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**BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR
MAJORITY-LANGUAGE STUDENTS:
A STUDY OF
THE FACTORS AFFECTING THE INITIATION AND
IMPLEMENTATION OF A MUNICIPALITY-WIDE
CHINESE-ENGLISH BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROJECT
IN SHANGHAI**

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Ph.D

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

2012

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University
Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies

**Bilingual Education for Majority-Language Students:
A Study of the Factors Affecting the Initiation and
Implementation of a Municipality-wide
Chinese-English Bilingual Education Project in
Shanghai**

WEI Rining

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2010

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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(Signed)

WEI Rining (Name of student)

ABSTRACT

This is a study about the provision of bilingual education involving a foreign language as a medium of instruction for majority-language students through an in-depth analysis of a municipality-wide Chinese-English bilingual education project in Shanghai, which is officially named the Bilingual Education Experiment in Primary and Secondary Schools of Shanghai 上海市中小学双语教学实验 (henceforth “The Project”). With the initiation of The Project in 2001, Shanghai became the first region in the Chinese mainland to expend regional-government endeavors to provide bilingual education involving English as a medium of instruction for some proportion of students in the public pre-tertiary sector. As of December 2006, 140,000 students at about 300 primary and secondary schools participate in The Project according to best available official statistics.

The two foci of this study are to identify the factors that contributed to the initiation of The Project and to explore the possible directions The Project may take in its future development through a reality check on the status quo of the implementation of The Project.

Drawing upon data from questionnaire surveys, documents and interviews, the study finds that four factors, namely (1) the state’s subtle approval for The Project, (2) little exposure to English for its effective learning outside school, (3) social demands for English skills in the local social reward system and (4) stakeholders’ perceptions related to English learning, contributed to the initiation of The Project. The first factor resulted from the interaction of six sub-factors: the state’s expectation for Shanghai to be an international city, the state’s pro-Shanghai tendency, Shanghai’s foreign-medium instruction history, a group of Shanghai leaders favouring bilingual education, competition with Shanghai’s major counterparts, and justifications used by the municipality for The Project. Furthermore, in Guangzhou prior to The Project’s initiation, similar approval for a municipality-wide bilingual education project from the state was not found, despite the presence of the other three contributing factors identified in Shanghai. These findings are indicative of the pivotal role of the state’s

approval, subtle or otherwise, in initiating a bilingual education project as a regional-government endeavour within a *danwei* system.

The reality check concerning the implementation of The Project reveals that all eight areas examined except stakeholders' support for bilingual education provision might constitute potential problem areas: outcomes of The Project's implementation, abilities of teachers to conduct bilingual education, extent of support from policies at various levels, corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation, leadership of school administrators, measures to motivate and train teachers, and scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers. Parents' and students' support for bilingual education provision is fairly strong (e.g. about 75% parent respondents supporting The Project) and hence can hardly be characterized as a potential problem area. To minimize the impeding effects of those potential problem areas on The Project's implementation, Shanghai may need to learn experiences from comparable contexts, where CLIL-type bilingual education programmes similar to The Project encounter similar problem areas.

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List of Abbreviations and Chinese Terms

BE	Bilingual education
BE parents	Parents whose children were receiving some form of Chinese-English BE at the time of the second survey conducted during the dissertation project
CMI	Chinese-medium instruction
CLIL	Content and language integrated learning
CPC	The Communist Party of China
<i>Danwei</i>	A <i>danwei</i> is a work unit that has personnel power, provides communal facilities, maintains independent accounts and budgets, engages in urban or nonagricultural purview, and belongs to the public sector.
ELT	English language teaching
EMI	English-medium instruction
<i>Guanxi</i>	Personal connections, ties, or social capital
<i>Hukou</i>	The household registration
MoI	Medium of instruction
Non-BE parents	Parents whose children had never received any form of Chinese-English BE prior to the second survey conducted during the dissertation project
Questionnaire I	The Sociolinguistic-profile Questionnaire
Questionnaire IIA	The MoI Questionnaire targeting BE parents
Questionnaire IIB	The MoI Questionnaire targeting Non-BE parents
<i>Shanghairen</i>	Chinese people who live in Shanghai for more than six months and/or who identify Shanghai as their home place.
SHEC	The Shanghai Education Commission
SHMG	The Shanghai Municipal Government
SRS	Social reward system
The PRC	The People's Republic of China
The Project	The Bilingual Education Experiment in Primary and Secondary Schools of Shanghai

Table of Contents

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY	II
ABSTRACT.....	III
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CHINESE TERMS.....	VIII
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	IX
LIST OF TABLES	XII
LIST OF FIGURES	XIII
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. BACKGROUND: BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN CHINA	1
1.1.1. The Pre-1949 era	1
1.1.2. Between 1949 and 1999	2
1.1.3. Developments since 1999: Shanghai.....	4
1.1.4. The Project: A CLIL-type BE programme	7
1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	9
1.3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	11
1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS	12
1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	13
1.6. CHAPTER ORGANIZATION	14
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	16
2.1. FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROVISION OF BE	16
2.1.1. Factors Affecting Initiation.....	16
2.1.2. Factors Affecting Implementation	21
2.1.3. Importance of the Local Context	28
2.2. THE LOCAL CONTEXT: A <i>DANWEI</i> SYSTEM	28
2.2.1. Three Attributes of <i>Danwei</i>	28
2.2.2. Defining a <i>Danwei</i> System.....	35
2.2.3. Role of the State in a <i>Danwei</i> System	36
2.3. ADDITIONAL LOCAL LITERATURE GERMANE TO RESEARCH QUESTION (2)	38
2.3.1. Effects of Chinese-English BE	38
2.3.2. Support for Chinese-English BE among Major Stakeholders	42
3. SHANGHAI: THE CITY AND ITS PEOPLE.....	45
3.1. ECONOMIC STATUS OF SHANGHAI IN CHINA	45
3.2. THE SRS IN SHANGHAI.....	50
3.3. <i>SHANGHAIREN</i> (上海人): CORE CHARACTERISTICS.....	54
3.4. SHANGHAI PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION	60
3.5. SHANGHAI LEADERS IN A <i>DANWEI</i> SYSTEM.....	61
4. TWO CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS	70

4.1.	FRAMEWORK FOR INVESTIGATING THE INITIATION OF THE PROJECT	70
4.2.	FRAMEWORK FOR EXAMINING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROJECT	71
5.	RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS.....	74
5.1.	RESEARCH DESIGN	74
5.1.1.	Data Sources	74
5.1.2.	Data Analysis.....	78
5.2.	SAMPLING OF SURVEYS	80
5.2.1.	Survey using Questionnaire I	80
5.2.2.	Survey using Questionnaire IIA&B	84
5.3.	QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUMENTATION AND ADMINISTRATION.....	87
5.3.1.	Questionnaire I	87
5.3.2.	Questionnaire IIA&B	91
5.4.	SAMPLING, INSTRUMENTS AND ADMINISTRATION OF INTERVIEWS	93
5.4.1.	Interview with One Key Informant	93
5.4.2.	Interview with Students	94
5.4.3.	Interview with Teachers.....	96
6.	THE INITIATION OF THE PROJECT: CONTRIBUTING FACTORS.....	98
6.1.	SUBTLE APPROVAL FROM THE STATE	98
6.1.1.	The State's Expectation for Shanghai.....	98
6.1.2.	The State's Pro-Shanghai Tendency	99
6.1.3.	The Historical Precedence of Foreign-medium Instruction in Shanghai.....	102
6.1.4.	The <i>Shanghairen</i> who played a key role in initiating The Project	109
6.1.5.	Shanghai's Competition with its Major Counterparts	116
6.1.6.	Two Justifications used by the Municipality for The Project.....	119
6.1.7.	Discussion: Interaction of the Six Variables.....	123
6.2.	LITTLE EXPOSURE TO ENGLISH OUTSIDE SCHOOL.....	128
6.3.	DEMANDS FOR ENGLISH SKILLS IN THE LOCAL SRS	134
6.4.	STAKEHOLDERS' PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO ENGLISH LEARNING	139
6.4.1.	English Proficiency as a Social Desideratum.....	139
6.4.2.	Ineptitude of Teaching English as a Subject.....	146
6.4.3.	Relationship between EMI and English Proficiency	151
6.5.	DISCUSSION: RESEARCH QUESTION (1)	155
6.5.1.	Presence of Contributing Factors in Guangzhou.....	155
6.5.2.	Summary and Conclusion.....	161
7.	THE PROJECT IN IMPLEMENTATION	165
7.1.	OUTCOMES OF THE PROJECT'S IMPLEMENTATION	165
7.1.1.	Parents' Perceptions.....	165
7.1.2.	Students' Perceptions.....	167
7.1.3.	Discussion: Research Question (2a).....	168
7.2.	SUPPORT OF STAKEHOLDERS	169
7.2.1.	Students' Attitudes	169
7.2.2.	Parents' Attitudes	170
7.2.3.	Discussion: Research Question (2b).....	174
7.3.	ABILITIES OF TEACHERS TO CONDUCT BE.....	175

7.3.1.	Written English Proficiency	175
7.3.2.	Spoken English Proficiency	179
7.3.3.	Discussion.....	184
7.4.	SUPPORT FROM POLICIES AT VARIOUS LEVELS.....	187
7.5.	CORRESPONDING CHANGES OF MECHANISM OF STUDENT EVALUATION	194
7.6.	LEADERSHIP OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	197
7.7.	MEASURES TO MOTIVATE AND TRAIN TEACHERS	198
7.8.	SCIENTIFIC STUDIES CONDUCTED BY INTERNAL AND/OR EXTERNAL RESEARCHERS 201	
7.9.	DISCUSSION: RESEARCH QUESTION (2C)	204
8.	CODA.....	206
8.1.	WHITHER THE PROJECT.....	206
8.1.1.	Five Possible Scenarios	206
8.1.2.	Likelihood of Individual Scenarios	209
8.2.	LESSONS FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD	210
8.2.1.	Common Problem Areas: An International Comparative Perspective .	210
8.2.2.	Learning from Comparable Contexts	211
8.3.	LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH.....	214
8.4.	FINAL REMARKS AND WIDER IMPLICATIONS	217
8.4.1.	Initiation of a BE Programme.....	217
8.4.2.	Implementation of a BE Programme	218
8.4.3.	Implications for Research Policy Issues.....	219
	APPENDIX 1A. SELECTED ITEMS REGARDING LANGUAGE USE IN EDUCATION FROM FOUR ORDINANCES OF THE PRC	222
	APPENDIX 1B. CHINESE-ENGLISH BE IN THE PRC.....	224
	APPENDIX 1C. THE UNFOLDING OF THE PROJECT	231
	APPENDIX 1D. THE SLOW-DOWN OF THE PROJECT	235
	APPENDIX 2A. DEFINING COMPARABILITY	239
	APPENDIX 2B. PHILOSOPHICAL PREMISES.....	241
	APPENDIX 4A. THE LARGELY MERITOCRATIC NATURE OF THE SRS IN SHANGHAI .	245
	APPENDIX 5A. A TIMELINE OF DATA-COLLECTING IN THE FIELD	248
	APPENDIX 5B. QUESTIONNAIRE I.....	249
	APPENDIX 5C. QUESTIONNAIRE IIA.....	259
	APPENDIX 5D. QUESTIONNAIRE IIB.....	265
	APPENDIX 5E. VARIABLES AND ITEMS IN QUESTIONNAIRES IIA & IIB.....	269
	APPENDIX 5F. COVER LETTER FOR QUESTIONNAIRE IIA	270
	APPENDIX 5G. SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW	273
	APPENDIX 5H. SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR STUDENT GROUP INTERVIEWS	275
	APPENDIX 5I. SHEET FOR PRIORITIZING FACTORS AFFECTING IMPLEMENTATION....	276
	APPENDIX 7A. TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS	278
	APPENDIX 7B. A TEST PAPER FOR PRIMARY 1 SCIENCE.....	279
	REFERENCES	282

List of Tables

Table in the main text		Page
6.1	Exposure to English per Week (%) (N=260)	132
6.2	Shanghai's Import and Export Values with some English-speaking countries (billion USD)	135
6.3	Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Structure by Sector (%)	138
6.4	Non-BE parents' attitudes concerning English learning (N=196)	140
6.5	Importance of English in Child's Ideal Future <i>Danwei</i> (%)	141
6.6	Perceived Future Important Language(s) (%)	144
6.7	"Deaf and Dumb English" as a Label for Effects of Teaching English as a Subject Only	146
6.8	Major Obstacles for Children's English Learning (N=260)	147
6.9	Parent Respondents' MoI Choices at Primary and Secondary Schools (N=260)	151
7.1	BE Parents' Perceived Effects of BE on Children's English Language Learning	166
7.2	Students' Perceived Effectiveness of BE on Their Own English Language Learning (%)	167
7.3	Students' Attitudes towards BE Provision to Themselves in the Next Semester (%)	170
7.4	Parents' Attitudes towards BE Provision to Their Children in the Next Semester	171
7.5	Parents' Attitudes towards BE Provision to Their Children in the Next Semester at Different Schools	172
7.6	Quantitative Summary of Findings about Linguistic Reparables	176
Table in the appendices		Page
1a	Development of the Scale of The Project	226
4a	Monthly Salary of Shanghai People with Different Education Qualifications (Yuan)	246
5a	Summary of Data-collecting in the Field	248
5b	Variable Blocks and Items of Questionnaires IIA & IIB	269

List of Figures

Figure		Page
5.1	An Excerpt of A Teacher's Lesson Plan for a Demonstration Lesson from School C	77
7.1	Part of T1's Teaching Plan	177
7.2	A Picture of a Tunnel in the Model Mathematics Lesson	181

1. Introduction

1.1. Background: Bilingual education in China

1.1.1. The Pre-1949 era

In China, bilingual education¹ (BE) has existed in one form or another for a long time. The provision of BE, similar to its counterparts in the West (Lewis, 1976; 1981; Mackey, 1978), was largely confined to the social elite.

At the time of Confucius, some upper-class students were instructed through more than one language or “dialect”. The provision of BE, or more specifically bi-dialectical education, can be inferred from the fact that Confucius traveled and preached his ideas in fourteen different states on the land of *huaxia* 华夏, land of glory, without any apparent linguistic barriers. The medium of instruction (MoI) used by Confucius was *Yayan* 雅言, a language very different from the local oral languages used in non-academic domains (Zhou, 2002: 71-5). *Yayan* was adopted in education across different states, the vernaculars of which were, to a significant measure, mutually unintelligible (Tsou & You, 2001: 6-19).

During the periods when the majority-language Hans were under foreign domination, BE involving a foreign MoI can be inferred to have been practiced in formal education. During the regime of the Xianbeis in the Northern Wei Dynasty (A.D. 387-534), the foreign ruling class used Classical Chinese, a contemporary form of Confucius’ teaching medium, as

¹ BE is an umbrella term. Broadly speaking, BE means “some use of two (or more) languages of instructions in connection with teaching courses other than language *per se*” (Fishman, 1976: 24). In China, teaching through two (or more) varieties of the Chinese language falls into the broadest-sense of BE. Henceforth whenever the situations concern China in my following writing, the label “bi-dialectal education” is used to denote teaching through two or more varieties of the Chinese Han language (e.g. Putonghua plus Cantonese) while the label “BE” is reserved *solely* for teaching through Putonghua plus (at least) one foreign language (e.g. Putonghua plus English), unless otherwise specified.

a principal MoI (So & Wei, 2007). During the Yuan Dynasty (A.D. 1271-1368), at a couple of government schools, the Han students were probably instructed through a foreign MoI, i.e. Mongolian (cf. Liu, 1998; J. Wang, 2004).

Soon after China entered its Modern Period marked by the First Sino-British War in 1841, BE involving a foreign MoI was, to a large extent, imposed by foreign powers. In 1842 the Manchu government was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanjing by which, among other concessions, the Hong Kong Island was ceded to Britain and five ports (the so-called Treaty Ports, viz. Shanghai, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Ningbo) were opened to foreign trade. In the following ten decades, foreign encroachment in China intensified steadily and more cities and ports became subject to direct or indirect foreign governance. At some schools and tertiary institutions that were church-related and/or under foreign governance, the Hans undertook part of the curriculum through a foreign language (cf. Fu, 1986; Li, *et al.*, 1988; Li & Xu, 2006). In addition, some government-run schools, especially those military-technical ones established during the Self-strengthening Movement initiated in the 1860s, chose to provide BE involving a foreign MoI to their Han students (cf. Biggerstaff, 1961; Fu, 1986).

Provision of BE involving a foreign MoI to Hans at schools run by the government or foreign organizations was not disrupted by the transition from the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912) to the Republican Era under the Nationalist regime (1912-1949). But this kind of BE, in which English was the most frequently used MoI, did not survive the next regime change.

1.1.2. Between 1949 and 1999

Once the Communist Party of China (CPC) came into power in 1949, it adopted the pro-Russia foreign policy and the paralleling anti-West national campaign. Consequently, BE involving English as a MoI and even English language teaching (ELT) in most schools were discontinued. Although

between 1949 and China's adoption of the Open Door policy² in 1978, ELT underwent "a roller-coaster ride of changing policy directives" mostly dictated by changing political climates (Bolton, 2003: 246), teaching English as a subject finally stabilized at a much valued place in the early 1980s and has since been gaining prominence (see Adamson, 2002; Lam, 2002 for good reviews of ELT in different periods). However, BE involving English was virtually non-existent in the Chinese Mainland³.

Since the early 1950s, the PRC, in regards to MoI policy, has followed the "worldwide trends" (Tacelosky, 1998: 1), namely providing education almost exclusively through the national language(s) for majority-language students and reserving BE primarily for minority-language students (Stern, 1983: 230-1). For the 55 officially recognized minority ethnic groups, the Constitution guarantees freedom for using their own languages; furthermore a number of ordinances (see Appendix 1A) specify that their home and/or local languages, in addition to the official Putonghua, may be used as MoIs.

In contrast, as regards the MoI issue concerning the majority Han group, heavy subscription to monolingual norms can be detected. Providing education through a linguistic medium other than the *de facto* "national language" appears to contradict Article 12 of the Law of Education (passed in 1995), which ordains that the spoken and written forms of the Han Chinese Language shall be the "basic" MoIs; furthermore, it seemed to contravene Article 10 of the Ordinance on the Standard Language and Writing (passed in 2000), which stipulates that the oral and written MoIs in state educational institutions outside minorities regions shall be Putonghua and Modern Standard Chinese "unless otherwise specified by law". However, the law has not specified under what conditions English or any

² "Gaigekaiifang 改革开放", or literally "reform and opening-up" (Gamble, 2003) was announced in the communiqué of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC. This national programme, largely designed by DENG Xiaoping, towards trade, payments, and investment with Western countries is referred to as the Open Door policy for sake of brevity.

³ Terms like Mainland China and the Chinese Mainland are used when the point being made may not be applicable to Taiwan, Macao, and Hong Kong.

other foreign language can be used as a MoI. Consequently, BE in China between 1949 and 1999 was *primarily* purveyed to minority-language students. Thus, in *The Handbook of Bilingualism* published in 2002, Li & Lee (2002), referring to Blachford (1997), still make an observation that “BE in China means *only* the minority nationalities learning Chinese in addition to their mother tongue” (emphasis added).

For majority-language Hans, although bi-dialectal education involving Putonghua and the local dialect had been dominant especially in southern and western areas of China for decades (Fishman, 1976: 56), it began to wane, especially in big cities, as the national programme of popularizing Putonghua initiated by the state in 1956 gained prominence. BE programmes involving a foreign MoI could be found at a number of international schools in the 1990s⁴ but the number of Han students involved was marginal and such BE provision was not within the public mainstream sector.

1.1.3. Developments since 1999: Shanghai⁵

In connection with Han students, Fishman’s (1976: 56) observation that “BE involving foreign languages is still rare” required no modification until 1999. The year 1999 saw an announcement by the Shanghai Education Commission (SHEC) to “experiment with” Chinese-English BE at some state schools, where English is used to teach part of the subject matter of non-language subject(s). In 2001, the SHEC went a step further and

⁴ Although international schools primarily cater for children of foreigners, some do enroll Chinese students. For example, Yew Chung International School of Shanghai 上海耀中国际学校, “the largest international school boasting the highest number of foreign students in Shanghai” in 1990s which “follows the prototype of EMI schools in Hong Kong” (M. Li, 2000) enrolls Chinese students under its “non-discriminatory policy” of student admission (e.g. regardless of “ethnic or national background”) (Yew Chung International School of Shanghai, 2009).

⁵ Shanghai is the largest city of China that has enjoyed a prominent economic status since 1842, with its metaphors ranging from “the Oriental New York” in the pre-1949 era, to “locomotive of China’s industrialization” in the pre-reform period (viz. 1949-1978) and then to “locomotive of the Chinese economy” in the reform era (see Section 3.1 of Chapter 3 for more).

formally initiated a municipality-wide “*experiment*” officially named the Bilingual Education Experiment in Primary and Secondary Schools of Shanghai 上海市中小学双语教学实验 (henceforth “The Project”) with the promulgation of its policy document titled *Implementation Guidelines for Improving the Foreign-language Teaching at Primary and Secondary Levels in Shanghai* 关于进一步加强本市中小学外语教学的实施意见 (hereafter the SHEC’s 2001 Document). The full name of this “experiment” notwithstanding, The Project has been expanded to include some kindergartens (see Appendix 1C for more about the unfolding of The Project).

Such local governmental efforts in Shanghai, unprecedented in the PRC history (Wei, 2009a), obviously deviated significantly from what is ordained by law. Understandably, The Project has been subject of intense controversy and severe criticism since its mounting its initiation. In my interview with Mr. ZHU Pu, Deputy Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project commissioned by the SHEC (2002c), Mr. Zhu acknowledged the existence of hindrance and criticism at the initial phrase of conducting The Project and pointed out some causes (e.g. concerns over possible detrimental effects on subject content delivery and teacher qualifications). Some opponents (e.g. Gu, 2004; Peng, 2005) of The Project and its counterparts accuse them of being illegal and label Shanghai as “the most deeply involved city in the BE faddishness 受到双语教育思潮危害最深的城市” (see Appendix 1B for more). Despite the controversy and criticism, The Project, initiated about a decade ago, is still being implemented at a good number of schools.

Since “initiation” and “implementation” will be used frequently henceforth, their definitions here are instrumental. I use “initiation” and “implementation” in the same senses as defined by Fullan (2001: 50) in his classic monograph on educational changes: initiation “consists of the process that leads up to and includes a decision to adopt or proceed with a

change” and implementation “involves the first experiences of attempting to put an idea or reform into practice”⁶. According to Fullan (2001: 50), the initiation stage is followed by the implementation stage, and the latter is followed by the stage of institutionalization. The three stages of initiation, implementation and (lack of) institutionalization of BE constitute what I call the provision of BE.

Best available official data suggest that as of December 2006, about 300 primary and secondary schools have participated in The Project, involving around 2,900 teachers and 140,000 students (Zhu, 2007). The SHEC has planned to expand this municipality-wide experiment so that in 2010 half a million students (*viz. slightly over forty per cent*⁷ of the current total student population) will be benefiting from BE (Guo, 2003; *Xinwen Chenbao* [News Morning Post], 2003). The percentages of students involved and to be involved are quite high especially given the ten-year time-frame *vis-à-vis* the percentages⁸ from comparable⁹ BE programmes.

Following Shanghai, local governments of Liaoning Province, Jiangxi Province, Suzhou City and Guilin City have begun to implement their own versions of Chinese-English BE at some of their primary and secondary schools. In some parts of Chinese mainland where local governments do not promote BE, individual schools have taken the initiative and begun using English as a MoI (see Appendix 1B for more). At the state level, however, BE in primary and secondary schools has not received explicit government endorsement. In undergraduate teaching, BE first gained state support in 2001 with the issuance of a policy document from the Ministry of Education, which encourages BE involving a foreign language; since then, the Ministry

⁶ A term related to “initiation” and “implementation” is “institutionalization”, which “refers to whether the change gets built in as an ongoing part of the system” (Fullan, 2001: 50).

⁷ Another more conservative figure is 25%, based on data from J. X. Wang (2005), Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project appointed by the SHEC.

⁸ For example, the current proportion of the majority Anglophone students in Canada receiving French immersion is only around 7% (i.e. about 330 thousand out of around five million) of the total student population after a steady expansion of BE provision for over four decades since the inception of the St. Lambert Experiment (Lambert & Tucker, 1972).

⁹ For a definition of comparability, see Appendix 2A.

has issued a number of documents to facilitate such BE provision (see Appendix 1B for more).

To date, it appears that Chinese-English BE at the tertiary level enjoys explicit support from the state, while at primary and secondary levels it is experimented with by a few local governments. Apparently the state authorities tolerate it so long as it remains an experiment (see also Section 6.1 of Chapter 6).

1.1.4. The Project: A CLIL-type BE programme

Many BE programmes, including The Project, in the Chinese mainland exhibit most of the eight core characteristics of an immersion programme identified by Swain & Johnson (1997). These programmes cannot be characterized as “total immersion” programmes. Feng (2005) claims that they follow the “partial immersion” model which, he believes is “widely used and promoted for schools”.

However, the use of “partial immersion” to refer to BE programmes in China, especially The Project, is problematic. It fails to account for two fundamental programmatic differences between The Project and its prototypical counterparts in Canada, for which the term was coined.

First, the term “partial immersion” often has the connotation of using L2 as a MoI for *at least* 50% of the total instruction time (Genesee, 1987: 20; 1994a; Cummins, 1995: 160; Baker, 1996: 332; 2001: 205; Kong, 2004: 2; Binhua WANG, 2003: 124)”. This is not the case with The Project. In Shanghai, EMI constitutes normally only 5-20% of the total instruction time even in the first batch of model BE schools¹⁰.

Of the 28 first-batch model BE schools, five provided relevant information on their EMI lesson-periods. The self-reported EMI

¹⁰ The official title awarded to each of these 28 schools by the SHEC is “Shanghai BE Experimental School 上海市中小学双语教学实验学校”. The SHEC planned to select 100 model BE schools by the end of 2007 but so far it has certified 54 such schools in two batches (see Appendix 1D for more).

lesson-period frequency ranged from *at least* one per week (e.g. Shanghai Gezhi Secondary School, 2005) to *at most* 8 per week (viz. Shanghai Fenghua Secondary School, 2005)¹¹. If BE lessons were conducted entirely in English, then EMI would be between 2.9% and 23.5%¹² of the total instruction time. Because of such low EMI percentages it may not be appropriate to use the label “partial immersion” to characterise The Project.

On the other hand, *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL), which some (e.g. Baetens Beardsmore, 2002; Gajo & Serra, 2002) believe represents the latest stage of developments in BE, is a much more flexible term than “partial immersion” since CLIL has a wider range of connotations in terms of exposure to target language. In CLIL programmes, the percentage of target language use in the total instruction time is divided into three categories: low (about 5-15%), medium (about 15-50%) and high (over 50%) (Marsh, 2002: 17). In terms of exposure to target language, The Project fits into the *low* exposure category, which is incompatible with the definition of an immersion programme.

Second, early immersion programmes, total or partial, tend to delay the teaching of students’ more familiar language (usually L1) *as a subject* for 3 or 4 years after the inception of immersion (Baetens Beardsmore, 1997). Such practice has been questioned by Cummins (1995) who looks at BE programmes in Europe in order to reassess early French immersion programmes in Canada. Immersion programmes where the less familiar language is used as a MoI also tend to purposefully postpone the teaching of it *as a subject*, as in the well-documented St. Lambert Experiment (Lambert & Tucker, 1972, cf. Baetens Beardsmore, 2009b).

However, for students receiving some form of BE in Shanghai, Chinese

¹¹ The percentages are rough estimates as the school concerned did not provide specific enough information about their EMI lesson periods.

¹² The total teaching periods per week for Grades 1-2, Grade 3, Grades 4-5 respectively are 32, 33 and 34, each lasting 35 minutes at the primary school level (Shanghai Curriculum and Teaching Materials Reform Commission (SCTMRC), 2004: 9). At the secondary school level, the total teaching periods per week for Grades 6-9 and Grades 10-12 respectively are 34 and 35, each lasting 40 minutes (SCTMRC, 2004: 11-4).

(viz. their more familiar language) is a compulsory subject from Primary One. In addition, virtually all students also learn English as a subject from Primary One. That is to say, the Shanghai practice of language-subject arrangements (i.e. the starting level of language subjects) in BE programmes diverges significantly from Canadian immersion but converges towards CLIL (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993a, 2009b).

Therefore, compared with “partial immersion”, CLIL is a more appropriate label to characterise the nature of The Project.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

As aforementioned, in the half-century period ensuing the founding of the PRC, BE in China was synonymous with educating minority ethnic groups through the official language and their local language(s); BE involving a foreign MoI for majority-language Hans was non-existent largely because of the afore-mentioned articles from laws.

However, at the turn of this century, Shanghai became the first city in the Chinese Mainland to embrace the re-emergence of Chinese-English BE by mounting The Project. Usually the introduction of a BE programme “relies largely on supportive legislation” (Eurydice, 2006: 52), but such a factor was absent in Shanghai when the decision to launch The Project was adopted. Hence why Shanghai managed to initiate a municipality-wide Chinese-English BE project as a regional-government endeavor is a research question that merits attention.

This question is even more interesting when put into the wider context of the Chinese society. As the post-1949 regime has long been characterized as “totalitarian” (So, 1992: 76; Blachford, 1999: 310) or as “post-totalitarian” (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 44-5), it is understood that things deemed significant by the state were put under rigid state control. Although the state has been receding from direct control over many spheres of the society since the inception of the Open Door policy, in sectors other than the

economic one, the state control remained rather strong in the 1990s (see Section 2.2.3 of Chapter 2 for more). The MoI issue for the majority Hans is of great importance to the state, as reflected in the fact that this issue has been addressed in more than one ordinance. So one would anticipate that it is under strict state control. Nevertheless, Shanghai appeared to have been able to get around these legal stipulations and managed to mount The Project without state intervention. Evidently in the context of China what makes such a move possible is something that needs to be accounted for.

Accordingly examining the research question concerning the initiation of The Project, which may further the understanding of factors affecting the initiation of a BE programme (see Chapter 2 for a review), becomes the first focus of this study. While a number of studies have attempted similar initiation issues (e.g. the emergence of “BE craze” in China *as a whole* as discussed in Hu, 2007; see Chapter 2 for more), this study is the first attempt to address the initiation issue *specifically pertaining to* Shanghai.

As indicated earlier, The Project has gone beyond the initiation stage and is now functioning in the implementation stage. Given the SHEC’s goal of providing BE to half a million students in 2010, The Project is supposed to be expanded further in terms of involving more students. But in sharp contrast to some authors’ assertion that “the BE craze” (Hu, 2007) will not abate, The Project is in fact being quietly slowed down in a low-profile fashion, as evidenced by a number of indicators. One major indicator (for more, see Appendix 1D) is the SHEC’s failure to accomplish its pledge of certifying 100 municipality-level model BE schools within the scheduled time-frame¹³. Given the recent slow-down in the pace of The Project’s implementation, a concern arises regarding what problem areas The Project may encounter and whether The Project will further develop in the future. Therefore, a reality check on the status quo of The Project’s implementation

¹³ It is reported in *Shanghai Education*, an educational magazine supervised by the SHEC that “by the end of 2007, Shanghai will have certified 100 municipality-level model BE schools” (Shen, 2004). However, as of the end of 2009, slightly more than 50 such model schools have been officially certified.

constitutes the second focus of this study.

An investigation of the implementation of The Project may contribute to a better understanding of the specific kinds of factors that are believed to be vital to the future of BE for majority-language students in Shanghai in particular and the PRC in general. A constructive exploration into The Project's implementation necessitates an examination of more specific issues including what effects The Project has brought about, how supportive the major stakeholders are regarding The Project and what constitute the potential problem areas for The Project's implementation.

Some authors have attempted to investigate a couple of issues similar to the above ones. For instance, quite a few authors have discussed variables believed to be able to facilitate the implementation of Chinese-English BE in China in general or The Project in particular, with their conclusions ranging from very optimistic (e.g. S. P. Zhu, 2004; Y. Z. Liu, 2004) to very pessimistic (e.g. F. J. Zhang, 2003; Bao, 2004; Yan, 2004; Si, 2008). Unfortunately, the extant BE-related publications in Chinese are characterized as "long on claims and short on empirical data" (Hu, 2007), some of which even suffer from lack of an adequate, if at all, literature review (Wei & Xiong, 2005). In fact, a serious academic inquiry would utilize a systematic literature review as a point of departure and go on to build upon some first-hand empirical data. The study represents the first attempt to pursue the above specific issues in this direction.

In sum, this study aims at developing an understanding of the provision of BE for majority-language students through an in-depth examination of The Project in Shanghai. The two foci of this study are the initiation and the implementation of The Project.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

As the first attempt to examine BE in Shanghai in a systematic fashion, the study aims at understanding the genesis of The Project as well as its

future. Specifically, the objectives of this study are to:

(1) provide an explanation of the factors that enabled the Shanghai administration to be the first municipality to “experiment with” Chinese-English BE; and

(2) conduct a preliminary exploration into the future possibilities of The Project based on an assessment of its effectiveness, its support from stakeholders and its potential problem areas.

1.4. Research Questions

This study examines two main questions:

Research Question (1): What were the contributing factors to The Project’s initiation in Shanghai whose municipality is part of the national *danwei* system¹⁴?

Research Question (2): How is The Project developing in its current “experimental” stage?

In connection with Question (2), the following three more specific questions are examined:

(2a) What are the effects of EMI on English learning according to the perception of the students and their parents?

(2b) What are the attitudes of the students and their parents towards the (continued) provision of EMI?

(2c) What are the potential problem areas for the implementation of The Project *vis-à-vis* the eight factors identified in the second conceptual framework (see Chapter 4), viz. outcomes of BE, stakeholders’ support, abilities of teachers to conduct BE, extent of support from policies at various levels, corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation, leadership of school administrators, measures to motivate and train teachers, and scientific studies?

¹⁴ See Section 2.2 of Chapter 2 for a definition.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The significance of this study can be seen in terms of its potential theoretical and practical contributions.

Firstly, the study examines the provision of Chinese-English BE in a totalitarian regime, as opposed to the most frequently researched contexts such as Hong Kong and Canada where a social ethos of “letting people be people” (So, 1984: 277) is much in evidence. Hence it might contribute some new insights regarding the formative factors of BE for majority language students.

Secondly, this study, having a focus on the pre-tertiary level, is one of the first few empirical studies about factors affecting the implementation of BE in the Chinese mainland. Its counterparts (e.g. Han, 2008) focusing on the tertiary level have achieved an understanding of the viability and sustainability of BE for majority-language students in the most populous country. The study may help to make such an understanding more holistic. Furthermore, it might shed light upon the sustainability of BE targeting majority-language students in the world as a whole, *vis-à-vis* the bright future for this kind of BE provision foreseen by Genesee (2002: 34).

Thirdly, this study helps to put The Project to where it belongs in the broad field of BE. It is the first study to characterize The Project as a CLIL programme (Section 1.1.4 of Chapter 1); taking this as a starting point, I argue elsewhere (viz. Wei, under review) that “CLIL-type BE” is more appropriate than “partial immersion” (cf. Feng, 2005) to label the major Chinese-English BE programme model not only in Shanghai but also elsewhere in the Chinese mainland. This may prompt more Chinese researchers to draw upon research and practice of CLIL from Europe, rather than of immersion from North America.

Fourthly, the empirical data generated by the study may substantiate previous impressionistic insights and help clarify some misunderstandings

surrounding BE in China in the current academic discourses, be they Chinese (e.g. Bao, 2004; Peng, 2005) or English (e.g. Feng, 2005; Hu, 2007). For instance, J. X. Wang (2005), Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project, asserts that implementing BE fully reflects “the will of the vast majority of the general public”; some of my first-hand data can substantiate this personal observation. Another case in point is that some authors (e.g. Davison & Trent, 2007) misconvey that *each* tertiary institution in Mainland China is required to provide EMI by the Ministry of Education; a review of the relevant official documents (e.g. Ministry of Education, 2003) presented in this study clarifies that this requirement is applicable only to a fraction of universities.

Finally, since The Project is the first regional-government endeavor in the Chinese Mainland, the lessons and experience from Shanghai revealed by this study can provide practical and valuable information for language-related policy makers at various levels, especially those outside Shanghai who are considering introducing or are already implementing their own versions of Chinese-English BE programmes.

1.6. Chapter Organization

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 has provided a brief sketch of the historical development of BE in China as well as an introduction to the problem, purpose, research questions and significance of the study. Chapter 2 reviews literature concerning factors affecting the initiation and the implementation stages of a BE programme, which correspond respectively to Research Questions (1) and (2); it also reviews literature pertaining to the local context (i.e. a *danwei* system) as well as that relevant to two specific questions, namely Research Questions (2a) and (2b) derived from Research Question (2). Chapter 3 discusses bits about Shanghai and its people, viz. the city’s economic status, its SRS, *Shanghairen*’s core characteristics, Shanghai parents and their children’s

education, and Shanghai leaders; these bits serve as “givens” surrounding The Project while other bits deemed directly affecting The Project are discussed in a later finding chapter (viz. Chapter 6).

Chapter 4 outlines the two conceptual frameworks constructed respectively for Research Questions (1) and (2). Chapter 5 reports on the research design and the data analysis methods, and then deals with details concerning the sampling, instrumentation and administration of the surveys and interviews. Chapters 6 and 7 engage in analyzing and discussing data respectively concerning Research Questions (1) and (2). Chapter 8 explores a number of possibilities for the future development of The Project, examines the common problem areas shared by The Project and its CLIL counterparts in an international comparative perspective, advances some suggestions for the improvement of The Project’s implementation and for future research, and concludes this study with some final remarks and wider implications.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Factors Affecting the Provision of BE

This section has two parts. Each covers works addressing respectively the initiation and the implementation of BE provision. Since the phenomenon under study is a BE programme for majority-language students (i.e. The Project), I will exclude from my review the literature concerning *only* minority-language students¹⁵.

2.1.1. Factors Affecting Initiation

International literature about BE in general

Although studies explicitly discussing factors affecting the initiation stage of a BE programme are far fewer than their counterparts on factors influencing the implementation stage (see Section 2.1.2), some insights can still be derived from the former type of studies. For instance, Genesee (2002: 32) deems “parental support for the creation” of BE programmes as “crucial”. According to Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995), there are “four stages through which students move toward full multilingualism and multiliteracy”; in the first stage named “pre-multilingualism stage”, the time frame of which is “before school starts” a BE programme, the principal agents are parents and politicians. With reference to the role of politicians in initiating a BE programme, “at least local but often also regional and national politicians need to at least accept but preferably actively support

¹⁵ Interested readers are referred to the useful few pieces of English literature on BE for minority language students in China: Blachford (1999), Li & Lee (2002), Dai & Cheng (2007) and Xu (2009). Numerous studies discuss BE for minority-language students in other parts of the world, some (e.g. California State Department of Education, 1981; Tikunoff, 1983; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Hornberger, 1988; Lucas, Henze & Bonato, 1990; Mistral, 1998; Cummins, 2003; May, Hill & Tiakiwa, 2004) of which focus upon facilitating factors of this type of BE provision.

education leading towards multilingualism” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia, 1995: 230-1). Such insights inform my selection of certain factors to construct a conceptual framework (see Section 4.1 of Chapter 4).

Insights about factors affecting the initiation stage of a BE programme can *also* be gleaned from studies on factors influencing the provision of BE as a whole, which may be applicable to the initiation and/or the implementation stages. Baetens Beardsmore’s (1997, 2009a: 138-155) studies, drawing upon Spolsky, Green & Read’s (1976[1974]) classic¹⁶ model, are among the most noteworthy (see also Section 2.1.2). The framework advanced by Baetens Beardsmore contains 22 variables whose sequence numbers are rearranged by me for convenience of subsequent reference:

- (a1) social and linguistic backgrounds of students and their suitability to receive BE, (a2) linguistic homogeneity of the school population, (a3) public policy with regard to languages in education, (a4) geographical location and opportunities for use outside school premises, (a5) status of languages involved, (a6) linguistic characteristics (e.g. distance between Mols) (a7) attitudes, (a8) economics, (a9) religion, culture, and ideologies;
- (b1) Nature of the curriculum, (b2) choice of subjects, (b3) arrangements for fostering initial literacy, (b4) exit criteria (e.g. the extent to which significant examinations take BE into account), (b5) teaching materials, (b6) teacher competence, (b7) language strategies (e.g. paying sufficient heed to output in the classroom), (b8) parental involvement, (b9) whole school involvement in fostering the use of more than one languages on school

¹⁶ By classic is meant that these authors probably made the earliest attempt to identify a comprehensive list of factors affecting BE. Their model, involving over 80 factors and variables, was still referred to decades later (e.g. Baetens Beardsmore, 1994; Housen, 2002a).

premises;

(c1) the extent to which the programme is oriented towards different linguistic goals (e.g. addition of an additional language at no cost to the first language), (c2) the extent to which the programme is aimed at different literacy goals (e.g. minimal, partial or full biliteracy), (c3) non-linguistic subject content goals similar to those obtained in monolingual education, and (c4) sociocultural outcomes.

According to Baetens Beardsmore, situational variables (i.e. those with the sequence number containing an “a”) concern the environment or setting in which a school must operate. Operational variables (viz. those with the sequence number containing a “b”) concern the practical steps a school has to take to run a programme. Outcome variables (i.e. those with a “c” in the sequence number) refer to what can be reasonably expected in terms of linguistic proficiency and scholastic achievement from a particular bilingual programme in a given context with its specific resources.

Baetens Beardsmore’s framework has been enjoying wide currency in quite a number of recent scholastic works (e.g. Masih, 1999; Marsh, Marsland & Stenberg 2001: 35; Marsh, 2002: 56; Abuja, 2003). It is useful in discussing other studies in Section 2.1.2 and my conceptual framework construction (Chapter 4). The variables involved may cover some of those that may contribute specifically to the initiation of a BE programme.

International literature about Chinese-English BE

A recent discussion in English pertaining to the initiation of BE in China *in general* appears in H. Zhang’s (2003) doctoral dissertation on Chinese Englishes. Zhang (2003: 124), believing “BE comes into being in response to the changing demands for English and the inadequacy of traditional ELT methods”, points out that the initiation of BE “involves a number of internal factors, such as the socioeconomic mobility English

offers; and external factors, such as China's successful Olympic bid and admission to the WTO". These comments, despite given in passing, serve as insightful personal observations.

The most recent English publication concerning the initiation (and implementation) of Chinese-English BE is Hu's (2007) book chapter. Hu asserts that the following three factors are "the driving forces behind the BE craze": (1) "an entrenched modernization discourse that links national development to English proficiency", (2) "an academic discourse that embraces BE unreflectively", and (3) "stakeholders and major players" with vested interests in the provision of BE such as "local governments in Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen", "district educational departments and prestigious schools" supporting BE, participating teachers, and "parents and older students". Obviously, Hu's approach draws heavily upon "discourse"¹⁷. His approach differs significantly from mine, which accords primacy to structural and infrastructural variables (see Appendix 2B for a discussion of my subscribed paradigm).

In contrast, So's (1984) theorizing is more relevant to my approach. So (1984: 44-46) deductively proposes a behavioral-infrastructural model of social selection, which accords primacy to infrastructural variables. His model is then enunciated by an empirical study of "the phenomenon of English dominance in the bilingual education system in Hong Kong" (So, 1984: 274). So (1984: 276-277) argues that "more powerful explanations" for the provision of BE (e.g. reflected in stakeholders' MoI selections in Hong Kong) "lie at behavioral-infrastructural level instead of institutional or ideological levels". Specifically, So (1984, see So & Wei, 2007, for a

¹⁷ Hu (2007) does not make explicit what he means by "discourse". According to Gee's (1996, 2011) classic differentiation of the "little d" discourse and the "big D" Discourse, discourse refers to "connected stretches of language that make sense, like conversations, stories, reports, arguments, essays, and so forth" while Discourse "ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes" (Gee, 1996: 127; see also Gee, 2011: 189, 201-202, 205). Hu's (2007) employment of "discourse" seems to be drawing on Gee's Discourse, which tends to be so all-encompassing as to involve not only structural and infrastructural factors but also superstructural ones (e.g. values).

summary) pinpoints the following factors as accountable for the rise of EMI schools and the resultant fall of CMI ones between 1949 and the 1980s in Hong Kong, which covered some form of the initiation of BE:

- (1) Demographics and the resultant endemic sociolinguistic conditions unfavorable to English learning, (2) a Social Reward System (SRS) with a premium for English skills in a metropolis with upward & outward mobility, (3) stakeholders' perceptions of English proficiency as a social desideratum, (4) stakeholders' perceptions regarding the positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency, (5) the actor(s) (e.g. parental groups), and (6) the local history of EMI.

So's (1984) model, along with Baetens Beardsmore's framework, will be significantly drawn upon in my conceptual framework construction (Section 4.1 of Chapter 4).

Local literature

In the Chinese literature, a number of authors (e.g. Ke, 2007) have discussed factors affecting the initiation of a BE programme in China in general or of The Project in particular. Unfortunately, their publications suffer from lack of an adequate, if at all, literature review, just like many Chinese-medium academic publications on BE (see detailed critiques by Wei & Xiong, 2005 and Hu, 2007). Despite this limitation, the works by P. Zhu merit attention due not only to their direct relevance to The Project's initiation but also to the authorship.

Mr. ZHU Pu 朱浦 works as a *jiaoyanyuan* 教研员¹⁸ (a teaching-and-research inspector) for English language teaching at the

¹⁸ The *jiaoyanyuan* of a certain subject group supervises and guides the group member teachers in their teaching and/or research and provides to the school principal his/her evaluations of a specific teacher. A district-level *jiaoyanyuan*'s administrative power is generally thought to be no less than that of a school principal. So far as Mr. ZHU Pu is concerned, as a municipal-level *jiaoyanyuan* for the subject of English, he leads all the district-level English-subject *jiaoyanyuan* from the 17 districts and one county of Shanghai (normally one district-level *jiaoyanyuan* per district).

SHEC; soon after the initiation of The Project, he has been Deputy Head of the Research Steering Group for the Project, appointed by the SHEC. Zhu (2003a, 2003b) remarks on the “*dongyin*动因 (driving forces)” behind The Project, proposing three composite factors: (1) difficulties confronting foreign language learners, which entail seven variables including the inconducive foreign language learning environment (e.g. limited opportunities for authentic communication), linguistic distance between the MoIs, insufficient total exposure hours to the target foreign language, and teacher competence; (2) proactive educational policy and (3) BE *per se* as a successful language teaching strategy.

These driving forces can be regarded as composite factors contributing to the initiation of The Project. Unfortunately, Zhu’s discussion, albeit illuminating, suffers from two limitations. The first is the failure to make adequate use of state-of-the-art international literature. Zhu’s first two factors are repeating, to a large extent, Variables (a3), (a4), (a6) from Baetens Beardsmore’s (1997, 2009a) framework shown above. The second limitation is that Zhu simply bases his argument for Factor (2) upon a discussion of the role of a local policy document (viz. *Curriculum Standards for the Subject of English at Primary and Secondary Levels* 上海市中小学英语课程标准 issued by the SHEC, see Appendix 1C for more), ignoring the role of the state. However, as I will suggest in Section 2.2 below, it would be gravely mistaken to assume that the state do not play a role in important matters such as initiating The Project, given the core attributes of a *danwei* system.

2.1.2. Factors Affecting Implementation

International literature not confined to a specific context

Quite some authors have explicitly discussed factors affecting the implementation stage of a BE programme. For instance, Tucker & Cziko (1985: 364) notes that “active community involvement would seem to

constitute one necessary ingredient for successful programme implementation”. Genesee (2002: 32) highlights the importance of parents’ role in the implementation of a BE programme, suggesting that “it is important to involve parents not only at the outset, when a new programme is being discussed or planned, but also once a programme is running”. Johnstone (2002) identifies a series of “key conditions for the implementation of successful L2-immersion programmes”, which are lumped into three broad categories of provision, process and outcome factors.

Many other authors, while not explicitly claiming to focus on the implementation stage of BE, have suggested some factors that may influence the implementation stage. In the seminal textbook on bilingualism, Baetens Beardsmore (1986:116) emphasizes “early start” and “continuity” by commenting that “most, though not all, the evidence on successful bilingual education arises in cases where the bilingual element is introduced early in the child’s development and continuously promoted in an uninterrupted and coherent programme”. So (1987: 259) also highlights an early start of using the target language as a MoI as one “conditions that make bilingual education work” in relating findings from international research to the Hong Kong context. “Immediate pertinence” proposed by Baetens Beardsmore & Kohls (1988), which is deemed “an important factor in the success of L2 programmes” (Housen, 2002b), and a series of “principles of successful BE” identified by Swain (1986[1982]: 100; 1986[1984]: 55-6) may well be factors that can affect the implementation of a BE programme.

However, the important elements contained in the above insights largely fall within Baetens Beardsmore’s (1997, 2009a) comprehensive framework reviewed earlier. In addition to Baetens Beardsmore, some other authors have made efforts to identify important factors affecting BE provision as a whole. The identified factors can be regarded as those that

can influence the implementation stage of a BE programme.

Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995) are prominent among the first batch of such authors, whose framework has been previously touched upon and is worth delineating here because what they call “the guiding principles for multilingual education” pertain *more* to the implementation than to the initiation of BE provision. They identify nine guiding principles, while noting that “many points could be added or deleted” (p. 239), with the first four subsumed under “educational agents” and the rest “educational culture (i.e. context)”: (1) multilingual administration and staff, (2) bi- or multilingual teachers, (3) committed parents, (4) progressively multilingual students, (5) multilingual educational context, (6) multilingual language policy, (7) multilingual educational strategies, (8) multilingual materials, and (9) multilingual fair assessment.

Similarly, Baker (1996: 202) points out that “a great variety of factors act and interact to determine whether BE is successful or not”, which include various parental, community, teacher, school and society variables incorporated in what he calls the Input-Output-Context-Process BE Model (Baker, 1996: 343). Specifically, Baker’s model involves two input variables that are further broken down into seven sub-variables, six output variables, three process variables, and five context variables. However, Baker does not include this model in the latest versions of his book (Baker, 2001; 2006), probably because it resembles too much the one developed by Dunkin & Biddle (1974, cited in Baker, 1996) for effective teaching in general.

Later, similar efforts are made notably by Tucker (1998) who distils six “conditions for successful multilingual education” from his survey of BE programmes in a wide range of countries, by Hamers & Blanc (2000: 323-330) who propose three groups of “factors conditioning BE” that are “social, historical, socio-structural, cultural, ideological and social psychological in nature”, by Genesee (2002) who identifies six broad factors as “critical features of effective bi/multilingual programmes” (p. 23) or

“reasons for the success of programmes” (p. 26), by Ó Riagáin & Lüdi (2003: 29) who offer a check-list containing four “necessary conditions” for decision-makers to assess before they commence on the general implementation of BE, by Lindholm-Leary (2007) who advances seven strands of “effective features” required for “a successful programme” (p. 40) based upon her extensive review of “research and best practices” of BE, and by Johnstone (2010: 125-9) who identifies four sets of factors (i.e. societal, provision, process and individual) impinging upon teaching through English based on a synthesis of insights from some east Asian countries.

The above findings inform my selection of key factors to construct the conceptual framework for examining the implementation of The Project (Section 4.2 of Chapter 4).

International literature focusing on a specific context

Findings derived from research not confined to a particular national or regional context have been reviewed. Now I am turning to research findings arising from a certain national/regional context which is particularly comparable to the Shanghai situation.

With reference to the Canadian context (especially the then St. Lambert context in the 1960s), which is fairly comparable to the Shanghai context (see Wei & Xiong, 2008 for elaboration), Canadian-based researchers Swain & Lapkin (1982) distill four facilitating factors for BE implementation¹⁹: (1) parental involvement in establishing and ensuring the continuation of the immersion programmes, (2) the majority group membership of the participating students and parents, (3) positive attitudes towards French and French-Canadians, and (4) the optional nature of the programme. The importance of these factors seems to have gained the recognition from non-Canada-based authors (e.g. So, 1987; Baker, 1996: 181-4; Baker, 2001: 237-8; Binhua WANG, 2003: 132-5) because they also identify very similar

¹⁹ According to Swain & Lapkin (1982), such factors are “characteristics” “which have contributed to its [viz. French immersion’s] success” (p. 84) and where these four factors are present, any of the immersion alternatives described in their study “can be *implemented* with a high likelihood of success” (p. 85, emphasis added).

lists of facilitating factors for implementing French immersion in Canada. Hence by all accounts, the above variables are wide-recognized factors affecting the implementation of a BE programme in Canada.

As for Hong Kong, which is also quite comparable to Shanghai, the most useful insights come from the works of Lin & Man (1999, 2009), which are based on a critical review of “factors and conditions promoting or inhibiting success in bilingual education” (Lin & Man, 2009: 10). These authors identify three categories of factors as the “the most important conditions”, at the same time noting the insignificant role played by “the linguistic and distance” between MoIs: (1) “Sociolinguistic Factors”, viz. support by the larger sociolinguistic environment for both the spoken and written forms of L1; (2) “Parental/Home Support Factors”, e.g. attention and material support; (3) “Educational/School Programme Factors” including professional development of teachers, the way and at what level immersion is introduced (Lin & Man, 1999: ii-iii; Lin & Man, 2009: 35-9).

With respect to BE programmes in Malaysia where English is used as a MoI to teach Mathematics and Science as from January 2003²⁰ (Pillay & Thomas, 2003), Parilah & Fauziah (2007) identify four problems encountered in the implementation of BE (1) linguistic perception, (2) availability of teachers, (3) availability of materials and (4) availability of funds. Since such BE programmes in Malaysia are quite comparable to Chinese-English BE programmes in the Chinese mainland, the factors may be deemed as those that may influence the implementation of The Project.

So far as BE programmes from the U.S. are concerned, more comparable ones are foreign language immersion programmes targeting English-speaking students. A case in point is a French immersion programme at elementary school level in the U.S. reported by Branaman & Rennie (1997), which “has a demonstrated record of success”. These authors attribute the success to three “important features”: (1) coordination and

²⁰ It is reported that the Malaysian government has decided to abandon the use of English in teaching Math and Science as from 2012 (Gooch, 2009).

communication at the district and school levels, (2) competent teachers, (3) parental support. Such factors may be more relevant than those gleaned from two-way BE programmes for an understanding of factors affecting BE implementation in Shanghai.

Similarly, CLIL programmes from Europe serving highly homogeneous student population and using one foreign language as MoIs are obviously more comparable to The Project than the programmes housed in European Schools. According to the survey by Eurydice (2006), CLIL programmes from countries or regions such as the Czech Republic and England of the U.K., where “CLIL provision focuses exclusive on foreign languages” (p. 16), are particularly comparable and hence merit more attention. In terms of “factors inhibiting general implementation”, the Czech Republic reports a shortage of appropriately qualified teachers and high costs of introducing CLIL as problems confronted “when the time comes to extend this kind of provision” (Eurydice, 2006: 51). In addition, the U.K.’s first early partial foreign language immersion project at a primary school in Scotland (see Johnstone, 2003), in terms of its sustainability, seems likely to encounter two problem areas: continuation into secondary school and availability of special funding (Johnstone, 2007). The problem areas identified in such highly comparable CLIL programmes are useful for constructing my second conceptual framework (Section 4.2 of Chapter 2).

Local literature

Some authors (e.g. Ning, 2003; Xiong & Meng, 2005; Li, Xu & Xiong, 2006; Shen, 2007) have discussed factors affecting the implementation of BE in their publications in Chinese. Their conclusions range from very optimistic (e.g. S. P. Zhu, 2004) to very pessimistic (e.g. Bao, 2004; G. C. Yan, 2004). Unfortunately, these publications, like their counterparts on factors influencing the initiation of BE (see Section 2.1.1), suffer from lack of an adequate literature review. Only the paper by Binhua WANG (2007)

will be reviewed here due to its high relevance²¹ and its authorship²².

What Binhua WANG (2007) calls “operational strategies” pertains essentially to implementing a Chinese-English BE programme. These strategies cluster around ten factors: (1) selection of subjects for EMI, (2) carrying out the implementation gradually in due order, (3) integrating EMI with appropriate curriculum types, (4) teachers’ classroom language strategy, (5) various in-class contextual support (e.g. use of body language and audio-visual materials), (6) teacher’s error-correcting strategy, (7) student-centredness, (8) teacher supply, (9) development of teaching materials, and (10) paralleling the teaching of English as a subject to its being used as a vehicle for subject matter learning. Such argumentation offers valuable insights from a local expert’s perspective. However, two limitations merit attention.

Firstly, probably because of lack of a full-blown literature review, it is understandable that most factors identified by Wang largely overlap what the international literature has covered. For example, Wang’s Factor (1) is identical with Baetens Beardsmore’s (1997, 2009a) Variable (b2), and Wang’s Factor (9) with Baetens Beardsmore’s Variable (b5). In addition, Wang’s Factors (4) and (6) overlap Baetens Beardsmore’s Variable (b7). Secondly, there is some redundancy in Wang’s categorization of these strategies, suggesting that there is room for its refinement. For example, his Factors (1) already focuses upon choice of subjects for EMI, but two of the five sub-factors under the heading of Factor (2), namely “starting EMI first in low-stake subjects and then in high-stake ones” and “starting EMI first in science subjects and then in arts subjects”, *again* deal with subject selection.

²¹ This paper was delivered as a plenary speech at a forum on BE in Pudong, Shanghai. The Shanghai situation constituted a significant proportion of the discussion.

²² Binhua WANG 王斌华 is Professor and Head of the BE Research Centre at East China Normal University, the first specialized centre related to Chinese-English BE in China. He is also Editor-in-Chief of a National Core Periodical entitled *English Teaching and Research Notes*, the first and only Chinese academic periodical that specially devotes a column named “Bilingual Education” for researchers in this new field. As for his involvement in The Project, he serves as a member in the expert group commissioned by the SHEC to assist the selection of 100 model BE schools.

2.1.3. Importance of the Local Context

Most if not all authors (e.g. Mackey, 1972; Baetens Beardsmore, 1993b; Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia, 1995; Bostwick, 1999: 4; Ó Riagáin & Lüdi, 2003: 10) who have proposed frameworks or models related to BE provision hold open attitudes towards their lists of factors. For example, after indentifying seven strands of “effective features” of BE programmes, Lindholm-Leary (2007: 40) emphasizes that although these broad factors “serve as a framework for effective programmes, regardless of the type of language education programme or its location”, *not all* of them “will necessarily be appropriate in the same way for all programmes”. In other words, the relative importance of each of the factors that can influence the initiation and/or implementation of BE may vary from programme to programme, let alone from context to context.

Following Baetens Beardsmore’s (2009a: 138) advice that “each local context takes its own individual cases into account” regarding factors that may affect BE, below I turn to a review of the local Shanghai context, which is part of a nation-wide *danwei* system.

2.2. The Local Context: A *Danwei* System

2.2.1. Three Attributes of *Danwei*

Danwei, or literally “work unit”, is more than people’s work place in China (Lü & Perry, 1997: 8; Li, 2004: 280) but a socio-cultural institution with “multiple social, political, and economic functions” (Naughton, 1997: 169). As Jiang & Wang (2006) point out, “*danwei*” is a highly complex concept. Understandably, a consensus has not been reached regarding a precise definition, despite its frequent everyday use. In this study, the definition proposed by Lü & Perry (1997: 5-6) is adopted: A *danwei* is a work unit that has personnel power, provides communal facilities, maintains

independent accounts and budgets, engages in urban or nonagricultural purview, and belongs to the public sector.

Although different authors use different labels²³ for important characteristics of *danwei*, three core attributes of *danwei* can be identified in the literature.

The first is what Li & Wang (1997: 66) call “the first and foremost” defining feature of *danwei*, namely, total dependence of and attachment to the centralized bureaucracy of the Party and the state on important issues. Various *danwei*, each characterized by a dual leadership structure of the Party and the administration with the former dominating the latter, have been structured in such a way that they become the basic links through which the Party and State can ensure any economic, social and/or political programmes designed at the top are put into effect.

An example particularly relevant to the subject of this study is the implementation of BE at the tertiary level. After the Ministry of Education (2001) issued *Guidelines for Strengthening Undergraduate Programmes and Enhancing the Quality of Teaching* 关于加强高等学校本科教学工作提高教学质量的若干意见 (henceforth “the Ministry’s 2001 Document”) to encourage EMI at the tertiary level, *inter alia*, many subordinate *danwei* responded by proposing specific measures to act according to the spirit of the Ministry’s document. For example, immediate subordinate *danwei* such as municipal educational authorities of Beijing (Beijing Education Commission, 2002), Chongqing (see Southwest University of Political Science & Law, 2003), Shanghai, Tianjin (Tianjin Education Commission, 2002), Jiangsu Province (Jiangsu Provincial Department of Education, 2001) and Yunnan Province (Yunnan Provincial Department of Education, N. D.) respectively issued their own versions of documents to reiterate and/or follow through the main-points in the Ministry’s 2001 Document. And then

²³ For example, Yeh’s (1997) “a lifetime social welfare system” overlaps with Li & Wang’s (1997) “multi-functional nature” of *danwei*. Naughton’s (1997) “lack of autonomy” equals Li & Wang’s (1997) “total dependence of and attachment to the centralized bureaucracy of the Party and State”.

various universities (e.g. Tianjin University of Traditional Chinese Medicine (N.D.) in Tianjin, Nanjing Audit University (2001) in Jiangsu, see Cai, 2010 for more), namely immediate subordinate *danwei* at a level administratively lower than the municipal education commissions or bureaus, formulated specific measures for implementation.

Such practice is understandable because “administrative documents *per se* are compulsory directives” (Sun, 2004: 190)²⁴. Furthermore, in China “candidates for important posts at *danwei* are appointed by the administratively higher *danwei*” (Li, 2004: 72) not just in government but also in the financial and academic domains (Dickson, 2003). The administratively higher *danwei* can (and will) always penalize the disobedient subordinate *danwei* (or more specifically, the *danwei* leaders) (e.g. by replacing the *danwei* leaders). Hence subordinate *danwei* tend to (and have to) depend on the directions of their superior *danwei* on important matters such as those written in official documents.

The second core characteristic of *danwei* is authoritarian yet meritocratic leadership. As early as in the 1930s, Y. T. Lin (1935: 196) lamented that in China “the most striking characteristic in our political life as a nation is the absence of a constitution and of the idea of civil rights.” Bond (1991: 58) notices that there was “a long tradition of rule by magistrate’s judgement” instead of “rule by law”; he attributes this tradition to the Confucian belief that leaders within the ideal “Government by Gentlemen” (Lin, 1935: 196) “need not be constrained in their administration of justice by Common Law”, which smacks of the authoritarian aspect of leadership in Republican China.

Such a tradition seems to have its place, albeit in a modified form, in today’s China. General observation and the available research data suggest

²⁴ Xie (2004: 32-35) identifies three types of educational policies in the Chinese context: legislations by the People’s Congress, policies of the Chinese Communist Party, and “administrative decisions” (including decisions and resolutions made by local educational authorities in the form of public documents). So documents issued by the Ministry of Education and the SHEC discussed in this study are compulsory (policies) by definition.

that “Chinese leaders are ‘bossier’ or more authoritarian than their Western counterparts” (Bond, 1991: 79). With the leaders tending to be authoritarian on one side of a coin, on the other side of the same coin, the led tend to be ready to conform and obey. This is what has been again confirmed by both general observation and research; actually, the socialization emphasizing the ideal of “instant, exact and complete obedience” begins early in the Chinese family life (Bond, 1991: 82; for a description of the thousand-year-long traditional emphasis on children’s conformity, see Li, 2004: 61-77).

In the late 1990s when China was in an era of deepening its national reform oriented towards the market economy, “the deeply inculcated ideologies of *authoritarian leadership* intertwined with dependency and security of the masses are still part of the Chinese people” (Lü & Perry, 1997, cited from Ouyang, 2004: 147, emphasis added). Even at the beginning of the new century, it is recognized that authoritarian leadership still exists with *danwei* (cf. Ouyang, 2004: 158). Li (2004: 70) critiques that “under many circumstances, the ownership nature of ‘state-owned’ or ‘collectively-owned’ has turned into a ‘*danwei*-leader-owned’ nature in the real life in the Chinese *danwei* society”, which vividly illustrate the authoritarian aspect of the leadership.

The meritocratic aspect of leadership can be attested to by Li’s (2004: 73) observation that “generally speaking, leaders at Chinese *danwei* are all people with abilities”. Similarly, Aufrecht & Li (1995: 179) note that the CPC, the only ruling party in China, “takes in the best people”. In the central committee of the CPC, the percentage of those with college degrees rose from 55.5 in 1982 to 98.6 in 2002 (Dickson, 2003). Here suffice it to name a few top leaders who have merits, academic or otherwise, which were fairly commendable by the then standards. JIANG Zemin, former President of China, graduated from Shanghai Jiaotong University in 1947. Mr. Jiang, was the first President of China whose English proficiency was high enough to engage in a long and in-depth English-medium interview by

a foreign journalist (i.e. Mike Wallace, see CBS News, 2000) putatively without an interpreter.

The current President of China, HU Jintao, pursued his study at the renowned Tsinghua University in the early 1960s. The current Premier, WEN Jiabao, completed his postgraduate study at Beijing Institute of Geosciences (now China University of Geosciences) in 1968. Even Mr. CHEN Liangyu, former Mayor of Shanghai and probably one of the key people in the initiation of The Project (see Chapter 4), who is now in prison for taking bribes and abusing power, was deemed a capable leader by many. Virtually all taxi-drivers I met in Shanghai and quite a few of my field informants regarded CHEN Liangyu as a capable leader in facilitating the Shanghai's economic development, among others.

Nowadays, more and more cream of the society are aggregated in the CPC. The CPC has revised its Constitution in 2002 so that more and more capable people, including private entrepreneurs (i.e. the former “class enemies”), who were previously excluded the possibilities of joining the CPC due to the “class element” consideration can now apply to be members of the Party²⁵. Such a relaxation of entry requirement into the CPC and the implicit rule that “it is easier for Party members to be appointed as leaders 入党好做官” (Li, 2004: 74) will help to expand the talent pool in the CPC and perpetuate the meritocratic nature of leadership.

The last but not least core characteristic of *danwei* is the *guanxi*-mediated communication style.

According to Chiao (1982), although western some authors specializing in the Chinese society heeded the importance of *guanxi* (or in the older Wade-Giles Romanization system, *kuan-hsi*) as early as in the 1970s, none of the English labels proposed by such authors (e.g. “particularistic tie” by Jacobs (1979) and “reticulum” by Kapferer (1969))

²⁵ The then Party Chief Jiang Zemin publicly recommended lifting the ban on recruiting private entrepreneurs into the Party in his July 1 2001 speech marking the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the CPC. In the next year, the 16th Party Congress formally lifted such a ban in the amendment to the Party Constitution (Zhang, 2001; Dickson, 2003).

can capture all the important dimensions of *guanxi*. In his conclusion, Chiao (1982) argues that *kuan-hsi* deserves to be promoted not only as “a basic concept for studying complex societies” but also “as an important concept for understanding all complex political systems”. Given the recent trend of the direct employment of the pinyin word “*guanxi*” by international researchers (e.g. Bian & Ang, 1997; Li & Wright, 2000; Gold, Guthrie & Wank, 2002; Millington, Eberhardt & Wilkinson, 2006), in this study I adopt this label of “*guanxi*” in referring to a socio-cultural phenomenon typically salient in China which holds sway over virtually all sorts of communication in *danwei*. A working definition of *guanxi* is adopted from Ouyang (2004: 100-101), who applies this concept in his ELT-related research:

Guanxi refers to connections, networks, or relationships that one can develop, enhance, exploit, or trade with others for material goods or other benefits. ... a person with good *guanxi* in China is resourceful and powerful: they could get things done, influence others, including when important decisions are to be made, protect themselves or their relatives, and so forth.

Sun (2004: 190) holds that in a collective society like that of China, there exists “extreme asymmetry” between the top-down communication channel and the bottom-up one: the former is stable and efficient while the latter is beset by rather low levels of systematization or institutionalization of procedures and regulations. However, asserting that the top-down communication is “stable and efficient” may be an overgeneralization. *Guanxi* indeed has a role to play in mediating top-down communication. Ouyang’s (2004: 116) vignette about Gao, a vice department head at a Chinese mainland university, tellingly shows that even at a *danwei* system characteristic of authoritarian leadership, Gao, a leader, “often had to

persuade and even beg” teachers in the same *danwei* to take up some tasks rather than “just tell and order people” to do this or that. If Gao had better personal *guanxi* with her subordinate teachers, she would have a much easier negotiation with them regarding task assignments.

As for the bottom-up communication, numerous anecdotes could attest to the fact that *guanxi* permeates and mediates the whole process of communication (cf. Yang, 1994) so no examples are delineated here. After synthesizing major studies of interpersonal relationships published in the Chinese Mainland in the 1990s, Liu (2001) points to a currently existing “fact” in China: “*you guanxi, hao banshi* (where there is *guanxi*, there is convenience in getting things done)”. This observation is true of virtually any bottom-up communication in any Chinese *danwei*.

In a word, communication, be it top-down or bottom-up, is usually mediated by *guanxi*. This should be hardly surprising because the phenomenon of “debureaucratizing” (Bond, 1991: 74) or “anti-bureaucratizing” (Ouyang, 2004: 120), which is at least partially attributable to the core characteristic of “authoritarian yet meritocratic leadership”, is common with *danwei*, as observed by local and western researchers. According to Bond (1991: 73), a renowned western scholar, *danwei* usually lacks the essential elements of Western-style bureaucracy including “a system of rules covering the rights and duties of positional incumbents”, “a system of procedures for dealing with work situations” and “selection for employment and promotion based upon technical competence”. Similarly, in the eyes of Chinese scholars, there are “low levels of systematization or institutionalization (of procedures and regulations)” (Sun, 2004: 190) and “every post’s responsibility and job specifications are so flexible and vague” that there is little that can be used as criteria or regulations to refer to when two individuals of different posts interact (Ouyang, 2004: 119). When there are not enough job specifications and other specific guidelines for dealing with various situations to turn to,

negotiations mediated by *guanxi* come in. So there always exists room for the mediation of *guanxi* in virtually every communication, be it top-down or bottom-up.

2.2.2. Defining a *Danwei* System

So far I have proposed three core characteristics of a *danwei* system. Now I am turning to a delimitation of the boundaries of what I refer to as a *danwei* system.

A popular taxonomy classifies *danwei* into three categories: enterprise *danwei* 企业单位, nonproduction nonprofit *danwei* 事业单位, and administrative *danwei* (Lü & Perry, 1997: 6-7; Li & Wang, 1997: 65; Li, 2004: 23). Government agencies such as the SHEC and the Ministry of Education fall right under the rubric of administrative *danwei* while schools nonproduction nonprofit *danwei*.

In contrast, many enterprise *danwei*, which used to exercise the function of strict social control over its members on behalf of the state (Shaw, 1996), began shedding some of their former role as basic units of state control in late 1980s (Yang, 1994: 162). In other words, this type of *danwei* has gained relatively high autonomy from the state, to which one or two of the above core features of a *danwei* system may no longer apply. However, administrative *danwei*, the most typical type of *danwei* (Li, 2002) and nonproduction nonprofit *danwei* arguably manifest the three core characteristics clearly and will remain so in the next one or two decades.

In this study, the meaning of a *danwei* system ranges from as small as an individual administrative or nonproduction nonprofit *danwei* (e.g. one public school) to as large as an aggregation of these two types of *danwei* (e.g. the Ministry of Education, the SHEC and the schools under the SHEC's jurisdiction).

All in all, (1) total dependence of and attachment to the centralized bureaucracy of the Party and State regarding important matters, (2)

authoritarian yet meritocratic leadership and (3) *guanxi*-mediated communication style are the core characteristics of a *danwei* system. Hopefully the above discussion has provided a glimpse into the parameters that affect people's (especially leaders') decision-making at *danwei*. These parameters will be illustrated with two detailed vignettes about LÜ Xingwei 吕型伟, a person who probably played a key role in the initiation of The Project (see Section 6.1.4 of Chapter 6). An understanding of these parameters may shed light upon part of the discussion pertaining to Research Question (1), namely how several sub-factors acted and interacted within a *danwei* system to emerge as one contributing factor to The Project, viz. the state's approval for The Project (see Section 6.1.7 of Chapter 6).

2.2.3. Role of the State in a *Danwei* System

Omnipresent power of the watchful state departments

Nowadays the state departments are rather watchful and their power seems to be omnipresent. Since the inception of the Open Door policy in 1978, the state's strict control over various aspects of the society has been relaxing. While the state has been receding from direct control over some spheres of the society since 1978, which focuses upon the economic sector much more than any other sectors (e.g. education), *even* in the economic sector to date the state is still capable of "determining the timing, the pace and the economic and spatial configuration of Shanghai's development" (Han, 2000: 2091). Similarly, Guthrie (1999) argues that "China's powerful state administration" "will continue to have profound effects on how firms act and how they adjust to change", based on his empirical study of what is perhaps the main engine of economic reform in China, the large industrial firm. In other words, in *other* sectors (e.g. education) which were more susceptible to state influences compared with the economic one, the state control remained strong in the 1990s.

The Ministry of Education, the highest state department supervising the

education sector, tends to exercise its control over various types of matters. The book by Liu (2010), a retired professor aged 78 who used to be the youngest university president in China (serving as President of Wuhan University during 1981-1988), provides many examples illustrating the Ministry's omnipresent power at the tertiary level. Below is a vivid example concerning primary and secondary schools.

The Ministry of Education (2007a) issued on May 31 a directive titled *Circular on Promoting "The First National Campus Collective Dancing at Primary and Secondary Schools"* 教育部关于推广《第一套全国中小学校园集体舞》的通知, wherein it is stated that the campus collective dancing complied by the Ministry shall be in full promotion as from September 1 2007 in both urban and rural schools nationwide. Upon the promulgation of this directive, controversies arose; one justification for controversy was the concern that collective dancing, which inevitably involves hand holding between students of the opposite sex, would lead to puppy love among secondary school students (see Li, 2009). The Ministry of Education was quick to respond to such controversies at a press conference on June 12 2007, where the spokesman maintained that "campus collective dancing will not cause puppy love, so long as students have correct understandings of the purpose and nature of such dancing" (Ministry of Education, 2007b). At the press conference, Ms. HUANG Mingzhu, "a renowned dancer" and invited speaker, cited a survey of stakeholders' attitudes toward the campus collective dancing, which had been conducted by the Ministry as early as "in December 2006" with "a randomly selected" sample of 3,550 secondary students and 1,180 teachers and parents from 28 schools, and highlighted that a majority of these stakeholders liked the dancing (Ministry of Education, 2007c).

The above example shows that today the Ministry of Education nowadays is rather *watchful*, especially when the matter concerned is deemed important, and quite *responsive* to criticism and/or controversies

related to decisions made at the national level.

A role played by the state

Using a foreign language as a MoI, given its apparent “contravention” of the legal provisions concerned, is obviously of greater importance than campus collective dancing. Understandably, major changes concerning MoI (e.g. initiating a municipality-wide Chinese-English BE project) were under the watchful eyes of the Ministry of Education. Given the long absence of government-supported EMI in the PRC since 1949 (see Section 1.1 of Chapter 1), any move in that regard would not have escaped the attention of the well-informed Ministry of Education.

Therefore, it would be naïve to assume that the state had played no role in the initiation of The Project, as Zhu (2003a, 2003b) unfortunately does in his discussion of the driving forces behind The Project (see Section 2.1.1). I believe that the state had played a role in the SHEC’s mounting The Project. This belief dictates my construction of the conceptual framework for investigating The Project’s initiation (see Section 4.1 of Chapter 4).

2.3. Additional Local Literature Germane to Research Question (2)

2.3.1. Effects of Chinese-English BE

There has been no shortage of literature in Chinese on the evaluation of the effects of Chinese-English BE in recent years. Like their counterparts in the West (e.g. the Canadian immersion studies), the evaluation studies usually focus on three traditionally most studied areas, viz. students’ learning of the target language, the mother tongue and the non-language subjects (cf. Baetens Beardsmore, 2002; Gajo & Serra, 2002²⁶). Since The

²⁶ Other areas for understanding the effects of a BE programme may deserve the same, if not more, attention in future evaluation studies. In a most recent volume on Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), Coyle, Hood & Marsh (2010: 136-8) argue that in addition to “performance evidence” about learners which pertains to the three traditionally most studied areas, three other types of evidence are important in evaluating systematically

Project falls within the category of CLIL-type BE programmes at the pre-tertiary level, studies on those at the tertiary level will not be reviewed below. For the efficacy of BE programmes in colleges and universities, readers are referred to the few empirical studies about non-English-major students (e.g. Han, 2008; Yuan, 2008)²⁷ and about English-major students (Chang, 2009; Chang & Zhao, 2010).

However, virtually all existant studies concerning effects of BE suffered from some flaws and limitations to varying extents. Two publications will be reviewed in depth here due to their importance.

Jiang's (2002) paper is probably the first research report on effectiveness of a longitudinal BE programme published in the Chinese mainland. This BE programme started in 1995 in Qingdao, the capital city of Shandong Province and involved four classes of Grade 1 students from two primary schools. Jiang reports the outcomes of his 6-year BE experiment in terms of the following four areas:

(1) English proficiency. The experiment group (i.e. Grade 6 graduates) achieved significantly higher scores than the contrast group (viz. Grade 9 graduates) in oral, listening and written tests. The test instruments were not reported.

(2) Chinese proficiency. The percentage of honor grades achieved by the experiment group (i.e. Grade 6 graduates) was higher than that by the control group (i.e. also Grade 6 graduates). The test instrument was the final-term test paper of the school.

(3) Non-language subjects. In the subjects of Mathematics, Nature and Computer, the percentages of honor grades achieved by the experiment group were higher than those by the control group. The test instrument was

the impact of a CLIL programme: "affective evidence" on the part of learners (and potentially also their families) and/or teachers, "process evidence" and "materials and task evidence".

²⁷ Take Han's (2008) doctoral study as an example. In this quasi-experimental study, the treatment group, undergoing some form of Chinese-English BE, and the control group were electronics-major students at a university in Shanghai (Han, 2008: 85). One finding was that the treatment group scored significantly higher than the control group in an English test at the end of the experiment (Han, 2008: 99-100).

the final-term test paper for each subject concerned.

(4) Comprehensive quality (i.e. citizen moral quality, scientific quality, creative thinking ability and psychological quality). The comprehensive quality of the experiment group was higher than that of the control group. The test instruments were not reported.

Three apparent problems with Jiang's report merit attention. First of all, the positive outcomes on English proficiency and other areas may not be attributed to EMI only. The contrast group (viz. Grade 9 graduates) did not learn English as a subject right from Primary One but the experiment group did. So the better achievement in English of the experiment group may also be attributed to "learning English much earlier". Secondly, the reliability and validity of test instruments are questionable, and some instruments are even not reported, which makes it more difficult for readers to assess the reliability and validity of the instruments. Thirdly, complex psychometric constructs such as "scientific quality" and "psychological quality" are not clearly defined.

The afore-said problems notwithstanding, as Wei & Xiong (2005) suggest, the greatest contribution of Jiang's (2002) project is arguably that it attests to no detrimental effects on students' non-language subject learning and Chinese learning.

The second publication is Zhu's (2003c) presentation. This seminal presentation contains findings of a number of research projects conducted or facilitated by the SHEC, with little mention of research procedures and instruments. Zhu keeps repeating the findings in his later speeches (i.e. Zhu, 2004a; 2004b). The findings, which are widely relayed not only by the SHEC (e.g. SHEC, 2004d) but also by the press (e.g. Chen, 2003; Guo, 2003; Guo & Kong, 2003; *Xinwen Chenbao* [News Morning Post], 2003; Sun & Mo, 2004), can be summarized as follows:

(1) English proficiency. At primary school level, in the last 2 years, the abilities in English listening, speaking, reading and acting of at least

40% of the Primary 6 graduates who underwent BE programmes were equivalent to or even exceeded the average levels among Junior Secondary 2 students in 1997. At secondary school level, the abilities in English listening, speaking, reading and writing of at least 30% of the Junior Secondary 2 students who underwent BE programmes were equivalent to or even exceeded the average levels among Senior Secondary 1 students in 1997.

(2) Chinese proficiency. The achievement tests scores in the subject of Chinese of primary and secondary students receiving BE “remained stable”. In addition, no students at BE programmes in lower or middle primary grades were found to confused English spellings with Chinese *pinyin*; no students were found to be retarded in their Chinese learning.

(3) Non-language subjects. The achievement tests scores in the subjects including Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Nature of primary and secondary students receiving BE “remained stable”.

As Wei & Xiong (2005) notes, the research studies that generated the above are primarily of in-house nature. In other words, the research reports containing methodological information, if any, were not publicized for public scrutiny. While I have reservations about the legitimacy of some criticisms lavished by Hu (2007; 2008) on the research conducted to achieve the above findings, I concur with him that the research reported by Zhu (2003c; 2004a; 2004b) suffered from a lack of information about the reliability and validity of instruments and problematic attributions (e.g. some positive results ambiguously attributed to BE).

A number of surveys (e.g. Mao, 2004; Gong, 2006) have been conducted to collect data on the perceived effects of BE from parents and/or students in Shanghai. For instance, according to Gong (2006), 56.9% of the 44 student respondents at Shanghai Nanyang Model High School, one of the first-batch municipal model BE schools, perceived BE as useful in increasing English proficiency. The bias in the questionnaire item used “In

your opinion, is BE useful in increasing your English proficiency?²⁸” would have been reduced if more neutral words (e.g. “affecting” in the replacement of “increasing”) had been used. Similar problems also exist with Mao’s (2004) study (see Section 7.1.2 of Chapter 7.)

To conclude, due to various methodological problems and/or attribution problems discussed above, so far there have been *limited* reliable data concerning the effectiveness of Chinese-English BE on students’ learning of non-language subjects, Chinese, and/or English, among others. Against this background, this study aims to contribute to an understanding of The Project’s effects on student’s English learning by tapping the perceptions of students themselves and their parents. The specific evaluation area of English learning, as opposed to others, is selected primarily based on the assumption that changes in this area are most easily perceptible to most lay persons than those in other areas.

Perceptions data regarding the effects of BE are admittedly much rougher than those obtained through reliable and valid test instruments. However, at the current stage when the latter kind of data are not yet available, the former type of data can still be of some value. This was indeed the case with the Canadian BE research in its infancy, as reflected in McEachern’s (1980) study in British Columbia and the Ontario study reviewed by Swain (1986[1984]: 43), both of which tapped parents’ perceptions of the effects of BE on their children’s mother tongue.

2.3.2. Support for Chinese-English BE among Major Stakeholders

Accordingly to Baetens Beardsmore (2009a: 143), “the community’s and students’ attitude towards a language has much to do with the implementation and success of a bilingual education programme.”

²⁸ The options (viz. “A. Useful. B. Not quite useful. C. Useless.”) designed for this question were biased, too, in that the number of pro-useful options outnumbered that of the pro-useless ones.

Unfortunately, few systematic empirical studies have been conducted into the strength of stakeholders' support for BE provision in Shanghai.

According to a Shanghai-based newspaper, "a large-scale research project involving 12 sub-projects and a quarter million person times conducted by the Teaching and Research Department of the SHEC" shows that over 90 per cent of the parents expressed support for BE provision (*Xinwen Chenbao* [News Morning Post], 2003). Such reporting is typically of journalistic-enquiry style and hence is not reliable. For instance, one respondent being interviewed one hundred times could be counted as "one hundred person times", which thereby masks the real N-size involved. My further digging into the literature has diverted my attention to three relevant academic papers by Zhu (2003c; 2004a; 2004b), an SHEC official, which all show that the afore-reported survey was conducted with around 600 parents in Shanghai. The afore-mentioned "over 90 per cent" supportive rate may have been generated from the parental questionnaire survey mentioned by Zhu. But due to lack of sufficient information, the foregoing inference is merely a conjecture; what's more, the validity and reliability of the research can hardly be assessed.

A very limited number of small-scale surveys based on individual schools provide some empirical data about parents' and/or students' support for BE in Shanghai. For instance, Mao's (2004: 28-31) questionnaire survey responded by 30 parents at one "district-level key senior secondary school" at Pudong District in Shanghai finds that nearly 97% parents indicated their supportive attitudes towards BE provision. Unfortunately, Mao's study suffers from question design problems. Specifically, for the question item soliciting the parental attitudes towards BE, Mao (2004: 38) only provides four options ("very supportive", "supportive", "can't tell" and "unsupportive"), biasedly omitting other more unfavorable options.

While J. X. Wang (2003; 2005), Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project asserts that BE "fully reflects the aspirations of the public at

large”, it is still not very clear how much the local population supports BE. Given the top-down nature of the approach adopted in promoting The Project, the bottom-up views of parents should benefit the evaluation of The Project’s implementation.

Against the backdrop depicted above, this study plans to shed more light on the extent of support for The Project among parents and students in Shanghai, by means of attempting to overcome the methodological limitations with previous studies and of utilizing a more representative sample.

3. Shanghai: The City and Its People

This chapter reviews literature concerning Shanghai's important economic status in China, its SRS, core characteristics of *Shanghairen* in general, Shanghai parents, and Shanghai leaders. These bits about Shanghai and its people are relevant to The Project but only serve as givens surrounding The Project. Other bits about Shanghai, such as its EMI history, its competition with other mainland cities and the *Shanghairen* who played a key role in initiating The Project, are deemed as forces contributing to The Project more directly than those givens and hence will be discussed in one of the finding chapters (i.e. Chapter 6).

3.1. Economic Status of Shanghai in China

Although Shanghai was already an important coastal port in the Song and Yuan dynasties (A. D. 960-1368) and in the early 1830s was described by foreign visitors as a prosperous trading city with its port handling a volume of shipping equal to or exceeding that of London (for more about Shanghai's "forgotten" pre-Opium War history, see Gamble, 2003: 1-5), the post-Opium War history of Shanghai is most well-known. This section reviews the period between 1842, when the First Opium War ended, and the late 1990s, when The Project was about to be mounted, focusing on the economic status of Shanghai in China.

Often called the "crucible of modern China" (Wei, 1987), Shanghai entered a new era of development after becoming one of the five treaty ports²⁹ under *the Treaty of Nanjing* which was forced upon the Manchu government/the Qing court in 1842 following the First Opium War. Shanghai began to be opened to significant Western trade and residence (primarily by the British, the American, and the French). A myriad of

²⁹ The other four are Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Ningbo.

geographical and socio-political factors (e.g. Shanghai's location at the mouth of the Yangtze River and the management of western powers in international settlements according to mercantile principles) contributed to more than a century of unprecedented and dramatic growth for the city (cf. Ding, 1994; Wu, 2003; Lai, 2006). By the 1910s Shanghai had become one of the most modern cities in Asia with modernized public facilities (cf. Tang, 1993; Xiong, 2004; Xiong & Zhou, 2007a: 180-200).

Shanghai developed vibrant commodity, stock and foreign exchange markets, with nearly 30% of the world's most important foreign banks setting up branches there by 1935 and over half the nation's foreign trade was concentrated there (Lai, 2006). In the 1930s, Shanghai, eulogized as "the Oriental New York", was not only the financial centre of China but also a financial centre of the Far East (Xiong & Zhou, 2007a: 269-273).

Wu (2003: 1682) argues that Shanghai's "productive activities lagged far behind consumptive and even exploitative functions" as this city served as a channel through which foreign products were imported and agricultural and mineral materials were amassed. Understandably, many books (e.g. Kang, 2001) published in post-1949 China used the metaphor of a "bridgehead" to describe the function of Shanghai in its pre-1949 days. However, to rid the metaphor of ideological flavour which might create misleading impressions, perhaps "a cosmopolitan city" is a better metaphor for the then Shanghai. This can be reflected in the following paragraph written by a Shanghai writer in the 1930s about the reasons why foreigners of various nationalities came to Shanghai:

Shanghai's foreigners pack together in the city for the same reason our Chinese do: they could not make a living in their home country and came to Shanghai in search of a livelihood. Japanese prostitutes come to Shanghai to make a living by selling sex. The White Russians, who are anti-Red, came to Shanghai to make a living by begging. The overbearing British

toughs came to Shanghai to make a living by running the police department.

The bored Spanish came to Shanghai to make a living by playing tennis

[*huiliqiu*]. The nationless Jews came to Shanghai to make a living in real

estate. The merchants of American trust companies came to Shanghai to

make a living by selling gasoline. The French, who love a life of ease, came

to Shanghai to make a living by selling cosmetics. The oppressed Indian

and Vietnamese came to Shanghai to make a living by working as

policemen, and so on and so forth—there are just too many such cases to

give a complete account of the subject (cited from Lu, 1999: 41).

Ranked as the 7th largest city in the world in 1936, no modern Asian city could “match Shanghai’s cosmopolitan and sophisticated reputation” before 1949 (Yeung, 1996: 2). What reinforced this cosmopolitan nature was that “by the thirties, many foreigners considered the city their permanent home” (Lu, 1999: 41). However, the foreign presence in Shanghai was cast a shadow over by warfare (e.g. the Japanese attack on Shanghai in 1937 and the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941). The century-long golden age of the westerners in Shanghai came to a close soon after the founding of the PRC as a result of a number of anti-West policies in the Maoist era (1949-1976) (cf. Ke & Lei, 2009).

For about three decades under Mao, Shanghai’s previous role as a cosmopolitan *entrepôt* or an international financial and commercial centre was relegated to a domestic industrial producer (Shi, Qi, & Yuan, 2003: 6; Gamble, 2003: 8; L.-Y. Zhang, 2003; Lai, 2006) and was subject to strong controls at the heart of the then centrally planned command economy. An often-cited fact is that between 1949 and the mid-1980s, as high as 85 percent of Shanghai’s revenue was remitted to the central government, leaving only 15 percent for its own use (Cheung, 1996: 55; L.-Y. Zhang,

2003: 1552), which contrasted with the average of 30% available for local spending in cities like Beijing and Tianjin (Lam, 1996). Hence Shanghai was often described as a cash machine, or “cash cow” to provide revenue for the central government (Ho & Tsui, 1996; Han, 2000; Kang, 2001:7; L.-Y. Zhang, 2003). Despite the controls placed upon Shanghai, it underwent significant economic growth, reaching an annual growth rate of 8.8%, which was above the national average, between 1953 and 1978 (Gao & Yu, 1994; Gamble, 2003: 9).

Considering the facts that in the 1970s, Shanghai’s industrial output accounted for one-seventh of the national total, that the volume of freight handled and the value of export goods were about one-third of the national total, and that Shanghai contributed significantly to the nation’s technological advance (e.g. in terms of building the first passenger jet), Wu (2003: 1683) depicts Shanghai in the pre-Open-Door-Policy period as “the locomotive of national industrialisation”.

The Open Door Policy, launched by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s, led to the birth of four Special Economic Zones (SEZs, viz. Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen) and preferential policies were granted to the Provinces of Guangdong³⁰ and Fujian, where these SEZs are located, by the state. The state obviously was reluctant to make any drastic changes in Shanghai due to the importance of this “locomotive of national industrialisation” and “cash cow”. The annual economic growth rate of Shanghai during the period 1978-1990 fell below the national average (Gao & Yu, 1994; Xiong & Zhou, 2007a: 569), which many (e.g. Kang, 2001: 8; Gamble, 2003: 10) attributed to the fact that Shanghai did not enjoy the freedom to carry out reforms on a par with those SEZs.

Although Shanghai became one of the fourteen Open Coastal Cities

³⁰ Guangzhou (Canton), the capital city of Guangdong, had served as the first and only port for foreign trade more than eight decades earlier than Shanghai when the latter was designated as a treaty port in 1842. The economic development of Guangdong (especially that of Shenzhen) in the early reform period was faster than that of Shanghai (see also Section 6.1.5 of Chapter 6).

designated by the central government in 1984 and was accordingly granted some preferential policies previously exclusively enjoyed by the SEZs, most of the problems (e.g. lack of investment) that hindered Shanghai's development remained. What proved to be a historical turning-point for Shanghai was the central government's decision to open up Pudong, an underdeveloped area on the eastern bank of Huangpu River in Shanghai partially as a result of the efforts made by the Shanghai government (for an overview of Pudong's development, see Olds, 1997; Han, 2000; Kang, 2001: 28-39). In April 1990, the then Premier LI Peng announced the central government's decision to develop Pudong into the largest SEZ in China (Han, 2000: 2095).

Later in October 1992, Pudong's role in the Open Door policy was further consolidated in the Report of the 14th Chinese Communist Party Congress wherein it was stated that Pudong should act as a "dragon head" for the cities along the Yangtze River to open up further and for Shanghai to build itself into an international economic, finance, and trade centre as early as possible, so as to drive the economic growth of the Yangtze River Delta and in turn the economic take-off the whole Yangtze River valley (Shanghai Local Chronicle Office, N.D.). The announcement by Premier Li and the designated role of Pudong in the CPC congress report brought the metaphor of "dragonhead" into official and public parlance.

Shanghai seemed to have lived up to its dragon-head function in the sense that it represents "one of the most successful cases of urban economic development in the 1990s" even "by international standards" (L.-Y. Zhang: 2003: 1550). Since 1992, gross domestic product (GDP) in this municipality has experienced double-digit annual growth. In 1999, Shanghai' GDP was larger than that of the other three *zhixiashi* (i.e. Beijing, Tianjin and Chongqing) combined, and more than the combined values of Guangzhou and Shenzhen, the fastest growing cities in the Pearl River Delta whose economic development once surpassed that of Shanghai in the early 1990s

(Cai & Sit, 2003: 437).

The dragon head of Shanghai heavily promotes finance and foreign trade, possesses China's premier stock market and only foreign exchange centre, and becomes "the most attractive place for setting local control offices and production facilities by many transnational corporations" (Lai, 2006). Actually over half the "Fortune 500" companies had already established operations in Shanghai as of the end of 2000 (Gamble, 2003: xi). In the view of some western scholars (e.g. Yusuf & Wu, 2002), Shanghai is "the East Asian city with the best prospect of becoming a global centre" especially in finance and trade. Furthermore, foreign media eulogize Shanghai as the "locomotive of the Chinese economy" (Kang, 2001: 3; China Net, 2000)

Overall, Shanghai has consistently enjoyed a prominent economic status in China since 1842, as can be reflected from metaphors ranging from "the Oriental New York" to "bridgehead", to "locomotive of China's industrialization", to "dragon head" and then to "locomotive of the Chinese economy". Yi (2006: 108-110), highlighting the role of Shanghai as "the big dragon head" of the Chinese economy, observes that many business elites and intellectuals, at home and abroad, regard Shanghai as a mainland city "with the greatest potential" to achieve international city status. Achieving international city status has been an expectation from the state for Shanghai, which will be discussed in Section 6.1.1 of Chapter 6. Now I am turning to the SRS that has been shaped by the consistent economic prosperity of Shanghai.

3.2. The SRS in Shanghai

This section aims to show that outward and upward mobility exist in the SRS in Shanghai and these two kinds of mobility can be facilitated by good English proficiency.

Outward mobility and English proficiency

With reference to outward mobility, Yusuf & Wu (2002: 1221) observe that “relative to many other countries, China remains a closed society where central and sub-national governments regulate and limit contacts with foreigners” and “control movement into and out of the country”. This description had been especially true prior to the launch of the Open Door policy in 1978. During the 30 years between 1949 and 1978, only about 10,000 people in Shanghai were allowed to exit the country on private business, with most going-abroad reasons being visiting relatives (53.1%) or settlement (34.2%) (Luo & Ma, 2000).

However, opportunities for outward mobility bloomed as a result of the deepening of the Open Door policy. In the period between 1982 and 1990, while there was a small proportion of *Shanghairen* annually emigrating from the Chinese mainland for the purpose of settlement³¹, the remarkable growth in the number of out-going *Shanghairen* for overseas study or work was a more noteworthy indicator for outward mobility. For example, the number of *Shanghairen* going for overseas study or work in 1982 was about 5,900; in contrast, this number in 1990 increased dramatically by over 11 times, reaching 66,336 (*Kuashiji de Zhongguo Renkou (Shanghai Juan) Bianweihui*, 1994: 235). This represented the climax of Shanghai’s going-abroad phenomenon and it then stabilized and entered what Luo & Ma (2002) call “a steady development period (viz. 1992-1998)”, in which on average 55,000 *Shanghairen* went abroad annually for private reasons including self-financed study.

A significant proportion of going-abroad *Shanghairen* targeted English-speaking countries. The best available data from Luo & Ma (2000)³² suggest that (1) between 1979 and 1985, nearly 64% abroad-going people in Shanghai chose the United States as their destination; (2) between

³¹ For example, between 1985-1992, such a proportion fluctuated around 2% of the local population, ranging from 6,900 in 1985 to 25,300 in 1992 (*Kuashiji de Zhongguo Renkou (Shanghai Juan) Bianweihui*, 1994: 235).

³² The second author of the paper by Luo & Ma (2000) is (as of September 2009) Director of The Exit-Entry Administration of Shanghai Public Security Bureau. Such authorship enabled the authors to have access to the relevant data best available.

1986 and 1991, over 42% opted for the United States and Australia; and (3) between 1992 and 1998, the top seven target countries were the United States, Japan, Australia, Singapore, Thailand, Canada and New Zealand. Since a significant proportion of those going abroad targeted English-speaking countries, it would be safe to infer that outward mobility did exist in Shanghai before the initiation of The Project and such mobility could be better enhanced by a better command of English.

In a word, outward mobility was in evidence in the SRS of Shanghai throughout the 1990s, namely prior to the initiation of The Project. Better English skills may have enhanced the outward mobility, which may in turn have added to the social demands for English skills (see Section 6.3). Moreover, people's enthusiasm for outward mobility does not seem to have abated since the turn of this new century.

Upward Mobility and English Proficiency

Evidence suggests that upward mobility existed prior to the initiation of The Project. According to Chou's (2001) study, in Shanghai the rate of upward mobility is 36.5%, the rate of downward mobility 5.1%, whereas the structural mobility rate is 52.8%, meaning that over half of Shanghai citizens have altered their social status.

In addition, some population statistics in the Shanghai almanacs concerned can serve as an indirect indicator for the presence of upward mobility in the 1990s: the number of Shanghai residents with local *hukou*³³ respectively of 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998 and 2000 was 12.83, 12.89, 12.99, 13.04, 13.07 and 13.22 million (Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2003: 33); since the natural population growth rate among *Shanghairen* with local *hukou*³⁴ between 1990 and 2000 fluctuated between -0.31% to -0.08% (Shanghai Statistical Yearbook, 2001), the steady population growth of people with Shanghai *hukou* throughout the 1990s

³³ *Hukou* is equivalent to right of permanent residence and entitlement to local welfare (see F. L. Wang, 2005 for an indepth discussion of the functions of *hukou* in China).

³⁴ The children given birth by *Shanghairen* with local *hukou* will automatically have Shanghai *hukou* upon their birth.

suggested that virtually all of them had been immigrant workers to Shanghai originally with non-Shanghai *hukou* but they finally earned the Shanghai *hukou* primarily with their abilities and hard work within the largely meritocratic SRS (see Appendix 4A for an elaboration). As a Shanghai *hukou* is always perceived as a social desideratum (cf. F. L. Wang, 2005) and people who have Shanghai *hukou* generally enjoy higher social status than those who don't, the steady growth rate of fresh Shanghai-*hukou* holders in the 1990s attested to the presence of upward mobility.

The struggle for Shanghai *hukou*, which is essentially a form of upward mobility, was quite intense in the 1990s and commands of good English proficiency could generally facilitate such struggle. Between 1990 and 2000, the average annual growth rate of *Shanghairen* with local *hukou* was only 0.29% while the average annual growth rate of long-term residents³⁵ of Shanghai was up to 2.1% (Song, 2004: 73). Hence the competition for Shanghai *hukou* in the 1990s seemed rather keen. Amidst the competition, a large number of fresh (post)graduates managed to obtain Shanghai *hukou*, which was partly facilitated by their command of good English proficiency. While statistics prior to the initiation of The Project are not readily available, some later statistics might illustrate the facilitative effects of good English proficiency.

Firstly, prior to the end of 2004, Shanghai had granted large numbers³⁶ of fresh (post)graduates local *hukou*, who must have attained at least the passing level in the nationally administered College English Test Band 4 (CET-4) because this level was the minimum language-related exit requirement at virtually all universities. Secondly, as from 2005, Shanghai³⁷ introduced a grading system³⁸ to review applications for Shanghai *hukou*

³⁵ By "long-term residents" is meant residents residing in Shanghai for at least six months (Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2003: 344; Song, 2004: 73).

³⁶ For example, the numbers of such graduates respectively in the years 2003, 2004 and 2005 was 12,084, 12,539, 10,369 (SHEC, 2006).

³⁷ Shanghai was not the only city that imposed English-proficiency requirement for fresh graduates who applied for local *hukou*. Beijing (Yuan & Yang, 2008) and Shenzhen (Shenzhen Bureau of Human Resources, 2007) also imposed similar requirements.

³⁸ The system was developed by the Joint Committee for Employment Opportunities for

from fresh degree holders; this system would grant the applicant's passing CET-6 or CET-4 respectively 8 or 7 points, with the required minimum scores being 64 and 68 in 2005 and 2006. Thirdly, higher degree holders, who are more likely to earn Shanghai *hukou* than their counterparts with lower degrees (see Appendix 4A), generally possess a higher English proficiency. In other words, master-degree or doctoral-degree graduates' English proficiency is normally higher than that of their bachelor-degree counterparts. This is because bachelor-degree holders, to gain access to higher degree programmes, are usually required to pass a nationally administered English test, which is more difficult than CET-4; furthermore, before graduation, students need to sit an English test (usually university-based), which is one language-related exit requirements of many postgraduate programmes.

3.3. *Shanghairen* (上海人): Core Characteristics

This section reviews the core characteristics of *Shanghairen*. While much of the state-of-the-art literature contains mostly gross cultural statements about Shanghai people, which resemble stereotype, the review can be instrumental because the possible key initiators of The Project (viz. people who helped initiate The Project, see Section 6.1 of Chapter 6) also share these characteristics.

The identity of “*Shanghairen*” in “the cultural-anthropological sense” may have formed between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Xiong, 2000) or even earlier (e.g. the Kangxi era of the Qing Dynasty, cf. Johnson, 1993: 163). What seems certain was that the core characteristics of *Shanghairen* identity, which had been shaped by this city's special combination of foreign and Chinese population, its economic vitality, and its rapid modernization of the city infrastructure *prior to* the

Shanghai Tertiary Graduates 上海市高校毕业生就业工作联席会议, a government organ, in 2005 and was revised to be more detailed in 2006.

founding of the PRC in 1949, became stabilized well before the initiation of The Project (cf. Gamble, 2003: 101) and have continued to manifest themselves in different spheres of the Shanghai society to date.

Among the distinguishing characteristics of *Shanghairen* previously identified (e.g. Xiong, 1996, 1997, 2000; Lu, 1999; Gamble, 2003: 82-92), I suggest that struggle for social existence and mobility, social endorsement of wealth and fame, Shanghai-style “cleverness” and pragmatism are three most salient traits.

Firstly, many if not most *Shanghairen* nowadays need to strive for survival and upward mobility. This kind of struggle for social existence and mobility can be reflected in the early preparation of their children for future competition and the importance attached to their own continued education. According to Peng & Wang (2006: 102), in Shanghai, children are instilled a sense of competition by their parents from an early age; many students, when just beginning to learn Chinese characters, are taught to believe that they must enter prestigious universities so as to survive the future competition. Much anecdotal evidence (e.g. Zhu & Huang, 2005: 142, 146, 148, 154, 155-6, 159) suggests that Shanghai parents expend great efforts to prepare children, in addition to their formal school education, for a better future through various means (e.g. hiring private tutors and paying for out-of-school training). As a Shanghai parent of a kindergartener comments in the group interview conducted by Huang & Li (1995: 16), “after my child returns from school, I have him learn drawing, practice his calligraphy, learn English, or learn some of this or that ”.

Many *Shanghairen* accord much importance to their continued education after they graduate from college. After work, they enroll at various training centres or night schools, trying to obtain certificates or receive training that facilitate or will facilitate their professional advancements (for anecdotes, see Tang, 1999; 2000; Qiao, 2003: 44; Peng & Wang, 2006: 103-4;). As Li (2005: 104) rightfully points out, the

white-collar workers in Shanghai pay much attention to enhancing the possibility of their career advancement. A survey conducted in 1994 and responded by 1,048 white-collar workers in Shanghai revealed that over 30% respondents attended training classes in their spare time (Xu & Li, 1995: 2). Another survey, which investigated 300 households respectively from Shanghai, Tianjin and Harbin in 1998, found that the average time on self-initiated continued study per person per working day was 19.73 minutes in Shanghai, compared with 9.31 in Tianjin and 14.67 in Harbin while the figure per weekend day was 20.63 in Shanghai, *vis-à-vis* 17.74 in Tianjin and 13.70 in Harbin (Xu, 2003: 33). These survey figures directly or indirectly show that *Shanghairen* expend efforts on their continued education in their spare time.

The development of the first core characteristic might have been a result of a long-standing tradition of struggling for a living in Shanghai and a high level of competition in the local job market. As Peng & Wang (2006: 101) observes, between 1843 and 1950, Shanghai had all along been an immigrant city with high growth rates in both population and economy and that “most immigrants had to strive on their own so as to earn a living from scratch in this ruthless capitalist city”. On the other hand, many authors (Tang, 1999: 11; Li, 2005: 102; Peng & Wang, 2006: 101; Yi, 2006: 153) have noted the fierceness of the competition in Shanghai’s job market. According to the findings from Survey of Attitudes and Perceptions of Citizens regarding Social Changes in Shanghai 上海市民社会意愿调查 (hereafter “the Shanghai Social Changes Survey”), drawing upon a probability sample of 1,764 households and conducted by the Shanghai Social Sciences Academy in 2005-6, “the working environment today is harsher than that in the 1980s” in that “the competition at work places has increased, job-hunting has become difficult and job stability has decreased” (Lu, 2008: 9). According to a survey conducted in 2005, over 78% white-collar workers indicated that they felt greater pressure at the job

market and this percentage exceeded that respectively in Beijing and Guangzhou (People's Net, 2005, cited from Li, 2005: 103).

Secondly, the social endorsement of wealth and fame is another core characteristic of *Shanghairen*. In his qualitative study of the lives of local residents in Shanghai and their perceptions of their changing city, Gamble (2003: 117) notes that most of his informants “stress solely upon wealth as a key signifier of status”. In the Shanghai Social Changes Survey, for an assessment of one’s social status, his/her income level (66.1%³⁹), position held at *danwei* (52.0%), and educational qualification (45.4%) are deemed the most important three (out of 11) criteria nowadays, as opposed to his/her family element⁴⁰ (63.8%), party membership (51.8%) and personal morality (38.7%) which used to be regarded as the most important in the pre-1985 era (Xia & Li, 2008: 48-9); accordingly, Lu (2008: 7) concludes that “today the public’s criteria for evaluating an individual’s social status have undergone thorough changes, with income, wealth and consumption emerging as the most important criteria”.

Similarly, Yang (2002[1999]: 42) observes that “wealth has become an important criterion of one’s social status” and claims that his survey finding that “income is young people’s practical criterion of job satisfaction in Shanghai” could confirm his observation. Furthermore, another finding concerning the white-collar workers’ job-seeking beliefs can indirectly attest to today’s social endorsement of wealth in Shanghai: according to the importance of four surveyed factors that may affect the consideration of a job offer, the respondents assigned, on average, 1.9 points⁴¹ to “income”, 1.8 to “opportunities to utilize one’s skills”, 1.5 to “work environment” and 0.9 to “social status” (Xu & Li, 1995: 3). According to Li’s (2005: 104) observation, Shanghai’s white-collar workers accord much attention to the

³⁹ Percentages in brackets in this paragraph are cumulative percentages of the frequencies of the choice concerned. The sum of percentages may exceed 100% because respondents were allowed to make more than one choices.

⁴⁰ In the pre-Open-Door-policy era, the social stratum was made up of workers, peasants, and cadres (or intellectuals), which could be further sub-divided (see Xia & Li, 2008: 47).

⁴¹ The higher the score, the more important the factor.

appreciation of their material assets.

Thirdly, Shanghai-style “cleverness” and pragmatism as a core characteristic of *Shanghairen* has been most frequently noted in the literature. Shanghai-style “cleverness” refers to a fluid state that may range, depending on context, from being the unambiguously positive *congming* 聪明 (intelligent or clever), to *xiao congming* 小聪明 (clever about petty things), to *jingming* 精明 (shrewd) or *jingming dan bu gaoming* 精明但不高明 (astute but unwise). Numerous anecdotal examples (e.g. Yu, 1994; Zhang, 1997; Shi, Qi, & Yuan, 2003: 9; Gamble, 2003: 79; Zhu, 2005; D. P. Yang, 2006: 319; Yi, 2006: 74-5; Shen, 2008: 2-21) can substantiate this observation. In addition, the ex-Shanghai mayor, HUANG Ju was widely quoted for pronouncing to the press “*Shanghairen* in the 1990s will be not only clever about both petty and important things but also wise 90 年代的上海人肯定会既精明，亦聪明，更高明” (Kang, 2001: 27). Furthermore, Lu (1999: 16) regards astuteness as “a most distinctive characteristic” which seemed to be shared by all *Shanghairen*; he notes that *Shanghairen*, especially the older generation, were so “clever” that they could fastidiously tell the distinctions between a person from the so-called “*shang zhi jiao* 上只角” (“the upper corner”, i.e. Shanghai’s fine neighborhoods) and a person from “*xia zhi tiao* 下只角” (“the lower corner”, viz. the city’s poor neighborhoods); however, such snobbish distinctions were too subtle for non-*Shanghairen*.

Also speaking of pragmatism, Lu (1999) argues that “pragmatism” as the driving force behind the survival of *Shanghairen* in the early 20th century. Y. Z. Xiong (2000) notes that up till the late 20th century, *jiangjiu shihui* 讲究实惠 (attachment to pragmatic benefits) and *chongyang dan bu meiwai* 崇洋但不媚外 (looking to the West for improvement without blind worshipping) were two important attributes that characterized the “behavioral pattern” of *Shanghairen*; these two attributes may well be deemed as the manifestation of *Shanghairen*’s pragmatism. Again,

numerous anecdotes can attest to the Shanghai-style pragmatism, ranging from events as significant as the decision to dismantle the city wall in 1910s (cf. Pott, 1928: 2; Yu, 1992[2004]), and as trivial as the swift adoption among the ordinary *Shanghairen* of the more neutral word “*yang* 洋” to replace the derogatory “*yi* 夷” in the late 19th century (cf. D. P. Yang, 2006: 106).

A case in point to illustrate both *Shanghairen*’s “cleverness” and their pragmatism was the administration’s utilization of land leasing in the late 1980s, which was eulogized as “conducted in an orderly manner” (Kang, 2001: 127). According to the accounts by Shi, Qi, & Yuan (2003: 12), the idea of making use of the state-owned land to generate money for modernizing city infrastructure was conceived at a small scale meeting of five participants organized by the Shanghai municipal committee of the Party in 1987, and in the next year the administration began to experiment with the policy of land leasing in a phrased manner. At that time, leasing the state-owned land to foreigners inevitably smacked of selling the country, among other negative connotations. As Shi, Qi, & Yuan (2003: 12) point out, even in the early 1990s “materializing the notion (of land leasing) to a large scale was rather risky”. Understandably, the central government appointed a senior official to look into the municipal administration’s intended policy (Kang, 2001: 127-8). In the end, the municipal administrators managed to convince the central government of the feasibility and necessity of land-leasing and secured the green light for the policy.

The land leasing in Shanghai as of 2000 generated over 100 billion *yuan* (Kang, 2001: 128), which was equivalent to the total fiscal revenue of this city for the whole year of 2000, and this money was used as investment into the modernization of city infrastructure. The then mayor CHEN Liangyu (2002) attributed the “success” of the modernization project of the old residential districts to land leasing, without which, Chen claims, “the modernization project in the past 10 years would have taken 100 years”.

At the early stage of the Dengist reform era when the Dengist pragmatism⁴² began to dominate, the then Shanghai administrators, who were already “clever” and pragmatic enough as a result of being *Shanghairen*, “*cleverly*” made the best use of Dengist theories by experimenting with land leasing with a *pragmatic* attitude: although it was not legal to transfer the ownership of the state-owned land, laws did not prohibit the transfer of the right to use the land; since “development overrides every thing else” (another famous adage in Dengist theories), hence the “black cat” of land leasing, though highly controversial, could still be used to effectively “catch mice” (i.e. help generate sufficient funding to aid Shanghai’s self-financed reform).

In a word, struggle for social existence and mobility, social endorsement of wealth and fame, and the Shanghai-style “cleverness” and pragmatism can be considered as core traits of *Shanghairen*.

3.4. Shanghai Parents and Their Children’s Education

The national “one-child policy”, through legislating when couples can give birth and to how many children, has significantly shaped the Chinese family life in a number of ways (cf. Short & Zhai, 1998; Short *et al.* 2001). One preeminent result was that each family can concentrate its recourses on educating its only child. Of the many aspects of a child’s education, English learning is an important area for parents’ investment because “English proficiency has a key role to play in children’s academic advancement and their chances of finding high-paid jobs after graduation” (Zou, *et al.*, 2005:

⁴² The death of Chairman Mao in September 1976 and the arrest of all members of the Gang of Four in October of the same year marked the end of the Cultural Revolution era and Deng Xiaoping ascended to the central status of the second generation of leaders of the PRC, replacing Maoist utopianism with Dengist pragmatism (Burton, 1990: 1). Deng’s pragmatic approach could be best summed up in one of his most famous aphorisms, “It doesn’t matter if the cat is black or white so long as it catches mice.”

14)

Parents in Shanghai generally tend to divert much energy to their children's English learning, regardless of their own education qualifications. According to a large research project conducted in Shanghai, although "parents with higher education qualifications spent significantly higher amounts of money on children's English learning than those with lower education qualifications", "a significantly higher proportion of parents with lower education qualifications expended efforts on tutoring their children in English than their counterparts with higher education qualifications" (Zhang, *et al*, 2006: 54). These findings should be hardly surprising in that different kinds of Shanghai parents, as "clever" and pragmatic *Shanghairen*, can readily perceive the utility of English proficiency for their children within the current SRS (see Section 3.2 above).

3.5. Shanghai Leaders in a *Danwei* System

This section uses two vignettes about LÜ Xingwei to flesh out the three core characteristics of a *danwei* system discussed earlier (see Section 2.3 of Chapter 2).

Mr. LÜ Xingwei, an influential figure in the education circle of Shanghai, may well be a most influential supporter for BE in the education sector (see Section 6.1.4 of Chapter 6). He was born in 1918 and commenced his career in education in 1936 upon completion of his junior secondary education by founding a school at a poor and remote village at his hometown in Zhejiang Province (adjacent to Shanghai). After Mr. Lü graduated from Zhejiang University in 1946, he continued his career in Shanghai, where had taught in the front-line at a number of primary and secondary schools before he became a leader in the Bureau of Education of Shanghai, the predecessor of the SHEC. At the Bureau of Education, as from 1956 Mr. Lü had been Head of Teaching and Research Department, the

same post as Mr. WANG Juexuan is currently holding⁴³ and had assumed the concurrent posts of Head of General Education Department and Head of Political Education Department before he was assigned to work as a Research Fellow at the Chinese Institute of Educational Science 中央教科所 in Beijing. In terms of the number of concurrent posts in Shanghai, Mr. Lü seemed much more influential than his successor, Mr. Wang. Later in 1966 he returned to Shanghai and became Deputy Director of the Bureau of Education, where he had been working as a senior official until his retirement in 1988 (Lü, 2008).

Mr. Lü shouldered a number of professional titles including Vice Chairman of the Chinese Society of Education 中国教育学会副会长, Honorary Chairman of the Shanghai Society of Education 上海教育学会名誉会长, Member of the Expert Consultancy Committee at the Centre for Educational Development of Ministry of Education 教育部教育发展中心 专家咨询委员会委员 and part-time Professor at East China Normal University and Shanghai Normal University. He also won many titles from international, national, and municipal organizations such as “Expert in General Education” from the UNESCO (Official Website of China Welfare Institute 2003; M. Xu, 2005; Sina Net, 2005b).

The following two vignettes are translated from the published oral history by Lü (2008). They are useful for the later discussion regarding the role played by the state in The Project’s initiation (see Section 6.1.7 of Chapter 6), which will be identified as one contributing factor vis-à-vis Research Question (1).

The First Vignette

This anecdote is about how Lü published one of his controversial academic article:

In the winter of 1978, I visited France in the capacity of Vice Chairman of

⁴³ Mr. Wang also has the concurrent post of Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project.

China Education Association for International Exchange⁴⁴ 中国教育国际交流协会 for the purpose of observing and learning. Afterwards, I visited Japan and the U.S.. Foreign education theories and techniques broadened my horizons and influenced my way of thinking. I came to identify two ways in which knowledge is imparted: I refer to classroom teaching as “the first channel”, and non-classroom teaching as “the second channel”. I believe both channels play an important role in knowledge dissemination. In 1983, I published an article entitled *Reforming the First Channel, Developing the Second Channel and Establishing an Educational System that Emphasizes Both* 改革第一渠道，发展第二渠道，建立两个渠道并重的教学体系.

The article stirred major controversy. A number of leaders in the education sector, not only in Shanghai but also in the Ministry of Education, explicitly rejected my ideas. It made sense that some of my colleagues found it difficult to adapt to the new ideas presented in my article: the inception of the Open Door policy had been too recent to liberate their long-ossified minds.

I wrote another article titled *Further Comments on the Two Channels* 再论两个渠道 and contributed it to *Educational Research*, a theoretically oriented journal under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education. The editor-in-chief read the article but did not dare to decide whether to publish it or not. So he asked advice from the Director of China National Institute for Educational Research 中央教科所, the *danwei* responsible for running the journal. After reading the article, the Director gave no direct answer and simply said, “Lao Lü⁴⁵ is Vice Chairman of the Chinese

⁴⁴ China Education Association for International Exchange, formally established in 1981 under the approval of the State Council, is “China’s nationwide non-for-profit organization conducting international educational exchanges”. See http://en.ceaie.edu.cn/en_about_detail.php?id=3473 for more.

⁴⁵ “Lao Lü” refers to Mr. Lü. While “Lao 老” literally means “old”, here it is used before the surname and thus implies Mr. Lü’s seniority and the speaker’s attitude of respect and friendliness.

Society of Education. So am I. Hence I am not in the position to judge his article.” Consequently, the editor-in-chief had to send the article to the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Education, who was in charge of the journal. The Vice Minister recognized the article’s merit but thought that expressing his opinion would be inappropriate in this case. He prevaricated and told the editor in chief: “Deciding whether or not to publish an article is your responsibility as the editor-in-chief. How come you ask me for instruction? Why should I concern myself with matters as trivial as this?” After experiencing all the buck-passing, the editor-in-chief decided that the buck shall stop with him and finally published the article.

The above story vividly illustrates the core attributes of the *danwei* system. First, publishing a potentially controversial academic article requires consent, however implicit, from the supervising *danwei* (i.e. China National Institute for Educational Research, and the higher supervising *danwei*, the Ministry of Education). In other words, decision-makers at the subordinate *danwei* rely heavily on leaders of the supervising *danwei* in deciding important and/or potentially controversial matters.

Second, the Vice Minister, who appreciated the value of Mr. Lü’s article, obviously had expertise enough in the area under his supervision, which is indicative of the meritocratic nature of leadership. The authoritarian nature of leadership also manifested itself in the above vignette, albeit to a lesser extent: when the two leaders kicked the article back and forth like a ball, they seemed to justify their actions on personal liking rather than on academic criteria or formal procedures; moreover, it seemed that they did not bother to solicit the opinions from their subordinate (i.e. the editor-in-chief).

Third, that Mr. Lü’s article did not receive a direct rejection from the Director of China National Institute for Educational Research or the Vice Minister had much to do with Lü’s status, including his title of “Vice Chairman of the Chinese Society of Education”. *Guanxi* manifested itself in

the whole communication process: because the Director and Mr. Lü were colleagues on equal footing at the Chinese Society of Education, the former had to take into account the latter's "face" in deciding whether or not to reject the paper; so the latter was able to have his article protected largely thanks to his special *guanxi* with the former.

In addition, the vignette suggests that Mr. Lü was then an influential figure in the education circle. It also provides a viable explanation of how Mr. Lü could play a key role in Shanghai's gaining the autonomy in college admission (see the vignette below) and how he may have influenced the decision-making in regards to the initiation of The Project.

The Second Vignette

This story describes how Lü managed to enable Shanghai to obtain the autonomy in college admission⁴⁶ from the state authorities, which was one of his greatest achievements during his tenure at the SHEC. It was subsumed under the heading "Obtaining Autonomy in College Admission through Strategy智取高考自主权" in Lü's oral history.

I made up my mind to fight for Shanghai's autonomy in administering its own college admission. It was in the autumn of 1984 that I approached a Deputy Mayor of Shanghai, who then was in charge of education, to first discuss my ideas. After pondering for a short while, the Deputy Mayor said, "This is too difficult. Such a thing has never taken place before. Nor will the Ministry of Education consent." I replied, "What has never taken place can be made possible provided that opportunities are created. I will fight for them as long as you give me the green light." Afterwards, I approached him for support on many consecutive occasions. In the end, he became less intransigent and said, "You go and try fighting for it. If the Ministry of Education agrees, then we can have a try."

⁴⁶ Secondary school graduates aspiring to go to college had to sit the nationally unified examination before the State began to decentralize autonomy in college admission to a number of regions in the 1980s.

It was a coincidence that soon after I received the permission, the major leaders from the central government including the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Education in charge of college admission came to Shanghai for inspection. Seizing this opportunity, I paid them a visit with the Deputy Mayor. We first reported to them the situations of Shanghai, hinting that Shanghai's situations differed from those of other provinces; then we diverted the flow of conversation to our ultimate purpose by saying: "There has been only one unified version of test papers for the college entrance examination nationwide. At the same time it has always been difficult for the design of examination (on the part of the Ministry of Education) to cater for all needs (of different regions). The Ministry of Education has seldom had its labor rewarded. Why won't the Ministry decentralize the power? (After empowering local authorities,) You as the supervising *danwei* (leaders) may commend the local authorities that do a good job and penalize those that don't, and thereby still retain the initiative".

The Vice Minister was quite hesitant, saying "Will that work?" I said, "In China there are some provinces, each of which is larger than a certain European country. In Europe there are many countries, each of which enjoys autonomy in college admission within its own distinct examination system. And they are doing perfectly okay." The Vice Minister thought for a while and still expressed his concern that such autonomy would cause chaos. Then I said to him, "Nowadays the provincial directors of educational authorities are experienced and capable. You can establish a number of principles and issue some guidance documents, and let the subordinate educational authorities assume the task of designing specifically their own versions of examination papers. What bad will that do?"

At last my repeated explanation convinced the Vice Minister. He made

explicit his stand, “Shanghai may go for a try. The other provinces will remain the same.” This sentence was exactly what I had been waiting for. Right upon the completion of his words/sentence, I quickly said, “Okay, Shanghai will give it a shot single-handed.”

I was wrong to have assumed that the agreement was final. Soon after my meeting with the Vice Minister, I went on a business trip to Guangdong Province; upon returning to Shanghai, my colleagues informed me that the agreement was broken. It was said that after returning to Beijing, the Vice Minister changed his mind and would not allow Shanghai to be the first and only region to design its own version of examination papers. All my colleagues suggested that I go to Beijing to try further.

During that period, the Spring Festival was coming shortly. I couldn't care less about the festival and hurried off to Beijing. I had work at the Ministry of Education for many years, where I had plenty of acquaintances. At the Ministry I learnt about the truth: it was the Director 司长 directly in charge of college admission⁴⁷ that disagreed; the Vice Minister had been quite reluctant when he gave me the initial promise and was later rather easily persuaded to change his mind by the Director. However, the good news was that the Director was a former acquaintance since we had worked together at a Five-seven Cadre School 五七干校⁴⁸. As a result, I was able to go directly to see him. I requested him to promise me the following, “Tomorrow I will report to the Vice Minister. You may join me provided that you won't say a word but listen. After I finish my reporting, we will await the Vice Minister's declaration of his stand. If he says no, then I will forget

⁴⁷ This director was an immediate subordinate of the afore-mentioned Vice Minister at the Ministry of Education.

⁴⁸ Under Chairman Mao's “May Seventh Direction” made on May 7 1966, many urban youth (mostly cadres and intellectuals) were “sent down” to labor in the countryside and learn from the peasants in various waves of the state-sponsored rustication programmes of the 1960s and 1970s. Five-seven Cadre Schools, numbering several hundred across the nation, were a type of host places for such sent-down cadres.

about it; if he says yes, you won't utter a word." The Director gave me his promise because he was confident that the Vice Minister would not agree and was well aware that promising me meant doing me a favor.

The next day I reported to the Vice Minister on Shanghai's proposal to have autonomy in college admission. After I finished reporting, the Vice Minister looked at the Director, as if hoping that the Director could make some comments. At this crucial moment, I stared at the Director, despite my deep sense of anxiety. The Director just sat there but did not utter a word, although he appeared to have something to say. Seeing this, the Vice Minister said to me, "At the very beginning, I had promised you the autonomy. It was he that did not agree. Now that he has nothing to say, then you may proceed with your plan."

In this way, we obtained the college-admission autonomy, which we so desired, through an adventurous course.

The second vignette, as the first one, also vividly fleshes out the core attributes of the *danwei* system. First of all, Shanghai's reform initiative regarding college admission depended on the Ministry of Education, i.e. the top decision-making *danwei* in education. That was why Mr. Lü, as well as the Vice Mayor of Shanghai, had to try repeatedly to gain the approval from the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Education.

Secondly, the meritocratic nature of the leadership could be mirrored by the Vice Minister's green light given to decentralizing autonomy in college admission, which has now proved to be a correct and important direction in reforming the college entrance examination mechanism. In addition, Lü's observation that "the provincial directors of educational authorities are experienced and capable" attested to the meritocratic nature of the leadership. At the same time, the authoritarian nature of the leadership could be reflected in the direct veto of the initial agreement between Mr. Lü

and the Vice Minister from the Director at the Ministry of Education, whose administrative ranking was above that of Mr. Lü but below the Vice Minister.

Finally, Mr. Lü's "plenty of acquaintances" at the Ministry of Education, obviously through non-official channels, informed him of "the truth" regarding the rejection of his proposal, so that he could pinpoint the right target (i.e. the Director) to lobby, which enhanced significantly the likelihood of the successful passage of his proposal. Furthermore, while the Director enjoyed a higher administrative ranking than Mr. Lü, Mr. Lü had good *guanxi* with him because they had been through some hardship together (i.e. laboring in some rural region during the Cultural Revolution); making good use of this *guanxi*, Mr. Lü managed to persuade him into accepting requests (e.g. keeping silent in front of the Vice Minister) that would have been unthinkable for ordinary subordinates. Indeed, Mr. Lü's *guanxi* stood him in good stead in his communication with his superiors. In contrast, subordinates without similar *guanxi* may never have had a chance to locate the right person to lobby, let alone posing demanding requests on their superiors. For influential figures like Mr. Lü, their *guanxi*, more often than not, can mediate the off-the-record communication with their superiors in the *danwei* system.

The above two vignette about Lü, who was probably one of the key political figures to negotiate approval from the state for the initiation of The Project, can facilitate my discussion of Research Question (1) in Section 6.5 of Chapter 6.

4. Two Conceptual Frameworks

Two conceptual frameworks are constructed respectively for the examination of the initiation (Research Question (1)) and the implementation (Research Question (2)) of The Project, based on the assumption that the factors affecting these two stages of BE provision may be different.

4.1. Framework for Investigating the Initiation of The Project

Four factors constitute the conceptual framework for investigating The Project's initiation, namely the first focus of this study:

- (1) The role played by the state;
- (2) Little exposure to English for its effective learning outside school;
- (3) Social demands for English skills in the SRS;
- (4) Stakeholders' perceptions related to English learning.

I include Factor (1) into the framework primarily because of my belief that the state played a role in the SHEC's mounting The Project given the core attributes of a *danwei* system (see Section 2.2 of Chapter 2). As will be shown in Section 6.1 of Chapter 6, the role played by the state, specifically speaking, was its subtle approval for The Project, which came into being as a result of the interaction of six sub-factors.

The other three factors were primarily gleaned from previous research (see Section 2.1.1 of Chapter 2). For instance, Factor (2) in the framework is slightly modified from the composite factor "extent of English in national society" identified by Johnstone (2010: 126). Factor (4) is synthesized from two variables (i.e. "stakeholders' perceptions of English proficiency as a social desideratum" and "stakeholders' perceptions regarding the positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency") in So's (1984) model

reviewed in Chapter 2 and another variable “perceived ineptitude of teaching English as a subject only” that does not play a prominent role in So’s model.

4.2. Framework for Examining the Implementation of The Project

I selected eight factors to construct a conceptual framework for investigating The Project’s implementation, as listed below with sample reference sources indicated in brackets following each factor.

My selection was based on two considerations: (1) their importance primarily as indicated by the frequency and consistency with which they are found in successful programmes from relatively comparable contexts (see Appendix 2A); and (2) my understanding of the local context, which had been shaped by my teaching experience in the Chinese Mainland and the findings from my pilot research in Shanghai (i.e. a group discussion with some Shanghai parents and many informal discussions with my informants).

(1) Effects of BE (e.g. Spolsky, Green & Read, 1976[1974]; Baker, 1996: 343)

(2) Support of stakeholders (e.g. parents) (e.g. Swain & Lapkin, 1982: 85; Baetens Beardsmore, 1993a, 1997; Branaman & Rennie 1997; Swain & Johnson, 1997; Genesee, 2002; Johnstone, 2002; Mehisto & Asser, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2007: 39; Parilah & Fauziah, 2007; Johnstone, 2010)

(3) Leadership of school administrators (e.g. Baetens Beardsmore, 1997; Branaman & Rennie, 1997; Swain & Johnson, 1997; Mehisto & Asser, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2007: 34; Johnstone, 2010)

(4) Abilities of teachers to conduct BE (e.g. Haynes, 1981; Baetens Beardsmore, 1993a, 1997; Branaman & Rennie 1997, Swain & Johnson, 1997; Johnstone, 2002; Lindholm-Leary, 2007: 22; Parilah & Fauziah, 2007)

(5) Corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation (e.g.

Baetens Beardsmore, 1997; Lindholm-Leary, 2007: 9)

(6) Measures to motivate and train teachers (e.g. Mehisto & Asser, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2007: 16; Howard *et al.*, 2007: 111; Johnstone, 2010)

(7) Scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers (e.g. Mehisto & Asser, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2007: 20; Howard *et al.*, 2007: 54; Johnstone, 2010)

(8) Support from policies at various levels (e.g. Mehisto & Asser, 2007; Johnstone, 2010)

In the list above, some factors (e.g. the variable of “parental support”) are borrowed wholesale from the relevant literature. A couple of the selected factors are “synthesized” ones based on two or more previously identified variables. For example, Lindholm-Leary (2007: 22) deems evaluation studies conducted by front-line teachers important while Mehisto & Asser (2007) highlight the importance of “independent programme research”; these two are combined to form the current factor of “scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers” in my framework. Another case in point is the factor “abilities of teachers to conduct BE”, which is a combination of Baetens Beardsmore’s (1997, 2009a) Variables (b6) and (b7), namely “teacher competence” and “language strategies”.

Some factors other than those listed in the framework may exert some influences on the implementation of The Project, albeit to a lesser extent than those identified above. It is hypothesized that they might at best act as “givens” or “remote factors” which are exerting influences *indirectly* on the implementation process. These factors may include some variables already identified as important in other contexts, such as “the majority group membership of the participating students and parents”, “the optional nature of the programme” and “stakeholders’ attitudes towards TL learning and TL group” (slightly modified from Swain & Lapkin, 1982: 85).

These eight factors will be used as dimensions to depict the status quo

of the implementation of The Project (see Chapter 7), so as to explore the potential problem areas confronting The Project (viz. the second focus of this study).

5. Research Design and Methods

This chapter first reports on the research design (Section 5.1), focusing on the data sources, namely questionnaire surveys, documents and interviews (Section 5.1.1, see Appendix 5A for a summary of data-collecting in the field), and the data analysis methods (Section 5.1.2). It then discusses details concerning the sampling (Section 5.2) and those related to the instrumentation and administration of the surveys (Section 5.3). Finally, it reports upon the sampling, instruments, and administration of interviews (Section 5.4).

5.1. Research Design

According to Leech & Onwuegbuzie's (2009) typology of mixed methods research designs, this study employed a "partially mixed concurrent dominant status design". The research design was "partially" rather than "fully" mixed because the mixing of qualitative and quantitative techniques did not occur at all the main stages of the research process (viz. the objective, data analysis and inference stages). It was "concurrent" rather than "sequential" in that the qualitative and quantitative components did not occur one after the other. It, holistically speaking, accorded the qualitative component with higher priority so it was "dominant status" as opposed to "equal status".

5.1.1. Data Sources

This study drew upon three sorts of data sources.

Questionnaire Surveys

Three rounds of surveys were conducted respectively with three self-administered questionnaires: (1) the Sociolinguistic-profile Questionnaire (henceforth "Questionnaire I") targeting Shanghai parents in

general, (2) the MoI Questionnaire targeting parents whose children were receiving some form of Chinese-English BE at the time of the survey (i.e. “BE parents”) (hereafter “Questionnaire IIA”), and (3) MoI Questionnaire targeting parents whose children had never received any form of Chinese-English BE prior to the survey (viz. “non-BE parents”) (hereafter “Questionnaire IIB”). These instruments were developed by me and their instrumentations (e.g. piloting) will be reported in Section 5.3 while the relevant sampling details in Section 5.2.

Documents

Various kinds of “documents” as defined by Merriam (1988: 105) and Yin (2003: 85-86) were used: relevant research literature, newspapers, the census, administrative documents, one piece of audio-visual material and four written teaching plans. The meanings of the first four categories of documents are quite straight forward and hence require no elaboration.

The piece of audio-visual material was a recorded Primary 5 mathematics lesson taught through English by a female teacher in Shanghai. I selected this lesson from four recorded “model EMI lessons” on a VCD, which was distributed to each participant at a large-scale conference on BE held in the early 2000s in Shanghai. Only two lessons, namely the selected one in Mathematics and one in History, were accompanied with the corresponding detailed teaching plans in the conference proceedings. If one lesson were to be selected for analysis, it would be wise to narrow down the four lessons to those two with teaching plans because ordinary conference participants like me had no opportunities to observe the recorded lessons on site. In the end, the mathematics lesson was selected largely due to my undergraduate training in mathematics. I transcribed the lesson verbatim and used the transcription to discuss linguistic and content errors in the teacher talk, in order to illustrate “abilities of teachers to conduct BE”⁴⁹, a factor in

⁴⁹ Apparently, other aspects of the lesson discourse, such as teacher-student interactive patterns, are worthy of analysis in their own rights. Analyses of different aspects of EMI classrooms in Mainland China, taken together, can reveal how BE is carried out at the classroom level. Kong’s (2009) study investigates four content-based instruction lessons

the conceptual framework for examining the implementation of The Project (section 4.2 of Chapter 4).

As for the teaching plans (see Table 7.6 in Chapter 7 for more information about the specific subjects involved), they were used to generate some quantitative and qualitative evidence with a view to illustrating the English written proficiency of BE teachers. The teaching plans were obtained from a teaching-and-research activity 教研活动 organized by and held at School C, which consisted of students' English-medium talent shows, six demonstration lessons, and a forum on BE. Despite the small scale of this activity, it invited some “outsider visitors” including me and most importantly a number of SHEC-appointed experts⁵⁰ as “guests of honor”. The major part of this activity was the six demonstration lessons, covering a wide subject range (viz. each from a different subject) and a student age range (i.e. from Primary 2 to Primary 6 graders). Only five of the six teachers offering demonstration lessons provided the participants with written teaching plans. All except one teaching plans followed a very similar format (see Figure 5.1 below) and was respectively limited to the two sides on one A4-size paper, with a lengthier one doubling the space of its counterparts; in order to facilitate comparison, the lengthier one was not used in the analysis.

from Hong Kong and Xi'an taught by two content-trained teachers in Hong Kong and two language-trained teachers in Xi'an to explore what she calls “content and language pedagogies” at secondary schools; the two lessons from Xi'an were conducted by two language-trained (English) teachers who taught one “immersion” subject that was not part of the formal curriculum; the teachers were participating in the China–Canada–USA English Immersion (CCUEI) project introduced in Xi'an since 1997. Most recently, Hoare (2010) presents a more detailed analysis of an English-medium lesson from Grade 8 on the topic of Water in “Nature and Society” (also a subject outside the formal curriculum), a lesson that was “typical of its kind” in the CCUEI project; his analysis shows that the lesson “may be considered a failure” evaluated from the perspective of content-based language teaching, highlighting the lesson's lack of content depth and little focus on correspondingly complex language use.

⁵⁰ These included Mr. ZHU Pu, Deputy Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project and Professor QIAN Yuanwei, a member at the Panel for Certifying Shanghai Model BE Schools 上海市双语教学实验学校评估小组 appointed by the SHEC.

教学过程 Teaching Procedures	教学步骤 Teaching Stage		教师活动 Teacher's Activities	学生活动 Student's Activities
	1.Pre-task			Enter the classroom to the music and dancing.
	2. While -task	Song	Guide:Questions	Answer.
			a. Sing a song	Listen and guess the festival of this song.
			b. Music accompaniment	Sing the melody.
				Sing the sound "Lu".
				Sing the song to show your love.
	Whole note		a. Introduce whole note.	Some of the students play the pianica, the rest to play the percussion instruments.
				Discuss in twos.
				Play the rhythm in groups.
			Sing the song and pay attention to the whole note.	

Figure 5.1 An Excerpt of A Teacher's Lesson Plan for a Demonstration Lesson from
School C

Interviews

I utilized three different types of interviews: one interview with a key informant, focus-group interviews with students, and one-on-one interviews with front-line teachers (see Section 5.4 for more details including sampling).

The key informant was Mr. ZHU Pu, a SHEC-official-cum-researcher, who to a large measure actually manages The Project. The interview with Mr. Zhu, served the purpose of understanding the insiders' views regarding facilitating factors for The Project's initiation (pertaining to Research Question (1)) and the possible problem areas for The Project's implementation (pertaining to Research Question (2)).

The focus-group interviews were conducted with 118 students at three schools in Shanghai. The objective was two-fold: (1) to solicit information about the actual EMI practice at school site; and (2) to understand students' perceived efficacy of EMI and their attitudes towards its continuation.

The teacher interviews were conducted with six front-line teachers from four schools in Shanghai. The purpose was to obtain some information to complement information from documents and student interviews, which

ultimately may contribute to a more reliable picture of the status quo of The Project's implementation.

5.1.2. Data Analysis

For Research Question (1), namely "What were the contributing factors to The Project's initiation in Shanghai whose municipality is part of the national *danwei* system?", the primary data source was various documents. The secondary data source consisted of relevant data from questionnaires and interviews.

The analysis of data concerning Research Question (1) was essentially a qualitative discussion (see Chapter 6). It was complemented with some descriptive statistics (primarily percentages) and some inferential statistics generated by one paired-samples t-test and two independent-samples t-tests, which were conducted to further explore interesting issues arising from the discussion (Section 6.4 of Chapter 6).

For Research Question (2), namely "How is The Project developing in the current implementation stage?", documents, questionnaire surveys and interviews, holistically speaking, were all important data sources.

Specifically, the data analysis of Research Question (2a) (What are the effects of EMI on English learning according to the perception of the students and their parents?) was primarily quantitative, relying on both descriptive and inferential statistics and complemented with interview data (Section 7.1 of Chapter 7). The descriptive statistics included percentages, means and standard deviations (SD) of the questionnaire or interview questions concerned. The inferential statistics were results of one independent-samples t-test and one one-way ANOVA test (Section 7.1.1). The independent-samples t-test was performed to determine whether there were significant differences in perceptions between BE and non-BE parents regarding effects of EMI on their children's English learning. The one-way ANOVA test was conducted to probe further into another interesting issue

(viz. differences in parents' perceptions between schools) emerging from the discussion.

The data analysis of Research Question (2b) (What are the attitudes of the students and their parents towards the (continued) provision of EMI?) was also primarily quantitative, drawing on both descriptive and inferential statistics from questionnaires and complemented with interview data (Section 7.2 of Chapter 7). Similar to Research Question (2a), the descriptive statistics for Research Question (2b) included percentages, means and SDs of the relevant questionnaire or interview questions. The inferential statistics were results of one independent-samples t-test and a series of non-parametric tests (i.e. Kruskal-Wallis⁵¹ tests and Mann-Whitney tests) (Section 7.2.2). The independent-samples t-test was conducted to determine whether there were significant differences in parental support for EMI between BE and non-BE parents. The series of non-parametric tests were performed to delve into two interesting issues arising from the discussion, namely (1) differences in BE parents' support for EMI between schools and (2) differences in non-BE parents' support for EMI between schools.

The analysis of Research Question (2c) (What are the potential problem areas for the implementation of The Project *vis-à-vis* the eight factors identified in the second conceptual framework?) was primarily a qualitative discussion. It drew upon various documents and relevant information gleaned from interview excerpts. The analysis was complemented with some quantitative data in the form of percentages.

The percentage data concerning BE teachers' written English

⁵¹ A Kruskal-Wallis test is the non-parametric counterpart of a one-way ANOVA test. My selection of the Kruskal-Wallis tests (and the follow up Mann-Whitney tests) was due to two factors. First, the relevant BE-parent data significantly violated the assumption of homogeneity of a one-way ANOVA test (Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variance: $F=5.567$, $df1=2$, $df2=195$, $p=0.004$). Second, although the relevant non-BE-parent data did not violate the assumption of homogeneity (Levene's Test: $F=2.486$, $df1=3$, $df2=189$, $p=0.062$), it would be instrumental to perform the non-parametric tests on the non-BE-parent data as well so that the results could be better contrasted with those of the BE-parent data.

proficiency, which was useful in addressing Research Question (2c), need some elaboration here. Following Dalton-Puffer (2007: 219-20), I use “reparables” and “errors” interchangeably. To illustrate the frequency of linguistic reparables in BE teachers’ teaching plans, I define a “unit of measurement” operationally as one phrase consisting at least two words (e.g. “Music accompaniment”) or one whole sentence (e.g. “Some of the students play the pianica.”).

5.2. Sampling of Surveys

5.2.1. Survey using Questionnaire I

The purpose of this survey was to generate some first-hand information to paint a picture of the sociolinguistic profile of Shanghai, with particular attention to the students’ exposure to English outside school premises. The population is Shanghai people who are of the current parent generation. The study population is the current parent-generation Shanghai people whose children were receiving within basic education (viz. from Primary 1 to Secondary 6) stage at state schools in Shanghai at the time of the survey. The sample was derived from the school sites selected. Within available resources, I followed the logic of purposeful sampling (Merriam, 1998: 61) in selecting schools. Specifically, I employed the strategy of maximum variation sampling (Patton, 1990, cited from Merriam, 1998), which enabled me to seek out schools which “represent the widest possible range of the characteristics of interest for the study” (Merriam, 1998: 63) despite the small number of selected schools.

The only criterion taken into account in the maximum variation sampling of school sites was the respondent’s residential location: 3 schools from the economically more prosperous *downtown districts* (e.g. Xuhui 徐汇, Huangpu 黄埔, Jing’an 静安, Luwan 卢湾) and 2 from the economically less prosperous *suburb districts* (e.g. Minhang 闵行, Yangpu 杨浦, Pudong

浦东, Jiading 嘉定) were to be selected. The primary justification for considering this criterion was that residential location to a large degree reflects social status, which is too important to be neglected in any attempt to generate a sociolinguistic profile (cf. Zhao & Liu, 2008).

Shanghai people seem particularly sensitive to the connection between one's residential location and his or her social status. For instance, Lu (1999: 16) notes that *Shanghairen* (especially the older generation) were so astute that they could fastidiously point out the distinctions between a person from "the upper corner" and a person from "the lower corner", although such snobbish distinctions were too subtle for non-*Shanghairen*. Also, as a popular local saying goes, "A bed in the West of the Huangpu River is far better than a house in the East of the Huangpu River 宁要浦西一张床, 不要浦东一座房". Due to this kind of sensitivity to the linkage between one's residential location and his or her social status, it is assumed that Shanghai people tend to consciously select the residential neighborhood commensurate with their social status. In other words, considering the respondent's residential location parallels considering his or her social status. Hence the dimension of residential location was taken into account in sampling.

I requested two field informants to recommend schools that they knew of and that might be willing to participate in my study. They recommended Schools A, E, and F from the downtown districts and Schools B and C from the suburbs. I did not have control over which school should be recommended. With the assistance from my informants, I managed to obtain the approval from all the principals of these 5 schools either by phone or in person. As Z. W. Feng (2007: 86) comments when reporting upon his doctoral field study related to ELT in China, securing the principal's approval was "an important step in China", without which "data collection would be bound to meet with some difficulties or would be impossible to conduct". Each of the principals referred me to a senior staff as the field

contact to assist in the ensuing matters (e.g. class selection).

I went to the field contacts in person, reassured them of the “insensitivity” of the questionnaire contents, guiding them through the questionnaire if necessary, and requested that 2 or 3 intact classes from each participating school be used for my survey. Again, I did not have a hand in the class selection process. In the end, parents of the selected 12 intact classes from 5 schools (covering 3 districts in Shanghai) were invited to participate in the survey using Questionnaire I, resulting in a sample of 295 Shanghai parents.

271 completed questionnaires were returned within the designated time-frame, making the response rate 91.9%. Since the study population was the current parent generation, 11 questionnaires filled by the students’ grandparents were excluded. A number of questionnaires completed by non-parent guardians (e.g. the aunts) were used along with the majority of questionnaires filled by parents, resulting in a total of 260 “valid” questionnaires for later analysis.

Below is a profile of the respondents with valid questionnaires (N=260) in terms of sex, age, education qualification, ethnicity, occupation, and housing condition. 38.8% of these respondents were male and 61.2% female. As for their age, 1.5% fell into the 30-and-below year range, 31.2% into the 31-35 year range, 44.6% into the 36-40 range, 16.2% into the 41-45 range, 3.5% into the 46-50 range and 2.7% into the 51-and-above range (the remaining 0.4% with no response). 16.5% of the respondents attained as their highest education level “below secondary education”, 43.5% “secondary education”, 35.8% “tertiary education”, and 2.7% “postgraduate or above” (the remaining 1.5% with no response).

The overwhelming majority of the respondents (96.5%) were Han Chinese while 2.7% ethnic minorities, with 0.4% indicating “others” and another 0.4% giving no response. As regards the respondents’ occupations, 1.5% were civil servants, 23.1% managerial or clerical personnel in various

enterprises, 20.8% professionals (research personnel, teacher, doctor, lawyer, journalist, engineer, accountant, etc.), 20.0% self-employed, 12.3% “at home in charge of domestic matters (e.g. full-time housewife)”, with 18.1% indicating “others” and 4.2% giving no response. In terms of their housing conditions, 28.5% respondents reported “living in a rented house”, 44.2% “living in the only self-bought house”, 18.1% “living in one of the self-bought houses”, and 7.3% “others” (the remaining 1.9% with no response).

The above profile of the respondents shows that the sample was obviously biased in a number of ways. For example, female parents were overrepresented. In addition, parents with tertiary or above education may well be overrepresented in comparison with the 2000 census data⁵².

Another important characteristic of respondent was how much the respondents knew⁵³ English. 50.8% of the respondents (N=260) reported that they did not know any foreign languages, 39.6% said that they knew English only and the remaining 9.6% reported other situations (e.g. knowing English and Japanese). Put differently, about 39.6%-49.2% of the sampled Shanghai people had a knowledge of English, which was similar to the percentage (viz. 40.8%, calculated from Wei & Su, 2008) among Shanghai people who could at least understand written simple English sentences according to a representative national language use survey named “Survey of Language Situation in China”⁵⁴. Hence, the percentage of

⁵² The 2000 census data shows that 10.94% of Shanghai people achieved tertiary education or above, while 11.4%, while 50.82% secondary education (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2001).

⁵³ I defined “knowing” in Questionnaire I as “at least having a knowledge in reading, listening, speaking or writing”.

⁵⁴ This survey was representative in that it employed a systematic probability sampling scheme. Part of the survey findings have been publicized by the Steering Group Office for Survey of Language Situation in China (hereafter short as SGO). Given the “very good representativeness of the sample” (SGO, 2006: 325), its findings are believed to be generalizable to the whole study population. The scale of this survey is the largest of its kind in the history of China (SGO, 2006: 299). It covered a total of 165,000 households from 1,063 municipalities, districts and counties in the Chinese mainland. It commenced in early 1997 and was coordinated (and implemented) by eleven ministerial-level governmental organs: the Ministry of Education, the National Language Commission, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Culture, the

English-knowing people in my sample may be not too distant from the actual situation.

5.2.2. Survey using Questionnaire IIA&B

For the survey using Questionnaire IIA, the study population is the current parent-generation Shanghai people whose children had received some form of BE before the survey (viz. BE parents). As regards the survey using Questionnaire IIB, the study population is the current parent-generation Shanghai people whose children had never experienced EMI prior to the survey (i.e. non-BE parents). The parent samples were derived from the same school sample. In selecting schools, I utilized the strategy of maximum variation sampling, just as I did with the survey using Questionnaire I. Considering the timing at which the schools received official recognition from the SHEC for their EMI efforts, I deemed it important and fruitful to have the school sample covering the following three types: the first-batch model BE school certified by the SHEC, the second-batch model BE schools, and the other schools which were participating in The Project but had not yet received the official recognition as their “model BE school” counterparts prior to my questionnaire administration. Accordingly, Schools A, B, and C, each representing one of these three types and having their own BE parents and non-BE parents were included in the two surveys; grade levels involved these three schools could⁵⁵ be categorized as primary school grades, from which both BE and non-BE parents were included in the surveys. School D, belonging to the third school type, was a senior high school, from which only non-BE parents were included in the survey using Questionnaire IIB. The processes of gaining access to the field and choosing intact classes from the selected

State Administration of Radio, Film and Television, National Bureau of Statistics and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (see also Wei & Su, 2011a; 2011b).

⁵⁵ At some 9-year-through-train schools in Shanghai, Grade 6 is categorized into the junior secondary section while in others, into the primary school section. The surveys carried out at School C involved the parents of some Grade 6 students.

schools were very similar to those reported earlier in Section 5.2.1 and hence will not be described here.

For the survey using Questionnaire IIA, the sample consisted of 218 BE parents and 203 filled questionnaires were returned, resulting in a response rate of 93.1%. Only questionnaires filled by the students' parent-generation guardians (e.g. parents, uncles) were considered "valid". So the valid questionnaires totaled 199; the numbers of valid questionnaires from Schools A, B, and C were 76, 61 and 62.

For the survey using Questionnaire IIB, the non-BE-parent sample comprised 220 non-BE parents and 202 filled questionnaires were returned, resulting in a response rate of 91.8%. Again, only questionnaires filled by the students' parent-generation guardians were considered "valid". Hence the valid questionnaires totaled 196; the numbers of valid questionnaires from Schools A, B, C, and D were 66, 53, 23 and 54.

Here is a profile of the respondents with valid questionnaires (N=199) in the survey with Questionnaire IIA in terms of sex, age, education qualification, ethnicity, occupation, and housing condition. 29.6% of these respondents were male and 69.3% female (the remaining 1.0%: sex unknown). 1.0% of the respondents were aged 30 or below, 30.2% between 31 and 35, 45.2% between 36 and 40, 17.6% between 41 and 45, 3.5% between 46 and 50, 1.5% 51 or above (the remaining 1.0% with no response). 13.6% of the respondents attained as their highest education level "below secondary education", 26.6% "secondary education", 51.8% "tertiary education", and 4.5% "postgraduate or above" (the remaining 3.5% with no response).

The overwhelming majority of the respondents (96.0%) were Han Chinese while 2.5% ethnic minorities, with 1.5% giving no response. As regards the respondents' occupations, 4.0% were civil servants, 22.1% managerial or clerical personnel in various enterprises, 34.2% professionals (research personnel, teacher, doctor, lawyer, journalist, engineer, accountant,

etc.), 17.6% self-employed, 9.5% “at home in charge of domestic matters (e.g. full-time housewife)”, with 10.6% indicating “others” and 2.0% giving no response. In terms of their housing conditions, 8.5% respondents reported “living in a rented house”, 56.3% “living in the only self-bought house”, 30.2% “living in one of the self-bought houses”, and 2.5% “others” (the remaining 2.5% with no response).

Below follows a profile of the respondents with valid questionnaires (N=196) in the survey with Questionnaire IIB in terms of sex, age, education qualification, ethnicity, occupation, and housing condition. 34.2% of these respondents were male and 65.3% female (the remaining 0.5%: sex unknown). As for their age, 0.5% fell into the 30-and-below year range, 26.5% into the 31-35 year range, 46.5% into the 36-40 range, 20.9% into the 41-45 range, 3.6% into the 46-50 range and 1.0% into the 51-and-above range (the remaining 1.0% with no response). 12.8% of the respondents attained as their highest education level “below secondary education”, 38.3% “secondary education”, 42.9% “tertiary education”, and 5.1% “postgraduate or above” (the remaining 1.0% with no response).

The overwhelming majority of the respondents (97.4%) were Han Chinese while 1.0% ethnic minorities, with 1.5% giving no response. As regards the respondents’ occupations, 3.6% were civil servants, 20.4% managerial or clerical personnel in various enterprises, 28.1% professionals (research personnel, teacher, doctor, lawyer, journalist, engineer, accountant, etc.), 16.8% self-employed, 9.2% “at home in charge of domestic matters (e.g. full-time housewife)”, with 20.4% indicating “others” and 1.5% giving no response. In terms of their housing conditions, 12.0% respondents reported “living in a rented house”, 58.6% “living in the only self-bought house”, 24.1% “living in one of the self-bought houses”, and 5.2% “others” (the remaining 2.6% with no response).

5.3. Questionnaire Instrumentation and Administration

5.3.1. Questionnaire I

Instrument development: Pre-test and pilot-test

In line with the recommendation that “surveyors should always conduct pre-tests and pilot tests (of the draft questionnaire) prior to actual data collection” (Bourque & Fielder, 2003: 93, emphasis added), I pre-tested sections of my draft questionnaire in a focus-group interview with 5 Shanghai parents and later pilot-tested among 223 Shanghai parents the complete draft questionnaire, which was later revised based on feedback from the pre-test.

My sample of the pre-test included 4 female and 1 male parents from School C. The focus group interview was held on a Saturday in April 2007 at a meeting room at School C, facilitated by one field contact of that school. The field contact did not participate in the interview; furthermore, the participants talked quite freely about “sensitive” issues (e.g. some teachers’ “poor” pronunciation) throughout the interaction. So I would say the influence from the school authority seemed to be minimal. I had requested to video-taped the whole process but one female participant declined. So I took some hand notes during the interview, which lasted about 80 minutes.

The draft sections for pre-test included 6 multiple-choice questions, 39 five-point Likert-scale rating items, 2 open-ended questions and 1 composite rating question. At the interview, while we were reading through together the questions/items one by one, I asked the participants to discuss aspects of the questionnaire that might be improved.

Feedback showed that the participants understood the questions without difficulty and that the major problem was the questionnaire length. Based on some feedback related to wording, I re-worded some phrases; for

instance, the option of “拿不准” was changed to “说不清”, both of which mean “Can’ t tell” in English, to eliminate the stronger northern dialect feel/tone of the original word. Another case in point was that most participants strongly felt that “比较（不）同意” had better be changed to “部分（不）同意”, although they were unable to articulate the reasons; for a person like me who does not speak the Shanghai dialect, these two words seem equally close in meaning to the English word “partially (dis)agree”; the participants’ recommendation might have something to do with their sense of language shaped by the Shanghai dialect; at any rate, this piece of advice was accepted.

The most significant revision resulted from the pre-test was a complete re-structuring of the draft questionnaire: I had planned to put all the questions/items for pre-test into a single questionnaire but after the focus-group discussion, I decided to break down what I wanted to know into 3 versions of questionnaires (i.e. the later Questionnaires I, IIA and IIB) for administration in 2 separate rounds. During the restructuring process, I reflected further upon the appropriateness of some Likert-scale items and decided that they should be deleted from my revised draft.

Moreover, the initial composite rating question, which asked the participant to assign a total of 100 marks to seven factors according to their perceived importance, seemed to have generated little insight from the parents; consequently, it was not adopted in the final questionnaires due to space constraints and optimum length of the questionnaire. Similarly, open-ended questions were also deleted. The number of Likert-scale items was reduced to 5 and they were used only in Questionnaire IIB. These revisions left virtually all questions in the close-ended multiple-choice question form, except one question requesting respondents to write down the name of their residential district and the 5 Likert-scale items in Questionnaire IIB.

The revised Questionnaire I was developed into Versions A and B for

piloting. So doing served the purpose of ascertaining whether or not a set of more refined options was better, among others. At the end of the piloting in May 2007, parents from 4 schools (one in urban areas and the others from the suburbs) returned 223 questionnaires, among which 98 were of Version A and 125 of Version B, with the response rate being about 75%.

While it is indeed optimal that the complete questionnaire is piloted “using the administrative procedures that will be used in the study” (Bourque & Fielder 2003: 84), it is not always feasible to do so in the field. At one participating school, all except one selected classes ignored my designed procedures for administration: for their own convenience, the teachers concerned took it upon themselves to administer the questionnaires at a parental meeting at the school site. This experience taught me to take every possible measure to ensure that the procedures should be strictly followed in formal administration.

Another important merit of pilot-testing two versions of Questionnaire I materialized when I found that the response rates for the questions concerned (e.g. Questions B2, B3, B4) in the two versions were very similar; based on this finding, I decided to adopt the more refined set of options, as used in Version B, in the final version of Questionnaire I.

Furthermore, feedback from the piloting enabled me to make slight revisions to some wording, to correct a serious but largely over-looked typo, and to feel assured about the clarity of the instructions and questions. For instance, one respondent said he did not quite understand C8.1 so I presumed the word “置业(purchasing real-estate property)” might be too formal for some respondents with lower education qualifications; accordingly, I changed “置业” to the plainer word of “买房(buying a house)”. Moreover, only one respondent spotted a very easily neglected type error: in both piloted versions, the instruction under Question B0 asked respondents who selected “I don’t know any foreign language” to skip ahead to Part III (viz. Demographic Information and etc.) while it should

have requested them to go to Question B5.1 (i.e. the beginning question on Page 3). In addition, most respondents said “No” to Question C9 (i.e. Are there any items/questions in this questionnaire seem ambiguous or hard to understand?) in the piloted versions so I felt assured about the clarity of the instructions and questions.

Questionnaire I administration

Questionnaire I has three sections, respectively labeled “Chinese Language Use”, “Foreign Language Use” and “Background Information and etc.” and consists of 34 close-ended multiple choice questions and one question asking the respondent to write down his/her usual residential district. For obvious reasons, the language used in the questionnaire was Chinese (see Appendices 3B and 3C for Questionnaire I and its English translation).

The purpose of Questionnaire I was to generate some understanding of the sociolinguistic profile of Shanghai by soliciting information about Shanghai people’s Chinese language use patterns (Questions A1 to A6.3, totaling 8 items), the extent of their exposure to English (Questions B0-B4, 9 items), the extent of their children’s exposure to English (Questions B5.1 to B8, 6 items) and their MoI preferences (Questions C9.1 to C10, 3 items), in addition to the demographic information (Questions C1 to C8.2, 9 items).

Questions pertaining to language use patterns and the demographic information were mostly borrowed from the main questionnaire used in the National Language Use Survey. Since such borrowed questions were from a relatively well-established instrument, only slight modifications were made. For example, I indigenized the generic option “汉语方言(Local Chinese dialects)” from the national questionnaire into “上海话(the Shanghai dialect)” ; in consideration of the purpose of my survey, I mitigated the obvious pro-Chinese bias in the original options by designating “英语(English)” as a new option, in juxtaposition with the option of “其他语言(Other languages)” under which the new option was originally subsumed in

the national questionnaire.

The questions other than the borrowed ones were either modified from the previous studies (e.g. Gardner, 1985: 177-84; Pennington & Yue, 1994; Arthur & Beaton, 2000) or devised by myself specifically for the purpose of this survey. The drafts of the questionnaire were both pre-tested and pilot-tested (see above) prior to the formal administration of Questionnaire I in June 2007.

I began to get in touch with field contacts designated by the principals of the 5 selected schools in early June. I delivered the questionnaire packets to them in person soon after I established contact with them. Each packet comprised a blank questionnaire, a cover letter promising confidentiality and introducing the research project, and a PolyU envelope. The field contacts then distributed to the teachers of the 12 selected intact classes. The teachers concerned distributed one questionnaire packet to each student of the classes selected. The students went home to ask their parents (or guardians) to fill out the questionnaires and returned the filled questionnaires in envelopes to their teachers on the next day. Most returned questionnaires indeed came on the next day but I allowed several extra days for late returns.

5.3.2. Questionnaire IIA&B

Since Questionnaires IIA & IIB were developed and administered in parallel, I will report their structures and administration procedures simultaneously.

Structure of Questionnaires IIA&B

Questionnaire IIB consists of 5 Likert-scale statements and 12 close-ended questions (see Appendices 3E & 3F). Demographic information aside, this questionnaire for non-BE parents focuses mainly on three aspects: (1) parents' perceptions of English proficiency as a social desideratum, (2) perceived effectiveness of teaching English as a subject, and (3) demand for

EMI.

Questionnaire IIA contained 15 close-ended questions (see Appendices 3G & 3H). This questionnaire for BE parents aims to elicit information about the perceived effects of BE on children's English learning, in addition to information regarding the aforementioned aspects in Questionnaire IIB.

For the purposes of these two surveys, I devised all the questions except most of those in the background information section, which were borrowed from the national survey questionnaire; the five Likert-scale statements in Questionnaire IIB, were modified from or informed by previous studies (e.g. Gardner, 1985: 177-84).

Most questions of these two questionnaires are the same and those identical items are assigned the same question numbers in order to facilitate later comparisons. Appendix 5E shows which items in the two versions of questionnaires are the same and which items are used to measure what variables. The administration procedures of both surveys were very similar to those employed in the survey using Questionnaire I (see Section 5.3.1 above) so no further space here is devoted to the details in that regard.

Instrument development: Pilot-tests

Since most of the questions and Likert-scale items had been pre-tested in the focus-group interview reported in Section 5.3.1, no separate pre-tests were conducted for the development of Questionnaires IIA or IIB. Two pilot-tests were conducted in parallel for these two questionnaires in January 2008 before the formal administration.

69 packs of Questionnaire IIA were distributed to BE parents and 64 (92.8%) filled questionnaires were returned. In contrast, 72 packs of Questionnaire IIB were distributed to non-BE parents and 67 (93.1%) filled questionnaires were returned. Inasmuch as I had established better rapport with my field contacts and accumulated more field experiences since the first round of survey in the previous year, I managed to have the two questionnaires piloted using the same procedures that were to be followed

in the formal administration.

Results of the pilot tests enabled me to make some slight revisions to the wordings of a number of items. For example, in the final versions of both Questionnaires IIA and IIB, I added to the piloted Question 4.2 an interpretation⁵⁶ of “deaf and dumb English”, considering that such an addition may facilitate the respondents’ understanding of the term. Furthermore, I added a statement⁵⁷ in brackets at the end of the piloted Question 5.1 to make the question more precise.

5.4. Sampling, Instruments and Administration of Interviews

5.4.1. Interview with One Key Informant

In the Steering Group for The Project commissioned by the SHEC, there is one Head and one Deputy Head. The Head, Mr. WANG Juexuan, shoulders several other concurrent posts, which are as important as, if not more important than, the post directly related to BE. Indeed, it is the Deputy Head, Mr. ZHU Pu, that actually manages The Project. I assume that Mr. Zhu knows many inside stories about The Project. This assumption can be corroborated by two facts. First, Mr. Zhu was invited to deliver key-note speeches about the development of BE in Shanghai at the bi-yearly The National Conference on BE three times in a row, while Mr. Wang was invited either to open or close the conference. Second, Mr. Zhu, who is a municipal-level *jiaoyanyuan* for the subject of English (see Section 2.1.1 of Chapter 2), specializes in English while Mr. Wang in Chinese (J. X. Wang, 1998; 2004). So I selected Mr. Zhu as a key informant to interview.

The interview with Mr. Zhu was conducted in late 2004 at Zhu’s office

⁵⁶ The explanation added was. “意思是这种教学模式培养出来的学生说不好、听不懂英语(this comment means that students educated by this mode cannot speak English well and have poor listening comprehension)”.

⁵⁷ The statement added was that “如果您目前暂无工作，请根据上一份工作选择(If you are currently not in employment, please choose according to your previous job situations)”.

(see Appendix 5G for sample interview questions). Notes were taken during the interview. The audio-recorded part of the interview lasted about 20 minutes.

5.4.2. Interview with Students

At the school-level sampling, I employed the strategy of maximum variation, as I did with the survey using Questionnaire IIA (see Section 5.2.1). So I selected Schools A, B, and C, representing three distinct school types. At the class-level sampling, I did not have control over which intact class to select; the choice was made by my contact person at the school concerned, depending on the availability of the classes on the interview date and other factors.

At the individual-level sampling, I also took into account the maximum variation strategy by means of inviting to a group interview all the students seated in one complete row at a selected classroom. Based on my impression formed in discussions with Shanghai teachers and my teaching experiences in the Chinese Mainland, I believe that students seated in a complete row of the classroom can usually include students with all ranges of academic achievements: high, average, and low.

Since each group interview normally required about 20 minutes, it had to take place during students' lunch breaks or their activity-oriented "auxiliary" classes. Altogether 16 groups involving 118 students were interviewed: 3 from School A, 11 from School B, and 2 from School C. The interview groups for each school came from at least two different intact classes. EMI practice at School B was more widespread in terms of the number of classes involved so I interviewed more groups at that school. All interviewees at School B were lower primary graders (i.e. Primary 1 or 2 students) while those at Schools A and C were upper primary graders (i.e. Primary 5 or 6 students). Possibly due to their younger age, some interviewees at School B tended to waver between different answers when

asked to indicate their positions by raising their hands; the resultant lower stability in answers from group interviews at School B need to be taken into account in interpreting the results.

The interviews were conducted between January and February 2008 (see Appendix 5H for sample group interview questions). All interviews were audio-recorded. They were not fully transcribed but were converted into interview logs.

Finally, a word about the last group of student interviewees at School A, which henceforth is referred to as “the non-BE interview group” for later discussion. Although I had expected my interviewees to be receiving some form of BE at the time of the interview, I did not find out that the interviewees of that group had *never* experienced any form of BE until I started my first interview question. I immediately improvised a new set of questions and still proceeded with the interview. My improvised questions elicited information about the following two aspects: (1) students’ attitudes towards English learning, and (2) their extent of support for EMI if EMI were to be purveyed to them. While I had never expected encounter with the non-BE interview group and the group-interview aims (stated in Section 5.1.1) did not apply to this group, I used data from this group in my analysis because, among others, they could complement the data pertaining to “English proficiency as a social desideratum” from documents and parental questionnaires (see Section 6.4.1 of Chapter 6).

5.4.3. Interview with Teachers

At the school-level sampling, I again employed the strategy of maximum variation, similar to what I did with sampling the student interviewees. Hence I selected School A, representing the first-batch model BE schools, School B, representing the second-batch model BE schools, and Schools C and D, representing schools that had not received official recognition for their EMI efforts (see also 5.2.1 for more school information). At the individual level, my selection of teacher interviewees was a form of convenient sampling.

The one-on-one interviews were conducted with six front-line teachers from four schools: Teacher A (Female) from School A, Teacher B (Female) from School B, Teachers C1 (Female) and C2 (Male) from School C, and Teachers D1 (Female) and D2 (Male) from School D. At the time of the interviews, only two interviewees had more than three years of experience with EMI. Four interviewees taught primary grades, and two taught senior secondary grades. The EMI subjects involved were Mathematics, Science, Computer and Physics.

The interviews were conducted at locations of mutual convenience (e.g. the school conference room or a quiet coffee shop). Each interview started with a task requiring the interviewee to distribute a total of 100 points among seven factors from the second conceptual framework, and if necessary any additional variable(s) he or she would like to specify, according to their perceived importance for implementing BE (see Appendix 5I). Then I asked some questions (e.g. Why Factor X received the highest score?) based on the interviewee's initial point distribution and solicited information, where appropriate, about the implementation of EMI at the interviewee's school and/or about the implementation of The Project. At the end of the interview, the interviewee always had a second chance to revise his or her initial point distribution, if necessary.

These one-on-one interviews, each lasting between 21-40 minutes, were all audio-recorded and later converted into interview logs.

6. The Initiation of The Project: Contributing Factors

6.1. Subtle Approval from the State

6.1.1. The State's Expectation for Shanghai

The state's designation of Pudong as an economic "dragon head" in late 1992, and recent approval of an official document aiming to build Shanghai into an international financial and shipping centre all attest to the high expectation for Shanghai in the Chinese economy on the part of the state.

The 14th CPC Congress in 1992, which decided to adopt the socialist market economy, elevated Shanghai's role in the economy of the whole nation. As part of China's strategy for closer integration with the world economy, the state called for action

to make Shanghai one of the international economic, financial and trade centres as soon as possible and to bring about a new leap in economic development in the Yangtze River Delta and the whole Yangtze River Valley (Shanghai Local Chronicle Office, N.D.).

This was the first time that the strategic positioning of Shanghai as an international city was officially proposed (Kang, 2001: 11). Such designation by the central government has since brought about various favorable opportunities for Shanghai's development (see L.-Y. Zhang, 2003 for a documentation of such opportunities in the economic sector). Shanghai has responded enthusiastically to these historical opportunities by rewarding reciprocating the state's entrustment with remarkable economic growth as from 1992 (see Section 3.1 of Chapter 3 for more).

On March 25 2009, the State Council approved an official document titled *Guidelines to Accelerate the Development of Modern Service and Advanced Manufacturing Industries in Shanghai and the Building of*

Shanghai into an International Financial and Shipping Centre (SHMG, 2009). This approval suggests that the state has consistently expected Shanghai to achieve the role of an international city between 1992 and 2009.

Hence, obviously prior to the initiation of The Project, there existed clear expectation for Shanghai to be an international city on the part of the state.

6.1.2. The State's Pro-Shanghai Tendency

The background of the topmost people in the then national leadership had to do with Shanghai. That as many as four regional top leaders managed to enter the core of the national leadership was a phenomenon unique to Shanghai: JIANG Zemin江泽民, Mayor of Shanghai during 1984-1987, was the national Party Chief (1989-2002) and President of China (1993-2003); ZHU Rongji朱镕基, Mayor of Shanghai during 1988-1991, became a vice Premier (1993-1998) and later the Premier (1998-2003); WU Bangguo吴邦国, Party Chief of Shanghai during 1991-1994, was a Vice Premier (1995-2003); HUANG Ju黄菊, Mayor of Shanghai during 1991-1994 and Party chief of Shanghai during 1994-2002, served as a Vice Premier (2003-2007).

JIANG Zemin was the first President of China whose English proficiency was high enough to sustain a long and in-depth English-medium interview by a foreign journalist (i.e. Mike Wallace, see CBS News, 2000) putatively without an interpreter. Jiang's relatively high English proficiency could, to a large measure, be attributed to his English learning experience at the secondary level and his exposure to EMI at the tertiary level: in the early 1940s in Jiangsu Province (a neighboring province to Shanghai), Jiang received his secondary education, which he later described as "mainly an education in British and American culture"; he seemed quite pleased with his English learning at school, as reflected in his own comment that "the English we learned then was better than what even university students of

today [learn]" (Gilley, 1998: 15); in 1946 Jiang began to pursue the final two years of his tertiary education in the electrical machinery programme of Shanghai Jiaotong University, where his teachers were "sticklers for using the English language for instruction" and "all assignments and tests were also in English" in addition to lectures and textbooks (Gilley, 1998: 18).

Furthermore, some observers (e.g. Zheng, 2006; W. J. Shi, 2007) claim that when JIANG Zemin was in power, there formed "the Shanghai clique 上海帮", an informal group of high-ranking officials who rose to prominence in connection to the Shanghai municipal administration. The Shanghai clique members allegedly included WU Bangguo, HUANG Ju and CHEN Laingyu (see more about this former Party Chief of Shanghai below), all clustering around JIANG Zemin (Wikipedia, 2007). CHEN Liangyu, a probable key person who facilitated the initiation of The Project (see Section 6.1.4 below) was often depicted as a powerful Shanghai politician who was quite "close to" Mr. Jiang (Barboza, 2008) or even Jiang's "minions" (W. J. Shi, 2007). Had such a clique indeed existed, it could only have enhanced the *guanxi* between the local team led by CHEN Liangyu and the clique members at the central government level.

Another note-worthy state-level leader with a Shanghai background who could hold sway over educational decision-making was Ms. CHEN Zhili 陈至立, the then Minister of the Ministry of Education (1998-2003). While she was born in 1942 in Fujian Province, she pursued her higher education as from 1959 and served a long time in Shanghai. Ms. Chen obtained her first degree from Department of Physics at Fudan University (located in Shanghai) and pursued her postgraduate degree at the Shanghai Institute of Ceramics of Chinese Academy of Sciences. Between 1980 and 1982, she was at Pennsylvanian State University in the U.S. as a visiting scholar, where she must have been exposed to intense EMI. After she returned to China, she assumed various municipal-level posts including Vice Secretary and later, Secretary of CPC Committee of Shanghai Science and

Technology Commission, Director of Propaganda Department of Shanghai, and Vice Secretary of CPC Shanghai Committee before she was transferred to the central government in August 1997.

Ms. CHEN Zhili must have had relatively good *guanxi* with leaders who shared a Shanghai background around the initiation of The Project. Ms. Chen spent most⁵⁸ of the near-four-decade period (1959-1997) studying and working in Shanghai. During Chen's tenure in Shanghai, JIANG Zemin, ZHU Rongji, WU Bangguo and HUANG Ju, who putatively formed the core of the Shanghai clique, respectively served as Shanghai's Party Chief. Ms. Chen must have performed satisfactorily professionally and/or at a personal level so that she could keep advancing up the hierarchy in the Shanghai municipal administration. Some observers deemed CHEN Zhili as an important member of the Shanghai clique (VOA News, 2002; Wikipedia, 2010) and some even claimed that she was promoted to be a state-level leader primary due to her connections with former President of China, JIANG Zemin (Wei, 2002; Zhang, 2006).

Furthermore, Ms. Chen might somehow have already held positive attitudes towards EMI prior to the initiation of The Project in late 2001. This conjecture is based on the explicit favorable attitudes towards Chinese-English BE expressed in her writings. On the first page of *Zhongguo Jiaoyubao* (China Education Daily) on January 9 2002, Z. L. Chen (2002a) writes that "Chinese-English bilingual education shall be provided as early as possible in courses such as natural sciences, economics, management in the batch of tertiary institutions that are receiving tremendous support from the state". A very similar statement appears in one of her later journal articles (viz. Z. L. Chen, 2002b).

Last but not least, Mr. LI Lanqing 李岚清, a then Vice Premier (1993-2003) in charge of education, is a third note-worthy figure. While Mr.

⁵⁸ In addition to her visit to the U.S. in the early 1980s, at the beginning of Cultural Revolution, Chen was sent to work in an army farm for about two years (1968-1970) before returning to Shanghai.

Li, unlike JIANG Zemin or CHEN Zhili, did not have a very strong Shanghai background⁵⁹, he had a very positive attitude towards delivering content matter through a foreign teaching medium. Li's strong advocacy of using good foreign-medium textbooks at the tertiary level in the late 1990s (Li, 2003: 171-2) and explicit support for BE involving a foreign language at the pre-tertiary level (Xinhua Net, 2002) probably stemmed from his pleasant experience with learning through English-medium textbooks during his study at Jiangsu Medical College, predecessor of today's Nanjing Medical University; Li (2003: 455) believes that the employment of English-medium textbooks in his college years "largely" enhanced his English proficiency. Li's positive attitude for Chinese-English BE, to a lesser extent, had to do with his good command of English. Mr. Li is said to have conducted a good many speeches in English and some anecdotal evidence suggests that he acted as a good Chinese-English interpreter for a foreign expert when the designated interpreter failed to do the job satisfactorily at an important meeting with municipal leaders in Shanghai (Li, 2003: 459-61).

Given the Shanghai-related background of the then topmost leaders and the close connections among members of the Shanghai clique (if it indeed existed), it would hardly be surprising that under *ceteris paribus* conditions, priority and/or favorable treatment from the state would be granted to Shanghai rather than other regions.

6.1.3. The Historical Precedence of Foreign-medium Instruction in Shanghai

The late Qing Dynasty (1840s-1912)

EMI was in evidence at some government schools run by the Qing

⁵⁹ LI Lanqing studied for a number of years at and graduated from Fudan University in Shanghai. Upon his graduation, Li was assigned a job in Chuangchun (Li, 2003: 458) and has since seldom lived and/or worked in Shanghai for a period longer than his college study there.

court as early as in the latter half of the 19th century. One example was the *Shanghai Tongwen Guan* 上海同文馆 (1863-1905)⁶⁰, which in 1869 was merged with the Jiangnan Arsenal 江南制造局⁶¹, an institution training students in armaments, mechanical engineering and ship-building. It is inferred that, at some classes offered by the Jiangnan Arsenal in the 1870s, foreign engineer teachers who did not speak Chinese delivered subject matter through a foreign language to Chinese learners who had little knowledge in the foreign MoI, with teaching assistance from students from the *Shanghai Tongwen Guan* who could understand the foreign language (Biggerstaff, 1961: 169).

Nanyang College, the predecessor of today's Shanghai Jiaotong University, was another case in point where foreign-language-medium instruction could be found. In the beginning years (viz. 1896-1904) of this government institution, "in senior grades all the subjects except Chinese were taught through English" (Sheng, *et al.*, 2006: 41). EMI in Nanyang College continued into the Nationalist era under the Nationalist regime (cf. Sheng, *et al.*, 2006: 85-6).

EMI may well have been in evidence some "government" or public schools not controlled by the Qing government, namely those under the jurisdiction of the International Settlement or the French Concession⁶². Since it was documented that in the 1930s schools run by the International

⁶⁰ Under the efforts of LI Hongzhang 李鸿章 (cf. X. X. Chen, 1986: 51-2), a reformist official at the Qing court, the *Shanghai Tongwen Guan* was founded only one year after the founding of the *Jingshi Tongwen Guan* 京师同文馆 (1862-1903) in Beijing, the very first government school specializing in foreign languages in the Qing Dynasty. The *Shanghai Tongwen Guan* was renamed the *Shanghai Guang Fangyan Guan* 上海广方言馆, or "the School for Dispersing Languages" in 1867.

⁶¹ In addition to the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai, some 30 governmental technical schools were set up in other parts of China by reformists at the Qing court as of 1898, among which 19 provided foreign language teaching in their curriculum or training (Li *et al.*, 1988: 46-7). In addition, some of such schools hired expatriate teachers to teach through foreign languages, which included English, French, and German (Fu, 1986: 22; Li & Xu, 2006: 19).

⁶² Soon after Shanghai became a treaty port, the three components, the Chinese city, the International Settlement, and the French Concession, separate administrative units each with its own laws and officials, as well as the surrounding towns and countryside which in time became absorbed into the metropolis, were known to the world at large as Shanghai (Wei, 1987: 2). Schools run by the International Settlement or the French Concession could be regarded as "government or public schools", in comparison with their counterparts run by the Chinese government.

Settlement taught through English in at least half of the total instruction time at secondary level (Chen & Jin, 2003: 526), a number of such schools established in the late Qing period (e.g. the Chinese Public School 华童公学 founded in 1904 and Yucai Public School 育才公学 founded in 1910) may have provided EMI in the last few years of the Qing Dynasty.

EMI could be found not only in the government-controlled sector but also at some church-related schools and tertiary institutions. Zhuang (2005: 85) asserts that “church-related schools in Shanghai⁶³ specialized in foreign language teaching and all subjects except Chinese were taught through English” in the late Qing Dynasty. Although the above assertion is too strong a statement, sufficient evidence suggests that it applies to a good proportion of the then church-related schools (cf. Chen & Jin, 2003: 539). For example, as early as in 1850s, Bridgman Girls’ School 裨文女中, established by Elijah Coleman Bridgman, the first American Protestant Christian missionary appointed to China, and his wife, used Chinese and English as MoIs to teach topics related to the Christian faith and general education (Zhao, 2005: 18).

St. John’s Secondary School 圣约翰中学 founded in 1879 “taught most subjects through English” (K. Z. Shi, 2007: 177). St. Francis Xavier College 圣芳济书院 established in 1874 had catered to only foreign students in Shanghai until it began to enrol Chinese students in 1879 (Wikipedia, 2009); based on the multi-nationality student population and evidence of EMI at this school during the Republican era under the nationalist regime (also see below), it seems safe to infer that EMI for Chinese students existed at St. Francis Xavier College before the change of regime in 1912. In a similar vein, available evidence (e.g. Xue, 1999) suggests that EMI was existent at McTyeire School 中西女中 (established in 1892) before the nationalist regime took over.

⁶³ Similar schools could be found in places other than Shanghai. For instance, Taowu Secondary School 桃坞中学 (established in 1902), one of the secondary schools affiliated to St. John’s University and located in Suzhou, “taught most subjects through English with imported English-medium textbooks” (K. Z. Shi, 2007: 197).

As for church-related tertiary institutions in the late Qing period, foreign-language-medium instruction was far from uncommon. For instance, the St. John's University 圣约翰大学, established in 1879, adopted English as the sole oral MoI, using English-medium textbooks and reference books in all subjects including Chinese History and Chinese Geography (Fu, 1986: 42; Li, *et al.*, 1988: 94; Chen & Jin, 2003: 570). The St. John's University was so famous for its educational outcomes, especially the excellent English proficiency level attained by its graduates (e.g. LIN Yutang 林语堂), that it enjoyed the title of "Oriental Harvard" (Xiong & Zhou, 2007b). Another case in point was Aurora University (Universite L'Aurore 震旦大学) founded in 1902, where French-medium instruction was documented in the early 1900s (Chen & Jin, 2003: 563).

The Era under the Nationalist Regime (1912-1948)

The founding of the Republic of China in 1912 did not disrupt the provision of foreign-medium instruction (including EMI) in the public or the church-sponsored education sectors.

EMI was in evidence at some government schools in Shanghai⁶⁴. When starting his Secondary Two at the Affiliated Secondary School of Shanghai Jiaotong University 上海交通大学附属中学 in 1920, Professor C. Z. Fan (1988: 49) found that textbooks and oral instructional mediums were English in all except two subjects of Chinese and Moral Education; such practice was deemed as constituting "a good foreign language learning environment in China" by Professor Fan, who obtained a doctorate from Harvard University in 1931. According to the memoir of Professor C. G. GE (1988: 64-65), the Shanghai Telecom School 上海电报传习所 he attended in early 1920s used English-medium test papers in the subjects of mathematics and geography, and used English-language textbooks in all

⁶⁴ Similar schools could also be found elsewhere (e.g. Jinan, the capital of Shandong Province, see Ji, 1988). For instance, Tsinghua School 清华学校 in Beijing, originally established by the Qing court in 1911 and later renamed "Tsinghua University" in 1928, continued to teach through English in all courses except a number of courses on or related to the Chinese language and culture (Fu, 1986: 31).

subjects except Chinese; Professor Ge seems quite pleased with this EMI experience as the school's using English-medium textbooks enabled him to pick up much English "unconsciously".

EMI existed in some government-run tertiary institutions as well. For instance, when former Chinese President JIANG Zemin in the mid 1940s was studying at the electrical machinery programme of Shanghai Jiaotong University, the successor of Nanyang College mentioned above, his teachers were "sticklers for using the English language for instruction" and "all assignments and tests were also in English" in addition to lectures and textbooks (Gilley, 1998: 18).

The secondary schools targeting Chinese students⁶⁵ run by the educational authorities of the International Settlement⁶⁶ provided EMI. Specifically, such schools used English as a MoI for about half of the total instruction time at junior secondary level while for the majority of the total instruction time at senior secondary level (Chen & Jin, 2003: 526). For example, Nie Zhongcheng Public School for the Chinese 聂中丞华童公学 utilized EMI in various subjects across different grades (Zhuang, 2005: 88). The oral history by J. Q. NI, who attended this government school in 1920s, provides valuable and more detailed information: the primary-school section of the school taught through English in all subjects except the classic Chinese; in addition, former students seemed satisfied with the competitive edge of relatively high English proficiency fostered by the school, which put them in an advantageous position in job seeking with foreign businesses or applying to English-medium universities in Hong Kong and Britain, including Cambridge University and Oxford University (Ni & Shi, 2006).

In addition to some government institutions in the jurisdiction of either the Chinese government or the foreign settlements, a good number of

⁶⁵ Chen & Jin (2003: 518) list four such schools in operation in the year 1927.

⁶⁶ In the French Concession, the schools (e.g. the French Public School) run by the educational authorities in the school year of 1934-5 had 158 foreign (mostly French) students and 251 Chinese students; French was the language of the teaching materials and of instruction (Chen & Jin, 2003: 526).

church-related schools and tertiary institutions purveyed foreign-language-medium instruction, mostly EMI. Examples in the pre-tertiary sector included the previously-mentioned St. Francis Xavier College and McTyeire School, which stuck to EMI until around the founding of the PRC in 1949 (Lu, 1988: 270; Xue, 1999).

The afore-mentioned St. John's University also continued with its EMI despite the change of regime in 1912. At this university, Professor Huang (1988: 87) not only learnt through English in his college years in the late 1920s but also taught courses related to Journalism through English when he later became a faculty member. Professor Huang comments that the English environment at the St. John's, where students were immersed in the English-medium classroom interactions and teaching materials and were engaged in English-medium extra-curricular activities (e.g. English composition competition), was "particularly conducive to improving students' English proficiency". Similarly, many famous alumni including the writer LIN Yutang, the economist ZHANG Zhongli, the engineer CHEN Deye, all recognized the benefit of English-medium teaching and learning at the St. John's (see Rao, 2007: 238-241).

In addition, a number of relatively young institutions founded in the middle or late Republican era, joined in the small cohort of tertiary institutions which were delivering some or most of content matter through English. A case in point was Henry Lester Institute of Technical Education established in 1934 in Shanghai⁶⁷ (Lu, 1988: 255; Ni & Shi, 2006).

Above all, teaching through a foreign medium, mostly English, was in evidence in Shanghai in the pre-1949 Republican era. Professor H. D. Lin (1941, cited from Li *et al.*, 1988: 94), who obtained his doctorate in education from the United States in the early 1940s, lamented that "No other countries except foreign dependencies and colonies in the world use a

⁶⁷ In the pre-1949 Republican era, EMI provided by church-related organizations could be found in some big cities other than Shanghai (e.g., in Beijing, see Yang, 1988; in Suzhou, see Zhu, 1988; in Wuchang, see Wang, 1988) until the mid or late 1940s.

foreign language (English) to teach various subjects like China! College professors and students have “feelings of inferiority (towards the Chinese-medium textbooks)” and assume using foreign-medium textbooks is a must”. While this lament contained an element of nationalistic sentiment and applied probably only to the then tertiary education, one may still sense the scale of foreign medium instruction at that time.

In a word, foreign medium instruction, including EMI, was by no means uncommon in the Republican Era under the Nationalist Regime (1912-1948). However, things changed fundamentally when the CPC came into power.

Beyond the Founding of the PRC

Soon after the founding of the PRC, EMI virtually in all schools and even ELT in most schools came to a sudden stop primarily as a result of the then Communist regime’s lean-to-one-side (primary towards the then Soviet Union) foreign policy and the paralleling resist-America national campaign, which was further intensified by the outbreak of the Korean War (Price, 1979: 32).

To rid educational institutions of the imperialistic flavor to the last detail, throughout the nation many institutions previously associated with foreign organizations were re-named and/or merged with government-controlled ones after being taken over by the new government. For example, St. Francis Xavier’s College was immediately re-named “Times Middle School 时代中学” soon after Shanghai’s liberation, possibly to signify the arrival of the new communist era.

Some church-related tertiary institutions which did not leave the Chinese mainland to establish their “branches” elsewhere (e.g. in Hong Kong) seemed to be able to cling to some of their traditions (e.g. keeping their names and continuing with EMI) for only a couple of years more than their pre-tertiary counterparts. While still maintaining its original name, the St. John’s University in 1951 for the first time issued its graduate diplomas in Chinese, forsaking its tradition of English-medium diplomas (Shen &

Gao, 2006). As of the end of 1951, there remained 18 church-related universities in the nation, with three based in Shanghai, namely the St. John's University, University of Shanghai and Aurora University; however, all of them were soon restructured and merged with public institutions under the direct control of the government.

As of July 1953, the new government took over all educational institutions previously subsidized by foreign organizations (Lü, 1994: 37). In other words, by that time EMI or teaching through the medium of foreign languages exited the historical stage.

Summary

In Shanghai, EMI or instruction through other foreign languages (e.g. French) had been in evidence in the government and non-government sectors covering primary, secondary and tertiary levels in the late Qing Dynasty and the Republican era under the Nationalist regime. However, soon after the founding of the PRC, as a result of the diplomatic orientation and the resultant social milieu in the early 1950s, foreign-language-medium instruction disappeared in the Chinese mainland. The absence of foreign-language-medium instruction in state schools lasted until the initiation of The Project.

6.1.4. The *Shanghairen* who played a key role in initiating The Project

Mr. LÜ Xingwei (吕型伟)

Although Mr. Lü officially retired over 20 years ago, he has been fairly active in the front-line of basic education (M. Xu, 2005). For instance, he serves as the sole consultant for the Shanghai Experimental School 上海实验学校, which has been a municipality-level key school under the direct supervision of the SHEC as from 1995 (Baidu Encyclopedia, 2009). Another case in point was that even in his seventies, Mr. Lü directed a national research project that involved over ten schools as experimental sites

across the country (Sina Net, 2005b).

To commend the contribution of Mr. Lü, the Chinese Society of Education held a forum titled “Symposium on the Educational Thoughts of LÜ Xingwei” in Shanghai in September 2007 when Mr. Lü reached the age of 90 and had taught for 73 years (Zhongguo Jiaoyubao, 2007). In December 2008, Mr. Lü was awarded the title of “Man of the Time in the Education Circle of China 中国教育风云人物” in an online public election co-sponsored by the official website of China Education Television and a number of popular on-line media including China Education News Net and Tencent Net (China Education News Net, 2008).

Mr. Lü has voiced his explicit support for the implementation of BE. He prefaces *Bilingual Education Accreditation of Elementary and Secondary School Teachers* 中小学教师双语教学能力资质认证 (Shanghai BE Research Institute⁶⁸, 2004), wherein he not only emphasizes the importance of English learning but also urges that the proposed accreditation in the book “be applied by educators in Shanghai and elsewhere in the whole country as well, so that *BE in our country will enter a new stage*” (Lü, 2004: 4; emphasis added). Notably, in the same volume, the preface of Mr. Lü precedes the preface by Mr. WANG Juexuan, Mr. Lü’s successor and Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project, which may well indicate Mr. Lü’s higher seniority and stronger influences upon The Project. In other words, as late as into 2004, Mr. Lü was still enjoying a powerful status than a senior SHEC official in direct charge of The Project (i.e. Mr. Wang).

In consideration of Mr. Lü’s strong support for BE, it is reasonable to infer that he has had deep-rooted favorable attitudes towards ELT and/or BE *per se* at least for quite some time; in other words, such favorable attitudes may have taken root prior to the initiation of The Project. As aforementioned, the influence of Mr. Lü was greater than that of the SHEC officials currently directly involved in The Project even *after* The Project

⁶⁸ This is a not a government-owned organization. Neither is it affiliated to any university or research-based units in universities.

was mounted; it seems reasonable to assume that *before* the initiation of The Project, Mr. Lü was not merely a retired academic and ex-SHEC-leader but somebody with strong power to hold sway over decision-making in the Shanghai administration. Hence, in light of Mr. Lü's favorable attitudes and his ability to leverage decision-making, he may have exerted some positive input to the initiation of The Project.

Mr. CHEN Liangyu (陈良宇)

CHEN Liangyu, the then topmost leader in the Shanghai administration around the initiation of The Project, may have facilitated the mounting of The Project.

Mr. Chen was born in 1946 in Shanghai, which according to W. J. Shi (2007⁶⁹) was purposeful hidden on Chen's official CV which indicates his native hometown as Ningbo. He spent the years between 1963 and 1980 outside Shanghai, pursuing his college education at the People's Liberation Army Institute of Logistics Engineering and serving for three years in the army upon his graduation. Except the afore-said period, Mr. Chen lived and worked in Shanghai for the most part of his life and hence can be regarded as a true *Shanghairen*.

Mr. Chen became politically influential in Shanghai as from 1987 when he was appointed Deputy Party Secretary and Head of Huangpu District, the most prosperous district in Shanghai. He was promoted to Deputy Secretary of the CPC Shanghai Municipal Committee in 1992 and began to hold the concurrent post of Vice Mayor of Shanghai as from 1996. Having been Acting Mayor of Shanghai in the short period between December 2001 to February 2002, Mr. Chen formally assumed office as Mayor of Shanghai. In other words, Chen was already very influential at the municipal government

⁶⁹ This publication is publicized widely on the Internet under the name of SHI Weijian 施维鉴, which is obviously a pseudonym since this name pronounces too much like SHI Weijian 史为鉴, meaning "the history can serve as a warning"). Many ill-founded criticisms loaded with anti-communist sentiments and a good many of typos in this book suggest that it is more of a non-fiction novel than of a piece of serious academic work. I have exercised great caution in drawing on details from this publication by means of triangulating the details with those from other sources, whenever possible.

level (i.e. an administrative level higher than the SHEC) prior to the initiation of The Project.

While in 2002 Chen managed to obtain a place in the ruling Politburo of the state, an organization only the most promising future national leaders can join, his political career abruptly ended in September 2006. Chen was detained due to the alleged involvement in the scandal of the misuse of about 400 million U.S. dollars of Shanghai's pension funds, the biggest financial scandal to hit Shanghai in the three decades since the inception of the Open Door policy (VOA News, 2007). Months later, Chen was expelled from the CPC and dismissed from all his government posts. In April 2008, Chen received 18 years of imprisonment for taking bribes and abusing power (Wikipedia, 2008).

Unlikely the case of Mr. LÜ Xingwei discussed above, in the case of CHEN Liangyu, I could not find direct evidence to associate Mr. Chen with the initiation of The Project. However, a number of indirect indicators are useful for an appreciation of the possible contribution of Chen to the initiation of The Project.

First of all, the most important indicator was the explicit reference to Chen made by WANG Juexuan, Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project, in a context of discussing the significance of The Project. At the closure ceremony of the Conference on Bilingual Instruction held in December 2002 in Shanghai, Mr. Wang made a concluding plenary speech, in which he first briefly introduced the general situations of education in Shanghai, highlighted the two main tasks for Shanghai (*viz. curriculum reform and teachers' professional development*, the former including "the significant reform (of ELT) by means of implementing The Project"), and then quoted words from Mr. Chen, the then Mayor. According to Mr. Wang, Mr. Chen said that "invigorating Shanghai with science & technology and education" was the only road to success in Shanghai's further development; Mr. Wang's interpretations of the mayor's words and role as Head of the

Research Steering Group for “Invigorating Shanghai with Science & Technology and Education” were that “unprecedented opportunities have been brought about” *vis-à-vis* the aforesaid two main tasks for Shanghai (including Chinese-English BE) and that “we have entered a very promising historical era.” (Institute of Curriculum and Instruction at East China Normal University, 2002)

In Chen’s previous writings and speeches (e.g. L. Y. Chen, 1997; 2001; 2005; *Jiefang Ribao* [Liberation Daily], 2003), he did repeatedly talk about “invigorating Shanghai with science & technology and education” but seldom, if at all, mentioned Chinese-English BE. This should be understandable because BE was deemed as only one very specific reformative measure subsumed under the generic task of “curriculum reform”. It was perfectly unnecessary for a top leader like Chen to mention very specific measures in his writings or speeches, although he may have been avidly supportive of the initiation of The Project.

Secondly, the step-down of Chen seemed to coincide with the slow-down of The Project (see Appendix 1D). The moment security forces appointed by the central government detained Chen in the fall of 2006, they also “removed numerous Shanghai officials from office” (Kahn, 2006). It was quite likely that in a *danwei* system, where there were not sufficient procedures to sustain the functioning of a certain cause/project, once a high-ranking leader who probably avidly supported BE was no longer in power, the enthusiasm of his subordinates for BE accordingly died down to a large measure. When asked about whether or not the changes at the top level of Shanghai administration influenced the implementation of The Project, my informants all gave me positive/affirmative answers, albeit the extent to which the perceived influences varied; one of them even quoted to me a famous Chinese adage “*Yichao tianzi yichao chen* 一朝天子一朝臣 (The replacement of the Emperor leads to a complete replacement of the administration staff)”. Although it is obviously difficult to assess the extent

of influence on BE provision from Chen, there seem to be grounds to assume that his removal from office and the slow-down of The Project were by no means coincidence. In this line of inference, it seems reasonable to suggest that Chen might have exerted some positive influence upon the initiation of The Project.

Last but not least, Chen's educational background may have rendered him supportive of the initiation of The Project. Chen's father, CHEN Genghua 陈更华, pursued his tertiary education for four years in the U.S. and returned to Shanghai in 1952. With the expertise he earned overseas, CHEN Genghua made good money by working as a free-lance X-ray machine expert and bought a luxurious apartment, which was situated in a building with Indian guardians on Nanjing Road, the most prosperous street of Shanghai (Zhang, 2004). CHEN Liangyu spent part of his childhood at that apartment and witnessed his father's hey days; this experience may have enabled CHEN Liangyu to understand the value of English proficiency and to form a positive attitude towards EMI.

In addition, CHEN Liangyu himself was exposed to some form of EMI during his further study in the U.K.. Between January and September in 1992, Chen was on sabbatical at Birmingham University studying public administration while holding the position of District Governor for Huangpu District in Shanghai (CHINATODAY.com, 2008; W. J. Shi, 2007: 187-90). This overseas study experience may have added to Chen's belief in the efficacy of EMI. With a firmer belief in EMI efficacy and a deeper understanding of English proficiency as an asset, Chen might have done something to facilitate the mounting of The Project.

In a nutshell, it may not be groundless to infer that CHEN Liangyu, the then topmost leader in the Shanghai, may have facilitated the initiation of The Project.

Mr. or Ms. X-es

In addition to LÜ Xingwei and CHEN Liangyu, a number of key

people in the administration system of Shanghai may have facilitated the initiation of The Project. I would term these people “Mr. or Ms. X-es”.

For example, Mr. ZHANG Minsheng 张民生, then Deputy Director of the SHEC, may well be one of those key people. At a symposium convened by the SHEC in May 2001, Mr. Zhang required the key secondary schools and those specializing in foreign-language teaching to further their experimentation with BE, and urged other schools with sufficient resources to initiate their experimentation with BE under the planning and guidance of local bureaus of education (SHEC, 2002a). Mr. Zhang again expressed his support for BE at a forum on BE held in Zhabei District in September 2003 by stating that “BE is an important domain to make breakthroughs in the second round of the curriculum reform in Shanghai and it is in line with Shanghai’s needs for development” (Zhabei District Bureau of Education, 2002). In his published academic paper (i.e. M. S. Zhang, 2003), Mr. Zhang explicitly highlights the importance of “actively implementing The Project and establishing 100 model BE schools”. Hence Mr. Zhang might have lent support to the initiation of The Project, given his favorable attitudes.

Information from people who have a good understanding of the functioning of the administration system suggests that “Mr. or Ms. X-es” at the SHEC alone included but were not confined to Mr. ZHANG Minsheng. Zhu (2004b), Deputy Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project, writes that:

The successive leaders of the SHEC all have voiced similar stands (regarding The Project), “Shanghai’s economic development requires favorable ecological environment, living environment and linguistic environment. One must have faith in The Project and determination in its implementation. We urge people in all sectors of society to grant more tolerance to and more development room for The Project so that this experiment can be improved. Under no circumstances shall The Project falter.

The plural form of “successive leaders” indicates that at the SHEC there were probably *other* supporters. These people, including Mr. ZHANG Minsheng, *at the SHEC* might have lent some support to the initiation of The Project.

On the other hand, at municipal administrative organs *other than the SHEC*, there might have been a number of Mr. or Ms. X-es, too.

6.1.5. Shanghai’s Competition with its Major Counterparts

Evidence suggests that in the 1990s Shanghai competed with a number of competitive counterparts such as Beijing and Guangzhou in terms of achieving the status of an international city, which specializes in the economic and/or financial sector(s), in the national or Asia-Pacific urban hierarchy.

Competition with major Chinese mainland cities

As mentioned in Section 6.1.1., the state entrusted Shanghai with the task of achieving international city status in 1992. This proved no easy task at a time when provinces and municipalities needed to compete among themselves “in order to survive and to achieve high-speed economic growth” (Wu & Zhang, 1994, cited from Han, 2000).

In terms of building an economic and trade centre, Shanghai faced severe competition from Guangdong Province, where Shenzhen is situated, and to a lesser extent, from Beijing. For instance, in 1986, the total trade exports of Guangdong Province surpassed that of Shanghai for the first time over 130 years, ranking the first in China; during the 1980s, the economic miracle achieved by Guangdong Province “outshone the big Shanghai” (D. P. Yang, 2006: 365).

Evidence suggests that Shanghai was faced with strong competition from Shenzhen in the 1990s. The economic growth of Shenzhen, one of the four special economic zones designated by the state in 1979, surpassed that

of Shanghai in the early 1990s (Cai & Sit, 2003). In the late 1990s, although Shanghai sometimes gained ground in terms of contribution to GDP value (e.g. in the year of 1999, Cai & Sit, 2003: 437), the fact that in the past few years Shenzhen competed fiercely with Shanghai for the Top 1 Competitive City in the Chinese mainland is suggestive of the competition between these two cities as from the early 1990s. For instance, in 2005 Shenzhen was ranked No. 1 in terms of “comprehensive GDP growth” and “comprehensive income level” while Shanghai was ranked No. 1 in terms of “comprehensive market occupancy” and “comprehensive productivity”; but overall Shenzhen was runner-up to Shanghai in terms of “comprehensive competitiveness” in the 2005 ranking (P. F. Ni, 2006: 2-3); however, Shenzhen surpassed Shanghai in terms of “comprehensive competitiveness” in the 2007 ranking (P. F. Ni, 2008: 1); Shenzhen overtook Shanghai again in terms of “comprehensive competitiveness” in the 2008 ranking (People’s Daily Online, 2009).

As regards the realization of the goal of a financial centre, Shanghai boasted no clear advantage over Beijing (cf. Lai, 2006). Richard Graham, the former Shanghai-based chief representative for ING Bankings, aptly commented that regarding key decisions in financial matters, “Shanghai proposes, Beijing disposes” (Yatsko, 2001: 88). Zhao *et al.* (2004: 591) conclude that “Shanghai has currently not out-competed Beijing” as a national financial centre, which is usually a basis for developing into an international financial centre.

With respect to achieving an international-city status, Shanghai was by no means alone in engaging itself in this type of ambitious cause. Beijing put forward the strategic goal of building itself into a modernized international city in 1993 (Gu, *et al.*, 1999: 66). Guangzhou explicitly vowed to build itself into an international city at the beginning of the 1990s (Wu, 1997). Shenzhen formally voiced its ambition to build itself into an international city in 1999 (Kong, 2002). Similar ambitions also existed with

a number of big cities including Guangzhou, Chongqing and Beijing. While it is unrealistic for dozens⁷⁰ of Chinese cities to achieve international city status (cf. Shi & Hamnett, 2002: 122), a rigorous study conducted by Gu *et al.* (1999: 54-73) reveals that Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Tianjin and Dalian are the most likely Chinese candidates to achieve international city status. In other words, Shanghai was confronted with a number of competitors in the 1990s in terms of achieving international city status, or even outmaneuvering others to achieve such status.

The Hong Kong Factor

On the other hand, Hong Kong, the only one competitor for Shanghai within the Chinese territories but outside the Chinese mainland, holistically speaking was ahead of Shanghai in terms of operating as an international hub; the view that Shanghai still lagged behind Hong Kong in some important aspects and would not surpass Hong Kong on the international arena for the years to come permeated both research (e.g. L. Lai, 2004) and mass media discourses (e.g. Lao, 2007); understandably, Shanghai often looked to Hong Kong as a role model for self-improvement.

What then, could be a competitive edge for Shanghai over all of its Chinese mainland counterparts, which at the same time may enable it to narrow the gap between itself and its role model, Hong Kong? I speculate that well before the initiation of The Project, the Shanghai administration had realized that enhancing *Shanghairen's* English proficiency by means of EMI could be such an edge. One indicator was that lower English proficiency was reckoned as a problem area that required immediate amendment so as for Shanghai to catch up with Hong Kong (J. X. Wang, 2005). Another indicator was the perceived relationship between EMI and English proficiency among some administrators (e.g. Zhu, 2004b), which may have resulted from relatively positive experience with EMI in the

⁷⁰ The number of Chinese cities (see Chinese Urbanization Net, n.d. for a partial list) having the goal of achieving international city status exceeded 40 as of March 2001 (Shi & Hamnett, 2002: 128). This number reached 183 as of January 2005 (Sina Net, 2005a).

pre-1949 era (e.g. the experience of Professor C. Z. Fan's and that of the St. John's University alumni discussed in Section 6.1.3).

Due to lack of sufficient EMI experience, Shanghai's major counterparts probably did not dare to dream about the wide horizontal spread of English-skills among the general public, let alone resorting to EMI as a means to facilitate such horizontal spread of English proficiency. For example, unlike Shanghai (see Section 6.1.3), Guangzhou, which proclaimed to build itself into an international city as early as in 1993 upon its entry into the Association of International Metropolises as the first Chinese city, failed to designate a foreign-language-skills related requirement as a criterion for assessing the extent of its being a modernized international city (China News Net, 2003).

In other words, under the general banner of achieving international city status, the Shanghai administration must have largely deemed enhancing *Shanghairen's* English proficiency through EMI as an edge over its major competitors on its road to fulfilling its entrusted tasks by the state.

6.1.6. Two Justifications used by the Municipality for The Project

Two justifications for The Project used by the Shanghai municipality, which proved conducive to the initiation of The Project, were discernible.

Linking BE with the designated role of Shanghai

First and foremost, the Shanghai administration managed to connect Chinese-English BE with the role of Shanghai designated by the state. While China was still negotiating with the WTO for its entry, the Shanghai government required as early as in July 1999 that research be conducted to identify key measures to address challenges that were to be brought about by the upcoming entry into the WTO. One officially identified measure was

to experiment with Chinese-English BE⁷¹ (SHMG, 2000, see also Appendix 1C).

This measure was probably a result of a recommendation from a research team commissioned by the Shanghai government to research into the requirements for becoming an international city. The research team (Zhu *et al.*, 2000) finds that “the percentage of citizens able to communicate in English being 40%” is one out of seventeen requirements identified for an international city at its preliminary stage while at its intermediate and advanced stages this percentage shall respectively be 60% and 80%. Although the team was unable to provide the then percentage of citizens able to communicate in English in Shanghai, they seemed to believe that the real figure⁷² fell far below the targeted 40%. In order to boost the horizontal spread (and possibly, vertical spread too) of English in Shanghai so as to “create a favorable language environment for international communication”, the team recommends that “the institutionalization of BE at secondary level shall be accelerated 加快建立中学双语言教育制度”. This research won the Award for Outstanding Research for Decision-making Counseling of the Shanghai Municipality 第四届上海市决策咨询研究成果奖. Unfortunately, despite its high relevance to BE in Shanghai, this research has seldom, if at all, been cited in the extant publications.

The strong linkage made between BE and achievement of international city status seemed unique to Shanghai especially in view of similar attempts in Guangzhou, which has had achievement of international city status as one of its development goals as from the early 1990s. Wu (1997) reports that one year earlier before the inception of BE at Guangzhou Peizheng Secondary School in 1994, the school invited “leaders and experts from the

⁷¹ In the original document, experimentation with BE targeted the senior secondary level, which may have been partially informed by existent international research evidence. Later the Shanghai authorities expanded, albeit quietly, the original scope of BE experimentation to include primary, junior secondary and senior secondary levels, which have since been the principal targets of The Project.

⁷² The real figure was probably located between 3.5-7.8% according to my re-analysis of the raw data about urban Shanghai from the national survey (see Wei, 2009b for more).

education sector” to research into the feasibility of BE at the secondary level; after deliberation, “leaders and experts” reached a consensus that “it is both necessary and timely-appropriate for Guangzhou, the earliest city [sic] to be subject to the Open Door policy, to experiment with BE in order to adapt to the socialist market economy and to cater for the increasing needs resulted from interaction with the outside world”. In other words, at least the leaders in the Guangzhou administration consulted by Guangzhou Peizheng Secondary School were fairly informed about BE and/or quite supportive for BE provision; but unlike their Shanghai counterparts, they somehow failed to seize the opportunity and establish a strong linkage between BE and building an international city, which could facilitate the initiation of wider-scale BE programmes like The Project.

Positioning The Project as an experiment

The other important justification adopted by Shanghai to justify BE was positioning The Project as an educational *experiment*, which may have generated important “circumventing effects” for the initiation of The Project.

As mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 1, The Project was mounted in the form of an educational *experiment* in the official parlance, as can be reflected in its full name, the Bilingual Education Experiment in Primary and Secondary Schools of Shanghai. The use of the label “experiment” appears to be very deliberate given BE’s apparent “contravention”, in the eyes of many BE opponents, of the legal provisions concerned. The positioning of The Project by the Shanghai administration can bring about powerful circumventing effects as a result of the following assumptions: an experiment tends to be controversial and entails some risks, but it is still something worth trying. These assumptions are rooted in a well-known communist adage that “practice and experimentation generate the truth 实践出真知” and a popular⁷³ Dengist tenet that “Crossing a river by feeling

⁷³ By “popular” is meant this tenet has been followed to a great measure in many spheres of the society under reform. For example, the “trial and error” approach to reforming

around the pebbles at the bottom摸着石头过河”. Although the idea of Chinese-English BE seemingly goes counter to the specifications in national ordinances, it could still be put into practice on an experimental basis to ascertain how much good it could indeed generate; if it failed to achieve sufficient benefits to justify its continuation, then it would be casted aside, just as the cases of many failed educational experiments.

The positioning of The Project as an experiment has become an entrenched parlance in the official discourse. For example, the previously cited reports compiled by the SHEC (2002a, 2002b and 2002c) all utilize the label of “BE experiment” in their titles. Furthermore, in the SHEC policy document *Curriculum Standards for the Subject of English at Primary and Secondary Levels*, the promotion of BE is subsumed under some experimental measures for reforming the teaching of the subject of English (SCTMRC, 2004: 58, see Appendix 1C for more), which shows that The Project is essentially positioned as an experiment or reformative initiative in improving ELT.

Relating The Project to reforming ELT, which is a manifestation of the positioning of The Project as an experiment, is frequently seen in the academic discourse as well. At a conference on BE held in December 2002 in Shanghai, in his opening address, Professor XIA Zhifang, Dean of Department of Curriculum and Teaching of East China Normal University, says that “implementing BE is an important component in the full realization of quality-oriented education, and a big ‘bright spot’ of the current curriculum reform”. Similarly, in his plenary speech, Mr. WANG Juexuan, Head of the Research Steering Group of The Project, proclaims that “BE has become a bright spot in the English curriculum reform of Shanghai” (East China Normal University, 2002). Furthermore, in his latter writings (viz. J. X. Wang, 2003; 2005), Mr. Wang repeatedly highlights that implementing BE is a significant “bright spot” in the curriculum reform of

China’s economic system (Han, 2000) is a result of the tenet.

Shanghai⁷⁴.

The details concerning the genesis of packaging and presenting the Project as an experiment are not readily available. It is very likely that the idea originates from within the Shanghai administration and a number of members of the local “think tank” which had to find ways and means to move the ideologically unorthodox Project forward. In May 2008, I was invited to Shanghai as one of the seven plenary speakers at the bi-yearly The Third National Conference on BE; before the start of a formal dinner at a banquet room attended only by the plenary speakers (including Mr. ZHU Pu, Deputy Head of the Research Steering Group of The Project) and a number of conference facilitators, some of us talked about the genesis of The Project; one participant, whom I always deem as a *de facto* member of the informal (i.e. not officially appointed) local “think tank”, commented, that “We are proud to have used the label of experiment for BE at that time [when proposing the initiation of The Project to ‘the above’].” This feedback did not receive any objection from Mr. ZHU Pu, who is supposed to know a lot of inside stories about the process of mounting The Project. Although I was not sure whom “we” exactly referred to, what seemed certain was that a number of local decision makers and/or the few *Shanghairen* discussed in Section 6.1.4 may have proposed BE as an experiment so as to reduce the full force of a backlash from conservative cadres within the CPC.

6.1.7. Discussion: Interaction of the Six Variables

I shall first suggest that The State has been aware of The Project all along. Then I will argue that some form of subtle approval from the state regarding in initiation of The Project had probably been granted before the

⁷⁴ In addition, advocates of BE seem to try making use of the strategy of positioning a Chinese-English BE programme as an experiment, possibly with an aim to securing a niche for BE’s survival at the pre-tertiary level in regions not confined to Shanghai. For instance, in one of the most often-cited Chinese works on BE, Binhua WANG (2003: 23) argues that “in a certain sense, implementing BE in some schools in our country is an experiment; it is an attempt to seek a way to improve the quality of foreign language teaching”.

SHEC mounted The Project and will explore how the afore-discussed sub-factors acted and interacted to produce the approval.

The state's all-along awareness of The Project

Two pieces of evidences suggest that the state has been aware of Chinese-English BE programmes (The Project included) being conducted at the pre-tertiary level across the nation based on two grounds.

Firstly, there is information about Chinese-English BE at primary and secondary levels on the official website of the Ministry of Education. On that official website, the search results with the key word “双语教学 (*shuangyu jiaoxue*, or BE)” contained 19 pieces of information as of April 30 2009. After the overlaps and the irrelevant⁷⁵ were excluded, there remained only one piece. This piece, dated May 18 2005 and concerning BE at the pre-tertiary level, briefly reported on a three-day national symposium on BE convened in Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang Province neighboring Shanghai; the Research Institute of Curriculum and Teaching Materials, a sub-*danwei* of the Ministry of Education, was one of the two organizers; this symposium was held with an aim to “actively promote and further BE at primary and secondary schools 积极宣传推进中小学双语教学实践” (Ministry of Education, 2005b).

Hence it is obvious that the Ministry of Education knew about Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level at least as early as in May 2005. However, I presume that the earliest day can be dated further back, especially in light of the next point.

Secondly, The Project has been reported by the mass media in a high-profile manner as early as since February 2001. People's Daily, the CPC's mouthpiece, already reported about BE in Shanghai as early as on February 8 2001 (Tian, 2001), Liberation Daily on August 23 2001, People's Daily again on July 31 2002, and China Youth Daily on September 24 2002 (cf. Benhua WANG, 2003: 368-388). All of these newspapers enjoy huge

⁷⁵ The pieces of information on the provision of BE to minority-language students were deemed irrelevant.

circulation nationwide, among which People's Daily enjoys a circulation of three to four million. The mandated subscription to most of these newspapers at administrative *danwei* including the Ministry of Education further enhanced the possibility that education decision-makers at the state level, who were fairly well-informed and watchful nowadays (see Section 2.2.3 of Chapter 2), learned about The Project at least before The Project's formal initiation, which was marked by the issuance of the SHEC 2001 Document in December 2001.

All in all, the above evidence is indicative of the state's all-along awareness of Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level. The awareness probably has emerged since February 2001 or earlier (viz. prior to the formal initiation of The Project) probably since around the initiation of The Project. In other words, Shanghai did not initiate and implement The Project behind the central government's back.

The state's subtle approval

Previously I have indicated that a role had been played by the state in the initiation of The Project in the first conceptual framework (Section 4.1 of Chapter 4). Now I infer that this specific role was *some form of subtle approval from the state* for The Project. The inference is largely based upon two grounds.

Firstly, the fact that the Ministry of Education has granted explicit support for BE at the tertiary level since 2001 reflects a neutral or even favorable interpretation of the legitimacy of BE on the part of the state. The consistency in the Ministry's support for BE involving a foreign MoI manifests itself not only in the promulgation of the Ministry's 2001 Document in August 2001, but also in the issuance of its more recent policy documents (e.g. Ministry of Education, 2004; 2007d; 2008) at a time when regional policy documents in Shanghai (and elsewhere) were almost non-existent (see Section 7.4 of Chapter 7). These documents (see Appendix 1B for more details) from the Ministry all contain some specifications

and/or guidelines concerning the implementation of BE. Despite BE's apparent "contravention" of the legal provisions in the eyes of some opponents (see Section 1.1 of Chapter 1), the state must have adopted a more neutral or even favorable interpretation of the legitimacy of BE: the relevant legal provisions (see Section 1.1.2 of Chapter 1) stipulate that Putonghua shall be the "*jiben* 基本" or basic, rather than "sole" oral MoI, which never prohibits using a foreign language as a secondary, or "non-basic" MoI (see Wei & Xiong, 2011 for more); so long as EMI is not prohibited by law, then it is "doable" in practice.

Secondly, the Ministry of Education has not yet responded to the immense controversies surrounding BE. One notably polemical opposing voice is from Professor MA Qingzhu at Nankai University (located in Tianjian), who has on various occasions called to stop EMI from the perspective of "protecting national sovereignty and national security" and accused Chinese-English BE of violating the law (Nanfang Dushibao, 2004; Peng, 2005). Professor Ma even specifically labeled Shanghai as "the most deeply involved city in the BE faddish" in his interview⁷⁶. The silence on the part of the state departments regarding BE prompts A. W. Feng (2007: 276) to criticize the phenomenon that legal accusations of BE have not resulted in any official response to clarify the situation as "ironic". Although indeed it might seem paradoxical that the powerful and watchful Ministry of Education has yet to respond to the strong BE-related controversies (cf. the responsiveness in the way the Ministry dealt with criticisms concerning campus collective dancing, Section 2.2.3 of Chapter 2), the only plausible explanation seems to be that the state's silence towards the controversies surrounding BE was a deliberate decision, not an absence of knowledge (cf. He, 2011).

Hence it seems safe to suggest that the state has purposefully avoided

⁷⁶ It is worth-noting that Peng's (2005) interview with Professor Ma was published in *Xiandai Yuwen* (Modern Chinese), the journal of the Society of Chinese Language Modernization under the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

making explicit its official stand towards BE programmes at the pre-tertiary level (including The Project). In the totalitarian Communist regime, the state's purposefully concealing its stand regarding an important matter largely equals its subtle approval. In other words, there existed some form of approval, albeit subtle, for The Project from the state.

In a word, the state's approval for The Project was implied in its neutral (or favorable) interpretation of the legitimacy of BE, reflected in its consistent support for BE at the tertiary level, and from its reticence towards the BE-related controversies. How this approval came into being prior to the initiation of The Project will be discussed below.

Source of the state's approval: Interaction of the sub-factors

A number of key people (e.g. those named out in Section 6.1.4) in Shanghai, who were already very "clever" and pragmatic *Shanghairen* and at the same time informed (ex-)officials with international horizons, somehow held a belief in the positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency. This belief might have resulted from these people's knowledge of the success of EMI in Shanghai prior to the founding of the PRC (Section 6.1.3), given the meritocratic nature of the *danwei* leadership and/or their personal experiences (e.g. CHEN Liangyu' EMI experience).

These key people must have been professionally meritocratic enough to realize that amidst the intense competition with Shanghai's major counterparts (Section 6.1.5), effectively raising the English proficiency of the residents could be a competitive edge for Shanghai to outshine its competitors in achieving its designated role as an international city (Section 6.1.2). The afore-mentioned belief in the positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency, possibly as well as other factors (e.g. the general public' perceptions related to English learning, see 6.5.2 below), prompted the key people to consider resorting to EMI, as could partially be reflected in the government-commissioned research project conducted by Zhu *et al.* (2000) (Section 6.1.6).

At the same time, the key people, well aware of the authoritarian aspect of the leadership in the *danwei* system, were politically sophisticated enough to know better than to initiate The Project without prior approval, implicit or otherwise, from their supervising *danwei*, namely the state departments. The MoI issue far outweighed promoting campus collective dancing (Section 2.3.3 of Chapter 2) or publishing a potentially controversial article (Section 3.5 of Chapter 3); indeed, it was no less significant than obtaining local autonomy in college admission from the state (Section 3.5 of Chapter 3). Understandably, the key people would try all out through various channels, including exploiting their *guanxi* with “the above”, to obtain approval from the state *prior to* initiating The Project, which implicated the significant MoI issue.

Due to lack of information, the process through which the key people negotiated approval from the state for mounting The Project could not be accurately depicted. It seems reasonable to infer that it was through similar paths as Mr. LÜ Xingwei did with his fighting for Shanghai’s autonomy in college admission (Section 3.5 of Chapter 3) that the key people exploited their *guanxi* with state leaders and finally obtained their desired approval, albeit subtle.

In a word, some form of endorsement for The Project from the state was granted, as a result of the interaction of six sub-factors discussed earlier, prior to The Project’s initiation. This important factor, together with the other three factors to be discussed, interacted with each other to contribute to the initiation of The Project. While the specific processes through which these (sub-)factors interacted could not be exactly depicted based on the best available data, a possible scenario will be suggested in Section 6.5.2.

6.2. Little Exposure to English Outside School

The factor of “little exposure to English for its effective learning outside school” was a function of the two variables: social distance between

Chinese and foreigners in Shanghai and limited use of English among the local Chinese.

Social distance between Chinese and foreigners in Shanghai

A high degree of social distance between the Chinese community and the English-speaking expatriate community in Shanghai was in evidence prior to the initiation of The Project. This high degree of social distance was due, to a large measure, to the very small number of foreigners. In 1933, Shanghai boasted up to 70,000 foreigners (i.e. 2.23% of the then population) living in Shanghai (Li, 2001: 9). But due to obvious political and ideological reasons, the new communist regime began to expel foreigners. Consequently, by 1951 almost all foreigners had left (Gamble, 2003: 8).

Around the time when the Open Door policy was initiated, there were only 710 foreigners with long-term (viz. at least six months) residence permit in Shanghai (Ke & Lei, 2009: 65-6). The number of foreigners kept growing with the deepening of the Open Door policy: it exceeded 3,000 in 1985 (Ke & Lei, 2009: 69), climbed up to 4,410 in 1990 (Yan, 2006: 66), increased to 11,000 in 1993 (Ke & Lei, 2009: 69) and then reached 60,020 by the end of 2000 (Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2004: 77). Despite such growth, the climax population of expatriates, which included both English-speaking and non-English speaking foreigners, contained at most 20,578 native speakers of English (estimated from official data⁷⁷), prior to the initiation of The Project. However, these native English-speaking expatriates accounted for a mere 0.128% of the then long-term population (i.e. 16,080 thousand as of the end of 2000, Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2008a).

Given the extremely small proportion of English-speaking foreigners

⁷⁷ According to Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau (2004: 77), in 2000 foreigners from the U.S., the U.K and Australia respectively totaled 6,354, 2,357 and 6,420; I assume these 15,131 foreigners were all native English speakers. In addition, I assume between one third and all of the total (i.e. 5,447) of foreigners from Canada, Singapore and Malaysia spoke English natively so I have additional 1,816 to 5,447 native speakers. Altogether I estimate that the number of native English-speaking foreigners with long-term residence permit in Shanghai was somewhere between 16,947 and 20,578 in 2000.

living in Shanghai, the opportunities for ordinary *Shanghairen* to meet with such foreigners were rather low (see also findings from my survey using Questionnaire I below) and thus the minimal level of interaction between the Chinese community and the English-speaking expatriate community resulted.

The high degree of social distance was exacerbated by a corresponding high degree of enclosure. For example, the great majority of foreigners were residing in so-called “International Communities” to which the general public had no access (Ye & Zhang, 2003; Wen *et al.*, 2005). What’s more, the children of these foreigners attended international schools (e.g. Shanghai American School, cf. M. Li, 2000). Although some international schools (e.g. Yew Chung International School of Shanghai 上海耀中国际学校) also enrolled Chinese students, only children from very much well-to-do Chinese families could afford to study in such schools. In other words, for the population at large, there were very few opportunities for them to interact with English-speaking foreigners.

To conclude, a high degree of social distance between the Chinese community and the English-speaking expatriate community existed in Shanghai before The Project’s initiation. As a result, English was not a language that members of the local Chinese population could pick up “from the street” or even from playing with the next-door English-speaking peers. Rather, it had to be learnt mostly within four classroom walls. Below I will report upon evidence relevant to English use among Shanghai people, so as to further illustrate the little exposure to English in Shanghai.

Limited use of English among the local Chinese

Shanghai people’s proficiency in English largely determines their use of English. Accordingly, I shall report data on the former then on the latter, drawing upon the national language use survey and my survey with Questionnaire I⁷⁸.

⁷⁸ The national survey collected its data between September 1999 and March 2001 (SOG, 2006: 361). Although this data-collection period may not necessarily coincide with the

According to the national survey, only a small fraction of the Shanghai population could speak English. Among the people who had studied English⁷⁹, 2.03% claimed to be able to act as interpreters on formal occasions, 9.64% to converse quite fluently, 14.72% to conduct daily conversations, 48.22% to say some greetings, and 25.38% to utter few words (SGO, 2006: 120). Put differently, 17.69% of the total population claimed to possess the spoken competence in English which allowed them to sustain a conversation beyond initial greetings.

In contrast, Shanghai people's reading competence was better than their spoken competence, primarily as a result of the traditional teaching methodology that did not pay sufficient heed to listening and speaking and hence tended to produce "deaf-and-dumb" English learners (see also Section 6.4.2). Among the Shanghai residents who had studied English, 7.61% claimed to be able to read English books and periodicals freely, 17.26% to read English books and periodicals with the aid of dictionaries and other tools, 12.69% to understand simple reading passages, 23.35% to understand simple sentences, and 39.09% to recognize only a few English words (SGO, 2006: 121). In other words, 40.83% of the Shanghai population could at least understand simple written sentences in English; if a more stringent criterion is to be adopted, it can be said that 25.18% of the Shanghai population were at least able to read simple passages in English. The extent to which the English competence of *Shanghairen* is up to expectation of the social demands is another issue to be dealt with in Section 6.4.2 below.

Given the limited English proficiency among *Shanghairen*, a corresponding low degree of English-using frequency was hardly surprising.

boundaries of the initiation phase of The Project (i.e. sometime in 1999 and the autumn of 2001, see Appendix 1C), differences of a matter of several months or even a couple of years would not affect the validity of my inferences about Shanghai people's English language use with the national survey data, given the stability of people's language use habits. In a similar vein, my Questionnaire I data collected in 2007 could be of use in complementing the national survey data.

⁷⁹ 73.06% of the Shanghai population studied a foreign language, among whom 91.74% studied English (SGO, 2006: 118-9). In other words, 67.03% of the total population learned English as a foreign language.

The national survey revealed that in Shanghai 14.72%, 19.80% and 65.48% of the people who studied English respectively “often”, “sometimes” and “seldom” used English (SGO, 2006: 122). That is to say, of the Shanghai population, 9.85% and 13.27% respectively “often” or “sometimes” used English, while as high as 76.88% seldom or never used this foreign language.

The English use data from the national survey, elicited with only one questionnaire item, did not probe into various dimensions of “use” (i.e. reading, listening, speaking, writing, or any of their combinations). Hence the national data could be complemented by data from my survey using Questionnaire I.

In my survey, only 26.2% of the respondents (N=260) reported to have watched a movie in English (with Chinese subtitles) in the past 6 months, which meant as high as 73.8% respondents had never watched an English-medium movie in the past half a year. Other data in terms of reading English materials (on-line or printed), watching English TV programmes, and listening to English-medium radio, were also solicited (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Exposure to English per Week (%) (N=260)

	Virtually No	Less than 15 mins	15-30 mins	30-60 mins	More than 60 mins	Didn't know English ⁸⁰
Reading	24.2	10.0	4.6	2.7	6.5	51.9
Watching TV	28.1	7.7	5.4	3.1	3.5	52.3
Listening to Radio	33.1	7.3	3.1	1.2	2.7	52.7

Table 6.1 shows that 76.1%, 80.4% and 85.8% of the respondents each week had little or no exposure to English respectively through reading, watching TV and listening to radio. Such percentages were similar to the

⁸⁰ One to three people did not give response to each of the three questions in this table.

percentage of people (i.e. 76.88%) who reported seldom or never used English in a general fashion from the national survey. Despite the readily accessible online or printed materials in English⁸¹ and “hours of English programming each day” (Chu, 2001) from major radio stations and TV channels⁸², most (about 80%) Shanghai people did not take the initiative to expose themselves to English, which may be partially attributed to the status of English only as a foreign language (cf. Wei & Su, 2008).

Similarly, only 8.1%, 5.0% and 3.8% respondents used English at work at least once per day, per week and per month; and only 6.2%, 6.2% and 3.5% did so in their daily life. That is to say, over 80% respondents did not use English even for once every month either at work or in their daily life.

The data reported in the above paragraph pertain to Shanghai people’s interaction only with their *familiar* native-English speakers, should they have any. As Shanghai in 1999 already boasted a foreign traveler population as high as 15% of her local population and has targeted increasing this foreign traveler percentage to 40% in order to achieve international city status (Zhu, *et al.*, 2000), my questionnaire also asked the respondents about the last time when they used English to converse with a *stranger* (e.g. a foreign traveler asking the way). Of the 124 people⁸³ who gave responses to the question, 21.8%, 11.3% and 7.3% reported it was within the past month, within the past six months and within the past year; in contrast, over 58% reported that they did not have any chance to talk to a stranger in English in the past whole year. Put differently, as high as nearly 80% of the 260 Questionnaire I respondents did not have opportunity to converse with a

⁸¹ They were assumed to be people who did not know English. In addition to English-medium newspapers based in Beijing such as *China Daily* and *21st Century* (a weekly with various versions affiliated with *China Daily*), local counterparts such as *Shanghai Daily*, *Shanghai Star*, and *Shanghai Students’ Post* (various versions, the first English newspaper targeting middle school students established in 1985) are readily available in the ubiquitous postal kiosks on the streets.

⁸² The first English TV channel was launched in Shanghai in 2005. In addition, Shanghai’ first foreign-medium TV channel, which broadcasts programmes in English or Japanese with Chinese subtitles, kicked off in January 2008 (the Central People’s Government of the PRC, 2008).

⁸³ Of the remaining 136 respondents, 132 reported having no knowledge of any foreign languages and hence were directed to skip this question.

stranger in English in the past year.

In a nutshell, as of the late 1990s when the initiation of The Project was underway, the use of English among Shanghai people was limited, partially due to their limited English proficiency and/or the status of English as a foreign language.

6.3. Demands for English Skills in the Local SRS

Two salient developments prior to the initiation of The Project, held sway over the demands for English in the SRS in Shanghai: the booming interaction with the outside world and the expansion of the tertiary sector.

Demands for English from international communication

The booming interaction with foreign countries, which enhanced the increasing demand for English in the SRS, can be illustrated by three major indicators. Before my presentation of the indicators, it is instructive to identify the major language used in the interaction with foreign countries in Shanghai. The national language survey reveals that in Shanghai, 91.74% of the people who had foreign-language learning experience studied English, while 11.71%, 6.13%, 0.62%, 0.55%, 0.07% and 0.14% respectively studied Russian, Japanese, French, German, Spanish, and “other foreign languages” (SGO, 2006: 119). Accordingly, Wei & Su (2008) suggest that in Shanghai the first foreign language is English in terms of the number of foreign-language learners⁸⁴. Hence English is arguably the major language which the prevailing majority of foreign-language-knowing Shanghai people *can* use in communication with foreign countries regardless of their places in Kachru’s (1985; 1992) three concentric circles model.

The first indicator for the rapidly increasing interaction with foreign countries in the reform era was the fast development of foreign trade. In Shanghai, the annual total value of imports and exports combined was 5.174,

⁸⁴ The second foreign language in Shanghai amongst the younger generation is Japanese, albeit the total Japanese-learning *Shanghai*ren are fewer than their Russian-learning counterparts. (cf. Wei & Su, 2008).

7.431, 38.604 and 54.710 billion (USD) respectively in 1985, 1990, 1999 and 2000 (Online version of Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2001). In other words, in the decade preceding the mounting of The Project, the total value of foreign trade grew by over six times. In addition, the growth in Shanghai's foreign trade with major English-speaking countries was similarly staggering, as reflected in Table 6.2; for example, Shanghai's foreign trade growth between 1990 and 2000 with the U.S. increased by 840%.

Table 6.2 Shanghai's Import and Export Values

with some English-speaking countries (billion USD)

	1985	1990	1999	2000	Growth between 1990 and 2000
the U.S. (Export)	0.473	0.745	4.348	5.625	660%
the U.S. (Import)	0.112	0.281	3.121	4.011	1330%
the U.S. (Total)	0.585	1.026	7.469	9.632	840%
the U.K. (Export)	0.092	0.115	0.443	0.707	510%
the U.K. (Import)	0.084	0.048	0.272	0.376	680%
the U.K. (Total)	0.176	0.163	0.715	1.083	560%
Australia (Export)	0.081	0.102	0.360	0.474	360%
Australia. (Import)	0.017	0.108	0.555	0.668	520%
Australia (Total)	0.098	0.210	0.915	1.142	440%
New Zealand (Import) ⁸⁵	0.002	0.013	0.085	0.125	860%

Source: Compiled from Online version of *Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2001*

Another equally significant indicator was the development of utilized foreign direct investment (FDI) in Shanghai. T. Z. Zhang (2005) notes that in terms of attracting FDI in-flows, Shanghai experienced a similar pattern

⁸⁵ The export values with New Zealand in the years concerned were not available from the sources consulted.

as the Chinese mainland as a whole did in the 1990s: prior to 1991, FDI in-flows were small; FDI began to grow rapidly as from 1992, reaching a climax in 1997; then as a result of the Asian Financial Crisis, FDI had kept decreasing for a few years before it began to grow steeply again as from 2001. This pattern can be illustrated by the following statistics: the utilized FDI values in 1985, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007 and 2008 were respectively 62, 177, 3,231, 3,250 , 4,808, 3,637, 3,160, 4,391, 5,030, 7,920 and 10,084 million USD (Shanghai Statistical Yearbook, 2001; 2002; 2004; 2009). With the utilized FDI in 1990 as a baseline, the annual utilized FDI throughout 1994 and 2000 reached as high as 18 to 27 times that of the baseline. That is to say, the annual FDI values in the middle and late 1990s, compared with the 1990 FDI value, were much greater. The expansion in FDI in-flows were indicative of Shanghai interaction with foreign countries, which in turned contributed to the social demands for English proficiency.

Last but not least, the growth in the number of employees hired by enterprises with foreign⁸⁶ investment served as a third indicator. By 1951, almost all foreigners had left and foreign and Chinese capitalist enterprises were gradually taken over, a process completed by nationalizations in 1956; in 1978, 99.9% of workers were employed directly or indirectly by the state, of whom 78.5% worked in state-owned *danwei* (Davis, 1990: 89). In light of the developmental pattern of FDI in-flows described above, it was highly likely that the number of employees at foreign-invested enterprises began to grow from virtually zero since the inception of the Open Door policy in 1978, and kept increasing in the 1990s. This speculation can be substantiated by some available statistics, although it was not until 2000 that the Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau (2001: 358) began to provide data on the employment by enterprises with foreign investment: in 2000, 2001

⁸⁶ The *Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks* use “enterprises with foreign investment” refer to those with investment from Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, or foreign countries (Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2006: 51).

and 2002, 517.7, 607.8, and 782.1 thousand people were employed by foreign-invested enterprises respectively accounting for 6.95%, 8.08% and 9.87% of the total employees in Shanghai (Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2004: 77). Such growth necessarily added to the social demands for English skills.

To sum up, the above three indicators illustrated the great changes in the 1990s, after the Open Door policy had ended the decades-long national policy of autarky and relative closure to foreign trade. The changes posed a greater demand for English skills required by the increasing interaction with foreign countries prior to The Project's initiation.

Demands for English from the tertiary sector expansion

In addition to the increasing interaction with foreign countries, another important development prior to the initiation of The Project, which also had a bearing upon the demands for English, was the expansion of the tertiary sector.

Shanghai had served the roles of an entrepôt and an international commercial centre for years before the founding of the PRC in 1949, as indicated by the high percentage share of her tertiary sector in the GDP. The tertiary sector still accounted for as high as 41.7% of Shanghai's industrial product even in 1952 (Jacobs & Hong, 1994: 226), a number of years beyond the change of regime. However, with the rise of an isolationist regime, Shanghai's role was soon relegated to a domestic industrial centre, resulting in a significant change in the techno-economic structure of Shanghai. As a result, Shanghai's tertiary sector shrank drastically. For instance, the tertiary sector proportion in GDP fell to as low as 18.2% in 1970 (Jacobs & Hong, 1994: 226).

The inception of the Open Door policy in 1978 and the deepening of this programme as marked by the open-up of Pudong in the early 1990s (see Section 3.1 of Chapter 3 for more) contributed to the expansion of the tertiary sector in Shanghai. The two decades preceding the initiation of The

Project witnessed a steady growth in the tertiary sector's GDP share (see Table 6.3). The tertiary proportion in GDP of 2000 nearly tripled that of 1978.

Table 6.3 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Structure by Sector (%)

Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1978	4.0	77.4	18.6
1980	3.2	75.7	21.1
1982	3.9	74.0	22.1
1984	4.4	70.5	25.1
1986	4.0	68.5	27.5
1988	4.2	66.8	29.0
1990	4.4	64.7	30.9
1992	3.1	60.8	36.1
1994	2.4	57.7	39.9
1996	2.3	54.0	43.7
1998	1.9	49.3	48.8
2000	1.6	46.3	52.1

Source: Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau (2008b)

With the expansion of the tertiary sector emerged the expansion of finance, trading, international shipment, mass media and some hi-tech related industries, in which the use of English was more frequently used than that in other sectors (Zhao & Campbell, 1995: 385-388). The expansion in these industries in turn generated more and more job openings that required good English skills.

Generally speaking, jobs requiring English skills were in good supply especially during the 1990s. Such jobs were also in good demand because of the opportunities and wages that they could offer (cf. Shanghai Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau, 2008). This important development may have contributed to the perceived importance of English

to be discussed below.

6.4. Stakeholders' Perceptions Related to English Learning

Below I will present some first-hand empirical data, along with documentary data where appropriate, about stakeholders' perceptions from my questionnaire surveys and interviews. While my surveys using Questionnaires IIA and IIB and interviews were conducted in 2008, I deem relevant data distilled from these sources useful in inferring situations prior to the initiation of The Project based on similar justifications stated in Section 6.2 (i.e. stability of people's attitudes and perceptions). The perceived importance of English proficiency was in evidence in many parts in the Chinese mainland (see Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Jiang, 2003; Wang & Liu, 2003 for examples and Hu, 2005; Niu & Wolff, 2007 for critiques) but the evidence to be presented below is confined to Shanghai only.

6.4.1. English Proficiency as a Social Desideratum

Parents' perceptions

As Yau (1988: 220) rightfully points out, "the perceived usefulness of the target language" is an important factor in determining the success or failure of a BE programme. Accordingly my survey using Questionnaire IIB elicited direct information about the perceived usefulness of English. According to Table 6.4, over 78% non-BE parents partially or strongly acknowledged the usefulness of English to themselves, while a much higher proportion (i.e. 96.4%) reckoned the future usefulness of English to their children, of which an overwhelming majority (viz. 91.8%) "strongly" agreed with the statement that "English will be useful to my child in the future." A paired-samples *t-test* indicated that the perceived utility of English for the parent generation was on average significantly higher than

the perceived utility of English for the child generation, $t(192)=-8.36$, $p=0.000$, $d=0.60$. The magnitude of the statistically significant difference was somewhere between medium to large according to Cohen's (1988) guidelines.

Not surprisingly, up to 98.5% non-BE parents suggested that they very much emphasized their children's English learning, with none expressing disagreement (Table 6.4 refers).

Table 6.4 Non-BE parents' attitudes concerning English learning (N=196)

	5=Strongl y agree	4=Partiall y agree	3=Can't tell	2=Partiall y disagree	1=Strongl y disagree	No response	Mean (SD)
English is useful to me nowadays.	55.1%	23.0%	14.3%	5.6%	0.5%	1.5%	4.28 (0.95)
English will be useful to my child in the future.	91.8%	4.6%	2.0%	1.0%	0	0.5%	4.88 (0.46)
I pay much attention to my child's English language learning.	90.3%	8.2%	1.0%	0	0	0.5%	4.90 (0.34)

How parents attached importance to their children's English learning can be reflected in the extent of the adoption of two concrete measures in the extra-curricular time, as revealed by my survey using Questionnaire I. The first was having the children attend English courses at private training schools, which was adopted by over half (i.e. 52.4%) of respondents. The second was hiring private tutors for their children, which was taken by about one fifth (viz. 18%) of respondents. Such percentages with prestigious schools may well be much higher. For example, all students in the non-BE interview group (see Section 5.4.2) at School A, a first-batch model BE school, *all* indicated that their parents enrolled them in some English

training courses outside of school.

Responses to one common item in Questionnaires IIA and IIB also illustrate the perceived status of English as a social desideratum especially for the child generation. As showed in Table 6.5, 37.2% and 29.6% non-BE parents respectively believed the situation was “very likely” or “quite likely” to arise in which a person with greater English proficiency can earn a higher salary than one with poor or no English proficiency, all other things being equal, in the *danwei* where they would most like their children to work. In other words, 67% non-BE parents recognized the importance of English proficiency in determining the salary for their children. On the other hand, around 74% BE parents also deemed English proficiency important for their children in their ideal future *danwei*.

Table 6.5 Importance of English in Child’s Ideal Future *Danwei* (%)

	5=Very likely	4=Quite likely	3=Can’t tell	2=Quite unlikely	1=Very unlikely	No response	Mean (SD)
Non-BE parents (N=196)	37.2%	29.6%	24.5%	2.6%	3.1%	3.1%	3.98(1.02)
BE parents (N=199)	45.2%	28.6%	19.1%	3.0%	1.0%	3.0%	4.18(0.92)

The difference between these two groups was not significant according to an independent-samples t-test, $t(381)=1.94$, $p=0.054$. In a word, both non-BE and BE parents generally perceived English proficiency as a *sine qua non* for obtaining higher pay among their children in the future. Hence it seemed safe to infer that the respondents’ demands for good English proficiency on the part of their children were strong.

Perceiving the great social demands for English skills, which at least partially resulted from the booming interaction with foreign countries and the expansion of the tertiary sector section of Shanghai (see Section 6.3), a large majority of Shanghai parents naturally viewed English proficiency as a

social desideratum, which could be true of the social situation prior to the initiation of The Project.

Students' perceptions

As a result of the national one-child policy, each family can concentrate its recourses on fostering the only child (see Section 3.4 of Chapter 3). Parents can thereby more easily impart on their child the importance of things they value.

When I was listening to the reason from one student after I had asked the non-BE interview group (see Section 5.4.2) why they would support EMI in part of their mathematics classes next semester, I overheard another student utter in a lower voice “English is a *lingua franca* (英语就是通用语)”⁸⁷. I was amazed that the word “*lingua franca*” came from a third grader. I speculate that a child of this age would probably learn this word not from books or games targeting his age group but from his adult guardians. My later discussion with the non-BE interview group reinforces this speculation.

After listening to the bitter-sweetness of attending English training programmes outside of school described by some participants, I asked them whether or not they would continue with those programmes. All participants of the non-BE interview group gave me affirmative answers. Then I asked why, a boy who had described his bitter-sweetness of learning at an English training programme outside of school in a surprisingly succinct and systematic fashion, said that:

Now we've all understood the importance of English in this world. Besides, if one learns English well, he could make a (good) living throughout the world.

At least one more student almost simultaneously uttered the word “world (世界)”, albeit in a lower voice, together with the boy upon his utterance of the second “world”. This noteworthy detail suggests that those

⁸⁷ Excerpts from my interview data were my translations unless otherwise specified.

who uttered “world” together must have shared the same opinion regarding the importance of English.

While my study did not collect quantitative data on students’ perceived importance of English, some useful data can be gleaned from other studies. A large-scale survey focusing upon Putonghua and the Shanghai dialect (Jiang, 2006; Sun, Jiang, Wang & Qiao, 2007) provides some *indirect* data to illustrate the importance of English in Shanghai students’ perceptions. This study reports that “7-12%” of the surveyed Shanghai students, made up of five age categories (1,800 Primary 5, 1,792 Junior Secondary 1 and 1,795 Senior Secondary 1 students, and 574 university freshmen), selected English only when asked “in your opinion, which speech (or language) is relatively important in the speech communication in Shanghai in the future”. In contrast, at least 30% of different age groups chose only Putonghua. Around 20% respectively selected only the Shanghai dialect and “hard to say”. Less than 9% chose more than one language, with some combined choices involving English (see Table 6.6 for a breakdown).

Specifically, as shown in Table 6.6, 11%, 12%, 10% and 7% respectively of the Primary 5, Junior Secondary 1, Senior Secondary 1 and university freshman groups deemed English as *the* most important language and yet another 5%, 5%, 12% and 16% respectively of these four groups perceived English as one of the future important languages for future communication in Shanghai. Taken together, 16-23% surveyed primary, secondary and university students deemed English important for the future in Shanghai, with 17-20% respondents of different age groups indicating “hard to say”.

Table 6.6 Perceived Future Important Language(s) (%)

	Primary 5	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary 1	College Freshmen
P	40	37	36	34
S	23	18	15	22
Hard to say	18	19	20	17
E	11	12	10	7
P, S & E	2	2	5	9
S & E	0	0	1	2
P & S	3	8	6	3
P & E	3	3	6	5
Other combination	0	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
Sub-total: Choices involving two or more options & including E	5	5	12	16
Sub-total: Choices including E	16	17	22	23

P=Putonghua, S=the Shanghai dialect, E=English

Source: Adapted from Jiang (2006) and Sun, Jiang, Wang & Qiao (2007)

Other stakeholders' perceptions

The importance of English has been repeatedly highlighted by educational administrators in Shanghai. J. X. Wang (2003: 1; 2005: 1), Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project, emphasizes the link between English proficiency and the national competitiveness, asserting that English plays “a very crucial role” in the nowadays competitions between nations and that the importance of English for a nation’s development “can never be emphasized too much”. P. Zhu, also a

SHEC-official-cum-researcher and Wang's subordinate in the Steering Group for The Project, underlines the ever growing importance of English as the leading international language (Zhu, 2003b: 52) and quotes the words of Professor DAI Weidong, President of Shanghai International Studies University verbatim to illustrate his attitude towards English proficiency and English learning:

We used to say that English is an international language. But now we say that English is a global language. (*Proficiency in*) *English is really too important*. Experts predicted long ago that in the 21st century, (proficiency in) English and (mastery of) the computer are the two most important skills for survival; most computer programmes are written in English and most information on the Internet is in English too. So *learning English well is really important* 以前我们说英语是一种国际性的语言, 现在我们的提法是英语是一种全球性的语言。英语实在太重要了。早有专家指出, 在 21 世纪, 最重要的两种生存技能便是英语和电脑, 而就连电脑的程序大部分都是用英语编写的, 网上绝大部分的信息也是英文, 因此学好英语实在太重要了 (P. Zhu, 2004b, emphasis added).

In addition to Professor Dai, a sizeable proportion of educationalists at local universities with national prestige have similarly perceived English proficiency as important. For example, Professor Binhua WANG (2003) at East China Normal University, asserts that “the quality of English language education will have direct impacts upon the national competitiveness” (p. 16), believing that “English is the most important *lingual franca* internationally” (p. 14). In a similar vein, Professor Yuanwei QIAN (2003) at Shanghai Normal University, regards English proficiency as “an essential part of the perfect character of ‘an international person’” and argues that the increasing awareness of the importance of English for individuals

contributed to the birth of many BE programmes.

6.4.2. Ineptitude of Teaching English as a Subject

Despite stakeholders' perceptions of English proficiency as a social desideratum, in their perceptions, the traditional mode of English language teaching (viz. teaching English as a subject only) seems to have failed to deliver the desired level of English proficiency.

Parents' perceptions

In order to understand the perceived efficacy of teaching English as a subject, both Questionnaires IIA and IIB asked parents of their attitudes toward the appropriateness of “deaf and dumb English 哑巴英语、聋子英语”⁸⁸, a popular label in mass media and academic discourses (e.g. Dai, 2002; Shen, 2007) which criticizes the effects of “traditional mode of English language teaching” as producing students who cannot speak English well and have poor listening comprehension. As Table 6.7 shows, around 58% non-BE and 49% BE parents agreed, albeit to varying degrees, that this comment was reasonable for describing the traditional mode, which in the questionnaire was operationally defined as “students have several periods of English-as-a-subject lessons per week and their exposure to English is almost exclusively confined to the classroom teaching of the English subject”.

Table 6.7 “Deaf and Dumb English” as a Label for Effects of Teaching English as a

	Subject Only						Mean (SD)
	5=Strongly agree	4=Partially agree	3=Can't tell	2=Partially disagree	1=Strongl y disagree	No response	
Non-BE parents (N=196)	21.9%	36.2%	24.5%	10.7%	4.6%	2.0%	3.61 (1.09)
BE parents (N=199)	27.1%	22.1%	22.1%	16.1%	11.1%	1.5%	3.39 (1.34)

⁸⁸ This does not refer to sign language.

In Table 6.7, despite the disparity in percentages between non-BE and BE parental groups, an independent-samples *t*-test ($t(373.53) = -1.83, p = 0.07$) revealed that no significant difference existed in the mean scores of the two groups. In other words, overall both BE and non-BE parents tended to partially acknowledge the appropriateness of “deaf and dumb English” as a label for the efficacy of teaching English only as a subject, suggesting that some degree of dissatisfaction with the traditional mode of English teaching could be detected among respondents.

In addition, Questionnaire I asked respondents to identify the major obstacles in their children’s English learning. As Table 6.8 shows, 16.8% respondents suggested the major obstacle had something to do with the traditional mode, which tended to produce “deaf and dumb English”.

Table 6.8 Major Obstacles for Children’s English Learning (N=260)

	% of Responses (No. of Responses)	% of Cases
People around normally do not use English and there are few opportunities to use English.	50.4(194)	79.5
Traditional English teaching method mostly can only produce “deaf and dumb” English speakers.	10.6(41)	16.8
Qualities of teachers are not high enough (e.g. teachers’ pronunciations not “native” enough).	2.1(8)	3.3
Opportunities of exposure to English are too limited.	34.3(132)	54.1
Others	2.6(10)	4.1
Total	100.0(385)	157.8

The figures in the above two tables suggest that a certain proportion of parents were dissatisfied with teaching English as a subject (i.e. the traditional mode) in terms of delivering the desired English proficiency level. The dissatisfaction detected was consistent with much anecdotal evidence illustrating the perceived ineptitude of the traditional mode of

English teaching (e.g. J. X. Wang, 2005: 3; Binhu a WANG, 2003: 13).

However, two points in Table 6.7 merit attention: (1) the total proportion of parents (i.e. slightly over 50%) who were supportive of the critical comment did not match my initial expectation that this total proportion would approach the proportion of parents who supported the provision of BE to their children (viz. over 75%, see Table 7.5 in Chapter 7), and (2) slightly under one quarter of the total respondents were not sure about the appropriateness of this comment.

These two points may be accounted for by the following two factors. Firstly, nowadays parents are more and more critical about what they read from the press and tend to think more independently about exaggerated or extreme phrases such as “deaf and dumb English”. Hence they might consider “deaf and dumb English” too biased a label (cf. Gu, 2003) for the effects of “the traditional mode of English teaching”. Secondly, using a single item to measure a variable always yields a rough picture. If possible, future research may use multiple items to assess parental perceptions regarding the effects of “traditional mode of English teaching”.

In summary, the data reported above, their limitations notwithstanding, were indicative of some dissatisfaction with the traditional mode of English teaching. Such dissatisfaction may have existed prior to the initiation of The Project.

Other stakeholders' perceptions

In addition to parents, other categories of stakeholders including high-ranking political leaders, administrators, educationalists, and business leaders are not satisfied with the English proficiency level delivered by the traditional mode of English language teaching, as can be illustrated by much anecdotal evidence.

At a debriefing by English-language educators in 1999, LI Lanqing, a member of the Politburo and the then Vice Premier in charge of education nationwide, critiqued that “after learning a foreign language for 8-12 years,

many students fail to read books in the foreign language fluently, and find it hard to understand foreigners (verbally) and/or talk to them directly”; he characterized foreign language teaching in China as “costly and ineffective” and called for more effective pedagogical innovations (L. Q. Li, 1999). Li’s criticism fuelled heated public discussions of the efficacy of the traditional mode English language teaching, in which “deaf-and-dumb English proficiency” began to emerge as a popular label for the efficacy of the traditional model (Wei, 2009a).

Some administrators below the state level perceive the traditional mode of English language teaching as inept for delivering the desired English proficiency. For example, J. X. Wang (2005: 3), Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project, asserts that “it is difficult for simply teaching the target foreign language as a subject at primary and secondary levels to deliver the desired level of foreign language proficiency among students. Experimenting with BE helps seek a road to success for foreign language teaching ...” in his preface to a series of books on The Project, which contains ten volumes, each compiled by one individual participating school.

Shanghai-based educationalists have provided many anecdotes to vividly illustrate the general level of proficiency attained by university students fall short of the requirements for authentic communication. For instance, citing a report titled *Native English-speakers unable to Understand our English*⁸⁹, Professor Binhua WANG (2003: 13) adds another example from the prestigious university where he is teaching: many master’s-degree and doctoral students in educational science majors who enrolled in the course “English for Specific Purpose (ESP)”, which utilized English reference materials but provided notes in Chinese on difficult or long

⁸⁹ According to this report from *Wenhuibao* (P. Jiang, 2001), at the Question & Answer Session of an invited speech by Nobel-prize laureate Jack S. Kilby at a prestigious university in Shanghai, this native English speaker, as well as other participating Chinese teachers and students, could not understand the English spoken by two question raisers who were “top students in their classes”.

English sentences and some Chinese translations of the texts, found the course “very difficult”; the English proficiency of these students who received the traditional mode of English language teaching seemed particularly unsatisfactory when considering the fact that “some of them were originally graduates of the English major or English teachers”⁹⁰. According to Professor Wang, given that the English proficiency of students from prestigious universities such as Fudan University, Shanghai Jiaotong University and Tsinghua University fail to enable them to produce utterance in English intelligible to native speakers or to read English references in their respective major without much difficulty, one should be more pessimistic about the English proficiency among college students in general.

A much harsher critique can be found in Chu’s (2001) remark that “(Shanghai people’s) laboriously acquired ability in English will not allow them to sustain a conversation beyond initial greetings” in his paper on the language situations in Shanghai in 1999. In a related vein, according to a study cited by J. X. Wang (2003), the Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project, the general English proficiency of the people of Shanghai is lower than that of the people of Hong Kong.

The perceived low English proficiency level has also become an issue of concern among business leaders. According to McKinsey Global Institute (MGI), there is “a looming shortage of home-grown talent (in China), with serious implications for the multinationals now in the mainland and for the growing number of Chinese companies with global ambitions” and “fewer than 10 per cent of Chinese mainland job candidates are suitable for work in a foreign company” in eight out of the nine occupations surveyed primarily due to “poor English” (Farrell & Grant, 2005).

Indeed, there is never a shortage of anecdotal evidence of complaints

⁹⁰ A report from *Zhonghua Dushubao*, May 22 2002 (cited from Binhua WANG, 2003: 13) shows that students at Tsinghua University (located in Beijing) were no better than their counterparts in Shanghai: a test administered by Tsinghua University revealed that “many students who already had passed College English Test Band Six” still found it difficult to use English to exchange ideas related to their majors.

that a decade-long study of English as a subjects usually fails to deliver the desired level of English proficiency students. In other words, major stakeholder groups perceive teaching English only as a subject as inept for fostering satisfactory English proficiency.

6.4.3. Relationship between EMI and English Proficiency

Parents' perceptions

Some data from my survey with Questionnaire I point to the probable existence of perceived relationship between EMI and English proficiency. When parents were asked about the preferred MoI(s) respectively at local primary and secondary schools, 81% respondents would like to have English as a MoI at primary schools, and over 85% at secondary schools in Shanghai (see Table 6.9). Parents' support for English as a MoI illustrates their assumed positive relationship between EMI and a social desideratum, English proficiency.

Table 6.9 Parent Respondents' MoI Choices at Primary and Secondary Schools

(N=260)				
Language	Primary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	(Actual N=258)		(Actual N=252)	
	% of Responses	% of Cases	% of Responses	% of Cases
Putonghua	43.2 (254)	98.4	40.8 (236)	93.7
The Shanghai Dialect	18.7 (110)	42.6	16.6 (96)	38.1
English	35.5 (209)	81.0	37.1 (215)	85.3
Ethnic Minority Language	0.5 (3)	1.2	1.2 (7)	2.8
Other Language	1.9 (11)	4.3	4.3 (25)	9.9
Don't Care	0.2 (1)	0.4	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	100.0 (588)	227.9%	100.0 (579)	229.8

The two questionnaire items used to elicit the above data were designed to be almost identical with their counterparts in the national language use survey so as to facilitate comparison. The national survey reveals that in Shanghai, 6.10% residents would like to have English⁹¹ as a MoI at local primary schools (SGO, 2006: 91) and 13.62% at secondary schools (SGO, 2006: 95); while such percentages of Shanghai topped those of other *zhixiashi* or provinces in the national survey, with the national means being 2.30% and 6.24% respectively for primary and secondary schools, they were significantly lower than data from my survey with Questionnaire I.

Three factors may account for the great disparity in percentage. Firstly, higher education qualification holders were overrepresented while lower education qualification holder underrepresented in my sample. Specifically, respondents with tertiary education or above (see Section 5.2.1 of Chapter 5) accounted for 38.5% in my sample while the proportion in the national survey sample was as low as 7.3% (SGO, 2006: 324); the proportion of respondents with below-secondary education in my sample totaled only 16.5% while the corresponding proportion in the national survey sample was as large as 38.7%. According to the national survey data (SGO, 2006: 154-5), the higher education qualification with the sampled sub-group, the higher percentage of the people within the sub-group who chose to have English as a MoI; furthermore, the percentage of EMI supporters varied significantly from different educational-qualification groups --- for the below-secondary education group, the percentage was about just 0.6% (i.e. the national mean) but for the tertiary-education-or-above group, the figure *was more than decupled*, rising steeply to 6.01% (i.e. the national mean).

Secondly, respondents with middle-or-upper occupation were

⁹¹ The term used in the national survey was “foreign language”. For those who had foreign language learning experience, 93.8% learnt English as a foreign language (SGO, 2006: 119). Based on their analysis of some raw data from the national survey, Wei & Su (2008) argue that English is the first foreign language in China and “foreign language teaching” is synonymous with “English language teaching”. Accordingly, I roughly equate English with “foreign language” in interpreting the national survey data.

overrepresented in my sample. By “middle-or-upper occupation” people I mean those working at governmental *danwei* or different types of enterprises and professionals 党政机关人员, 各类企事业单位管理人员和办事人员, 专业技术人员; the middle-or-upper occupation respondents accounted for 45.4% of my sample while the corresponding proportion in the national survey sample totaled only 20.9% (SGO, 2006: 324); accordingly people with lower occupations, viz. personnel in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fishing, and water conservancy 农林牧渔水利生产人员, constituted the majority (viz. 61.4%) in the national sample were underrepresented in my sample (viz. less than 18.1%). The national survey data revealed that the proportion of EMI supporters in the group of personnel in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fishing, and water conservancy 农林牧渔水利生产人员 was 0.51% but the figure *quintupled or even decupled*, ascending sharply to 2.47-5.20% among middle-or-upper occupation groups (SGO, 2006: 154)

Finally, my survey respondents were generally younger (viz. primarily aged 44 and below) respondents. The national survey data show that the age factor can affect the percentage by a margin of over 30%--- for the 60-69 age group, the percentage for those who would like to have English as a MoI at local secondary schools was only 4.81 while for the 15-29 age group, 6.38 (SGO, 2006: 155).

In consideration of the above three factors, the percentages of people who would choose English as a MoI in my survey, albeit much higher than their counterparts from the national survey, still may reflect a situation prior to the initiation of The Project, that a sizable amount of the younger parents with higher education qualifications who were working in socially middle-or-upper occupations had perceived a positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency.

Students' perceptions

In order to divert the discussion to the issue of BE in a natural way in

my interview with the non-BE group, I used Subject A as a lead-in because Ms. A, my contact person of this school, who had picked this focus group (based on my requirement) and brought the group to me at the meeting place was a teacher of Subject A. With a few questions, I intended to probe the scale at which EMI indeed existed within Subject A at this school. However, the students had not been aware of the existence of EMI at their school until I told them Ms. A taught part of Subject A through English. Then I asked the students to what extent they would like to have part of their lesson periods of Subject A taught via English in the next semester (i.e. the first semester of their Grade 4), they *all* indicated their support. As for why, a student commented,

So doing can further improve our English proficiency. (这样的话可以更进一步地提升我们的英语水平)

On the one hand, such a comment suggests that a certain proportion of students *nowadays* perceive that EMI can facilitate English learning. Although these students of the non-BE group are from a first-batch-model-BE school, they had not been aware of the existence of EMI in their own school until I affirmed its existence; in other words, their perceptions had not been affected by EMI and hence can be useful in inferring about perceptions of their counterparts *prior to* the initiation of The Project. Thus one may assume that *before* the initiation of The Project, a certain fraction of students perceived that EMI could enhance English proficiency.

On the other hand, such a comment from a third grader may well suggest similar perceptions regarding the positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency were so strong/prevalent with parents that they could even filter through their next generation's value systems.

Other stakeholders' perceptions

The perceived positive relationship between EMI has existed in the beliefs held by some administrators and educationalists in Shanghai (for

examples of educationalists outside of Shanghai, see, e.g. Ying, 2003). For example, P. Zhu (2004b: 3) explicitly asserts that “at the current stage, BE in Shanghai concerns only the improvement of students’ English proficiency, viz. enabling their proficiency to undergo a significant improvement”. Another case in point is one conclusion in an often-cited Chinese book on BE by Professor Binhua WANG (2003: 44) that “the most direct and most important objective for implementing Chinese-English BE in China is to raise students’ English proficiency”; while this comment is made with reference to the situation of the Chinese mainland as a whole, it obviously applies to The Project in Shanghai.

6.5. Discussion: Research Question (1)

6.5.1. Presence of Contributing Factors in Guangzhou

Prior to the initiation of The Project, the above three contributing factors, indicated by the titles of Sections 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4, were in evidence in Guangzhou, one of Shanghai’s major counterparts in terms of achieving international city status (see Section 6.1.5). This section addresses each of them in turn.

Little exposure to English outside school

The situation of little exposure to English for its effective use outside of schools was true of Guangzhou in the 1990s. While the number of English-speaking expatriates in Guangzhou is not readily available, the number of international schools approved by the Ministry of Education could provide a rough estimate: as of the end of 2001, seven such schools were running in Guangzhou, compared with 13 in Shanghai (Ministry of Education, 2005); this figure may suggest that the foreigners in Guangzhou were fewer than, or at best as few as those in Shanghai (see Section 6.2). Understandably, As a result, the level of interaction between the Chinese

community and the English-speaking expatriate community may have been low, as was the case in Shanghai (see Section 6.2).

In addition, the level of English use among the local Chinese in Guangzhou was probably as low as that in Shanghai. The observation that “an overwhelming majority of people do not have the real needs to communicate through English and hence English, as well as other foreign languages, is rather infrequently used” (Wei & Su, 2008) actually applies to Guangzhou, as well as other parts of the Chinese mainland. Specifically, even among the people who had English learning experience, nationwide as high as 69.40% *rarely* used English; in this respect, the figure of Guangdong Province (65.55%) was very similar to that of Shanghai (65.48%) (SGO, 2006: 122), suggesting the level of English use respectively in these two regions was equally low. According to my re-analysis of data from the national language use survey, 66.134% of the respondents (207 out of 313) with English learning experience in Guangzhou claimed to use English *rarely*, compared with 66.129% (246 out of 372) in urban Shanghai⁹².

All in all, as in Shanghai, little exposure to English, which was largely a result of the low-level interaction between the local Chinese and English-speaking expatriates and the limited use of English among local Chinese, existed in Guangzhou in the 1990s. Consequently, in Guangzhou, English was far from a language that could be picked up by the local Chinese from the street; rather, it was a foreign language that must be learnt through hard work within school walls.

Demands for English skills in the local SRS

Social demands for English skills could be detected in Guangzhou, as in Shanghai (see Section 6.3). Much discourse, academic or otherwise, reflects the strength of such demands. With reference to the popularity of the out-of-school English training institutions, Binhua WANG (2003: 18), an

⁹² “Urban Shanghai” refers to all administrative districts (counties) excluding Baoshan 宝山, Chongming 崇明, Fengxian 奉贤, Jiading 嘉定, Jinshan 金山, Minhang 闵行, Nanhui 南汇, Pudong 浦东, Qingpu 青浦 and Songjiang 松江. This delimitation was adopted in the national language use survey (cited from Wei & Su, 2008).

advocate for BE, observes that “English has become very ‘expensive’ knowledge, or a type of very ‘expensive’ commodity”; Hu (2007: 115-6), an opponent of BE, similarly notes that “English proficiency has become a very expensive commodity in China”. In the mass media, it is not uncommon that one spots news titles such as “English proficiency decides the salary” (The People Net, 2004) and “Good English proficiency triples promotion probability” (China Youth Online, 2005). These all indirectly attested to the fact that English skills were in demand in the Chinese mainland in general; actually, it was especially the case in big cities such as Guangzhou and Shanghai.

With reference to Guangzhou, there were already 1,140 private English training institutions running in 1997, 14 of which charged especially high tuition fees (Yangcheng Evening Post, July 16 1997, cited in Xu, 1999). In the late 1996, Guangzhou Education Commission proposed that the average English proficiency of junior secondary graduates in Guangzhou should be 25% to 33% higher than that of junior secondary graduates required by the national curriculum, and it would strive to enable the local students to achieve a level of English proficiency comparable to that of their grade-appropriate counterparts in Hong Kong within the next 10 to 15 years (Yangcheng Evening Post, November 30 1996, cited in Xu, 1999).

Furthermore, based on more than 500 advertisements of job vacancies in the three areas of management, sales & marketing and technical skills from two major job-hunting websites in China, Wu (2002) finds that: (1) in the first job area, 36.36% of the advertised jobs in Shanghai carried English-skills requirements, 26.67% in Beijing and 26.00% in Guangzhou; (2) in the second, 28.81% in Beijing, 28.33% in Shanghai and 26.23% in Guangzhou; and (3) in the third, 39.34% in Guangzhou, 35.00% in Shanghai, and 22.03% in Beijing. That is to say, a certain proportion of jobs in Shanghai, Beijing, and Guangzhou required English skills; moreover, the fact that these three cities rotated to rank first in the surveyed job areas

meant that social demands in Guangzhou (and Beijing) may well have been as strong as those in Shanghai prior to the initiation of The Project.

The demands for English skills in Guangzhou may have resulted from the city's interaction with foreign countries and/or the development of its tertiary sector, which similarly occurred in Shanghai (see Section 6.3). As mentioned earlier in Section 6.1.5, Guangzhou vowed to build itself into an international city at the beginning of the 1990s (Wu, 1997); such positioning by the Guangzhou government contributed to the necessity to interact with the outside world through English. On the other hand, the tertiary sector in Guangzhou developed at an average annual growth rate of 14.92% between 1979 and 2000 (Guangzhou Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2001: 20); the contribution of the tertiary sector to the city's GDP in 2000 grew by 89.70% than that in 1995 (Guangzhou Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2001: 15). These figures were suggestive of the rapid expansion of Guangzhou's tertiary sector, which were likely to boost the social demands for English skills in this city.

In a word, the amount of private English training institutions, Guangzhou Education Commission's goal setting, and the presence of English skills as a requirement in job advertisements were indicative of the social demands for English skills in Guangzhou. These demands could have facilitated the initiation of any large-scale Chinese-English BE programme organized by the local government in the 1990s.

Stakeholders' perceptions related to English learning

According to the national language use survey, 4.24% of the total population in Guangdong Province would like to have English as a MoI at local primary schools, compared with 6.10% in Shanghai, with the national mean being 2.30% (SGO, 2006: 91); as regards the teaching mediums at local secondary schools, 11.94% of the total population in Guangdong Province would favor English as a MoI, compared with 13.62% in Shanghai, with the national mean being 6.24% (SGO, 2006: 91). In other words, a

certain proportion of people in Guangdong Province supported Chinese-English BE at local schools and this proportion, like that of Shanghai, was much higher than the national mean.

Some statistics specifically about Guangzhou and urban Shanghai were generated by my re-analysis of data from the national language use survey. 8.63% (48 out of 556) of the respondents in Guangzhou supported Chinese-English BE at local primary schools while 11.24% (67 out of 596) in urban Shanghai. 22.06% (122 out of 553) of the respondents in Guangzhou favored BE at local secondary schools while 21.68% (129 out of 595) in urban Shanghai. In brief, the strength of support for BE in Guangzhou was quite similar to that in urban Shanghai. That is to say, in the perceptions of some residents in Guangzhou prior to the initiation of The Project, Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level was desirable.

The percentage of people in Guangzhou supporting Chinese-English BE may have been higher when the targeted stakeholder group was younger. For instance, Wu's (1997) study solicited the attitudes of students at Guangzhou Peizheng Secondary School 广州培正中学, a local prestigious school which reportedly utilized EMI in its science subjects in the pre-1949 era, with two question items in a survey; the macro question was "In terms of demands for talents on the part of the national economic development, what do you think of the teaching method of integrating English into the teaching of Chemistry?" and the less macro question was "So far as your own study is concerned, what do you think of the teaching method of integrating English into the subject of Chemistry?". For the former question, of the 55 surveyed students, those choosing "very necessary" and those selecting "there will be some benefits" totaled 49 (89%), while only six showed indifferent attitudes towards EMI in Chemistry; for the latter, those choosing "very necessary" and those selecting "there will be some benefits" totaled 38 (69%). Put differently, most student respondents at this school in Guangzhou held fairly positive attitudes towards Chinese-English BE. The

great disparity in percentage between Wu's study and the national language use survey might be accounted for by the age factor, among others (see Section 6.4.3).

In summation, prior to The Project's initiation, a certain proportion of stakeholders Guangzhou supported Chinese-English BE.

Lack of approval from the state

The education administration in Guangzhou seemed supportive of Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level in the late 1990s. Wu (1997) reports that one year earlier before the inception of BE at Guangzhou Peizheng Secondary School in 1994, the school invited "leaders and experts from the education sector" to research into the feasibility of BE at secondary level; after deliberation, "leaders and experts" reached a consensus that "it is both necessary and appropriate in the timing for Guangzhou, the earliest city [sic] to be subject to the Open Door policy, to experiment with BE in order to adapt to the socialist market economy and to cater for the increasing needs resulting from interaction with the outside world". The consensus suggested that some local administrators had developed supportive attitudes towards the experimentation with BE before the SHEC initiated The Project

The historical precedence of EMI, as indicated by the EMI practice at Peizheng Secondary School, and some proactive local administrators, who explicitly supported BE at that school in the early 1990s, were present in Guangzhou. They respectively resembled very much the two contributing sub-factors identified in Shanghai, namely "the historical precedence of foreign-medium instruction in Shanghai" (Section 6.1.3) and "a group of *Shanghairen* as possible key initiators" (Section 6.1.4). Leaders in Guangdong, especially in the capital city Guangzhou, were known for their "making full use of the stipulations written on paper and daring to do whatever were not specified on paper as 'undoable'" (D. P. Yang, 2006: 364). Understandably, some administrators in Guangzhou dared to explicitly support EMI. When it came to elevating a BE programme at an individual

school to a municipality-wide project, which was likely to attract the attention from the state, even the fairly bold and innovative administrators in Guangzhou may have become hesitant. This should be understandable because, as suggested in Section 6.1.6, a large-scale BE project at the pre-tertiary level, even under the protective banner of “an educational experiment”, was still controversial particularly in political terms.

In the end, perhaps due to lack of some contributing sub-factors on the part of the state (e.g. the state’s pro-Guangzhou tendency, cf. Section 6.1.2), the two contributing sub-factors on the part of Guangzhou alone did not seem sufficient to act and interact to emerge as one single contributing factor: approval from the state regarding the initiation of a municipality-wide BE programme like The Project (cf. Section 6.1.7). Had there been such approval, a BE programme organized by the Guangzhou government might have been initiated ahead of The Project.

6.5.2. Summary and Conclusion

Research Question (1) asks: What were the contributing factors to The Project’s initiation in Shanghai whose municipality is part of the national *danwei* system?

Four factors were identified as contributing factors. The first factor was some form of subtle approval from the state regarding the initiation of The Project, which was a function of two sub-factors on the part of the state (i.e. the state’s expectation for Shanghai and pro-Shanghai tendency) and four on the part of Shanghai (viz. the historical precedence of foreign-medium instruction in Shanghai, a group of *Shanghairen* as possible key initiators, Shanghai’s competition with its major counterparts and its unique measures to justify BE) (Section 6.1). In addition, this factor seemed absent in Guangzhou, one of Shanghai’s major competitors, in the 1990s.

The other three contributing factors were little exposure to English for its effective learning outside school (Section 6.2), demands for English

skills (Section 6.3) and stakeholders' perceptions related to English learning (Section 6.4). Specifically, *the social distance* between the Chinese and English-speaking expatriates, which primarily resulted from the demographic structure of Shanghai, and *the limited use of English* among Shanghai residents, which was largely caused by the limited English proficiency among Shanghai people as well as the status of English only as a foreign language, led to *little exposure to English for its effective learning outside school*. At the same time, the SRS in Shanghai, which was largely meritocratic with outward and upward mobility, seemed to place a premium on English skills, partially as a result of *the booming interaction with foreign countries* and *the expansion of the tertiary sector*; hence, strong *demands for English skills* resulted. In addition, although a majority of stakeholders, be they parents, students, or administrators, perceived *English proficiency as a social desideratum*, regrettably they also perceived *teaching English only as a subject to be inept* to deliver the desired level of English proficiency and they somehow developed a belief in *the positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency*; these attitudes and beliefs constituted the favorable *stakeholders' perceptions related to English learning*, which could facilitated the mounting of a large-scale BE project.

These last three factors were in evidence to some degrees in Guangzhou, prior to The Project's initiation (Section 6.5.1). However, it seemed that these factors did not play a role as decisive as the first factor of "subtle approval from the state" in mounting a BE programme like The Project, or else Shanghai would not have been the first to have initiated a BE programme in basic education as a regional-government endeavor.

Consequently, it seems plausible to advance a tentative hypothesis: in a *danwei* system, approval from the state played the most significant role in initiating The Project while the other three contributing factors constituted a potentiality only. The brief discussion of the Guangzhou case (Section 6.5.1) illustrates that this kind of potentiality, without being "ignited" by some

form of approval from the state, failed to enable Guangzhou to be the first to initiate a municipality-wide BE programme like The Project. In contrast, the presence of this kind of potentiality in Shanghai may have contributed to The Project's initiation in the form of exerting facilitating influences upon one or more constituent sub-factor(s) of "subtle approval from the state"; for instance, the general public's perceptions related to English learning might have enhanced the belief held by the group of possible key initiators (Section 6.1.4) in a positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency, thereby facilitating the interaction of the sub-factors (Section 6.1.7); more specifically, some key people (e.g. those named out in Section 6.1.4), who were already very "clever" and pragmatic *Shanghairen* and at the same time informed (ex-)officials with international horizons, were sophisticated enough to appreciate the unfavorable sociolinguistic environment for English learning, the demands for English skills posed by the SRS, the general public's perceptions related to English learning (viz. perceived status of English as a *sine qua non*, ineptitude of teaching English only as a subject, and/or a positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency); their appreciation of these situations could strengthen their already existing belief in a positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency; this in turn, may have bolstered their confidence, efforts, and/or justifications required to obtain the state's approval for mounting a municipality-wide BE programme, because the afore-discussed potentiality could render a programme like The Project very much consistent with not only the social needs but also people's expectations.

Although the specific processes through which these (sub-)factors interacted could not be exactly depicted, as mentioned in Section 6.1.7, the following scenario was likely: The exposure to and familiarity with EMI of a topmost leader (e.g. the then President JIANG Zemin, see Section 6.1.2) had enabled him to have a positive attitude towards Chinese-English BE; when he was approached by the key people from Shanghai (e.g. Mr. CHEN

Liangyu) for approval of a BE programme like The Project, he already tended to grant his support as a result of the then pro-Shanghai tendency (Section 6.1.2); the topmost leader's tendency was converted into action as a result of Shanghai's linking BE with its designated role of an international city and positioning The Project as an "educational experiment", two clever measures devised exclusively by Shanghai to justify BE at the pre-tertiary level, which rendered Shanghai the most prepared and deserving region to receive his support. Well aware of the potential controversy associated with The Project, the topmost leader gave an implicit form of approval. With this approval, the key people from Shanghai felt assured and began to officially initiated The Project with the issuance of the SHEC 2001 Document.

In a word, an answer to Research Question (1) is that the state's subtle approval regarding the initiation of The Project, little exposure to English for its effective learning outside school in Shanghai, demands for English skills, and stakeholders' perceptions related to English learning were the contributing factors to The Project's initiation in a *danwei* system, among which the first factor seemed to play the most significant role while the other three constituted a potentiality only.

7. The Project in Implementation

7.1. Outcomes of The Project's Implementation

This section reports findings related to Research Question (2a), which addresses the perceived effects of EMI on students' English learning among parents and students concerned.

7.1.1. Parents' Perceptions

According to Table 7.1, when asked about the effects of BE on their children's English language learning, around 70% BE parents perceived such effects as overall positive, with 33.7% and 35.7% respectively believing that there were "greater" or "much greater" positive effects than negative ones. As low as 3% claimed that there were "greater negative effects" while no respondent chose "much greater negative effects". The total mean score of 199 BE parents slightly exceeded 4, suggesting that on average the respondents considered BE to have exerted greater positive effects on their children's English learning.

Specifically, School A had 77.6(43.4+34.2)% BE parents who held positive views regarding EMI's influence on their children's English learning, School B 62.3(26.2+36.1)%, and School C 66.1(29.0+37.1)%. However, a one-way ANOVA test ($F(2, 194)=2.35, p=0.10$) revealed that these between-school differences were not statistically significant. This meant that parents, regardless of school types, perceived BE as effective in facilitating their children's English learning.

Table 7.1 BE Parents' Perceived Effects of BE on Children's English Language Learning

	5=Much greater positive effects	4=Greater positive effects	3=Can't tell	2=Greater negative effects	1=Much greater negative effects	No response	Mean (SD)
School A (N=76)	43.4%	34.2%	18.4%	3.9%	0	0	4.17(0.87)
School B (N=61)	26.2%	36.1%	36.1%	1.6%	0	0	3.87(0.83)
School C (N=62)	29.0%	37.1%	27.4%	3.2%	0	3.2%	3.95(0.85)
BE Parents (N=199)	33.7%	35.7%	26.6%	3.0%	0	1.0%	4.01(0.86)

The high proportion of 26.6% parents selecting “can’t tell” (Table 7.1), with the proportions at individual schools ranging from 18.4 % to as high as 37.1 %, indicated that these layperson respondents indeed were asked about a question whose more accurate answers could be adequately given by experts. However, at the infancy stage of BE research when systematic test data are lacking, perception data can still be of some value. This was the case with the early phase of Canadian BE research, as discussed in Section 2.3.1 of Chapter 2.

As suggested in Section 2.3.1 of Chapter 2, target language learning, one of the three most frequently examined areas of BE efficacy, is believed to be the most easily perceptible aspect for lay persons. In a sense, the data in Table 7.1 could be interpreted as follows: Among those sensitive enough to the changes in the academic development of their children (viz. respondents excluding those selecting “can’t tell” and those not answering), an overwhelming proportion (viz. 95.8%, or 138 out of 144) perceived that overall Chinese-English BE had positive effects on students’ English language learning.

When these parental perception data are triangulated with student perception data from the group interviews, a more holistic picture of the

perceived EMI effects on students' English learning may be obtained.

7.1.2. Students' Perceptions

Table 7.2 shows that among the 118 students in my 15 group interviews who had received some form of EMI, 70.3% perceived that EMI had exerted positive effects on their English learning, only 1.7% explicitly indicated the contrary, 22.9% perceived the effects as neutral, and 5.1% couldn't tell. While there were some significant variations between the schools involved, which can be attributed to a number of pedagogical factors (e.g. EMI teachers' English proficiency and teaching style) and they merit further research efforts, a detailed inter-school analysis falls outside the scope of this section.

The proportion (70.3%) of students perceiving the EMI effects as positive was very similar to the corresponding proportion (69.4%, see Table 7.1) among the parents. This shows that a similarly sizable proportion of both parent and student respondents deemed that BE had produced overall positive effects on students' English language learning. In addition, the proportion of students claiming that EMI had brought about negative effects on their English learning was 1.7%, quite similar the corresponding proportion among parents (3.0%, see Table 7.1)

Table 7.2 Students' Perceived Effectiveness of BE on Their Own English Language

	Learning (%)			
	Positive effects	Neutral	Negative effects	Can't tell
School A (N=16)	56.3	25.0	0	6.3
School B (N=88)	81.8	13.6	2.3	2.3
School C (N=14)	14.3	78.6	0	7.1
BE Students (N=118)	70.3	22.9	1.7	5.1

Compared with the very few empirical studies on the perceived effects

of BE previously conducted in the Chinese mainland, the above findings, despite their limited generalizability, may have offered information that better reflected the actual situation. For instance, Mao's (2004: 28-9) questionnaire survey responded by 211 students at one "district-level key senior secondary school" at Pudong District in Shanghai revealed that as high as over 95% respondents perceived that EMI in the subject of History could facilitate their English learning. While the corresponding proportion (i.e. 70.3%) revealed in this study was much lower than that in Mao's study, I argue that mine was more likely to have reflected the actual situation for two reasons.

First, the question concerned in my instrument overcame the limitation of "biased options" in question item design in Mao's instrument. Specifically, when asking the student respondents of the effects of BE on English language learning, Mao (2004: 35) only provided three options ("very much helpful", "helpful" and "unhelpful"), which had unfoundedly presumed that the effects could *not* have produced detrimental effects and thereby deprived those of the opportunities who would have opted for the options of negative effects. Second, my study involved three schools, which represented three different school types, while Mao's study drew on a sample from one school.

7.1.3. Discussion: Research Question (2a)

Research Question (2a) asks: What are the effects of EMI on English learning according to the perception of the students and their parents?

In the parental questionnaire survey, about 70% BE parents perceived EMI effects on their children's English learning as overall positive, with no more than 3% suggesting otherwise. In the student group interviews, a similar proportion of slightly over 70% of students perceived that EMI had brought about positive effects on their own English learning, with a mere less than 2% claiming otherwise.

All in all, a similarly large proportion of both parents and students deemed that BE produced overall positive effects on students' English language learning. This result seems to be in agreement with Chang & Zhao's (2010) finding that in the perceptions of English-major university students in China, BE improved their English learning. Such findings are not surprising in light of the positive relationship between using the target language as a MoI and target language proficiency within an appropriately implemented BE programme, which has been substantiated by much international research over the past decades (So, 1987; Genesee, 2004).

7.2. Support of Stakeholders

This section reports findings concerning support of two groups of stakeholders, viz. parents and students from my questionnaire and interview data. The focus is on the parent group.

As Chinese parents, in particular parents in economically developed regions like Shanghai, have been well-documented for their zealous involvement in their children's academic development (cf. Gao, 2006: 285), the parents in Shanghai may have been aware of their children attitudes towards receiving BE, a key feature that differentiated their children from other students in the same school. Such awareness on the part of parents was likely to have shaped their attitudes towards BE. Hence in order to better understand the parental attitudes, findings of students' attitudes are presented first.

7.2.1. Students' Attitudes

According to Table 7.3, among the 118 students in my 15 group interviews who had received some form of EMI, 74.6% indicated their willingness to be provided with EMI in the next semester, 10.2% explicitly suggested otherwise. In addition, 12.7% were indifferent to the continuation

of EMI, and 2.5% couldn't tell. Due to similar reasons listed in the discussion of students' perceptions of the effects of BE, no cross-school comparisons are made here.

Table 7.3 Students' Attitudes towards BE Provision to Themselves in the Next

	Semester (%)			
	Favorable	Indifferent	Unfavorable	Can't tell
School A (N=16)	87.5	12.5	0	0
School B (N=88)	80.7	3.4	12.5	3.4
School C (N=14)	21.4	71.4	7.1	0
BE Students (N=118)	74.6	12.7	10.2	2.5

7.2.2. Parents' Attitudes⁹³

Table 7.4 shows that overall, 78% non-BE and over 85% BE parents had positive attitudes towards the provision of BE to their children. Specifically, 45.9% and 32.1% non-BE parents respectively "very much" or "much" hoped that their children would receive EMI in the upcoming semester; 63.3% and 22.1% BE parents respectively "very much" or "much" hoped that their children would continue to be provided with EMI in the next semester.

About 9% and 5% respectively of the non-BE and of BE parents held unfavorable attitudes toward the provision of BE (Table 7.4). Seeking reasons behind this was not part of the objectives of my survey but it is a worth-while future research direction.

⁹³ Most of the findings reported in this section have been reported in Wei (2011) after the initial submission of this dissertation.

Table 7.4 Parents' Attitudes towards BE Provision to Their Children in the Next Semester

	5=Very favorable	4=Somewhat favorable	3=Indiffer ent	2=Somew hat unfavorab le	1=Very unfavorab le	No respon se	Mean (SD)
Non-BE parents(N=196)	45.9%	32.1%	11.2%	6.1%	3.1%	1.5%	4.13 (1.05)
BE parents (N=199)	63.3%	22.1%	9.0%	3.0%	2.0%	0.5%	4.42 (0.92)

There was a significant difference between the two groups on support for BE according to an independent-samples *t*-test, $t(389)= 2.9$, $p=0.004$, $d=0.29$. In other words, based on a comparison of the means (Table 7.4), BE parents were significantly more supportive of BE provision than non-BE parents. The magnitude of mean difference was somewhere between small and medium by Cohen's (1988) standards. Based on this small-to-medium effect and the statistically significant difference, a tentative hypothesis may be that having children who receive BE enhances parents' support for BE provision.

The high proportion of parents supporting BE was consistent with Mao's (2004: 28-31) finding (though somewhat different) that as high as 96.7 % of 30 BE parents at one Shanghai school indicated their supportive attitudes towards BE. The difference may have resulted from a bias in Mao's (2004: 38) question item design, where she only provided four options ("very supportive", "supportive", "can't tell" and "unsupportive") and unfortunately omitted "very unsupportive". In addition, the fact that Mao's study drew on a sample of 30 parents from a single school may have contributed to the difference.

Table 7.5 Parents' Attitudes towards BE Provision to Their Children

		in the Next Semester at Different Schools						Mean ⁹⁴ (SD)
		5=Very favorable	4=Somewhat favorable	3=Indi fferent	2=Somewhat unfavorable	1=Very unfavorable	No response	
Non-BE parents	School A (N=66)	51.5%	33.3%	9.1%	4.5%	1.5%	0	4.29 (0.92)
	School B (N=53)	52.8%	28.3%	9.4%	3.8%	1.9%	3.8%	4.31 (0.95)
	School C (N=23)	43.5%	26.1%	26.1 %	0	0	4.3%	4.18 (0.85)
	School D (N=54)	33.3%	37.0%	9.3%	13.0%	7.4%	0	3.76 (1.26)
	School A (N=76)	69.7%	18.4%	9.2%	1.3%	1.3%	0	4.54 (0.82)
BE parents	School B (N=61)	54.1%	24.6%	9.8%	6.6%	4.9%	0	4.16 (1.16)
	School C (N=62)	64.5%	24.2%	8.1%	1.6%	0	1.6%	4.54 (0.72)

For non-BE parents, the mean scores of Schools A, B and C ranged from 4.18 to 4.31 (Table 7.5), showing that the parental attitudes towards the provision of BE to their children were quite favorable. The differences in responses at these three schools were not statistically significant according to the results of a Kruskal-Wallis Test⁹⁵ ($H=0.779$, $df=2$, $p=0.678$). These statistics indicate that BE parents of primary graders, regardless of the types of school their children attended (the first-batch model BE school, the second batch, or other schools), held similarly favorable attitudes towards

⁹⁴ In SPSS, respondents with missing values (viz. those with no responses) are excluded during the calculation of mean and SD. In the non-BE group, the actual (or "valid", as termed in SPSS) sample sizes for Schools A, B, C and D were 66, 51, 22 and 54. In the BE group, the actual sample sizes for Schools A, B and C were 76, 61 and 61.

⁹⁵ The Kruskal-Wallis Test did not compare the means but the mean ranks of Schools A, B and C, which were 70.36, 72.15 and 63.95.

the provision of BE.

In the non-BE group, the mean score of School D (i.e. 3.76) was lowest among the four schools but still reflected somewhat favorable attitudes towards the provision of BE held by parents from School D. When responses from School D and those from Schools A, B and C were compared, statistically significant differences were found according to the results of another Kruskal-Wallis Test⁹⁶ ($H=8.035$, $df=3$, $p=0.045$). A series of follow-up Mann-Whitney tests revealed where the differences lay: (1) there was a significant difference between the responses from School D and those from School A⁹⁷ ($U=1356.50$, $Z=-2.40$, $p=0.016$), with the effect size measure r ⁹⁸ being -0.219; (2) there was a significant difference between the responses from School D and those from School B⁹⁹ ($U=1019.50$, $Z=-2.45$, $p=0.014$), with r being -0.239. These statistics (including those mentioned in the foot-notes) suggest that (1) non-BE parents at Schools A and B respectively held significantly more favorable attitudes towards the provision of BE than their counterparts at School D; (2) the magnitude of differences in attitudes between School A parents and School D parents was somewhere between small and medium¹⁰⁰; (3) the magnitude of differences in attitudes between School B parents and School D parents was also somewhere between small and medium. The differences may be attributed to the status of Schools A and B as officially recognized model BE schools, where even the non-BE parents were probably more familiar with BE than those in School D. It was also likely that School D parents, as parents of senior high students, were more concerned with initiatives directly related to

⁹⁶ The Kruskal-Wallis Test did not compare the means but the mean ranks of Schools A, B, C and D, which were 103.80, 106.16, 95.18 and 80.78.

⁹⁷ The Mann-Whitney Test compared the mean ranks and rank sums of Schools A and D. The mean rank of Schools A and D were 66.95 and 52.62. The sums of ranks of Schools A and D were 4418.50 and 2841.50

⁹⁸ Following the advice of Field (2009: 550), I used r as the effect size measure for a Mann-Whitney Test.

⁹⁹ The Mann-Whitney Test compared the mean ranks and rank sums of Schools B and D. The mean rank of Schools B and D were 60.01 and 46.38. The sums of ranks of Schools B and D were 3060.50 and 2504.50.

¹⁰⁰ The thresholds for a small effect and a medium one are 0.1 and 0.3, according to the guidelines from Cohen (1988, cited from Field, 2009: 57).

the college entrance examination (BE had little direct relevance to that important examination). The exact causes for the differences in attitudes across schools need to be investigated in future research.

For BE parents, the mean scores of individual schools ranged from 4.16 to 4.54, suggesting that on average the parental attitudes towards the continued provision of BE to their children were quite favorable. The differences in responses were not statistically significant according to the results of a Kruskal-Wallis Test¹⁰¹ ($H=4.753$, $df=2$, $p=0.093$). These statistics indicate that BE parents, regardless of the types of school their children attended (the first-batch model BE school, the second batch, or other schools), held similarly favorable attitudes towards the continuation of BE.

7.2.3. Discussion: Research Question (2b)

Research Question (2b) asks: What are the attitudes of the students and their parents towards the (continued) provision of EMI?

In the student group interviews, about 75% students indicated their willingness to continue to be provided with BE, with around 10% suggesting otherwise. In contrast, parental attitudes towards the (continuation of) BE provision seem to be more favorable. Specifically, the questionnaire surveys shows that (1) 78% non-BE parents supported the provision of BE to their children, with only 9% suggesting otherwise; (2) over 85% BE parents were in favor of the continued provision of BE to their children, with as low as 5% indicating otherwise.

In a word, a significant proportion of parents and students have favorable attitudes towards the (continuation of) provision of BE.

The following scenario is likely to account for this strength of parental support: Most respondents had strong demands for good English proficiency

¹⁰¹ The Kruskal-Wallis Test did not compare the means but the mean ranks of Schools A, B and C, which were 105.72, 88.25 and 102.99.

on the part of their children (Section 6.4.1 of Chapter 6), but they felt that teaching English only as a subject (i.e. the traditional mode) seemed to have failed to deliver the desired level of English proficiency for their children (Section 6.4.2 of Chapter 6); so they resorted to Chinese-English BE, which was believed to be able to exert positive influences on their children's English proficiency (Section 6.4.3 of Chapter 6); some respondents (e.g. some non-BE parents) might have chosen to support BE simply because they believed in a positive relationship between EMI and English proficiency while some might have done so simply because they perceived the effects of BE as overall positive in facilitating their children's English proficiency (Section 7.1.1). This explanation might as well explain the strength of students' support for BE.

7.3. Abilities of Teachers to Conduct BE

English proficiency plays a decisive role in “abilities of BE teachers to conduct BE” according to many Chinese authors (see Han, 2009; Wei, 2007 for reviews). Below data pertaining to BE teachers' written and spoken English proficiency will be reported and discussed.

7.3.1. Written English Proficiency

A quantitative discussion

When browsing through the major figure columns (i.e. the three columns on the right) of Table 7.6 vertically, one may notice the following corresponding strands of findings:

(1) The total number of “units of measurements” (henceforth short as “units”) in each teaching plan ranged from 14 to 19, averaging 16.5.

(2) The total number of units with linguistic reparables in each teaching plan ranged from 5 to 9, averaging 6.8. The total reparables contained in each teaching plan ranged from 6 to 12, averaging 8.8.

(3) On average, as high as 41.2% units suffered from at least one linguistic reparable, with such a proportion ranging from 29.4% to 50.0% with individual teaching plans.

Table 7.6 Quantitative Summary of Findings about Linguistic Reparables

Teacher ID	Subject (Topic)	Grade Level	Total No. of Units	No. of Units with Reparables (No. of Total Reparables)	Percentage of Units with Reparables in the Total No. of Units
T1	Science (Healthy Eating & Dumplings)	Primary 6	17	5(6)	29.4%
T2	Pottery (A Comfortable House)	Primary 4	19	9(9)	47.4%
T3	Fine Arts (Sachet)	Primary 2	14	5(12)	35.7%
T4	Music (The Mother's Day)	Primary 2	16	8(8)	50.0%
Average			16.5	6.8(8.8)	41.2%

A most prominent indicator for teachers' written English proficiency was the "error rate" of 41.2%. Another equally important indicator for was the ratio of the "No. of Units with Reparables" to the "Total No. of Units" (i.e. 8.8 to 16.5), which means that one linguistic reparable appeared with every two units of measurement in the teachers' teaching plans.

A qualitative discussion

The linguistic reparables identified in the teaching plans primarily concerned the following three areas.

(1) Errors in the use of closed classes.

This type of errors includes the mistaken uses of closed words classes

such as determiners, prepositions, and pronouns (Lyster, 1998: 195). The examples below all represented a smaller sub-set of this error type, namely *use of the article “the”*.

For instance, T1, teaching Science to Primary 6 graders, wrote “Let students know what *the*¹⁰² balanced diet is.” in her teaching plan. This reparable is not only a linguistic one but also a content error because one does not have to be a Science subject specialist to know that there is no such thing as *the* balanced diet (see Figure 7.1)

课题 Topic	Healthy eating& Dumplings	教学设想 Pre-teaching Designs	Let students know what the balanced diet is.	课时安排 Teaching Hours	one
重点和难点 Key Points	1. 认识食物金字塔和根据食物金字塔原则均衡营养膳食。 2. 知道饺子是一种营养成分较均衡的食物。	课前准备 Preparation	所需教具 Teaching Aids Power point Work sheet	学生情况 Student's Status 使学生对均衡膳食形成正确的认识。	The first and only THE balanced diet in this page
教学目标 Teaching Objectives	学科目标 Subject Objectives 1. Know what the food guide pyramid is and know how to use it to make a balanced diet. 2. Know dumplings are healthy food.		语言目标 Language Focus 1. Learn what the food guide pyramid is 2. Learn dumplings are a healthy food.		
教学过程 Teaching Procedures	教学步骤 Teaching Stage 1. Lead-in: Discussing the dumpling is a healthy food or not. 2. Activity one: Making a food pyramid 3. Activity two: Making a balanced diet. 4. Know the good meanings of eating dumplings.	教师活动 Teacher's Activities 1. Show picture of dumplings. 2. Show the menu to let students make a pyramid. 3. Show the food guide pyramid and let students know it. 4. Show the menu to let students make a balanced diet. 5. Brain storm of dumpling.	学生活动 Student's Activities 1. Discuss dumplings. 2. Do the two activities to know what the pyramid is and know how to use it to make a balanced diet. 3. Discuss what the good meanings of dumplings are.		

Figure 7.1 Part of T1's Teaching Plan

¹⁰² In Chapter 7, all italics in teaching plan excerpts are my emphases.

T2, teaching Pottery to Primary 4 graders, ungrammatically omitted an article in three units (namely, “*Make house with clay in groups.*”, “*2. Make house with clay in groups.*”, and “*Make house in groups.*”). She may have used an article appropriately at best once in the unit “*Make the house.* ”; by “at best” is meant that the word “the” between “Make” and “house”, where an article (“a” or “the”) is required, is grammatically correct *only when* the in the actual teaching context there was only *one* house that T2 would have her students to make, which can’t be ascertained because I did not observe the lesson.

(2) *Errors in pluralization, negation, question formation, relativization and word order* (Lyster, 1998: 195).

The examples to be shown belonged to a smaller sub-set of this error type--- pluralization. T2 seemed to be unaware of the distinction between the plural and singular forms of “work” in her simultaneous use of “Show your *works.*” and “Show the *work.*” in her teaching plan. Actually when “work” is used in the plural form, it should be treated as a countable noun meaning “something such as a painting, book, or piece of music produced by an artist, writer, or composer” (Collins COBUILD Dictionary on CD-ROM 2006). But the teaching context obviously required “work” to be used as an uncountable noun meaning “something which you produce as a result of an activity or as a result of doing your job” (Collins COBUILD Dictionary on CD-ROM 2006).

A further example is the first word in the unit “*Focus, difficulties and requirements.*”, which should be “Foci” or “Focuses”, from the teaching plan of T3, who taught Fine Arts to Primary 2 graders.

(3) *Errors in tense, verb morphology, auxiliaries, and subject/verb agreement* (Lyster, 1998: 195).

All the examples pertained to verb morphology in relation with parallelism¹⁰³. For example, in T2’s teaching plan since both “*Let them*

¹⁰³ By “parallelism” is meant that for a list of things or actions, each thing in the list should be in the same form (see Slade, 1997: 81-2 for a similar definition). For example, *I studied*

know some information about the folk houses.” and “*To understand* the meaning of union.” were used in the same cell named “重点和难点Key Points”, an awareness of parallelism would have enabled T2 to begin with “To let” in the first unit.

7.3.2. Spoken English Proficiency

As reported in Section 5.1.1 of Chapter 5, the material to be discussed is an English-medium mathematics lesson, which, considered a model lesson, was distributed to the participants at a large-scale conference on BE by the convenors.

Structure of the lesson

The mathematics lesson, titled “Comparison”, targeted a group of Primary 5 students at one of the first batch of model BE schools certified by the SHEC. The teacher used a powerpoint file which mostly contained pictures for students to talk about and a few written conclusions, some Yes/No cards, and the teaching materials complied by the school for the school-based course of “Bilingual Mathematical Activities”.

This lesson lasted 32.5 minutes and contained 124 teacher turns¹⁰⁴. According to the teacher’s detailed teaching plan, the lesson was structured into three parts. After a short lead-in activity (3 minutes), the teacher presented pictures for students’ comparison and discussion, and attempted to enable them to understand a main point that “things that look different may be the same and vice versa” in the first part (15 minutes); in the second part (around 6 minutes), the teacher, similarly through discussion on some pictures, attempted to elicit another main point that “the very same thing may be perceived differently by different people”; in the last part (about 8 minutes), the teacher tried, with a video clip and several pictures from a TV series named *Growing Pains*, to enable students to understand the final main

for my physics test, ate lunch, and I went to gym class is not parallel. In contrast, *I studied for my physics test, ate lunch, and went to gym class* is parallel.

¹⁰⁴ In the following discussion, for instance, “Turn 23” refers to the 23rd teacher turn.

point that “things are changing so some things may not always be the same as what they look like” and combined the previous main points to advance the conclusion that “think twice before you judge”.

Both content errors and linguistic reparables in the teacher’s discourse were identified in the transcript of the lesson, with the latter far out-numbering the former. However, I confined my discussion to content errors only because I advocate a more open and tolerant attitude towards teachers’ verbal linguistic reparables (see Section 7.3.3 for more).

Content errors

The first two content errors to be discussed, henceforth identified as “major content errors”, will be discussed in detail because (1) they were more likely to compromise content matter delivery and (2) they arguably resulted from the teachers’ loose grips on some linguistic points. The other content errors will be briefly mentioned in that they were less likely to compromise content delivery of the subject concerned.

The first major content error appeared in the following transcript excerpt in the first part of the lesson, during which the teacher needed to enable students to understand that things which look different may be the same. The teacher used the two ends of a tunnel as an example, which were actually of the same size but seemed different due to their different distances from the observation point. The excerpt below starts from the end of Turn 23, when the teacher showed a picture of a tunnel on the screen (Figure 7.2), and ends at the ending of the students’ responses to the teacher’s question in Turn 27 (see Appendix 7A for transcript conventions).



Figure 7.2 A Picture of a Tunnel in the Model Mathematics Lesson

{Turn 23 } T: [...] **Look!** What's this?

Ss: A tunnel.

{Turn 24 } T: Yes, it's a tunnel. **Look at** the two ends of the tunnel. This is A and this is B ((points to the two ends respectively labelled A and B on the picture)). Just **look at** them. Which one **is** bigger and which one **is** smaller? ((awaits student feedback)) Student A.

Student A: They **are** the same.

{Turn 25} T: **Look at** them. They are the same?

Student A: Their size is the same.

{Turn 26} T: Actually they are the same. But **look at** them. **LOOK at** them.

You could **LOOK at** them. A **is** =

Student A: =Big.

T: Bigger than.. [B].

Student A: [B].

Ss: [B].

Ss: [than B].

{Turn 27} T: But actually you know, they are the =

Ss: =Same.

The first major content error largely resulted from the teacher's loose grip on the word "look" as a link verb. The error consisted of three moves made by the teacher. First, in Turn 24, the teacher asked the wrong question "Which one **is** bigger and which one **is** smaller?", with which she had

intended to mean “Which one *seems* bigger and which one *seems* smaller?”. Second, although Student A had given the correct answer (“They **are** the same.”), the teacher unfortunately did not deem the answer as correct and still expended efforts (e.g. the use of “look at” three times in Turn 26) to push for a wrong answer (viz. A *is* bigger than B.). Third, towards the end of Turn 26, the teacher conveyed a self-contradicting and wrong message that “A *is*” bigger than B, because seconds ago in the same turn she had acknowledged that A and B “are the same”.

If the teacher had had a firm grip on the distinctions between “look” and “be” (as link verbs) and had accordingly used “Which one *seems* bigger and which one *seems* smaller?” in Turn 24, she would have got her desired answer immediately from Student A, who was obviously a very academically competent student¹⁰⁵. It was especially unfortunate that after the student had given the correct answer to the teacher’s initial question (viz. which end is bigger/smaller?), the teacher still tried to elicit a wrong answer, which she unfortunately preferred as a result of her inadequate understanding of the link verb “look” *vis-à-vis* “be”. Hence, it seems safe to suggest that this content error hampered the accurate delivery of the content matter concerned.

The teacher’s loose grip on the usage of “look” as a link verb was probably long-standing rather than transient. This, to a large measure, unfortunately led to the second major content error in Turn 122 towards the end of the lesson.

{Turn 122} T: Things are not the ones **we look** like. Sometimes we look like..the things **are looked** like this but actually they are that. So, the next conclusion---Think twice before you judge.

As the teacher was performing Turn 122, she simultaneously presented a powerpoint slide, on which the first and last sentences in the above excerpt

¹⁰⁵ This can be seen from the fact that the student cleverly managed to give the teacher her desired answer upon some prompts in Turn 26. In addition, throughout the lesson, this student was picked by the teacher to answer questions much more frequently than the other students.

were projected in turn as conclusions in bold font. The first sentence served to wrap up the third part of the lesson and the last the whole lesson.

The second major content error was related to two linguistic reparables identified in Turn 122. According to the teacher's written teaching plan in Chinese, a literal translation of the indented conclusion for the third part of the lesson could be "some things may not always be the same as what *they* look like (事物可能并不像我们看到的那样)". Accordingly, a revised version of the first conclusion in English, which is closest in structure to the original one, is "Some things are not the ones *they* look like." The second reparable may be corrected by converting the passive voice into the active voice.

It was a shame that one of the few important concluding sentences on the powerpoint slide was rendered ungrammatical and imprecise by the teacher's loose grip on the usage of "look" in a mathematics lesson, where high level of accuracy in conclusions is often required. This seemed even more unfortunate when considering the flawed conclusion was one of the teacher's pre-prepared sentences as opposed to part of her unprepared speech. This content error arguably hindered the effective delivery of the content matter concerned.

Some other content errors, unlike their counterparts discussed above, may or may not be attributed to linguistic factors. Here is one example that had little to do with the teacher's grasp of certain linguistic elements but concerned more with other factors (e.g. knowledge in other areas and/or slips of the tongue). In Turn 79, the teacher said, "the clone animal is **as young as** their genetic mother or father". But in genetic science, the cloned animals are *not* of the same physical age as their genetic mother or father as measured by the lapse of time, albeit they might look as young (or old) as each other.

7.3.3. Discussion

Section 7.3 attempts to shed light on BE teachers' English proficiency, a largely unexplored area in BE research in China by means of contributing some quantitative and qualitative empirical data. Despite general impressions in the Chinese (e.g. Lu *et al.*, 2008 [2006]: 346; Long, 2009: 164) and English (e.g. Hu, 2007: 117; 2009: 51) literature, which point to the lackluster English proficiency among most of the current pool of BE teachers in Shanghai, observations substantiated with empirical evidence are few in number.

In Section 7.3.1, the quantitative discussion concerning teacher's written English proficiency shows that up to 41.2% units of measurement in teachers' teaching plans contained at least one linguistic reparable and that on average every two units suffered from one reparable. Lest it be forgotten, the teaching plans were distributed at a teaching-and-research activity attended by external experts (see Section 5.1.1 of Chapter 5); the nature of this event, generally perceived as a good and much valued arena to demonstrate the teachers' abilities, must have prompted the teachers to produce teaching plans to the best of their abilities. The detected frequency of linguistic reparables was rather high, especially considering the supposedly best efforts devoted to the preparation of these teaching plans on the part of teachers. The qualitative discussion of teachers' written data illustrates the seemingly predominant types of linguistic reparables in teaching plans by drawing upon Lyster's (1998) reparable subdivision system. Some of the detected reparables (e.g. concerning the use of the article "the") may not be difficult to overcome if teachers are given some training specifically aimed at helping them to address common English grammatical problems in preparing an English-medium lesson plan.

In a word, the rather high frequency of linguistic reparables, together with the nature of some detected reparables, suggested that there was much

room for improvement as regards written English proficiency of the teachers involved. This finding seemed consistent with earlier findings, based on which the researchers (e.g. Long, 2009: 162) all suggest that the English proficiency of BE teachers has yet to improve. For instance, Wei & Xiong (2005: 15) find “at least” three linguistic reparables in the first page of the first article in the part on BE from a collection of academic papers¹⁰⁶ written by BE teachers in Shanghai. In a most recent publication, Long (2009: 162-3), citing Wei & Xiong (2005) as a starting point, discusses in detail five linguistic reparables in one teaching plan from a published collection of BE teachers’ English teaching plans.

In Section 7.3.2, the qualitative discussion of teacher’s spoken English proficiency reveals that in the model EMI lesson the teacher made content errors and that some errors, largely resulting from the teacher’s loose grasp of some linguistic points, unfortunately compromised the delivery of content matter. Some linguistic reparables, which far outnumbered their content counterparts, were identified in the lesson transcript but not subject to the final analysis of verbal data. This was a decision based on a more open and tolerant attitude towards teachers’ verbal reparables, compared with written reparables, that I would advocate. I argue for this attitude when addressing teachers’ verbal linguistic reparables because (1) even native English speakers frequently make linguistic reparables especially in unprepared speech or natural talk, which would be frowned upon in “good” writing (see McCarthy, 1991: 143-4 for examples) and (2) much of the teachers’ classroom talk is a form of unprepared speech. In contrast, teachers’ verbal content errors merit research priority, since they may hamper the delivery of content matter. Lest it be misunderstood, the teacher was fluent in carrying out instruction through English, despite the content errors and linguistic reparables she made.

Hu (2007: 94) gives a glimpse into an English-medium classroom with

¹⁰⁶ Each paper in this collection is presented in both the Chinese and English versions.

an excerpt from an information technology classroom-talk transcript prepared by an M.A. thesis written in Chinese, which is, to the best of my knowledge, the first discussion based on verbal data in an EMI classroom in the Chinese mainland¹⁰⁷. My discussion in Section 7.3.2, based on the verbal data of a model mathematics lesson, not only provides glimpses into what were going on in an EMI classroom in Shanghai but also highlights some content errors that may negatively affect content matter delivery. One implication for BE teachers' professional development is that training programmes need to accord some priority to the linguistic elements associated with potential content errors. This poses greater demands on teacher trainers, who more often than not are just language experts (cf. Lu *et al.*, 2008[2006]). If the teacher trainers specialize only in the target language and do not have adequate background in the subject concerned, they may fail to take note of many linguistic elements associated with content errors.

Taken together, findings from Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 suggest that there existed much room for the teachers involved to improve their English proficiency so as to provide quality BE. However, it is not clear to what extent this conclusion can be generalized to other BE teachers in Shanghai. Given Hu's (2009: 51) recent observation of "the poor English proficiency of most 'bilingual' teachers" in China in general, it seems safe to suggest that a sizeable fraction of BE teachers in Shanghai may need to improve their English proficiency in order to ensure the provision of quality BE. Furthermore, the issue of BE teachers' English proficiency may be compounded by the supply-demand gap in the number of BE teachers, as it is widely reported that BE in Shanghai demands the supply of about 10,000 BE teachers while there are only 2,100 in supply (e.g. Southern Net, 2004). Hence it might be plausible to suggest tentatively that that "abilities of BE teachers to conduct BE", in which English proficiency plays a decisive role,

¹⁰⁷ Similar discussions in English (e.g. Johnson, 1983; 1985 cited in Lin, 2009) and in Chinese (e.g. Lin, 2009) are more frequent in research conducted outside the Chinese Mainland.

constitutes a potential problem area for the implementation of The Project.

7.4. Support from Policies at Various Levels

I concur with Blachford (1999: 125) that in China “once a document is issued from the Centre, it is often viewed as a written policy”. While a strict definition of “policy” may vary with different authors (cf. Dye, 1987: 3; T. Chen, 2007:7), here by “policies” I mean the documents issued by the administrative organs at the national, provincial, municipal and district (or county) levels. Since Shanghai is a *zhixiashi*, the levels concerned are national, municipal, and district.

The national level

At the national level, there have never been any policy documents that concern Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level (for the situations at the tertiary level, see Appendix 1B). Given the authoritarian nature of the leadership in a *danwei* system (Section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2), the state leaders’ attitudes hold sway over the policy and/or practice at the subordinate level. Hence, such attitudes, albeit not policies *per se*, are worth-noting in this subsection.

The only available source documenting state leaders’ explicit favorable attitudes towards BE at the pre-tertiary level was a piece of report on Xinhua Net (2002). According to the report, during his inspection tour to some senior high schools in Tianjin, LI Lanqing, the then Vice Premier in charge of education, voiced his support for pre-tertiary BE involving a foreign language, saying that “BE should be promoted in regions and schools where the local teaching resources permit”. While LI Lanqing expressed his support for BE at the tertiary level on different occasions (Li, 2003; see also Section 6.1.2 of Chapter 6), his tour in Tianjin seemed to be the first time that he explicitly supported BE at the pre-tertiary level.

The municipal level

As regards the municipality level, articles concerning The Project can

be found in policy documents issued sometimes by the SHMG (e.g. SHMG, 2000; 2002; see Appendix 1C) and mostly by the SHEC. The annual number of documents containing BE-related articles seemed¹⁰⁸ to reach a peak in 2001-2005 but dropped to virtual zero as from 2006.

What was certain was that BE lost favor it had enjoyed in the SHEC's annual *Outlines of Work in the Basic Education Sector*, namely the policy documents for the pre-tertiary sector in Shanghai formulated normally at the beginning of the year. BE was mentioned at least once in this series of documents between 2001 and 2005 for five consecutive years (see SHEC, 2001c; 2002d; 2003; 2004a; 2004c; 2005b), suggesting that some measures related to BE were planned for the year concerned. However, BE was no longer mentioned in this series of documents as from 2006.

Seldom, if at all, was BE mentioned in other policy documents since the end of 2005. What was more unfortunate was that the removal of BE from the official work agenda was made at a time when the SHEC failed to achieve the goal of certifying 100 municipal-level model BE schools within the promised time-frame (viz. the end of 2007, see Shen, 2004), among others (see below). Should such a goal still be one of those that the SHEC genuinely commits itself to, initiatives concerning BE should continue to be spelled out in more rather than fewer or even none policy documents such as the annual *Outlines of Work in the Basic Education Sector*.

The Project's loss of favor in municipal policies was so drastic in the past few years that it was clearly felt by all of my teacher interviewees in January 2008. Although most of the teachers had no interest in and/or no access to the policy documents, all except one¹⁰⁹ agreed either that the

¹⁰⁸ The uncertainty in this observation was due to the poor search function on the SHEC website. While this website promised to display search results in ascending or descending order chronologically, it failed to do so at the time of data collection and of the writing of this dissertation.

¹⁰⁹ Teacher C1 preferred to use the wording of "being implemented in a more rational fashion", rather than the word "cool down", albeit she agreed that The Project had been slowed down. For me, her such preference, probably as a result of the presence of my recording device, was a more diplomatic way of saying that the fever for The Project had cooled down in terms of municipal policy efforts.

“fever” for The Project had “cooled down” in recent years or that the municipal policy efforts on the implementation of BE dropped by a significant measure. For instance, according to Teacher A, a primary school mathematics teacher, “it seems that in the past two years, (efforts on) BE at the municipal level seems to have cooled down” (Interview with Teacher A, January 2008). Teacher D2, a senior secondary school teacher of Computer, comments,

I felt that at the municipal level BE had been pretty much emphasized. The relevant work on BE had all along been done (mostly by the SHEC), in my opinion, quite well. But recently it seems that *I have heard nothing about (the municipal) work on BE*. In addition, I asked some colleagues and they told me that *there so far has been no work about BE on the agenda*, not even work about training classes for BE teachers. (Interview with Teacher D2, January 2008; emphasis added)

To sum up, The Project has lost the favor it used to enjoy in the early phase of its implementation (viz. 2001-2005), as indicated by the number of municipal policy documents containing BE-related articles. Such change was so drastic that it seemed readily perceivable to some local front-line teachers.

The district level

A survey of the district-level policy documents proved no easy task. The major reason was that the district bureaus of education seldom publicized the relevant documents, if any, on their official websites as the SHEC did. Still, the strength of the district-level policy could, to some degree, be inferred from the extent to which the district educational authorities organized and/or facilitated BE-related activities.

Among the 16¹¹⁰ surveyed regions under Shanghai’s jurisdiction, as of March 13 2010, five had their *latest* district-level BE-related activities dated

¹¹⁰ Shanghai has 18 administrative regions, namely 17 districts and one county. The official websites of the bureaus of education of two districts had some technical problems and hence produced errors in their website search functions during my survey period (March 10-13, 2010) so these two administrative regions are excluded from discussion.

sometime in 2008 or later on the official websites of the local bureaus of education, another five dated sometime between 2006 and 2007, and the remaining six dated sometime prior to 2006. Only some examples from the first category of districts are discussed here.

In January 2010 in Zhabei District, a district-level teaching-and-research activity on BE was held at Qingyun Secondary School, one of the first-batch model BE schools certified by the SHEC (Zhabei District Bureau of Education, 2010). This activity provided four lessons for observation, prepared by four different schools covering both primary and secondary levels; in addition, external experts including Mr. ZHU Pu and Professor QIAN Yuanwei were invited to observe. Similar activities were also held in Pudong in June 2009 (Pudong District Bureau of Education, 2009), in Hongkou in April 2009 (Hongkou District Bureau of Education, 2009) and in Baoshan in the end of 2008 (Baoshan District Bureau of Education, 2009).

In addition to teaching-and-research activities, other forms of initiatives aiming to facilitate the implementation of BE on the part of district-level educational authorities were also in evidence. For instance, in its policy document titled *Outlines of Work for 2010*, the Changning District Bureau of Education (2010) pledges to initiate integrating BE as a key feature into Tianyi Primary School, one school under its jurisdiction. Since references to the names of individual schools were far from common in policies documents, the specific connection made between one individual school and BE reflected the bureau's strength of determination and commitment in relation to its pledge.

Another case in point was that in the district-level 10th annual teaching competition, Changning District Bureau of Education (2009) designated a distinct award category named "BE subjects", in parallel with other traditional categories such as "Mathematics" and "English (Language Arts)". The significance of such a measure favoring BE may be understood in the

following context: all front-line teachers at primary and secondary school levels in Shanghai are grouped into different subject groups (e.g. Primary Mathematics, or Primary Chinese) headed by a *jiaoyanyuan* appointed by the district bureau of education, whose administrative power is generally thought to be no less than that of a school principal; an individual front-line teacher's performance is often evaluated by the *jiaoyanyuan* of the subject group to which the teacher belongs; but so far there have been no groups specifically designated for BE teachers at the district level; consequently, besides suffering from lack of a sense of belonging, BE teachers are often caught in an embarrassing situation --- when they need expert advice on BE, they cannot turn to the subject group *jiaoyanyuan* who normally have no more understanding of BE than the front-line teachers themselves; what's worse, when they apply for promotion, their hard-work on BE may contribute little to the assessment of the applications because their direct subject supervisors (i.e. the subject group *jiaoyanyuan*), who lack relevant expertise, may simply ignore their outputs concerning BE.

Forces within the danwei system that may offset the policy support

As suggested in Section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2, a *danwei* system lacks the essential elements of Western-style bureaucracy; specifically, a *danwei* system usually lacks a system of rules covering the rights and duties of positional incumbents and/or a system of procedures for dealing with various work situations (Bond, 1991: 73; Sun, 2004: 190; Ouyang, 2004: 119); understandably *guanxi* tends to play a role in mediating the communication between various levels, be it top-down or bottom-up.

With reference to The Project, lack of specific guidelines and regulations for dealing with various situations and the *guanxi*-mediated communication can constitute two forces that may offset the support for The Project from policies at various levels.

On the one hand, lack of specific guidelines and regulations for implementing The Project can be detected in four lines of recent

developments. The SHEC in its policy documents had promised the public that (1) it would have certified 100 municipality-level model BE schools by the end of 2007, (2) it would have established three centres respectively for BE research, BE teacher training and BE teaching material development by the end of 2005 (SHEC, 2004a), (3) it would promulgate a curriculum standard specifically designed for BE, which would serve as a policy document and provide guidance for various aspect of implementing BE, “within the upcoming one month the earliest” (as from the date of the press’ reporting, viz. March 17 2003) (*Xinwen Chenbao* [News Morning Post], 2005) and (4) it will “strictly implement the review procedures”¹¹¹ with schools that are already municipal model BE schools (SHEC, 2005a). But unfortunately all four lines of development have met with some forms of slippage.

First, so far there are only 54 municipal model BE schools (28 in the first batch and 26 in the second), a number in sharp contrast to the promised “100”, not to mention the promised time-frame “by the end of 2007”. Second, no municipal-level BE-related professional centres have been established as a result of the SHEC’s efforts, not to mention the time-frame of “by the end of 2005”. Third, the reported curriculum standard for BE has not been promulgated as of the time of writing. Fourth, the discontinuation of BE provision at School A, one of the first batch municipal model BE schools, was indicative of some loopholes in the review procedures that were supposed to be “strictly” implemented. BE provision at School A came to a halt at least in the late 2007, as confirmed by the contact person and the student interviewees at this school; but it seems that School A had somehow managed to pass the first triennial review exercise, which was supposedly conducted by the SHEC in the middle of 2008, if at all; at the time of

¹¹¹ According to the policy document (viz. SHEC, 2005a), every year the certified municipal model BE schools shall “carefully summarize” their experimentation with BE and their achievements, and submit an annual summary report to the Research Steering Group for The Project; the SHEC will conduct a review exercise with the certified schools every three years and release the review results to the public; schools that fail in a review exercise will be stripped of the official title.

writing, the contact person at at School A confirms that the school has not yet reinstated BE but still carries the laurel of a municipal model BE school.

Based on these slippages, it seems reasonable to suggest that the current rules and procedures formulated by the SHEC and/or district bureaus of education may not be comprehensive or specific enough to address various work situations related to the implementation of The Project. Had there been a more comprehensive and specific system of rules and procedures concerning every possible aspect of work (e.g. a transparent review exercise supervised by an independent third-party organization and a definition of sanction measures for those who were responsible for slippages), many of the well-intended policy initiatives would have been better reinforced and the support for BE from policies would have been offset to a lesser degree.

On the other hand, *guanxi*-mediated communication offsetting the policy support can also be detected. After commenting that policy-wise at the municipal level The Project has “cooled down” in the past two years, Teacher A shares with me an anecdote to illustrate how municipal leaders’ personal likings may negatively influence BE:

I know of a teacher who conducts EMI in Music. At a national teaching competition, she delivered a music lesson. The lesson was very good, which was agreed upon among the teacher audience and the judges. But after she proudly announced that she was a BE teacher at her school, a leader who was a member in the jury pulled some strings to deprive her of the first prize that she otherwise would have got. Some people including that leader have strong feelings against BE; in their opinion, a teacher who is very competent in his or her subject area will never get involved in BE because BE is only for those who are barely competent in the subject area but have a better-than-so-so English proficiency. (Interview with Teacher A, January 2008)

Furthermore, Teacher A attributes the “cool-down” in the municipal support for BE to “major changes in the municipal leadership” (Interview

with Teacher A, January 2008). This observation might well be true. Soon after CHEN Liangyu, a probable key initiator of The Project (see Section 6.1.4 of Chapter 6), was detained for a corruption scandal in September 2006, “numerous Shanghai officials” were also removed from office (Kahn, 2006). ZHANG Minsheng, another probable key figure supporting BE (see also Section 6.1.4), was no longer a Deputy Director of the SHEC as from November 2006. The current Director of the SHEC was newly appointed in February 2008. These personnel changes at the municipal level, and possible others that I am not aware of, might negatively affect the implementation of The Project.

What seems certain is that if the new officials have negative views towards BE, their decisions made according to their personal likings are likely to offset the remaining policy support for BE, which may hinder the implementation of The Project. Even for those who remain in office, once their enthusiasms for BE somehow begin to wane, they may shelve some initiatives or measures that may otherwise facilitate the implementation of The Project. One consequence is that some school administrators that have good *guanxi* with the supervising leaders may go unpunished for some kind of slippage (e.g. the discontinuation of BE provision at School A). This will serve as a bad example for other schools and worse, may develop into the beginning of a vicious cycle. In contrast, those schools and/or teachers that deserve encouragement and commendation for their hard-work on BE but do not have good *guanxi* with the leaders may receive unfair treatment (e.g. the music teacher in the above interview excerpt). This will offset the remaining policy support for BE, thereby to the detriment of The Project’s implementation.

7.5. Corresponding Changes of Mechanism of Student Evaluation

The national-level mechanism of student evaluation is largely

irrelevant to The Project because as early as in the 1980s Shanghai obtained autonomy from the central government in administering its own college entrance examination.

At the municipal level, no changes concerning BE in student evaluation mechanism in Shanghai have taken place. This observation was based on the results of my constant information search on the Internet and my informal discussions with teacher interviewees and field informants in Shanghai. On the one hand, I constantly searched for information via Google and Baidu on the Internet¹¹² with key words including “上海市教委 (the SHEC)”, “双语 (bilingual)”, “评价 (evaluation)” and “考试 (examination)”, but no relevant information was found. On the other hand, through many informal discussions with my field informants (e.g. school contact persons), I learnt that to their knowledge, there seem to be no changes in evaluation mechanism, which correspond to students’ experience with BE.

No changes in mechanism of student evaluation at the municipal level should be understandable considering the following two situations. First, tertiary institutions in Shanghai invite freshman applications both from Shanghai, where applicants sit the Shanghai version of college entrance examination, and from other parts of China, where applicants take their local versions or the national-unified college entrance examination. Most applicants outside Shanghai have never experienced any form of BE. Second, most applicants in Shanghai are likely to have never received BE because the provision of BE is still far from universal in the local pre-tertiary system. Even though the SHEC was approaching the goal of providing BE to “half a million” students (see Section 1.1.3 of Chapter 1), the students receiving BE would still constitute a minority group in number. Due to the consideration of educational equality, no test items are included

¹¹² The assumption was that important developments at the municipal level would not escape the press coverage in the nowadays Information Age, which could be located on the Internet. A case in point was the SHEC’s plan to promulgate a curriculum standard specifically for BE reported by the press (e.g. *Xinwen Chenbao* [News Morning Post], 2005, see also Section 7.4 above).

in the Shanghai version of college entrance examination to assess students' performance related to BE.

Similarly, at the district level, no changes concerning BE in student evaluation mechanism in Shanghai have taken place. This observation was largely based on the way in which individual schools evaluate their students.

The practice of evaluating students' achievement *vis-à-vis* BE varies from school to school, which indicates that there is no district-level unified evaluation mechanism. Some schools (e.g. BE Research Team of Shanghai Shixi Middle School, 2008[2004]) evaluated their students who received EMI with self-designed term papers, among others. For instance, School B designed a written test paper to evaluate its first graders in 2007 (see Appendix 7B) who had received EMI in some of their Science lesson periods; the instructions for test items were in Chinese while most test items in English with multiple pictures. In contrast, some schools involved in The Project made no efforts to make any change in the extant student evaluation mechanism, as confirmed in my informal discussions with field informants. If a school had in the same grade both students who received BE and those who did not, more often than not the former were evaluated with the same instruments designed for the latter, which was obviously a more convenient option for the school.

In sum, no changes related to BE in student evaluation mechanism have occurred at the municipal and district levels. The extant evaluation measures are still largely based on monolingual norms, which are designed for students without BE experience, despite efforts made by some individual schools. Some local front-line teachers (e.g. Teacher E1 in my recorded interview in January 2008) have voiced their hope for corresponding changes related to BE in student evaluation. Considering the importance of "corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation" identified in the international literature (e.g. Lindholm-Leary, 2007: 9), lack of changes in this regard may constitute a potential problem area for the

implementation of The Project.

7.6. Leadership of School Administrators

The situations along the dimension of leadership on the part of school-level administrators vary from school to school.

Some school principals and their delegates are very earnest about implementing BE. They try to seize every opportunity to better their EMI practice. The principal of School C was a case in point. My interaction with her started with my critical comments on the demonstration lessons by her school teachers soon after the teaching-and-research activity held at School C ended at noon. The principal was so interested and modest in listening to my initial brief comments, which were sort of harsh but seemed very to the point in her eyes, that she suggested that we have a more detailed discussion after lunch¹¹³ at a quiet place. After lunch, she arranged our meeting at a meeting room on campus and had two front-line-teachers-cum-school-administrators join the meeting, one of whom later became one of my informants at School C. At the meeting, the principal and her colleagues listened attentively to me discussing the errors on their teachers' teaching plans and giving my advice for improvement, and from time to time took notes on their notepads.

This anecdote serves to illustrate that some school-level administrators are indeed earnest in providing BE to their students and they attach great importance to the implementation of BE at their school sites. Similar evidence indicating effective school leadership can be found in the literature; for instance, Pinghe School, one of the first batch municipal model BE school, is reported to have integrated the management of BE into the "routine" school management (Ren, 2007: 83). But the reverse may exist in

¹¹³ Our first formal interaction took place at a corridor at the campus of School C around lunch time, where it was noisy a result of the students' chattering and the music from the school broadcasting. In addition, the principal, as the hostess of this activity, needed to entertain other external visitors at the lunch party.

some other schools. The halt of BE at School A, one of the first batch municipal model BE schools, reflected to a large measure the inefficient leadership of some school administrators concerning BE implementation.

It is difficult to assess the exact status quo of school leadership *vis-à-vis* The Project as a whole. The facilitating effects on the implementation of The Project generated by the leadership of some earnest and enthusiastic school administrators may be off-set by the hindering effects produced by the ineffective leadership and/or indifference to EMI on the part of administrators at other schools. Since there seems to be no evidence to suggest that *most* schools involved in The Project demonstrate effective leadership in implementing BE, it might be safe and reasonable to suggest that “leadership of school administrators” might be a potential problem area for The Project’s implementation.

7.7. Measures to Motivate and Train Teachers

Measures to motivate teachers

It was found that there existed some measures to motivate BE teachers, usually in the form of granting the teachers some extra financial incentives. This finding was in agreement with what were consistently reported in the literature (e.g. Binhua WANG, 2003: 35-6; J. X. Wang, 2005: 9; Ren, 2007: 84; Sun & Yu, 2007: 89). The extra financial incentives were based on school-specific calculating systems, which varied with individual schools.

While the specific measures to motivate BE teachers varied from school to school, schools offering such measures seemed to have one thing in common: the perceived meagreness of the motivating measures by front-line teachers. As regards material incentives, the interviewed teachers unanimously indicated there was not just room but “*much* room for improvement”. This could be attributed to the teachers’ belief that the incentives received were far from commensurate with their efforts expended on BE. For instance, Teacher C2 who taught Computer to primary students,

claimed that he needed to spend at least two hours on preparing an English-medium lesson, compared with about one hour on preparing a Putonghua-medium lesson (Interview with Teacher C2, February 2008). Teacher D2, teaching Computer to senior secondary students, said that she needed one hour to prepare a Putonghua-medium instruction but as many as three to four days for an English-medium lesson (Interview with Teacher D2, January 2008). In other words, the efforts expended on BE by teachers ranged from twice to over twenty times those spent on monolingual instruction. However, more often than not they only received 10%-30% extra financial incentives for implementing EMI, compared with delivering Putonghua-medium lessons only.

Measures to train teachers

Some in-service BE-related training opportunities, local or overseas, were purveyed to selected front-line teachers based on some school-devised criteria. These opportunities were usually offered by the municipal and/or district education authorities, and sometimes by school administration. According to my interviews with teachers (Interviews with Teachers A, B, C1 & D1, January/February 2008), the content of training concerned mostly the improvement of teachers' English proficiency in general; in addition, the teachers normally did not have to pay for the local training programmes but might need to shoulder a small proportion of expenses incurred in overseas programmes; since going abroad for professional development was widely valued by teachers, despite the possibility of self-financing part of the training, they usually welcomed such opportunities. Two developments merit attention.

Firstly, the extant measures to train BE teachers focus too much on the improvement of teachers' English proficiency in general and largely ignore other more BE-specific domains (e.g. understanding of BE-related concepts and theories). This was confirmed both in my teacher interviews and in the literature (e.g. BE Research Team of Shanghai Shixi Middle School,

2008[2004]: 233; Lu *et al.*, 2008 [2006]: 330-9; Sun & Yu, 2007: 90). Similarly, Long's (2009: 159) interview with a BE teacher in Shanghai who participated in a municipal-level three-month training programme shows that "spoken English training played a major role" in the programme.

Secondly, BE-related measures to train teachers have become fewer and fewer in recent years. This in part was at least partially attributable to The Project's loss of favor in municipal policies (See Section 7.4 above). According to Teacher D2, a senior secondary school teacher of Computer, "work about training classes for BE teachers" on the school agenda was seldom mentioned at her school in recent years (Interview with Teacher D2, January 2008).

These two developments seem worrying because of many teachers' insufficient understanding of key concepts and issues involved in BE, which could even be detected amongst some BE teachers who had received some training. For example, Teacher D1, who taught Physics to senior secondary students, had been selected as a very promising BE teacher to participate in an intensive municipal-level training programme; in the interview, after he accidentally mentioned the term "immersion model (浸入式)" of BE, I asked about his understanding of this term; he said immersion model was about delivering subject content through in English "in passing (顺便教的)", which was an unfortunate misunderstanding of the well-established meaning of this type of BE (cf. Swain & Johnson, 1997); later, he equated the fact that BE was studied "as a national research project" with support from the national level, reflecting little awareness of the lack of explicit support for BE in pre-tertiary education from the state (Interview with Teacher D1, January 2008). In addition, some published articles on BE written by front-line teachers (e.g. BE Research Team of Shanghai Shixi Middle School, 2008[2004]: 231; Shanghai Fenghua Secondary School, 2005), who supposedly had a better understanding about BE given the act of producing these articles, reflected a biased knowledge of some key concepts (e.g.

transitional model of BE, see Wei, 2003 and Hu, 2007 for detailed critiques). These findings were compatible with those by Shu (2004: 91), who, based on his survey of schools in Shanghai, notes that “many people misunderstood the meaning of BE” and “lack a clear understanding of the political and social implications of BE”.

Discussion

The team head by Lu, who were responsible for running a district-level training programme for BE teachers in Shanghai, make a plea that the education authorities should design measures to motivate BE teachers (Lu *et al.*, 2008 [2006]: 346). This plea implies that the extant motivating measures may not be adequate. Furthermore, the perceived meagreness of the motivating measures by front-line teachers again attests to the inadequacy of motivating measures.

On the other hand, based on the above two worrying developments concerning measures to train BE teachers, it is safe to suggest that these measures seem inadequate, too. In fact, more rather than fewer measures to train teachers, preferably focusing on more BE-specific domains (e.g. key concepts and issues involved in BE), should be provided to facilitate their professional developments.

In a word, along the dimension of “measures to motivate and train teachers”, the situations can hardly be characterized as optimistic. Consequently, “measures to motivate and train teachers” may constitute a potential problem area for the implementation of The Project.

7.8. Scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers

At the individual school level, many schools participating in The Project claim to have conducted empirical research on some aspects of EMI. However, the reliability and/or validity of much of the research remain questionable. For instance, while there is no shortage of school-based

reports (e.g. Shanghai Datong High School, 2005; Ren, 2007) on the effects of BE, they seem to suffer from problematic attributions (e.g. some positive results ambiguously attributed to BE). When discussing the attribution issue of an evaluation report prepared by a school in Shanghai, Huang (2009: 131) rightfully points out “it was not scientific enough” for the school to attribute the increased English proficiency level among the students to EMI without addressing the effects of other factors such as “extra English learning in the form of attending extra-curricular English training classes outside school”. Teacher B, who was in charge of BE-related activities at School B and who had published a number of articles on BE, admitted that in terms of scientific studies, “teachers have not been doing very well” (Interview with Teacher B, January 2008).

As for scientific studies made possible by efforts beyond one individual school, the situation does not seem optimistic as well. Two series of published books could give some indication of the quality of this kind of scientific studies. The first consists of ten volumes published in 2004 and 2005 by Wenhui Publishing House, as a result of some coordination and guidance from the SHEC (J. X. Wang, 2005). Each volume was prepared by one school involving in The Project and was intended to be circulated as role-model research outputs for other schools. Each volume follows the same organizing pattern: a theoretical part written by Y. C. Wang, an invited external “expert”, precedes the main part, which contains mainly a collection of front-line teachers’ teaching plans and articles.

The fact that the theoretical part goes before the practice-oriented main part implies the supposedly higher quality of the former. Unfortunately, the theoretical parts of a number of volumes by Y. C. Wang suffer from some misunderstandings. For instance, Y. C. Wang, (2005: 11) treats the balance theory (cf. Baker, 1996: 145-7) in the area of bilingualism as a mature theory that can inform practice, which is far from the case. In addition, Y. C. Wang (2005: 12) asserts that “students’ L2 proficiency is determined by

their L1 proficiency, not vice versa”, without any reference to Cummins’ (1981: 29; 1999: 32) Interdependence Hypothesis which is too important to be ignored by serious researchers of BE.

The second book series consists of a number of volumes published in 2006 by Guangxi Education Press, with S. G. Yang, a researcher at the Shanghai Academy of Educational Sciences (a subordinate *danwei* under the SHEC) being the general chief editor. Similar to the first book series, each volume in the second series was also prepared by one school participating in The Project. One prominent misunderstanding in the preface to the whole book series written by S. G. Yang (2006: 4) is that he refers to the balance theory, along with the thresholds hypothesis developed by Cummins (Baker, 1996: 148-151), as one of “the nine relatively mature BE theories from abroad that have gained wide recognition”. This misunderstanding may have resulted from Yang’s overreliance on and/or a superficial reading of his consulted reference source (i.e. Binhua WANG, 2003: 49¹¹⁴), where a very similar remark of “the nine relatively mature BE theories” can be found.

Furthermore, as indicated in Section 2.3.1 of Chapter 2, some research produced by the municipal authorities (e.g. those mentioned in Zhu, 2003c) was of an in-house nature and arguably suffered from a number of limitations (e.g. unreliable causal attributions). So far, few published scientific studies conducted by municipal or district level authorities, and/or individual schools and/or teachers participating in the Project seem to have overcome the kinds of limitations discussed above. In contrast, Xi’an (the capital city of Shaanxi Province), Shanghai’s counterpart in terms of providing EMI at the pre-tertiary level¹¹⁵, has recently made a breakthrough. A scientific study evaluating the outcomes of an early English immersion

¹¹⁴ While Binhua WANG (2003: 49) also refers to the balance theory as one of “the nine relatively mature BE theories that have gained wide recognition”, based on a reading of his main text following this remark, I suggest that this reference probably resulted from “a slip of the pen” (for more, see Wei, forthcoming).

¹¹⁵ Siegel *et al.* (2009: 54-5) claims that Xi’an boasts “the longest running programme” of English immersion in China, with this kind of programmes launched in “several major cities in China in 1997”.

programme at a public school in Xi'an has been completed by experts from China and Canada, and the final report (i.e. Siegel, *et al.*, 2009) gives a detailed account of the instruments used and presents a careful discussion of the relationship between some positive effects and EMI.

Given the limitations with extant scientific studies on BE conducted in Shanghai and the breakthrough in research emerging in Shanghai's counterparts, it seems safe to call for more systematic and rigorous studies to be conducted by internal and/or external researchers in Shanghai. Accordingly, it may be safe to characterize the status quo along the dimension of "scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers" as far from assuring. In other words, this dimension might constitute a potential problem area for the implementation of The Project.

7.9. Discussion: Research Question (2c)

Research Question (2c) asks: What are the potential problem areas for the implementation of The Project *vis-à-vis* the factors identified in the second conceptual framework?

Eight factors were included in my second conceptual framework (Chapter 4). These factors have been used as dimensions to depict the current situations of The Project. It seems that "stakeholders' support" is by no means a potential problem area because an overwhelming majority of parents and students were supportive of BE (Section 7.2). Such strong support among stakeholders will facilitate the implementation of The Project.

In comparison, "outcomes of BE" may or may not hinder The Project's implementation. On the one hand, this area may exert impeding effects because, despite the parents and students' positive perceptions of the effects of EMI on English learning (Section 7.1), other more powerful stakeholder groups (e.g. administrators and policy-makers) might perceive otherwise; this is entirely possible, as indicated by the implicit stall of The Project; in

this case, the negative perceptions of “outcomes of BE” held by some policy-makers may hinder The Project’s implementation. On the other hand, this area may not exert impeding effects in that many parents and students tended to view the effects of BE as overall positive (Section 7.1); their positive perceptions are very likely to remain and exert facilitating input to the implementation of Project before some contradicting research findings (if any) are utilized to affect stakeholders’ perceptions. Hence it is reasonable to characterize “outcomes of BE” as a potential problem area.

As regards “abilities of BE teachers to conduct BE”, in which English proficiency plays a decisive role, the study has found that there existed much room for the BE teachers involved to improve their English proficiency to ensure the provision of quality BE (Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2). Considering Hu’s (2009: 51) observation of “the poor English proficiency of most ‘bilingual’ teachers” and the inadequate supply of BE teachers (Section 7.3.3), it seems safe to suggest that “abilities of BE teachers to conduct BE” constitutes a potential problem area for The Project’s implementation.

Similarly, the situations along the following five dimensions do not seem optimistic: extent of support from policies at various levels, corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation, leadership of school administrators, measures to motivate and train teachers, and scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers (Sections 7.4-7.8). In other words, these five factors may constitute the possible problem areas for The Project’s implementation.

Unless proper precautionary measures are taken (see Section 8.2 of Chapter 8), these potential problem areas may translate into a number of real problem areas that might stifle The Project in its implementation stage.

8. Coda

This chapter explores several possibilities for the future development of The Project based on findings presented in the foregoing two chapters, examines the common problem areas shared by The Project and its CLIL counterparts in an international comparative perspective, advances some suggestions for the improvement of The Project's implementation and for future research, and concludes this study with some final remarks and wider implications.

8.1. Whither The Project

8.1.1. Five Possible Scenarios

In a society where a comprehensive system of rules and procedures concerning various work situations is lacking, the “people” factor usually hold sway over policies as well as important decision-making by people in power, which equals to implicit policy. It is far from uncommon that (implicit) policy in China swings when different people assume office. Since The Project was originally promoted by the Shanghai municipal authorities, the policy changes at the municipal and the higher (i.e. national) level obviously can significantly influence the future directions of The Project under implementation.

I will discuss five possible scenarios for the future development of The Project, which depend on the likely developments in the national and municipal policy.

Scenario 1

For the first time, the Ministry of Education explicitly voices its support for Chinese-English BE at primary and secondary levels in an

official document. As a result of total dependence of and attachment to the state and the authoritarian leadership in the *danwei* system (Section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2 and Section 3.5 of Chapter 3), local educational authorities (e.g. the SHEC and district bureaus of education) then accordingly issue their respective versions of documents to reiterate and/or follow through relevant guidelines from the state, similar to their reactions to the Ministry's 2001 Document (see Section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2).

Unsurprisingly, stimulated by the policy support from various levels, The Project will soon gather new momentum and there will be a new wave of "BE craze". With more and more policy support and public attention, The Project is likely to receive more resources to tackle some of the afore-identified potential problem areas. But as more and more schools jump on the bandwagon, new problem areas might emerge.

Scenario 2

For the first time, the Ministry of Education explicitly discourages, or worse, bans Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level in a policy document. The Project, as well as virtually all Chinese-English BE programmes in basic education elsewhere in the Chinese mainland, will come to a halt.

Scenario 3A

The central government organs (e.g. the Ministry of Education) have continued to conceal their official stand regarding the provision of Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level.

The Shanghai municipal authorities start to show an explicitly unfavorable attitude towards The Project. With such attitude becoming sufficiently perceivable to subordinate *danwei* (e.g. district bureaus of education and individual schools), their remaining meager enthusiasms for and commitments to The Project will soon falter further. The Project will have no opportunity to enter its institutionalization stage and eventually come to a full stop within its implementation stage.

Scenario 3B

As in Scenario 3A, the central government organs (e.g. the Ministry of Education) have continued to conceal their official stand regarding the

provision of Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level.

The Shanghai municipal authorities implements The Project half-heartedly. Some district bureaus of education will ignore the many SHEC documents issued during The Project's hey days (viz. 2001-2005). Fortunately, a number of district authorities, still commits themselves to experimenting Chinese-English BE within their jurisdiction, thereby propelling The Project as a whole to advance towards a promising direction, albeit in small steps.

If the potential problem areas identified earlier can be effectively tackled, The Project may still have a chance to reach the juncture between the implementation and institutionalization stages.

Scenario 3C

Again as in Scenario 3A, the central government organs (e.g. the Ministry of Education) have continued to conceal their official stand regarding the provision of Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level.

But the Shanghai municipal authorities are beginning to reinstate a high level of enthusiasms for and commitments to The Project, which is comparable to that during the initiation stage (viz. 1999-2001). Consequently, a number of district bureaus of education, whose attitudes towards the implementation of The Project are lukewarm, will begin to rekindle the interest in Chinese-English BE at some schools in their jurisdiction. Some district bureaus of education, which have been quite proactive in experimenting with Chinese-English BE, will step up efforts to better the experimentation with BE. The Project as a whole will gain momentum.

With serious attention from the municipal and district authorities, more resources are likely to be channeled into The Project. Provided that the previously identified potential problem areas receive adequate precautionary measures, Shanghai will have a good chance to realize the goal of "providing BE to half a million students", albeit the realization of this goal will come years later than the SHEC's well-intentioned time-frame (viz. the end of 2010). In the not too distant future, The Project will get built in as an ongoing part of the mainstream education system of Shanghai, and continue to benefit the students in its institutionalization stage.

8.1.2. Likelihood of Individual Scenarios

I would characterize Scenario 2, the worst of the five for The Project, with “low” likelihood to happen. On the one hand, largely because of the authoritarian aspect of the leadership in a *danwei* system, the chance for Scenario 2 to happen exists; but on the other hand, the meritocratic aspect of the leadership keeps such a chance at a low likelihood level.

The likelihood of Scenario 1, the best for The Project, can be characterized as “medium”. Explicitly voicing support for Chinese-English programmes in basic education in a national policy document essentially equals to aiming at providing BE on a massive scale. When Chinese-English BE is attempted in less economically-developed regions than Shanghai, more potential problem areas in addition to those previously identified may emerge. Greater challenges will confront the central government. The national leadership would be meritocratic and well-informed enough to be aware of the challenges and hence would vacillate between explicitly voice support and otherwise before it finally comes to a decision. Hence “medium” likelihood for Scenario 1.

The likelihood of the common part, which is the central government organs’ continued concealment of their official stand regarding Chinese-English BE in basic education, of Scenarios 3A, 3B and 3C is “high”. Adopting the four-world typology¹¹⁶ suggested by the renowned Chinese economist HU Angang, Binhua WANG (2003: 17) notes that Chinese-English BE programmes cluster in the first and second worlds in China. In deed, regional disparity is high in terms of the general education condition. Concealing the official stand regarding BE at the national level means allowing some degree of flexibility in decision-making at the provincial and/or municipal levels. Therefore, the national administrative organs can exempt themselves from possible accusations based on

¹¹⁶ This typology groups regions in China into four “worlds”: the first world refers to high-income regions including Shanghai, Beijing and Shenzhen, the second world upper-medium-income regions such as some coastal cities, the third world medium-and-lower-income regions, and the fourth world the poor regions in central and western China (Binhua WANG, 2003: 16-7).

educational equality, which may diverge from the principle of “building a harmonious society” advocated by President HU Jintao, the successor to JIANG Zemin who has a Shanghai background (see Section 6.1.2 of Chapter 6).

Above all, the continued silence about BE programmes in basic education including The Project on the part of the state will continue to secure a tiny niche for the survival of such programmes. The further specific developments under the state level in Scenarios 3A, 3B and 3C are much more difficult to ascertain. However, what seems certain is that the potential problem areas identified earlier (see Section 7.9 of Chapter 7) must be addressed. The extent to which the potential problem areas receive precautionary measures virtually determines how successfully The Project is implemented (see the Section 8.2 below).

Finally, to sum up the possible scenarios: The more openly supportive the state is for Chinese-English BE in basic education, the more likely The Project is to thrive. The sooner the Shanghai municipal authorities reinstate enthusiasms for and commitments to The Project comparable to those manifested in the initiation stage of The Project, the better The Project will fare. In short, the fate of The Project will shift as the state and/or municipal leaders oscillate from more support for The Project to less.

8.2. Lessons from Other Parts of the World

8.2.1. Common Problem Areas: An International Comparative Perspective

The Project is a CLIL-type BE programme, understandably a number of its potential problem areas overlapped with those of its comparable counterparts.

For instance, in the Czech Republic, one of the “factors inhibiting general implementation” of CLIL programmes, in which the TL is a foreign

language, is a shortage of appropriately qualified teachers (Eurydice, 2006: 51). Wolff (2005: 20) goes a step further by suggesting that “lack of teachers capable of teaching CLIL professionally” as a problem area confronting more than one European country. Lin & Man (2009: 39) notes that “the professional preparation of English immersion teachers” is “an area in which much can and still needs to be done in Hong Kong”. These three factors identified in comparable contexts are very similar to the potential problem area of “abilities of teachers to conduct BE” for The Project.

In Bulgaria where “CLIL type provision focuses exclusively on foreign languages”, the education authorities have to deal with pressure from CLIL teachers who want a salary increase as well as a reduction in their teaching time (Eurydice, 2006: 54), so “measures to motivate teachers” seems to be a problem area for Bulgarian CLIL programmes, which partially overlap the potential problem area of “measures to motivate and train teachers” for The Project.

Beatens Beardsmore (2009b: 214) observes that “the problem of assessment on the language side of the equation is an important area for implementers of CLIL programmes”. This problem, which may endanger successful CLIL implementation unless properly addressed, resembles very much the possible problem area of “corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation” confronting The Project.

Furthermore, Johnstone (2007) identifies “availability of special funding” as a problem area for a CLIL programme in the U.K., which used a foreign language as a TL targeting Anglophone students; this factor overlaps, to some measure, the potential problem area of “support from policies at various levels” for The Project.

8.2.2. Learning from Comparable Contexts

Shanghai will stand to gain by learning experiences related to

addressing similar problem areas from comparable BE programmes. Since one of the primary concerns of this study was to identify potential problem areas for The Project, with providing possible remedies being a by-product, here I shall illustrate a number of directions for possible remedies, rather than attempt to provide a complete list.

In respect of the potential problem area of “support from policies at various levels”, Shanghai may absorb useful insights from research conducted in comparable contexts. For instance, Tsang (2005) illuminates the nature of the heated debates on the MoI policy targeting secondary education in Hong Kong, arguing that different stances of stakeholders are a largely a result of their language orientations. If policy makers adopted the language-as-resources orientation, as Tsang (2005: 238) does, it could be anticipated that they would devise policies to facilitate the provision of Chinese-English BE to *all* students. If policy makers adopted the language-as-problems orientation, they, like their counterparts in Hong Kong and Malaysia (Gill, 2004, cited in Tsang, 2005), would view the provision of EMI as a form of linguistic imperialism and may accordingly reject BE. It is imperative that policy makers deliberate over which type of language orientation to subscribe to before they can decide to what extent BE receives policy supports at various levels.

As noted earlier, the professional preparation of BE teachers including their English proficiency may well be a potential problem area for Chinese-English BE in Hong Kong (cf. Lin & Man, 2009: 39). As one precautionary measure to address this area, the Hong Kong government requires that EMI teachers hold Band 6 or above in the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) (academic domain), or a score of 550 or above in the paper-based Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), or other equivalent qualifications (Education Commission of Hong Kong SAR, 2005: 108-9). In order to address the potential problem areas of “abilities of teachers to conduct BE”, in which English proficiency play a

key role, Shanghai may benefit from Hong Kong's experience of specifying a benchmark for BE teachers' weaker language.

Furthermore, while teaching pedagogy, along with teachers' English proficiency and professional knowledge in content subjects, is highlighted in the provision of quality EMI by the Hong Kong government (Education Commission of Hong Kong SAR, 2005: 32), consensus does not seem to have been achieved regarding what constitute "good teaching pedagogy" for a BE teacher. While Shanghai is trying to enhance teachers' abilities to conduct BE, it may be fruitful to keep an eye on recent and/or on-going research concerning "good teaching pedagogy" in Hong Kong and other comparable contexts. Two pieces of academic work merit Shanghai's attention.

First, based on a re-analysis of the teacher's discourse data collected in the 1980s during a Science lesson at an Anglo-Chinese secondary school in Hong Kong, Lin (2009) vividly illustrates the positive role of L1 in a supposedly EMI classroom and argues for flexible use of code-switching and/or code-mixing in teaching subject matter through a foreign language. Second, in connection with CLIL involving a foreign language in Italy, Ricci Garotti (2007) poses the following questions about teaching methodology: Does bilingual education mean that the first language should have a role, as Butzkamm (2002, cited in Ricci Garotti, 2007) stated and if the answer is yes, what role is most suitable without jeopardizing the linguistic aims? According to Ricci Garotti's (2007) review, Wildhage (2002: 3) suggests the rule "as much L2 as possible, as much L1 as necessary" while Butzkamm (2002: 105) argues that the role of L1 in CLIL should be more limited but still accepted. These findings from Hong Kong and Italy may well provide useful insight about the constituents of "good teaching pedagogy", and ultimately help address the potential problem area of "teachers' abilities to conduct BE".

As regard the potential problem area of "measures to motivate and train

teachers”, Shanghai may learn from Canada. In Canada, immersion for Anglophone students experienced a near-crisis in the supply of French immersion teachers during the early 1990s. A major measure to alleviate such problem is financial incentives. Just as one ministry in Canada reports, “the province now has less difficulty because its school boards offer *very high salaries* and *excellent benefits*” (Obadia & Martin, 1995: 87, emphasis added).

Shanghai might also glean something useful from England’s attempts to resolve “national examination compatibility” (Coyle, 2007: 172), which is very similar to the potential problem area “corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation” for The Project. According to Coyle (2007: 174), Geography through French and Business Studies in Spanish were offered as an option in the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) in the U.K. but these were withdrawn after a few years; since 2005, efforts have been made to explore modular GCSE examinations for CLIL, because “in an examination-oriented and assessment-led educational system, it is of fundamental importance for CLIL to offer nationally recognised examinations in a foreign language”. England’s past experience of set back and current experience of exploring into new possibilities in national examinations might provide might be of use to Shanghai.

8.3. Limitations and Future Directions for Research

This study, albeit representing one of the first systematic efforts to understand the provision of BE as a regional-government endeavour in China, have all the usual constraints of a one-man job. In terms of sampling designs, for instance, although three types of schools, namely the first batch municipal model BE schools, the second batch, and candidates for the third batch, were covered by my samples used in the surveys with Questionnaires IIA & IIB, the grade levels involved were located primarily at the two ends of the basic education system, viz. the lower primary and senior secondary

levels; it would be useful if samples in future research cover grades at the upper primary and junior secondary levels. Another example is that while my analysis of BE teachers' English proficiency went a step further than my counterparts (Section 7.3 of Chapter 7), the generalizability of the findings was limited by the representativeness of my samples. If resources permit, more representative samples should always be employed in future research.

While I tried to examine Research Question (1) drawing on the best available data, I sometimes had to resort to heavy inference making and conjecturing in my analysis, as much of the evidence was indirect. More direct data may be available in the future as the government organs increase the transparency in their working mechanism and/or some insiders feel comfortable enough to talk about what happened prior to The Project's initiation. Just like Mr. Mr. LÜ Xingwei, who started to reveal the inside story of obtaining Shanghai's autonomy in college admission *two decades after* he had helped obtain the autonomy (Section 3.5 of Chapter 3), some years later a number of insiders may be able to provide more detailed and direct information regarding how The Project was mounted. With more relevant direct data, the tentative conclusions advanced in this study may be corroborated, modified, or falsified.

Since my investigation of Research Question (2), which covered three specific issues of The Project's outcomes, stakeholders' support, and potential problem areas confronting The Project' implementation, was *exploratory* in nature, the study may have raised more questions than it answered. As regards The Project's outcomes, the study has provided evidence of parents' and students' perceived effects of EMI on English proficiency; but effects on other areas (e.g. Chinese development and learning of non-language subjects) remain largely unexplored; future research into other areas, by means of stakeholders' perceptions and/or test instruments, will be of value for a more complete understanding of the efficacy of Chinese-English BE. In connection with potential problem areas

for The Project's implementation, the primary concern was to identify those areas, not to provide detailed remedies. A fruitful direction for future studies aiming at providing remedies is looking to comparable BE programmes outside the Chinese mainland (e.g. CLIL programmes involving a foreign MoI in the Netherlands and Germany) for experience in a more systematic fashion.

The above proposed future research directions are closely related to the lines of inquiry in this dissertation. I shall conclude this section with some other directions that are less closely related to my lines of inquiry but important within the field of BE for majority-language students, where many areas remain largely unexplored. Genesee (2004) identifies seven sets of research questions that merit future attention *vis-à-vis* BE for majority-language students. All of Genesee's proposed questions are essentially *micro-level* ones surrounding issues such as pedagogical approaches, suitable target student groups, teacher's level of target language proficiency. They are applicable to the Chinese context and merit future research efforts.

In addition, two macro-level questions are at least equally important, especially in light of the planned development of BE¹¹⁷ in *Outline of Planning for the National Mid- and Long-term Educational Reform and Development (2010-2020)* 国家中长期教育改革和发展规划纲要 (2010-2020 年) recently approved by the State Council (The Central People's Government of the PRC, 2010). First, from the perspective of language planning, can the provision of Chinese-English BE involving a foreign MoI be integrated into the strategic planning of the national educational reform and development (e.g. under the rubric of the

¹¹⁷ According to *Outline of Planning for the National Mid- and Long-term Educational Reform and Development*, teaching non-language subjects through a foreign language will be enhanced as a means to facilitate the expansion of overseas students' studying in China. In order to implement this policy document, The Ministry of Education (2010) plans to offer a certain amount of degree programmes taught through English, targeting the provision of 300 "brand-name courses" at tertiary level by the end of 2020. In these planned courses and subjects, the recipients are likely to be both the Chinese and foreign students, who will undergo some form of BE for majority-language students.

internationalization of education) so as to enhance the sustainability of BE? If yes, how? Second, how does the provision of Chinese-English BE, which exemplifies the impact of the global spread of English in expanding-circle or English-as-a-foreign-language countries, affect the global linguistic landscape, given the fact that “the story of English in China” is demographically, statistically and sociolinguistically significant (Bolton, 2008)?

8.4. Final Remarks and Wider Implications

8.4.1. Initiation of a BE Programme

This study has shown that four factors, viz. the state’s subtle approval for The Project, little exposure to English for its effective learning outside school, social demands for English skills in the local social reward system and stakeholders’ perceptions related to English learning, contributed to the initiation of The Project. These four factors may need to be present, albeit to varying degrees, in order for a BE programme promoted with local government endeavours like The Project to be initiated in other parts of the Chinese mainland.

Furthermore, the case of Guangzhou (Section 6.5 of Chapter 6) attests to the pivotal role of the state’s approval, subtle or otherwise, in initiating BE programmes like The Project. This may have some implications for the future development of a theory concerning the initiation of a BE programme for majority-language students. Although So’s (1984) study of the Hong Kong case enables him to argue that “more powerful explanations” for the provision of BE lie at *behavioral-infrastructural level* (see Section 2.1.1 of Chapter 2), this study has found a most powerful contributing factor (i.e. the state’s approval) to be at the structural level. This finding corroborates R. B. Ferguson’s (1995) insight that “the structure is the primary determinant of most process and change *outside of periods of major sociocultural*

transformation” (emphasis added) in terms of explaining cultural phenomena. Perhaps it would be beneficial for future theory development concerning the formative factors of BE to integrate research findings from polities with few *danwei* characteristics (e.g. So’s findings about Hong Kong), those from societies with strong *danwei* characteristics (e.g. findings of this study), and insights from theorists (e.g. R. B. Ferguson) not directly involved in the field of BE.

8.4.2. Implementation of a BE Programme

Through a reality check on the status quo of The Project’s implementation, the present study has shown that all eight areas examined except stakeholders’ support for BE provision might constitute potential problem areas: outcomes of The Project’s implementation, abilities of teachers to conduct bilingual education, extent of support from policies at various levels, corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation, leadership of school administrators, measures to motivate and train teachers, and scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers.

Since Shanghai is the bellwether of the development of Chinese-English BE in the pre-tertiary level in China¹¹⁸, the potential problems encountered by The Project are likely to be encountered by other regions in the Chinese mainland which are implementing or will implement their own versions of Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level. One practical implication of this study could be that if decision-makers in places outside Shanghai found too many (potential) problem areas identified in this

¹¹⁸ Shanghai is the bellwether in the sense that it boasts the most concentrated research resources in the field of BE for majority language students and pioneers the most systematic official procedures for implementing BE at the pre-tertiary level. In terms of research resources, the first university-affiliated research centre specializing in Chinese-English BE was founded in East China Normal University, the first academic journal (viz. English Teaching and Research Notes) to devote a column to this type of BE is based in Shanghai, and the bi-annual national conference on BE, the most important large-scale event for researchers of BE, has been held in Shanghai since 2004. As regards official procedures for implementing BE, for instance, as early as in October 2004, the SHEC (2004b) advances nine specific criteria for selecting model BE schools and these criteria have been adopted, with only slight modifications, by other cities (e.g. Wuxi Municipal Bureau of Education, 2007, see also Appendix 1C).

study to be surrounding their BE projects, they might like to delay the expansion of their projects and/or begin to address the problem areas with (modified) measures which could be useful in the Shanghai case.

As regards measures to minimize the impeding effects of those potential problem areas on The Project's implementation, it has been suggested that possible remedies could be borrowed from comparable BE programmes, such as EMI in Hong Kong, French immersion in Canada and CLIL programmes with a foreign MoI in some European countries including the U.K. and Germany. For instance, The Project and its counterparts outside Shanghai may need to offer competitive salaries to motivate teachers to provide quality BE; in a later stage, they might need to require a place in some high-stake examination paper for testing students' performance relevant to EMI, so as to ensure appropriate changes of mechanism of student evaluation.

International research has shown that CLIL offers cognitive advantages without hampering content learning, brings about significant L2 gains and a beneficial impact on L1 development, and helps foster positive attitudes towards language learning (see Moore, 2011; Pérez-Cañado, 2011; Coyle, Hood & Marsh, 2010 for the most updated reviews). The Project, a CLIL-type BE programme, is likely to benefit all the students involved if it can receive remedies to address the potential problem areas confronting its implementation. Similarly, the counterparts of The Project outside Shanghai, if implemented appropriately, will benefit many majority language students in China.

8.4.3. Implications for Research Policy Issues

The findings of this study have two important implications for research policy issues.

Firstly, the findings underscore the need on the part of the government to invest more resources in the research and development (R&D) of BE,

especially CLIL. Most recently, He (2011: 102) observes that “Chinese-English BE will probably continue to exist for quite some time in the mainland, but under certain conditions”. No political or other evidence so far suggests this observation will not be the case. Therefore, to maximize the possibility of achieving success in the implementation of BE programmes, it is imperative for the government to invest in R&D of BE; as a starting point, the Shanghai government may speed up establishing of the BE research centre(s), which it had failed to establish within the promised time-frame (see Section 7.4 of Chapter 7); local governments elsewhere may benefit from the Shanghai experience; the state departments (e.g. the Ministry of Education) may start to divert resources to R&D of pre-tertiary BE, as they have done with tertiary BE (see Appendix 1B) in the past decade, so that both pre-tertiary and tertiary BE can be integrated in a coherent R&D framework.

Two significant lines of research especially require the government’s R&D efforts. The first concerns the effectiveness of BE programmes, which is needed so as to “obtain continued public support for the programmes” (He, 2011: 102). While the perceptions data presented in this study (Section 7.4 of Chapter 7) shed light on the effectiveness of BE, more direct measures of the outcomes of BE programmes based on more representative student samples are needed. This can be achieved most efficiently with the support of the government, rather than efforts of individual researchers alone. The study of Tse et al. (2010) utilized two types of test instruments to evaluate English and Chinese reading attainments of over four thousand students in “66 primary schools randomly selected in Hong Kong”; evaluation studies of this scale and quality would not be possible in Shanghai or elsewhere in China without the support of the government. The second line of research pertains to constructing an EMI technology with a CLIL approach, which can provide practical principles, procedures and techniques regarding how to address potential problem areas similar to those

identified in this study (see Sections 7.3-7.8 of Chapter 7) when implementing CLIL-type BE programmes. The construction of such a technology may include an element of how to select content appropriate for EMI, so as to address the issue of “which type of content for what kind of students at which grade level(s)”. An adequate treatment of this significant research issue apparently calls for, among others, coordination from the government regarding field access to a representative sample of educational institutions at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.

Secondly, the findings indicate that an increase in synergy between language experts and content experts will produce great benefits in the training of language-teachers. It is difficult for language experts alone to shoulder the responsibility of training teachers for CLIL or EMI, because teachers may make content errors which language experts might fail to detect (see Section 7.3.2 of Chapter 7). Partially because “CLIL may prove very effective in producing proficient foreign language speakers” (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010: 374), the popularity of CLIL has been increasing across Asia, as indicated by The Asian EFL Journal’s recent plan to publish a Special Issue on “CLIL in Asian Contexts: Emerging Trends” in September, 2013. It is believed that similar potential problem areas concerning teacher training, which currently confront Shanghai (see also Section 7.7 of Chapter 7), will soon emerge in other Chinese cities or Asian regions. The sooner content experts are involved, the better CLIL programmes can be implemented to benefit the students.

Appendix 1A. Selected items regarding language use in education from four ordinances of the PRC

Law	Items (mostly) Targeted at the Han Chinese	Items (mostly) Targeted at the Ethnic Minorities
the Law of Compulsory Education (passed in 1986)	The Han language and Schools should popularize Putonghua, the common language of the country.	Schools in which the majority of the students are of ethnic minorities may use the locally common spoken and written languages as MoIs.
the Law of Education (passed in 1995)	* The spoken and written forms of the Han Chinese Language should be the basic MoIs in schools and other educational institutions. * Schools and other educational institutions should popularize Putonghua and written Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) when they perform teaching.	Schools and other educational institutions in which the majority of the students are of ethnic minorities may use the spoken and written languages of the ethnic minorities OR of the local lingua franca(s) as MoIs.
the Ordinance on the Standard Language and Writing	* The state is to popularize Putonghua and MSC. * Schools and other educational institutions should use Putonghua and	The use of spoken and written languages of ethnic minorities should abide by stipulations in the Constitution, the Law of

(passed in 2000)	written Modern Standard Chinese respectively as the basic oral and written MoIs, unless otherwise specified by laws.	Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities of PRC and other laws.
the Law of Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities ¹¹⁹ (passed in 1984)	<p>(Not applicable to areas heavily populated by the Han Chinese)</p> <p>* Organs of the self-government of national autonomous areas, in accordance with the guideline of the state on education and with the relevant stipulations of the law, shall decide on plans for the development of education in these Areas, on the establishment of various kinds of schools at different levels, and on their educational systems, curricula, the MoIs and enrolment procedures.</p> <p>* Schools in which the majority of the students are of ethnic minorities should, whenever possible, use textbooks in their own languages and use these languages as the MoIs. Classes for teaching of Han Chinese language shall be offered for senior grades of elementary school or for secondary schools to popularize Putonghua, the common language of the country.</p>	

¹¹⁹ “Regional autonomy for ethnic minorities” is guaranteed in the Constitution, which “is boasted of as the creative way for the CPC to solve the nationality problems” (Blachford, 1999: 95).

Appendix 1B. Chinese-English BE in the PRC

In the PRC, BE for minority-language students came in existence decades before BE for majority-language students that involve a foreign language. As the title of this section suggests, this section deals with Chinese-English BE in the Chinese mainland whose recipients are mostly if not all Han Chinese (i.e. the majority-language students). Readers who are interested in BE for minority-language students in China are referred to the following recent English publications, in additions to other voluminous Chinese ones: Blachford (1999), Li & Lee (2002), Dai & Cheng (2007) and Xu (2009).

Chinese-English BE at the Pre-Tertiary Level

This section will briefly delve into the development of EMI in the PRC (see Section 6.1.3 of Chapter 6 for a documentation for foreign-medium instruction in Shanghai). Due to a relaxation of and the regulations regarding school running by non-state-owned organizations, with the approval of the Shanghai authorities, Shanghai American School became the first international school in Shanghai (M. Li, 2000); in the ensuing several years, more international schools were established and a proportion of such schools, established primarily to cater for children of foreigners in Shanghai, began to enrol Chinese students. For example, Yew Chung International School of Shanghai 上海耀中国际学校, “the largest international school boasting the highest number of foreign students in Shanghai” in 1990s which “follows the prototype of EMI schools in Hong Kong” (M. Li, 2000), also enrolls Chinese students the under its “non-discriminatory policy” of student admission (e.g. regardless of “ethnic or national background”) (Yew Chung International School of Shanghai, 2009). Considering the extremely high percentage of Han people (viz. 99.38% for the latest Census) in the Shanghai population, it seems safe to say that in the early and mid 1990s

some majority-language Han students had received EMI at a number of international schools in Shanghai before The Project took off.

As of March 2005, with the approval of the Chinese educational authorities, a total of 71 international schools (e.g. Yew Chung International School of Beijing, established in 1996) were running in some other big cities in the Chinese mainland (Ministry of Education, 2005a), some of which may have provided EMI to their Han students well before the initiation of The Project, the first BE programme as a regional government endeavor primarily targeting the public sector. Although EMI for Han students in the private sector offers interesting research directions, the primary concern of this study is Chinese-English BE for Han students in the public sector.

As reported by the SHEC (2002a), some 20 schools, a significant proportion of which are state-owned public schools, were experimenting with BE on their own initiatives prior to the start of The Project. For example, Shanghai High School 上海中学 (2005) claims to have begun to “explore” Chinese-English BE in 1989 while Shanghai Datong High School 上海市大同中学 (2005) claims to have started piloting EMI in some subjects including Chemistry in 1995. These two schools became two of the first batch of 28 officially certified model BE schools.

Perhaps after some policy deliberations since 1999, The SHEC formally initiated The Project in December 2001, with the issuance of the SHEC 2001 Document marking the end of the initiation process (see Appendix 1C for details). The chronological development of The Project since the very beginning of the SHEC’s efforts in 1999 to facilitate the provision of BE is summarized in Table 1a below. As of December 2006, about 300 primary and secondary schools have participated in this city-wide project, involving around 2,900 teachers and 140,000 students (Zhu, 2007).

Table 1a Development of the Scale of The Project

As of	Amount of Schools	Amount of Teachers	Amount of Students
Dec. 2001	140	600	20,000
Dec. 2002	210	1,200	38,000
Dec. 2003	260	2,100	45,000
Dec. 2004	300	2,800	70,000
Dec. 2006	300	2,900	140,000

Source: Adapted from Zhu (2004b, 2007)

The SHEC voiced its ambitious goal of extending The Project to benefit *half a million* students (viz. slightly over 40% of the current total student population) from around 500 schools (i.e. 30% of the current total number of schools, Shanghai Municipal Statistical Bureau, 2007) to the media (*Xinwen Chenbao* [News Morning Post], 2003; Guo, 2003) and in academic reports (e.g. Zhu, 2004a). So obviously it is a piece of misinformation that “it is projected that by 2005 *most* schools in Shanghai will have been involved (in The Project)” (Hu, 2002; emphasis added).

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the number of participating schools remained the same in the years of 2005 and 2006 (i.e. some 300 schools). This is a subtle indicator to show that the SHEC is exercising greater prudence to involve more schools into The Project, which may well contradicts with Hu’s (2007: 116) prediction that “the BE craze will dissipate or even abate in the foreseeable future” (see Appendix 1D for more indicators).

Besides Shanghai, Chinese-English BE is also a regional-government endeavor respectively in Suzhou City (Suzhou Municipal Bureau of Education, 2003), Guilin City (Steering Group for BE Experiment in Guilin Municipality, 2003), Liaoning Province (Liaoning Provincial Department of Education, 2002a; 2002b) and Jiangxi Province (Jiangxi Provincial Department of Education, 2001). In actuality, there are many BE

programmes scattering in other areas in the Mainland where the provision of EMI has not yet become part of the endeavor of local educational authorities, especially in relatively prosperous cities such as Qingdao, Tianjin, Nanjing, Shenzhen and Guangzhou.

The observation by Hu (2007: 65-6) that “introduced as a reform initiative to improve the quality of ELT, BE has been controversial from the beginning” is only partially true because it applies only to BE at the pre-tertiary level. BE involving a foreign MoI (EMI included) at the tertiary level receives far less controversy in the Chinese *danwei* society probably because it has support from the state level (e.g. in the form of public documents issued by the Ministry of Education). In contrast, BE involving a foreign MoI at the pre-tertiary level has, at best, support from *local* authorities only. Although proponents of Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level (e.g. Wen, 2001; Zhu, 2004b; Qin & Tang, 2008: 202) hail it as the vanguard of ELT reform and/or a key element of quality-oriented education, its opponents (e.g. Lu, 2002; Zhang, 2002) heavily lavish criticisms on it, highlighting, *inter alia*, its purported negative effects on students and alleged lack of necessary conditions to achieve success.

Some of the ill-founded criticisms have been critically dealt with by Fang (2002) and Wei (2003). Here some space will only be devoted to the criticism regarding the legal *raison d'être* of Chinese-English BE. Professor Q. Z. Ma (cited in Tian, 2004; Peng, 2005), on various occasions have called to stop the use of English as a MoI; rejecting EMI from the perspective of “protecting national sovereignty and national security” and claiming that Chinese-English BE violates the national language law (viz. the Ordinance on the Standard Language and Writing, see Appendix 1A). A. W. Feng (2007: 276) criticizes the phenomenon that similar legal accusations against using a foreign language as a MoI have not resulted in any official response to clarify the situation as “ironic”.

But probably the authorities at the state level have never deemed it

necessary to do so simply because the laws do *not* designate Putonghua as the *sole* MoI. The relevant clauses from the Constitution and from the Law of Education in addition to the national language law referred to by Professor Ma clearly show that Putonghua and Modern Standard Chinese are respectively designated as “*jiben* 基本” or basic, rather than “sole” oral and written MoIs. All in all, using a foreign language as a MoI has never been prohibited by law. It is perfectly understandable, rather than “ironic”, that central government organs (e.g. the Ministry of Education) have not officially responded to any accusation of BE’s legal foundations, given the above clarification,

Central government organs probably deem “clarifying the situation” not only unnecessary but also undesirable, because they tend to keep their endorsement for Chinese-English BE at the pre-tertiary level *implicit*, a point I argue for in Section 6.1 of Chapter 6. Now I am turning to BE involving a foreign MoI at the tertiary level, which has fortunately enjoyed explicit endorsement from the central government.

Chinese-English BE at the Tertiary Level

In the policy document entitled *Guidelines for Strengthening Undergraduate Programmes and Enhancing the Quality of Teaching* (short as “the Ministry’s 2001 Document” in the maintext) promulgated in August 2001, the Ministry proposes “actively promoting teaching through foreign languages such as English” as one of its twelve guidelines for improving the teaching quality at undergraduate level nationwide. Under this general statement, more specifics measures are proposed:

According to the requirement that “education should face the modernization, the world and the future” and to meet the challenges from economic globalization and technological revolution, undergraduate education should create opportunities to use foreign languages such as English to teach public and major courses. Majors within the hi-tech area

such as biological technology and information technology, and majors particularly necessary for China's adaptation needed to make for its accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) such as finance and law, should take the lead and try their best to teach 5%-10% of their courses through a foreign language for the next three years to come. Those institutions and majors that do not yet have the resources to teach through a foreign language verbally may use foreign-medium teaching materials in part of courses with the oral teaching medium still being Chinese, and should implement foreign-medium instruction in a phased manner. (Ministry of Education, 2001)

The Ministry obviously expects the proposed measures be carried out in a phased manner, rather than in a *yidaoque* 一刀切 fashion (literally, imposing uniformity on all situations) as misleadingly conveyed in a number of academic works in English (e.g. Hu, 2007: 99; Davison & Trent, 2007: 200¹²⁰). The Ministry's 2001 Document is the very official document wherein the Ministry voiced its support for Chinese-English BE at the tertiary level for the first time.

The Ministry has since issued a number of documents (e.g. Ministry of Education, 2004; 2007d; 2008) to facilitate the implementation of foreign-medium instruction (EMI included) at the tertiary level. A note-worthy initiative to show the determined support of the Ministry for this kind of BE provision is that in a recent policy document, it plans to financially support the development of 500 "BE Model Courses" between

¹²⁰ Hu (2007: 99, emphasis added) asserts that "a ministerial directive required that, within 3 years, 5-10% of undergraduate courses in institutions of higher learning must be taught in English (Ministry of Education, 2001)", wherein the use of the word "must" distorts the intentions of the Ministry as reflected in the Ministry's 2001 Document. Similarly, Davison & Trent (2007, emphasis added) claims that the Ministry "demands that 5-10% of courses at each higher education institution should be taught in a foreign language", which is obviously an over-generalization of the document's requirements to "each" tertiary institution.

2007 and 2010 in a phrased manner (Ministry of Education, 2007d). As of the end of 2008, 200 courses offered in different universities nationwide have been recognized as “Model Courses” and received funding from the ministerial level (see Ministry of Education & Ministry of Finance, 2007; 2008).

As Cai (2010: 307) notes, BE at the tertiary level used to be far from common but as a result of the Ministry’s policy initiatives and individual universities’ preferential policies for English-medium teaching, BE is being implemented at a much larger scale (see also Xu, 2008 for a review). For descriptions of the actual practice of EMI for undergraduate students, readers are refer to numerous extant publications (e.g. Ning, 2003; Han & Gao, 2004; J. Y. Chen, 2005; Shen & Feng, 2005; Li, Xu & Xiong, 2006; Liu, 2007) which are almost exclusively written in Chinese except Yu’s (2008) chapter in *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*.

Appendix 1C. The Unfolding of The Project

In 1999 the SHEC proposed the strategy of “improving teaching English as a subject, experimenting with BE and exploring the teaching of non-English foreign languages (as subjects)” in its *Action Plan for Foreign Language Education Reform in Primary and Secondary Schools in Shanghai*. The proposal of this strategy in the official document marked the very beginning of SHEC’s initiation process of The Project (SHEC, 2002a).

In the *Implementation Guidelines for Enhancing the Foreign Language Teaching at Primary and Secondary Schools* drafted by a group of experts, academics and *jiaoyanyuan* commissioned by the SHEC in the autumn of 2000, the above strategy was further consolidated as a guiding principle (*zhidao fangzhen*) for improving English language teaching and implementing BE (SHEC, 2002b).

One indication that suggests the SHEC’s experimentation with Chinese-English BE has gained the support of the SHMG is shown in a public document titled *An Outline of the Action Plan for Shanghai in connection with PRC’s Entry into WTO* wherein the promotion of BE in pre-tertiary sector is listed as one of the actions that are worth considering and taking (SHMG, 2000). Two years after its proposal of the experimentation with BE, the SHEC took a series of steps to follow it through. Firstly, on 30 May 2001, it held a public meeting with leaders from key middle schools which had good records in foreign language teaching to persuade them to participate in this educational innovation (SHEC, 2002a, 2002b).

Secondly, in June of the same year, the SHEC held a “large-scale” symposium on BE at a local middle school (Zhu, 2008a: 152), which later became one of the first batch of model BE schools certified by the educational administration.

Thirdly, in August, the SHEC issued a document titled *The Tenth Five-year Plan for the Educational Enterprise in Shanghai & an Outline of Planning for 2015*, stipulating that BE in basic education be implemented during the Tenth Five-Year Plan period (SHEC, 2001a).

Fourthly, in November of 2001, another SHEC document titled *Implementation Guidelines for Improving the Foreign-language Teaching at Primary and Secondary Levels in Shanghai* (i.e. the SHEC 2001 Document referred to in the maintext) states that “implementing BE and constructing a favourable English learning environment” is one its three goals. This document announces a road map for the next couple of years: (1) Upon the commencement of the 2001-02 academic year, the experimentation with BE shall be practiced in some municipality-level key secondary schools and a small number of primary and secondary schools with better foreign-language teaching resources, and EMI should be introduced in elective courses and/or activity-oriented courses first before it is introduced in some compulsory courses; (2) Likewise, from the commencement of the 2002-03 academic year, the experimentation with BE shall be practiced in some district-/county-level key secondary schools¹²¹ and a small number of primary and secondary schools with better foreign-language teaching resources; and (3) 100 schools would be chosen as BE model schools (SHEC, 2001b; 2002a). Hopefully the above account based on the SHEC’s official documents and official website information can help make Hu’s (2002) rough description more precise that “extensive experimentation is to start in municipality-level key schools in 2001 and district-/county-level key schools in 2002”.

Most of the SHEC’s initiatives concerning BE were accorded priority in the municipal government’s *Priorities for Development in the Technology and Education Sectors in the Tenth Five-year Planning of Shanghai*, wherein the government proclaimed to “strive to provide BE to *all* primary

¹²¹ The overall qualities of such school are inferior to those of the municipality-level key schools.

and secondary schools in urban districts on an experimental basis”, which meant that “by the end of 2005 at least one non-language subject will have been taught through English or other foreign languages” (SHMG, 2002).

During the ensuing years after 2001, the SHEC issued a series of policy documents, almost on a regular basis, to promote BE and to maintain the momentum of The Project. For example, the SHEC (2004a) stated in its *Outlines of Work in the Basic Education Sector for 2004* that it planned to “complete the *Demonstration Project of the Primary and Secondary BE Schools*” within 2004. The SHEC also planned to take measures to provide an infrastructure crucial to the successful implementation of The Project by means of establishing centres respectively for BE research, BE teacher training and BE teaching materials development step by step by the end of 2005.

In October 2004, the SHEC initiated the selection of the second-batch model BE schools. In the No. 68 Document of that year, the SHEC (2004b) proposed nine specific criteria for selecting exemplary BE schools, which were later adapted by latecomer cities such as Wuxi (Wuxi Municipal Bureau of Education, 2007) that followed suit, albeit the outcomes of this selection have not yet been officially announced.

In November 2004, Shanghai Curriculum and Teaching Materials Reform Commission (SCTMRC), an organization affiliated to the SHEC, released the latest version of *Curriculum Standards for the Subject of English at Primary and Secondary Levels*, which has dictated the classroom teaching practice, the development of teaching materials, and the design of the Matriculation Examination Paper since its promulgation. The status and objectives of promoting BE are clearly articulated:

Promoting BE is an important measure in the reform of the English-language Subject at primary and secondary levels in Shanghai. It aims to concentrate the resources for English-language teaching, broaden

the channel of English-language acquisition, extend the areas for English-language learning, expand the time and space for using English, and ultimately enhance students' ability to use English (SCTMRC, 2004: 58).

Furthermore, the SHEC (2005b) reiterated its intention to expand and extend The Project in its *Supplementary Guidelines for Educational Work for the Second Half Year of 2005 in Districts and Counties of Shanghai*.

The year 2001 witnessed a number of concerted efforts to enable The Project to formally make its debut at least in the local educational circle. Understandably, Mr. P. Zhu (2008b: 176), Deputy Head of the Research Steering Group for The Project appointed by SHEC, asserts that the initiation of The Project was in the year of 2001. Furthermore, the municipal government probably based its revisions¹²² regarding the planning for BE (see SHMG, 2002) on a number of initiatives taken by the SHEC in the year 2001. So it could be argued that the end of 2001 is the end point of The Project's initiation process. Specifically, the issuance of the SHEC 2001 Document promulgated in November 2001 arguably marked the completion of the initiation of The Project.

¹²² According to the initial official parlance, the provision of BE explicitly targeted senior secondary schools (SHMG, 2000), which was probably influenced by the recommendations from a research team commissioned by the municipal government to identify requirements for building an international city (see also Section 6.1.6 of Chapter 6). Later, the target schools were revised to both primary and secondary schools (see SHMG, 2002).

Appendix 1D. The Slow-down of The Project

In this section, I will show that one important development about BE in Shanghai in recent years has been its implicit stall, which has been going on unnoticed by most if not all researchers including the most critical writers in the international academia such as Hu (2007), who believes that “the BE craze” will not abate.

First and foremost, the SHEC’s failure to accomplish its high-profile pledge of certifying 100 municipality-level model BE schools within the promised time-frame serves as the most strong indicator for such slow-down. An article (i.e. Shen, 2004) in *Shanghai Education*, an educational magazine supervised by the SHEC and known as the mouthpiece of the SHEC, reports that “by the end of 2007, the SHEC will have certified 100 municipality-level model BE schools”. Such a piece of information was also reported by a number of mainstream media in China (e.g. Xinhua Net, 2004; Southern Net, 2004; East Net, 2006). However, as of the end of July 2009, no more than 54 such model schools have been officially certified (Zhu, 2008a: 154).

Another equally important indicator is the differences between the awarding of the first batch of municipality-level model BE schools and that of the second batch. On December 1 2004, a ceremony was held by the SHEC to award the official title of “Shanghai BE Experimental School 上海市中小学双语教学实验学校” to the first batch of qualified school, which I personally attended. At the ceremony, first a number of short speeches were delivered by leaders from district and municipal levels, highlighting the importance of The Project and commending the achievements of participant schools; then 29 schools were awarded with the official titles, each receiving a steal name plate carrying the honorable title for hanging at the school gate; in addition, 33 teachers from a wide range of non-language subjects were

selected as Shanghai's model BE teachers, each granted a huge red certificate with dazzling bronze words on the cover. Furthermore, the press (e.g. the *News Evening Post*, see Xinhua Net, 2004) were invited to cover this event.

Information about these 28 schools (e.g. when they started EMI and how) was publicized on the official website of the SHEC for public scrutiny "as from the same day (i.e. December 1 2004)" (Zhu, 2008b: 177). The public's criticisms and/or objections regarding the awarding, if any, were invited. In June 2005 the SHEC specifically issued a document (viz. SHEC, 2005a) to confirm the award to 28 schools, which means that one school (viz. Shiquan Primary School) was stripped of the tentatively awarded title. The steal name plate with the name of "Shanghai BE Experimental School" is now hanging outside the gate of each of these 28 schools, proudly displaying the honorable recognition from the authorities.

In a word, the high-profile awarding of the first batch of municipality-level BE model schools involved a grand awarding ceremony, a good press coverage, an online public scrutiny period, and a confirmation in the form of a SHEC official document. In contrast, the awarding of the second batch of model schools as of May 2006, which consisted of 26 schools (Zhu, 2008a: 154), was much less high-profile: no press coverage, no online public scrutiny, and no confirmation in the form of a SHEC document. According to my field informants, only a small-scale meeting was held to announce the results of the selection of the second batch; furthermore, schools in the second batch were told *not* to hang their steal name plates outside the school gates. School B¹²³, one of the second batch of model BE schools, has not hang out the steal name plate, which is supposed to be used for the display purpose, as I personally witnessed during my several school visits in the past three years. However, I have no

¹²³ Schools A, B and C were school cites in Shanghai where *all* four kinds of major field data collection (i.e. the sociolinguistic profile questionnaire survey, group interviews with students, individual interviews with teachers, and the MoI-related questionnaire survey) were conducted. See Chapter 3 for more.

idea about the actual situations in terms of name-plate hanging with other model BE schools in the second batch because I don't have sufficient information in that regard, either from reliable informants or from other sources (e.g. the Internet, the literature¹²⁴).

A third indicator for the stall of The Project was that some schools may have trimmed down their EMI periods or classes, or simply quitted performing EMI. School A is one of the first batch of model BE schools. At School A, Teacher A is the most experienced EMI teacher, judging from the honours she received and the EMI demonstration lessons she gave over the years. However, Teacher A, with whom I've developed rapport since April 2004, honestly told me in February 2008 that she "has quitted EMI and committed myself totally to teaching English as a subject¹²⁵," due to various factors including the financial incentives rather incommensurate with the hard work required by EMI. As The Project has not yet entered the institutionalization stage, good front-line teachers such as Teacher A are the last persons that are supposed to exit the BE programme.

Since I needed more students for the group interviews than students selected from classes taught by Teacher A, I requested her to recommend to me more classes where students had experienced or were experiencing EMI. She picked a class which she believed to have undergone EMI for me, from which I selected seven students to form "Group 16", my last group for student interviews. However, it turned out right at the beginning of the interview that *all* of my Group 16 interviewees, who are outspoken and far-from-shy-before-strangers Primary 5 students (as reflected in the audio-taped record), confirmed that they had *never* received any EMI in non-language subjects at School A.

This incident then prompted me to improvise by asking a set of

¹²⁴ The first batch of 28 model BE schools are all listed in the papers by Zhu, a SHEC official and researcher (e.g. Zhu, 2008b: 177-8). However, only a partial list of four schools in the second batch is provided by Zhu (2008a: 154).

¹²⁵ Teacher A's major was a non-language subject. Her good English proficiency enables her to qualify for teaching English as a subject as well, which is far from uncommon with some proportion of BE teachers in Shanghai.

ELT-related questions so that I could make the best of interviewing at the school site. And this incident now arouses my great concern for the implementation of EMI when I am writing this draft and reflecting upon the field data: what problem areas are so predominant that they prevented good EMI teachers even at good BE schools from continuing with EMI and contributed to lack of communication between teachers purporting to be conducting EMI even at the same school?

The situations I encountered at School A may suggest that some teachers whom are actually needed most in the implementation of The Project have quitted/are dropping out. Since such case happened with a first-batch model BE school, notwithstanding the official requirement that “all certified model BE schools need further strengthen the management of the BE experiment” and the official re-appraisal arrangement¹²⁶ (i.e. SHEC, 2005a), one could not be too optimistic about situations in other more ordinary schools. So it is likely that some schools may have also trimmed down their EMI periods or classes, or even quitted EMI.

¹²⁶ According to the SHEC (2005a), all certified model BE schools not only need to submit an annual report to the SHEC in every December but also face a re-appraisal very three years; the re-appraisal results will be announced for public scrutiny and schools that fail in the re-appraisal will be stripped of the official title.

Appendix 2A. Defining Comparability

Over a decade ago, Baetens Beardsmore (1993a) already warned that “one must be extremely prudent in making comparative assessments of the outcome of different bilingual education systems”. I argue that the same could be said about comparisons in all other areas (e.g. facilitating factors for success of initiation or of implementation) besides outcomes in BE research.

When I was preparing for my doctoral candidature confirmation viva, the idea to develop a definition of comparability emerged as a result of challenges from Dr. Lornina Wong¹²⁷ and comments from Professor Hugo Baetens Beardsmore¹²⁸. Later I developed five criteria for comparability in international comparison-making in BE research, with a Chinese-English programme as a reference group, in my doctoral dissertation proposal in 2006; the idea of comparability was publicized on a wider scale in a conference paper (i.e. Wei, 2007) at a BE forum held in Shanghai in May 2007. Such a definition of comparability was refined in collaboration with my peer colleague Dr. J. H. Xiong and the revised version was formally proposed in our key-note speech at The Third National Conference on BE in April 2008, which came out months later in the form of a journal paper (viz. Wei & Xiong, 2008).

According to Wei & Xiong (2008), comparability is defined by “two premises and three dimensions”. The first premise is that students should be from the majority-language group and the second is that the country or

¹²⁷ When in my doctoral candidature confirmation viva I suggested that I would compare The Project to the BE experience from Hong Kong and Canada, Dr Wong constructively posed a question “Why don’t you include Kenya into your frame of reference?”, which prompted me to start deliberating justifications for looking to Region A rather than Region B for lessons and experience.

¹²⁸ In our email discussion, Professor Baetens Beardsmore commented that “Tanzania, Gabon, Congo, or almost anywhere in Sub-Saharan Africa where the colonial language tends to dominate in education...(are) hardly relevant to China and the models developed there are hardly examples of ‘good practice’, except for South Africa”, which led me to ponder BE in what kinds of regions are *more relevant* to that in Shanghai.

administratively-independent region concerned should have an “adequate” education system using students’ mother tongue¹²⁹ as a MoI. The three “most important” dimensions of the BE programme(s) to be compared are: (1) *the goal* (operationalized as: the extent to which the programme is oriented toward adding the target language(s) to a student’s repertoire); (2) *the sociolinguistic status of the MoIs* (operationalized as: the perceived importance respectively of the MoIs by stakeholders involved); and (3) *the profile of students* (operationalized as: the degree of homogeneity of students in terms of their home language). If a foreign BE programme is to qualify as comparable to a Chinese-English BE programme such as The Project, it must suffice the foregoing two premises; in addition, the more it is of the same nature along the above three dimensions, the more it is deemed comparable.

Lindholm-Leary (2007) seems to be the only author to have made efforts to spell out the criteria for selecting “relevant” literature from which her “effective features” of a successful BE programme are distilled. However, her criteria are not clearly articulated. With the specific purpose of comparing a BE programme in China to others outside China, I choose to employ the comparability defined by Wei & Xiong (2008) for this study.

¹²⁹ Mother tongue (MT) should be understood here as either of the two senses of “big” MT as defined by So (1998).

Appendix 2B. Philosophical Premises

Pointing out that too few doctoral-level students actively take a deep look at the belief systems that undergrid their thinking, Hatch (2002: 12) warns that “when such considerations don’t come early in the process, researchers risk producing work that lacks logical consistency at the least or flies in the face of theoretical integrity at the worst”. Philosophical premises or beliefs, be they ontological, epistemological, or methodological, guide a researcher’s actions and impinge upon various elements of any type of research design, and hence should not be neglected.

Similarly, Miles & Huberman (1994, emphasis added) in their classic works emphasize that researchers should *make* their preferences for philosophical orientation *clear*, which has been echoed in recent works (e.g. Creswell, 2003: 3, 2007: 19; Hatch, 2002: 2). Below I will briefly cover my philosophical premises in order to make explicit how they impinge upon my choices and preferences regarding elements of my research design to be discussed in the following sections. The paradigm¹³⁰ I subscribe to is one that is essentially postpositivist incorporated with four elements from pragmatism and a modified version of materialism.

Operating within postpositivism (for a good overview of key elements of this paradigm, see Creswell, 2007: 19-20 and Hatch, 2002: 13-15), overall this study necessarily tends to be reductionistic, logical, cause-and-effect oriented, deterministic based on prior theories, and emphasizing on empirical data collection through rigorous methods. For instance, my espousal of a modified version of “infrastructural

¹³⁰ As Hatch (2002: 11) rightfully points out, “paradigm” is one of those overused terms. And different authors may use different labels for the term “paradigm”: Crotty (1998) uses “philosophical assumptions, epistemologies and ontologies”, Neuman (2000, cited from Creswell, 2003: 6) “broadly conceived research methodologies”, and Creswell (2003: 6) “alternative knowledge claims”. In this study, by “paradigm” I mean “a basic set of beliefs that guide action” (Guba, 1990: 17, cf Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

determinism” (see below) are largely a result of my postpositivist orientation.

A first element borrowed from pragmatism (see Creswell, 2007: 22-3 for a good overview) and incorporated into my paradigm is the belief that it is beneficial to look to many approaches to collecting and analyzing data rather than simply subscribing to one way (e.g., either quantitative or qualitative). This paradigmatic element manifests itself in my adoption of the proposal from Merriam (1988: 2) and Yin (2003: 14) that both quantitative and qualitative data can be used in my study of the Shanghai case¹³¹.

A second borrowed element is the thesis from So’s (1984) Behavioral Infrastructuralism¹³² that social phenomena are conceived as “products of an interplay between man and society” (So, 1984: 13). According to So’s paradigm, society is conceptualized as consisting of infrastructure, structure and superstructure. So’s assumptions about man¹³³ and society (including infrastructure)¹³⁴ are adopted.

The above mentalist-interactionist element from So (1984) is related to a third borrowed element, namely R. B. Feguson’s (1995) revised version of Harris’ (1979) principle of infrastructural determinism, which deals with the dynamics among components of society in relation to the explanation for a

¹³¹ Case study should not be inappropriately equated with “qualitative methods” (Yin, 2003: xiv) or “qualitative research” (Merriam, 1988: 16) so data for case studies should not be confined to qualitative evidence only.

¹³² Behavioral Infrastructuralism, in So’s (1984: 13-17) own words, is a mentalist-interactionist “paradigm” but by Creswell’s (2007: 23) typological criteria, such a belief system is “a less philosophical” paradigm which approximates closer “interpretative communities” such as feminist theories or postmodern perspectives.

¹³³ Man takes actions as a result of their social observational learning stimulated by his or her perceptions of a pool of contingencies (i.e. consequences of actions) produced by the infrastructure in a recent history (see So, 1984: 30-3 for a model of man).

¹³⁴ So’s (1984: 26-9) model of society is largely based upon Harris’ (1979: 32-58) model but So (1984, 1987, 1989) interprets the important concept of infrastructure slightly different from Harris’s seminal definition. For example, So (1984: 45) refers to “the etic modes of production and reproduction” as “infrastructure”, which covers only part of what Harris originally deems as infrastructure that entails both etic/behavioral and emic/mental components; elsewhere So (1987; 1989) equates infrastructure with “the demographic, techno-economic and occupational structures of a society”, which is actually a simplified form of Harris’ original definition, despite his claim of using the term infrastructure “in the same sense as in Harris (1980 [1979])”. So’s (1987, 1989) succinct definition of infrastructure is adopted.

sociocultural phenomenon. Harris's (1979: 55-56) earliest version¹³⁵ of the principle of infrastructural determinism, "the primary theoretical principle of Cultural Materialism", postulates that changes in the infrastructure probabilistically determine changes in the rest of the sociocultural system. However, critiquing Harris' formulation of infrastructural determinism as ambiguous, R. B. Ferguson (1995) proposes according more attention to structural factors in explaining cultural phenomena and argues that "the structure is the primary determinant of most process and change *outside of periods of major sociocultural transformation*" (emphasis added). I accept Ferguson's reformulation of the principle of infrastructure determinism, considering that the Chinese mainland is outside periods of major sociocultural transformation (e.g. as indicated by the presence of a massive social and/or political upheaval, among others).

A fourth borrowed element is the relationship between emics and etics formulated in Cultural Materialism. In this connection, Harris (1999: 31-2) posits that "etic statements cannot be proven wrong if they do not conform to the participants' sense of what is significant, real, meaningful, or appropriate. They can only be proven wrong by the failure of empirical evidence gathered by observers to support the statements in question" while emic statements can be proven wrong by observers or outsider researchers. For Harris, etic claims to knowledge are necessarily superior to competing emic claims, which differs drastically from the emics-etics relationship in some other paradigms (e.g. constructivism). One obvious manifestation of this paradigmatic element in my study is that I solicit Shanghai teachers' input (i.e. emics) through a pre-developed interview protocol containing conceptual categories based on the second conceptual framework (see Chapter 4), rather than on the categories grounded in teachers' accounts.

Above all, in addition to major assumptions of post-positivism, I

¹³⁵ Harris's (1968: 4; 1979: 55-56; 1991: 74) own formulation of the principle of infrastructural determinism has undergone some slight modifications over a span of two decades. Please see R. B. Ferguson (1995) for an excellent summary.

believe in the following assumptions derived from elements from So's paradigm and cultural materialism: (1) society is a sociocultural system made up of infrastructure, structure and superstructure¹³⁶; (2) man takes actions as a result of their social observational learning stimulated by his or her perceptions of a pool of contingencies (i.e. consequences of actions) produced by the infrastructure *and the behavioral-structure* in a recent history; and (3) changes in the infrastructure *and/or the behavioral-structure* probabilistically determine changes in the rest of the sociocultural system.

¹³⁶ My adopted definition of infrastructure proposed by So (1987; 1989) has been advanced. Structure encompasses domestic and political economy (e.g. "education", "political organization") while superstructure consists of values, beliefs, aesthetics, philosophies, symbols, rituals, religions, and science (Harris 1979, 52-53, 58; 1987: 110).

Appendix 4A. The Largely Meritocratic Nature of the SRS in Shanghai

This appendix briefly discusses the SRS respectively in China in general and in Shanghai in particular, with a focus on the latter.

During the three decades following the founding of the PRC (i.e. 1949-1978), the SRS was almost solely based on political correctness. However, due to the profound societal transformation brought about by the Open Door policy, the SRS is turning into a largely meritocratic one. Ren (1997: 58) opines that “one can obtain more social opportunities based on his or her own knowledge, abilities and efforts” in his discussion of the mechanism of social opportunity structure in post-reform China as a whole. Actually Ren’s insight is largely applicable to the Shanghai context because Ren is a Shanghai-based scholar and at the very first page of his paper he makes explicit references to Shanghai to illustrate the great changes in the opportunity structure since the inception of the Dengist reform.

In a similar vein, based on his empirical study of the social structure and stratum of the current Shanghai society, Chou (2001: 27) concludes that the acquisition of one’s social status “mainly depends upon one’s efforts”.

Qin (2001) comments that in China, people usually needs to obtain higher education qualifications in order to enhance their upward mobility. This situation seems to be in lineage with the millennium-old practice of achieving social status by means of excelling in the national Imperial Service Entrance Examination¹³⁷. The meritocratic nature of the SRS can be reflected in the positive correlation between income level and education qualification. For instance, in the Chinese mainland in 2004, the annual

¹³⁷ The recruitment of bureaucrats for the Imperial Service through public examinations based on a traditional curriculum consisting exclusively of Classical literature can be traced back to the Sui Dynasty, 581 -618 A. D. (So, 1984: 79). This examination system was abolished in 1905.

incomes for people with primary-school education, with junior secondary education, with three-year college education, with four-year university education, and with postgraduate education were respectively 8,700, 10,246, 17,290, 22,995 and 37,880 *yuan* (Yue & Liu, 2006).

Specifically in Shanghai, some statistics (Table 4a) are indicative of the positive correlation between monthly salary and education qualification, thereby attesting to the largely meritocratic nature of the SRS in Shanghai. Most recently, based on the Survey of Attitudes and Perceptions of Citizens regarding Social Changes in Shanghai, Xia & Li (2008: 41) find that people's education qualifications correlate positively with their incomes.

Table 4a Monthly Salary of Shanghai People with Different Education

Qualifications (Yuan)		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Postgraduate degree	Doctoral	5,088	4,667	3,769	4,020	6,000	4,634
	Mater's	4,036	3,266	--	--	4,650	--
Four-year university graduates		2,568	2,526	2,262	2,317	2,567	3,000
Two-year or three-year college		1,992	2,141	1,760	1,789	1,996	2,237
Secondary polytechnic		1,605	1,386	1,400	1,486	1,707	2,013

Notes:

(1) The 2004 data are average monthly salary figures from X. P. Wang's (2005) study.

(2) The other data are monthly salary medians based on figures from the official

website of Shanghai Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau

(2004¹³⁸-2009).

The fact that higher degree holders are more likely to earn Shanghai *hukou*, which is essentially a social desideratum and a form of upward mobility, than their counterparts with lower degrees can also illustrate the largely meritocratic nature of the SRS in Shanghai. For instance, in 2005 many graduating students who obtained their degrees from universities in

¹³⁸ As from 2004, the Shanghai Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau has annually issued reports on the guiding salary for fresh graduates, wherein some information regarding the surveyed graduates' median monthly or annual salaries can be found.

Shanghai and elsewhere applied to the Shanghai authorities for local *hukou*. The success rates of applications from graduating students of doctoral, master and bachelor degrees obtained *in Shanghai* were 100%, 95.8% and 56.6% respectively. And the success rates of those from graduating students of doctoral, master and bachelor degrees obtained *in other cities* were 100%, 74.6% and 23.5% respectively (SHEC, 2006).

Furthermore, anecdotal accounts (e.g. Huang, *et. al.* 2004a, 2004b) indicative of the largely meritocratic nature of SRS in Shanghai abound. I would conclude this appendix with the words from an overseas returnee who explained why he preferred Shanghai over Beijing when he considered returning to China:

... because Beijing is a place where people tend to compare whose ranking in the civil service is higher, and whoever assumes a high ranking is powerful. In Beijing, everyone asks “what is your father’s ranking in the civil service?” I don’t have a father who assumes a position in the civil service so I won’t be going to (work in) Beijing. In contrast, the social mores in that regard in Shanghai is more acceptable 因为北京是个比官大的地方，谁的官大谁就厉害。在北京，别人都问你你老爸是当什么官的，我没有当官的爸爸，所以当然不会去北京。而在上海这种情况好一些 (quoted from Huang, *et. al.* 2004a: 9).

Appendix 5A. A Timeline of Data-collecting in the Field

Table 5a chronologically summarizes the data collecting activities in the field. The shaded parts concern interviewing activities while the rest surveying ones.

Table 5a Summary of Data-collecting in the Field

Time	Activities	No. of Participants/Respondents	No. of Schools Involved
Dec. 2004	Interview with Mr. ZHU Pu, a official-cum-researcher at the SHEC	1	N.A.
Apr. 2007	Pre-testing questionnaire draft via a focus-group interview with parents	5	1
May 2007	Pilot-testing Questionnaire I	223	4
Jun. 2007	Formal administration of the survey using Questionnaire I	260	5
Jan. 2008	Pilot-testing Questionnaire IIA	64	2
	Pilot-testing Questionnaire IIB	67	
Jan.-Feb. 2008	Formal administration of the survey using Questionnaire IIA	199	3
	Formal administration of the survey using Questionnaire IIB	196	4
Jan.-Feb. 2008	One-on-one interviews with front-line teachers	6	4
Jan.-Feb. 2008	Focus-group interviews with students	118 students from 16 groups	3

Appendix 5B. Questionnaire I

The original questionnaire is printed on the two sides of one sheet of A3-size paper.

“上海地区语言使用状况”问卷

填写说明：

1. 选择题每题只选一个答案（问题末尾有特别说明的除外），请在所选答案的编号上画圈。例如“您是在上海出生的吗”一栏中，若您在上海出生，就请在“是”字前面的编号1上画圈，即：① 是 2.不是。
2. 出现横线时，请根据具体要求在_____上填写。

一. 汉语使用

A1. 您对子女最常说哪种话（语言）？

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答

A2. 您对配偶最常说哪种话（语言）？

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答
5. 无此情况

A3. 您在本地集贸市场买东西时最常说哪种话（语言）？〔必要时可选两种〕

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答
5. 无此情况

A4. 您到本地商场超市买东西时最常说哪种话（语言）？〔必要时可选两种〕

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答
5. 无此情况

A5. 您到本地政府部门办事时最常说哪种话（语言）？〔必要时可选两种〕

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答
5. 无此情况

A6.1. 您在单位谈工作时最常说哪种话（语言）？〔必要时可选两种〕

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答

A6.2. 在工作场合，若知道对方会说上海话，您一般先使用_____ 开始交谈。

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答
5. 无此情况

A6.3. 在工作场合，若不确定对方能否说上海话，您一般先使用_____ 开始交谈。

1. 普通话
2. 上海话
3. 其它（请注明 _____）
4. 无法回答
5. 无此情况

二. 外语使用

B0. 您懂外语的情况是？（“懂”指在听、说、读、写任何一个方面）

1. 不懂外语 2. 只懂英语 3. 其它

（若选“不懂外语”，请直接跳到第三页的 B5.1；
若选其它选项，请继续回答下题（B1.1））

B1.1. 在过去的半年中，您看过英文电影吗（在家中看或在电影院看均可）？

1. 看过 2. 没看过

（若选“没看过”，请直接跳到 B2.1；若选“看过”，请继续回答 B1.2。）

B1.2. 在过去的半年中，您看的英文电影更多还是中文电影更多（在家中看或在电影院看均可）？

1. 英文电影更多 2. 中文电影更多 3. 两者差不多 4. 无此情况

B2.1 您每周阅读英文材料的情况是？（材料可以来自网上、书刊、报纸等）

1. 基本不读 2. 少于 15 分钟 3. 15-30 分钟 4. 30-60 分钟 5. 多于 60 分钟

B2.2 您每周看英语电视节目的情况是？

1. 基本不看 2. 少于 15 分钟 3. 15-30 分钟 4. 30-60 分钟 5. 多于 60 分钟

B2.3 您每周听英语广播电台的情况是？

1. 基本不听 2. 少于 15 分钟 3. 15-30 分钟 4. 30-60 分钟 5. 多于 60 分钟

B3.1 在您的工作中，您使用英语的情况是：（“使用”指在听、说、读、写任何一个方面）

1. 至少一天一次 2. 至少一周一次 3. 至少一个月一次
4. 基本不用 5. 其它（请注明 _____）

B3.2 在您的生活中，您使用英语的情况是：

1. 至少一天一次 2. 至少一周一次 3. 至少一个月一次
4. 基本不用 5. 其它（请注明 _____）

B4. 您上一次使用英语和陌生人（如街上的问路者）进行交流的时间是：

1. 在过去的一个月中 2. 在过去的半年中
3. 在过去的一年中 4. 在过去的一年中几乎没有这样的情况
5. 其它（请注明 _____）

B5.1. 您为孩子请过辅导英语的家教吗？

1. 请过 2. 没有请过

B5.2. 您的孩子上过校外的英语学习班吗？

1. 上过 2. 没有上过

B6.1 您的孩子看英语影视节目吗（如 VCD、电视节目等）？

1. 经常看 2. 有时看 3. 基本不看

B6.2 您的孩子看英语书面材料吗（如报纸、杂志）？

1. 经常看 2. 有时看 3. 基本不看

B7. 您对孩子说英语的情况是？（孩子回答时不用外语的情况也算）

1. 至少一天一次 2. 至少一周一次 3. 至少一个月一次
4. 基本不说 5. 其它（请注明 _____）

B8. 您的孩子学英语遇到的最主要的问题是什么？（可以多选）

1. 周围的人基本不用，用的机会少
2. 传统英语教学教出来的大多是“哑巴英语”或“聋子英语”
3. 教师的水平不够高（比如语音不正）
4. 和英语的接触机会太有限
5. 其它（请注明 _____）

6. 无法回答

三. 背景资料等

C1. 您是孩子的：

1. 父亲 2. 母亲 3. 其它（请注明 _____）

C2. 您的年龄：

- | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|
| 1. 30 岁及以下 | 2. 31-35 岁 | 3. 36-40 岁 |
| 4. 41—45 岁 | 5. 46-50 岁 | 6. 51 岁及以上 |

C3. 您的民族：

1. 汉族 2. 少数民族 3. 其它

C4. 您是在上海出生的吗?

1. 是 2. 不是

C5. 您的受教育程度是:

1. 中学 2. 大学 3. 硕士研究生及以上 4. 其它

C6. 您持有的居住证件种类是?

1. 上海户口 2. 上海市临时居住证 3. 上海市居住证
4. 外地户口 5. 其它 (请注明 _____)

C7. 您的职业是: (暂无工作者请根据上一份工作选择)

1. 党政机关人员 2. 各类企事业单位管理人员和办事人员
3. 专业技术人员 (科研人员、教师、医生、律师、记者、工程师、会计等)
4. 个体经营者 5. 在家负责家务 (如全职家庭主妇)
6. 其它

C8.1. 您的住房情况是:

1. 租房住 2. 有自购房 (首次买房) 3. 有自购房 (已多次买房)
4. 其它 (请注明 _____)

C8.2. 您的经常性住所位于_____ (请填写具体的上海区/县名, 如黄埔、杨浦)。

C9.1. 您认为上海的小学最好用哪 (几) 种话 (语言) 进行教学? (可多选)

1. 普通话 2. 上海话 3. 英语 4. 少数民族语言 5. 其它语言 6. 无所谓

C9.2. 您认为上海的中学最好用哪 (几) 种话 (语言) 进行教学? (可多选)

1. 普通话 2. 上海话 3. 英语 4. 少数民族语言 5. 其它语言 6. 无所谓

C10. 汉英双语教学指: 在某一或某些科目的部分或全部课时采用英语授课, 在其他课时则用汉语授课。如果校方条件具备, 您希望双语教学最早在_____ 的部分科目中开设。

1. 幼儿园 2. 小学低段 (1-3 年级) 3. 小学高段 (4-6 年级)
4. 初中 5. 高中 6. 其它 (请写明) _____

———问卷结束 谢谢合作———

———第 4 页 (共四页) ———

Below is a translated version of Questionnaire I.

Questionnaire for “Language Situation in

Shanghai” Instructions:

1. Please select **one answer only** to each question (**unless otherwise specified at the end of the question**) by **circling the number of your selected answer**. **Example:**
For the question “Were you born in Shanghai”, if you were born in Shanghai, please circle the number “1”, that is: ① Yes 2. No.
2. When there is a line “_____” for you to write in, please do so according to the specific requirement of the question concerned.

I. Chinese Language Use

A1. What vernacular (or language) do you most frequently speak to your child?

1. Putonghua
2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can’t answer

A2. What vernacular (or language) do you most frequently speak to your spouse?

1. Putonghua
2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can’t answer
5. Not applicable

A3. What vernacular (or language) do you most frequently speak in local (small and middle) markets? (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

1. Putonghua
2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can’t answer
5. Not applicable

A4. What vernacular (or language) do you most frequently speak in local supermarkets or department stores? (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

1. Putonghua
2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can’t answer
5. Not applicable

A5. What vernacular (or language) do you most frequently speak when you handle affaires with local governmental organs? (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

1. Putonghua 2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can't answer 5. Not applicable

A6.1. What vernacular (or language) do you most frequently speak when you are at work in your workplace? (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

1. Putonghua 2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can't answer

A6.2. At your workplace, **if you know your interlocutor(s) speak(s) the Shanghai Dialect**, normally you would use _____ to **start** a conversation.

1. Putonghua 2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can't answer 5. Not applicable

A6.3. At your workplace, **if you are not sure whether or not your interlocutor(s) speak(s) The Shanghai Dialect**, normally you would use _____ to **start** a conversation.

1. Putonghua 2. The Shanghai Dialect
3. Others (Please specify _____)
4. Can't answer 5. Not applicable

————Page 1 of Four Pages————

II. Foreign Language Use

B0. Do you know (a) foreign language(s)? (Your knowledge in **any one of** the aspects of listening, speaking, reading and writing a foreign language counts as “knowing”.)

1. I don't know any foreign language. 2. I know English only. 3. Others

(**If you select “I don't know any foreign language”, please jump to B5.1 on Page 3;**

If you select other choices, please go on to answer the next question (B1.1))

B1.1. In the past six months, did you watch an English movie at home or in the theatre?

1. Yes 2. No

(If your answer is “No”, please jump to B2.1; if your answer is “Yes”, please continue with B1.2.)

B1.2. In the past six months, did you watch more English movies or more Chinese movies at home or in the theatre?

1. more English movies 2. more Chinese movies
3. almost the same 4. not applicable

B2.1 How much time do you spend reading English materials (from the Internet and/or books and/or magazines and/or newspapers and/or others) **each week**?

1. almost never 2. less than 15 minutes 3. 15-30 minutes
4. 30-60 minutes 5. more than 60 minutes

B2.2 How much time do you spend watching English TV programmes **each week**?

1. almost never 2. less than 15 minutes 3. 15-30 minutes
4. 30-60 minutes 5. more than 60 minutes

B2.3 How much time do you spend listening to English radio broadcasts **each week**?

1. almost never 2. less than 15 minutes 3. 15-30 minutes
4. 30-60 minutes 5. more than 60 minutes

B3.1. 在 In your daily work, how often do you **use** English? [Listening to and/or speaking and/or reading and/or writing in English can count as “**use**”.]

1. at least once a day 2. at least once a week 3. at least once a month
4. almost never 5. Others (Please specify _____)

B3.2. As indicated above (Question **B5.1.**), with whom do you use English to communicate? (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

1. foreigners whose mother tongue is English
2. foreigners whose mother tongue is not English
3. Chinese (residents from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan included)
4. not applicable

B4. In your daily life, when was the last time you use English to communicate with

strangers (e.g. someone who ask the way) ?

1. Within the last month
2. Within the past six months
3. Within the past twelve months
4. Not in the past twelve months
5. Others (Please specify _____)

———Page 2 of Four Pages———

B5.1. Have you ever hired someone to tutor your child with his/her English?

1. Yes
2. No

B5.2. Has your child ever attended English learning classes offered by organizations other than his/her school?

1. Yes
2. No

B6.1 How frequently do you watch English programmes (e.g. VCD and/or TV programmes)?

1. often
2. sometimes
3. almost never

B6.2 How frequently does your child read English materials (from books and/or magazines and/or others)?

1. often
2. sometimes
3. almost never

B7. How often do you speak English to your child? (**The situation when the feedback from your child is NOT English also counts.**)

1. at least once a day
2. at least once a week
3. at least once a month
4. almost never
5. Others (Please specify _____)

B8. What are the major hindering factors for your child's English learning? (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

1. People around normally do not use English and there are few opportunities to use English

2. Traditional English teaching method mostly can only produce “deaf and dumb” English speakers.

3. Qualities of teachers are not high enough (e.g. teachers' pronunciations not “native” enough).

4. Opportunities of exposure to English are too limited.

5. Others (Please specify: _____)

6. Can't answer.

III. Demographic Information and etc.

C1. You are the child's:

1. Father 2. Mother 3. Others (Please specify _____)

C2. Your age is:

1. 30 or under 2. 31-35 3. 36-40
4. 41-45 5. 46-50 6. 51 or more

C3. Your ethnicity is:

1. the Han 2. Minority ethnic groups 3. Others

———Page 3 of Four Pages———

C4. Were you born in Shanghai?

1. Yes 2. No

C5. Your highest education level is:

1. Middle school 2. College 3. Postgraduate level 4. Others

C6. The residential permit you are holding is:

1. Shanghai *Hukou* 2. Shanghai Temporary Residential Permit
3. Shanghai Residential Permit 4. Non-Shanghai Hukou
5. Others (Please specify _____)

C7. Your occupation is: (For those who does not have a job **for the moment**, please select one according to your previous job.)

1. Civil servant 2. Managerial or clerical personnel in various enterprises
3. Professionals (scientific research personnel, teacher, doctor, lawyer, journalist, engineer, accountant, etc.)
4. Self-employed
5. At home in charge of domestic matters (e.g. full-time housewife)
6. Others

C8.1 The house you are (ordinarily) living in is:

1. A rented one 2. the only one that you have bought
3. one of the several you have bought
4. Others (Please specify _____)

C8.2 The district/county you **ordinarily live** in is: _____ (Please specify a name of a district/county of Shanghai, e.g. Huangpu, Yangpu) .

C9.1 In your opinion, what vernacular(s) (or language(s)) should be used to conduct instruction in primary schools in Shanghai (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Putonghua | 2. The Shanghai Dialect | 3. English |
| 4. Ethnic minority languages | 4. Others | 6. Don't care |

C9.2 In your opinion, what vernacular(s) (or language(s)) should be used to conduct instruction in secondary schools in Shanghai (**Select more than one answer if necessary**)

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Putonghua | 2. The Shanghai Dialect | 3. English |
| 4. Ethnic minority languages | 4. Others | 6. Don't care |

C10. Chinese-English Bilingual Teaching means: to teach through **English** in part or all of the lesson periods of one or more subjects, and to teach through **Chinese** in the other lesson periods. If the school has the necessary conditions, you would prefer bilingual teaching to start at _____ level the earliest in some subject(s).

1. Kindergarten 2. Lower Primary (Grades 1-3)
3. Upper Primary (Grades 4-6)
4. Junior Secondary 5. Senior Secondary
6. Others (Please specify _____)

————End of the Questionnaire Thank you!————

————Page 4 of Four Pages————

Appendix 5C. Questionnaire IIA

The original questionnaire is printed on the two sides of one sheet of A4-size paper.

双语教学调查问卷

说明:

(1) **“双语教学”**指英语科以外的科目的部分内容用英语来讲课。例如,数学科第三章的内容用英语来讲授,但其他章节的内容仍用普通话来讲授。

(2) 请在所选答案的数字编号上打勾。例子如下:

在“**您的民族:**”一题中,如果您是汉族,就请在“汉族”这一答案前面的编号1上打勾,即: ☒ 1. 汉族 2. 少数民族 3. 其它。

1. 您是否知道您孩子所在的班上有**双语教学**?

1. 知道 2. 不知道

2.1 您是否希望您孩子在下学期继续接受双语教学?

1. 很希望 2. 较希望 3. 无所谓 4. 较不希望 5. 很不希望

2.2 您觉得双语教学对您孩子的英语学习的影响是?

1. 正面影响很大 2. 正面影响较大 3. 说不清 4. 负面影响较大 5. 负面影响很大

3.1 您在2001年上海市教委推广双语教学实验之前,有没有向教育部门表达过对双语教学的需求?

1. 有 2. 没有 3. 其它 (请写明: _____)

3.2 在您认识的其他学生家长中,有没有人曾在2001年上海市教委推广双语教学实验之前向教育部门表达过对双语教学的需求?

1. 有 2. 没有 3. 其它 (请写明: _____)

4.1 您是否听说过“哑巴英语、聋子英语”的说法?

1. 听说过 2. 没有听说过

4.2 “哑巴英语、聋子英语”是对“传统英语教学模式”(即学生每周在学校上几节英语课,学生和英语的接触几乎只能局限在英语科的课堂教学中)的效果的评论。您对这一评论的看法是:

1. 很不同意 2. 较不同意 3. 说不清 4. 较同意 5. 很同意

5.1 在您目前所在的工作单位中，如果两个人其他条件相当，英语水平较好的人一般来说能否比英语水平较差的人拿到更高的薪酬？

1. 能 2. 不能 3. 说不清

5.2 根据您的估计，“两个人其他条件相当时，英语水平较好的人能比英语水平较差的人拿到更高的薪酬”这一情形是否可能出现在您最希望自己孩子将来去的工作单位里？

1. 很可能 2. 较可能 3. 说不清 4. 较不可能 5. 很不可能

6.1 您是孩子的：

1. 父亲 2. 母亲 3. 其它（请写明 _____）

6.2 您的年龄：

1. 30岁及以下 2. 31-35岁 3. 36-40岁
4. 41-45岁 5. 46-50岁 6. 51岁及以上

6.3 您的民族：

1. 汉族 2. 少数民族 3. 其它

6.4 您的受教育程度是：

1. 中学 2. 大学 3. 硕士研究生及以上 4. 其它

6.5 您的职业是：（暂无工作者请根据上一份工作选择）

1. 党政机关人员 2. 各类企事业单位管理人员和办事人员
3. 专业技术人员（科研人员、教师、医生、律师、记者、工程师、会计等）
4. 个体经营者 5. 在家负责家务（如全职家庭主妇）
6. 其它

6.6 您的住房情况是：

1. 租房住 2. 有自购房（首次买房） 3. 有自购房（已多次买房）
4. 其它（请写明 _____）

7. 您是否觉得本问卷中有些词语或句子意思不清楚或比较难懂？如果有，请在那些词句的下方用波浪线(_____)划出，或在横线上列出题目编号：_____

———问卷结束 谢谢合作———

———第2页（共2页）———

Below is a translated version of Questionnaire IIA.

Questionnaire about Bilingual Teaching

Notes:

(1) “Bilingual Teaching” means using English to teach some content from subjects other than the English subject. For example, Chapter 3 of the Mathematics subject is taught in **English** while other chapters are taught in **Putonghua**.

(2) Please tick the number of your chosen answer. Below is an example:

For the question of “Your ethnicity is: ”, if you are of the Han ethnicity, please tick the number “1” preceding the answer “the Han”, i.e.: **1. the Han** **2. Minorities** **3. Others**

1. Are you aware that there is **bilingual teaching in your child’s class?**

1. Yes 2. No

2.1 To what extent do you hope that your child continues to receive bilingual teaching next semester?

1. Very much 2. Much 3. Don’t care
4. Little 5. Very little

2.1 To what extent are you for or against the continued provision of “bilingual teaching” in your child’s class next semester?

1. Very favorable 2. Somewhat favorable 3. Indifferent
4. Somewhat unfavorable 5. Very unfavorable

2.2 How do you say about the effects of bilingual teaching on your child’s English language learning?

1. Positive effects are very much greater.
2. Positive effects are greater.
3. Can’t say.
4. Negative effects are greater.
5. Negative effects are very much greater.

3.1 Did you ever express your demand for bilingual teaching to education-related governmental organs **before** the Shanghai Education Commission started promoting the bilingual teaching experiment?

1. Yes 2. No

3. Others (Please specify: _____)

3.2 Among the other parents you know, **is there anyone** who ever expressed his/her demand for bilingual teaching to education-related governmental organs **before** the Shanghai Education Commission started promoting the bilingual teaching experiment?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Others (Please specify: _____)

4.1 Have you ever heard of the expression of “deaf and dumb English”?

1. Yes 2. No

4.2 “Deaf and dumb English” is a comment regarding the effectiveness of **“Traditional Mode of English Language Teaching”** (i.e. students have several periods of English-as-a-subject lessons per week and their exposure to English is almost exclusively confined to the classroom teaching of the English subject); this comment means that students educated by this mode cannot speak English well and have poor listening comprehension. Do you agree or disagree with this comment?

1. Strongly disagree 2. Partially disagree 3. Can't tell

4. Partially agree 5. Strongly agree

————Page 1 (Two Pages in Total)————

5.1 In your **present** work unit, can a person with better English proficiency earn a higher salary than a person with poorer or no English proficiency, all other things being equal? (If you are **temporarily** out of job, please choose according to your previous job.)

1. Yes 2. No 3. Can't tell

5.2 In the work unit where you would most like your child to work **in the future**, how likely, in your opinion, is the situation to arise in which a

person with better English proficiency can earn a higher salary than a person with poor or no English proficiency, all other things being equal?

1. Very likely 2. Quite likely 3. Can't tell
4. Quite unlikely 5. Very Unlikely

6.1 You are the child's:

1. Father 2. Mother 3. Others (Please specify _____)

6.2 Your age is:

1. 30 or below 2. 31-35 3. 36-40
4. 41-45 5. 46-50 6. 51 or above

6.3 Your ethnicity is:

1. The Han 2. Minorities 3. Others

6.4 The highest educational level you received is:

1. Secondary 2. Tertiary
3. Postgraduate or above 4. Others

6.5 Your occupation is: (If you are **temporarily** out of job, please select according to your previous job.)

1. Personnel in governmental institutions
2. Managerial or clerical personnel in various enterprises
3. Professionals (research personnel, teacher, doctor, lawyer, journalist, engineer, accountant, etc.)
4. Self-employed
5. At home in charge of domestic matters (e.g. full-time housewife)
6. Others

6.6 The house you are (ordinarily) living in is:

1. A rented one 2. the only one that you have bought
3. one of the several you have bought
4. Others (Please specify _____)

7. Do you think some words or sentences are ambiguous or hard to understand? If yes, please underline them with wavy lines (), or list the Item Number(s) here: _____

**—This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your
cooperation.—**

———Page 2 (Two Pages in Total)———

Appendix 5D. Questionnaire IIB

The original questionnaire is printed on the two sides of one sheet of A4-size paper.

英语教学调查问卷

填写说明：请在所选答案的数字编号上打勾。例子如下：

在“您的民族：”一题中，如果您是汉族，就请在“汉族”这一答案前面的编号1上打勾，即：1 汉族 2. 少数民族 3. 其它。

题号	请在表中每句话后选出一个合适的数字，表明您的 <u>同意程度</u> 。	1	2	3	4	5
	选项说明： 1= <u>很不同</u> 意 2= <u>部分不同</u> 意 3=说不清 4=部分同意 5=很同意					
1.	我重视 <u>我的孩子</u> 的英语学习。	1	2	3	4	5
2.1	英语 <u>现在</u> 对 <u>我</u> 而言是有用的。	1	2	3	4	5
2.2	英语 <u>将来</u> 对 <u>我的孩子</u> 而言是有用的。	1	2	3	4	5
3.1	除了英语，我希望 <u>我的孩子</u> <u>还能</u> 掌握一门外语（即 <u>第二外语</u> ）。	1	2	3	4	5
3.2	重视英语学习 <u>和</u> 学好汉语 <u>有冲突</u> 。	1	2	3	4	5

4.1 您是否听说过“哑巴英语、聋子英语”的说法？
1. 听说过 2. 没有听说过

4.2 “哑巴英语、聋子英语”是对“传统英语教学模式”（即学生每周在学校上几节英语课，学生和英语的接触几乎只能局限在英语科的课堂教学中）的效果的评论。您对此一评论的看法是：
1. 很不同意 2. 部分不同意 3. 说不清 4. 部分同意 5. 很同意

4.3 您听说过上海的双语教学吗？**【“双语教学”指英语科以外的科目的部分内容用英语来讲授。例如，数学科第三章的内容用英语来讲授，但其他章节的内容仍用普通话来讲授。】**
1. 听说过 2. 没听说过

4.4 您是否希望您的孩子所在的班级开展“**双语教学**”？
1. 很希望 2. 较希望 3. 无所谓 4. 较不希望 5. 很不希望

——第 1 页（共 2 页）——

5.1 在您目前所在的工作单位中，如果两个人其他条件相当，英语水平较好的人一般来说能否比英语水平较差的人拿到更高的薪酬？

1. 能 2. 不能 3. 说不清

5.2 根据您的估计，“两个人其他条件相当时，英语水平较好的人能比英语水平较差的人拿到更高的薪酬”这一情形是否可能出现在您最希望自己孩子将来去的工作单位里？

1. 很可能 2. 较可能 3. 说不清 4. 较不可能 5. 很不可能

6.1 您是孩子的：

1. 父亲 2. 母亲 3. 其它（请写明 _____）

6.2 您的年龄：

1. 30岁及以下 2. 31-35岁 3. 36-40岁
4. 41-45岁 5. 46-50岁 6. 51岁及以上

6.3 您的民族：

1. 汉族 2. 少数民族 3. 其它

6.4 您的受教育程度是：

1. 中学 2. 大学 3. 硕士研究生及以上 4. 其它

6.5 您的职业是：（**暂无**工作者请根据上一份工作选择）

1. 党政机关人员 2. 各类企事业单位管理人员和办事人员
3. 专业技术人员（科研人员、教师、医生、律师、记者、工程师、会计等）
4. 个体经营者 5. 在家负责家务（如全职家庭主妇）
6. 其它

6.6 您的住房情况是：

1. 租房住 2. 有自购房（首次买房） 3. 有自购房（已多次买房）
4. 其它（请写明 _____）

7. 您是否觉得本问卷中有些词语或句子意思不清楚或比较难懂？如果有，请在那些词句的下方用波浪线(_____)划出，或在横线上列出题目编号：_____

———问卷结束 谢谢合作———

———第 2 页（共 2 页）———

Below is a translated version of Questionnaire IIB.

Questionnaire about English Language Teaching Instruction: Please tick the number of your chosen answer. Below is an example:

For the question of “Your ethnicity is: ”, if you are of the Han ethnicity, please tick the number “1” preceding the answer “the Han”, i.e.: **1. the Han 2. Minorities 3. Others**

Question No.	In this table, please select an appropriate number at the end of each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the corresponding statement. Meaning of Each Choice: 1= strongly disagree 2= partially disagree 3= can't tell 4= partially agree 5= strongly agree					
1.	I pay a lot of attention to my child's English language learning.	1	2	3	4	5
2.1	English is useful to me nowadays.	1	2	3	4	5
2.2	English will be useful to my child in the future .	1	2	3	4	5
3.1	In addition to English, I expect my child to master one more foreign language (i.e. a second foreign language).	1	2	3	4	5
3.2	My emphasis on my child's English language learning will have negative effects on his/her Chinese learning.	1	2	3	4	5

【Items 4.1 & 4.2 are the same as items with the same numbers in Questionnaire IIA.】

4.3 Have you ever heard of bilingual teaching in Shanghai? **【“Bilingual teaching” means using English to teach some content from subjects other than the English subject. For example, Chapter 3 of the**

Mathematics subject is taught in English while other Chapters are taught in Putonghua.】

1. Yes 2. No

4.4 To what extent are you for or against the provision of “bilingual teaching” in your child’s class?

1. Very favorable 2. Somewhat favorable 3. Indifferent
4. Somewhat unfavorable 5. Very unfavorable

————Page 1 (Two Pages in Total)————

【Items 5.1 & 5.2 and those in the whole demographic information part (viz. Items 6.1-7) are the same as items with the same numbers in Questionnaire IIA.】

——This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your cooperation.——


————Page 2 (Two Pages in Total)————

Appendix 5E. Variables and Items in Questionnaires IIA & IIB


Table 5b Variable Blocks and Items of Questionnaires IIA & IIB

Block of variables	Version IIA	Version IIB
(1) Perceptions of English as a social desideratum	5.1, 5.2	Same as Version IIA Additional items: 1, 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, 3.2
(2) Demand for EMI		
Non-BE Parents' Demand for EMI	N/A	4.3, 4.4
BE Parent's Demand for EMI Continuation	1, 2.1	N/A
Input of BE Parents to the Project's Initiation	3.1, 3.2	N/A
(3) Perceived Inefficacy of "Traditional Mode of English Language Teaching"	4.1, 4.2	Same as Version IIA
(4) Perceived EMI Efficacy by BE Parents	2.2	N/A
(5) Demographic Information		
Relationship with the child	6.1	
Age	6.2	
Ethnicity	6.3	Same as Version IIA
Educational Level	6.4	IIA
Occupation	6.5	
Housing Conditions (as an indicator of SES)	6.6	

Appendix 5F. Cover Letter for Questionnaire IIA



THE HONG KONG
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY
香港理工大學



2008年夏季奥运会
2008 Summer Olympic Games
Beijing 2008
Beijing 2008

访问主席主席
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Website: www.polyu.edu.hk

访问主席主席
Prof. Poon Chung-kwong
Chair, PHSI, etc.

关于双语教学的问卷调查

尊敬的家长：

您好！

我是香港理工大学的博士研究生魏日宁。

我的博士论文研究需要了解上海地区的双语教学情况，所附问卷旨在获得这方面的信息。我非常需要您的帮助，希望您能在百忙之中抽出宝贵的几分钟，完成该问卷。

您的回答不但有助于我完成博士论文，而且还能真实反映家长对双语教学的态度，从而能作为教育部门决策的重要参考依据。

问卷采用不记名的方式。所附信封供您把填好的黄色问卷密封交回（此信不需交回）。信封的拆封仅由研究者本人进行；所有的数据仅用于科研用途。

衷心感谢您的支持与协助！

若有关于本问卷的查询，欢迎与我联系。

研究者 魏日宁 敬上
2008 年 1 月 10 日

研究者联系电话： 1379 （上海本地手机）

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〔办公电话：（852）27667538〕

Below is a translated version of the cover letter for Questionnaire IIA.

A Survey about Bilingual Education

Dear Respondent,

How do you do?

I am WEI Rining, a Phd student from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

My doctoral dissertation project needs information regarding the situations of bilingual education in Shanghai and the attached questionnaire is intended for the collection of such information. **I need your assistance very much and hope that you could spare several minutes of your previous time to complete this questionnaire.**

Your completed questionnaire can not only help me to accomplish my Phd dissertation, but also reflect the real attitudes of parents towards bilingual education so that it could provide important reference for government educational organs in their decision making.

This questionnaire is anonymous. The attached envelope is for you to seal **your filled yellow questionnaire** and return it (without this letter).

Access to the sealed envelope is restricted to **the Researcher himself** only.

All the data provided will only be used in academic studies.

Thank you very much for your support and assistance!

Should you have any enquires about this questionnaire, please feel free to contact me.

Respectfully yours

(Signature)

WEI Rining (the Researcher)

(date)

Means to contact **the Researcher** : 1316 (a Shanghai local mobile); tonydingdang@

Local Supervisor of the Researcher: Prof. QIAN Yuan-Wei, Dean of the Centre for Basic Education Development, Shanghai Normal University.

(Office Phone: (021) 64323132)

Supervisor of the Researcher: Prof. SO Wing-Cheung, Dept. of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, the Hong Kong Polytechnic University

(Office Phone: (852) 27667538)

Appendix 5G. Sample Questions for Key Informant Interview

Original questions in Chinese:

- (1) 推行双语教学初期，阻力/批评/质疑是否存在？您能说说一个使您印象深刻的、能反映阻力/批评/质疑存在的例子么？
- (2) 您认为这些质疑的源头是什么？上海教育委员会当时没有采取一些应对措施？若有，具体是什么？
- (3) 上海对实施那个宏伟的目标（即 2010 年让 50 万中小学生受惠于双语教学）有无信心？
- (4) 有传闻说上海以行政指令推进双语教学，您有什么看法？
- (5) 您觉得阻碍学校实施双语教学的最根本的因素是？
- (6) 您觉得上海系统地进行双语教学能先于深圳、广州等城市起飞，它具备了哪些独特的条件？

The translated version:

- (1) At the *initial* period of the implementation of The Project, were there any hindrance, criticism, and/or questioning? Can you give me a good example that can reflect such hindrance, criticism, and/or questioning?
- (2) What were the sources of such hindrance, criticism, and/or questioning? Did the SHEC take any counter measures at that time? If yes, what were they?
- (3) How much confidence does Shanghai have in achieving the grand goal of providing BE to half a million primary and secondary students in 2010?
- (4) It is said that Shanghai implement BE with administrative directives. What's your opinion on this?
- (5) In your opinion, what is the most profound factor that hinders the implementation of BE at school level?
- (6) What factor(s) peculiar to Shanghai enabled this city to outrun others

cities such as Shenzhen and Guangzhou to be the first to start BE as an (regional-government) organized endeavor?

Appendix 5H. Sample Questions for Student Group Interviews

Original questions in Chinese:

- (1) 在双语课上，老师用英语来讲(该校 EMI 科目名)课时，你能听懂多少？当你碰到听不懂的地方，你怎么办？
- (2) 你在双语课上说英语多，还是说汉语多？什么时候说汉语？
- (3) 开双语课的科目平时有作业吗？如果有，你觉得那些**英语**习题对你来说难吗？
- (4) 开双语课的科目的考试题目中有英语题目吗？如果有，你觉得那些**英语**考题对你来说难吗？
- (5) 你觉得双语课对你的英语成绩有什么影响？
- (6) 新学期刚开始，你希望上学期开过双语课的科目本学期继续开双语课吗？还是希望（老师把那个科目的）全部内容用普通话教？

The translated version:

- (1) At an EMI lesson, how much can you understand when the teacher teach (the name of the EMI subject concerned) content matter through English? What do you do when you have difficulty in understanding the teacher?
- (2) At an EMI lesson, do you speak more English or more Chinese? When do you speak Chinese?
- (3) Are you assigned English-medium homework in the EMI subject? If yes, how difficult do you find the English-medium homework assignments?
- (4) Does the test for the EMI subject include English-medium question items? If yes, how difficult do you find the English-medium test items?
- (5) What, in your perception, are the effects of the EMI lessons on your achievement in the subject of English?
- (6) Now you are at the beginning of this semester. Would you like to continue to receive EMI in the subject concerned? Or you would like to have the subject concerned taught entirely through Putonghua?

Appendix 5I. Sheet for Prioritizing Factors Affecting Implementation

因素影响程度赋分表

说明：

(1) 下表所列是有助于双语教学实验之推行取得成功的几个可能的因素。若有必要，您还可以增加其他因素。

(2) 请根据每个因素对推行该实验的影响程度，为它写出一个分值；分值越高，表示您认为该因素的影响越大。

(3) 每个因素的分值可以是 0—100（含 0 和 100）之间的任何一个数，但所有分值相加的总和需为 100 分。

1. 家长的支持	分值： _____
2. 学校管理者的领导	分值： _____
3. 教师进行双语教学的能力	分值： _____
4. 学生评价机制的相应转变	分值： _____
5. 对教师的激励措施和培训措施	分值： _____
6. 校内、校外研究者进行的科研	分值： _____
7. 各级政策的扶持	分值： _____
8. 其他因素（具体而言是：_____）	分值： _____
_____) 总分： 100	

Below is a translated version.

Sheet for Prioritizing Factors Affecting Implementation

Notes:

(1) In the table below are several conditions that **may** contribute to the success in the implementation of the BE experiment. If necessary, you may add in other condition(s).

(2) Please assign a score to each of the conditions based on its perceived extent to which it can influence the BE experiment; a higher score means **you deem** it of greater level of influence.

(3) The score for each condition may be any number from 0 to 100, but all scores need to add up to a **total** of 100.

1. Parental support	Score:___
2. Leadership of school administrators	Score:___
3. Abilities of teachers to conduct BE	Score:___
4. Corresponding changes of mechanism of student evaluation	Score:___
5. Measures to motivate and train teachers	Score:___
6. Scientific studies conducted by internal and/or external researchers	Score:___
7. Support from policies at various levels	Score:___
8. Other factors (please specify: _____)	Score:___
_____)	Total :
	100

Appendix 7A. Transcript Conventions

Transcript conventions are an abridged and adapted version of Dalton-Puffer (2007: xi-xii).

Identity of speakers

T	Teacher
Student A, Student B	The student named A, the student named B
Ss	Several or all students simultaneously

Characteristics of speech delivery	Example
Underlined type indicates identified linguistic reparables made by the teacher.	So she <u>give</u> you 100 <u>mark</u> .
Bold font shows material currently under discussion by the researcher.	
[...] indicates parts omitted by the researcher to make the excerpt concise.	{Turn 23 } T: [...] Look! What's this?
(()) contains comment about actions, including non-verbal actions.	Because if the tunnel is..one is bigger and <u>one</u> is small..how can a car go through? ((laughs))
.. means short pause, within or between utterances.	
Capitals indicate increased volume.	But look at them. LOOK at them.
[] contains simultaneous overlapping talk by two speakers	T: Bigger than.. [B]. Student A: [B].
= indicates latching utterance, if inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and at the beginning of the next speaker's turn, it indicates that there is no gap at all between turns.	T: But actually you know, they are the = Ss: =Same.

Appendix 7B. A Test Paper for Primary 1 Science

Below is a final-term paper from School B for the first graders who learnt part of the subject matter of Science through English for half an academic year.

2007 学年第一学期一年级双语自然考查

一、 请判断以下哪些是 living things, 在括号内打“√”: 10'



()



()



()



()



()



()



()



()

二、 帮助这些动物找妈妈, 请将妈妈和他们的孩子用线连接: 8'

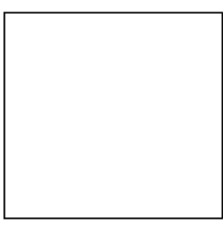
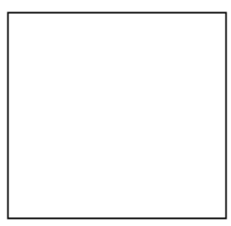


三、 根据要求画一画: 12'

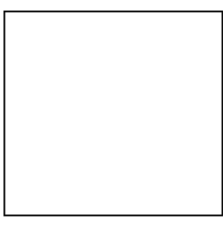
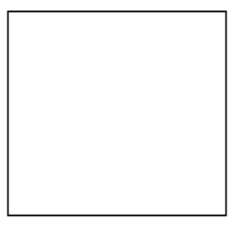
Non-living things:



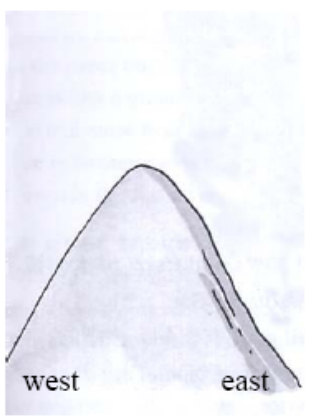
Animal world:



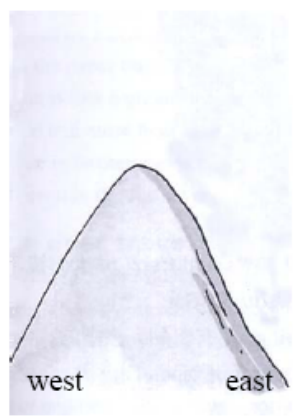
World of plants:



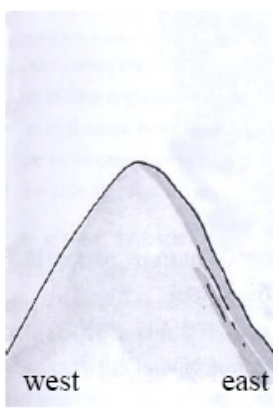
四、 根据不同的时间，画画太阳的位置： 6’



Morning



noon



evening

五、 画一画不同时候月亮的形状： 8’

1.



5th day of the lunar month

2.



9th day of the lunar month

3.



15th day of the lunar month

4.



26th day of the lunar month

六、 圈出正确的单词：6'

1. We can see the (stars/moon/sun) at noon. 我们中午能看到（星星/月亮/太阳）
2. On a (clear/cloudy) night, we can see the stars and the moon. 在（晴朗/多云）的夜晚，我们能看见星星和月亮。
3. We can (sometimes/always/never) see the sun and the moon in the sky at the same time. 我们（有时候/总是/从没）看到月亮和太阳同时出现在天空中。
4. The sun sets slowly in the west (in the morning/at noon/in the evening). 太阳在（早晨/中午/傍晚）从西方落下。

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