteem and respect associated with high to low occupational attainment (Kerbo, 2006:12).

Here in the thesis, the second sense of status is used. In this sense, social status is closely related to occupational prestige or say occupational status. The social status of teachers refers to the relative standing of teaching as an occupation in a hierarchy of all occupations. As the status of an occupation is usually determined by the prestige, wealth and authority its’ workers enjoy (Biddle, 1995 cited in Fwu and Wang, 2002).

2.3.2 Occupation, occupational status and social status

“‘Occupation’ has become, for the great majority of the population, probably the most powerful single indicator of levels of material reward, social standing, and ‘life chance’ in general in modern society” (Blau and Duncan, 1967: 6-7). Reid (1981) even says in his works that people are grouped on the basis of occupation. Concluded from the above, it is evident that occupation is quite decisive in determining people’s social status.

Many sociologists like Asplund (1993), Li (2002) have mentioned in their respective works that one’s social status is reflected in one’s occupation and one’s occupation is of great importance in deciding the social position of them. So, if one wants to know someone’s social status, it is important to know their occupation and the social standing of the occupation.

Then it is easy to tell where a certain person is standing in the social stratification. Occupation status has significant influence on people's choice of certain profession. Many, like Dan Lortie and Rodman B Webb share this same view in their respective works. Dan Lortie (2002), Rodman B Webb (1985) have pointed out that teaching once provided people a ladder to going upward in social status. So quite a lot of people especially those who were talented and eager to be in a higher social status would choose to teach. And teaching was relatively speaking a desirable profession in many countries in the first half of the 20th century.

2.3.3 Importance of social status

Social status influences people's social behavior

For over half a century, sociologies like Weber, Blau , Homans, Parsons, Podolny and Kriesberg all mentioned in their work that status is an indispensable factor in understanding people's behavior. For individuals and groups alike, status is clearly one of the major determinants of social behavior (Adams, 1953).

Here in the thesis, it means that social status of teachers is an influential status responsible for people's choice to work as a teacher and willingness to remain in the job. In the past, teaching was a ladder for the lower class to the middle or upper class. As a result, quite a lot of talented lower class people would work as teachers. But nowadays, with the declining of social status of teaching profession and more opportunities for class upgrade in many other newly-born professions, fewer talented lower class people tend to choose teaching as their life-long career.

Social status works on people's mentality

Social status deeply influences people's self-esteem and self-confidence. It is difficult for those who are in low social status to have the same self-esteem and self-confidence as those of high social status.

While there will inevitably be economic ramifications, the impact of low status should not be read in material terms alone. The gravest penalty rarely lies—above subsistence levels, at least—in mere physical discomfort; it consists more often, even primarily, in the challenge that low status poses to a person's sense of self-respect. The benefits of high status are similarly seldom limited to wealth. (Botton, 2004:7)

From the above quotation, it is obvious that the impact of social status should not be interpreted in material terms alone. Mental impact of it should also be spelt out.

Social status has effect on people's health

Some people may feel ridiculous—how can one's social status affect people's physical condition. It seems irrelevant. But in fact they are closely related. This impact is not confined to what Botton (2004) refers as “physical discomfort”, either. Hierarchies exist in numerous social species. Rank can dramatically influence both the quality of an individual's life and the health of an individual, particularly with respect to stress-related disease (Sapolsky, 2004). Many sociologists and psychologists have done research on it and they have found that high social status has positive effect on people's health and a disadvantageous social status leads to the suffering of bad health condition.

Social status indeed influences people's life in one way or another. The thesis focuses on the influence of social status over teachers' behavior and mentality, namely their willingness in choosing teaching as their profession and in taking it as a life-long career, and in addition their way of behaving themselves in teaching and daily contact with students and others and their attitudes towards teaching—their career. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, teachers are held up as “moral and intellectual” examples for students, their behavior and mentality as a result will greatly influence those of students.

2.3.4 Measurements of status

Measurement of social status

Conventionally, it is education, occupation and income that decide a person's social status. But in present China, one's social-economic status is the most influential determinant of one's social standing. Since occupation is for the great majority the almost-only-way to gain income, occupation in a way can be taken as the most decisive factor in determining one's social status.

Measurement of occupation status

Traditionally, measures of occupational status have been of three types: prestige measures, socio-economic scales and sociologically derived class categories. Each measure

has a different logic of construction. Prestige scales are usually continuous and involve evaluative judgments on the general desirability of occupations. Socio-economic scales are different in that they are created by computing a weighted sum of socio-economic characteristics of persons with a given occupation, education (usually) and income. Class categories distinguish positions in the labor market and in addition reflect skill levels and sectoral differences (Middleton, 2003). Biddle (1995) has an easy-to-understand summary for this: the status of an occupation is usually determined by the prestige, wealth and authority its' workers enjoy.

Generally speaking, there are four internationally comparable measures of occupational status available, namely the International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO), Treiman's International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS), which now Ganzeboom and Treiman (1995) have updated to the scale for ISCO-88 codes, International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI), Erikson and Goldthorpe's Class Categories (EGP). Any of them can be used depending on the study's purposes.

2.4 Teacher supply

It goes without saying that teacher supply will affect the quality and quantity of teachers. Surely, good supply can not guarantee a cohort of qualified teachers. However, good supply plays an indispensable part in having a desired number of qualified teachers.

The issues of secondary school teacher supply can be broken down into three main areas. One is the demand for secondary education, which is determined by the population in the relevant age group and the participation rate. The second one is the supply of teachers, a function of recruitment and retention patterns. Between these two lies a third series of issues concerning the utilization of teachers, including their deployment, teaching hours, the size of the classes they teach, and other conditions of service (Mulkeen *et al.*, 2007). The term teacher supply in this thesis concerns mainly the recruitment and retention of teachers from the society. Besides, the factors that influence one's choice to work as a teacher will also be related. Thus it will be easier to view to what extent social status influences the supply of teachers

Teacher supply can influence both quality and quantity of teachers. For one thing, if a society can not attract academically capable and willing students into teaching profession, they will not have enough teachers in the near future qualitatively. For another, if a society can not enroll enough number of students entering teacher education institutes, they will lack teachers in future quantitatively.

Lack of teachers should be interpreted in two senses—qualitatively and quantitatively. Both are menacing the development of education, thus the development of a whole nation and society. In face of today's world competition, no country can neglect the development of education.

2.5 Teacher quality and quantity

“The effectiveness of any education system depends on the quality of its teaching force” (Cleverley, 1991:248). No country can afford to ignore the quality and quantity of teachers. Enough teachers with academic capability and willingness to devote to the profession should be an ideal situation for any country.

“The concept of a ‘qualified’ teacher is relatively recent in China and needs some elaboration” (Little *et al*, 1997: 9). Traditionally, in many cultures the educational background is the most important thing to say whether the teacher is qualified or not. Different cultural contexts employ different criteria. As teacher quality becomes more important than ever, requirements on the schooling of teachers are steadily going up (Su, 2002).

Criteria for academic qualification in China are illustrated in table 2.1. Nevertheless, here in the thesis, teacher quality means not only teachers' educational background, but their professional competence, their passion and ethics for this profession.

Table 2.1 Qualifications for teachers of different levels

level	Educational origin	Entrance examination	pre-service institute	Qualification	Job destination
4	Graduate from universities and colleges	C	Normal university (Post-graduate)	Master and doctor degree	University and college, senior secondary (master only)
3	Graduates from senior secondary school	B	Normal universities and colleges and other universities and colleges (undergraduate)	Degree of bachelor	Secondary school; specialized secondary school
2	Graduates from senior secondary school	B	Three-year normal college	Diploma	Junior secondary, primary
1	Graduates from junior secondary school	A	Secondary normal schools	Certificate	Primary school; kindergarten

Key:A: unified specialized secondary school examination

B: national college entrance examination

C: postgraduate entrance examination

Sources: Compiled by the writer from Lewin *et al* (1994:101)

Then what does quantity mean and how should “enough” supply of teachers be defined? Usually different countries have different standards to measure this “enough”. In China, conventionally the standard varies for teachers who teach major subjects (Zhuke) and minor subjects (Fuke)⁵. For major subjects each teacher is supposed to teach two to three classes and each class is supposed to have around 40 students in big cities like Beijing and Shanghai and around 50 in other big or middle-sized cities. For the minor subject like geography, history and PE, each teacher is expected to teach the whole grade or three to five classes in certain grade and in addition, they may also be assigned to teach other grades. If any school has teachers available in this distribution, then it is believed that they have enough teachers.

2.6 The conceptual framework

UNESCO Assistant Director-General for Education John Daniel once pointed out “The teacher shortages we are beginning to see everywhere have various causes....But a common factor seems to be the diminishing status of teachers and a concomitant decline in working conditions in many countries. As a result, we are seeing qualified teachers quit the profession for other work, and potential recruits looking upon teaching as a last resort.” (Cited in UNESCO, 2002). His statement has been stated and stressed by many sociologists and educators in many countries. Many have directly or indirectly pointed out that teachers’ social status and teacher supply are closely related to and influence one another. Many fail to do research on the relationship between teachers’ social status, teacher supply and teacher quality and quantity, though. When teachers are in high social status, relatively speaking, it is easier to recruit academically strong students to teaching profession and in this way can enough teachers of qualifications be guaranteed. And when the quality of teachers becomes higher and higher, the social status of teachers will rise accordingly. The relationship between these elements is illustrated in figure 2.1:

⁵ The so-called “major” subjects refer to mainly Chinese, English and math. And the “minor” subjects are physics, chemistry, and history and so on.

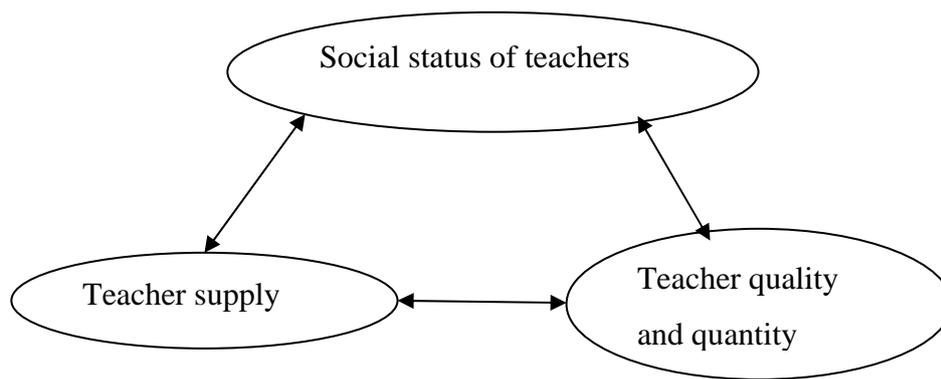


Figure 2.1 The relationship between social status of teachers, teacher supply and teacher quality and quantity

Social status of teachers will influence the recruitment of teachers in terms of teacher supply qualitatively and quantitatively. Besides, many able and ambitious young people will either choose not to teach or leave the teaching job due to the low social status and other status-related reasons. No one would like to live in disappointment. The problem of teacher turnover and shortage is highlighted as a serious concern in many countries in the OECD's research (OECD, 2005). China must be among them, who fail to recruit and retain better teachers because of low social status of teaching profession.

“Low social status, meager pay and poor housing dampened the school teachers' enthusiasm for teaching, and gravely impeded the development of education. Many teachers quit teaching and turn to other jobs and enrollment in teachers' colleges and universities drop” (Li, 2004). There is another universal problem—nearly in all countries especially for basic education—lack of male teachers and it is undeniable that social status plays a role in this phenomenon. There are assumptions that this relatively low status may be attributable to such adverse social characteristics as lower social origin, female dominance or the lower academic qualifications of teachers (Fwu and Wang, 2002:213)

2.7 Summary

Senior secondary school teachers are those who undertake and accomplish the task of educating senior secondary school students. The social status of senior secondary school teachers refers to their relative standing as an occupation in a hierarchy of all occupation. The supply of senior secondary school teachers can be interpreted in terms of recruitment and

retention of teachers in this thesis. The quality of teachers are spelled out in two senses—teachers' academic qualification and their professional competences, passions, senses of responsibility and ethics for teaching profession. The three elements of secondary school teachers, namely social status, supply and quality are interrelated and the development of each is influenced by the other two. Chapter three offers background information about teacher social status, teacher supply and teacher quality, especially in senior secondary schools in urban China.

Chapter III Overview of teacher social status, teachers supply in senior secondary schools in urban China

Traditionally China has honored and respected the teacher. The value of learning and the qualities of the ideal teacher have been extolled in the ancient books and have been chanted (albeit often without understanding) by schoolchildren for more than a thousand years.

(Prince, 1970:221)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is to provide a historical review of social status, supply and quality of teachers in China and the main focus be especially given to senior secondary school teachers in urban areas. The chapter starts with the overview of social status of Chinese teachers. After that comes the section introducing the achievement of recruiting senior secondary school teachers.

3.2. Teachers and their work in Chinese eyes

Relating to anything about Chinese education, there is a figure whom Chinese can never neglect—Confucius (551 BC-479 BC). Confucius also referred as “The Master” is the first teacher in China, who is well-known to the world as an educator, thinker and philosopher. He made great contribution to Chinese education and introduced many great ideas to education. He is also the one who encouraged, inspired and made people to show respect to teaching and teachers. He is the pioneer to establish private schools in ancient China and has offered many valuable advice and ideas about building up schools. Most of his profound remarks and ideas have been recorded in “Analects”⁶, which has exerted great influence on Chinese ideology. Confucius also set a good example for teachers after him to follow.

Another great scholar called Hanyu⁷ in Tang Dynast⁸ is worth mentioning. He also affirmed high status of teachers in one of his famous article—“The Teacher” in which he wrote “In ancient times, every scholar has their teachers. Teachers are those who guide students to the “True Way⁹”, pass on knowledge and answer questions brought up by students.”¹⁰ He illuminated to teachers three main tasks that they are supposed to perform. First, they should be a guide for the students to have a descent life both physically and mentally and especially mentally. Second, they should pass on the knowledge students are supposed to know for the benefit of their future life. Thirdly, they should be able to answer questions students raise.

Teachers are shouldering the responsibility to prepare qualified future builders for the society. To fulfill this task, it is better for teachers to have the three following principles in mind throughout their teaching: Firstly, teachers should teach students how to be physically and mentally healthy people—an opinion in coincidence with the ancestor’s; secondly, a teacher should equip students with correct and effective ways to learn— “it is better to teach one how to fish than to give him/her fish¹¹.”; and thirdly, a teacher is supposed to pass on knowledge to students. The third one is the most primitive form of teaching. And the first two are of great value for the development of people. However, in real life, the functions of teaching are minimized to pass on knowledge in China.

⁶ Analects “Lunyu” (论语) is a collection of Confucius’ remarks recorded by his students. It is a collection of quotations and anecdotes related to Confucius.

⁷ Hanyu (768-824) is a great writer and philosopher—a Confucian too.

⁸ Tang Dynast (618-904) a prosperous dynast in Chinese history.

⁹ True Way in Chinese 道 (Dao) literally means doctorings.

¹⁰ Self-translation, and in Chinese it is “guzhi xuezhe biyou shi, shizhe suoyi chuandao shouye jiehuo ye” (古之学者必有师, 师者所以传道授业解惑者也)

¹¹ In Chinese we say “授人鱼不如授人以渔” –“shouren yu buru shouren yi yu. Literally it means to teach someone to fish is better than to give them fish.

3.3 Secondary school teachers' social status in China

Many people both in China and around the other parts of the world hold the belief that teachers in China enjoy high social status and have respects in stock. But there is another story about this. "The social position and social status of teachers in socialist China has often been problematic" (Little *et al.*, 1997:1). This is very true, and in fact problems of this kind date back to ancient China. As elites of the society, at the same time the preservers and transmitters of the previous culture of the society, intellectuals, especially teachers have frequently been a target of prosecution in different revolutions or movements in China throughout the history.

3.3.1 Teachers in feudalism China

"In imperial China, teachers played the role of sages and guardians of scholarship and wisdom charged with the responsibility of handing on traditions and insight to subsequent generations. They also acted as gatekeepers to the process through which civil servants were appointed through the examination system" (Little *et al.*, 1997: 1). But in fact then teachers should be divided into three groups: those who were employed to teach the common people, those who were teachers of the rich and the officials and those who taught the emperor and his relatives. They enjoyed different status. Teachers for common and poor kids were those who passed the imperial civil service examination¹² only at county level. They were not so respected by the officials or the rich, but admired by the common and poor. Those who could teach the rich and the nobles were usually respected by quite a lot of people. And teachers of the emperor enjoyed the most respect, even the emperor respected them. Generally speaking, being a teacher at those days was a ladder to upper class for the lower class. As a result many people preferred to teach. All teachers in ancient China were male. And generally people looked up to and admired knowledgeable people especially teachers, because they knew things common people did not and could illuminate them. This somewhat also explained why teachers were usually victims of revolutions and movements.

¹² Imperial civil service examination was employed to select officials at different regional levels.

3.3.2 Teachers in pre-1949 China

After the fall of feudalism China till the time New China was founded, China was in chaos. Everything was in great mess and education was not an exception. However some education phenomena are worth mentioning at the beginning of the twentieth century. One is that “the concept of secondary education (zhongdeng jiaoyu) was introduced in 1904. The concept of secondary or middle level education did not exist in traditional Chinese education but was imported for the West” (Thøgersen, 1990:19). The other is, during that time the quality and quantity of teachers were relatively high, because many ambitious intellectuals wanted to change China through education, since they could find no other way out. As a result, many great knowledgeable people at that time worked as teachers, for example Hu Shi—famous scholar and statesman, Lu Xun—the most famous writer in modern Chinese literature, Xu Zhimo—another famous scholar and writer in modern China to name but many. In addition, it was a prolific period in cradling great Chinese educators like Tao Xingzhi (1891-1949), Cai Yuanpei (1879-1942), and Li Dazhao (1889-1927). Many great educators in China were of this period of time.

Teachers were quite respected then. People preferred to send their kids to school to learn, especially those who can afford it and even some of those who could not. Besides those, schools at that time were encouraged to freely develop themselves and teachers were encouraged to employ creative ways either native Chinese ones or the ones learned from the West to teach in class. In fact, many people call that period “Golden time for development of Chinese education”. In a word, teaching was a relatively descent and enjoyable job at that time. Teaching was a man-dominant job at that time.

3.3.3 Teachers in new China

Talking about New China, as everyone knows, it is wise to divide it into several periods. In this paper, it has been divided into three periods: the time after the founding of New China and before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution from 1949 to April 1966, period during the Cultural Revolution from May 1966 to October 1967 and post-Mao period from October 1967 till now.

Before Cultural Revolution (1949-1976)

Referring to New China, there is an influential figure people can not afford to neglect—Mao Zedong (1893-1976), the founding father of the People's Republic of China (PRC). At that time, Mao was seen as a perfect idol that had an incredibly influence on Chinese people. "Mao attached great importance to education and culture, which he often mentioned in the same breath" (Chen, 1981:142). In fact, Mao himself had set people a good example to respect teachers. In 1957, he went back to his hometown and paid a visit to his primary school teacher, showing his respect to him. Consequently, many people followed what he had done. Teachers in general received respect from the great majority. In the 1950s and 1960s, teaching was a glorious profession aspired to by the Chinese (Su, 2002). However, there were problems as well. Prince (1970) has observed this and described the situations of teaching profession in China after the founding of New China like this:

Since 1949 there have been great efforts to raise the status of teachers and make the profession more attractive. Nevertheless old problems remain, and perhaps a new factor has appeared. Fear of being considered politically weak or unreliable adds to the teacher's difficulties and may even be taken advantage of (Prince, 1970:223).

Anyway in general teachers enjoyed relatively good reputation and respect from the public in China at that time. However, to everyone's surprise, soon came a disaster to intellectuals including teachers.

The Cultural Revolution period (1966-1976)

The Cultural Revolution took place in May 1966. Intellectuals and teachers were the first victims of this revolution. Teachers were castigated, subdued, silenced and deprived of the opportunity to make use of their talents (Chen, 1981). People were reminded by the government that teachers and professors did not deserve the awe and admirations they used to inspire. They were capitalists and should be revolutionized into working class. Millions of intellectuals and teachers were sent to the countryside and factories to do labor work to be revolutionized. They could not do research work or teaching any more. Mao Zedong's encouragement of this revolutionization worsened the situations for intellectuals and teachers.

Intellectuals were categorized as the “stinking ninth”¹³ again, which now is still in use to refer to teachers in a negative sense.

A picture of the social status of teachers at that time can be seen through Chen’s words:

“They (teachers) lived and worked in fear of committing ideological-political offense unwittingly. ... Many felt uneasy in the classroom, facing students who had once reviled them and might attack them again in ideological-political criticism and self-criticism meeting. They hesitated to demand much from the students in the learning subject matter, lest they incur the charge of reverting to intellectual education. ... They shunned any form of discipline that might court the accusation of using authoritarian methods.” (Chen, 1981:141)

This description clearly shows that teachers were inferior to students and they could no longer be the teachers that Confucius and Han Yu defined. There was abnormal relationship between teachers and students. Many teachers were beaten up by those they once had taught. Even today unnoticeable legacy of this relationship between teachers and students can be traced. This “Cultural Revolution” greatly undermined Chinese teachers’ social position and morale. The impact of the Cultural Revolution on teachers lasts for quite a long time.

Post-Mao era (1976-now)

After the Cultural Revolution, the first person to remind people of the need to respect teachers was the then state leader Deng Xiaoping¹⁴, who once said that “the entire society should respect teachers.” He also pointed out that measures must be taken to raise the political and social status as well as the professional competence of the 9 million teachers in the country; careful consideration must be given to their wage scale and the improvement of their material life within the limits of the economic strength of the country (Chen, 1981). Afterwards, the central government made great effort to change the situation and raise the social status of teachers. Posters showing teachers being saluted and presented with banquets of flowers by the students were put up in many places on the walls. Teachers were called the “fragrant third”, “gardeners” and “engineers of the soul” instead of the “stinking ninth”. They also tried to increase teachers’ incomes (Su, 2002; Cleverley, 1991).

¹³ “Stinking ninth” dates from the Yuan Dynast (1279—1368). They categorized people into ten categories and intellectuals were put into the ninth called “stinking ninth” just in a higher position than the beggars and even lower than the prostitutes.

¹⁴ Deng Xiaoping (1903-1997) is the key figure of the second generation of Communist Party’ s leadership.

In January 1985, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (SCNPC) adopted a decision on designating September 10 as Teachers' Day. Teachers Law of the People's Republic of China went into effect in 1994 ensuring teachers' rights, legal status and so on. It is undeniable that measures have been taken to improve situations of teachers. But problems are still there. Paine has quite acute and right comments on teachers' dilemma in Post-Mao's era:

“Teachers in the post-Mao years...hold complex and ambiguous roles. They occupy sensitive positions in society and the polity that have made them vulnerable to dynamic conflicts outside of education. Over the years since Liberation, teachers have either been prized or suspect, place on pedestals or denounced” (Paine, 1991:218)

After the Reform and Opening-up policies, education was resumed to its important and outstanding position in society. There were cries to change the social position and status of teachers at the same time. 1985, 1993 were two important periods when great educational reforms took place and teachers rights and benefits were mentioned then. “Today the mass media glorify the teachers. Poetry, fiction, movies and the TV encourage society at large to restore the traditional respect for teachers as ‘the engineers of the human soul’ and ‘the gardener of the nation’s flowers’. Behind the glorification lies a set of problems” (Little *et al.*, 1997:2).

Governments promise to raise social status and salaries of teachers, which are in constant discussion in various governmental conferences. However, there is no clear mechanism to fulfill these promises. Besides, Teachers in China as a whole have seldom been in the place they should be and have seldom really received the respect they deserve throughout the Chinese history.

3.3.4 Secondary school teachers' social status

As stated above, secondary education in China is a new thing learned from the West. In 1903-1904 legislatively, the first national system of education of all levels came into existence in China (Cleverley, 1991). Since there are different kinds of senior secondary schools and situations of teachers in them are different accordingly, it is necessary to give a clear picture of the structure of secondary education.

Table 3.1: The structure of secondary education in China

secondary	Senior secondary (S4-S6)	Specialized secondary school	Teacher training school	Technical school	Vocational school
	Junior secondary (S1-S3)				

Source: Compiled by the writer from Mok (2004): China’s secondary education structure

Generally speaking, senior secondary school teachers enjoy higher social status than their junior school counterparts. And within senior secondary school level, teachers working in regular senior secondary schools are more respected than those who work in the other types of schools of the same level. And in the general senior secondary schools, those who work in “key” schools¹⁵ enjoy greater respect and have more material benefits than those who work in “common” schools. The reasons behind these differences are complex. To put it simple, the main reason back it is that regular senior secondary schools provides students with more upgrade opportunities and “key” schools even more.

In the past, teachers had no professional titles. Then in response to the advocate of giving professional titles to teachers in basic and secondary education, in 1986 the Ministry of Education (MoE) took up a regulation “Trial Regulations on Professional Titles for Secondary School Teachers”. In this regulation, four professional titles are given to secondary school teachers in China: Senior Teacher, Grade-1 Teacher, and Grade-2 Teacher and Grade-3 Teacher. There is also an honorable title for secondary school teachers—special-grade Teacher. But it is not a professional title. It is a title given to those who have made great contribution to basic and secondary education in different levels. Teachers of different grades shoulder more or less the same responsibilities and tasks but enjoy different rights and rewards. The higher the grader, the more rights and privileges one will have. There are obvious defects in this promoting procedure from one grade to another, which will be mentioned in the final part of this thesis. Besides, there are also distinctions of class advisor

¹⁵ Key schools are those who have the priority to choose better students and have more financial input from the government. And common schools are those who enroll what have been left by the “key” schools and receive less funding from the government.

(Banzhuren) and subject teachers (Kerenlaoshi). They enjoy different rights and incomes, too. There exists clear stratification in teaching profession too.

3.4 Secondary school teachers supply in China

3.4.1 Teacher supply in general in China

In ancient times, there were no normal schools¹⁶. Teachers were in three groups. Those who had passed the imperial examination at the county level, taught in private schools called Sishu. And those who pass the imperial examination at the provincial level could either low-rank officials or teachers for the rich and nobles. Those who pass the imperial exams at national level usually served as high-rank officials or teachers for the emperor and his relatives. These three groups of teachers generally were of different social backgrounds: those at the lowest level were from the lower social class but loved to study and wanted to change their life and fate by having more education. The ones in the middle were usually from a better background. And the group who succeeded at national level examination was mostly from well-off families. Education especially at higher level was a privilege for the middle and upper classes.

However, pre-service teacher education in China has a quite long history. Or maybe it is more appropriate to call it normal education, as teacher education institutes are still officially translated as “normal school” or “normal university” into English in China. Different from the great majority of countries in the world, China still employs this terminology when referring to pre-service teacher education, while in most countries the term “normal education” has been replaced by teacher education around the 1930s.

In 1904, the government of Qing dynast¹⁷ promulgated regulations, dividing normal schools into the two levels— secondary normal school and higher normal school. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), the government rearranged normal

¹⁶ Normal schools are schools to train teachers. It used to be a term used by many countries but died in the 1930s and China seems to be the only country that still uses this term.

¹⁷ Qing Dynast (1616-1911) is the last feudal dynast in China.

schools and they put them at five levels: schools for kindergarten teachers, elementary normal schools, secondary normal schools, specialized normal schools, and normal colleges or universities. Graduates from schools for kindergarten teachers and some elementary normal schools were to teach preschool kids in kindergartens. Graduates from elementary normal schools and secondary normal schools were teachers in primary schools. And graduates from specialized normal schools were supposed to teach disabled kids. Most graduates from normal colleges and normal universities served in general secondary schools, vocational secondary schools and specialized schools of various kinds. Nowadays there are three levels of normal schools: secondary normal schools, three-year normal colleges and normal universities. Graduates from secondary normal schools are teachers in kindergartens or elementary schools. Those who finish their three-year normal colleges are supposed to teach in primary schools or junior secondary schools. And graduates from normal universities usually go to secondary school either junior secondary or senior secondary to teach.

There are around two hundred normal colleges and universities across China. Only six of them are under direct administration of MoE, which means they can get more financial support from the government. They can enroll students all over China. And their graduates theoretically have right to choose to teach wherever they would like to cross the country. Every province including autonomous regions, centrally-administered municipalities has their own normal universities admitting students from their own administrative region or sometimes students from other parts of China, mainly from their neighbors. As a result, the graduates are mostly destined to serve their hometown.

Theoretically everyone has a chance to pursue their study in universities including normal universities. But in fact there are two prerequisites for people to continue their study in universities. First, they can afford the expense of the whole sixteen-year education. Second, they can get a standard result in NECC that permits them for their further study. However, the most academically capable and promising students usually choose not to study in normal universities. As a result, normal universities in fact, usually attract those who are academically weak in their senior secondary study. Without doubt, some but really few intelligent and promising secondary school graduates willingly choose normal universities.

3.4.2 Supply of senior secondary school teachers

Indicated in previous section, the concept secondary education is relatively new in China. The same goes to secondary school teachers. As mentioned above, there are different kinds of secondary school teachers. Consequently, teachers are from different educational backgrounds. But usually differences are between junior high schools and senior high schools. Senior secondary education is seen as an education of a high level. So there have always been relatively “high” educational requirement for those who want to enter senior secondary education of any kind. The reason for saying relatively high educational requirement is that at different times the average level of education is different, so varies the requirement.

Decades ago, teachers of junior secondary schools were usually from three-year normal colleges. They received three years education there and then became teachers in junior high schools. The institutes they went to were usually provincially- or even municipally-administered. In contrast, senior secondary school teachers were usually those who had finished four-year study either in provincially-, municipally-administered normal or national normal universities.

But now things are different. Everyone who wants to teach in secondary school either junior secondary or senior secondary schools has to be a graduate from normal university, that is to say, they have to finish four-year education in a normal university. Of course those who are doing really well in their three-year normal college can go into junior secondary. They are even master grades in senior secondary schools now. This is a good piece of news for senior secondary schools. However, there are also other stories about some master graduates who choose to be secondary school teachers. They usually have taken some special major which makes it difficulty for them to find a job. But secondary schools’ doors are open to them, though most of them have to teach what they have not majored in. Nevertheless, more and more teachers are getting their master degree by attending correspondence or adult education. To be frank, it is more like a factory producing degree than a place for further study. Few are really serious about this it.

Shown in table 2.1, undergraduates from non-teacher-training universities can choose to work as well. But they have to pass exams on education, psychology, oral exam of standard Chinese. After they get the “Teacher Qualification”, they can come into classroom to teach.

Table 3.2 gives some information about the enrollments of normal universities in 1998, 2001 and 2003.

Table 3.2 Pre-service three- and four-year colleges and universities and their enrollments, 1998, 2001, and 2003

Year	1998	2001	2003
Number of institutes	229	210	188
Enrollment	1,693,000	1,350,383	1,673,200

Sources: Compiled by the writer from MoE (2000, 2004, 2005)

Table 3.2 clearly suggests that fewer were enrolled in 2003 compared to 1999. And in 2001 the enrollment number came to the lowest. The reasons for this are complex but some will be touched upon in chapter five.

3.5 Teacher supply and teacher quality and quantity

From the above discussion, it seems that teachers of senior secondary schools should be qualified at least academically. However, the truth is far from this. Regular senior secondary education enrollment continued to expand table 3.3 throws some light on this the increase of the schools can not be matched by the increase of teachers, which put strains on the number and distribution of teachers, and contribute to the problem of unqualified teachers. There is still a long way to go before all teachers in senior secondary education to reach the required academic qualification. Table 3.4 tells the percentage of qualified teachers in the year 1999 and 2004.

Table 3.3 Numbers of school and teachers in senior secondary school in the year 2004 and 2005

	Year	Number of school	Number of teachers
Senior secondary school	2004	15,998	1,190,681
	2005	16,092	1,299,460

Table 3.4 Teachers and percentage with required qualifications in the year 1999 and 2004

	1999		2004	
	Number of teachers	% with required qualifications	Number of teachers	%with required qualifications
Junior secondary	3,187,500	85.50	3,500,500	93.75
Senior secondary	692,400	65.85	1,190,700	79.59

Sources: Compile by the writer from MoE (2000, 2004, 2005)

Table 3.4 indicates though the percentage of teachers with required academic qualifications is increasing, still quite a number of teachers are not “qualified”. In 2004, two out of ten teachers in senior secondary level are academically disqualified or pre-qualified. “Given the size, resources, and diversity, however, providing qualified teachers for its schools has posed significant challenges” (MoE, 2005). In 2004, about 1.2 million were working as full-time senior secondary school teachers. There were however approximately 240,000 teachers who lacked the required credentials. Besides, the so-called required qualifications mostly referred to academic qualification namely the educational degree of the teachers. Professional competences, passions, senses of responsibility and ethics for teaching of teachers have not been taken into consideration. If these are taken into account, the percentage will probably sharply go down.

Quality of teachers is directly connected with teacher supply. There were several periods when teachers were in great need in Chinese history. And the supply of trained teachers could not meet the demand. To solve the problem, governments of different levels placed those who had neither professional training nor enough knowledge into teaching profession, which has adverse effect on the image of teachers. Therefore, the social status of teachers was menaced. Due to the existence quite large number of untrained or poorly trained teachers, many educational critics tended to call teaching a dead-ended profession, one offering little promise, attracting people unable to venture down other career routes. Teachers were left particularly susceptible to technical critiques of competency (Paine, 1991). Paine has sharply pointed out the bad effect the existence of unqualified teachers has on the whole image of teaching profession.

But one thing is worth making clear—the supply of teachers is not the only factor that influences the quality of teachers, but it is a vital factor. And this viewpoint is supported by many, for example Paine. One of the major constraints on improving the quality of teaching force has been the people who enter the profession. He also points out: the relative academic weak students with little sense of commitment to teaching profession have deteriorated the quality of teachers (Paine, 1991).

In the past, normal schools and universities were the only institutes to have the right to provide pre-service teacher education. Now things have changed. Currently, in the wake of policy change, non-teacher-training tertiary institutes already account for 54 percent of all higher learning institutes that provide pre-service teacher education in (CNC for UNESCO, 2004). In modern times especially after 1997, the competitions between universities become fiercer and fiercer. They compete for better and more students. In this way, they can get more money. One of the results of the competitions is that non-teacher-training universities began to provide pre-service-teacher education while normal universities began to offer non-teacher-training programs. “In recent years, in the face of the competition, some teacher training institutes began to offer non-teacher-training programs and neglected to nurture their historical strength in teacher education, while comprehensive universities started to provide teacher education programs with only a weak background in doing so. Because of this Cheng argued, teacher training quality in general might well be weakened” (Paine and Fang, 2007:182)

3.6 Summary

Teachers in China during many periods have been in disadvantageous situation. They were for many times victims of different revolutions throughout Chinese history. As a result, the supply of teachers has fluctuated. Due to the uneven supply of teachers, the quality of teachers varies and for many times good supply of qualified teachers can not be achieved. The situations mostly apply to basic and secondary education and worsen in secondary level. Chapter four discusses research and data collection methods.

Chapter IV Data and methods

Methods of social research are closely tied to different visions of how social reality should be studied. Methods are not simply neutral tools: they are linked with the ways in which social scientists envision the connection between different viewpoints about the nature of social reality and how it should be examined.

Bryman (2004:4)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the data and research methods employed in this study. It starts with the introduction to research designs utilized in the research done for this thesis and the reasons for using them. Following this is how the sampling is achieved. After that there is a brief illustration on how the data is collected and analyzed. The chapter finishes with the topic of ethic concerns as well as validity and reliability.

4.2 Research Designs

Research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data. A choice of research design reflects decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process (Bryman, 2004). Five research designs namely experimental design, cross-sectional design, longitudinal design, case study design and comparative design are available for different research purposes.

In this paper, two of them are used. Cross-sectional research design is employed to understand opinions about senior secondary school teaching of two groups—student teachers and present senior secondary school teachers. A cross-sectional design entails the collection of data on more than one case and at a single point in time in order to collect a body of quantitative and quantifiable data in connection with two or more variables, which are then examined to detect patterns of association (Bryman, 2004). Diary as a kind of case study is used to get to know the working life of senior secondary school teachers.

4.3 Research methods

A research method is simply a technique for collecting data (Bryman, 2004). The two research methods for data collection—quantitative research method and qualitative research method, are both employed in this thesis in order to answer the core questions in the research. The working diaries are analyzed to get a general picture of the working life of senior secondary school teachers and Statistics Program for Social Science (SPSS) is utilized to analyze questionnaires to get the opinions of the two target groups.

Quantitative methods have been used as the main research method. Questionnaire is the most common way to gather quantitative data (Sheyvens & Storey, 2003). There are both structured and open-ended questions in the questionnaires, but most of them are closed-ended questions.

4.4 Population and sampling

The thesis has two groups of populations for different purposes. The first group of population is university students from normal universities. They are about two hundred Normal Universities in China, six of which are national and the others are provincial or regional. Convenience sampling is used in choosing universities for the survey. A convenience sample is one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility (Bryman, 2003:100). Sampling of student teachers are from Jiling Normal University, Southeast University¹⁸, Capital Normal University and South China Normal University¹⁹ all of which are located in big or middle-size cities situated in different parts of China. Among them South China Normal University and Southwest University are National and the other two are provincial. Because samplings are from different part of China, of different sizes and of different reputations, they are representative and the result can at least

¹⁸ In 2005, the Southeast Normal University was merged with Southeast Agriculture University and called Southeast University. It is a comprehensive university now, but still offers normal education.

¹⁹ Normal University is university for training teachers. It has been out of stage in most countries during the 1930s and people gradually forget the meaning of normal university in fact. However, it is still in use in China.

be generalized to many big and middle-sized cities in China. In regard to select participants, stratified random sampling is employed.

Table 4.1 Information of survey respondents from normal universities

Name of the university	Number of respondents	% of total respondents
Capital Normal University	31	21,4
Shanghai Normal University	29	20,0
Southwest University	45	31,0
Jilin Normal University	40	27,6
Total	145	100,0

The other group of population is senior secondary school teachers and they are the group for both questionnaires and diary. Theoretically, they are supposed to be all senior secondary school teachers in all big and middle-sized cities. As for sampling, still convenience sampling methods is employed. To make the research coherent, teachers from the four cities Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing, and Siping are selected to answer questionnaires and keep diaries. Once again stratified random sampling is used to choose who to ask to answer the questionnaires. Teachers are classified into these three categories and then randomly chosen from these three categories in each school of the four cities. And then some of the participants are asked to keep a diary of a typical working day. Basic information about the participants in this group is shown in table 4.2:

Table 4.2 Information of teacher respondents

Name of the city	Number of respondents		% of total respondents	
	Questionnaires	Diaries	Questionnaires	Diaries
Beijing	30	6	30	30
Shanghai	30	4	30	20
Chongqing	20	4	20	20
Siping	20	6	20	30
Total	100	20	100	100

Job title	Number of respondents		% of total respondents	
	Questionnaires	Diaries	Questionnaires	Diaries
Class adviser	45	8	45	40
Major subjects	30	7	30	35
Minor subjects	25	5	25	25
Total	100	20	100	100

4.5 Methods for data collection and analysis

4.5.1. Questionnaire

In this thesis, questionnaire is the backbone method for data collection. It is conducted through the internet with the help of acquainted teachers in the universities and secondary

schools. The questionnaires are first piloted through the internet with people of similar backgrounds. Adjustments to the questionnaires are made in the light of pilot respondents' comments. All the questionnaires are distributed via internet. As the research is done in China, Chinese is used in questionnaires and then all the information is translated into English.

Questionnaire is a good way to measure attitudes and a quick turnaround can be achieved. However, reactive effect is an obvious defect of using questionnaires, which will surely affect the result of the research. Some techniques have been employed to avoid this. Next chapter will relate this question again.

4.5.2 Diary

Here, diaries do not refer to the one people use to gather information about the way individuals spend their time, recording personal engagements or journals of thoughts and activities, but records or logs of professional activities. They can provide valuable information about work pattern and activities, provided diary keepers are clear about what they are being asked to do, and why (Bell, 2005). This thesis is to generalize typical working days of most senior secondary teachers. Therefore, diary is a best way to track the working routine and pattern of most senior secondary school teachers. Participants have been asked to keep a one-day working diary by time log.

4.5.3 Methods applied in data analysis

Without being analyzed, raw data can explain nothing. Questionnaires analysis will be presented in next chapter.

For questionnaire analysis, SPSS—a widely used package of computer software for social science quantitative analysis—has been utilized. SPSS is especially useful when the sample is relatively large.

It is not very difficult to analyze diaries, because they are written in time log without figurative or descriptive words. Most of them use simple and precise words to describe what they have done during work and after work if there are any work-related activities.

4.6 Ethical concerns, validity and reliability

4.6.1 Ethical concerns

While designing, ethical concerns have been taken into consideration in the process of designing questionnaires. Discussion about ethical principles in social research and perhaps more specifically transgressions of them, tend to revolve around certain issues that recur in different guises (Bryman, 2004:319). But here in this thesis, the main ethical issues concerned should be confidentiality, informed consent, and privacy of participants. A sensitive and respectful manner is a precondition for asking strangers to answer the questionnaires or write a working diary. “It is important to note that the research should not only have no negative implications on the participants, but also have potential to favor the participants” (Sheyvens & Storey, 2003:141). The data collected for the paper are treated confidentially. All participants have been informed with the purposes of the project before-handed, and their right to withdraw from their participation has been emphasized over and again. Their privacy is carefully observed.

4.6.2 Validity and Reliability

Bryman has good comments on issues concerning validity and reliability relating to cross-sectional design. “The issues of reliability and measurement validity are primarily matters relating to the quality of the measures that are employed to tap the concept in which the researcher is interested, rather than matters to do with a research design. Replicability is likely to be present in most cross-sectional research to the degree that the researcher spells out procedures. Internal validity is typically weak. But external validity is strong” Bryman (2004). The prime aim for conduction questionnaire survey is not to establish causal direction from the resulting data, but to find peoples’ opinions and attitudes. As a result, internal weak is not a bit problem in this study. Besides, questionnaires have the advantages of moderately high measurement validity.

However, generalization is limited. First, the results of questionnaires represent opinions of only two groups of people—student teachers and senior secondary school teachers. Second, findings of the research can be generalized to big and middle-sized cities in

China to some extent, as samplings are from big and middle-sized cities in different part of China.

4.7 Summary

Questionnaires and diaries are the two research designs employed in this paper. Populations of sampling are student teachers and teachers. The samplings for questionnaires and diaries are from Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqin and Siping. SPSS program is utilized to analyze questionnaires. All participants are fully respected and their privacy is delicately handled. Though findings in the paper cannot be widely generalized, it is relatively speaking quite representative to what is going on in at least big cities. Next chapter presents results and findings through data analysis.

Chapter V Results and findings

Special but shadowed: the teacher's social position. Teaching seems to have more than its share of status anomalies. It is honoured and disdained, praised as "dedicated service" and lampooned as "easy work". It is permeated with the rhetoric of professionalism, yet features incomes below those earned by workers with considerably less education. It is middle-class work in which more and more participants use bargain strategies developed by wage-earners in factories.

Lortie (2002:10)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents results and findings from the data analysis. It exclusively deals with a) relationship between social status and choices of teachers and student teachers' choices of career, b) quality-related issues of teachers, especially senior secondary school teachers.

5.2 Social status VS choices

In most books about Chinese education in modern times, people can often find two issues concerning teachers are frequently mentioned—to raise social status and to increase the income of teachers (see, e.g. Li, 2004 ;Lewin, 1994; Paine, 1991; Su, 2002). However, decades have gone by, and the issues are still in discussion. There are two possibilities for this on-going discussion. One is that the government is paying great attention to teachers' social status and income, aiming to improve things for teachers all the time. The other is that the social status and income of teachers both remain relatively low in spite of the from-time-to-time cries for raising them.

In China, pleas for raising social status of teachers have been heard for quite a long time, but it is really difficult to fulfil this task (Wei, 2006). Wei's statement suggests that the secondary possibility is what is going on in China now. Besides, the analysis of the collected and existing data in the thesis also confirm the existence of this second possibility. Both

senior secondary teachers and future teachers hold the same view that social status of teachers on the whole is not high now. Some believe that the situations are getting worse and those of senior secondary school teachers are of no exceptions.

Nevertheless, the results of the analysis suggest that social status is not the most determinant factor that influences people's choice of profession. This part deals with a) teachers' and student teachers' opinions about social status of teachers, especially status of secondary school teachers, b) the choices of whether to be teachers or not, and c) the reasons behind the choices.

5.2.1 Opinions of social status

Opinions from senior secondary school teachers

It is unavoidable to get biased opinions when asking people to judge their own occupation. Nevertheless, it is still important to know how senior secondary school teachers view the social status of their own profession. Figure 5.1 shed some light on how they view it:

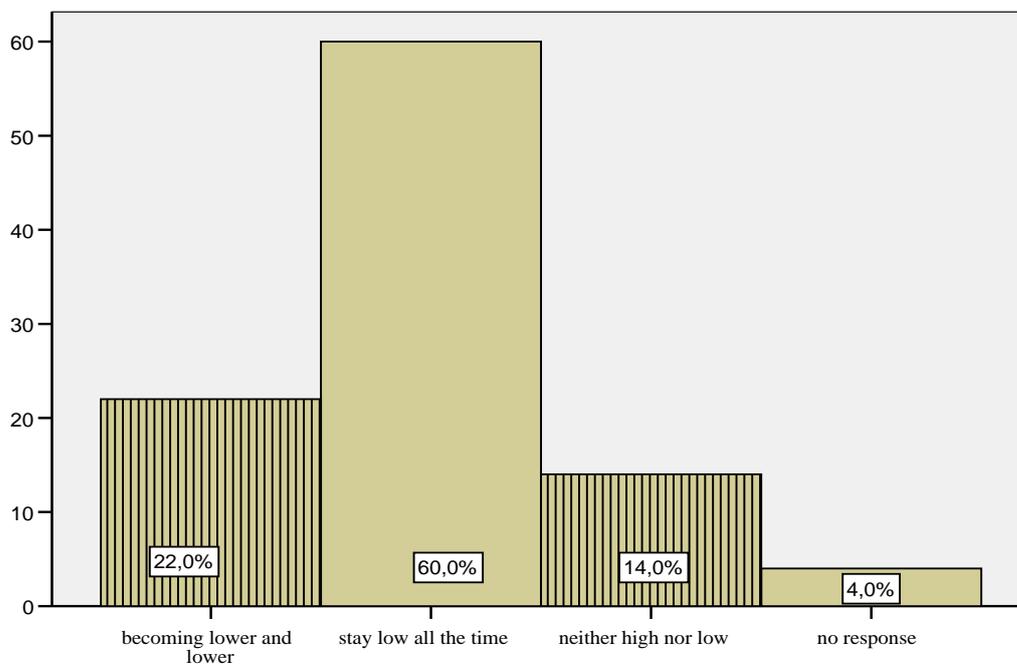


Figure 5.1 The way senior secondary school teachers view the social status of their own profession

As a matter of fact, five options, namely “staying high all the time, becoming better and better, neither high nor low, becoming lower and lower and staying low all the time” are given in the questionnaires, but only three not-so-positive answers are chosen. 60% senior secondary school teachers believe their social status is low all the time and 22% think that the social status of them is declining compared with the past. And 14% of them consider their social status to be average, neither high nor low. Seen from figure 5.1, it is evident that the great majority of senior secondary school teachers are not satisfied with their social status.

Student teachers' opinion

Their opinion about teachers as a whole

Figure 5.2 depicts how the supposed-to-be future teachers view teaching profession. They are asked to rank teaching profession from one to eight in terms of social status—the bigger the number, the higher rank the profession gets.

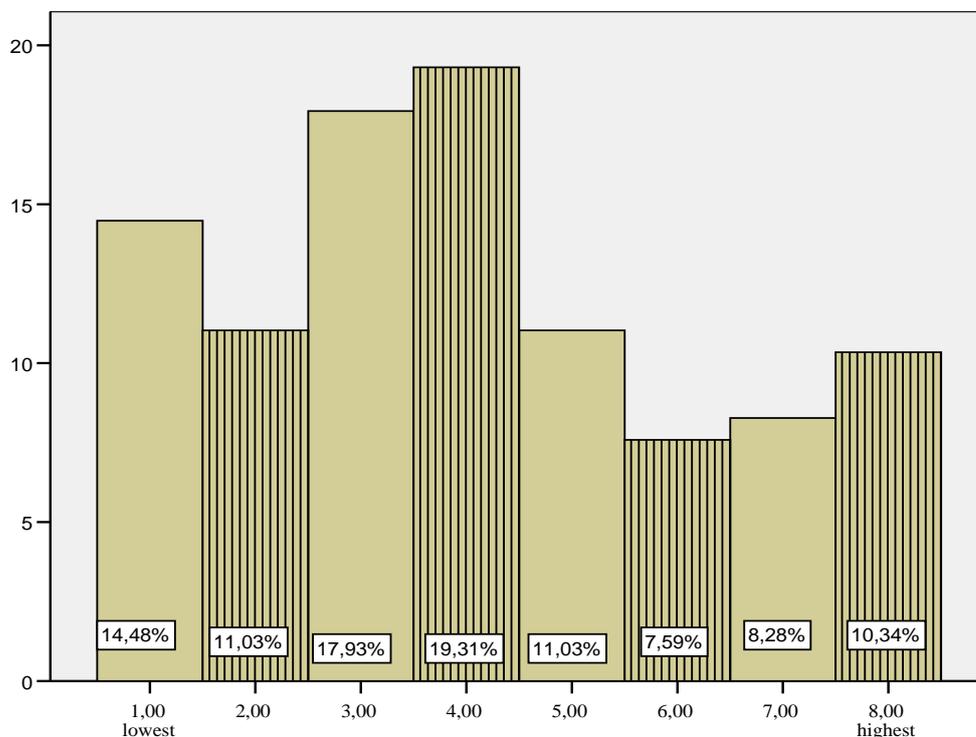


Figure 5.2 The number student teachers assign to teaching profession in terms of social status

Suggested in figure 5.2, though about 10% of them attribute the biggest number to teaching, overall the majority, about 62% of the respondents have assigned teaching

profession below four (four are included). Supported by the result shown in figure 5.2, the conclusion that future teachers themselves do not take teaching as a profession with high social status can be reached.

Rank of teachers compared with other professions

Studies of occupational status show that teachers rank far below most professions and in the lower third of white-collar occupations (Webb, 1985). Webb's finding is drawn from surveys done in many countries around the world. And what he finds coincides with the survey done for this thesis. The participants are asked to rank teaching profession in comparison with other seven occupations in terms of social status. The choice of the eight occupations is based on Treiman's 1977 comprehensive survey and Webb's "white-collar" occupation idea, but Chinese conditions are taken into consideration. The higher the score, the higher the social status. Table 5.1 indicates how student teachers have ranked different occupations listed in the questionnaire.

Table 5.1 Ranking of occupational prestige among eight occupations

Occupation	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Doctor	145	1,00	8,00	5,5448
Civil servant	145	1,00	8,00	5,3172
Lawyer	145	1,00	8,00	5,1862
Engineer	145	1,00	8,00	5,1724
Architect	145	1,00	8,00	4,6069
Teacher	145	1,00	8,00	4,0897
Journalist	145	1,00	8,00	3,3586
Accountant	145	1,00	8,00	2,7655

As shown in the table, in student teachers' eyes, doctor and civil servant are the most admired occupations, while teacher ranks the sixth with the mean of 4 just higher than that of journalist and accountant.

Rank of senior secondary school teachers

In the survey, normal university students are asked to rank occupational prestige of teachers in five levels. The bigger the number is given, the higher the rank goes to. Student teachers rank senior secondary school teachers quite high in terms of occupational prestige within teaching profession. Table 5.2 indicates the way they rate teachers of different levels

Table 5.2 Rating of teacher's occupational prestige in different levels by student teachers

In respondent's eyes, who enjoy the highest occupational prestige?	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Teachers in Kindergartens	145	1,00	5,00	1,9655
Teachers in primary schools	145	1,00	5,00	2,2690
Teachers in junior secondary schools	145	1,00	5,00	2,9862
Teachers in senior secondary schools	145	1,00	5,00	3,7379
Teachers in universities	145	1,00	5,00	4,3103

The result in table 5.2 suggests that senior secondary school teachers rank the second, right after teachers in universities in terms of occupational prestige among teachers of different levels. Though the future teachers rank senior secondary school teachers relatively high among teachers of different levels, not many of them would like to choose to work as senior secondary school teachers. The following part deals with this assertion.

5.2.2 Choices and reasons behind them

Choices

Only 51% of the students choose to work as teachers

Students in normal universities are all supposed to work as a teacher after their graduation²⁰. However, when asked whether they will choose to work as a teacher upon graduation, the answers are not quite satisfying.

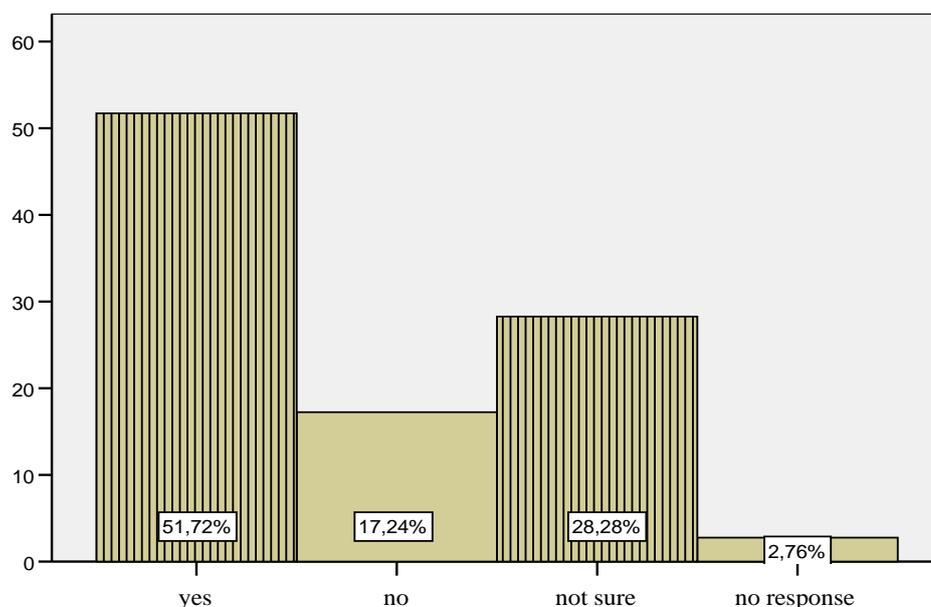


Figure 5.3 Student teachers' choice on whether they will work as a teacher upon graduation

Seen from figure 5.3, it is obvious that even though they should be teachers upon graduation, about 20% have clearly expressed their unwillingness to become teachers and over 28% are not sure whether they will be teachers. And about 51% have given positive answers expressing their willingness to take up teaching profession. “Strikingly absent were people who actively chose to attend a teacher education institution out of an interest in teaching as a career” (Paine, 1991:222).

Here gender does not seem to matter a lot. Many from both parties—male and female student teachers have given positive answers showing their willingness to teach. However, there are more female students who are not sure whether to be a teacher than male students.

²⁰ Normal universities students especially before 1997 could get more financial help from governments of different levels. In return they had to work as teachers. But now things are changed a bit they have the freedom to choose other jobs other than teaching. Nevertheless, they are expected to work as a teacher.

They tend to be more doubtful about their future career than their male counterparts. 31% of the female students have expressed that they are not sure whether to be a teacher or not, compared with 10% of the male students.

30% choose to work in senior secondary school

Illustrated in chapter three, theoretically undergraduates from normal universities can be teachers in any levels below tertiary. However, when asked what kind of schools they would like to choose to work for, if they have to be teachers, the answers are various.

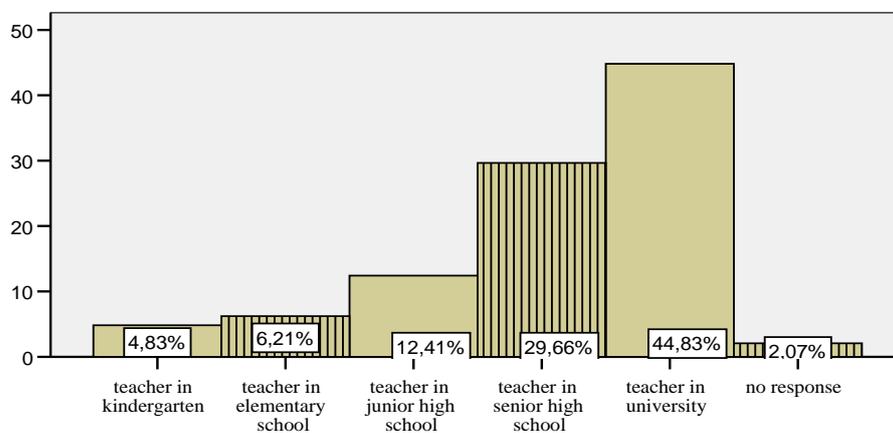


Figure 5.4 The educational institutes student teachers prefer to choose to work for

As shown in figure 5.4, about 45% of the participants have chosen university and 30% have favored senior secondary schools. What is shown in figure 5.4 supports the conclusion that not many would like to teach in senior secondary schools. Then comes the question what are the reasons for them to choose normal university if they do not want to be teachers. The following part may throw some light.

Reasons behind the choices

Reasons present teachers

From the analysis above, it is clear that many do not consider teaching an attractive profession. But why have they chosen to be teachers? Four options, viz “teaching is my dream, no other choice, accidentally came into this profession and other reasons”, are given to choose from. Figure 5.5 can be illuminating.

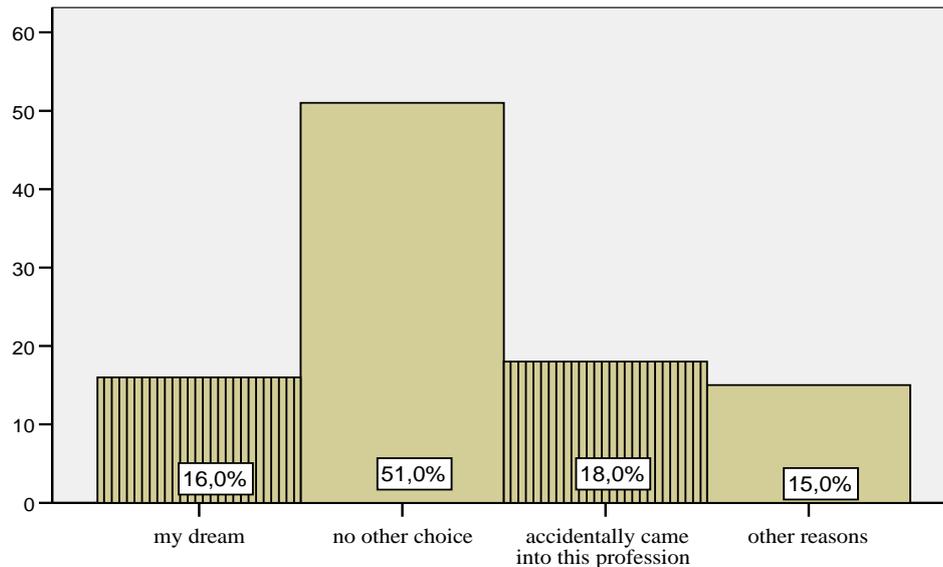


Figure 5.5 Reasons why senior secondary school teachers have chosen to teach

Indicated in figure 5.5, 51% have said that they had no choice but to be a teacher. As illustrated in previous chapter, before 1997, going to normal universities was free of charge and in addition students would get monthly allowance from the government. But they had to abide by the bonding agreement that they would serve as teachers in public schools for at least 5 to 6 years. If they failed to do so, they would have to pay back the cost the government had covered for them. Many claimed to have made the choice for the reasons of easy employment and freedom from poverty and backwards.

To know more about teachers' willingness and devotion to their present job, two similar questions have been asked. The purpose to ask two similar questions is to avoid getting reactive effects, but it proves that most teachers are very consistent in answering the questions. The first question is “if you have a second chance, would you still choose to be a teacher”, 64% respond with negative answer saying that they will not choose to teaching, given a second chance, compared with 12% will and 22% not sure. The other question is “if

possible, will you leave your present job?”. There are 59% positive answers to this question, with 11% negative answers and 25% not sure. The answers from these two questions mean that at least about 59% of the teachers are not inclined to take teaching as a life-long occupation, only one out of ten teachers is willing to make life-long commitment to teaching profession. This statistics tells just what teachers think not their real action. Though many are not disposed to make teaching life-long career, not all of them will leave this profession. Nevertheless, the number of teachers who are leaving senior secondary teaching is steadily increasing. Take a look at table 5.3:

Table 5.3 The number of teachers who are leaving senior secondary teaching post for non-teaching unit

Year	2004	2005	2006
Total across the country	48,855	52,433	55,393
Total in urban areas	17,555	15,784	20,865

Source: compiled by the writer from MoE (2004, 2005, 2006)²¹

Indicated in table 5.3, the number of teachers who leave the teaching post for non-teaching unit is increasing year by year, which means schools are losing teachers with experiences every year and teaching is not taken as a serious life-long career by many. Some may argue that the great majority remain at teaching post, so it will not hurt much. But the fact is that if people are not in the disposition to give teaching life-long dedication, they will not take it seriously, which will negatively influence both students learning and development and education as a whole.

Student teachers' choice

²¹ <http://www.moe.gov.cn/edoas/website18/level2.jsp?tablename=1020> 02-04-2008

Many may wonder what have driven normal university students to choose normal university, since so many have no inclination to serve in education and they have varieties of universities to choose from in present China. The same question has been asked in the questionnaires and figure 5.6 can cast some light a bit but not the whole and true picture. The reasons for saying so will be illustrated right after this analysis.

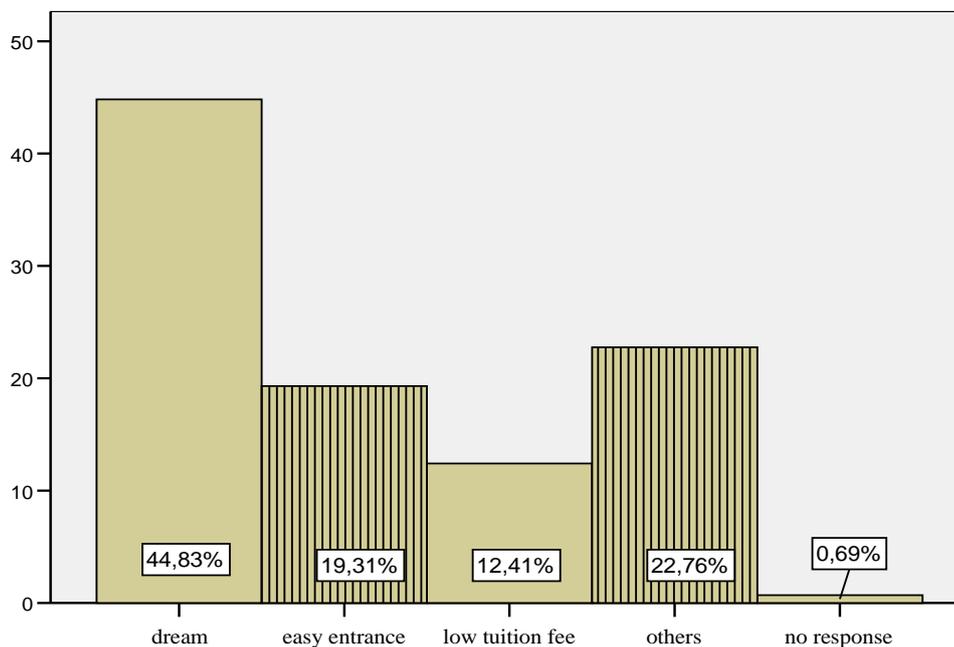


Figure 5.6 The reasons why student teachers have chosen to study in normal university

Figure 5.6 has clearly indicated that the most frequently chosen reasons are among “teaching is my dream job, easy entrance and ‘others’”. The other two is easy to discern. About 45% of the participants have claimed their choice of normal university is out of their love to teaching profession. Around 20% state that normal universities have provided them easier entrance compared with comprehensive universities. About 23% have given “other” reasons. The most frequently given “other reasons” are: teaching is a job for “girls”, the choice is made to parents’ wish rather than theirs, and they have been transferred²². Shown

²² In China, if a student has applied a relatively speaking good or famous university but unfortunately they are not admitted. If they tick the choice agree to “being transferred to university available”. Then they will be transferred to the university where they can not enroll enough students or there are lower requirement for NCEE results

above that 45% of the participants have claimed teaching is their dream job, but the truth is far from this. Take a look at figure 5.7 and the truth will be disclosed. The respondents are asked to choose the most influential factor that will impel them to work as a teacher. Figure 5.7 reveals some real motivations behind the choices.

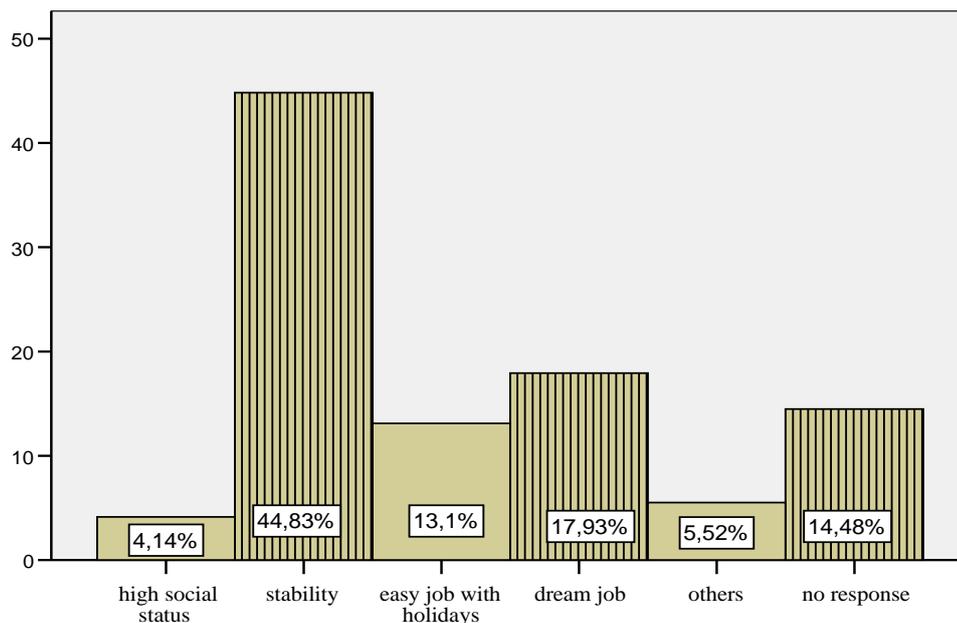


Figure 5.7 The decisive factors that make student teachers are inclined to choose to teach

Figure 5.7 is informative in that those who have claimed that being a teacher is their dream do not really mean that and there is reactive effect. Compared with the previous 45%, only 17% have chosen “being a teacher is my dream”. Stated in previous chapter, it is normal to get reactive responses in questionnaires. A good way to avoid this is to ask similar questions. By asking two similar questions, the thesis gets a more truthful answer. The result in figure 5.7 also supports the conclusion that in China many people value more about stability and security, which is what draws attraction for Chinese to be teachers, which Lortie(2002) also relates as one of the attractions for Americans. The reasons for different people to choose an occupation that promises employment security are complicated. However, the most crucial reason for this is that employment security is economic and psychological comfort to people (Lortie, 2002).

Finding in this part also reveal that social status is not the most powerful fact that influences people's choice of a job. The most influential factor is "stability and job security". Nevertheless, the assumption that social status is a most influential determinant is supported here. The following part will provide evidences for this statement.

5.2.3 Social status is an influential determinant

In the first chapter, there is an assumption that the change of social status in China has negative influence on the recruitment of teachers and it is a most influential determinant. This assumption is positively supported by the finding. When asked whether social status plays influential role in their choice of teaching as their occupation, the student teachers have given the following answers.

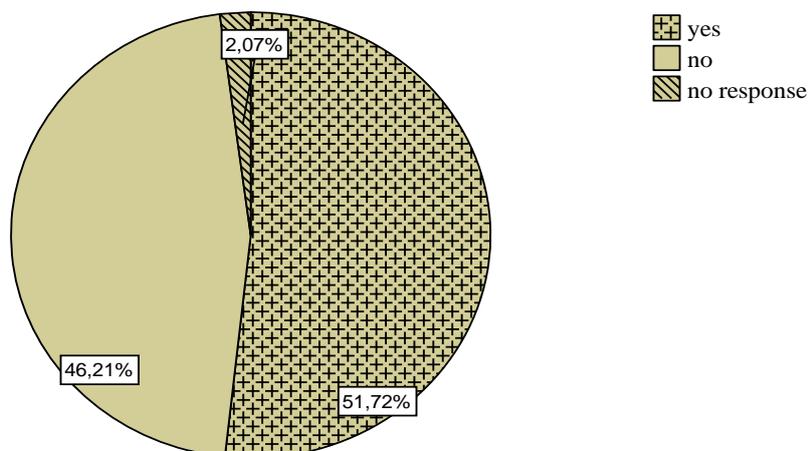


Figure 5.8 Student teachers' opinions on importance of social status in choosing a job

Seen from figure 5.8, it is clear that about 52% of the student teachers are concerned about social status. They have stated they will not choose jobs with low social status and some have said that it is the reason why they are not inclined to work in senior secondary schools. "Students blame the lack of interest in teaching on the low social, political, and economic conditions" (Paine, 1991).

Besides, data also attest that male students are more concerned about the social status of their job than their female counterparts. Due to the unbalanced gender composition in normal universities, there are only 41 male participants. Though over 63% (26) of them have stated that social status is an important factor that will influence their choice of job, compared with around 49% of female students, according to Pearson's Chi-square .786, the relationship between gender difference and attitudes of social status is not significantly correlated. Even so, the fact that male students care more about status than their female counterpart is undeniable. Two probable reasons account for why the finding in this paper does not support this fact. One is that the sampling size is not big enough, and the other one is quite a lot of females care about social status too, though fewer than males. As males are the minority in both student teachers group and teacher group (only 14%), it is hard to get significant analysis concerning differences between genders. As a result, in the following analysis, attempts to compare differences between genders are largely given up.

5.3 Quality-related issues

5.3.1 Marginalized teaching profession

Female-dominant profession

Teaching profession is still marginalized in China. It has been a female-dominant profession especially below tertiary level. Two evidences can confirm this conclusion. The first one is that in normal universities it is a common phenomenon that there are much fewer male students than female students. In the survey done in the normal universities, there are 145 participants, only 41 of whom are male students. Among these 41 male students, 6 have clearly stated that they are not disposed to be a teacher. Further 10 of them are not sure, which means they can not be counted on to be teachers. Besides, one gave no response to this question.

This statement is also supported by the gender composition of senior secondary school teachers. In the schools surveyed in the thesis, only 15% of the teachers are male. In many schools especially in big cities, teaching is a female-dominant occupation. And for subjects like Chinese and English for example, there are no male English teachers in two schools and

only two respectively in the other two schools. Male teachers concentrate in physical education (P.E.). In fact, P.E. is the only subject where there are more male teachers than females in most schools in China.

Low income profession

“It seems clear that the lower one’s income, the more likely one is to emphasize financial rewards and vice versa” (Reiss, 1961:35). Many teachers are sensitive to their low income and complain about it. In the questionnaires for them, there is a question “Compared with your peer of similar educational background, to your knowledge, where is your income standing?” Four answers namely “higher than the others, more or less the same, lower than the others and not sure” are given. However, the answers fall on only three of them—lower than the others, more or less the same and not sure.

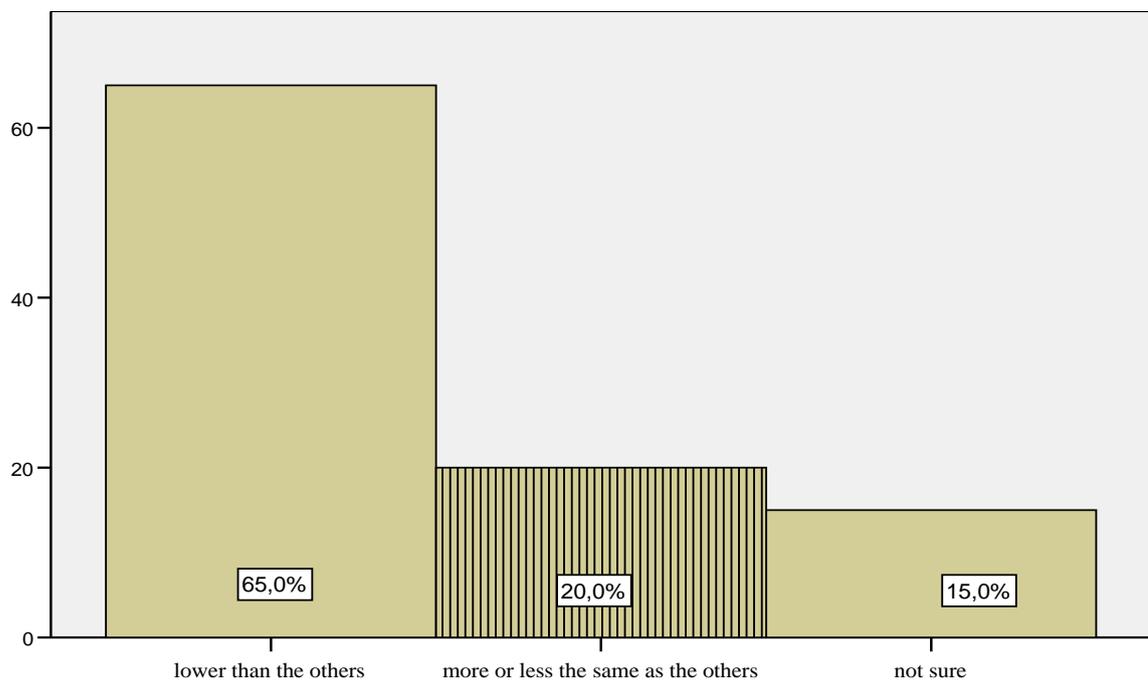


Figure 5.9 In teachers’ eyes the standing of their income, compared with their peer of similar educational background

Indicated in figure 5.9, 65% of senior secondary school teachers think their income is lower than their peers of similar educational background. That teaching is a low income profession can be further proved by the statistics in table 5.4

Table 5.4 The yearly income of those who work in different fields

Year	Non-business institutions	Governments	Compute-Related sectors	Financial sector	Secondary school
2004	16,489	17,869	44,780	26,982	16,299
2005	18,720	20,828	52,710	32,228	18,476

Key: unit: Chinese currency yuan.

Source: compiled by the writer based on National Bureau of Statistics of China (2005, 2006)²³

Every year the government promise that the average income of teachers will not lower, or even higher than that of non-business institutions. Illustrated in table 5.4, there is no big difference between the income of those who work in non-business institutions and secondary schools. However, the income of teachers is still lower than that of those who work in non-business institutions. Invariably in China, nearly all sectors get income raise year by year. However, the promise—teachers' income is not lower or even higher than that of non-business institutions until now has not been fulfilled. Besides, the increase in other sectors is much higher than that of teachers. Evidence from a variety of countries also shows that the supply of teachers is sensitive to salaries paid to teachers (Murnane, 1995 cited in Fwu and Wang, 2002). The findings in this thesis can confirm this statement. The following discussions are in support of this.

Low income disappoints senior secondary school teachers

When asked what makes them want to quit teaching most, many teachers have pointed out low income. Figure 5.10 will shed some light.

²³ <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/02-04-2008>

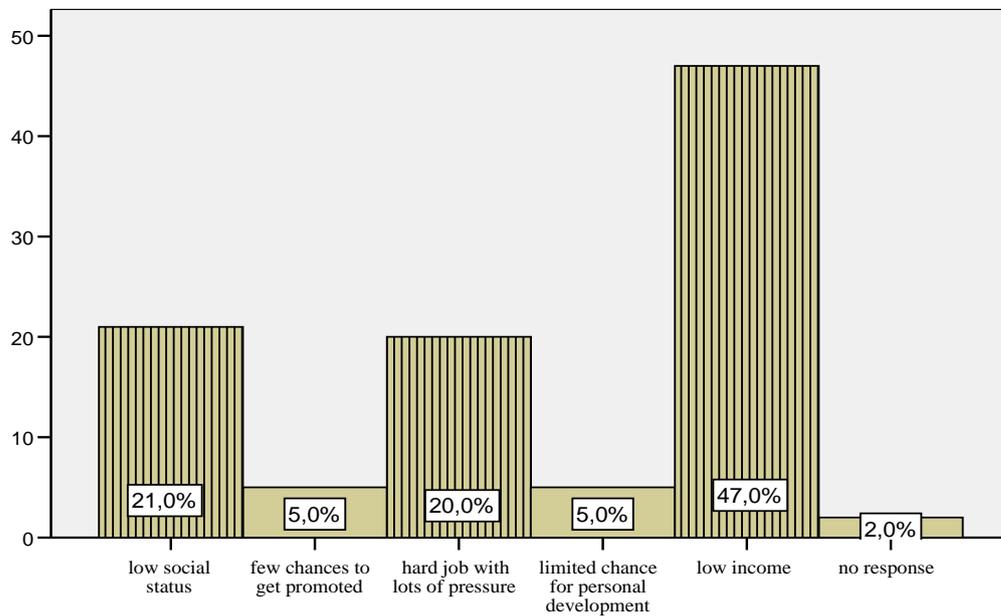


Figure 5.10 The reasons that induce teachers to quit their occupation

Indicated in figure 5.10, nearly half of the participants are discouraged by the low income. And in the answers to the question: “Are you satisfied with your income?” 77% have stated that they are not satisfied with their income. Besides, teachers are also troubled by their social status and heavy workload and elevated pressure.

Low income discourages student teachers

Resembling to senior secondary teacher, student teachers are also discouraged to step into teaching due to the low income. Statistics in figure 5.11 suggests this. In the questionnaire, student teacher is asked what makes them not inclined to choose to be teachers most. Figure 5.11 is how they respond to this question.

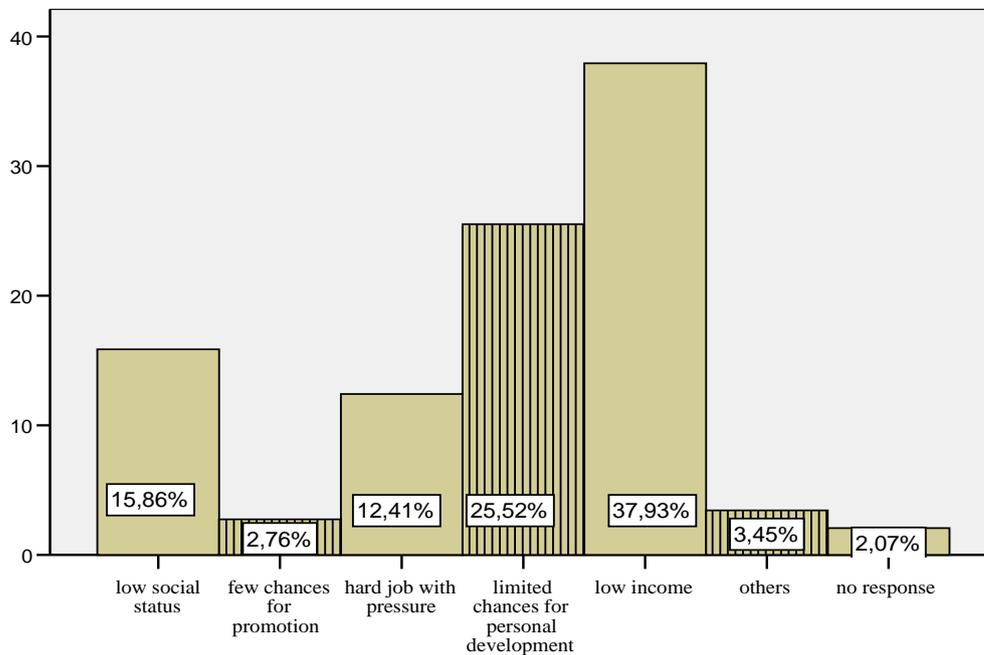


Figure 5.11 What is discouraging student teachers to choose to teacher

Figure 5.11 attests that about 38% of the student teachers are not willing to choose teaching as a career on the grounds of low income. Besides, low social status and the limited chances for personal development are also restraining them from the choice of teaching career. Student teachers have chosen one different option from teachers in senior secondary school in regard to what discourage them to be teachers—student teachers chose limited chances for development while teachers chose hard work with high pressure. But student teachers choices are in coincidence with Lorite (2002)'s finding in the US. He points out that people in the US do not want to work as teachers mainly because of the same reasons given by student teachers in the survey in this paper. Reiss (1961) also states that financial possibilities of the job are given in the major category of reasons for desire to change jobs. Besides, strong emphasis is placed on the socioeconomic level of the occupation chosen by those still in school.

5.3.2 Ageing profession

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are two senses when talking about lack of teachers—in quality sense and in quantity sense. It is indicated in the result of the research

that more and more students tend to choose other jobs than senior secondary school teachers and many teachers are leaving this profession. China is planning to lengthen the years of compulsory education, making it from nine to twelve years, which will first be tried out in big cities like Shanghai and Beijing. If this is going to be realized, more senior secondary school teachers will be needed.

But, the truth is that in some senior secondary schools there is not new energy coming into this profession. According to the collected data, in one school, teachers are at the ages between 33 and 59, with more than 60% teachers over 40 years old and there is no one in their twenties. In another school it is better, because they have one teacher who is in her twenties, 28 years old with 42% teachers over 40 years old. Things are better in one of them which has 4 teachers in their twenties but still one 27 and the other three 28, in addition to that, this school has only 28% teachers over 40. If things go on like this, there will be a break in teacher supply. There will not be enough teachers in number, let alone in quality in the near future.

5.3.3 Lack of qualified teachers

Recruitment

Teaching is an attraction to academically weak students. Two evidences can support this statement. For one thing, the answers given by normal university students prove this statement. In the questionnaire stands the question “why have you chosen to take your further education in normal university?” About 20% of the participants (see figure 5.2) say that their NCEE results have left them no choice but normal universities—the one that provides an easy entrance for them. And further 18 students have said that they have not applied for normal university but other university. However, they have been transferred to normal university. In fact, this in a way has explained that normal universities can not enroll enough students, at least not as many as they intend to. One way out is to lower their requirements and the other is to take those the other universities do not admit. If things go on like this, the academic level of teachers will be threatened.

For another, the analysis of different lowest admission scores required by other universities and normal universities confirms the statement. Take 2007 lowest admission score²⁴ required by different universities in Beijing as an example.

Table 5.5 Lowest admission scores for universities in 2007 in Beijing

Lowest admission scores	Arts 2007	Science 2007
The average lowest admission score in Beijing	528	531
Beijing University (the lowest admission score)	604	639
Geology University of China (the lowest admission score)	530	531
Capital Normal University (the lowest admission score)	501	485

Sources: compiled by the writer from sina.com²⁵

As shown in table 5.5, the average lowest admission score in Beijing is 528 and 531 respectively for arts (Wenke) and science (Like)²⁶. Beijing University is one of the top universities in China so they have the highest lowest admission score, 604 for Wenke and 639 for Like. Geology University of China is also in Beijing at lower-average level, but still it requires higher lowest admission score than Capital Normal University, respectively 530, 531 compared with 501, 485.

Both indicate that academically weak students are entering into normal universities. This will result in supply of teachers with poor academic quality. Thus, the academic quality of teachers is adversely influenced.

²⁴ Each year according to students' average results, different provinces and centrally-administrated municipalities will set the lowest score for admission, which means if someone gets scores lower than the set boundary, they have slim chance to continue university study.

²⁵ http://exam.edu.sina.com.cn/zhiyuan/bang_score.php?page=4&provid=1&wl=2&syar=2007

²⁶ Arts (Wenke): if students choose Arts, they do not have to learn Chemistry and Physics in the third year of senior secondary education and if they choose Science (Like), they do not learn history and geography.

Qualifications of current teachers

As mentioned above, lack of teachers can be interpreted in two senses: in quality and in quantity. Regular senior secondary education enrollment witnessed and continuous expansion, from 10,497,100 in 1999 to 22,203,700, doubling in less than five years. Such enrollment changes put strains on the number and distribution of teachers, and contribute to the problem of unqualified teachers (Paine and Fang, 2007). However, in big and middle-sized cities, there is not great lack of teachers in quantity sense. There is great mobility of teachers—some leave the profession and some change a school to work for, but soon come new ones mostly from small cities and the countryside in the hope of earning more and working in a better condition.

What big and middle-sized cities lack most is the quality of teachers. As indicated in previous chapter, quality of teachers means not only academic and professional qualification, but also teachers' love, passion and willingness to devote themselves to teaching profession. Teachers in big and middle-sized cities in China still lack academic qualification and professional competence, passion and devotion to their job.

Take a look at these three percentages 68.43%, 79.59%, and 83.46%. They indicate how many senior secondary school teachers are academically qualified in the year 2000, 2004 and 2005 respectively. It is a good thing that the percentage is rising. Nevertheless, the rising percentage does not tell the whole story. Two other not-so-good events accompany this increase. The first one is what Minister of MoE Guan Peijun called “post-diploma”²⁷ phenomenon. Many of the academically unqualified teachers get their university diploma after they have been at teaching work for some time. They go to adult universities, correspondence universities and so on after work or in holidays. It is of importance that they can do this, but the bad thing is that they usually can not get a systematic study. It is mostly the kind of education to provide people with diploma rather than a chance to serious study. As a result, not many take this further study seriously. Besides, some of teachers have chosen to study an easy subject that has nothing to do with what they are teaching. They just want to get a diploma to prevent being replaced or even fired. There is a regulation initiated from the

²⁷ A diploma not directly from formal tertiary education, but usually from non-formal tertiary education.

mid-1990s that in big and middle-sized cities all senior secondary school teachers must have a bachelor degree or equivalent, or they will be replaced.

Quite a number of teachers are in poor mental and psychological state in nowadays China. In 2005, Renmin University of China and sina.com worked together and did a research called “Research on Teachers’ Professional Press and Psychology Condition”²⁸. 8,699 teachers have participated in this research. The collaborated investigation indicates that over 58.5% of the participants feel burnt out and 29% feel greatly burnt out. About 40% of the participants have mental and psychological problems and only 28.8% are in good mental and psychological condition. If the conditions of teachers are like this, it is hard to say that the quality of teachers is high. Besides, over 80% of the teachers say that they are under great pressure. Furthermore, more than 60% of them are not satisfied with their work. Some of them are considering leaving teaching for other occupations. All of these are bad omens for the quality of teachers.

5.4 Summary

Both senior secondary school teachers and normal university students think that teachers are in an unfavorable social status. The majority of normal university students will not choose to work in senior secondary school, considering it an unattractive job. Quite a number of senior secondary teachers are not willing to contribute life-long dedication to teaching profession. These two things mean that the supply of teachers may become worse. If this happens, the quality of teachers will be menaced. The direct result of this is that development of Chinese education will be negatively influenced. Chapter six summarizes the findings of this chapter and then makes some tentative recommendations.

²⁸ Detailed information can be found <http://edu.sina.com.cn/1/2005-09-09/1653126581.html> 05-03-2008

Chapter VI Conclusions and Recommendations

Beginning in the late 1970s, China's political and educational leaders began to forcefully and consistently argue for the importance of education to modernization. Central to their argument is the claim that improving education depends on improving teachers and teaching....Improving teachers will improve learning for children.

Paine and Fang (2007)

6.1 Introduction

Goals of this final chapter are to a) summarize and conclude the findings of the study, b) offer some tentative recommendations in the hope of helping make teaching a relatively decent and respectful even an “envious job” (Li, 2004) for teachers to do.

6.2 Conclusions

The prime aim of the thesis is to explore to what extent social status, supply and quality of senior secondary school teachers are related. Through the research, following conclusions can be drawn.

6.2.1 Disadvantageous social status

Sociologically, there are various measures to measure one's social status. But in this paper, teachers' social status is measured through a) subjective indicator—the opinions of senior secondary school teachers, b) the objective indicator—the gender composition of teaching profession and the income they get.

First, social status is seen through senior secondary school teachers and student teachers. Neither party thinks that teaching in senior secondary level is a profession of high social status. While some senior secondary school teachers think their status is going from poor to poorer, many student teachers simply put teaching in the category of low social status profession along with other seven common “white collar” occupations in China. Some may

think that it is subjective to ask people to judge social status of an occupation. However, Reiss (1961) argues though individuals have ostensibly different evaluative criteria in ratings for occupations, in fact there exists an underlying and agreed upon structure of occupational prestige. The rating of a certain occupation by different people is surprisingly in coincidence. So it is feasible to ask them to rate teaching profession.

Teaching especially below tertiary level in China is becoming more and more female-dominant. It is more so in big and middle-sized cities where people have varieties of choices of careers, right after their higher education. The gender composition of the two questionnaires completed by senior secondary school teachers and normal university students is apparently evidence for the assertion. Some have argued that there has been reduction in the social prestige of the teaching profession due to the high number of women now employed in it (Basten, 1997: 56 cited in Drudy et al., 2005:15). As a result, the gender formation of senior secondary teaching can also prove that social status of it is somewhat declining

In chapter five, that teaching is a low-income profession has been proved by analyzing yearly income of different occupation. It is agreed by many sociologists that economic status is the most crucial factor deciding people's social status. As a result it is safe to conclude that relatively low income suggests that teaching is in a relatively low social status compared with other occupations which require university degrees, as well.

Both subjective and objective indicators suggest that social status of senior secondary school teachers is in a disadvantageous position.

6.2.2 Teacher supply is unsatisfactory

Argued in chapter two, teacher supply refers to the recruitment and retention of teachers. In the past, normal education institutes were the only places that prepared teachers for different schooling levels, but now school doors are open to all of those who have finished their three or four years' university study. They have to take some exams to get certifications to be teachers, if they do not graduate from normal university, though. However, being a teacher is seldom the first choice for those who have not been to a normal university and even those who are in normal universities.

Evidences are in support of the statement that the recruitment of teachers is relatively speaking poor. One of the evidences is that normal universities are often attractions for academically weak students. This has been proved by the analysis of the lowest admission scores of universities in Beijing in previous chapter. Besides, some who are in the normal universities claim their reasons for being in normal universities are that they provide easy entrance or their low NCEE results make them transferred to normal universities.

Besides, the development of normal education is left behind by other comprehensive universities. “Over the years, teacher education institutes, initially disadvantaged by low prestige, have suffered further in social, financial, and academic standing. They receive comparatively weaker funding, facilities, faculty, and students than those found in peer institutions” (Paine, 1991:223). Paine’s opinion about the dilemma of normal universities is supported by the existing data. China does not have enough comprehensive well-equipped normal universities. In a ranking list of the top 100 universities in China in 2003, only nine normal universities are in the list and most of them are at the bottom of the list²⁹. In the 211 Project³⁰— a project aimed to build comprehensively key universities in face of the challenging world with the help of both central and provincial governments mainly financially. Only seven normal universities are listed in this 211 Project³¹ among which one was newly included in 2005³². And in another project— Project 985³³, a project aimed to build world-class universities, only two normal universities are on the list.

All these indicate that from the start, the supply of teachers is not optimistic. In addition to this, indicated in previous chapter, not many students intend to choose to teach in senior secondary schools.

To make matters worse, every year, there are quite a number of experienced and qualified young senior secondary school teachers leaving teaching profession for non-teaching positions. Schools simply fail to retain the teachers they need. One of the direct consequences of this is that senior secondary school teaching is becoming an ageing

²⁹ <http://www.sina.com.cn/2003/09/17> attached in the appendices.

³⁰ See more about the 211 Project in the appendices.

³¹ See appendix C

³² <http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/info12752.htm>

profession. In one of the schools researched about 60% of the teachers are over 40 years old. Some may argue that the older the teachers are, the more experienced they are. However, many teachers at that age were trained during the Cultural Revolution, when education was not valued and greatly ignored. Consequently, many of them do not have sound knowledge base to adapt the fast changing world. The quality of teachers at over 40 is of some problem and many of them are post-diploma holders.

6.2.3 Quality of teachers needs further improvement

The issue of teacher quality cannot be presented in isolation from the supply of teachers. Indicated previously, the supply of teachers in nowadays China is not promising—the recruiting of academically weak students and failure in retaining experienced and qualified young teachers in senior secondary level. The quality of teachers is consequently menaced. However, presented in previous chapter, two aspects—external aspects (the academic competence and professional competence), internal aspects (teachers' love, passion and devotion to teaching) should both be taken into account, when measuring the quality of teachers. Findings have shown two out of ten teachers in senior secondary schools in urban China now do not have required qualification. “Qualification” is determined mostly by the diploma one has, irrespective of the subject of the diploma. This has induce a problem that some of the post-diploma holders, in order to get a diploma, choose an easy subject to study, which means in fact they are still unqualified though the schools do no take it like this.

The poor condition of teachers' mentality worsens the quality of teachers. As discussed in previous chapter, nearly 60% of the teachers are burnt out and further 40% are mentally and psychologically ill. Both accumulate the poor quality of teachers. The quality of teachers has direct influence on quality of education and thus the development of a country. Measures should be taken to improve the quality of teachers.

³³ See appendix C

6.2.4 Social status, teacher supply and teacher quality

Social status of senior secondary school teachers in a comparatively large degree influences the supply of teachers. Participants in the surveys in this thesis have clearly stated that they take social status as a determinant in their choice of occupation. Findings in the surveys show that senior secondary school teachers and student teachers lay more weight on the income of an occupation than the social status. However, as an “objective indicator” (Reiss, 1961) of social status, income in a way is a representative of social status. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that social status is quite influential in the supply of teachers.

It goes without saying that the supply of teachers has the most powerful influence on the quality of teachers, though it is not right to say it is all that can decide the quality of teachers. Quality of teachers on the other hand can influence the social status of senior secondary school teachers. If teachers are of high quality, they can earn more respect from the society, and thus the prestige of teachers goes up which will help improve the social status of teachers.

In a word, teachers’ social status, teacher supply and teacher quality are closely related with each other. All are of great importance and deserve attention from all actors of Chinese society. It is important and urgent to take some measures to change the situation. In the following part, some tentative recommendations are presented.

6.3 Tentative recommendations

Some measures can be taken to better situations of senior secondary school teachers.

6.3.1 Financial incentives

People must have their financial needs met before they can maximize their performance (Fraser and Conley, 1994). The same applies to senior secondary school teachers. Indicated in the previous chapter, that income is the most influential factor that discourages present teacher to make life-long dedication to senior secondary education and shuns teachers off senior secondary education.

There are many problems and confusions in Chinese education and one simple fact is severe lack of expenditure on education (Yang, 2003). National and local leaders generally preferred investment which promised quicker and more obvious returns. “Educational services suffered under constant inflationary pressures and restraint from a national budget which was US\$8 billion in deficit in 1989” (Cleverley, 1991:287). One of the direct influences of the insufficient funding is that the income of senior secondary school teachers can not be guaranteed. Government covers only part of teachers’ income in senior secondary school. The other great part is the responsibility of schools where teachers work. It is not easy for schools to earn money as a non-business institution. As a result, teachers in some senior secondary schools sometimes do not have a guaranteed fixed number of or increase of income, which is a common happening in small places in China but in big and middle-sized cities, too. If the school can not get enough money to pay teachers, the income may sometimes decrease. Occupation income is the biggest share of one’s income in China. To guarantee the quality and quantity of teachers, it is important to meet their financial need. It is important to have a regulation to assure stability and yearly increase of teachers’ pay.

6.3.2 Further develop teacher education

“The success or failure of the effort to develop higher education and improve the quality of teaching hinges on the number and quality of teachers” (Zhou, 2006). What Zhou has said applies to senior secondary education, as well. The number and quality of teachers is determined by the supply of teachers. Therefore, it is important to improve pre-service and in-service teacher education.

Improve pre-service teacher education

Formerly mentioned, normal universities in China are in disadvantageous situation to develop. Indicated in previously, they have not been given enough attention by the government. To guarantee a good supply of teachers, it is indispensable to have high quality normal universities. Low economies of scale and rather modest facilities and equipment limited the training capacities of these institutions (Paine and Fang, 2007:180). Whatever projects the government initiates to help develop universities, normal universities should be given equal attention, if not priorities in the project.

In addition, it is wise to change curriculum in normal universities. Teachers should be well-prepared from subject knowledge, pedagogic knowledge to profession judgment and public accountabilities for teaching work. People should be aware of the fact that subject knowledge is only part of effective teacher's professional tool kit (Leask and Moorhouse, 2005).

It is a common problem in nearly all Chinese normal universities that subject matter knowledge dominates the academic study of normal university students. Relatively little time is spend on professional study like pedagogy, educational psychology, teaching methods and practicum in schools. There is nothing wrong to put focus on providing subject knowledge but pedagogic knowledge and other education-related fields like psychology are of the same importance.

Besides, Practicum is very important for normal university students, because they provide them with opportunities to get to know real teaching and to practice what they have learned about teaching into action. They can learn quite a lot from their mentors who usually are experienced secondary school teachers. Let's not forget the saying: Practice makes perfect. Most normal university students have only one month practicum in school and usually they have only four or five opportunities to practice real teaching, which is far from enough for them to have an idea about how teaching is going on in a real classroom situation.

Improve in-service teacher education

“It is virtually impossible to create and sustain over time conditions for productive learning for students when they do not exist for teachers” (Fraser and Conley, 1994). Teacher development is central for teacher quality. In-service teacher training colleges are the places that can help teachers fulfill professional development. And there are many in-service teacher training colleges across China.

The problem of them is that they do not have a sound system in helping teachers. It is mandatory that teachers gather together once a week or at least once in two weeks in in-service training college. They discuss what to teach in the following week, often in the form of one teacher lecturing her/his lesson plans with the other chatting and ignoring what she/he is preaching.

It may be a good idea for them to develop a reasonable system to help teachers fulfill their professional development or it will be a waste of time for teachers to attend. In-service teaching training colleges can offer inclusive and relevant courses for teachers, for example invite educators, psychologists to give lectures to improve teachers' professional development. Besides, they can encourage collaboration and teamwork among teachers. Cooperative work results in high-quality productivity (Frase and Conley, 1994). Teachers may meet some problems or phenomena in process of teaching that they are interested in doing some research. But as shown previously, many senior secondary school teachers are busy with their work most of the time, so it is not easy for them to work alone. However, if in-service training college can offer the chance and encourage teachers to work together, it will make a difference.

6.3.3 Perfect evaluation system

Strengthening teacher evaluation is a worthwhile challenge to undertake. It holds promise not only to professionalize teaching, but also to invest educators with greater information, confidence, and ability to improve their instructional practices and to help students achieve their fullest potential (Goldrick, 2002). However, teacher evaluation in present China is mostly like what Frase and Conley (1994) have portrayed. Teacher evaluation has a bad name. Many administrators treat it with disrespect, it is sometimes used as a punishment and intimidation device, and evaluators are too often poorly trained (Frase and Conley, 1994). Effective evaluation of teacher performance is necessary to guarantee an efficient educational system (Goldrick, 2002).

Then what is effective evaluation of teacher performance, Goldrick has some good suggestions, for example focus evaluation policy on improving teaching practices, create professional accountability, train evaluators and broaden participation in evaluation design, which can be learned from.

6.3.4 Improve ranking system

Measures can be taken to perfect ranking system. Ranking noticeably influences teachers. Professional title not only allows one to earn more money but also is a type of

recognition of one's abilities and efforts at work. Ranking is recognition. Many teachers are concerned about the recognition of their abilities and efforts at work.

As mentioned above, teachers in senior secondary schools are given four professional titles with one honorable title. There are many requirements and conditions for one to be promoted from one level to another. To be honest, some are irrational. The first one is that if one wants to go from lower grade to a higher one, he/she has to work as a teacher at least 5 years, excluding one year internship, which means in fact one has to work at least 6 years before he/she gets professional title promotion. If one wants to be a senior-grade teacher, he/she has to be over 35 five years old, in spite of the fact that many are capable and deserve to be in a higher grade. Professional title promotion is more like evaluating how long one works than how well one works. Besides, all the applicants for promotion have to be class advisor for 2 years if one wants to be promoted from the second grade to the first and five years on end from the first to senior grade. But there are not enough class advisor positions for all teachers. It is not a wise decision to limit the number of the promotion when it concerns to give teachers the professional titles they deserve to have. Educational administrators and school leaders should be generous in recognizing the merits teachers have contributed.

6.4 Summary

In a word, with the main focus on the development of national economy, education is put in a disadvantageous position to develop in China. Teachers' social status is in a dilemma. Though they are not the target of criticism as in the past, they are still not respected as they deserve to be. Generally speaking, most normal universities can enroll enough number of students. However, many students do not want to work as a teacher not to mention senior secondary school teachers. Besides, many of them are academically weak students. In addition, retention of senior secondary school teachers is also problematic. Indicated in the study, many teachers are not inclined to make teaching their life-long occupation.

Teachers are the greatest resource and human capital of schools (Fraser and Conley, 1994). So measures need to be taken to change the situation and there is still a long way for

China to go to place senior secondary school teachers in high social status and to have a good cohort of quality teachers for senior secondary education.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Questionnaires

a) Questionnaires for normal university students

Your response will be used in my master research program. As a result, your response is an indispensable part for the completion of my research. Your privacy will be well observed and your right for withdrawal from the research is guaranteed. Though there are 3 parts in the questionnaire, it won't take you more than 15 minutes to answer it.

Please put what you choose into the brackets and your answers on the blanks.

I. Personal information

() gender A. Female B. Male Name of university_____

II. Multiple choices (please choose **only one answer** for each)

() 1. Why do you choose normal university ?

A. Being a teacher is my dream B. Easy entrance

C. Low tuition fee D. others, please specify: _____

() 2. Will you work as a teacher upon your graduation ?

A. Yes B. No C. Not sure

() 3. Which of the followings attracts you most for your choice of being a teacher?

A. High social status B. A stable and secure job

C. Easy job with lots of holidays D. My dream

E. High income F. Others, please specify:_____.

() 4. What discourages you most to choose to be a teacher ?

A. Low social status B. Few chances to be promoted

C. hard job with pressure D. Limited room for personal development

E. Low income

F. others, please specify: _____.

() 5. If you have to be a teacher, which level would you like to work for ?

A. Kindergarten

B. Elementary

C. Junior secondary school

D. Senior secondary school

E. University

() 6. will the social status of teachers influence your choice of being a teacher ?

A . Yes

B. No

III. Ranking**1. How do you rank the social prestige of these teachers? Please use number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.****The bigger the number, the higher the social prestige.**

Question	Teachers in kindergarten	Teachers in primary school	Teachers in junior secondary school	Teachers in senior secondary school	Teachers in university
How do you rank them in terms of social prestige?					

2. Please rank the following 8 occupations from 1 to 8 in order of prestige in your eyes.**The higher the rank, the larger the number and put the number into the table below the occupation:**

doctor	architect	lawyer	accountant	journalist	civil servant	engineer	teacher

Thanks for you time and help!

b) Questionnaires for teachers

Your response will be used in my master research program. As a result, your response is an indispensable part for the completion of my research. Your privacy will be well observed and your right for withdrawal from the research is guaranteed. Though there are 2 parts in the questionnaire, it won't take you more than 15 minutes to answer it.

Please put what you choose into the brackets and your answers on the blanks.

I. Personal information

() gender A. Female B. Male

II. Multiple choices (please choose **only one answer for each)**

1. What have made you to choose to be a teacher?

- A. My dream B. No other choices C. By accident
D. Others, please specify_____

2. If given another chance, would like to be a teacher?

- A. Yes B. Not C. Not sure

3. What is your main reason for not choosing to be a teacher?

- A. Low social status B. few chance to get promoted
C. Hard job with lots of pressure D. Low income
E. Others, please specify:_____

4. Are you satisfied with your present income?

- A. Yes B. Ok C. No

5. Compared with other profession that required the same educational background, where is your income?

- A. Lower than the others B. More or less the same as the others
C. Higher than the others D. Not sure

6. How is social status of senior secondary school teachers changed?

- A. Becoming lower and lower B. Becoming higher and higher
C. Staying low all the time D. Staying high all the time

E. Neither high nor low

7. If possible will you leave your present profession?

A. Yes

B. No

C. Not sure

Thanks for you time and help!

Appendix B: working diary³⁴

A working diary of a class advisor³⁵

3月20日(周四) 20th March Thursday³⁶

5:50 起床 洗漱 get up

6:10 出发上班 set out for work

6:50 到校 arrived at school

7:00 进班(督促收作业、做值日) came into class (supervising students to hand in homework and to clean the classroom and common areas)

7:20 任课教师进班,早读开始。回办公室吃早餐 morning reading, went back to office for breakfast

7:40 打开电脑,准备高三用的练习。戴上耳机,减少干扰 work on computer to prepare exercises for Grade three. Had headphone on to avoiding being disturbed

8:28 进班查一次 came into classroom to check if everything went well

9:18 进班查一次 came into classroom to check if everything went well

10:00 课间操开始,下楼查操 went to the play good to make sure students behaved themselves during the morning exercise³⁷

³⁴ Twenty dairies have been collected and one of them is chosen to be a representative.

³⁵ Besides being class advisor, she is a teacher of political science teaching one class in grade one and one in grade three.

³⁶ It was written in Chinese and the writer has translated it into English.

³⁷ Students are asked to do morning exercise to refresh themselves after about two class periods.

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- 10 : 15 课间操结束，留下几个学生训话 talk with those who didn't behave in the morning exercise
- 10 : 28 进班查一次 came into classroom to check if everything went well
- 10 : 30 与同头老师集体备课 prepare lessons with another teacher
- 11 : 18 进班查一次 came into classroom to check if everything went well
- 11 : 30 去交大食堂吃午饭 lunch
- 11 : 55 回到办公室，继续工作 went on with work
- 12 : 20 找学生背书 asked students to repeat memorized contents as required
- 12 : 25 学生来问题 answered questions raised by students
- 12 : 55 收起电脑，准备进班 prepared for going into classroom
- 13 : 10 与团支书确定参加朗读比赛学生名单 checked and confirmed the name list for chanting competition with the leader of the Youth League,
- 13 : 20 叮嘱值日 checked if pupils cleaned classroom and the common areas
- 13 : 30 回办公室 went back to the office
- 13 : 35 进班收拾空饮料瓶，卖给收废品的人 collected the bottles and sold them³⁸
- 13 : 40 高三上课 class for grade three
- 14 : 30 高一上课 class for grade one
- 15 : 20 学生上体活，在办公室判试卷 graded pupils papers
- 15 : 35 找一个学生到办公室填写处分登记表 asked a student to fill in the grade to the name list
- 16 : 10 进班叮嘱学生上自习 made sure students behaved themselves in the self-study period
- 16 : 15 校职工大会 staff meeting
- 17 : 05 会议结束，进班 meeting ended, went into the classroom
- 17 : 20 检查个别学生背英语单词 check some pupils' work in memorizing English words
- 17 : 38 做一天小结。重点强调课间操要求 made a summary for the day with the class and
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³⁸ People can usually sell bottles, paper and the kind but can get only a little money.

emphasized the disciplines they should abide by

17 : 40 学生放学 , 留一个学生背英语单词 students dismissed but asked one stay to check his work on memorizing English words

18 : 10 进班检查做值日情况 checked the cleaning of the classroom and the common areas

18 : 15 回办公室 , 收拾东西 went back to the office, put away things

18 : 30 出发回家 set out for home

Appendix C: Project 211 and Project 985

Project 211 is a project of 106 Key universities and colleges in the 21st century initiated in 1995 by the Ministry of Education. The project aims at cultivating high-level elite for national economic and social development strategies. The project began from the idea that, in the mid 1990s, the 30 elite universities at the time were too low by international research standards. The figure of 21 and 1 within 211 are from the abbreviation of the **21**st century and approximate 100 universities respectively.

Project 985 is a project for founding world-class universities in the 21st century conducted by the government of the China. In 1998, Jiang Zeming the then leader of China declared that "China must have a number of first-rate universities of international advanced level", so Project 985 was initiated.