ENGLISH EDUCATION IN CHINA: INITIATION, EVOLUTION, AND IMPACT
A CASE STUDY OF COLLEGE ENGLISH TEST (CET-4/6) AND COLLEGE ENGLISH
EDUCATION

by

Xiaojun Jiang

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Studying in the United States had long been a beautiful dream for me, but only a dream in its literal meaning until I was inspired by a friend in 2012 to have a try. Then, after three years of preparation while working full time at a university, I received the letter of admission from the State University of New York at Buffalo in May 2015. As C. S. Lewis says, "You are never too old to set another goal or to dream a new dream," I began to set a new goal in my late thirties to pursue my Ph.D. degree in the United States. Now, this long journey is coming to a temporary end, and my dream is coming true.

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the impact of the CET-4/6 (College English Test Band Four/Six) on College English education at one university in China. It aims to explore the social contexts where CET-4/6 was initiated, used as a de facto language policy, and later dropped at this university, and investigate the impacts of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy on College English teaching and learning. The research is guided by theories of the Macroacquisition of English (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2017) and test as de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2001). While the former provides an explanatory sociohistorical and policy framework to study the evolution and trends in English education in China, the latter offers an assessment perspective to reconsider the role CET-4/6 has been playing both in educational and social domains. This research uses a qualitative approach with multiple data collection methods. Using one university context as a case study, it analyzes data from questionnaire surveys, non-participant class observations, and interviews. Specifically, it studies the perspectives of College English Department faculty members, English training institute teachers, and non-English-major college students. To provide a broader context for the study, this research also incorporates data from interviews with national policymakers and university administrators, historical documents, media reports, and online resources. Data are analyzed through the constant-comparative method (Glaser, 1965), where themes, concepts, and patterns are identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The findings indicate that the initiation of CET-4/6, the use of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy, and the drop of this policy are aligned with the general trend in English education in China. The impact of the change of policy on College English education is limited, and CET-4/6 has become a default option for college students and a part of college

life. English learning has evolved from a government campaign into a conscious act taken by individuals to achieve specific goals, during which mutual influence within distinct speech communities is playing out and exerts an ever more significant role.

This study draws a comprehensive picture of the history of CET-4/6 and English education in China. The findings could be used by policymakers, university administrators, English educators, and English learners to use as a reference to make College English education more efficient, and to address challenges that College English education is facing in the 21st century.

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CET: College English Test
CPC: Communist Part of China
CPPCC: The Chinese Political Consultative Conference
IELTS: International English Language Test System
LPP: Language Planning and Policy
NPC: the National People's Congress
PETS: Public English Test System
TOEFL: Test of English as a Foreign Language

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Latest Trends in English Education in China

The past decade has witnessed a series of policy changes and perception switches of English education in mainland China. Although the overall social environment for English learning largely remained the same, some subtle but underlying transformations had been underway for years. The followings are some of them, with the first three being the mostly-discussed proposals and the rest being policy changes:

1. To decrease the weighting of English from 150 points to 120 points in the "National College Entrance Examination" and increase the weighting of Chinese from 150 points to 180 points in the same exam (BEEA, 2013);

2. To remove English from the National College Entrance Examination (Shi, 2009);

3. To remove English from primary school curricula or reduce the number of English classes in middle school curricula (Yang, 2013);

4. The drop of a long-time policy and practice required all non-English-major college students to take and pass College English Test Band Four/Six (CET-4/6) upon graduation as a precondition to be conferred with degree diplomas (Jin, 2005);

5. The drop of a policy required all professionals to learn and pass an English test as a prerequisite to seeking higher professional ranks/titles besides meeting all other requirements (Wei & Zhuang, 2017);

6. The inclusion of traditional Chinese Classics in primary and secondary education and the inclusion of Chinese in higher education as a required course for all students (Xing, 2008);

7. The promotion of Chinese language and culture around the world through the openings of Confucius Institutes or classrooms (Zhang & Liu, 2006);

8. Encouraging international students to study in Chinese universities through the Chinese government scholarship program (Dong & Chapman, 2008; Jin, 2006).

Those proposals or policy changes were welcomed by some as a necessary means to "cool down" English education, "heat up" Chinese education, and contain the deleterious influence of English on Chinese language, culture, ideology, and socialist values (Cao, 2014; Ding, 2014; Ma, 2005; Ruan, 2009; Zhang, 2005). They were criticized by others as damage to English education in China and China's international competitiveness in this era of globalization (Cheng, 2014; Dai, 2014).

Besides those proposals or policy changes, new perceptions of English and English education were also brewing among policy-makers, scholars, and the public. The followings are some of them:

Because China had become the second-largest economy in the world, learning English was no longer as vital as it was. English might be a useful tool for learning advanced science and technology, but it is no longer urgent for Chinese to learn English as hard as before (Liao & Lin, 2009; Sheng, 2014);

Because Chinese language and culture learning had become a worldwide fashion and "Chinese fever" was emerging (Ju, 2007; Sun, 2013; Xu, 2007), the focus of Chinese language policy should be shifted from enhancing English education to the promotion of Chinese language, culture, and values around the world (Chen, 2007; Chen, 2008);

Because China was striving to rejuvenate its ancient glories where China was the

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"Celestial Empire" and all foreign people were expected to idolize and imitate Chinese language and culture, the strengthening of traditional Chinese classics education was becoming increasingly urgent. The teaching of Confucian Classics, Chinese Calligraphy, and tradition etiquettes should be added to school curricula as a mandatory subject and should be incorporated in high-stakes tests as required contents (Li, 2015; Qi, 2014);

As a world language and a de facto lingua franca, English was very important. But, it's unreasonable and unnecessary to list English as a required course of school education and ask everyone to learn English, especially non-English-major college students (Yin, 2018; Zhang, 2007), English should be learned by professionals or those who are interested;

Because the majority of people didn't have the chance to use English in their work or daily life after graduation. English should be turned from a compulsory course into an optional one or should be removed from school curricula (Hu, 2002; Cai, 2012, 2013);

The development of artificial intelligence and machine translation has made laborious English learning redundant;

After decades of English mania, English had been entrenched as a critical factor deciding an individual's upward mobility. It was becoming a competitor and a threat to Chinese language and culture (Ding, 2014; Ma, 2005). By consuming a large proportion of students' time and energy, English has become the chief culprit of the deteriorating Chinese language and culture literacy (Hou, 2005);

English was a growing threat to Chinese language, culture, ideology, and socialist values. It was dangerous to forget that English remained the primary tool of cultural aggression and penetration employed by American imperialists to strangle socialist China or switch it from

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socialism to capitalism through "Peaceful Evolution" (Cao, 2014; Shu, 2019; Zheng, 2019).

Those newly-formed perceptions of English and English education provoked various responses among the public. While some people praised those ideas as proof of China's growing power (Ai, 2013), others caution that those beliefs were detrimental to China's development (Sun, 2013).

Controversies over those proposals and policy changes continued. At the same time, there was a growing divergence of opinions on English and English education between the government and part of the public in China, with the former aiming to curb the "overheated" English education while the latter eager to spend more resources on English learning. The private English training was booming and had developed into a vast industry worth tens of billions of U.S. dollars with 300 million English learners, covering prenatal, early, primary, secondary, higher, graduate, and adult English education (He, 2019).

Those latest trends in English education called for due research into the origins of those changes and their impact on English education in China, where the country had entered "a new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics" (Xi, 2014) with a booming economy and an increasingly expanding middle-class families.

1.2 Background of the Study

The year 2017 and the year 2018 marked the 30th anniversary of the initiation of CET-4/6 and the 40th anniversary of the resumption of the College English education, respectively. College English referred to the teaching of English as a foreign language to non-English-majors at the tertiary level in mainland China. CET-4/6 was classified as a national standardized

English language proficiency test aiming to check whether requirements prescribed by the College English Curriculum have been met. Both College English and CET-4/6 were compulsory, and they had become major components of Chinese higher education, involving tens of millions of college students each year.

However, as highly controversial issues, both College English and CET-4/6 had been the focus of scholarly research and public concerns since they were resumed or initiated several decades ago. While their achievements were summarized, problems and disputes were also reported (Cai, 2006; Cai, 2012; Dai & Hu, 2009; Guo, 2017; Hu, 2009). The 40th anniversary of the restoration of College English education offered a good chance for professionals and the public to review English education problems in China, especially College English education (Cai, 2017; Gu, 2004).

College English education was praised by some for its "enormous achievements" and "meeting the needs of China's socialist economic development, diplomacy, foreign trade, military, culture, and journalism" (Hu, 2009). It was criticized by others as "time-consuming but low-efficient" (Cai, 2006; Dai, 2001; Li, 1997; Jing, 1999; Zhang & Zhao, 2017).

Chinese people have the tradition of attaching great importance to education and are well-known for their extreme diligence, and passion about English learning. However, the annual report made by EF (Education First, the world's largest ranking of countries and regions by English skill) shows that Chinese' overall English proficiency only ranked 47 among 88 non-native English speaking countries/regions in 2018.

Similarly, according to the IELTS statistics, Chinese students' mean overall band score was only 5.76 out of 9, which ranks 34 among the 40 most frequent countries/regions of origin

in 2017.

College English was highly-valued by each institution of higher education because it was classified as a basic and compulsory course for non-English-major college students. In most universities, a separate academic department called College English Department was established to undertake College English teaching tasks. Specially-designated multi-media classrooms were built to assist College English teaching/learning.

Although College English education had long been under constant reforms, criticisms were strong that it was both "time-consuming but less-efficient" and "exam-oriented" (Cen, 1999; Li, 2002; Tan, 2001). The vast discrepancy between investments and rewards had pushed college English education at a crossroads. Some scholars said College English should be further strengthened (Liu, 2012; Wang, 2002, 2011). Some claimed that they should be overhauled entirely (Cai, 2003, 2010, 2012). Still, others insisted that they should be removed from higher education (Wang, 2013).

At the same time, since the early 1990s, CET-4/6 was classified as a mandatory test by most higher education institutions. For non-English-major college students, passing CET-4/6 had been a precondition for them to obtain their degree diplomas and seek personal gains. CET-4/6 had evolved from an achievement test into a high-stake test that impacted millions of college students each year.

The links between CET-4/6 and personal gains had made it a highly controversial issue. Some scholars praised CET-4/6 as a useful tool in promoting English education in China (Jin, 2004; Yang, 1998, 2003). Others blamed it as a "baton" to College English education, the main culprit of College English being "time-consuming but less-efficient," and a major hindrance to

College English education (Cai, 2011; Li, 2002).

It is in this context that this dissertation aims to investigate the impact of English language policy on English education in China under the guidance of the theories of Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017) and test as a de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2001, 2007). Focusing on the initiation and evolution of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy, this study explores the sociopolitical contexts that brought this policy into practice and later brought it to an end. It also investigates the impact of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy on College English teaching and learning.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

There are ample studies on English education in China. Some of them concentrate on the general historical records on English education (Adamson, 2004; Dai & Hu, 2009; Feng, 2011; Fu, 1986; Lam, 2005; Li & Xu, 2006; Li, et al., 1988; Mao & Min, 2004). Some focus on general foreign language education policy (Gil, 2016; Kirkpatrick, 2016; Lu, 2011; Zhang, 2012; Zhao, 2012; Zhou & Sun, 2004). Some focus on specific English language teaching (Liu, 2007), or particular wash-back of English tests (Jin, 2014; Ren, 2011). There is a lack of studies that situate English education in its unique sociopolitical context and in the broader context of World English.

To fill this gap, I designed a qualitative case study with multiple data collection methods. It selected one specific Chinese university as the study case. It focused on the in-depth investigation of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy and the impacts of CET-4/6 on College English education at this particular university.

The primary data came from questionnaire surveys, non-participant class observations, and interviews. Other supporting data collected include historical documents, media reports, and online resources. Data were analyzed through the constant-comparative method (Glaser, 1965), where themes, concepts, and patterns are identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The theory of Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017) is a framework focusing on the mechanism of English spread through Macroacquisition. It highlights "the tangible link between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic in the form of the sociohistorical development of the speech community" (p.138). It provides an explanatory framework to explain the evolution of English education in the Chinese context where the political system is highly centralized, and the government traditionally imposes tight control over people's private life, including the teaching and learning of English. Also, this theory makes it possible to investigate linguistic issues through a sociohistorical perspective within the context of World English.

The theory of Tests as a de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2001, 2007) demonstrates that language test is more than a means to assess language knowledge, either on students' learning performance or on teachers' teaching efficiency. It is also used as a powerful tool for policy-making agencies to impose control on the whole society. It offers a fresh perspective to reconsider the roles CET-4/6 has played both in educational and social aspects.

1.4 Research Questions

Six research questions are examined to elaborate on the research purpose and guide the study:

1. In what contexts was CET-4/6 initiated by the Ministry of Education?

2. In what contexts was CET-4/6 used as a de facto language policy?

3. In what contexts was CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy dropped?

4. In what ways did this change of policy impact College English teachers' English teaching?

5. In what ways did this change of policy impact non-English-major college students' English learning?

6. What were the major factors that influenced college students to learn English?

1.5 Significance of the study

Through the collection and analysis of multiple data, this study depicts the social contexts where CET-4/6 was initiated, used as a de facto language policy, and later dropped. It demonstrates the specific impacts of this change of policy on College English teaching and learning at one university.

Besides, informed by the theories of Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017)and tests as a de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2001, 2007), this study traces and situates the development of English education in China in its sociohistorical contexts and identifies regular patterns and underlying trends out of irregular and superficial phenomena related to English education. This study displays the root of the capricious nature of English language policy-making in China through the description of the uniqueness in Chinese politics, economy, culture, ideology, and tradition.

The findings and conclusion of the study will contribute to the literature and provide a reference for policy-makers, university administrators, College English educators, and college

students in their policy-formulating or decision-making in terms of English teaching or learning. It also makes some suggestions to address the challenges that both CET-4/6 and college English education are facing in the 21st century, where a fresh sociohistorical context has presented itself.

1.6 Positionality

As the researcher of this study, I grew up and received most of my education in China. I majored in English Education and English Linguistics and had been teaching English for eleven years at a teacher's college before coming to the United States to pursue my Ph.D. degree.

My personal experiences of learning English in both China and the United States, my own experiences of teaching English to English-major and non-English-major college students, my observations, and research on CET-4/6 and College English education may influence this study in several ways.

As an English learner and educator, I encountered a lot of problems, doubts, and frustrations during my experiences of learning and teaching English in China. Those challenges made me think about the whole picture of English education in China and gave me the inspiration and interests to delve into this topic.

My personal experiences of teaching College English to non-English-majors and my own experiences of tutoring non-English-majors to prepare for CET-4/6 provided me a better understanding of this topic. They helped me to design the survey and interview questions that could elicit the best data for this study.

My experiences of studying in an American university offered me a valuable opportunity

to jump out of the "box (Chinese social context)" and to observe English education from a fresh perspective. The study of theories, including the Theory of Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017) and test as a de facto language (Shohamy, 2001, 2007), broadened my horizons and increased my options in terms of the theoretical framework. It situated CET-4/6, College English education and foreign language education policy in a broader context.

My experiences of studying in the United States mean I have access to both the Chinese and English academic database, which doubled my resources and abilities to launch comprehensive research on this topic.

The researcher studied and worked at New University, and the researcher have friendship with some of the faculty participants, but didn't know the other study participants.

It should be pointed out that, while my personal experiences and background could be a strong point for doing this research, they might exert some negative impacts on the study. The friendship with some of the faculty participants, my status as a teacher at New University might exert an impact on faculty and student participants' response. It might make the research biased in terms of data collection, data analysis, discussion of findings, and conclusion.

Summary

The development of social context in China brought about a series of language proposals, policies, and new perceptions towards English and English education. Those changes call for due research to investigate the reasons and possible impact of those policy changes on English education. Guided by the theories of "macroacquisition" (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017) and test as a de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2001, 2007), this qualitative case study aims to

investigate the social contexts that brought CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy into practice and later brought to its end. It explores the impacts of this change of policy on College English teaching and learning at one particular university.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Considerations

Although scholars vary in their opinions on theories in qualitative research, they agree that theories are an essential part of the research. According to Silvermann (2010), we need theories in our research because "any scientific finding is usually to be assessed with the theoretical perspective from which it derives and to which it may contribute" (p. 71). Anfara & Mertz (2015) think that theories are fundamentally helpful for "understanding the experienced world" (p. xv). Yin (2014) strongly recommends that researchers develop their theoretical framework as early as possible because theories can determine what kind of research questions we will ask and in what way we will analyze and interpret the data and findings.

The theories of Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017) and the observation of tests as a de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2001, 2007) act as the theoretical guidance for this study. While the former explains the mechanism of the spread of World English, the latter reveals the power of tests as de facto language policy.

2.2 World English

World English, also known as International English or Global English, refers to English as an international language (Smith, 1976) or a Global Language (Crystal, 2003). It acts as a lingua franca in science, technology, international trade, tourism, diplomacy, academic exchange, and other spheres of international events. It is the result of English spread over centuries, along with the rising of Great Britain and the United States as economic, military,

and cultural superpowers.

In this sense, World English is distinguished from the concept of World Englishes, which means an emerging localized/indigenized or non-native varieties of English. The study of World English focuses on the history and roots of English as a lingua franca, and its impacts on other languages and cultures. The study of World Englishes concentrates on identifying non-native varieties of English used in diverse sociolinguistic settings and the impacts of those social contexts on the change of English in various parts of the world.

The spread of English is captured in three Concentric Circles of the English language: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1992).

The Inner Circle refers to countries where English acts as a primary language, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Canada, and South Africa. In the Inner Circle, English is the native language or mother tongue for most people;

The Outer Circle refers to countries where English is an official language serving as a useful lingua franca between ethnic and language groups, such as Singapore, India, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Tanzania, Kenya, and Philippine. In the Outer Circle, English is usually learned as a second language after or synchronously with their native languages;

The Expanding Circle covers all the rest countries where English is neither a native nor an official language; instead, English is learned as a foreign language, mainly in classrooms, and its use is limited. Those countries include China, Russia, Japan, South Korea, Egypt, and Indonesia.

Realizing that this geographical and historical model of English spread is essentially a static one, Schneider (2007) proposes a dynamic model of English spread. It takes an

evolutionary perspective emphasizing language ecologies and incorporates sociolinguistic concepts like identity, language contact, language evolution, social relationship, code-switching, acquisition strategies, and extra-linguistic factors like historical and political events.

Those models mostly focus on the phenomenon of English spreading, not the driving forces behind it. To answer this question, Linguistic Imperialism was proposed by Phillipson (1992). Based on Imperialism Theory and Cultural Hegemony, Linguistic Imperialism claims that the spread of English is the result of imposition and oppression of the British Empire and the United States on other countries through colonization, imperialism, or globalization. Powerful organizations such as the British Council, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank play an active role in promoting English spread through their power and resources. Individuals such as English educators are accomplices of this linguistic imperialism through their teaching of English.

This explanation of English spread through Linguistic Imperialism has been critiqued by many researchers (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Canagarajah, 2000; Conrad, 1996; Davies, 1996; Rajagopalan, 1999). They disagree with the idea that an external force imposes the decisions people made on their language use; instead, they hold that, although the spread of English is determined by the overall sociopolitical context and "political factors might make groups of people within a country, or even whole countries or groups of countries, antagonistic to English" (Crystal, 2003, p. 124), people are "independent beings, capable of acting in their own best interests concerning language use" (Davies, 1996, p. 248).

Local communities adopt various strategies to "construct/express liberatory ideologies leading to their empowerment" through the learning of English, and "English education could

turn counterproductive, providing the natives' aspirations and ideals that could be used against alien domination" (Canagarajah, 2000, p. 123-124).

Based on detailed empirical study of English spread in the former British colonies in Asia and Africa in the 19th and early 20th centuries and using a "bottom-up" approach, Brutt-Griffler (2002) proposes the theory of Macroacquisition of English. It states that English has been widely spread not by the imposition of imperialist agents such as the British Council but by the will and agency of the local people who wish to gain economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) embedded in English.

She continues that "English owes its existence as a world language in large part to the struggle against imperialism, and not to imperialism alone." Non-mother tongue English speakers are not "the passive victims of Western ideological hegemony," but rather are active actors with agency and will during the development of English as a world language. As a matter of fact, "English spread appears not as the territorial expansion of the language but as second language acquisition by speech communities" (p. ix).

Besides highlighting the agency of non-mother tongue English speakers in the spread of English, Brutt-Griffler (2002) also points out that English as a world language is no longer the exclusive property of native speakers from the Inner Circle countries. Instead, it can be owned by anyone who masters and uses the English language for various reasons. "To others, English, although not their mother tongue, is nevertheless their language, an expression of their own unique identity" (p. vii).

According to Crystal (2003), "language is an immensely democratizing institution. To have learned a language is immediately to have rights in it" (p. 172). In this Global Language

System, English has become "hypercollective goods" or a profitable investment that everyone can own and invest for their benefits (Spolsky, 2004, p. 89). English is a "free and open commodity that can be molded, used and shaped in different ways and forms, according to what the user wants it to become" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 168).

In addition to the shifts of attitude toward the ownership of English, the distinctions between English as Native Language, English as a Second Language, and English as a Foreign Language are blurred. Thanks to the development of modern science and technology and the deepening of globalization, the world is becoming closely interconnected. The physical boundaries between countries/regions coming from different Circles are offset by the convenience of modern technology of communication and an emerging borderless "global village" (McLuhan, 1964).

For countries/regions from the so-called Expanding Circle, English is not only learned by children at a younger age but is used within a broader scope beyond the traditional confinement of a classroom subject. English has gradually permeated every corner of society and become ubiquitous in public signs, media, business, tourism, entertainment, and even daily conversations. Countries/regions like Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are considering making English their official second language (Jenkins, 2003).

The development of globalization and informatization promote the spread of English and the development of World English. It provides people various speech communities where people from different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds can easily communicate and interact with each through English, the de facto lingua franca.

2.3 Theory of Macroacquisition

As a framework proposed by Brutt-Griffler (2002, 2016, 2017) to theorize the mechanism of the spread of English, the construct of Macroacquisiton revises our concept and understanding of English spread by highlighting the agency and initiative of non-native English speakers and the significance of local speech communities.

According to Brutt-Griffler (2002), Macroacquisition is "the acquisition of a second language by a speech community" and "a process of social second language acquisition, the embodiment of the process of language spread and change (p. 138). Macroacquisition "conceives the tangible link between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic in the form of the sociohistorical development of the speech community" (p. 168).

In the context of World English, English has been obtained as a means to gain economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991), which is embedded in the world's econocultural system. The post-colonial spread of English is grounded in the econocultural features and the use of language to construct identity and voice (Quirk, 1988; Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

Brutt-Griffler continues that it takes the perspective of societal bilingualism and hence the speech community as a unit to acquire a language in its own sociohistorical situation. Thus, on the one hand, the spread of English is seen as part of the development of World English; on the other hand, it is facilitated by the role of English leaning and acquisition processes of the local speech communities, which produce their English language variety. Particularly, the latter is called the social acquisition of a second language to differentiate it from the individual language learning (p. 135).

Unlike individual language learning, which is confined to individual learners and lacks interactions among learners, Macroacquisition views individual learners as social and

interactive networking. Language learners not only play an active role as agents in language learning but interact with each other and exert influence on each other. This social networking or speech communities where a group of people can communicate with each other based on "*shared subjective knowledge*" (p. 142), whether they are in a physical or virtual boundary, has become the basis of English learning at the grassroots level.

The recognition of individual language learners as active agents rather than passive recipients in both language learning and language policy has great significance in understanding the spread of English. Different from previous assumptions treating local language learners as mere passive recipients of language policy, Brutt-Griffler (2002) highlights the significance of learner agency. She points out, "Speech communities are not the passive recipients of language policy that they are often implicitly assumed to be," "rather, they are active shapers of the language policy environment" (p. 63).

This agency and initiative of language learners play a significant role in the social acquisition and spread of English. They tend to group themselves in speech communities based on shared subject knowledge, either locally and physically around the neighborhood or internationally and virtually on the internet. Also, since people are prone to the influence of others near to them, the acquisition of individual learners is heavily impacted by the broader acquisition of social groups or speech communities. As Brutt-Griffler (2002) points out, "the contribution and the agency" of local language teachers and learners should not be neglected, on the contrary, those speech communities should be credited as the center of social language acquisition and spread (p. 185).

So, the major point of Brutt-Griffler's Theory of Macroacquisiton of English goes to the

fact that it acts as a bridge between linguistic phenomenon and sociohistorical context. The theory tries to explain the spread of World English, a process which she calls Macroacquisition of English in the context of sociocultural situations and historical factors. In other words, Macroacquisition makes it possible to investigate linguistic issues through a broader sociohistorical perspective, and it provides a robust explanatory framework by focusing on speech communities to explain the spread of English and English education around the whole world, including China.

Under the guidance of the Macroacquisition theory, this study situates CET-4/6 and college English education in its historical and internal sociopolitical contexts. It also puts the evolution of English education in China in an external and broader context, that is, the context of World English.

2.4 Language Policy and Planning

Language Policy and Planning, usually abbreviated to LPP, is an interdisciplinary field. It focuses on all language issues in the economy, politics, ideology, education, culture, history, sociology, law, geography, and other social aspects, aiming to deal with linguistic or extra-linguistic problems at the national, international, or community level. To make it simple, LPP can be condensed into a single question: "what actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?" (Cooper, 1989, p. 98).

LPP can be divided into: status planning, corpus planning (Kloss, 1969), and acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989). While status planning is "about uses of language," corpus planning

is "about language itself," and acquisition is "about users of language" (Ricento & Hornberger 1996, p. 403).

Those making LPP (the "who" or the "actors") consist of four categories: government departments, education agencies, other quasi-government or non-government organizations, and all kinds of different groups or individuals with authority (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 5). Those receiving LPP (the "which people" or the "targets") are mainly school students and other stakeholders.

LPP can be unpeeled like onions from the outer layer to the inner layers, or from the national and institutional layers, and to the interpersonal layer (Hornberger & Ricento, 1996). The outer layers or national layers are "the broad language policy objectives articulated in legislation or high court rulings at the national level, which may be operationalized in regulations and guidelines". The middle layers or institutional layers are the interpretation and implementation of those guidelines in institutional settings, including schools, colleges, businesses, government offices. The inner layers or interpersonal layers are the interactions among individuals from diverse backgrounds, experiences, and communities (p. 409).

LPP can be oriented in three directions: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource (Hornberger, 1994; Ruiz, 1984). The differences in orientations toward languages and their roles in society determine the nature of LPP in any particular circumstances (Ruiz, 1984, p. 15).

LPP consists of "three interrelated but independently describable components: practices, beliefs, and management." Practices "are the observable behaviors and choices---what people actually do… they constitute policy to the extent that they are regular and predictable"; beliefs

are "the values or statuses assigned to named languages, varieties, and features." Management "is the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practice or beliefs" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 4).

The practice component emphasizes the agency of language educators and learners in (re)producing language policy through instructional decisions and classroom interactions. The beliefs component highlights the importance of psychological and sociological factors in language education. The management component concentrates on "issues of curriculum design, standards, and assessment practices that collectively serve to shape the language behavior of teachers and students in foreign classrooms" (Hult, 2018, p. 42).

In the last decade, based on Critical Theory (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1972, 1979), research of Critical Language Policy (Cummins, 2000; Tollefson, 1991, 2006) are emerging, which intend to investigate the underlying sociopolitical forces that affect language policy and planning. It acknowledges that LPP usually "create and sustain various forms of social inequality and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups." It highlights the "concept of power, particularly in institutions, such as schools, involved in reproducing inequality" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 43).

Building on the Marxist notion that socioeconomic classes are fundamentally incompatible in terms of interests, Critical Language Policy views the world as consisting of the oppressing and the oppressed groups. Most LPP taken by a polity controlled by the oppressing groups serves the interests of the oppressors (Tollefson, 2006, p. 46).

The most dominant critical model in LPP has been the historical-structural approach

(Gollefson, 1991). It emphasizes that the first and foremost goal of LPP is about social change (Cooper, 1989; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971; Tollefson, 1991). "The major goal of policy research is to examine the historical basis of policies and to make explicit the mechanisms by which policy decision serve or undermine particular political and economic interests" (Toffefson, 1991, p. 32). In most political entities, LPP "is the primary mechanism for organizing, managing, and manipulating language behaviors as it consists of decisions made about languages and their uses in society (Shohamy, 2006, p. 45).

The historical-structural approach to Critical Language Policy attaches importance to the influence and role of social and historical factors on language policy and language use (Street, 1993; Tollefson, 1991, 2006). LPP doesn't operate in a vacuum. Instead, it runs within a speech community of various sizes. LPP is "ultimately about human resource development, that is, who has the right to do what to whom for what purpose" and it is critical to involve all participants in the planning to make LPP "meaningful and successful" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 303). But there is a distinction and tension between government needs and individual needs in LPP, with the former trying to maximize and maintain the ruling class's interests and the latter striving for a better economic and sociopolitical status.

Therefore, LPP is more than a linguistic problem; instead, as an element of the social superstructure, LPP is inseparable from its historical contexts (Wang, 2010). "Language and language policy both exist in… highly complex, interacting and dynamic contexts" and non-linguistic factors, including political, demographic, social, religious, cultural, psychological, bureaucratic, play a critical role in LPP (Spolsky, 2004, p. 6). As a result, the interpretation and debates on LPP "must be situated in their sociopolitical contexts" (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004, p.

3). This connection between LPP and its environment is summarized by the notion of "Language Ecology" (Haugen, 1971), meaning "the study of the interactions between any given language and its environment" (p. 19)

Situating LPP in a broader social, political, and historical context (Fishman, Ferguson, & Das Gupta, 1968), the historical-structural approach highlights the political nature of LPP and its relevance to political science and sociology (Williams, 1992). It requires researchers to "explicitly acknowledge their role in shaping the discussion of policy alternatives" (Tollefson, 2009, p. 49).

For Critical Language Policy research, power is another prominent factor in the policy-making process (Bourdieu, 1991). There is "an awareness of and interest in the operation of power in decision-making relating to languages, whether on the part of individuals, families, groups, states, regions, or super-national bodies, such as the European Union" (Ricento, 2006, p. 18). It intends to change the focus of "the state as an intentional actor that seeks to impose its will on the people and instead draw our attention to much more localized and often contradictory operations of power" (Pennycook, 2006, p. 65).

Critical Language Policy research highlights the dynamic relationships between social structures and individual agency (Pederson, 2002). Structural categories, particularly class, race, and gender, are also "central explanatory factors in all social life" (Tollefson, 2006, p.44).

Critical Language Policy also reveals the existence of invisible or covert ideologies and hegemonic practices in LPP which intends to keep power in the hands of the few, for instance, by keeping English out of the reach of the poor (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Ranmanathan, 1999), or manipulating the state ideology (Shohamy, 2001). At the same time, ethnolinguistic minorities

or language learners may seek to maintain their vernacular languages or acquire a dominant language, such as English, to resist or challenge this hegemonic practice and sustain their identities or to empower them to fight for greater social justice (Baugh, 2000; Canagarajah, 1999; Willis, 1997).

The study of LPP should not be limited to formal, declared, overt and official policies; instead, attention should be paid to informal, hidden, covert, but powerful policies and practice that act as de facto language policies, including the use of tests (Shohamy, 2006).

Apart from three main perspectives in LPP, that is, a legal one, a cultural one, and an educational one, economic considerations in LPP has emerged in the last few decades aiming to investigate the relationship between language variables and economic variables (Grin, 1996, 2006; Grin & Vaillancourt, 1997). This economic consideration in LPP provides a new perspective in explaining the spread of a particular language, such as English, around the world. It's not an imperialist imposition, but economic stimulation that drives people to learn English, based on the fact that English has grown a world language, a lingua franca, and a language for science, technology, and international communication (Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

Traditional LPP is usually conducted in a "top-down" approach or at a macro level, focusing on the decisive role of language policymakers, usually government departments with power/authority. It ignores the agency of targets of LPP and seeks little or no consultation with the targeted groups of language policies, or the ultimate language learners or users (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 55).

Those traditional researches on LPP have been critiqued for their exclusive focus on language planning conducted by governing states, their subjugation to structural or positivistic

epistemologies, and their disregard of the socio-political context LPP takes place (Johson, 2009).

But an increasing number of Critical Language Policy research has been done in a "bottom-up" approach or at the micro-level to highlight the roles of grassroots organizations and individuals who have been playing in the making and implementation of LPP. The domains of LPP has been extended from traditional polities (nations, states, and regions), to social organizations, workplace, communities, churches, schools, families, and public spaces and super-national organizations (Spolsky, 2004, p. 40).

Everyone who is targeted by LPP should have a significant role in policy-making. Everyone has a stake in language policies, "since they have a direct bearing on our place in society and what we might (or might not) be able to achieve." Organizations like "schools, the workplace, the neighborhood, families - all are sites where language policies determine or influence what language(s) we will speak, whether our language is "good/acceptable" or "bad/unacceptable" for particular purposes, including careers, marriage, social advancement, and so on" (Ricento, 2006, p. 21).

Schools, universities, and other educational institutions are the primary sites where LPP is implemented. Language policy in this domain is usually called Language Education Policy. It is viewed as "a form of imposition and manipulation of language policy as it used by those in authority to turn ideology into practice through formal education" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 76).

Consequently, more and more attention is also paid to the significance of teachers and other educational personnel as language policy actors (Hornberger, 1989; Johnson, 2013; Menken & Garcia, 2010; Shohamy, 2006) and the agency of language learners in their decisions

of language learning (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Canagarajah, 2002; Davis, 1999; Freeman, 1998, 2004; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

For Shohamy (2006), language teachers should not view themselves as "just teaching languages" or bureaucrats or servants of educational system who carry out the policy orders and perpetuate the status quo; instead, they should be aware of their critical role as the ultimate language policy implementers in the classrooms and take an activist role to promote a more democratic and inclusive LPP (p.160).

Hult (2018) also holds that foreign language educators may "formally engage with policies when interpreting local or state curricular documents to create syllabi and lessons for their classes" and "make numerous decisions in their day-to-day practice that can be usefully understood through the lens of language policy." At the same time, teachers "may also engage informally with language policy by making regular and predictable language choices that create norms in their classrooms" (p. 39).

The significance of language learner agency is also increasingly acknowledged. According to Bandura (1997), learner agency is "the power to originate actions for given purpose" (p. 3), it is "the capability of individual human beings to make choices and to act on these choices in ways that make a difference in their lives" (Martin, 2004, p. 135). Language learners are not passive and powerless in their learning of languages. Although their options might be limited in the classroom, their agency and language learning initiative still play an significant role in LPP outside the classrooms.

Similarly, with increasing significance attached to families, a new field of LPP is emerging, which is called Family Language Policy. It is the "explicit and overt planning about language

use within the home among family members," and it "provides an integrated overview of research on how languages are managed, learned, and negotiated within families" (King, et al., 2008, p. 1). It highlights the significant role family has played as grassroots organizations in their children's acquisition of a particular language, the shaping of their children's language ideologies, and the maintenance of minority languages (King, et al., 2008).

Apart from those conventional sites targeted by LPP, public space is also becoming a primary focus of LPP, and a new Linguistic Landscape (LL) field is emerging. According to Garcia (2010), Linguistic Landscape refers to "linguistic objects that mark the public space, i.e., inscriptions - or LL items - includes any written sign found outside private homes, from road signs to names of streets, shops, and schools." The study of Linguistic Landscape "focuses on analyzing these items according to the language utilized, their relative saliency, syntactic or semantic aspects" (p. xiv).

The language of a particular polity or ethnic group is often "a symbol of its identity and allegiance, and an embodiment of its values, culture, and traditions." Therefore, decisions on the medium of instruction are "the most powerful means of maintaining and revitalizing a language and a culture." It is "a key means of power (re)distribution and social (re)construction, as well as a key arena in which political conflicts among countries and ethnolinguistic, social and political groups are realized" (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004, p. 2).

Spolsky (2004) holds the same idea that the most fundamental issue in language education policy is the choice of medium of instruction. While using the target language as much as possible is much preferable, increasing attention has been given to the potential pedagogical advantages of employing students' full linguistic repertoires to facilitate their learning and use

of target languages (St. John, 2010).

One of the demonstrations of this trend is the growing popularity of the research on translanguaging, a school of philosophy and practice where various native-language speakers use their languages as useful resources rather than hindrance and problems in language classrooms (Canagarajah, 2011; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Kleyn, 2016).

2.5 Tests as a De Facto Language Policy

Traditionally, language tests were usually used as tools to assess achievements, either on students' learning performance or teachers' teaching efficiency or to screen candidates. Research on tests mainly focuses on their reliability, validity, washback, and effect on teaching and learning.

However, in the past few decades, scholars began to have a new understanding of the nature, functions, status, and roles of language tests. Among them, Shohamy (2001, 2007) develops a theory of test as a de facto language policy to highlight the power of tests in terms of its control and impacts on students, teachers, parents, institutions, and even the whole society.

For Shohamy (2001), what matters most is not the quality of the test, but the control it imposes on the targeted population. That is, to make "teachers and students practice something that those who introduce the tests perceive to be important." Through the power it acquires from the authority, tests are "a tool, a means to ensure that words were turned into actions." The use of tests in education and society not only forces teachers to teach and students to learn but also to control, screen, classify, group, punish, threaten, exclude, gate-keep, demonstrate authority, and perpetuate existing powers (p. xiii).

For test-takers, tests mean "fear, unfairness, powerless, injustice, deterrence, bias, suspicion, failure, and antagonism." The uses of test results can exert detrimental effects on test-takers since "such uses can create winners and losers, successes and failures, rejections and acceptances." Tests are also used as disciplinary tools by those in authority to force test-takers to change their behavior in line with the demands of the tests (p. 15).

For policymakers, tests possess some merits that other means of policymaking lack. Tests are usually perceived by the public as authoritative, allow flexible cutting scores, are effective for control and for redefining knowledge, have strong appeal to the public, especially parents, allow cost-effective and efficient policymaking, and provide those in authority with visibility and evidence of action (Shohamy, 2001, p. 41).

"Use-oriented" testing views tests not as isolated and neutral events but as embedded in educational, social, political, and economic contexts. Therefore, the interpretation and understanding of them should be situated in a wider and more complex setting than in education itself (Shohamy, 2001, p. xvi).

Tests administered in countries with a centralized educational system are more powerful and critical than those in countries with a decentralized system, because the former usually has a smaller proportion of students to continue their higher education while the latter has a larger one; the former usually has a required national curriculum while the latter has none (Shohamy, 2001, p. 29).

This notion of tests as de facto language policy helps to explain why CET-4/6 has been employed not only as a means to assess students' achievements but as a powerful tool to implement educational and social agenda. At the same time, further discussions will be made

to understand why it's CET-4/6 that reaches such a high status and acts as a de facto language policy while other national-level English tests don't.

Summary

Research on English education in China can be conducted from different perspectives and guided by various theories. As a theory aiming to explain the mechanism of English spread around the world, the theory of Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017) provides an explanatory framework to explain the evolution of English education in the Chinese context, where the political system is highly centralized and the government traditionally imposes tight control over people's private life, including the teaching and learning of English. Also, this theory makes it possible to investigate linguistic issues through a sociohistorical perspective within the context of World English. The theory of tests as a de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2001, 2007) demonstrates that language test is not only used as a means to assess language knowledge, either on students' learning performance or on teachers' teaching efficiency but used as a powerful tool for policy-making agencies to impose control on the whole society. It offers a fresh perspective to reconsider the roles CET-4/6 has been playing both in educational and social aspects.

CHAPTER THREE: ENGLISH EDUCATION IN CHINA BEFORE 1949

Introduction

To have a deeper and broader understanding of the current trends of English education in China and the social contexts where CET-4/6 was initiated, used as a de facto language policy, and later dropped, the following two chapters will go through the brief history of English education in China, with this chapter focuses on the history before the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, and the next chapter on the history after 1949.

3.1 English Education Before 1912

The history of English education in China before 1949 can be divided into two stages: before 1912, and 1912-1949 (The Republic of China). Then, the history of English education in China before 1912 can be subdivided into two periods: years before and after 1862. Traditionally, the year 1862 is remembered as an epoch-making moment in the history of English education in China. When the "Imperial School of Combined Learning" was established by the Qing Dynasty in 1862 as a specifically-designated government language school to train English professionals, it marks the beginning of formal English education in China. Since then, English has been an integral part of the Chinese education system.

3.1.1 Social context of China before 1912

Before reviewing of the history of English education in China, it's necessary to explore China's uniqueness in politics, economy, culture, ideology, and educational system.

Historically, from the very beginning, China had regarded itself as a "天朝上国 (the Heavenly Kingdom or Celestial Empire) ." The Chinese ideograph for "China" is "中国," with "中" meaning "center" and "国" meaning "country." So the real meaning of "China" is the "middle kingdom on the earth" or "the central country of the world," rather than a country producing chinaware or porcelain that is best-known to the world. Chinese emperors usually proclaimed themselves "天子 (the son of heaven) ," to indicate that they were representatives from the Heaven to rule the whole world. According to the "诗经 (Book of Songs) ," the oldest Confucian Classic compiled between 1,100 B.C. and 600 B.C., "all lands under heaven belong to the emperor, and all people within them are his subjects."

Although the scope of "lands" and "people" was initially confined to China and its neighboring nations due to the lack of geographical literacy in ancient time, this notion was supposed to apply to any remote and unknown countries and people, including those in the western world, despite those lands and peoples beyond the central kingdom were usually despised as barbarian and less desirable.

Based on this conviction, every corner of the world was expected to pay tribute in subjection to the suzerain Chinese Empire. Everyone, either they were a domestic subject or a foreign envoy, was expected to prostrate before Chinese emperors. "三跪九拜 (three kneeling and nine knockings)" had been a solemn rite where a subject kneeled three times and knocked his head on the ground three times at each prostration. Ordinary people were also required to prostrate before government officials who acted as representatives of the emperors.

This rite was the core imperial etiquette and protocol and the symbol of imperial authority. It had become such a deeply ingrained institution that anything could be sacrificed to retain the

imperial sanctity, including the disregards of national and public interests and the declaration of wars with defiant foreign lands.

Picture 3.1 A royal subject prostrated in worship before the Emperor.

Picture 3.2 Two suspects prostrated before a government official.

(Source: http://www.huitu.com/photo/show/20150923/063052637200.html)

(Source: http://dy.163.com/v2/article/detail/E2O481V30523D46J.html)

This sense of superiority played and is still playing a fundamental role in shaping Chinese outlooks on the world and in formulating China's crucial domestic and foreign policies, including foreign language education policy. This superiority complex has been both the source of national pride and the seed of national calamities over the past few centuries. The recently-formed concept of the "Chinese Dream," which vows to "rejuvenate ancient Chinese glories," is just the latest manifestation of this belief.

Culturally, with thousands of years of uninterrupted civilization, Chinese people had long been proud of the greatness of Chinese culture and language. Confucianism, formulated by Confucius in 500 B. C., was just one school of thought among dozens during the period of "The Warring States." Then in the Han Dynasty, it was sanctioned as the only guiding tenet for governance while other teachings were banned, and their writings were destroyed. Since then, Confucianism has been the very foundation of Chinese culture, ideology, and social life. It was not only enshrined by each Chinese emperor as the basic tenets of their imperial rule but embraced by some other countries, especially those in East Asia.

Picture 3.3 A statue of Confucius, who was deified as a god   Picture 3.4 Confucius the Sage: Exemplary teacher for all ages

(Source: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_d1705d9c0101plkc.html)   (Source: http://m.sohu.com/a/238860838_100201580/?pvid=000115_3w_a)

This radiating effect of Chinese culture further enhanced the Chinese people's sense of superiority. Both Chinese culture and language were worshipped as the best, the most civilized and the most beautiful in the world. Other cultures were deemed as uncivilized, and their languages were mere "鸠舌之音 (sound of a bird)" (Zhong, 1985:89). Even nowadays, "鸟语 (bird's language)" is still used by some Chinese people to refer to languages other than Chinese that are unfamiliar to them.

Chinese culture and language were supposed to be idolized and learned by foreigners, not the other way around. The assimilating might of Confucianism was so powerful that each time when China was ruled by ethnic minorities, it's the latter that gave up their culture and language and embraced Confucianism. Therefore, it's beyond conceivability and acceptability for Chinese to bow to foreign cultures. It's an act of self-demeaning to learn to speak foreign languages.

The nucleus of Confucian thoughts was the hierarchy of authority, and it is often condensed into a single concept of "三纲 (three cardinal tenets)," which entitled Chinese monarchs, fathers, and husbands the dominance over their subjects, their children, and their wives respectively (Sun, 2013). Since Confucianism granted teachers the same status as fathers,

this concept of hierarchy extended to teachers and students. Chinese people firmly held that "he who teaches me for one day will be my father for life." Students are required to show full respect and total obedience towards their teachers. In Confucius shrines, five Chinese ideographs, "天地君亲师" were engraved on a memorial tablet, representing five sequential authorities: heaven, earth, emperor, father, and teacher.

Picture 3.5 A memorial tablet with five Chinese ideograph "天地君亲师"

Picture 3.6 A memorial tablet hang on the wall in a family's living room

(Source: http://www.sohu.com/a/244490763_689043)

(Source: https://rufodao.qq.com/a/20150210/049127.htm)

There was no standing for criticism in politics, families, and classrooms. Authorities in any form could never be challenged, even in literature creation and academic research. "Literary Inquisition" or the persecution of dissidents had long been a national policy and a prominent aspect of Chinese culture (Luo, 2000). Numerous intellectuals were imprisoned or executed because of their writings or words.

Another distinguishing feature of Chinese culture was the ubiquity of superstition. Confucianism not only acted as the central pillar of Chinese culture but evolved as one of the three major religions in China together with Taoism and Buddhism. Technically, Confucianism was a combination of Confucian thoughts, Buddhist and Taoist beliefs, and superstitious perceptions. By mutating Confucianism from benign teaching for ideal social governance focusing on benevolence and righteousness into a malignant mind-manipulating dogma

safeguarding despotism, the Chinese ruling class succeeded in keeping people in the darkness and ignorance.

"Obscurantist Policy," which imposed strict grip on school education contents and endorsed and promoted superstitious practice among its subjects, had long been ardently enshrined by the ruling class as a fundamental to preserve their rule (He & Liang, 1992). Even nowadays, superstitious perceptions and practice are still rampant, not only among ordinary people but among party cadres and government officials (Han, 2017; Shi, 2016).

Politically, China had been a highly centralized despotism since the Qin Dynasty (221 B.C.-207 B.C.). As one of the seven kingdoms during the "Warring States," Qin defeated and annexed the other six kingdoms and established a unified Qin Empire, transforming China from a feudalist society to a despotic tyranny. This despotism lasted for more than one thousand years until it was terminated when the Qing Dynasty was replaced by the capitalist Republic of China in 1912.

Within this despotism, Chinese emperors enjoyed absolute power over everything. Unlike their counterparts in western countries where a king or queen's power was somewhat restricted either by the church or its parliament, there were no forms of check or restraint on Chinese imperial power. Chinese emperors were the supreme ruler of the armed force, legislature, judiciary, and executive. Concepts like "freedom," "democracy," and "human rights" never occurred to Chinese dictionaries. Even the currently-used ideographs for those concepts were borrowed from Japanese Kanji characters in the early twentieth century (Hao, 2019; Liu, 2019).

Within this despotism, there were few local autonomy and civil rights. Both the land and people were emperors' private property and government officials were just caretakers for the

emperors. A local functionary usually acted as administrators, prosecutors, and judges at the same time. For the ruling class, ordinary people were nothing more than working animals toiling day after day for their masters. "People are water, and the government is a boat; while water can carry the boat, it can also capsize it" was one of the most widely-circulated Confucian aphorism reminding Chinese emperors to treat its subjects better (Chen & He, 2007).

However, due to the corrupt nature of Chinese despotism, the toiling masses were always living in dire poverty although ancient China had been holding its lead in world economic development for several centuries, which formed the Chinese phenomenon of "wealthy government with impoverished masses" (Deng, 2011; Xu, 2017).

Another prominent feature of ancient Chinese politics was the frequent and bloody regime changes. Altogether there are 83 dynasties with 559 emperors in Chinese history. After the Qin Dynasty, a single dynasty lasts from 42 days to 289 years. All dynasty changes come from coups or uprisings launched by members of the imperial family, generals, functionaries, peasants, or even beggars. It's the absolute power and extremely extravagant life that lured individuals to challenge the throne constantly. It's also caused by the political system that granted emperors unlimited power while denied people their human rights. (Liu, 2012).

This imperial despotism meant China had been a country where it was ruled by men rather than by law (Li, 2016). In the long history of China, there had never existed any concepts of separation of executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and human rights. Chinese emperors exercised supreme legislative, executive and judicial power over the empire, and they could change the law or disregard it anytime they wanted. Chinese emperors could execute anyone anywhere on a whim, without a trial. Even the ministers and other high-rank officials who

served in the imperial court could be beheaded whenever they displeased the emperors. Modern concepts and practice of legislature and judiciary only appeared in the1910s.

This imperial despotism put the fate of a whole nation in a single person's hands, and this became the root of capricious Chinese policymaking and the tumultuous nature of history with numerous national calamities (Liu, 2012). This situation remained unchanged even the People's Republic of China was established in 1949. Chairman Mao Zedong's nearly-unlimited power was one of the contributing factors to a series of political movements and arbitrary policymaking in the first three decades after 1949 (Wu, 2012). The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," which lasted ten years and pushed the Chinese economy on the brink of collapse, was the culmination of this national weakness. Even nowadays, building a nation ruled by law is still the top agenda for the government (Wang, et al, 1996; Xi, 2015).

Economically, China had been a self-sufficient economy based on individual peasants and handicraftsmen (Bao, 2009). Among the policies trying to perpetuate this economic foundation of Chinese despotism was the "favoring agriculture but restraining commerce" tradition (Fan, et al., 1996). Under this policy, agriculture was highly valued while trade and other professions were suppressed, including scientific research. This policy was the reason why Chinese people first invented the compass and gunpowder but only used them in practicing Geomancy Omen and in making fireworks rather than in navigation and military.

Under this "favoring agriculture but restraining commerce" policy, migration was strictly controlled by the government and people were pinned on their land through the "Household Registration System", another crucial policy that dated back to Shang Dynasty and became one of the pillars of imperial despotism (Li, 1987; Yao, 2005). The "Household Registration System"

was retained even the foundation of People's Republic of China in 1949 as a means to exert social control (Lu, 2002). It stipulates that each family will have a household register with the father named as the head of the household. Personal information will be recorded on the booklet showing a person's name, gender, date of birth, relationship with the head of the household, permanent address, political status, religious belief, socioeconomic status (agricultural or non-agricultural). Traditionally, people were supposed to stay where they were born, and those who left their household registration locations without official consents would be regarded as vagrants. They were subject to punishment by the government (Lin, 2013).

Ideologically, China had been vigorously trumpeting and inculcating an ideological system of despotism and absolutism throughout history (Li, 2016; Wang, 1980; Yuan, 2003). To strengthen the centralized imperial despotism, Chinese emperors in Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-8 A.D.) began to elevate and sanction Confucianism as the only ideological guidance while denouncing and banning any other schools of thought (Guan, 2008). Since then, absolute uniformity, total obedience, and extensive ignorance had been imposed on the enshrined doctrines (Sun, 2013).

The initiation of "The Imperial Examination" reinforced the ideological control over the public (Guo, 2003). Any slight trace of skepticism and disbelief would be regarded as a threat to the imperial ruling and would be condemned and severely punished. Dichotomous thinking had become a core of Chinese ideology, and people tended to go extreme and violent easily and frequently (Li & Niu, 2017). The horrendous and destructive "Boxer Movement" of "Supporting Qing Dynasty and Exterminating Foreigners" and "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", with each claiming tens of thousands of lives and causing incredible damage to

Chinese society, are just two prominent examples.

Socially, the whole country was simply divided as the ruling class and the ruled, with the former being powerful and wealthy and the latter being powerless and impoverished. The only way for individuals to change their socioeconomic status or even join the ruling class was to attend the "The Imperial Examination" (Zheng, 2005). Unlike the current "National College Entrance Examination" which required test-takers to study more than a dozen school subjects to attend the test, "The Imperial Examination" only tested a scholar's competence in Chinese essay writing relying on the memorization of Confucian Classics.

Once a person succeeded in the "The Imperial Examination", they would be appointed as government officials at various levels, or even got the chance to marry a princess or daughter of a minister, thus lifting themselves from insignificant peasants to be a member of the ruling class. As a Chinese saying goes, "In the morning, he is still a peasant toiling in the field, but in the evening, he becomes a high-rank official sitting with the emperor in the imperial court". This sociopolitical context and the enormous reward for learning and attending "The Imperial Examination" generated another saying that: "All careers are lowly, degrading and undesirable except being a government official through learning Confucian Classics and passing The Imperial Examination".

This belief has been so deeply-held by ordinary Chinese that it continues to profoundly influence people's decision-making and mold Chinese history in many ways (Zheng, 2005). The notoriously brutal competition for ordinary people to secure a place in universities by taking the "National College Entrance Examination" is the most evident testament to it. It also contributes to Chinese people's craziness about learning English because English, together with

Chinese and mathematics, are the three primary subjects in the "National College Entrance Examination" that each weight 150 points while other minor subjects weight 100 points each.

Educationally, China exhibited contradictory features. On the one hand, Chinese people attached great importance to education to change their sociopolitical and economic status, but on the other hand, the government invested limited resources in the development of public education (Hao, 2004). For the government, receiving education was for the good of individuals, so it's each family's responsibility to pay for it. There were few government-funded public schools and only a small proportion of people could afford to send their children to private academies or find a tutor for them before Qing Dynasty was defeated by the British Empire in the Opium War and was forced to change its education system in the late 19th century.

At the same time, although nominally, teachers came next to emperors and fathers in terms of authority, their sociopolitical and economic statuses were extremely low. Usually, only those who were preparing for "The Imperial Examination" or exhausted their chances would work as a tutor for a wealthy family or a teacher in private academies. Teaching was a humble job, and the last option for intellectuals who were desperate to make a living. As an old goes, "家有隔夜粮，不当孩子王 (If only there is food for one day, I will never be a teacher)".

During the Yuan Dynasty, when China was ruled by Mongol ethnic minority, the situation for intellectuals became even worse. Among the ten occupations, being a teacher was the next to the last, only better than being a beggar (from the most privileged to the most humble: government officials, government clerks, monks, Taoists, doctors, engineers, craftsmen, prostitutes, intellectuals, beggars). Being an intellectual was worse than being a beggar because beggaring was usually safe while writing or speaking was risky. Numerous intellectuals being

executed for their writings or words due to the "Literary Inquisition" imposed by each dynasty.

Those unique characteristics in politics, economy, culture, ideology, education, and tradition played a pivotal role in shaping Chinese people's worldview and outlooks on values and modes of thinking. The deeply-held sense of superiority and blind resistance to foreign languages and cultures exerted a significant impact on the development of English education in China from the very beginning.

3.1.2 English education in its early stage (before 1862)

Before formal English education was initiated in 1862, unofficial English education had been around for 44 years since the first missionary school, the "Anglo-Chinese College," was founded by western missionary Brian Harrison in 1818 in Malacca (moved to Hong Kong in 1843). After that, several missionary schools were established in Macau and Hong Kong, then in some coastal trading cities, with English acting as a learning subject or the medium of instruction.

As for non-governmental contact with English, it started earlier, dating back to the early 17th century, mainly through western missionary work and trade with the British Empire (Guo, 2017; Zhang, 2007).

3.1.2.1 English contact through missionary work

The earliest written record of the arrival of western missionary dates back to 635 A. D. during the Tang Dynasty when a Syrian priest named Olopen came to China and was greeted by the emperor. Since then, several western missionaries arrived in China trying to do missionary work. Although their original intention was to preach the gospel, western

missionaries played a significant role in introducing and spreading western science and technology, culture, and civilization to China (Ding & Zheng, 2000; Li, 2001; Ren, 2014).

However, the monotheist nature of Christianity clashed with Confucianism in many ways (Li & Li, 2010; Xu, 2002). Christianity's prohibition on idolatry and its tenets of loving each other as sisters and brothers went sharply against Confucianism, which defended social hierarchy and depicted Chinese emperors as gods on earth for people to worship. The clash between the two cultures was known as the "Chinese Rites Controversy" (Bi, 2016). Christian belief was tantamount to heresy to mainstream Confucian and Buddhist followers. Most importantly, the practice of Christians getting together for worship and communion was unacceptable by the ruling class because an organized mass rally usually indicated a revolt against the government (Zhang, 2011).

This clash made Christianity unwelcomed by successive dynasties. Meanwhile, asking Chinese Christians to stop offering sacrifice to their ancestors and to Confucius, to stop observing certain traditional rites and to stop practicing superstitious activities made Christianity less desirable for ordinary people. Those who converted to Christianity were often regarded as eccentrics, and they were despised and distanced by others, even their family members. But on the other hand, the special bond among Chinese Christians, the timely help they offered to each other, and the extraterritoriality they enjoyed caused tension with local people and governments. Resentment and hatred towards Christians were brewing among local communities (Cheng, 2006).

Western missionary work made little progress in the following centuries due to the incompatibility between Christianity and the Chinese social context. On the contrary,

persecution of western missionaries and Chinese Christians occurred from time to time. In 1746, an edict was issued by the Qing Dynasty to totally ban Christianity in mainland China. Christianity was blacklisted as an organized rebel group, along with several local secret sects aiming to subvert the government (Gu, 2010: 73).

Given the illegality and strong resistance from Confucianism and the fact that the vast majority of Chinese lived in utter misery and could not afford to go to school or hire a tutor for their children, western missionaries changed their missionary work tactics from direct preaching to establishment of modern schools, hospitals, publishing houses, and newspapers. This change of strategy became a crucial way for Chinese to contact the English language and western scientific and humanist achievements (Gu, 2010).

In 1807, Robert Marrison, a Presbyterian minister and a member of the London Missionary Society, came to China to do the Protestant missionary work. Being proficient in English and Chinese, he worked as a translator in British East India Company and translated the New Testament into Chinese, the first in Chinese history. In 1818, with his colleague William Mile, Morrison founded the "Ying Wa College," or "Anglo-Chinese College" in Malacca (moved to Hong Kong in 1843), the first missionary school in Chinese history and "the beginning of English education through western missionary schools in China" (Guo, 2017: 22).

Together, they started the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* in 1815, focusing on religious knowledge, news, and modern science. This magazine was remembered as the first Chinese language magazine with Chinese people as the target audience in Chinese history. In 1832, along with Elijah Coleman Bridgman, Robert Marrison started an English newspaper *Chinese*

Repository in Guangzhou. He also compiled *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815) and *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1815-1823), the first Chinese-English dictionary in Chinese history. After his death, another school for Chinese youth, Marrison School, was established in Macau (later moved to Hong Kong in 1842) by the newly-founded Morrison Education Society.

In 1811, a piece of legislation was issued by Qing Dynasty, specifically targeting western missionaries who disregarded Christianity Ban and did missionary work in mainland China. Any missionary who was charged with this criminal act would be hanged. Several western missionaries were punished based on this legislation. Therefore, in the following few decades, missionaries were confined to Macau and Southeast Asia, and they used Macau and later Hong Kong as the base and springboard for missionary work. Most western missionaries entered mainland China under cover of translators for western merchants or diplomats.

In 1830, American priest Elijah Coleman Bridgman established a school in Guangzhou, the first missionary school in mainland China in history. In 1834, "The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China" was founded by missionaries in Guanzhou, aiming to push China to open its door to the outside world, not only in trade but also in western culture and Christian belief. Through education and publication, the society tried to enlighten Chinese with advanced science and technology and western histories (Xiao & Xia, 2015). It also attempted to change the closed, ignorant, and self-centered mindset of Chinese (Chen, 2011; Lazich, 2011; Zhang, 2005).

Because of the First and Second Opium War, a growing number of western missionaries came to China to do the missionary work and to build hospitals and schools. By 1860, about

50 missionary schools were established in five trading ports, with one thousand local students (Guo, 2017: 15).

However, the original purpose of missionary school was to preach the gospel among Chinese students, and English teaching was not the focus of school curricula. It was a controversial issue of whether English should be taught in missionary schools. While some were against it based on the claim that English education would enable students to seek careers other than missionary work, others were for it asserting English education would enlighten Chinese out of ignorance and make them more open to Christianity.

Therefore, before missionary work was finally sanctioned and legalized by Qing Dynasty in 1858 and before English was finally accepted as a learning subject in the first government language school, English education through missionary work was on a small scale, and its influence on Chinese was limited.

What's worse, the focus of missionary schools on biblical knowledge and western science meant their students would have a remote chance to attend "The Imperial Examination" and join the ruling class, which sharply opposed Chinese social norms. Those who attended missionary schools were despised and distanced by others.

This sociopolitical and cultural context made the initial enrollment very difficult, and few parents were willing to send their children to missionary schools. To attract students, missionary schools not only provided tuition and fee waiver but offered a living allowance. The majority of students came from poor families, or local Christian families, or orphans (Guo, 2017: 15).

One of the most historic events stemmed from western missionary work was the Taiping

Rebellion, the largest-ever peasant uprising in Chinese history. After converting from a Confucian to a Christian and claiming he was the brother of Jesus Christ, Hong Xiuquan used Christianity as a means to mobilize the masses and launched the revolt against the government. It took the Qing Dynasty more than two decades to crackdown tens of millions of lives were lost. This incident made the government vigilant about western missionary missions.

3.1.2.2 English contact through trade

As far back as 1600, when the British East India Company was founded, British merchants began to trade indirectly with China. In 1637, British captain John Weddel came to Guangzhou with four merchant ships to establish a direct trading partnership with the Chinese government. This attempt was futile, but it acted as a prelude to the Sino-Anglo relationship (Guo, 2017: 4). In 1685, the Qing Dynasty opened four coastal ports for foreign trade. In 1699, the British Empire was granted the right to establish a trading post in Guangzhou, Guangdong Province. In 1715, the British East India Company made the trading post an official site with fixed staffs of twelve.

However, in fear of the negative impact of foreign trade on Qing Dynasty's imperial rule, "Regulations on Prevention of Foreigners" was issued in 1759, stipulating that Guangzhou was the only port for foreign trade and all foreign merchants could only engage with designated government-run importers. No family members of foreign traders were allowed to enter Guangzhou. It also imposed strict limits on foreign merchants' liberty of movement and contacts between foreign merchants and Chinese locals (Gu, 1989).

The contact between the Qing Dynasty and western countries was limited due to the Qing

Dynasty's "Close-door Policy" and its self-sufficient economy based on small-scale peasants. While Chinese products like tea and silk were in high demand in western countries, western goods were not welcomed in the Chinese market. This situation became the major contributor to the breakout of the First and Second Opium War in the nineteenth century (Yan, 2012).

At the same time, the increased contacts and exchanges between China and the western world brought about disputes over diplomatic etiquette. Chinese emperors were offended and enraged when the British envoys refused to observe the solemn rite of prostrating before the emperor. While the Chinese Empire took prostration as a symbol of the tributary or vassal nation's subordination to its lord country, British Empire regarded it as a national disgrace and a bow to tyranny. It continued for decades and became another contributing factor to the First Opium War (Adams, 1942). In 1860 when the Qing Dynasty was defeated in the Second Opium War, this rite was abolished and the Qing Dynasty began to treat other countries as equal partners rather than vassals. Since then, foreign delegates were allowed to bow to Chinese Emperors rather than prostrate.

Picture 3.7 A British delegate knelt down with one leg before Chinese Emperor in 1793   Picture 3.8 A foreign delegate bowed to Chinese Emperor in 1860

Despite those setbacks, the trade between the Qing Dynasty and Great Britain grew steadily, and Great Britain had been the primary trading partner of the Qing Dynasty until the 1840s, accounting for 80% of its international trade volumes (Guo, 2017: 5).

During the trade, Chinese Pidgin English emerged as the primary means of communication among foreigners and Chinese merchants in Macau and Southeast Asia, and then in some coastal cities in mainland China. Chinese Pidgin English is neither English nor Chinese; instead, it is a rough mixture of English words and local Chinese dialects. Usually, English words or short sentences would be marked with Chinese characters of similar pronunciation. For example, "窝头 wotou (streamed bread)" was used for the word "water," and "三克油 sankeyou (three grams oil)" was for "thank you." Difficulties or misunderstandings were ubiquitous during communications.

This situation lasted for nearly two centuries without much improvement. During that long period, no English language institutes were established, and no English professionals were trained. Due to tight restrictions imposed by the Chinese government on foreign trade and foreigners engaging with locals, in most cases, only local traders or some vagrants who acted as brokers between Chinese and foreign merchants would learn some English to make a living. Both traders and vagrants were at the very bottom of the society. They were despised by others, with the formers being depicted as "crooks" or "unscrupulous traders" and the latter as "买办 (Chinese compradors)" or "舌人(tongue person)" (Li, 2002: 141).

At the same time, due to the deeply-held sense of superiority in Chinese culture and in the Chinese race, when westerner pioneers came to China with their distinctive features of blue eyes and blonde hair, they were stigmatized as "foreign barbarians". Whenever they went, a large crowd of locals would stare at them in curiosity and horror. Even nowadays, many foreign visitors still experience such embarrassing moments when Chinese locals stare at them, point the finger at them, and exclaim: "快看！老外 Laowai！(Look! Old foreigners!)".

As a result, when westerners came to China for trade or missionary work, they were distanced by the mainstream society, especially the class of literati and officialdom. It's usually Chinese local traders or vagrants that came out and engaged with them. When Macau was seized by Portugal in the sixteen century, it slowly grew into a hub of foreign trade and missionary work and the birthplace of Chinese Pidgin. Using Macau as a secure base, western missionaries risked their lives to bring Christianity and western culture to mainland China. But this kind of English contact was extremely limited in scope, and its impact on English education in mainland China was small.

Therefore, on the eve of the First Opium War, when Lin Zexu (Lin Tse-hsu), the imperial commissioner directly represented the emperor was sent to halt the opium trade in Guangzhou in 1838, he had no reliable professionals or resources for consultation because there were few qualified English translators available on the market. The only interpreters he could find were Chinese compradors and graduates of western missionary schools in neighboring regions or countries, mainly Macau and Southeast Asia (Wang, 2011). However, while the former was basically illiterate, and their Pidgin English was too broken to undertake such heavy responsibilities (Guo, 2017), the latter were mainly trained for missionary work with low English proficiency.

An example cited by Wang (2011:93) clearly illustrated the broken English written by the so-called best translators of the imperial commissioner of Lin Zexu:

"For the managing opium on the last spring being stopped trade for present time till the opium surrendered to the government than ordered be opened the trade the same as before"

The translations made by those translators were riddled with grammatical mistakes and

inaccuracies that spelled disastrous consequences. When the imperial commissioner arrived in Guangzhou, he began to collect information that was hugely dependent on those translators. Based on their information, the imperial envoy sent a memorial to the Emperor, claiming that:

"English barbarians are only good at fighting at sea, and they have no other skills once they come to shore. What's more, their bodies are wrapped with strips, and their waists and legs are stiff. They cannot get up if they fall down on the ground. A single solider or even a civilian can kill many of them."

This unbelievably inaccurate and absurd information was accepted by the ruling class and greatly influenced the government's decision-making and preparation for the war.

When the war broke out in June 1840, the Qing Dynasty found itself in asymmetrical warfare with the British Empire, not only on weaponry but on personnel. The Qing Dynasty suffered devastating series defeats, and the British troops headed for Beijing. Lin Zexu was dismissed as a scapegoat and replaced by Qishan. The new imperial commissioner hired another Chinese comprador named Baopeng as his interpreter. Being a notorious vagrant and a previous drug dealer, the interpreter once bragged to his friends that "I am not a nobody, but a big shot with the power to make peace or war" (Wang, 2011:102).

Together, they signed the "Convention of Chuanbi" with British military commander Anthony Blaxland Stransham. Due to misunderstanding and misinterpretation between the two warring parties, the contract was used by the British as a legal basis to cede Hong Kong while the imperial envoy only meant to allow the British to reside there. The emperor punished both the imperial commissioner and his interpreter for this blunder, and the convention was not sanctioned by the emperor.

As a result of those incidents, Chinese compradors or interpreters were regarded as despicable and untrustworthy, and some of them were even suspected as traitors colluding with "foreign barbarians" (Wang, 2011). When Qing Dynasty was defeated and forced to sign the "Treaty of Nanking" in 1842, they didn't even bring Chinese translators with them, leaving the translation task to the British translators (Ji & Chen, 2007; Qu, 2013). The lack of qualified Chinese translators in negotiations made the Qing Dynasty at a disadvantage and left room for disputes over the treaty, which partially led to the Second Opium War.

The second article of the "Treaty of Nanking" specified that "the Emperor of China agrees that British Subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their Mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-fu, Mingpo, and Shanghai" (Hu, 2010: 58). However, when British personnel wanted to enter the downtown area of Guangzhou based on this article, they were repeatedly refused by local government officials. Those Chinese officials cited the Chinese version of the treaty as their refusal claiming that the British were only allowed to reside in "港口 (port)" of those five cities, not the city.

The disputes over the interpretation and execution of the treaty became one of the main factors contributing to the breakout of the Second Opium War in October 1856. Once again, the Qing Dynasty was defeated, and the "Treaty of Tientsin" was signed. It provided in article 50 that henceforth, all documents should be written in English. The Chinese version would be offered until Chinese students were selected to study English and become proficient. From now on, whenever there was a dispute over the interpretation of the treaty, it should be addressed based on the English version.

Two consecutive humiliating defeats forced some of the ruling class to open their eyes to see the outside world. A small group of enlightened high-rank government officials, especially those who once engaged with westerners in the Opium Wars and witnessed the advantage of western military technology, began to advocate A "Movement of Westernization in Technology".

Although they still held the traditional belief of China being the "Celestial Empire" and maintained that Chinese culture was the best, they thought it's necessary to learn and introduce those advanced technologies to China to defend China against western powers. They summarized those concepts as "中学为体，西学为用 (Chinese learning for essence, western learning for application)" and "师夷长技以制夷 (learn western barbarians' skills to beat western barbarians)". Since then, those perceptions have become the guiding principle and the fundamental ideology of English education in mainland China.

Those advocates of the westernization movement realized that they had to learn western languages to learn western science and technology. As Prince Yinxin, the chief negotiator during the Second Opium War, said, "to learn about the world and in order to avoid being fooled by foreign countries, you have to learn their languages. While other countries have been learning Chinese through hiring well-paid Chinese tutors, China hasn't produced a single person who is proficient in English." (Shu, 1985:115)

Li Hongzhang, a high-rank official and one of the pivotal proponents of the movement also claimed that "the key to beat western barbarians is to train translators" and "the lack of those talents is the biggest obstacle to the 'Movement of Westernization in Technology'" (Guo, 2017: 26). In the memorial submitted to the Emperor proposing the establishment of schools

of foreign languages, Li continued that "In dealing with foreign countries, it appears necessary first of all to know their nature and temperament. Since we do not know their languages, there is a complete misunderstanding. How can one hope for satisfaction?" (Biggerstaff, 1961: 95).

In 1861, the "Ministry of Foreign Affairs" was established by Qing Dynasty to administer all foreign affairs, including diplomacy, overseas trade, western missionaries, missionary work, the opening of modern factories, vocational and foreign language training schools.

In 1862, the Imperial School of Combined Learning was established in Beijing. Initially, English was the only language to be taught in this specially-designated language institute to train professional English translators, who were badly needed at that time. Later, languages like French, German, Russian, and Japanese were also added to the curriculum when those countries joined the British Empire in scrambling to get the best interests in China through military aggressions.

3.1.3 English Education in Late Qing Dynasty (1862-1912)

After a series of conflicts, clashes and wars between two empires and two cultures, English was accepted by the Qing Dynasty as a school subject. The establishment of the first official language school in 1862 marked the beginning of formal English education in China.

English education after 1862 consisted of three forms: government schools, overseas study, and missionary schools.

3.1.3.1 English education through public schools

After the establishment of the "Imperial School of Combined Learning" in 1862, similar language schools were founded in other major cities like Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Wuhan,

where English was the only or primary target language. Meanwhile, dozens of western-style vocational schools and military academies were established across the country, with the former focusing on techniques in modern industries and the latter on military personnel training.

High expectations were placed on those schools. Students attending those schools or academies were called "New-Type Talents," professionals who were skilled in modern science and technology other than Confucius Classics. They were highly expected to save Qing Dynasty from collapsing through learning English and mastering western technical knowledge.

However, due to the unique social context, those modern schools were despised by mainstream society, especially the class of literati and officialdom. According to those conservatives, it might be innocuous for some poor people or vagrants to learn English and western technology, but it would be a catastrophe for the ruling class to do so, because this would eventually make China "degenerate into a barbarian country" (Zhong, 1985: 93).

But on the other hand, witnessing the widespread ignorance among Chinese elites and the incompetence and untrustworthiness of non-professional Chinese translators, those enlightened government officials believed that the best way to change that situation was to train English professionals out of the ruling class. Therefore, when the "Imperial School of Combined Learning" was established in 1862, the initial recruits were limited to the offspring of ruling Manchu nationality.

However, the significance of English learning was not fully understood by everyone within the ruling class. When students were selected to study in the "Imperial School of Combined Learning," most of them still preferred Confucius Classics to foreign languages, and only a small proportion of them taking English classes seriously (Biggerstaff, 1961: 146).

When those students were tested on their English proficiency, the results fell far short of the expectations. Even the so-called top students merely acquired a smattering of English (Association of Chinese Historians, 1961:16).

To solve this problem, the "Imperial School of Combined Learning" and other government language and vocational schools or military academies had to expend their recruitments to Han Chinese. Financial incentives were also offered, including tuition and fee waiver and award of living allowance to attracted students.

While English was learned as the only or main target language in language schools, it acted as a required learning subject in vocational schools or military academies. Due to the lack of qualified local English teachers at that time, most English teaching faculty came from the British Empire or the United States, with many of them being missionaries (Association of Chinese Historians, 1961:18). In some schools, besides offering English classes, foreign teachers were also engaged to teach certain subjects. This practice of taking English as the language of instruction successfully cultivated a group of "new talents" who were proficient in English and their particular fields.

In 1867, after a heated debate between conservatives and liberals within the imperial court, subjects like mathematics, astronomy, physics, and chemistry were added to the curriculum of all western-style schools, including language schools. The year 1867 marked the beginning of modern education in China, and since then, the "Imperial School of Combined Learning" was turned from a language training school to a quasi-modern college (Shi & Hu, 2011).

In 1895, the first government-sponsored university, the Imperial Tientsin University University (the predecessor of current Tianjin University) was founded in Tianjin with the

Emperor's approval. Charles Daniel Tenney, an American educator and a diplomat to China, served as the first provost of the university. The Imperial Tientsin University also modeled itself on top American universities in terms of the education system, school management, curriculum design, course planning, and teaching approaches. Not only the majority of courses were taught in English by American experts and professors, but the majority of books, laboratory equipment, academic journals, and other teaching resources were purchased from America (Zhang, 2017).

In 1894, the Qing Dynasty was defeated by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War, and this humiliation announced the bankruptcy of the "Movement of Westernization in Technology." Realizing that technical updates were not enough to save Qing Dynasty's imperial rule, a small group of reformers backed by Emperor Guangxu launched a "Movement of Political Reformation" in 1998, aiming to overhaul China's political, economic, and educational systems based on western styles.

Economically, it tried to abolish the ban and control on trade, encourage the development of private economy, and open more cities for foreign trade. Politically, it tried to build a modern constitutional government with a western-style of executive, legislative and judicial systems. Educationally, it tried to transform all traditional academies into modern and western-style schools, build the "Imperial University of Peking" and other higher education institutions, send members of royal family and students to overseas for visits or study, and abolish the "Imperial Examination" system. Among all the reforms, the overhaul of traditional education accounted for a large proportion. Of all the 120 imperial edicts written by the Emperor during the movement, 40 were about education (Hu, 1983:182).

Due to the immaturity of newly-formed enlightened intellectual class and the fierce resistance from conservatives and hardliners led by Empress Dowager Cixi, the movement lasted only 102 days before it was strangled. The Emperor being house arrested and six backbone reformers being executed. All reforms were abolished except the proposal of establishing the "Imperial University of Peking".

Although several modern universities had been founded before in mainland China by western missionaries or provincial governments, the established of the "Imperial University of Peking" was a significant event. Being sponsored and sanctioned by the imperial court, the founding of the "Imperial University of Peking" not only marked the initiation of national universities but indicated the influence of western-style education finally reached the heart of China, even the conservatives and hardliners of the imperial ruling class.

As a major component of western-style education, English acted as a pillar in those universities. All universities modeled themselves on American counterparts in terms of the education system, school management, curriculum design, course planning, and teaching approaches. Western missionaries played a pivotal role in those universities' establishment, administration and operation, with many of them acting as presidents, provosts, or instructors. English was either a language of instruction or a primary foreign language, and many courses were taught in English by native speakers. Some textbooks, laboratory equipment, academic journals, and other teaching resources were directly purchased from the United States.

In 1903, the "Presented School Regulation" was promulgated by the Qing Dynasty's imperial court, marking the beginning of modern education in Chinese history. It officially laid the foundation for the new school education system in contemporary China, covering every

aspect of school education, from kindergarten to university, from school management to curriculum design.

It stipulated that English education was banned at primary schools, but for middle schools and colleges/universities, English should be taught as a compulsory course for all students. Besides, the significance of English education was highlighted, and foreign language education accounted for 20% of the total class hours (Guo, 2017: 55). Therefore, the year 1903 was regarded as the origin of making English a required course for secondary and post-secondary education (Fu, 1986; Li, et al., 1988).

As for English education in China, this move was significant. For the first time in Chinese history, it officially stipulated that English should be taught as a required basic course at secondary schools and colleges/universities. This a national language policy lasts to the present time. By making English a required course in public schools, the Chinese government not only acknowledged the importance of English in learning advanced science and technology but also demonstrated the fundamental shifts of public perceptions of English from disdain to acceptance.

Since then, western-style education developed very quickly. The number of modern schools increased from 769 in 1903 to 52,500 in 1911 and the number of students grew from 6,912 in 1902 to 1,639,641 in 1909 (Wang, 1987: 254).

3.1.3.2 English education through overseas study

Apart from the establishment of language and western-style schools, another key measure that the Qing Dynasty took to train new-type talents was sending students to study in western

countries.

In 1847, three Chinese students were brought to the United States by an American missionary Samuel S. Brown for study. One of them was Yung Wing (Rong Hong), who was later referred to the forerunner of Chinese overseas study. After he graduated from Yale University, he returned to China, determining to help more Chinese to receive American education and build a prosperous and strong China by inculcating western culture in Chinese people (Yung, 1981: 22). He lobbied some high-rank liberal officials to sponsor some children to study in the United States. The proposal was sanctioned by the imperial court in 1872. The number of students was set at thirty each year, and the time of the study was fixed at fifteen years.

However, few parents were willing to let their children apply for this overseas study program. A widespread belief was, "The United States is a land full of barbarians and Chinese children will be skinned, installed dog's eyes, and displayed as rare animals by them" (La Fargue, 1942; Li, 1987:26). Parents who chose to enlist their children in this program were required to sign a disclaimer, renouncing their rights if there were anything bad had happened to their children. By the summer of 1871, there were still several vacancies waiting to be filled. Without other options, Yung Wing, who was in charge of the program, had to go to Hong Kong to pick up some children (Jin, 2013: 148).

In the following three years, another ninety children between the ages of 10-16 were sent by the government to study in the United States. However, this government-sponsored overseas study program was abruptly called off in 1881, and 94 Chinese students were recalled back to China. This sudden cancellation came from the discrepancy between the official plan and

students' actual behaviors.

For the Qing Dynasty, the original idea of sending Chinese students abroad was to let them learn English and modern science and technology while avoiding being contaminated by the barbarian culture. To preserve their loyalty to Chinese emperors and maintain their devotion to traditional despotic culture and ideology, the Qing Dynasty required those students to continue their study of Confucius classics, observe imperial rites of prostrating themselves towards the direction of the Forbidden City, and prostrate before Confucius Memorial Tablet and their supervisors (Qian & Hu, 2004).

However, after few years of living and studying in a modern and democratic country, a growing number of Chinese students began to love and accept American culture, with some even secretly converted to Christianity and established a Chinese Communion to worship God. In contrast, they began to disdain and discard Chinese culture and conventions. They refused to kneel before their supervisors, whose job was to make sure Chinese children follow all the regulations and rules established by the government. What's worse, many Chinese students cut off their pigtails and put a fake one to fool their supervisors. Those behaviors were unacceptable for the Qing Dynasty since pigtails were a signature of the Qing Dynasty's rule. Anyone who refused to grow a pigtail was subject to execution as a subversive (Qian & Hu, 2004).

Facing those incidents, the Qing Dynasty realized that sending children to study abroad had become a big threat to its despotic regime rather than a useful way to learn western technology and save its rule. For thousands of years, keeping ordinary people in the darkness and ignorance had been a fundamental pillar to maintain China's highly-centralized imperial despotism. Sending children to live and study in a modern and democratic country and offered

them access to knowledge other than Confucius Classics proved quite contrary to this national policy.

Although the first government-sponsored overseas study program was unsuccessful and the large-scale government-sponsored overseas study was suspended, it was an unprecedented event for the Qing Dynasty. As a "Celestial Empire" where foreign lands were subject to the Chinese Tributary System and foreign people were expected to idolize and imitate Chinese language and culture, sending students to learn a barbarian language and culture was a breakthrough in Chinese history.

This program offered Chinese students a rare chance to see the outside world with their own eyes and to experience foreign cultures themselves. Even they were recalled ahead of schedule, they brought back new beliefs and ideas, which were more significant than skills for the destiny of China. Most importantly, when those overseas returnees returned, their English proficiency enabled them to secure important posts in newly-established government departments, schools, mining industry, railway, and other enterprises, and many of them became the heads of their departments (Li, et al, 1988: 60).

The enormous financial and political rewards of learning English were unexpected, and it offered ordinary Chinese an easier alternative to sitting "The Imperial Examination" to change their socioeconomic status. Gradually, attitudes towards English were shifted from disdain to acceptance. English learning had been turned from despicable lowliness to a fortune sought by many, especially the poor. The number of students going abroad or attending local language and vocational schools increased steadily. Admission to some schools was changed from persuasion and financial incentive to selection with tests (Guo, 2017).

From 1876, students were also sent to European countries, mainly the UK, France, and Germany, to learn techniques of shipbuilding, mining, weapon-manufacturing, and martial arts. Unlike sending unprepared children to the United States, the Qing Dynasty made strict criteria of selection, requiring all candidates, mainly students from western-style schools, to take foreign language tests. This practice remains a crucial requirement and policy for government-sponsored overseas study nowadays. What's more, those candidates were usually in their early 20s and spent only 2-4 years in host countries, and this was regarded as positive factors to avoid the same problem of being westernized (Li, 1987).

Apart from government-sponsored overseas study programs, there had been individuals going abroad at their expenses or supported by western missionaries since the 1840s, especially those from trading cities. Many of them became pioneers in their fields back to China.

In 1899, a piece of legislation was introduced to regulate Chinese overseas study. It prescribed the urgently-needed fields of study, source of funding, requirements, and future employment for overseas returnees. It also granted each province permission to sponsor its overseas study programs, a measure that significantly boosted Chinese overseas study (Guo, 2017)

In addition to sending students abroad to study, the Qing Dynasty also sent government officials to go overseas for business visits. In 1866, a government official and three students from the "Imperial School of Combined Learning" made a visiting tour to France, England, Switzerland, Russian and German, marking the beginning of official business tours for government officials in Chinese history. Since then, many high-rank government officials were sent abroad to learn about western countries, and they became the backbones and advocates of

social reforms (Li, 1987).

In 1900, after the "Siege of the International Legations," the Qing Dynasty was forced to launch an overhaul in its political, educational, and social system. One of the key measures was to send more students to go abroad. In 1902, new "Regulations on Overseas Study" was issued and it allowed students to apply for academic degrees while study abroad, which became a breakthrough in the history of Chinese overseas study (Li, et al, 1988: 67).

In 1906, the Qing Dynasty decided to organized examinations for overseas returnees. Those who excelled in those tests were conferred corresponding titles and official posts, making overseas study an equivalent to traditional Confucian learning under the "The Imperial Examination System" (Guo, 2017).

In 1909, the United States returned a proportion of the "Boxer Indemnity," which it had received from the Qing Dynasty in 1900 for damage from the "Boxer Rebellion," and set up an education fund for Chinese overseas study in America. In the following three years, a series of national tests were held for candidates applying for it. Altogether, 180 were enrolled for this program, most of which were students from missionary or government western-style schools (Li, et al, 1988: 69).

In 1910, "Tsinghua Imperial College," the predecessor of Tsinghua University, was established as a preparatory institution for students planning to study in America. The school included secondary and tertiary education, and each level lasted four years. It was modeled on the American higher education system, and textbooks were brought from America. English was the medium of instruction for all courses except Chinese history, philosophy, literature, and ethics. Graduates of the tertiary division could go to the United States and register at colleges

or universities there (Shi & Hu, 2011:870).

This decision was far-reaching for English education in China. Soon after that, other western countries followed suit and sponsored similar overseas study programs for Chinese students. The number of students going abroad increased rapidly. By 1911, 650 students were studying in America and 500 studying in Europe (Shi & Hu, 2011:871).

3.1.3.3 English education through missionary schools

In the late 19th century and early 20th century, China's education consisted of three primary types: the traditional academies for Confucian learning, the western-style schools established by the government and western missionary schools. Among the three forms of education, missionary schools made the most significant development, exerted the greatest influence on Chinese society, and produced the best results around the 20th century (Li, et al, 1988: 86).

Thanks to their Chinese language proficiency and their knowledge about China, many western missionaries acted as translators for western countries during the First Opium War in the 1840s. Several clauses protecting missionary work were added to treaties signed between the Qing Dynasty and western powers. Those treaties granted foreigners, especially missionaries, permission to live with their families in five trading cities, to build churches, churchyards, and hospitals, to hire locals to teach foreigners various Chinese dialects, and to hire Chinese hacks to do paperwork.

When the Qing Dynasty was defeated in the Second Opium War，missionary work was finally sanctioned and legalized by the Chinese government in 1858. Western missionaries were allowed to do missionary work in both coastal trading cities and inland areas. They were

granted permission to acquire leased territories and build churches, hospitals, schools, and publishing houses.

Meanwhile, when the Qing Dynasty was forced to open its door to the outside world after the Second Opium War, foreign trade with western countries thrived, and the commercial value of English began to surge. An increasing number of signboards were written in English in trading cities, and English proficiency became a precondition for locals to be employed in foreign firms, leased territories, or government agencies.

Along with the Qing Dynasty's gradual open-up to the outside world and public perception shifts towards English, a growing number of people, especially the ruling class, were eager to learn English. They realized that "the current social context has made English learning a necessity and English is used everywhere: trade, politics, higher education, government agencies and social life" (Chen, 1986:65-66). For that purpose, many turned to missionary schools where high-quality English education was their signature. "The majority, if not all, students chose to attend missionary schools intended to master English and make it a means of living" (Zhou，2005: 52). With this social context, the number of missionary schools grew rapidly. By 1876, there were 800 missionary schools and 20,000 students (Shi & Hu, 2011: 886).

In 1879, the first university in Chinese history, namely, St. John's University, was founded by American Anglican missionaries in Shanghai (Li & Xu, 2006: 66). The university modeled itself on top American universities and became the first all-English university in Chinese history. English was not only the primary language of instruction in classes but the medium of communication, notification, documents, academic events, and other school activities. Even

some textbooks and test papers were directly delivered from Columbia University (Fu, 1986:42).

St. Johns University registered itself as an institution of higher education in Washington, D.C., making its degrees accepted by even prestigious American universities like Yale, Harvard, and Columbia. The graduates of St. John University could proceed directly to graduate schools in the United States, enjoying the same status and rights as their American counterparts. In the following few decades, St. John's University became one of the most world-known universities in China.

From 1879 to 1912, or from the establishment of the first university to the end of the imperial rule of the Qing Dynasty, about two dozen western missionary universities and four government-sponsored universities were founded in China. Both western missionary and government-sponsored universities were bilingual and bicultural (Liu & Wu, 2014), with most of their faculty members being either foreign experts or Chinese overseas returnees (Li et al, 1988). English usually served as the primary language of instruction for most subjects and the medium of communication and other activities (Fu, 1986; Liu & Wu, 2014).

English education at missionary schools and universities played a critical role in exposing Chinese people with English, modern science, and western culture. Through those efforts, missionary schools succeeded in molding Chinese perceptions of English and the western world. A growing number of Chinese, especially those liberals within the ruling class, began to promote English and science education through government schools and overseas study.

In the late 1890s, extreme xenophobic hatred towards foreigners was growing, and clashes between two distinct cultures and traditions were rising due to conflicts of interests between

foreigners and Chinese locals and western missionaries' extraterritoriality, and their aggressive campaigns to preach the gospel among local communities. Desperate people began to join various secret societies and called themselves "Boxers." For fear of ruthless government crackdown, those boxers turned to western missionaries and Chinese Christians for targets.

Before the "Boxer Movement" was crushed in September 1900, several hundred western missionaries were killed, with churches and hospitals being burnt down, and their properties were plundered. Hundreds of thousands of local Christians and civilians were also killed, and their valuables were robbed. Many ordinary people were targeted by "Boxers" not because of their Christian belief, but because they worked for foreigners, used western products, or possessed English books and other materials. While westerners were vilified as "洋鬼子/洋毛子 (western hairy monsters)", Chinese who had any connection with westerners were condemned as "二毛子(quasi-western hairy monsters)".

In January 1901, a treaty was signed between the Qing Dynasty and eleven western countries, stipulating that the Qing Dynasty would pay indemnities plus interests amounting to 5 million kilogram silver ingots. Right after the treaty, the Qing Dynasty joined with western forces and began to crush the Boxer Rebellion. Many Boxers were arrested and executed by the government.

Drawing lessons from those incidents, missionary schools changed their strategies and eased off concerns on short-term missionary work. Instead, they placed more emphasis on modern school education, hoping to seek a long-term solution by enlightening Chinese people first. School curriculum became increasingly secular and pragmatic in many missionary schools, and the share of scientific knowledge and English education increased significantly.

Meanwhile, as the commercial value of English education continued to surge, an increasing proportion of missionary school recruits were switched from the impoverished to the privileged, especially in coastal trading cities. For western missionaries, it's the privileged rather than the impoverished that grasped the significance of English learning and possessed the resources to acquire it. But most importantly, it's the ruling class rather than the ruled that would do the policymaking and eventually shape the course of Chinese history.

Along with the shift of recruits, the practice of free admission, free tuition, and offering of living allowances was also discontinued in many missionary schools; instead, entrance examinations were held, and high tuition and fees were collected (Gu, 2013:191).

By 1912, there were 4983 missionary schools with 135,248 students and 38 colleges and universities with 3689 students, ranging from primary education to graduate education (Li et al, 1988:73). All colleges and universities modeled themselves on American counterparts. The most prominent missionary university was St. John's University. Established in 1879 in Shanghai, St. John's University was the first all-English university in Chinese history, and its graduates could further their studies in American universities without sitting for tests (Ding & Liu, 2006; Xiong & Zhou, 2007).

3.2 English Education in Republic of China (1912-1949)

The end of Qing Dynasty and the foundation of the Republic of China in 1912 created a new social context for English education in China.

3.2.1 Social context of China from 1912 to 1949

As a modern republic born out of imperial despotism, the Republic of China encountered a lot of challenges and setbacks on the way to build a democratic and civil society. It was ridden with restorations of the monarchy, warlord infighting, Japanese invasions, and uprisings before it was replaced by the People's Republic of China in 1949. However, tremendous progress had been made in almost every aspect of society during this short-lived capitalist republic.

Economically, it slowly transformed from a self-sufficient economy based on individual peasants and handicraftsmen into a market economy with capitalistic private ownership. The economy was booming with a large number of modern factories and enterprises being built and foreign trades being encouraged. Several Chinese cities became cosmopolitan and hundreds of thousands of foreigners worked and lived there, such as Shanghai and Harbin (Luo, 2011).

Constitutionally, the Republic of China was a capitalist republic. It modeled itself on the United States and established a system of separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. However, due to the unstable political situations, the direct election of the president and other government officials was not actualized until 1948, a year before the establishment of the People's Republic of China (Shi, 2016).

Politically, people were granted a number of rights and freedom by the Constitution, including rights to assembly, the right to protest, the right to a free press, and freedom of speech, which were huge breakthroughs considering the two thousand years of despotic tyranny.

Culturally, a weak central government and its relaxed control of the society provided a rare context for various schools of thought. But the three most influential and fundamental trends of thoughts were capitalism, conservatism, and communism. While the capitalist thoughts were flouring in big cities, the conservative and communist thoughts were taking root

in broad rural areas, which became one of the key contributors to the overthrow of the Republic of China and the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Educationally, the Public of China offered an unprecedented and rare opportunity for the development of education, especially education at the tertiary level. Even though the country was troubled with infightings, invasions, and uprisings, great importance had been attached to education. According to the law, investment in education from central government, provinces, and counties was no less than 15%, 25% and 35% of the total budget respectively (Fu, 2014). The monthly salary for professors were between 200 and 600 silver coins, while the majority of families of five earned less than 150 silver coins a year. (Cai, 2018, 2019).

3.2.2 English Education in the Republic of China (1912-1949)

This special social context offered a rare and golden opportunity for Chinese social development. A weak central government and a fragmented society meant lax controls and restrictions on education, press, religion, economy, and other social aspects. During this short period of time, the Republic of China made tremendous achievements. Its market-oriented economy was booming, its constitutional government was taking shape, concepts of bourgeois democracy and freedom was prevailing over tyranny. Compare with the Qing Dynasty, the number of westerners working and living in China grew enormously and many Chinese cities became cosmopolitan (He, et al., 2007; Yang, 2014).

Along with Republic of China's efforts to integrate itself into the international community, English education reached a historical high before it was abruptly ended in 1949. English not only acted as a required school subject in secondary and higher education but acted as the

primary language of instruction at middle schools and universities, especially schools and universities run by western missionaries.

Due to the turbulent sociopolitical context and weak central government, schools and universities enjoyed unprecedented autonomy to design their own curriculum, compile or choose their own textbook (Chen & Meng, 2010; Fan, 2007; Meng, 2011). Dozens of textbooks were emerging with some being compiled by local experts and others being introduced from abroad, mainly the United States (Qian, 2011).

Thanks to the benign social environment for English education, enormous achievements had been made both at secondary and higher education (Wang, 2013). The majority of first-year university students were able to use English as a tool to learn their specialized courses rather than continued their English study struggling to reach the basic level. A dozen of Chinese higher education institutions, missionary, public or private, emerged as world-famous universities for their outstanding academic accomplishment and high-quality research work. A number of Chinese geniuses obtained world prestige for their exceptional attainments both in their professional fields and in their language prowess as bilinguals.

By 1949, there were 208 institutions of higher education in mainland China and many of them became world-famous, including the first government-run university, Peiyang University, which was dubbed as the "Eastern Cornell" and many other private (missionary) universities, such as Yenching University, Fu Jen Catholic University, St. John's University, Cheeloo University, Aurora University, Soochow University, Hanchow University, University of Nanking, and Lingnan University (Li, 1988).

The majority of the faculty members in those prestigious universities were overseas

returnees or graduates of top prestigious universities, especially those from missionary or private ones (Chen, 2014). They usually had an excellent command of English, especially spoken English, which enabled them to take English as the medium of instruction. In addition, foreign personnel was common in universities and they accounted for a large proportion of teaching faculty in many top universities.

Summary

Due to the unique features of China in economy, politics, culture, ideology, and tradition, English education in China has gone through a long and devious route since English reached China as a "barbarian language" in the early 17th century. Over the centuries, the general public perception of English and English education evolves along with the increasing awareness of the significance of English among the public.

CHAPTER FOUR: ENGLISH EDUCATION AFTER 1949

Introduction

Due to the radical economic, sociopolitical, cultural, ideological, and educational transformations that happened in China after 1949, English education underwent a series of fluctuations in the first decades after the foundation of the People's Republic of China. This chapter aims to review the history of English education from 1949.

Take 1976 as a watershed year, English education after 1949 can be divided into two eras with five stages.

4.1 Social Context of China After 1949

As a socialist country, the People's Republic of China was distinctive in the economic, political, ideological, cultural, and educational system.

Economically, China has gone through two different stages. From 1949 to 1976, China was trying to build the socialism depicted by Marxist Classics, with a planned economy, public ownership of the means of production, and people's commune as its tenets and distinguishing features. All private ownership of means of production was remolded to socialist public ownership through "Movement of Socialist Transformations of Agriculture, Handicrafts and Capitalist Industry" in the early 1950s. No private economic activities, including private education, were allowed, and all economic activities were prearranged and controlled by the governments with national economic plans.

Under socialism, individuals were only members of a collective or a commune, and

individualism was suppressed as bourgeois evils. The migration of people was strictly limited by the government and people were pinned on their land or job through the "Household Registration System," a fundamental national policy that has been in existence for thousands of years aiming to put everyone under control (Sun, et al., 2011).

As a critical element of the Chinese socialist planned economy, the "Binary Social Structure of City and Countryside" classified people as "townspeople" and "peasant" the moment they were born. Their status would be registered and confirmed through the "Household Registration System" as "non-agricultural" and "agricultural." People with non-agricultural household status lived a relatively secure life and enjoyed various privileges provided by the government, including wages, pensions, healthcare, free or subsided housing, and better education. People with agricultural household status usually lived a precarious life, They had to toil in the field to survive on their own. Attending the "National College Entrance Examination" was the only way for ordinary people to change their predetermined sociopolitical and economic status identified on their family register.

After the end of the "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution" and the introduction of "Reforming and Opening-up Policy" in the late 1970s, China began transforming itself from a socialist planned economy to a socialist market economy. While the existence and development of private ownership are encouraged, the fundamental principle of socialist public ownership is maintained. While the "Household Registration System" is still upheld, people are allowed to migrate for work or education. Individuals can enjoy relatively more freedom and autonomy participating in market activities, including providing or receiving English training services.

The reform of the economic system paved the way for China to be admitted to the World

Trade Organization in 2001, a significant event that contributed to China's economic miracle and transformed China from an impoverished country to a major world economic power. The boom of China's economy enabled Chinese people to seek English education outside the public school system. It also provided a relatively free and benign environment for the development of the English training market.

Constitutionally, China is a socialist country of people's democratic dictatorship, which grants democracy to the proletariat and exerts dictatorship and suppression over the bourgeoisie and other enemies. It entitles the working class, represented by the Communist Party of China (CPC), to the leadership and bases itself on the alliance of workers and peasants. Besides the CPC, which is the only legitimate ruling party of China, there exist other eight democratic parties. But those democratic parties are only allowed to participate in state affairs by providing political consultation and democratic supervision.

The leadership of CPC is actualized through its network of party committees/branches at every level of society. A "Dual-Leadership System" or the "Administrator plus Party Secretary" is instituted in administrative sectors, legislative and judicial branches, and military and police forces. Under this system, an administrative official works parallel with a party secretary, with the former being responsible for administrative affairs and the latter taking charge of party affairs. The CPC is the only legitimate ruling party, and the party secretary makes the final decisions on major issues. This dual-leadership system is a central pillar for Chinese socialism and ensures every policy the party makes will be fully implemented across the country.

According to the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the CPC, as of the end of 2018, there were 4.61 million CPC party branches and 90.59 million party members

across China. Those party branches and members not only act as the core leadership in government departments, but also play a crucial role in quasi-government institutions and non-government organizations, including schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, press and publication, broadcasting, and trade unions. According to the latest version of the Constitution of the CPC issued in 2017, economic sectors, including state-owned, private-owned, and foreign-funded enterprises, are also required by law to establish party committees or branches.

Before the 1990s, the party not only governed the country but tightly controlled people's private life. Personal events like marriage, divorce, going to college, joining the armed forces, changing jobs, and moving was subject to the government's consents. A letter of recommendation bore an official seal of approval was required.

Administratively, the government can be graded five administrative ranks: Chairman/premier, minister/governor, head of a provincial department/mayor, county magistrate, and township head. Each rank usually consists of a leader and a certain number of deputies. Altogether, there are ten administrative levels in all government departments, quasi-government organizations, and state-owned enterprises.

Figure 4.1 Administrative ranks in China

(Source: http://www.szhgh.com/Article/opinion/zatan/2017-04-17/135486.html)
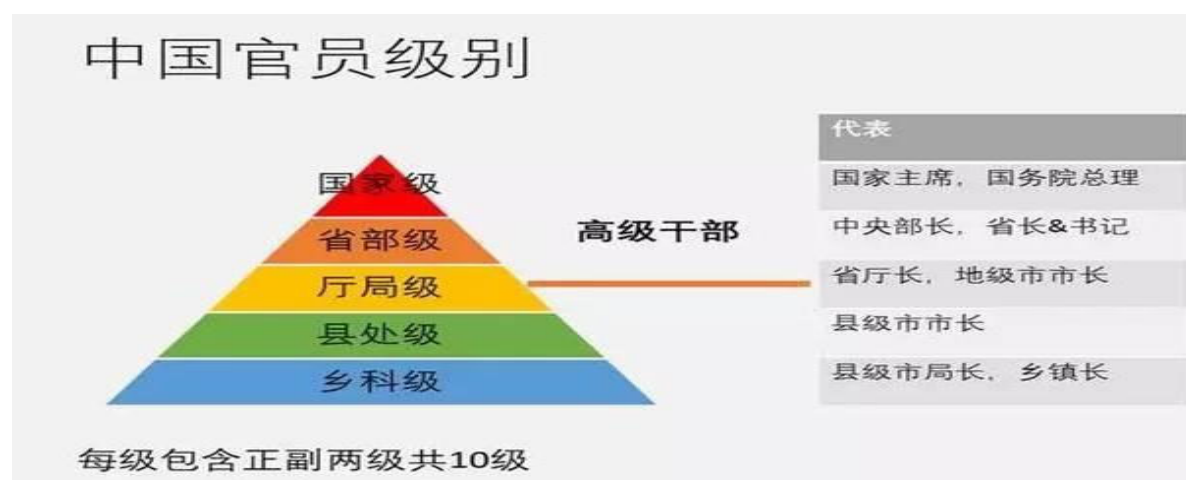
Unlike the United States and other western countries where states or provinces enjoy some autonomies in legislative, executive, and judicial powers, in China, provinces, municipalities, counties, towns are only parts of the whole administrative structure. The establishment of party committees and branches and the institution of the "dual-leadership" system guarantee that policies formulated by the party can be quickly carried out to the grass-roots level. This design has long been regarded as an advantage of Chinese socialism compare with the low-efficiency of western democracy caused by political rivalries and filibusters (Sun, 2016).

Ideologically, China takes Marxist Classics as its theoretical guidance and summarizes Four Cardinal Principles for all Chinese to follow: to stick to the socialist road, to maintain the proletarian dictatorship, to uphold the absolute leadership of the CPC, and to adhere to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, Important Thought of "Three Representatives" and Xi Jinping Thought of "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in New Era".

Culturally, China has also gone through two different stages. From 1949 to 1976, China was eager to break with the past and build a totally new socialist culture. Among all the campaigns launched to achieve that goal, the most far-reaching one was the "Movement of Destroying Four Olds": old thoughts, old culture, old habits, and old customs. Everything connected with the past was identified as evil legacies of the old society exerting a pernicious influence on socialist China. During the movement, numerous historical relics were destroyed, priceless books and paintings were burnt, and traditional customs and habits were condemned.

As the cornerstone of traditional Chinese culture, Confucianism has long been embraced and idolized by each dynasty as the only sanctioned governance philosophy and ideology.

However, when the "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution" was initiated in 1966, the first target of the revolution was Confucianism.

According to the Marxist Theory of Class Struggle, Confucianism was redefined as the representation and incarnation of imperial power and the ruling class. It was the root and backbone of absolute despotism that had been wreaked havoc on China's development for thousands of years. According to revolutionary ideas, Confucianism was a fundamental tool utilized by Chinese despots to enshrine and safeguard their imperial rules. Through Confucianism, Chinese emperors were able to eulogize themselves and exercise mind-control over their subjects. By elevating and sanctifying Chinese-Classics-memorizing and government-officials-becoming as the only decent career for Chinese people to pursue, Confucianism successfully bought over the elites and kept the masses in darkness. Confucianism was being blamed as the direct attributor to China's backwardness in modern science and technology.

Due to those conceptions, during the "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution," Confucianism was repudiated, and everything connecting with it was condemned. Confucius's tomb was excavated, Confucius's Temples were demolished, Confucius's statues were smashed, and Confucius's remains were burnt in public.

After 1976, the repudiation of Confucianism was stopped, and Confucius himself rehabilitated. With Confucius's tomb, temples, and statues being restored, Confucianism is reinstated as the foundation of Chinese traditional culture and is once again sanctioned as the governance philosophy and ideology along with Marxism.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, China has become increasingly aware of the

significance of "soft power" (Nye, 2004; Shambaugh, 2015) for promoting China's interests. Among all the measures taken to enhance its culture strength, the most prominent one is the aggressive advocacy of Confucianism. Domestically, education of traditional culture has been elevated to a national strategy, and a growing number of traditional Confucius Classics are included in school curricula and high-stake examinations. Internationally, Confucianism has been publicized and entitled as a cultural link and spiritual bond among all Chinese around the world.

Using Confucius as the representative and trademark of Chinese culture, China is trying to introduce its traditional language and culture to the world. By the end of 2018, there are 548 government-sponsored Confucius Institutes, 1193 Confucius Classrooms, and 5665 Confucius teaching sites in 154 countries/regions (Annual Report of Confucius Institutes, 2018).

Educationally, China also varies from western countries. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, all schools and universities, public or private, were taken over by the new government. All private schools were turned into public ones. All western missionary universities were closed or dismembered and merged into other universities. In June 1952, as a part of the national "Movement of Socialist Transformations" aiming to transform capitalist China into a socialist one, a massive campaign in higher education was launched to re-arrange and remold the existing higher education system from American-style to Soviet-style.

Under the bureaucracy-oriented education system, an administrator and a party secretary are working in parallel at every level. Both the administrator (president, dean, chair, or principal) and party secretary are appointed by a higher party committee and both are only responsible to their superiors.

Based on the official status of each school, whether they are run by the central government, province, or municipality, schools are entitled to different administrative ranks: minister-equivalent, governor-equivalent, mayor-equivalent, county magistrate-equivalent and township head-equivalent. Consequently, university presidents, college deans, department chairs, school principals, and their parallel party secretaries each hold corresponding administrative titles.

Figure 4.2 Diagram of "dual-leadership" at grass-root organizations (college, department, etc.)

(Source: http://news.xjtu.edu.cn/info/1033/52438.htm)

Schools and colleges are regarded as key organizations in preserving the Chinese socialist system. The ultimate goal of the whole education system is to "cultivate communist successors" (Su, 1990), talents which are "又红又专(both red and expert or who are both socialist-minded and professionally competent)." This goal of education makes the issue and implementation of a unified national curriculum critical for the cause of Chinese socialism (Yang, 2015).

Within this unique socio-cultural context, it is no surprise that China has experienced a series of political and social turmoil. It is also understandable that both the foreign language policy and the status of English in China have undergone such wide fluctuations that Bolton and Graddol (2012) once described it as "a roller-coaster ride of changing policy directives in foreign language education" (p.4).

In the following part of this chapter, the major events of English education will be reviewed in chronological order, along with the depiction of the sociopolitical context that made English education as such and continues shaping it the way it is.

4.2 English education before 1976 (1949-1976)

The first three decades after the establishment of the People's Republic of China witnessed a crushing blow to English education in China. Although brief and intermittent efforts were made to preserve English education during this long period of political fanaticism, the achievement was negligible due to the turbulent sociopolitical environment. The strong momentum of English education gathered during the Republic of China was abruptly halted, and the benign social environment for English education was suddenly turned into a harsh and hostile one.

4.2.1 The heavy blow to English education (1949-1956)

After the Second World War was ended in 1945, the United States and its western allies engaged the Soviet Union in a cold war. As the most populous country in the world with 400 million people at that time, China became the focus of vying between the United States and the Soviet Union. A civil war broke out right after the surrender of Japanese invaders, with the Soviet Union backing the communist party led by Mao Zedong and the United States supporting the nationalist party led by Chiang Kai-Shek. After three years of bloody fights, the nationalist party was defeated, and the nationalist government was forced to retreat to Taiwan in 1949. On October 1st, 1949, the People's Republic of China was officially established in

Beijing.

Contrary to the Republic of China, which maintained a good relationship with the United States, the People's Republic of China took the United States as its arch enemy and tried to eliminate everything connected with it and the western world. Right after the founding of socialist China, the majority of foreign nationals living or working in China left voluntarily or were driven out of China. A slogan claiming that "Anything supported by our enemy should be condemned and anything opposed by our enemy should be promoted" was widely circulated (Li, et al., 1975).

With the escalation of the Cold War and the Korea War outbreak, the incompatibility and animosity between socialism and capitalism became increasingly conspicuous. The United States' had been resolute in its anti-communism standpoint, maintained a long-time close relationship with the nationalist government, and strongly supported Chiang Kai-Shek during the three-year Chinese Civil War. It also tried to sabotage China's efforts to liberate Taiwan. Therefore, the anti-American rage was running high across the country once the powerful national propaganda machine was started.

Along with government propaganda blaming imperialist America as the bane of Chinese national calamities and miseries, official attitude towards English was radically switched from cherishing it as a blessing for China's modernization to condemning it as a curse of Chinese sufferings. English was classified as a tool of ideological and cultural enslavement of young Chinese students by imperialist powers.

Western missionary schools and universities were condemned as a breeding ground for cultivating compradors and flunkies of imperialist powers. Overseas students were denounced

as proxies for or accomplices of western imperialist powers. The overseas study programs sponsored by the United States and other western countries using the "Refund of Boxer Indemnity" were condemned as an insidious means to ideologically enslave young Chinese students, to westernize China, and to foster pro-America Chinese traitors (Fu, 1986; Li, et al, 1988; Li & Xu, 2006). Those judgments and perceptions have become the keynote and fundamental tenet of official propaganda and academic research.

This historical background not only made teaching and learning the Russian language necessary and urgent (Xu, 1996), but equated teaching and learning English, the language of the enemy as "unpatriotic" (Tang, 1983:41).

Even before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was held, and a provisional constitution was promulgated. It stipulated that one of the top priorities for the new government was to fundamentally overhaul the old education system and transform it from a bourgeois education to a socialist one.

In December 1949, the first national education conference was held in Beijing, and it set up the basic principles for new education system: first, it should be built on successful experience from communist party-controlled areas; second, it can retain some useful practices from old education system; third, it should model itself on the Soviet Union.

Russian education dated back as early as the 1920s. The victory of the October Revolution inspired early Chinese communist revolutionaries and founders of the People's Republic of China to build a communist country in China.

In August 1950, a provisional curriculum for middle school was issued, stipulating that foreign language was a required course for both junior and senior middle schools with 3 and 4

class hours per week for each stage. If personnel and resources were available, Russian should be preferred; otherwise, English education should continue for the time being.

However, due to the long-running animosity towards the United States and the ongoing Korea War, various massive movements were launched to condemn American imperialist aggression. The anti-American sentiment was running high across the country. According to an article named "On Current English Education," which was published in a national magazine on July 5, 1953, "the majority of middle school students were unwilling to learn English, and they strongly demanded a switch to Russian" (Guo, 2017:114).

From 1953, the Ministry of Education started designing a unified national curriculum for all college majors and stipulated that all higher education institutions must follow it. For English majors, the curriculum disintegrated English education into five skills of listening, speaking, reading, writing, and translating, and both teaching and learning revolved around it.

As a critical element of the "Socialist Transformation Movement" in education, ideological remolding was carried out in all schools. All staff and faculty members, especially those English educators, were required to receive socialist ideological education and take sides: progressive socialism or reactionary capitalism. All old bourgeois thoughts would be singled out and repudiated. Those who refused to renounce their old ideas would be condemned and punished.

At the same time, the first Five-Year Plan for Economic Development was initiated in 1953, and a large number of Soviet experts and personnel were sent to China for offering guidance and assistance. The demand for Russian translators and professionals were multiplying. Therefore, seven Russian language schools and dozens of Russian departments

were newly founded in seventeen universities and nineteen teacher's colleges (Li, 2009, p. 82).

In March 1953, vice president Liu Shaoqi delivered a speech on the third anniversary of the "Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty," emphasizing the need to learn from the Soviet Union more comprehensively. As an echo to this requirement, the Ministry of Education issued its work plan for the next academic year, demanding the imitation of the Soviet education system, school curriculum, teaching plans, teaching contents, and teaching methods.

Learning Russian had become a nationwide fanaticism as well as a political task. Not only students but teachers and faculty members were required to learn Russian. "Even renowned professors in their fifties such as Zhu Guangqian were studying hard to learn Russian" (Li, 2009, p. 83).

In contrast, after the radical rearrangement of higher education institutions based on the Soviet model, most English departments were closed or turned into Russian departments. Only nine English teaching centers were kept for English majors in nine universities across the country (Li, et al., 1988: 408). Many English teachers were required to receive brief training and switched to Russian teaching.

In April 1954, the second "National Russian Education Conference" was held to deal with some major issues that emerged in Russian education. After the meeting, an official directive, "Instructions on National Russian Education," was issued, and it suspended all English education in junior middle schools. In senior high schools and universities, English was officially replaced by Russian as the primary foreign language.

Later in the same year, another two education edicts were issued. They specifically focused on the reasons why English education in junior middle schools was suspended and the

solutions to problems caused by this suspension, including the training and re-employing of English educators as Russian teachers.

Besides official Russian education in schools and universities, non-official Russian education was also conducted by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, mainly through evening classes or broadcasting. Besides, Russian training centers were also held by many universities to offer training for their faculty members.

4.2.2 The back-to-English movement (1956-1966)

In February 1956, Soviet leader Khrushchev condemned and repudiated Stalin and modified Marxist Classic on the incompatibility between socialism and capitalism at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. This enraged Chairman Mao Zedong and the friendship between China and the Soviet Union began to rupture. In the following few years, a series of disputes over ideology, socialism and international affairs were engaged. The two communist allies finally split in 1960, with the Soviet Union recalling all its professionals and discontinuing its assistance to China.

Because of the split, China began to put forward the policy of "Independence and Self-reliance" and switched from "Learn from the Soviet Union" to "Learn from all the advanced experience in the world" (Yang, 2000). In January 1956, a conference focusing on intellectuals was chaired by Zhou Enlai, and a call to "march towards science" was made at the meeting. Zhou emphasized that to make tremendous progress in science and technology, other foreign language education, mainly English, should be enhanced, and translation of foreign professional books should be expanded.

In 1956, a draft curriculum for high school was issued. A number of high schools began to restore English education. Some universities and teacher's colleges also started to establish or restore English as a major. By the end of 1956, twenty-three universities had English departments with a total of 2,500 English-major students (Fu, 1986: 72).

In July 1957, a teaching plan for the academic year 1957-1958 was issued by the Ministry of Education, stipulating that schools with English education could outnumber schools with Russian education. By the end of the year, English curricula for senior and junior middle school were issued. English was restored as a school subject at junior middle schools. However, due to the lack of qualified English educators, the restoration of English education at junior middle school was suspended.

In 1958, several measures were taken to deal with the oversupply of Russian professionals. All Russian Language Colleges were discontinued, disintegrated, merged with others, or changed as universities of foreign languages. Russian-majors were persuaded to switch to other language majors. Graduating Russian-majors from the three-year program were required to stay for another year and changed all three-year Russian programs to four-year ones. All Russian major program was suspended for one year.

In March 1959, an official directive was issued focusing on strengthening and restoring foreign language education in senior and junior middle schools. It stipulated that one-third of middle school would have Russian education, and the rest would have English and other foreign languages. English education could be started from 4th grade if primary schools had qualified English educators.

After that, several foreign language institutes were expended or newly-founded. Many

Russian teachers returned to or switched for English teaching to train English teachers. Many experimental primary and middle schools were established, with a much higher requirement for English education and high-quality English education as their signature.

On December 8, 1961, the Ministry of Education announced that from 1962, foreign language tests, mainly Russian and English, would be added to the National College Entrance Examination. Foreign language score would be formally counted when college enrollment decisions were made.

In June 1962, the Nation English Curriculum for Industrial Institutions of Higher Education (Draft) was issued by the Ministry of Education. It specified the English teaching targets, teaching objectives, class hours, teaching requirements, and teaching approaches in those colleges/universities. English textbooks for college students majoring in science and technology were also published in the same year.

In November 1964, the Department of Foreign Language Education was founded as an administrative branch in the Ministry of Education to manage foreign language education.

On November 14, 1964, the "Outline of the Seven-Year Plan for Foreign Language Education" was jointly formulated by the Ministry of Education and several other government departments. It was remembered as the first national foreign language education planning made by the central government on foreign language teaching & learning in schools nationwide (Hu, 2001). It laid down the policies and guidelines for the development of foreign language education in the next seven years. It reiterated that English was the primary foreign language for education at every level.

In June 1965, a teaching conference on foreign language departments was held in Beijing,

and it focused on the educational objectives, curriculum, and teaching contents. It highlighted the critical role of foreign language departments in training English educators and professionals and defined the relationship between "professional learning" and "ideological inculcating".

Thanks to those policies and efforts, English gradually regained its status as the primary foreign language for schools and universities. English education at junior middle school was restored, and English education at primary school was initiated. Both the number of English departments and the number of English-major students at universities or teacher's college increased.

At the same time, China began to establish more diplomatic and economic relationships with the western and third-world countries. "Russian lost its prestige and popularity, and English once again became the favored foreign language" (Feng, 2011:28).

However, this improvement was short-lived. In 1966, the "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution" broke out, and English education suffered another fatal blow. Actually, during the second decade, English education was disrupted by a series of political movements, including Movement of Eliminating Counter-Revolutionaries, Movement of Rectification, Movement of Anti-Rightists, Movement of Great Leap Forward, Movement of Socialist Education, and Movement of People's Commune. Both English textbooks and English classes were heavy with political slogans and ideological education.

4.2.3 The vilification of English education (1966-1978)

Fearing that the whole country had been controlled by "Capitalist-Roaders," officials within the communist party preferring capitalism to socialism, Chairman Mao Zedong

launched the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in May 1966, hoping to mobilize the masses to eliminate the hidden bourgeois ideology (Yang & Zhang, 2000).

Economically and politically, China had been transformed from capitalism into socialism through the movement of "Socialist Transformations" in the early 1950s. But academia was regarded as a stronghold of capitalists and reactionaries. Those who received western-style education in the previous capitalist Republic of China, including teachers, professors, writers, professionals, and government officials, were regarded as "Capitalist-Roaders," grabbing the power in every corner of the society and were more dangerous than enemy soldiers.

What's worse, the previous seventeen-year education after 1949, especially higher education, was regarded as a failure infiltrated by revisionist and counter-revolutionary ideas. All the talents cultivated by this education were bourgeois intellectuals conspiring to restore socialist China to a capitalist one. Similar to the Yuan Dynasty's social stratifications, intellectuals were labeled as the "Stinking Number Nine". It came ninth on the list and were identified as targets of revolution: "landlords," "rich peasant," "counter-revolutionaries," "bad elements," "rightists," "traitors," "spies," "capitalist-roaders," and "intellectuals."

Under the directive of Chairman Mao, a national campaign of purification was launched, first in academia, then to every aspect of the society. Young students were mobilized by political fanaticism and began dropping their classes to participate in this political cause. Chairman Mao Zedong declared that school should be temporarily suspended to "make the revolution" (Ross, 1993, p. 55). As a result, in the following decade, school education, especially English education, was virtually paralyzed. The National College Entrance Examination was also suspended.

When school/college students flocked into Beijing, they were warmly greeted by Chairman Mao at Tiananmen Square. They were praised as "Red Guards," or soldiers who pledged to safeguard Chairman Mao and his socialist thoughts and to eliminate "Capitalist-Roaders."

With the endorsement for Chairman Mao, those young students became the backbones of the Cultural Revolution and started to carry out a sacred cause of a "Second Revolution." Schools and universities, especially English-oriented schools and universities of foreign languages, became the worst-hit areas. Being stigmatized and denounced as "Seedbed for Bourgeois and Revisionists" and "Source of Corruption and Decadence," many schools and universities were ordered to move to rural areas to "establish a connection with the poor." Many schools or universities were stormed by "Red Guards." Valuable books were burnt and school properties were either stolen or smashed (Li & Xu, 2006: 266).

Another mission for "Red Guards" was to pick and persecute those who were classified as "Capitalist Roaders." Intellectuals became the primary targets of this movement of persecution because of their educational background. English educators sustained most attacks during this political storm for their knowledge of English and western culture and their criticism of the socialist government during the "Two-Hundred Principles (let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend)."

Besides the general labels for intellectuals, such as "Bourgeois Reactionary Academic Authorities" and "Ghosts and Monsters," English educators had their unique stickers, including "Spies for Imperialist America or Revisionist Soviet Union," "Servile Worshipers of Western Lifestyle," and "Traitors."

During this ten-year national catastrophe, many intellectuals, especially well-known English professors, were demonized as "Rightists" or "Capitalist-Roaders" and were humiliated or tortured in public. Later, attacks on English and western culture were expanded from English educators to anyone who had "illicit relations" with foreign countries or had any contacts with English materials.

Once caught by "Red Guards" without any legal basis or formality, those "Rightists" or "Capitalist-Roaders" would be forced to confess their "crimes" and renounce their "bourgeois thoughts." Most of them would be paraded through the streets and humiliated in public. Usually, their hands would be tied behind their backs, their hairs would be half-shaved, and a placard would be hanged around their necks describing their crimes. Their homes would be searched, and their properties would be confiscated.

For English educators, once their homes were searched, their collection of English books, magazines, newspapers, and other materials would be confiscated as evidence of their "crimes." At the peak of the turbulence, many professors committed suicides, or were persecuted to death, or were sent to the remote countryside to receive "socialist re-education" through hard labor (Li & Xu, 2006:266).

During this chaos, Premier Zhou Enlai made great efforts to protect English professionals

and preserve English education. In November 1970, Premiere Zhou spent five nights meeting with faculty and student representatives from several universities. He encouraged them to overcome various adversities to continue English education, emphasizing that English was a bridge to the outside world. Without it, there would be no communications.

At the same time, starting in 1970, several western countries began to establish formal diplomatic relations with China. In October 1970, China's permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council was switched from the Republic of China to the People's Republic of China. In February 1972, President Nixon made a historic visit to China and signed the "Sino-US Communiqué," which officially announced the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two rivals.

Because of those international events, the significance of English was highlighted. A series of measures were taken in the following few years to meet the increasing demand for English professionals. From 1971, several universities of foreign languages resumed their enrollments, and a number of foreign teachers were hired. From 1972, overseas studies were resumed, and students were sent to western countries, mainly European ones.

However, those efforts were offset by the broader social context: the continuation of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Besides, aims to restore English and school education were denounced by "Gang of Four" as a reversal and a restoration launched by "Rightists" and "Capitalist-Roaders" and a "vicious attack" on the "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution." Even the surviving English education was disrupted by constant physical labor and fraught with political propaganda (Wang, 2008:4). So-called English education was only the learning of 26 English letters and political slogans (Li & Xu, 2006: 230).

Therefore, little had been changed in English education, and English education remained a target of various political movements. Then in 1973, two incidents occurred, and they further destroyed education in general and English education in particular.

After Deng Xiaoping was reinstated in 1973, he indicated that a preliminary test should be held for college candidates who were recommended by their communes. When Zhang Tiesheng, an ordinary high school graduate who had been working in a remote village after graduation in 1968, was recommended by his commune to take the test on June 30, 1973, he was unable to answer the questions. Unwilling to lose this precious opportunity, he wrote a letter on the reverse side of the paper, claiming that, unlike other dishonest intellectuals who focused on their study while neglecting their jobs, he was dedicated to the work. Therefore, he had no time and energy to prepare for the test after eighteen hours of hard work each day. As a team leader in this harvest season, he felt guilty to put personal interest ahead of public interest. He was frustrated that his eligibility was nullified because of this test.

Later, this letter was published in People's Daily and reprinted by others. A series of editorials were published, condemning the preliminary test proposed by Deng Xiaoping as "restoration of the old education system" and "bourgeois' attack on proletarians." Zhang was praised as a "hero" who was brave enough to fight against the "mainstream" led by "Capitalist-Roaders."

Because of this incident, those who got the highest scores in the test were rejected, while those who got the lowest scores were admitted by colleges. A perception was forming that the poorer performance you had in school, the better. The attempt to restore the practice of enrolling college students through tests was terminated.

While this incident put a heavy blow to education in general, another incident involving an 8th-grade girl committing suicide because of an English test made already shattered English education even worse.

On July 10, 1973, an English test was held at a junior middle school in Mazhenfu Commune, Tanghe County, Henan Province. A student named Zhang Yuqin didn't answer the questions on the test paper; instead, she wrote doggerel on the reverse side of it, questioning the meaning of learning English:

我是中国人　　I'm a Chinese,

何必学外文　　Why should I learn English?

不会 A B C　　Even I don't know ABC,

也当接班人　　I'm still able to be a revolutionary successor.

接好革命班　　By doing a better job in continuing the revolution,

埋葬帝修反　　We can bury imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries.

When her English teacher reported the incident was to the school principal, the school principal scolded her in a public school meeting two days later and required that each class discuss it. After the meeting, Zhang disappeared, and two days later, her body was found in a reservoir.

This incident could have been a minor and insignificant case during the violent culture revolution, where many people lost their lives due to persecution or armed conflicts. However, by coincidence, half a year later, this incident traveled to Jiang Qing, wife of Chairman Mao and the core member of "Gang of Four." She took this incident as a chance to attack Premier Zhou and other "Rightists" and "Capitalist-Roaders". Defining this incident as a "reversal" and

a "typical case of the revisionist education ideology," Jiang Qing ordered a reinvestigation.

Based on the investigation, several school-administers were dismissed, and the school principal and the homeroom teacher were sentenced for two years in prison. As for the student, she was granted a posthumous award of "Teen Revolutionary" for her bravery and sacrifice. She and her family enjoyed the same honor and privilege as a revolutionary martyr. A new house was built for her family, and her brother was admitted to a university without any conditions.

As a result of this incident, nearly all English education at primary and secondary levels was removed. Many conscientious and responsible teachers and administrators were persecuted or dismissed or imprisoned for their strictness. School education was virtually in paralysis because no teachers dared to discipline their students during the class.

Attacks on English were further intensified, and English education was reduced to the minimum. All textbooks, being fraught with political propaganda and Chairman Mao's writings, were compiled and strictly-censored by the Ministry of Education to make sure students would not be contaminated by western reactionary or bourgeois thoughts. Everything connected with the west would be banned, including English books, movies, radios, and so on. Any contacts with original English materials would be a punishable offense. "Listening to Enemy's Broadcasting," usually refers to VOA or BBC, was a serious criminal charge that could land a person in prison for many years.

Picture 4.3 Propaganda poster banning the listening of enemy's broadcasting.   Picture 4.4 The second to the left was charged with "Listening to enemy's broadcasting"

(Source: http://news.sina.com.cn/c/zg/lrs/2014-08-15/1725164.html)   (Source: http://news.sina.com.cn/c/zg/lrs/2014-08-15/1725164.html)

4.3 English education after 1976 (1976-present)

The "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution" was not immediately ended after Chairman Mao's death on September 9, 1976, and the arrests of the "Gang of Four" a month later. On the contrary, it's supposed to be continued by Chairman Mao's designated successor Hua Guofeng. Chairman Hua maintained that "whatever decisions made by Chairman Mao should be upheld and whatever directives given by Chairman Mao should be followed."

However, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, a group of enlightened senior party members finally took power. They began to take measures to bring the country back on track, especially education. In October 1977, one year after the death of Chairman Mao Zedong and the arrests of "Gang of Fours", an official announcement was made declaring that the "admission to college through recommendation" was stopped and the "National College Entrance Examination" would be resumed one month later. This resumption of college entrance examination was a historical event remembered by many Chinese people as a moment to change their fates.

Since then, English education was brought back to the right track. A series of policies were

issued to promote English education, including the resumption of College English education and the initiation of CET-4/6.

4.3.1 The craze of English education (1976-2009)

In March and April 1978, a national conference on science and a national conference on education were held respectively. Deng Xiaoping emphasized that education was the only means to catch up with the advanced countries in science and technology, and education should be prioritized among all government agenda, from primary schools to graduate schools (Wang, 2008: 6). Eight months later, in December 1978, at the Third Plenary Session of China Communist Party's Eleventh Central Committee, historical lessons were drawn, and the "reforms and opening-up" policy was formulated.

This 1978 national congress officially terminated the "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution" and outlined fundamental principles and policies of building a socialist country with Chinese characteristics. The switch of focus from "class struggles" to "economic development" and the national goal of "Four Modernizations" made English education extremely crucial and urgent, especially considering the disruptions and suspensions English education had suffered in the past three decades. After the national congress, each field of the society began to take measures to recover from the chaos and implement those national decisions and policies.

In January 1978, the "Teaching Plan for Ten-year Primary and Middle School (draft)" was issued by the Ministry of Education. It stipulated that the number of school years for primary and middle school was five, three, and two, respectively. Foreign language education, mainly

English, was supposed to be offered from 3rd grade and the number of class hours per week was 4-4-4-5-4-4-4-4 from 3rd grade to 10th grade. All five skills, listening, speaking, reading, writing, and translating were specified by the curriculum.

However, due to the lack of qualified foreign language educators and due to the situation at that time, foreign language education was only started from the first year at junior middle schools, and the focus of teaching was confined to reading comprehension (Li, et al, 1988: 358). Besides, because foreign languages weren't included in entrance examinations for senior middle schools and colleges, foreign language education was not taken seriously by educators and students. Class hours were often seized and diverted for more critical subjects, mainly Chinese and mathematics.

In August 1978, a "National Foreign Language Education Conference" was held in Beijing. Representatives from English departments and public foreign language departments, English-oriented schools, top primary and middle schools, got together to summed up the past experience and make a blueprint for foreign language education in the coming years. A speech called "Speed up the Cultivation of Foreign Language Professionals" was delivered by the Vice Chairman of the National People's Congress. It emphasized the urgency of English education to help to introduce western technologies and equipment. However, the long-time stagnation of English education and the lack of qualified English professionals called for prompt actions to change that situation.

After the meeting, an education statute, the "Instructions on Strengthening Foreign Language Education" was formed. It covered every aspect of foreign language education from primary to higher education, which included:

1. Promote foreign language education at primary and middle schools. The same importance should be attached to foreign languages as to Chinese and mathematics. Foreign language classes should be added to middle or primary school curricula in cities and other schools in the following years; more efforts should be made to build English-oriented schools;

2. Enhance public foreign language education at the tertiary level. Class hours should be increased, and teaching standards should be raised. Classes should be taught in English for junior or senior students. English training classes could be held for scientists, technicians, university faculty, and candidates for overseas studies.

3. Initiate various forms of non-government English education, including evening classes, radio and TV programs, public lectures.

4. Concentrate all resources to build several foreign languages universities as an incubator for English educators and professionals.

5. Design and plan the foreign language education with strategic and long-term visions. Currently, the most urgent issue was to promote English education; but the education of other foreign languages should not be neglected.

6. Expedite the training of English educators and professionals. Various forms of learning could be taken to train or improve their English proficiency, including in/out-service training, overseas study, inviting foreign experts to have seminars.

7. Compile several national unified curriculum and textbooks for primary, secondary, and higher education. Supporting materials like CDs, tapes, films should also be developed.

8. Pay more attention to the research of English teaching methods. Introduce and learn the latest theories on English education and Second Language Acquisition.

9. Make use of the latest modern technologies to improve teaching efficiency. Conduct pilot programs of English education through broadcasting; set up specially-designated research teams to promote the development of English education through modern techniques.

This official education statute was the first national foreign language education planning after the end of the "Great Proletarian Culture Revolution". It set up the tone for foreign language education policymaking and depicted a clear blueprint for national foreign language education in the following years. It was comprehensive, specific, and viable, and played a critical role in promoting English education in the coming decades (Fu, 1986: 92).

In 1978, foreign languages, mainly English, was included in the "National College Entrance Examination," but only used as a reference for top universities. Then in 1979, 1980, 1981, and 1982, the original English score would be converted, accounting for 10%, 30%, 50%, and 70% of the total scores, respectively. From 1983, foreign language was fully incorporated in this high-stake national test (Liu, 2013).

In December 1978, the first group of 52 students was sent to the United States by the government, and it marked the beginning of overseas study after a suspension of three decades. Since then, an increasing number of students went to the United States to study, most of them were self-funded.

In April 1981, the "Teaching Plan for Key Six-Year Middle Schools" and the "Teaching Plan for Ten-year Primary and Middle Schools (revised)" were issued by the Ministry of Education. They stipulated that by 1985, all five-year middle schools should be replaced by six-year ones with three years for each stage. Chinese, mathematics, and foreign language were classified as the three main school subjects for primary and secondary education. English was

supposed to be the primary foreign language. The focus of teaching was on student's reading skills.

In May 1982, a "National Secondary Foreign Language Education Conference" was held, and "Instructions on Strengthening Secondary Foreign Language Education" was formulated. This official statute reiterated the economic and strategic significance of foreign language education and the necessity and urgency of foreign language education at middle schools. It echoed policies made by the "National Foreign Language Education Conference" four years ago and emphasized that from 1983, foreign language would be 100% counted in the "National College Entrance Examination".

After the meeting, schools made more efforts to promote English education, mainly to prepare their students to pass the required English test in the "National College Entrance Examination". All middle schools offered English education, and class hours were guaranteed. Through increased enrollments of foreign language institutes, in-service training, and Russian teachers switching to English, the number of English educators in middle school jumped from 23,784 in 1965 to 325,020 in 1985 (Li, et al, 1988:368).

Education of English as a major was also booming in the same period. While all foreign language institutes restored their education of English as a major, an increasing number of colleges or universities established their English department, and the number of its faculty increased from 4,621 in 1965 to 19,211 in 1983 (Li, et al, 1988: 419).

In October 1983, the paramount leader Deng Xiaoping proposed that "Education should be oriented toward the modernization, the world, and the future". This declaration specified the direction and set the guiding principle for China's education in a new ear (Shi, 2013).

In 1985 and 1986, two newly-revised College English curricula were issued for universities of science, engineering and universities of liberal arts. Both the two curricula proposed a level-based College English education system, and College English was graded from Level One to Level Six. All requirements were described in detail. The compulsory vocabulary was listed as an appendix of the curriculum.

In May 1985, a national education conference was held in Beijing, and it focused on discussions of "Decision of the Central Committee of China Communist Party on Education System Reform", an official statute that dictated how education should be conducted in the following years. It stressed the fundamentality of absolute leadership of China Communist Party in education and decided to replace the Ministry of Education with the State Education Commission. It pointed out the necessity and urgency of reforming China's education system considering the fact that a new technological revolution was booming in the western world. The meeting proposed that a nine-year compulsory education would be enforced across the country.

A resolution was made in September 1986, at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of China Communist Party. It stated that more efforts should be made to study western latest technologies and advanced managerial methods in economy and administration, including those generated by developed capitalist counties.

In October 1986, a national conference focusing on foreign language education reform in middle schools was held. An official statute, "Instructions on Reforming and Strengthening Foreign Language Education in Middle Schools" was issued, stipulating that all schools should exactly follow the same national curriculum designed by the State Education Commission. It

also reiterated that all schools should use the same nation textbooks compiled and published by the State Education Commission, a practice dated back to 1956 when the Ministry of Education began to replace multifarious textbooks with national and unified ones.

In April 1987, the State Education Commission issued a statute stating that a national English test, the national College English Test Band Four (CET-4), would be administered for all non-English-majors. The first test was held five months later, and 102,821 students attended it voluntarily. Two years later, the national College English Test Band Six (CET-6) was held for those who had taken and passed CET-4.

In 1990, the "Regulation on Higher Education Institution Evaluation (draft)", the first official statute on higher education performance assessment, was issued by the State Education Commission. It specified the nature, goals, guiding principles, basic criteria, and indicators of the assessment. The results of each evaluation would be unveiled to the public.

From the early 1990s, an increasing number of higher education institutions began to make their school-level policy. They required their non-English-majors to take and pass CET-4/6 to get their degree diplomas (bachelor, master, or doctor) besides meeting all other requirements. CET-4/6 was also accepted by employers as a means to sift job applicants.

In 1992, a national English test for English majors, the Test for English Major Band Four/Eight (TEM-4/8), was initiated across the country. Like non-English-majors, taking and passing Tem-4/8 became a precondition for English majors to get their degree diplomas.

In early 1992, the then-paramount leader Deng Xiaoping, the chief architect of China's Reform and Opening-up Policy, made an inspection tour of southern Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai. He emphasized the fundamentality of "reforming and opening-up" and

reiterated the determination to further reform China's economic system and open to the outside world.

Since then, China entered a new era of development and strived to participate more activities in the international community. China's endeavor to join the WTO and Beijing's bid to host the Olympic Games enormously promoted the English teaching and learning throughout the country.

In 1993, the "New Oriental School" was established in Beijing, and it quickly won its fame as the best private English training institute focusing on GRE and TOEFL training. A book compiled by Yu on GRE vocabulary memorization was worshipped as a bible for students preparing for overseas study and was dubbed as "红宝书(red treasure book)".

Picture 4. 5 Yu Minhong was lecturing on English study for TOEFL and GRE   Picture 4.6 College students' bible on preparations for overseas study

In the same year, "Education First," a foreign-funded private English training institute also established its first division in China. Since then, the number of domestic and foreign-funded English training institutes increased rapidly.

In 1994, Li Yang Craze English, another famous private English training institute, was established. Unlike other private English training institutes, it aimed to prepare non-English-majors to pass CET-4/6. As the founder of "Crazy English", Li Yang failed his end-of-term English tests and CET-4/6 several times during his first two years in college from 1986 to 1987.

After abandoning the traditional grammar-translation learning method and forming his learning style, he got the second-highest score in CET-4 held in 1988. Since then, he began to make lecture tours across the country to promote his Crazy English.

Picture 4.7 Tens of thousands students were learning Crazy English

Picture 4.8 Tens of thousands students were learning Crazy English

(Source: http://www.sohu.com/a/115463223_404279)

(Source: http://www.sohu.com/a/115463223_404279)

In 1995, the "Education Law of the People's Republic of China" was issued. The fundamental law in education stipulated that education must serve socialist modernization and combine with productive labor to cultivate builders and successors who are all-rounded in morality, intelligence, and physique.

In 1998, a proposal aiming to enlarge college enrollments to stimulate economic growth was accepted by the central government. An official statute was issued stipulating that the expansion would start from the fall semester 1999. As a result, college enrolment jumped from 1.08 million in 1998 to 1.6 million in 1999, then to 6.29 million in 2009 and 7.72 million in 2016. In contrast, the number of faculty increased from 0.5 million in 1998 to 0.52 million in 1999, and then 1.3 million in 2009, and 1.6 million in 2016.

In 1999, a national English test for professionals, the "National Foreign Language Proficiency Test for Professional and Technical Personnel" was initiated. Besides meeting other criteria, all professionals and technical personnel were required to take and pass the test to seek higher professional ranks and titles.

In 2000, a national conference focusing on building an interlinked and coordinated English education system through primary to graduate schools was held by the Ministry of Education. The meeting emphasized the significance of teaching and learning English based on scientific theories of language education and the urgency of transforming an isolated English education system into a holistic one. Principles and direction for future English education reform were proposed.

In 2001, China won the bid for the 29th Summer Olympics and was admitted to the World Trade Organization. In 2002, the "Committee of Beijing Residents' Learning to Speak English Program" was established and a five-year plan (2003-2008) English education program was initiated, specifying the program goals, strategies, and concrete measures that should be taken.

This enthusiasm soon spread to the rest of the country, and China was running an "English fever" (Osnos, 2008). People from all walks of life, regardless of their age, gender, background, were all so crazy about learning English. This extraordinary social phenomenon was called a "National Campaign for English Learning," and English television programs were watched by millions and English corners where large crowds gathered together to practice speaking English flourished everywhere on campuses or in parks (Adamson, 2004; Chen & Hird, 2006).

Picture 4.9 Local residents were learning English

Picture 4.10 Specially-Compiled English Book for Beijing Olympics

(Source: http://sports.sohu.com/78/74/sports_news163367478.shtml)

(Source: http://bj.xdf.cn/publish/portal24/tab10292/info239644.htm)

In 2001, an official statute, "Guideline on Promoting English Education in Primary

Schools," was formulated by the Ministry of Education. It stated that, from the fall semester of 2001, English education would be started at all primary schools. Schools in cities would take the lead, and other schools would follow suit in the following years. Primary English education usually started from 3rd grade but could begin at 1st grade if both personnel and resources were available.

In 2004, a government-sponsored program aiming to promote Chinese language and culture education around the world, namely the "Confucius Institute" was initiated. By offering operating funds, free textbooks, and volunteer Chinese educators, the Chinese International Language Council (Hanban) had established 122 Confucius Institutes/Classrooms in 49 countries/regions by the end of 2006.

In 2005, at a press conference on reforms of CET-4/6, the vice minister from the Ministry of Education reiterated that there had been no such a national policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas. Whether such a policy should be made or not was the autonomy entitled to individual institution higher education. Besides, from 2006, CET-4/6 would be turned from a criterion-referenced test to a norm-referenced one, and CET-4/6 Certificate would be replaced by a CET-4/6 Test Report Form with no fixed passing line.

4.3.2 The diversification of English education (2010-present)

China's economy began to boom after it joined WTO in 2001. By 2010, China had surpassed Japan and became the second-largest economy in the world. Being dubbed as the "engine of the global economy" (Cai, 2019), China's economy maintains a miraculous speed while western countries are still struggling due to the Great Recession caused by the breakout

of the financial crisis 2008 (Lin, 2010).

Based on this economic success, an increasing number of Chinese scholars firmly believed that China was bound to overtake the United States in few years (Chen, 2013; Hu, 2015; Li, 2015; Li, 2016). According to Hu Angang, a professor from Tsinghua University, China had already surpassed the United States in terms of economy, science, and technology and comprehensive national strength in 2016 (Mu, 2018). This conviction was echoed by Hu Xijin (2010, 2013), the edit-in-chief of People's Daily-affiliated Global Times, who claimed that the world was now beginning to revolve around China, and the focus and pillar of world power were shifting. China had become the driving force of the world, and it's time for China to make the rules of the game rather than follow it.

Along with this conviction and a deep-rooted sense of superiority, China was shifting its national policy of "hiding your capacities and biding your time" to "actively achieving something" (Liu, 2019; Zhou, 2019). A more aggressive stance had been taken in promoting China's national interests, handling disputes over territory or trade with others, and building up Chinese national soft powers (Liu, 2018).

Economically, grand economic development blueprints, the "One Belt One Road Initiative" and "Made in China 2025" were issued in 2012 and 2015, respectively. While the former aimed to seek a broader global market for Chinese products and establish a new trading system led by China, the latter aimed to transform China from a low-end manufacturing center to a high-end one. Chinese enterprises were encouraged to "go out" to invest in other countries, acquire strategic foreign companies, and participate in global competitions.

Ideologically, in 2012, a series of notions were formulated, including the "Core Values of

Chinese Socialism," "Chinese Dream," the "Four Confidence," and "A Community with a Shared Future for Mankind." The "Core Values of Chinese Socialism" covers twelve aspects and intends to counterattack so-called universal or western bourgeois values. The "Chinese Dream" is essentially a national goal of "Great Rejuvenation of Chinese Nation," aiming to restore ancient Chinese glories and to boost Chinese national pride. The "Four Confidence" is an ideological innovation aiming to boost Chinese people's confidence in socialist road, theory, system, and culture. "A Community with a Shared Future for Mankind" is a grand project aiming to obtain more leadership in global governance.

In 2016 and 2017, the "Guidance on Strengthening Party Building Work at Private Schools/Colleges" and the "Guidance on Strengthening and Improving Ideological and Political Inculcation at Colleges/Universities under New Situations" were issued respectively by the Central Committee of China Communist Party and the State Council. Both of the two official statutes emphasized the fundamentality and urgency of reinforcing the absolute leadership of China Communist Party in a new era, and more stringent measures should be taken to confront new challenges coming from home and abroad.

Educationally, a series of policies or proposals have been made to promote Chinese language and culture education while dampening down "English fever" and western culture obsession. A growing number of old-style private institutes are established where students will receive old-style education, such as paying respects to Confucius, ancestors, and parents, reading and reciting Confucian Classics, learning Chinese Calligraphy, and traditional etiquette.

In 2010, the "Outline of National Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)" was issued. One of the top priorities was attracting more international students to study in Chinese universities by offering them full financial support. According to the Ministry of Education, the budget for foreign student education was 500 million U.S. dollars annually 2018.

In 2013, a former spokesman for the Ministry of Education and the editor-in-chief of Language and Culture Press proposed that English education at primary schools should be removed to protect the Chinese language and culture. Traditional Chinese Classics education should be enhanced, and private English-training classes for kids should be banned.

In 2014, an official statute was issued by the Ministry of Education to enhance traditional Chinese culture education. It highlighted the essentiality and urgency of traditional Chinese culture education in teaching students with a sense of national pride and patriotism. It stipulated that "Traditional Chinese Classics" should be added to school curricula as a compulsory course incorporated in high-stake examinations.

From 2017, taking and passing the "National Foreign Language Proficiency Test for Professional and Technical Personnel" was no longer an essential condition for professionals and technical personnel to seek higher professional ranks and titles;

In 2017, at "The 19th National Congress of China Communist Party", President Xi Jinping

reiterated the fundamentality of China Communist Party's absolute leadership in every aspect of society, especially in education. Socialist ideological and political education should be a critical element of school education. Measures should be taken to make sure that socialist ideologies reach every classroom and every individual student.

In 2018, the "Implementation Plan of Chinese Classics Reading Project" was issued by the Ministry of Education and the State Language Commission. It reiterated the essentiality of traditional Chinese classics education and specified measures that should be taken to carry out this national campaign;

However, contrary to the government's efforts to "cool down" people's mania for English learning, the private English training market keeps booming (He, 2019). Besides the traditional ways of English learning through offline, face-to-face training, new forms of English learning are emerging. They include online one-on-one learning with English native speakers, participation in "overseas study tours," study abroad at earlier ages, and attending "International Schools" that model themselves on the American education curriculum.

According to the "Report on the Development of International School in China (2019)" issued by IResearch Consulting Group, Inc., there were 1309 international schools in China with 513,000 students by the end of 2018. About 45.6% of the international schools were established between 2011 and 2019. The average annual tuition nationwide was 15,429 U.S. dollars.A similar report issued by the Newschool Insight Media showed that, in Shanghai, the average annual tuition for Kindergartens, primary schools, junior middle schools, and senior middle schools reached 26,479, 31,065, 34,419, and 36,246 U.S dollar respectively.

Summary

During the first three decades after the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, radical transformations happened in every aspect of the society. English education in China experienced erratic fluctuations due to its close connection with culture, politics, and ideology. It was replaced, minimized, suspended, or condemned during that period.

After the "Cultural Revolution" was ended and the "Reform and Open-up" national policy was made in the late 1970s, English education was resumed, and great progress had been achieved in the following four decades. Chinese people had a mania for English learning. Then, from 2010, a series of new trends have appeared, and English education is entering a new phase of diversifications.

CHAPTER FIVE: COLLEGE ENGLISH AND COLLEG ENGLISH TEST

Introduction

College English and College English Test (CET-4/6) are two distinctive but closely interconnected components of English education at the tertiary level. This chapter examines College English and CET-4/6 in detail.

5.1 College English

College English or English education at the tertiary level only started from the late 19th century when higher education institutions were established by western missionaries and by the Qing Dynasty. College English used to be called "English" or "Public English." In November 1985, the "Public English" was officially renamed as the "College English." It was classified as a basic and compulsory course for all non-English-major students.

Unlike professional English education for English majors aiming to cultivate English professionals, College English education focuses on the continuance of building students' English basic skills for their future studies and careers.

College English is supervised and administered by the Ministry of Education. The Academic Affairs Office is an administrative branch at universities, and it holds a broad range of administrative authorities. It is responsible for implementing national College English education policies formulated by the Ministry of Education.

College English education is guided by a unified national College English Curriculum formulated by the Ministry of Education. The National Curriculum is required to be fully

implemented by all higher education institutions within mainland China, public or private.

College English is supposed to be carried out through all college years, with different teaching objectives and requirements at different stages. In the first two years, College English is taught as a compulsory course for all non-English-majors. In the last two years, other forms of College English, namely, English for Specific Purpose (ESP) and Cross-Culture Communication, are recommended to be offered as distributional elective or elective courses. While all colleges offer a compulsory four-semester College English to their non-English-major undergraduates, only a small proportion of them provide optional ESP or Cross-Culture Communication for students to select.

"Graded Teaching" used to be the principal mode of College English education. It divided College English into six levels or bands. Each semester corresponds to one band. At the end of the fourth and sixth band, there will be a national test, the CET-4 and CET-6.

College English usually counts sixteen credits for four semesters or four credits for each semester. Altogether 280 class hours are recommended for four semesters or 70 for each semester, with no less than 4 class hours per week.

College English classes are held twice a week with two class hours each time, or once a week with three consecutive class hours for teacher-led teaching and one class hour for students' self-directed learning. Students attend pre-arranged, and fixed College English classes based on their majors or select their favorite teachers through an online course-select system.

College English is usually held as lectures in lecture halls, and the number of students in a single class ranges from 35 to 400. Teachers usually make roll calls or ask students to sign in to make sure all students are present.

Students are tested at the end of each semester to check whether they finish teaching objectives precribed by the national College English Curriculum. College English assessments consist of two forms: formative and summative. The formative assessment focuses on students' class attendance and daily performance and the summative evaluation focuses on written tests. Both the maximum scores for formative and summative assessments are 100. After the final written test at the end of each semester is taken, the formative assessment is usually converted to 30%, and the summative assessment 70% to get a student's final score. Those who fail the test will be required to retake the course next school years.

Since the early 1990s, nearly all higher education institutions required their non-English-major students to pass CET-4/6 once they finish their two-year College English (Cai, 2011; Cen, 1998). Those who fail CET-4 upon graduation will be denied their bachelor's degree diplomas. Before CET-4/6 was overhauled in 2005 (Wu, 2005), those who failed CET-4 upon graduation were allowed to return and re-sit CET-4 after graduation. But, if they finally passed the test, they could claim back their withheld degree diplomas.

Undergraduates who pass CET-6 before graduation will be exempt from a compulsory two-semester postgraduate English if they continue their study for master's or doctor's degrees.

5.1.1 College English Department

The College English Department is an academic department specifically-designated for the teaching of College English to non-English-major undergraduate and graduate students. Unlike English Departments or School of Foreign Languages, which aims to educate their students to be English or other language majors, College English Departments don't have their

students. Its only task is providing College English classes for non-English-majors, undergraduate or graduate. Also, unlike other academic departments, the College English Department doesn't undertake non-teaching tasks, such as thesis guidance and student management, because their students come from other departments.

The College English Department is usually a separate department with its functioning structure, including its department chair, secretary of Party Branch, associate chair, teaching secretary, and various teaching and research sections. Some universities integrate it with its Schools of foreign languages and the College English Department is only a subdivision in it.

All faculty members and staff in the College English Department are recruited by the Personnel Office of the university, which is a powerful administrative branch focusing on personnel management. Each year, the College English Department can propose the yearly plan of recruitment, and submit it to the school President and Party Secretary for approval. The recruitment procedure is jointly organized by the Personnel Office, the College English Department, and other administrative offices. All faculty members of the College English Department, either they hold a doctor's degree, or master's degree, or bachelor's degree, share a similar educational background as an English major when they were undergraduates.

The number of faculty members in the College English Department varies from university to university, ranging from few dozens to nearly 200. Because College English is a compulsory course for all non-English-majors in the first two years of a college education, College English teachers have to undertake the teaching of College English classes to as many as 27, 000 freshmen and sophomores in each school year. Besides, if a university has a graduate school, College English teachers have to teach a compulsory Graduate English course to up to 15,000

first-year graduate students, because all first-year non-English-major graduate students (master and doctor) are also required to take one-year Graduate English course.

The required teaching workload for each College English teacher ranges from 6 to 20 class hours per week. At the same time, College English teachers are required to undertake research work like faculty members from other departments to meet their work requirements and to apply for higher professional titles.

College English Department is responsible for designing its school-level College English Curriculum based on the national College English Curriculum issued by the Ministry of Education. Within the national College English Curriculum, each university has the autonomy to make some specific decisions, such as the size of College English classes, the number of College English per week, and the number of credit College English deserves.

College English Department is also responsible for the designing and grading of end-of-term College English tests. The written tests are either newly-designed by individual faculty members or randomly selected from the College English Test Database constructed by the department over the years.

College English Department can recommend what College English textbook they are going to choose from all the available ones on the market. But their recommendation has to be approved by the Academic Affairs Office. They can also submit applications for teaching equipment, facilities, or other resources needed for the accomplishment of teaching objectives.

5.1.2 College English Curriculum

College English Curriculum is the official guiding document for College English

education issued by the Ministry of Education. It describes the nature, teaching objectives, teaching requirements, course design, teaching methods, teaching management, assessments, and required vocabulary of College English education. It acts as a baton regulating every aspect of College English education, including the compilation of textbooks, the design of teaching syllabus, the design of assessments, and evaluation and inspection of teaching.

According to the "Education Law of the People's Republic of China," the ultimate goal of education is to "cultivate communist successors," talents who are both socialist-minded and professionally competent. To achieve this goal, a unified national College English curriculum and textbooks become critical "for the cause of Chinese socialism" (Yang, 2015). By stipulating what can be taught in English classrooms, it can prevent college students, who are in their formative years of outlooks on life, value, and the world, from being negatively influenced by western culture and ideology (Dai, 2017; Li, et al, 2018; Yao, 2017).

5.1.2.1 The nature of College English

According to the College English Curriculum Guideline (2017), College English is a compulsory and basic course for non-English-major undergraduates. It is an integral part of higher education and plays a significant role in building college students' knowledge, abilities, and all-round qualities.

College English is an essential part of humanistic education in universities, and it has the nature of instrumentality and humanity. For its instrumental nature, College English is a continuance and furtherance of English education after senior middle schools. It aims to further build students' English abilities in listening, speaking, reading, writing, and translating after

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nine or twelve years of English education in primary and middle school. Taking English as a useful tool, college students are supposed to obtain the advanced science and technology delivered in English.

Its instrumental nature is also demonstrated in English for Specific Purposes and Cross-Culture Communication. Through learning academic or workplace English that is relevant to their majors or future careers, students can develop their abilities to communicate fluently in English in the academic field or their workplace. This English competence is "essential in making China's voice heard by the world and promoting Chinese language, culture, and interests" (College English Curriculum Guideline, 217).

For the humanistic nature, College English is expected to enhance students' cross-culture awareness. Like other languages, English is regarded as a medium and component of western culture and technology, which exhibits a new culture that is different from Chinese Culture. Through English language learning, students can not only learn state-of-art science and technology but understand and accept the diversities of various cultures and societies, which will enhance their tolerance and competitiveness in international interactions.

5.1.2.2 Teaching Objective

When the first national College English Curriculum was issued in 1962, the main objective was to teach students English basics to prepare them to read simple professional books. This notion and practice was taken as the principal guidance of College English education and has been practiced for decades.

Since the 2000s, a series of reforms have been launched to deal with College English

being reading-oriented and test-oriented. The objective of College English is changed from teaching English basics to building college students' English abilities in an all-round way, especially in listening and speaking, so that they can communicate skillfully in English in their future studies, careers, and social interactions. Also, the College English Curriculum Guideline (2017) states that College English should enhance students' general cultural awareness to improve their international competitiveness and boost their national pride.

Due to differences among higher education institutions in terms of locations, resources, students' English proficiency upon entry into colleges, and students' expectations, College English teaching objective is divided into three levels: basic, intermediate, and advanced.

College English is the continuance of middle school English, and theoretically, each college can set its starting level and teaching objectives based on its condition and need. This arrangement of graded objectives intends to give more flexibility and openness to the design of the school-level College English Curriculum and teaching syllabus, which will facilitate the implementation of College English education to meet various needs of English teaching/learning.

5.1.2.3 Teaching requirements

According to the College English Curriculum Guideline (2017), the requirements for College English education come at three levels: basic, intermediate, and advanced. Non-English-majors are required to attain at least one of the three requirements after finishing their College English course. While the basic requirements are for all non-English-majors, intermediate and advanced ones are for those who are more capable or in top universities.

5.1.2.4 Course design

The College English Curriculum Outline states that the course design of College English is the specific measures taken by each collegey in implementing the teaching objectives prescribed by the national curriculum. School-level College English Curriculum specifies course structures, management, and textbook selection. According to the national "College English Curriculum Outline," College English education consists of three components: General English, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and Cross-Culture Communication. Accordingly, College English has three forms: General English as a compulsory course, ESP as a distributional elective course, and Cross-Culture Communication as an elective course.

Each college/university can decide the number of class hours based on college types, rankings, orientations, objectives of talent-cultivating, and students' English proficiency. Pedagogical theories of language education should also be followed to form a dynamic, open, and scientific College English education system that corresponds to that college's conditions and reflects its characteristics.

According to the national curricula, when College English courses are designed, the relationships among General English, ESP, and Cross-Culture Communication, and the relationships between compulsory and optional courses should be taken into considerations. The gradualness and continuity of language education should also be fully considered. Different types of courses should be offered at various stages of a college education.

College English classes can be conducted in various forms, including traditional face-to-face classroom teaching, group learning, web-based learning, self-directed learning and autonomous learning. Colleges should offer the most efficient courses that tally with their

students' needs to achieve the teaching objectives prescribed in College English Curriculum.

5.1.2.5 Course structure and contents

General English

General English is a basic compulsory course for all non-English-majors. The aim of General English is to further build students' English language skills in listening, speaking, reading, writing, and translating. It also aims to teach them knowledge of English lexical items, grammar, text, and pragmatics. General English also intends to enhance students' all-around qualities by increasing their knowledge of society, culture, and science, raising their cultural awareness, and broadening their international horizons.

ESP

English for Specific Purpose is a distributional elective course aiming to enhance students' abilities to communicate in English in professional and academic fields. It's the continuation and specialization of College English. Specifically, ESP includes two modules: academic (general and special) English and vocational English.

ESP is application-orientated, and it incorporates specific subject contents in language education. By teaching subject contents in English, ESP increases students' professional knowledge and builds students' English competence relating to their professional fields. Teaching activities mainly focus on familiarizing students with English terminology in the process of subject knowledge learning. ESP aims to teach students state-of-art science and technology in their fields, and to communicate with their counterparts at international stages.

ESP highlights the instrumental nature of College English. Based on demand analysis and

objectives of talent cultivating, Colleges should offer their students ESP that tallies with their school's conditions and represents a school's characteristics. ESP can also be included in General English education by integrating itself into academic and vocational English.

Cross-Culture Communication

Cross-Culture Communication is optional. It intends to enhance students' sociolinguistic and intercultural communication competence by raising their awareness of diversities in cultures, beliefs, outlooks, values, and ways of thinking between China and western countries. Through culture comparison, students can have a deeper understanding of their language and culture and boost their sense of national pride.

Cross-Culture Communication embodies the humanistic nature of College English. Colleges offer a graded intercultural communication course to meet students' needs, or it is incorporated in the General English course by providing seminars on cross-culture education.

5.1.2.6 Teaching methods and means

The College English Curriculum Outline states that College English classes should be guided by the latest theories of foreign language education or second language acquisition (SLA). All possible approaches that embody the latest teaching philosophy of teacher-led and student-centered should be employed in College English classroom, including task-based, cooperative, project-based, and inquiry-based. Micro-lecture, MOOC, and flipped classroom should also be integrated with traditional teaching methods. The focus of language education should be transformed from "teacher" to "students," from "teaching" to "learning" and from "passive acceptance" to "active exploration."

However, the traditional "Grammar-Translation" remains the primary teaching approach in College English education. An increasing number of studies try to prove the necessity and reasonability of traditional "Grammar-Translation" approach in College English education, citing the lack of English language environment and fluent English educators as the main reasons (Peng, 2014; Tang, 2017; Yuan, 2005; Wang, 2004; Zeng, 1996; Zhang, 2003).

College English education is also supposed to be open to all possible teaching means, traditional or modern, to improve class efficiency. Teachers are encouraged to utilize the latest multimedia, information, and internet technology to design their teaching activities. Colleges can build their own online interactive learning platform that combines teachers' guidance, students' autonomous learning, feedback, and evaluation. While using modern teaching methods and means, traditional interpersonal and emotional communications between teachers and students should not be weakened; instead, more efforts should be made to nurture and edify students' beliefs, outlooks, and characteristics.

5.1.2.7 Teaching management

College English teaching task is undertaken by the College English Department. The College English Department is also responsible for the design of school-level College English Curriculum, the assignments of teaching tasks to its faculty members based on the school schedule, the design of final examinations, and the selection of textbooks.

The Academic Affairs Office is the administrative branch that supervises the teaching of College English undertaken by the College English Department. The Academic Affairs Office is vested with broad authorities. It stipulates how the national College English Curriculum

should be implemented and how College English teaching should be conducted. It also specifies the number of College English classes per week, the design of the school schedule for College English, and the purchase of College English textbooks selected by the College English Department.

While individual faculty member's teaching performance is assessed by the department, the overall performance of the whole College English Department is supervised and evaluated by the university administrators. The evaluation intends to check whether the teaching objectives specified by the school-level College English Curriculum have been accomplished. Among them, the passing rate of CET-4/6 and the performance of its students participating in national English contests act as key indicators.

5.1.2.8 Evaluation and assessment

The evaluation of College English education consists of two parts: the evaluation of faculty members' teaching performance and the evaluation of students' learning achievement. The College English Curriculum Outline states that evaluation is a key component in College English education and a guarantee of the realization of teaching objectives. Evaluation of teaching performance helps faculty members to examine their teaching approaches, and improve their teaching efficiency. Evaluation of learning achievement helps students to check their learning efficiency and provides faculty members with valuable diagnostic feedback on both students' learning and teachers' teaching.

Faculty member's teaching performance is evaluated and graded by school administrators, department chairs, party secretary, colleagues, and students. The annual evaluation result is a

key indicator of faculty appraisal and promotion. Students' learning achievement is assessed in both formative and summative means. Formative assessments are based on students' class attendance and performance. Summative assessments are conducted at the end of each semester as school-level final tests. Students are required or encouraged to take nation-level tests after meeting the standards set by the College English Curriculum.

The evaluation of College English education, especially its students' passing rate in CET-4/6 and the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination, is listed by colleges as an important indicator to display its teaching quality during the "Higher Education Evaluation" organized by the Ministry of Education every five years since 2003.

5.1.3 College English Curriculum Vocabulary

After the regulations on College English education, there follows a list of English words that are supposed to be mastered by college students. They are named "College English Curriculum Vocabulary."

College English Curriculum Vocabulary takes up the largest proportion of a College English Curriculum and appears in the form of a word list in alphabetic order. Some versions provide Chinese definition, but others don't.

College English Curriculum Vocabulary acts as the only guide to the design of syllabuses, the compilation of textbooks, the design of end-of-term tests, and the design of CET-4/6.

Currently, the required vocabulary for basic, intermediate, and advanced levels are set at 4,795, 6,395, and 7,675, respectively (including words that have been learned in middle school).

5.1.4 College English textbooks

Because of the unique sociopolitical and historical context of China, textbooks have long been a key player in the Chinese education system, including College English education (Cai, 2006). While the official Chinese name for textbooks is "教材 Jiaocai (teaching materials)," in most cases, they are called "课本 Keben," which literally means "books for classes," or "the fundamental part of classes." Textbooks act as central pillars on which College English education is being built and developed (Shu & Zhang, 2004).

There are several College English textbooks available on the market. Those textbooks differ in some minor aspects, but the fundamentals remain the same. Each college/university has the autonomy to decide which College English textbooks they choose. But over the years, the majority of colleges/universities choose from two dominant ones: "New Horizon College English" and "New College English." The former is published by Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press in Beijing, and the latter is produced by Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press in Shanghai.

Textbooks are usually ordered in bulk before the start of a new school year and are distributed to first-year students once they finish registration and pay their tuition and fee. Students are not allowed to obtain their textbooks in any other way, such as borrowing from friends or buying used ones. Each year, nearly 8 million high school graduates enter colleges/universities and pay for their required new textbooks.

The huge number of students makes it a profitable field for publishers to compete with each other, including commercial bribes to those who have a say in textbook purchasing (Shi & Guo, 2006). Faculty members from the College English Department enjoy some privileges of free trips or bonuses offered by College English textbooks publishers.

The compiling of textbooks is in strict conformity with the principles stipulated by the national College English Curricula. "Graded Teaching" is the tenet of College English education. College English is graded from Band 1 to Band 6, and each Band corresponds one semester. College English textbooks are also graded from Textbook 1 to Textbook 6, and each textbook is designated for one semester.

The design of College English textbooks is influenced by structuralism. English teaching activities focus on the teaching and learning of language forms rather than overall language competence. English language ability is split into separate skills of listening, speaking, reading, writing, and translating. Each skill is taught separately and differently from others (Cai, 2006). Accordingly, there are textbooks for Listening & Speaking, Intensive Reading, Extensive Reading, Speed Reading, Grammar, Integrated Exercise, and so on. Students are supposed to attend different classes to learn different skills.

Texts in College English textbooks are written by Chinese professionals or adapted from English materials. International experts might be involved in the compilation of textbooks, but their tasks focus on the edits. The graded textbooks require that textbooks should be consistent in length and difficulty level within the same textbook. Original English materials will be adapted or rewritten to make sure the majority of words are confined to the College English Curriculum Vocabulary, and the number of new words that appeared in each text is limited to a particular amount.

This practice of designing or adapting texts by Chinese personnel will guarantee that all sensitive information is filtered and eliminated. This practice to rewrite and purify has eviscerated the authenticity of English and deprived students of real language input (Cai, 2006;

Shu & Zhang, 2004).

The overall layout of different textbooks is largely identical in essentials. A textbook usually consists of ten units, and each unit has one or two texts. Topics are general rather than professional. New words required by the College English Curriculum Vocabulary are highlighted with bold font in the text. Each text is followed by a list of new words marked with different symbols to show their categories: whether they belong to the basic requirement, intermediate requirement, or advanced requirement. After the list of new words, there are exercises that concentrate on the comprehension of the text, the mastery of vocabulary, the learning of grammar points and sentence patterns, and the translation of sentences from Chinese to English and English to Chinese.

Following is a whole unit from a widely-used national College English textbook published by Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press in 2011.

Unit 1
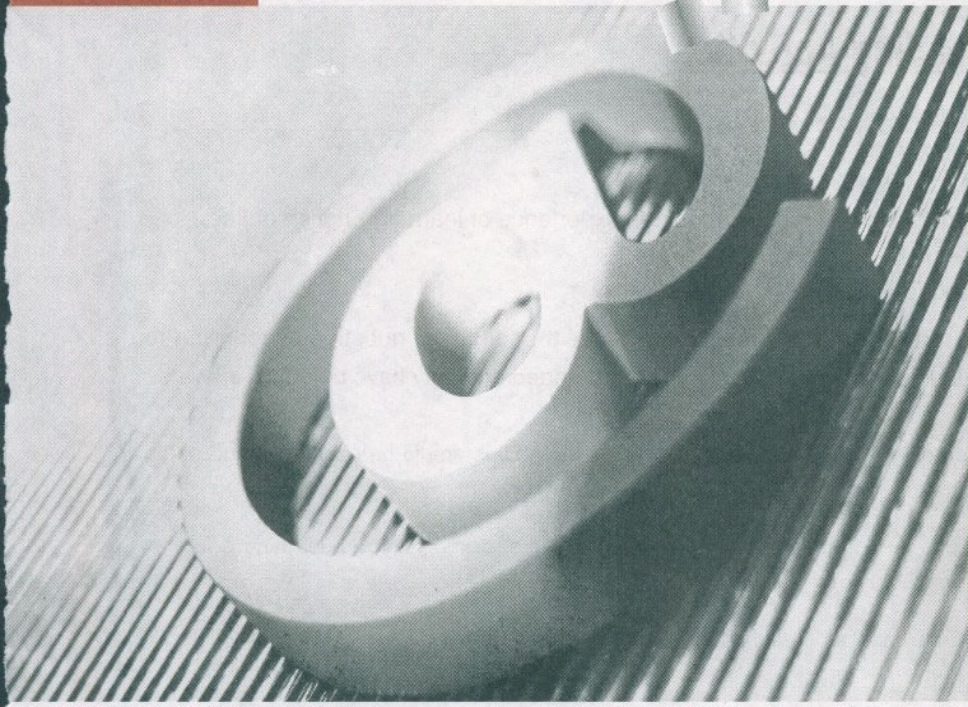
The days of a "one-size-fits-all" education system have passed. Traditional classrooms no longer provide the only means of meeting one's learning needs. Some students are taking courses online and finding advantages to this new way of learning. The number one advantage is that online learning is more convenient. Students can choose when and where they learn. Another advantage is that students do not feel intimidated by teachers who lack patience or by students with higher skill levels. Students can take time to think through answers before making a reply. There are still many advantages to the traditional classroom, but if a student studies well independently, he or she might do well to try learning online.

1

SECTION A

Pre-reading Activities

First Listening 🎧

Listen to a speaker talking about his experience of learning English online.

Second Listening 🎧

Listen to the passage again and answer the following questions according to what you hear. The last question is open-ended and may have different answers.

1. When did the speaker start to learn English, and when did he gain command of the language?

2. Besides the language itself, what else did the speaker gain from learning a foreign language online?

3. How could online learning help you with your English?

TEXT

Learning a Foreign Language

Para 1

值得去努力

Learning a foreign language was one of the most difficult yet most **rewarding** experiences of my life. Although at times learning a language was **frustrating**, it was well worth the effort.

Para 2

My experience with learning a foreign language began in **junior** middle school, when I took my first English class. I had a kind and patient teacher who often praised all of the students. Because of this **positive** method, I eagerly answered all the questions I could, never worrying much about making mistakes. I was at the top of my class for two years.   5

※ 课文中的生词以黑体标注。

2

Para 3 When I went to **senior** middle school, I was eager to continue studying English; however, my experience in senior middle school was very different from before. While my **former** teacher had been patient with all of the students, my new teacher quickly punished those who gave incorrect answers. Whenever we answered incorrectly, she pointed a long stick at us and, shaking it up and down, shouted, "No! No! No! " It didn't take me long to lose my eagerness to answer questions. Not only did I lose my joy in answering questions, but I also lost my desire to say anything at all in English. 10 15

Para 4 However, that state didn't last long. When I went to college, I learned that all students were required to take an English course. **Unlike** my senior middle school teacher, my college English teachers were patient and kind, and none of them carried long, pointed sticks! The situation was far from perfect, though. As our classes were very large, I was only able to answer a couple of questions in each class period. Also, after a few weeks of classes, I noticed there were many students who spoke much better than I did. I began to feel **intimidated**. So, once again, although for different reasons, I was afraid to speak. It seemed my English was going to stay at the same level forever. 20 25

Para 5 That was the situation until a couple of years later when I was offered an **opportunity** to study English through an **online** course. The **communication medium** was a computer, a phone line, and a **modem**. I soon got **access** to the necessary equipment, learned how to use the technology from a friend and **participated** in the **virtual** classroom 5 to 7 days a week. 30

Para 6 Online learning is not easier than regular classroom study; it requires a lot of time, **commitment** and **discipline** to keep up with the flow of the course. I worked hard to meet the **minimum** standards set by the course and to complete **assignments** on time. 35

Para 7 I practiced all the time. I carried a little dictionary with me everywhere I went, as well as a notebook in which I listed any new words I heard. I made many, sometimes **embarrassing**, mistakes. Once in a while I cried out of **frustration**, and sometimes I felt like giving up. But I didn't feel intimidated by students who spoke faster than I did because I took all the time I needed to think out my ideas and wrote a reply before **posting** it on the screen. Then, one day I realized I could understand just about everything I came across, and most importantly, I could "say" anything I wanted to in English. 40

3

Although I was still making many mistakes and was **continually** learning new ways to say things, I had finally **reaped** the **benefits** of all of my hard work. 45

Para 8 Learning a foreign language has been a most trying experience for me, but one that I wouldn't trade for anything. Not only did learning another language teach me the value of hard work, but it also gave me **insights** into another culture, and my mind was opened to new ways of seeing things. The 50 most wonderful result of having learned a foreign language was that I could **communicate** with many more people than before. Talking with people is one of my **favorite** activities, so being able to speak a new language lets me meet new people, participate in conversations, and form new, unforgettable friendships. Now that I speak a foreign language, instead of staring into 55 space when English is being spoken, I can participate and make friends. I am able to reach out to others and bridge the **gap** between my language and culture and theirs.

(Words: 721)

New Words

ⓐ	reward /rɪ'wɔːd/	*vt.*	give sth. in return for good and valuable doings 奖赏；回报
		n.	[C, U] sth. as a return for good and valuable doings 奖赏；回报
	rewarding /rɪ'wɔːdɪŋ/	*a.*	giving sb. satisfaction, pleasure, or profit 值得做的，有益的，有意义的
	frustrate /'frʌstreɪt/	*vt.*	1. cause sb. to have feelings of disappointment 使沮丧，使灰心
			2. cause the failure of sth. 使挫败，使受挫折
	junior /'dʒuːnjə(r)/	*a.*	having a low position, level, or rank（地位、水平、层次）较低的
		n.	1. [C] sb. who is younger 年少者
			2. [C] sb. of low or lower position（地位或等级）较低者；晚辈

※ 单词表中一般要求词汇不作标记，较高要求词汇标记为★，如★assimilate，更高要求词汇标记为▲，如▲lyric，超纲词汇标记为■，如■tattoo，积极词汇在左侧色框内用ⓐ标记；纲内词汇的派生词或复合词为斜体。派生词与复合词不计入生词总量。

	positive /ˈpɒzətɪv/	a.	1. helpful and encouraging in achieving sth. 积极的
			2. definite; allowing no room for doubt 确实的，明确的
	senior /ˈsiːnjə(r)/	a.	having a higher position, level, or rank（地位、水平、层次）较高的
		n.	1. [C] sb. who is older 较年长者
			2. [C] sb. of high or higher position（地位或等级）较高者；长辈
	former /ˈfɔːmə(r)/	a.	of an earlier period 在前的，以前的，旧时的
		n.	(the ~) the first of the two people or things just mentioned 前者
	unlike /ˌʌnˈlaɪk/	prep.	not like; different from 不像，和…不同
	intimidate /ɪnˈtɪmɪdeɪt/	vt.	create a feeling of fear 恐吓，威胁
	opportunity /ˌɒpəˈtjuːnətɪ/	n.	[C, U] a good moment or chance for doing sth. 机会，时机
	online /ˌɒnˈlaɪn/	a.	connected to other computers through the Internet 联线的；联网的；在线的
		ad.	doing sth. online 联线地；联网地
	communication /kəˌmjuːnɪˈkeɪʃən/	n.	[U] the action of sending and exchanging information 交流；交际；通讯
	medium /ˈmiːdɪəm/	n.	[C] (pl. media or mediums) a method for giving information 媒介；媒体
		a.	of middle size, amount, or quality 中等的
	modem /ˈməʊdem/	n.	[C] 调制解调器
	access /ˈækses/	n.	1. [U] the right to have or use sth. 享用权
			2. [U] the means of entering a place 通道；入口
	participate /pɑːˈtɪsɪpeɪt/	vi.	take part 参与，参加
	virtual /ˈvɜːtʃʊəl/	a.	1. created by the computer to be similar to the experience of real life 虚拟的
			2. almost what is stated 实质上的；实际上的
	commitment /kəˈmɪtmənt/	n.	1. [U] the hard work and loyalty that sb. gives to an organization, activity, etc. 投入，致力，献身
			2. [C] a promise to follow certain beliefs or actions 承诺，许诺，保证
	discipline /ˈdɪsɪplɪn/	n.	1. [U] a state of order and control; self-control 纪律；自制能力
			2. [C] a branch of learning 学科
	minimum /ˈmɪnɪməm/	a.	the least, or the smallest possible 最低的；最小的
		n.	[sing.] the smallest amount 最低限度；最少量
	assignment /əˈsaɪnmənt/	n.	[C] a piece of work given to a particular person 任务；作业
	embarrass /ɪmˈbærəs/	vt.	make sb. feel ashamed, nervous, or uncomfortable 使尴尬，使难堪
	embarrassing /ɪmˈbærəsɪŋ/	a.	making sb. feel embarrassed 使人尴尬的；令人难堪的
	frustration /frʌˈstreɪʃən/	n.	[C, U] the feeling of being disappointed, annoyed, or upset 沮丧；不安；灰心
	post /pəʊst/	vt.	put up sth. on a screen, wall, or notice board 发帖子；张贴
	continual /kənˈtɪnjʊəl/	a.	1. continuing without stopping 不间断的，不停的
			2. happening again and again 多次重复的；频繁的

5

trade for	exchange for 用···换···
give sb. insight(s) into	give sb. a deep understanding of sth. 深刻理解
now that	because of sth. or as a result of sth. 既然，由于
instead of	而不是；代替
reach out to	communicate with; contact 接触，联系

Online Resources

1. **New Horizon College English:** the current online EFL learning course for college students, the first and most comprehensive of its kind and the most up-to-date web-based course for college-level English learners. Refer to http://www.nhce. edu.cn for details.

2. **Online learning:** a form of distance education that makes use of the Internet. The website http://www.ion.uillinois.edu/resources/utorials/overview index.asp tells you about strengths and weaknesses of online learning and some other related questions.

7

Exercises

Comprehension of the Text

○ **I. Answer the following questions.**

1. Why did the writer enjoy learning English in junior middle school?
2. How did English learning change for the writer after entering senior middle school?
3. How did his experience in learning English in college differ from his experience in junior middle school?
4. What equipment is necessary for studying English online?
5. While taking online courses, what other things did the writer do to help himself learn English?
6. Why didn't the writer feel intimidated while he was taking an online course?
7. Why was the writer's experience in learning a foreign language so meaningful?
8. Why does the writer enjoy speaking with other people?

○ **II. Questions for discussion or oral report.**

1. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of learning English online.
2. Share your experience of learning English with your classmates.
3. What do you think is the most effective way to learn English, and why?

Vocabulary

○ **III. Fill in the blanks with the words given below. Change the form where necessary.**

positive	opportunity	communicate	continual	reward
minimum	commitment	favorite	post	virtual
access	benefit	gap	embarrass	

1. The years he spent in the countryside proved to be a(n) _____ experience.
2. You can learn a lot from this online course. It is designed to help people _____ better through speech and writing.

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3. Over a third of the population was estimated to have no _____ to health service.

4. Asking too many personal questions during an interview can lead to a(n) _____ situation.

5. Don't just complain about what's wrong with it; suggest some _____ ways to solve the problem.

6. No one in the class could match John's hard work and _____ to study, which is why the professor liked him.

7. The website allows you to take a(n) _____ tour of the well-known city which was there about 2,000 years ago.

8. Those who dare not answer questions in a traditional classroom can easily enjoy the _____ of online courses.

9. He couldn't join the police because he was below the _____ height allowed by the rules.

10. Many new _____ will be opened up in the future for those with a university education.

○ **IV. Fill in each of the blanks with a suitable preposition or adverb.**

1. After twenty years as a chain smoker, Mr. Nathe has given _____ the habit.

2. I hope that our talk has given you some insights _____ the kind of work that we've been doing.

3. It was clear that much of what he said was far _____ the truth. Anyone with common sense would have a hard time believing it.

4. You have to be patient _____ small children, since they cannot tell the difference between right and wrong.

5. Hard as they tried, the newspaper reporters couldn't get access _____ the building where the murder had taken place two hours before.

6. He was so ill that he was unable to keep _____ with what was going on.

7. The time has come for us to reap the benefits _____ the strong foundations we laid in science and technology.

8. He wished to have the opportunity to participate _____ the sports meet.

9. Even though they are poor, they are against the plan to trade land _____ goods and money.

10. I'm doing this to create circumstances under which we can communicate _____ each other easily.

V. Fill in the blanks in the following passage by selecting suitable words from the Word Bank. You may not use any of the words more than once.

Good communication is the key to success when learning online. You should take the opportunity to get to know your teacher and classmates through email and by participating in Internet discussions. This will lead to a more positive and ___1___ learning experience.

It's true that learning the technology needed to take part in a class can at times be ___2___. For example, you may need to ask how to ___3___ your assignment on the Web. But, don't worry! If you have a problem, ask for help. There's no such thing as a stupid question, so there is no need to be intimidated or ___4___. Sharing ___5___ and answers freely is what makes the Internet such a great medium for learning.

Online classroom teacher Mike Roberts was asked about what he thought the greatest ___6___ of online learning is. "As a teacher, I need the students to ask questions so that I know what areas of my lessons need further ___7___. That's what is great about teaching and learning over the Internet. In an ordinary classroom, time is limited, so students seem to ask the ___8___ amount of questions possible. But in the ___9___ classroom, students are always asking questions. They really seem to feel ___10___ asking me for the information that they need. They also share a lot of valuable ideas with each other in a way that you don't usually see in a regular classroom."

Word Bank

A) interested
B) frustrating
C) comfortable
D) valuable
E) post
F) virtual
G) rewarding
H) insights
I) embarrassed
J) communicate
K) benefit
L) medium
M) explanation
N) information
O) minimum

Sentence Structure

VI. Make a sentence out of each group of words. Use "while" to introduce information that contrasts with what is conveyed in the main clause. Make changes where necessary.

Model: my former teacher, patient with all of the students; new teacher, quick to punish those who gave incorrect answers

While my former teacher had been patient with all of the students, my new teacher quickly punished those who gave incorrect answers.

10

1. universities, in the east, better equipped; those, in the west, relatively poor

   _____

2. Allan Clarke, keep talking the price up; Wilkinson, keep knocking the price down

   _____

3. the husband, spend all his money, drink; his wife, save her money, for the family

   _____

4. some guests, speak pleasantly, behave politely; others, insulting, impolite

   _____

5. outwardly, Sara, friendly, towards all those concerned; inwardly, she, angry

   _____

○ **VII. Make a sentence out of each group of words. Use "not only... but also... " in each sentence with an inversion structure. Change the verb tense where necessary.**

Model: learn another language, teach me, the value of hard work; it, give, me, insights into another culture

> _Not only did learning another language teach me the value of hard work, but it also gave me insights into another culture._

1. Mr. Smith, learn the Chinese language; he, bridge, the gap between his culture and ours

   _____

2. we, learn the technology through the online course; we, learn to communicate with friends in English

   _____

3. we, lose all our money; we, come close to losing our lives

   _____

4. the workers, want a pay increase; they, want reduced working hours

   _____

5. the house, expensive; it, too far away from my company

   _____

Translation

○ **VIII. Translate the following sentences into English.**

1. 对于网络课程，学生不仅可以选择何时何地学习，在回答问题之前他们还可以有时间思考答案。(not only… but also…)

   _____

2. 网上学习的想法使她非常兴奋，而他认为网上学习毫无意义和用处。(while)

   _____

3. 与以英语为母语的人交谈是非常有益的体验，从中我们能学到许多东西。(communicate with)

   _____

4. 如今，越来越多的人可以利用互联网查找他们需要的信息。(have access to)

   _____

5. 他要她放弃工作在家照顾孩子，但是她觉得这个要求太过分了。(give up)

   _____

6. 既然我们已经学完这门课程，就应该多做些复习。(now that)

○ **IX. Translate the following sentences into Chinese.**

1. I'll never forget the teacher who showed me that learning a foreign language could be fun and rewarding. Were it not for him, I would not be able to speak English as well as I do now.

2. No other language lets you experience the cultures of the world like English. With a strong knowledge of the English language, you can have wonderful cultural adventures.

3. Instead of only writing compositions about the subjects that your teacher has given you, do something enjoyable, like writing emails to a friend.

4. Distance learning courses are courses in which the instructor communicates with students using computer technology.

5. English is not only the most useful language in the world, but it is also one of the easiest languages to learn and to use.

6. Distance learning courses give students greater freedom of time management, but these classes require more self-discipline than other classes.

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Cloze

○ **X. Read the following passage carefully and choose the best word or phrase to fill in each blank.**

I, for one, am far from ready to use online courses for my learning. Don't get me ___1___. I am very happy about all the communication and learning opportunities the courses have given us. But for me those opportunities should not be used to replace classroom activities. In other words, they are only ___2___ to help me learn what has already been ___3___ in the classroom.

I love the classroom. I love having classmates. There are forty students in my class right now, and I think it's great. I even love having classmates who are better than me. And, let's ___4___ forget the smell of ink on paper, the sound of chalk on a blackboard, the hardness of a wooden bench or the heat inside the classroom in early September. I love it all. But most of ___5___, I love having a teacher—a "real live" teacher. I get excited when I am in the classroom with a good teacher. I learn in a way that has been proven to work. I am given insight not only ___6___ a certain subject, but also into the world.

What makes having a classroom teacher so ___7___? A good teacher pushes me to ___8___. A good teacher rewards me with praise when I have done well and stays ___9___ and gives me hope when I am down. I don't believe that a teacher using a virtual classroom can ___10___ me in the same way. A teacher communicating ___11___ the Internet cannot share the same type of ___12___ a classroom teacher and student share.

I guess that I am lucky to have had ___13___ to so many excellent classroom teachers. I will never forget the kindness and ___14___ that those teachers have shown me. Their examples make it hard for me to accept a way of learning that ___15___ include them. You can call me "old-fashioned", but as long as there is a classroom, that's where I will be learning.

1. A. unhappy	B. wrong	C. troubled
2. A. tools	B. terms	C. directions
3. A. served	B. offered	C. appeared
4. A. don't	B. not	C. always
5. A. everything	B. anything	C. all
6. A. at	B. to	C. into
7. A. virtual	B. special	C. favorite
8. A. succeed	B. increase	C. accept
9. A. positive	B. negative	C. favorite
10. A. stay out with	B. reach out to	C. go out with
11. A. through	B. to	C. in
12. A. relationship	B. situation	C. relative
13. A. path	B. access	C. entrance
14. A. commitment	B. assignment	C. companion
15. A. does	B. does not	C. may

Text Structure Analysis

A Paragraph of Cause and Effect

In Text A, the writer describes his experiences in learning English at different stages of his life. In junior middle school he made great progress. In senior middle school, however, he didn't learn well at all. He said that he stopped talking in class because his teacher was not that patient. This is an example of cause-and-effect writing. It gives us the reasons for something happening. Look at how the writer links cause and effect in Paragraph 3.

Para. 3

When I went to senior middle school, I was eager to continue studying English; however, my experience in senior middle school was very different from before. While my former teacher had been patient with all of the students, my new teacher quickly punished those who gave incorrect answers. Whenever we answered incorrectly, she pointed a long stick at us and, shaking it up and down, shouted, "No! No! No! " It didn't take me long to lose my eagerness to answer questions. Not only did I lose my joy in answering questions, but I also lost my desire to say anything at all in English.

The topic of the paragraph—My learning experience in senior middle school was different from before.

↓

The cause:
While my former teacher had been patient with all students, my new teacher quickly punished those who gave incorrect answers. Whenever we answered incorrectly, she pointed a long stick at us and, shaking it up and down, shouted, "No! No! No! "

↓

The effect:
It didn't take me long to lose my eagerness to answer questions. Not only did I lose my joy in answering questions, but I also lost my desire to say anything at all in English.

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○ **XI. Read Paragraph 2 to find a similar cause-and-effect relationship and fill in the chart below.**

Para. 2

My experience with learning a foreign language began in junior middle school, when I took my first English class. I had a kind and patient teacher who often praised all of the students. Because of this positive method, I eagerly answered all the questions I could, never worrying much about making mistakes. I was at the top of my class for two years.

The topic of the paragraph—My learning experience in junior middle school.

↓

The cause: _____

_____

_____

↓

The effect: _____

_____

_____

Structured Writing

Have a look at the sample of cause-and-effect paragraph based on the outline below:

Topic:

Da Li and Xiao Zhang getting into a fight

Cause:

- one doing homework
- the other listening to music
- one asking the other to turn down the music
- the other not hearing
- one turning off the radio

Effect:

- making the other angry
- a quarrel leading to a fight

Sample Paragraph

This morning two of my roommates, Da Li and Xiao Zhang, got into a fight. Da Li started it all. He was doing homework that he had to hand in in the afternoon. Meanwhile, Xiao Zhang was listening to his favorite music. The music was really bothering Da Li, so he asked Xiao Zhang to turn it down. Xiao Zhang didn't hear him because of the loud music, so Da Li turned the radio off himself. This made Xiao Zhang very angry. He shouted loudly at Da Li, and Da Li shouted back. The two got into a bitter quarrel, which soon became a fight.

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○ **XII. Write a cause-and-effect paragraph on one of the following topics. One topic has been given a detailed outline that you can follow.**

Topic:

Succeeding in language learning

Cause:

● a lot of practice
● carry a dictionary, a notebook
● meet the standards of the course
● finish assignments

Effect:

● reap the benefits of the hard work

MORE TOPICS:

● Failing to pass an exam
● Enjoying learning English online

5.2 College English Test (CET-4/6)

College English Test (Band Four and Band Six), usually abbreviated as CET-4/6, is a national standardized English language proficiency test sponsored by the Ministry of Education of People's Republic of China. It is a large-scale norm-referenced test aiming to measure non-English-major college students' English ability and to provide a comparable national reference for employers to check applicants' English proficiency.

CET-4 and CET-6 was initiated by the Ministry of Education in 1987 and 1989, respectively. While CET-4 is designed for those who have completed the compulsory four-semester College English course, CET-6 is for those who have passed CET-4. Those who pass CET-6 during their four-year undergraduate study will be exempt from a compulsory two semesters Postgraduate English course when they study for their master or doctor's degree.

CET-4/6 is by governed by the National Education Examinations Authority, a subdivision of the Ministry of Education covering all nation-level educational tests. The National College English Testing Committee (CET Committee), which comprises professors and experts from top universities, was established to administer the test. The Committee's primary function is to issue the national CET-4/6 Syllabus, design the tests, grade the tests, and issue CET Test Reports to test-takers.

CET-4/6 is held twice a year nationally, and it usually goes to the third Saturday in June or December, with CET-4 setting in the morning from 9:00-11:20 AM and CET-6 in the afternoon from 3:00-5:20 PM. Only registered non-English-majors who have finished their required College English course are eligible to take CET-4. Only those who have taken CET-4 and their test grades are higher than 425 out of 710 are eligible to take CET-6.

CET-4/6 is the written form of the test. The spoken test was called Spoken English Test Band Four and Six (CET-SET4/6). CET-SET4/6 is also held biannually, and it falls on the last weekend in May and November, with CET-SET4 on Saturday and CET-SET-6 on Sunday. Those who have registered for an upcoming CET-4/6 can enlist for the CET-SET4/6. Currently, CET-SET4/6 is conducted in an Internet-based Test format.

The cost to take CET-4/6 varies from province to province, ranging from $1.9 to $7.5 per person. The cost to take CET-SET4/6 is $7.5 per person. Students can sign up, pay their fees, and download their Test Report Forms online from the specially-designated website of the National Education Examinations Authority.

CET-4/6 is only held in colleges or universities that are approved by the National Education Examination Authority as CET-4/6 testing venues. The actual management of CET-4/6 is done by the Academic Affairs Office in each college, and the test is invigilated by the faculty members of that college.

Three months after the test, a CET Test Report Form will be issued to any test-taker who gets 220 or higher out of 710. The Test Report Form shows the overall score and each score in listening, reading, writing, and translating. For those who took CET-SET4/6, their spoken test score will be displayed on the same CET Test Report Form, with A as the highest and D as the lowest level, B and C in the middle.

There is no period of validity for the CET Test Report Form. The CET Committee doesn't advise institutions not to accept a CET Test Report Form older than a certain year to be valid. CET Report Form can be submitted to employers anytime whenever it's necessary.

Since the early 1990s, CET-4/6 has been one of the preconditions for university students

to be conferred to their degree diploma (bachelor or master). However, since 2005, this school-level policy has been dropped by an increasing number of colleges/universities.

CET-4/6 is widely accepted by employers, whether they are government departments, quasi-government organizations (schools, colleges, hospitals), or enterprises (state-owned or private) as an assessment of applicants' English proficiency. Over the years, CET-4/6 has become the most widely-taken English-language test among college students. With 20 million college students taking it annually in recent years, CET-4/6 towers all English tests, domestic or foreign, including the TEM-4/8 (Test for English Majors Band Four and Band Eight), PETS (Public English Test System), IELTS, and TOEFL.

On April 12, 2018, *China's Standards of English Language Ability* (CSE) was issued by the Ministry of Education, aiming to develop a unified national English test that will supplant all existing English tests, CET-4/6 included (Lin, 2015). A new test named the National English Test System (NETS) was piloted in several colleges in 2018.

5.2.1 CET-4/6 Syllabus

The CET Syllabus is the official guiding document issued by the CET-4/6 Committee describing the nature, structure, types of questions, and grading criteria of the test. The required vocabulary for CET-4/6 is listed in the CET Syllabus as a reference for test-takers. Samples of test paper, answer sheet, grading criteria, Test Report Form are also included as appendixes.

5.2.1.1 The nature of the test

The latest Syllabus of CET-4/6 states that CET-4/6 is a standardized English language proficiency test aiming to measure non-English-major college students' English ability, and to

provide a comparable national reference for employers to check applicants' English proficiency. However, the earlier version of CET-4/6 Syllabus defined CET-4/6 as an achievement test, which examined whether non-English-majors achieved the objectives specified by the College English Syllabus (Feng, 1994). In this sense, CET-4/6 was a part of College English education (Jin & Yang, 2018), and from the very beginning, CET-4/6 has not been a social test and is not supposed to open to the public.

This sharp inconsistency and confusion in the nature and purpose of CET-4/6 have long been criticized as one of the biggest problems of CET-4/6 (Cai, 2012). By defining itself as an achievement test, CET-4/6 can enjoy many advantages that a social test is unable to get: monopoly and the guarantee of test applicants.

All notifications concerning with CET-4/6 are issued as an administrative order from educational authorities. Like all formal statutes, those notifications are issued in the form of government documents bearing the seal of the CET Testing Committee.

Those notifications will be sent to the provincial education departments and forwarded to each higher education institution. College students have to take the test to meet all the requirements specified by their school to get their degree diploma. No social tests possess the same administrative power as CET-4/6. Also, no social tests secure such a huge number of test-takers as CET-4/6 with twenty million each year.

CET-4/6 has also been trying to enjoy the same prestige and acceptance as social tests might have. Being the only national standardized English test until 1999, CET-4/6 has long been accepted by employers as proof of applicants' English proficiency. Besides, CET-4/6 has been required by government departments as a necessary qualification for college graduates to

register for the Civil Service Examinations, a test which recruits prospective civil servants.

While an achievement test is compulsory and confines itself to a particular group of students, a proficiency test is optional and supposed to open to the public. The tests are different, even contradictory that CET-4/6 can't enjoy both advantages simultaneously. The best way to solve this inconsistency is to overhaul CET-4/6 and turn it from an achievement test into an IELTS/TOEFL-style English language proficiency test that is open to the public (Cai, 2017).

5.2.1.2 The features of CET-4/6

As an achievement test, CET-4/6 is supposed to cover all contents compiled in College English courses. However, unlike other achievement tests, CET-4/6 doesn't include any specific elements that appear in the textbooks. Rather, it tests students' general English skills in listening, reading, translating, and writing. Most passages are selected from English TV and radio programs, lectures, books, magazines, newspapers, and academic periodicals.

When original English passages are selected by CET Committee as testing materials, those passages will be edited to make sure all lexical items appeared in CET-4/6 are within the CET-4/6 Vocabulary. Words falling outside the CET-4/6 Vocabulary will be replaced by simpler ones or followed by Chinese translation in parentheses. It's customary to leave no more than 3% "outside words (words are not within the CET-4/6 Vocabulary)" untreated in each test.

5.2.1.3 Test structure

CET-4/6 has been a paper-based written test since it was established in 1987. But the test structure has gone through several major reforms over the years. Currently, CET-4/6 consists of four parts: writing (15%), listening (35%), reading (35%), and translating (15%). The four

parts are supposed to be completed in one sitting.

Writing

There is only one writing task, and it allows test-takers 30 minutes to write a short essay on a topic. The essay should be at least 120 words but no more than 180 words. Test-takers will lose points if their answer is less than 120 words or more than 180 words. Writings will be assessed based on task achievement, coherence, cohesion, lexical resource, grammatical range, and accuracy.

Listening

There are three sections in listening, and it requires test-takers to finish 25 questions of multiple choices in 25 minutes.

In Section A, test-takers will hear three news reports. At the end of each news report, test-takers will hear two or three questions. Both the news report and questions will be spoken only once. After hearing the questions, test-takers should choose the best answer from the four choices marked A), B), C), and D), then mark the corresponding letter on Answer Sheet One.

In Section B, there will be two long conversations. At the end of each conversation, test-takers will hear four questions. Both the conversation and the questions will be spoken only once. After hearing a question, test-takers should choose the best answer from the four choices marked A), B), C), and D), then mark the corresponding letter on Answer Sheet One.

In Section C, test-takers will hear three long passages. At the end of each passage, test-takers will hear four questions. Both the passage and the questions will be spoken only once. After hearing a question, test-takers should choose the best answer from the four choices marked A), B), C), and D), then mark the corresponding letter on Answer Sheet One.

Reading

There are three sections in reading, and it gives test-takers 40 minutes to finish 30 questions of selecting, matching, or multiple choices.

In Section A, there is a passage with ten blanks. Test-takers are required to select one word for each blank from a list of choices given in a word bank following the passage. Each choice in the bank is identified by a letter, and test-takers should mark the corresponding letter for each item on Answer Sheet Two. Each of the words in the bank can only be used once.

In Section B, there is a passage with ten statements attached to it. Each statement contains information that appeared in one of the paragraphs. Identify the paragraph where the information is derived. A paragraph may be chosen more than once. Each paragraph is marked with a letter. Answer the questions by marking the corresponding letter on Answer Sheet Two.

In Section C, there are two passages, and each passage is followed by some questions or unfinished statements. For each of them, there are four choices marked A), B), C), and D). Test-takers will have to decide on the best choice and mark the corresponding letter on Answer Sheet Two with a single line through the center.

Translating

There is only one translating task, and it allows test-takers 30 minutes to translate a passage from Chinese into English. Test-takers should write their answers on Answer Sheet Two. Translations will be assessed based on faithfulness, smoothness, lexical appropriateness, and grammatical accuracy.

5.2.1.4 Test procedure

CET-4 is held on Saturday morning from 9:00 to 11:20 AM. Test-takers are allowed to enter the room at 8:45AM. Their proof of identity will be checked by two invigilators. During 8:45 AM and 9:00 AM, a tape will be played for test-takers to check their radio receivers and earphones. At 9:00 AM, all latecomers will not be allowed to enter the test room. A test paper and two separate answer sheets, called Answer Sheet One and Answer Sheet Two, will be handed to each test-taker. The test paper is sealed and laid face-down on each test-taker's desk. Test-takers are not allowed to touch it until an instruction is given by the invigilators.

The test begins at 9:10 AM. Test-takers will write 120 to 180 words on their Answer Sheet One in 30 minutes. At 9:35 AM, test-takers will be reminded that in five minutes, the listening part will begin. At 9:40 AM, test-takers are directed to stop writing and put on their earphones and open their test paper. From 9:40 to 10:05 AM, test-takers will listen to the tape while reading the choices from their test paper. At 10:05 AM, the listening part is over, and test-takers are required to take off their earphones and hand in their Answer Sheet One immediately.

From 10:10 to 11:20 AM, test-takers will continue their test. They will finish reading and translating in 70 minutes. Then, at 11:20 AM, test-takers are ordered to put down their pens and hand in their Answer Sheet Two and their test paper. Test-takers are not allowed to leave the room until all Answer Sheets and test papers are counted and checked by two invigilators.

5.2.1.5 Test score

The scores of CET-4/6 are reported by norm reference without setting a passing line. The normative sample for CET-4 consists of 30,000 non-English-major undergraduates from 16 universities, and the normative sample for CET-6 comes from 5,000 non-English-major

undergraduates in 5 top universities.

The original test scores will be converted to the final report score regarding the norm. The scoring scale of CET-4/6 is 210 to 710. The formula is as follows:

$$TotSco = \frac{(X - Mean)}{SD} \times 70 + 500$$

TotSco denotes the final total score, **X** denotes the original total score before the norm conversion, **Mean** represents the mean of the norm, and **SD** represents the standard deviation of the norm.

The four parts and the proportion of their scores are: writing 15%, listening 35%, reading 35%, and translating 15%. The full report score of each part is 106.5 for writing, 248.5 for listening, 248.5 for reading, and 106.5 for translating.

5.2.1.6 CET-4/6 management

Unlike IELTS or TOEFL, which are run by a non-government organization, CET-4/6 is administered by the Ministry of Education. It is directed and supervised by the Department of Higher Education and is managed by the National Education Examinations Authority. Department of Higher Education is a subdivision of the Ministry of Education undertaking the management of higher education. The National Education Examinations Authority is directly supervised and appointed by the Ministry of Education to administer national examinations and practice some administrative authority.

The National College English Testing Committee (Testing Committee) is responsible for the design of the CET-4/6 Syllabus and CET-4/6. The Testing Committee is headquartered in Shanghai Jiao Tong University in Shanghai. Three Testing Centers were also established in

Beijing, Shanghai, and Wuhan to assist Testing Committee to complete its mission. As a specially-designated quasi-government organization established by the Ministry of Education, the Testing Committee holds the same administrative authority as a government department. All notifications are issued in the form of official documents with a red rubric on the top or red seal at the bottom.

Picture 5.1 Notification on CET issued by provincial education department
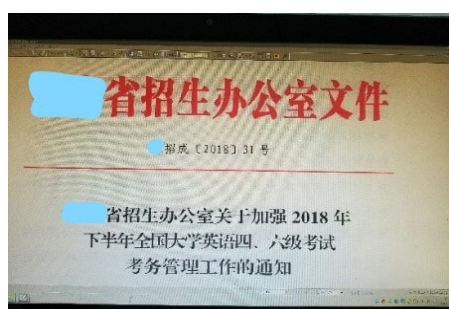
(Source: taken by the research)

Picture 5.2 Online notification on CET issued by the New University

(Source: taken by the research)

Picture 5.3 CET Candidate Codes issued by provincial education department
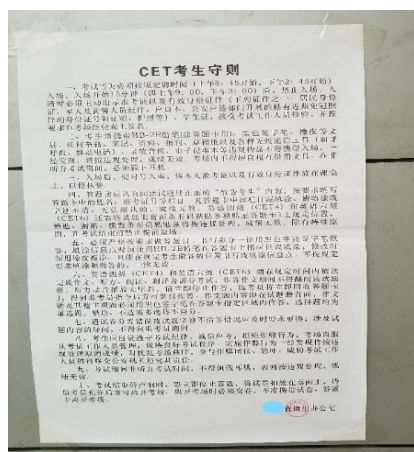
(Source: taken by the research)

Picture 5.4 Punishment for Test Codes violations issued by provincial education department
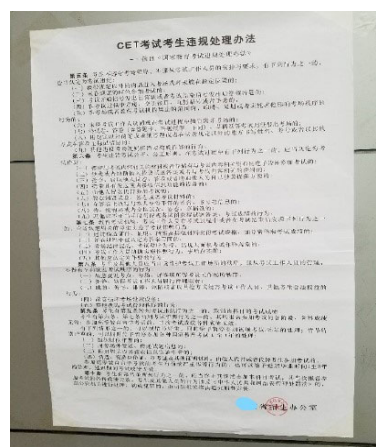
(Source: taken by the research)

The National Education Examinations Authority will publish the scheduled dates for CET-4/6 and CET-SET-4/6 on its official website at the beginning of each year. In March or September, a written notice of the upcoming CET-4/6 will be issued and sent to each provincial education department. Each provincial education department will forward the notification to

all higher education institutions within its precinct. Upon receiving the notification, the Academic Affairs Office of will make an announcement and post it on the school's homepage. A written notification is also delivered to each department directing those in charge of student affairs to forward the message to every student in that department.

The school announcement usually details the registration procedure of CET-4/6, including the scheduled date of the test, the eligibility of applicants, the means of registration, and dos and don'ts. It also provides that those who are eligible to take the test should register and pay the fees collectively with their classes as the basic units and then hand the information and fees to the Academic Affairs Office. All the registration information of this college will be forwarded as a whole package to the National Education Examinations Authority. Individual registrations are not accepted. From 2018, a national online registry system has been available. Students can individually register, pay fees, print their exam passes, and download their test report forms online.

Amongst the fees students paid to take CET-4/6, $1.2 per person will be collected by the National Education Examinations Authority. The rest will be shared by provincial education departments and colleges.

Unlike other national tests, such as the National College Entrance Examination and the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination, which use primary schools and middle schools within the downtown area as testing centers, CET-4/6 is only held on designated college campuses. For other colleges that are not authorized as CET-4/6 testing venues, their students take the test in a neighboring testing venue.

The actual management of CET-4/6 goes to each college's Academic Affairs Office. The

Academic Affairs Office can reserve rooms, arrange seating layout, and provide logistic support, and assign the task of invigilating to its faculty members. Before the test, formal notification will be issued by the Academic Affairs Office to specify the exact number of faculty each department should be allocated. Each department will assign the task among its faculty members either randomly or in rotation. The task of invigilating is regarded as part of faculty members' professional duty. Those who were picked by each department to do the job will get $7.5-$15 per test as a one-time allowance.

After the test is finished, all the answer sheets will be checked and put back to the original packages. After the packages are signed and sealed, they will be immediately mailed to the CET Committee for scoring. All the test papers will be destroyed as directed by the National Education Examination Authority.

5.2.2 CET vocabulary

CET Vocabulary is a list of English words supposed to be mastered by test-takers before taking CET-4/6. It is based on the National College English Curriculum Vocabulary and the high-frequency words that appear in the Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, and other popular English dictionaries.

Currently, the required vocabulary for CET-4 and CET-6 are 4,538 and 5,418, respectively (including words that have been learned in middle school), with words for CET-6 are marked with asterisks.

CET Vocabulary acts as a guideline on the design of CET-4/6. The majority of words that appear in the test are supposed to be within it. When original English materials are selected, a

process of adapting and paraphrasing will be conducted to substitute so-called "outside words," words that are not listed in the CET Vocabulary.

5.2.3 CET-4/6 and degree diplomas

In the first few years after CET-4/6 was introduced, CET-4/6 was optional, and students voluntarily took the test. But from the early 1990s, the taking and passing of CET-4/6 have gradually become compulsory in universities and colleges. Nearly all higher education institutions in mainland China linked CET-4/6 students' degree diplomas (bachelor or master) (Cai, 2012; Feng, 1995; Kan & Lu, 2000; Yang, 2003).

In 2005, a spokesman from the Ministry of Education reiterated that the Ministry of Education never issued such policy and the long-time practice of linking the passing of CET-4/6 with the conferring of college students' degree diplomas was only a school-level policy. Whether such a policy should be made and implemented goes to the autonomy entitled to individual institutions of higher education.

After this announcement, universities, and colleges began to drop this long-time, school-level foreign language education policy and CET-4/6 is no longer linked with students' degree diploma. However, some colleges still keep this policy and their students still have to take and pass CET-4/6 to get their degree diploma.

Summary

College English education is a key component of English education in China. Its development is in line with the overall evolution of English education in Chinese context. Over

the past four decades, College English has been transformed from a suspended and marginalized subject into a compulsory course that involves millions of non-English-major college students each year.

During this process, CET-4/6 was initiated and become an indispensable part of College English education. But its ambiguous nature and link with students' degree diplomas has put CET-4/6 at the center of discussions in terms of College English education reform.

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

Research design sets the methods and procedures used in collecting and analyzing data in individual research. It is a framework created to find answers to research questions. It is determined by the nature and type of study and the research problems.

This chapter presents the design of the study and the analysis of the data.

6.1 The Nature of the Study

This study explores the sociopolitical and cultural contexts where CET-4/6 was initiated, used as a de facto language policy, and later dropped. It investigates the impact of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy on College English teaching and learning at a particular teaching & research university in China. The study focuses on non-English-major college students and their teachers' personal experiences, interpretations, and reactions to the initiation and evolution of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy.

The exploratory nature of this study makes a qualitative case study an appropriate and preferred choice. Firstly, Merriam (1998) emphasizes that type of research design depends on the "nature of the research problem and the questions being asked" (p. 41); secondly, Yin (2014) shows that "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (p. 16); thirdly, Yin (2014) suggests that case study has a special advantage in answering "why" and "how" questions; finally, Merriam

(1998) points out that case study is highly appropriate for exploring the "process" of a phenomenon which "we would not otherwise have access to" (p. 33).

6.2 Research Questions

While theoretical framework provides researchers a specific perspective to probe into the issue, research questions help researchers concentrate on their research purpose throughout the study. Research questions serve to identify the particular objectives a study aims to address and determine what kind of data will be obtained (Creswell, 2014).

To elaborate on my research purpose and obtain the best data, six research questions are examined in this study:

1. In what contexts was CET-4/6 initiated by the Ministry of Education?

2. In what contexts was CET-4/6 used as a de facto language policy at New University?

3. In what contexts was the de facto language policy dropped by New University?

4. In what ways did this change of policy impact College English teachers' English teaching at New University?

5. In what ways did this change of policy impact non-English-major college students' English learning at New University?

6. What were the major factors that influenced college students to learn English?

6.3 Research Methods

Within the qualitative case study, a multi-method approach was employed to collect various sources of data for this study. According to Mingers (2001), the real world is stratified,

differentiated, and multidimensional; therefore, a multi-method approach can "deal effectively with the richness of the world" (p. 243). Those multiple sources of data not only depicted a more comprehensive picture of the issue but offered a triangulation to ensure the trustworthiness of this study.

Specifically, data come from:

1. Questionnaire surveys;

2. Non-participant classroom observations;

3. Face-to-face interviews;

4. Historical documents;

5. Media reports and online resources.

6.4 Research Sites and Participants

6.4.1 Research Sites

This study was conducted at the New University (pseudonym), where the researcher of this study once studied and worked. This familiarity enabled the researcher to gain access to documents and data that are hard to be obtained otherwise.

New University is a public state university in central China. It has more than 1,900 faculty and staff and offers 75 undergraduate and 73graduate programs, respectively. It holds more than 23,000 undergraduate and graduate students coming from 27 provinces around the country by the end of 2018.

A secondary research site for this study is a private English training institute, named ABC English Institute (pseudonym), which provides online and offline English training classes for

students of all ages. It has a branch office near the campus of New University, and most of its students came from New University.

Before the study was conducted, permissions were obtained both from the university administrators who were in charge of student affairs, the chair of the College English Department, and the director of ABC English Institute. I explained the study to them, showed them the questionnaires, and answered questions raised by them.

6.4.2 Participants

Participants were chosen using purposive sampling, and they consisted of national policymakers, university administrators, College English Department faculty members, ABC English Institute teachers, non-English-major undergraduate and graduate students.

National policymakers in this study were members of the CET-4/6 Committee. They were professionals and experts in English education, linguistics, testing, and other relevant fields. CET-4/6 Committee members came from different universities and were appointed by the Ministry of Education as committee members to undertake extra tasks besides their regular work at each university.

University administrators in this study were administrators from the Academic Affairs Office at the New University. They were responsible for all academic affairs concerning teaching and learning at New University, including the administration of College English and CET-4/6. Under the leadership of the university president and the party secretary, university administrators were the middle-level cadres that executed administrative orders coming from university administration and other higher education authorities.

Faculty members in this study were English professionals from the College English Department. They used to be English-majors when they studied for their bachelor's degree, master's degree, or doctor's degree. They were the grass-roots personnel that provided College English to non-English-major college students and implemented English educational policies in the classrooms.

Non-English-major undergraduate and graduate students were college students who majored in various fields other than English. English was taught to them as a foreign language. At the New University, non-English-major undergraduate students were required to register College English classes for the first two academic years, three class hours a week. Non-English-major graduate students were required to take Graduate English classes for one academic year, two class hours per week.

English training teachers in this study were English professionals who were employed by ABC English Institute to provide extracurricular English training classes to English learners. English teachers at private English training institutes didn't hold a permanent position, and they were employed on a contract for a fixed time. The majority of teachers at private English training institutes were English-major college graduates. Still, some of them were non-English-majors or even high school graduates who were proficient in English.

6.5 Data Collection

The study went through three stages: initial, pilot, and final. The entire study was conducted in Chinese and was translated into English by the researcher.

The study was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the

State University of New York Buffalo in October 2017. Consents from the research sites and consents from individual participants were also obtained.

At the initial stage, the topic of the study was developed during the seminar held by Dr. Brutt-Griffler in the fall semester of the 2015-2016 academic year. Under the guidance of Dr. Brutt-Griffler, the researcher did a preliminary literature review, finalized the research questions, and designed the data collection instruments.

At the pilot stage, a pilot study was conducted in May and June 2016 at the New University. An online survey and face-to-face interviews were conducted. The online survey had 30 questions, and a total of 585 non-English-major college students participated in it. Four undergraduate students, two graduate students, and four faculty members participated in the face-to-face interviews. The findings of the pilot study became the basis for the research component.

At the final stage, all the data for this study were collected. The research proposal was conducted on July 17, 2018, before the researcher went back to China to collect the data. Also, before the final study began, a thorough literature review was conducted, and the research questions and data collection instruments were perfected and finalized. On August 30, 2018, the researcher went back to China and stayed there for one year to work on the research, including the data collection, data transcription, coding, data analysis, and chapters writing. The researcher returned to the United States on September 2, 2019, to continue the study and the writing of the dissertation.

The following part is the procedure of data collection and analysis.

6.5.1 Questionnaire survey

The questionnaire surveys aim to obtain a general idea of what college students and their English teachers think about College English education and CET-4/6, and how the policy change impacted their teaching and learning. There are two separate questionnaire surveys: one is for non-English-major undergraduate and graduate students, the other is for faculty members from the College English Department. Both the questionnaire surveys were conducted in a traditional paper-based manner (See Appendix 1 and 2).

Both the student survey and faculty survey consist of six sections: demographic information, general English study, College English, CET-4/6, CET-4/6 and College English education, and foreign language education policy. There are a total of 54 questions in the student survey and 37 questions in the faculty survey. It takes 20-25 and 15-20 minutes to finish the two surveys, respectively.

At the beginning of the surveys is an introduction to the study. It emphasizes that the surveys will only be used for this study. The surveys are neither an evaluation of students' learning performance nor an assessment of faculty members' teaching quality. It encourages those who are willing to participate in the surveys to answer the questions based on their own experiences and understandings. Besides, those who participated in the surveys were encouraged to contact the researcher through the contact information listed below if they were interested in taking part in the following interviews.

There are Yes/No questions, Likert questions, and open-ended questions. Participants can circle the answers directly on the surveys. The surveys were conducted anonymously.

6.5.1.1 Student survey

To cover all non-English-major college students, from freshmen to seniors and graduate students, a total of 500 copies of questionnaires were prepared, 100 copies for each school year students.

For first-year, second-year, and graduate students, the survey was conducted in their classrooms. After obtaining consent from their teachers, the researcher distributed the questionnaire copies while they were having their College English class or Graduate English class. The researcher made a brief introduction of the study and asked students to read the introduction of the survey before finishing the questions.

The researcher stayed in the classrooms while students finished their questionnaires. After that, the researcher collected the questionnaire copies and reminded those who were interested in participating in the following interviews to contact the researcher.

For juniors and seniors, the researcher went to each department, talked with the staff who were in charge of student affairs, and asked them to distribute the questionnaire copies among juniors and seniors at their departments. Once the questionnaires were finished and returned to the department, the researcher was called to collect them.

The following is the information on student survey data collected. The student questionnaire instrument is listed as appendix A.

Table 6.1 Information on student survey data

	Sent out: 500		Retrieved: 468		Response rate: 93.6
	Male: 152		Female: 316		
class	Freshman: 100	Sophomore: 100	Junior: 97	Senior: 88	Graduate: 83
date	Oct. 15, 2018	Oct. 8, 2018	Oct. 19, 2018	Oct. 24, 2018	Oct. 8, 2018
venue	J6-101	W-310			W-105

6.5.1.2 Faculty survey

The researcher went to the College English Department and obtained consent from the chair. The researcher was allowed to distribute questionnaire copies among faculty members while they were having a faculty meeting. The research made a brief introduction of himself and the study before the questionnaire copies were distributed. The researcher stayed there until all the questionnaires were finished and then collected them one by one.

The following is the information on faculty survey data collected. The faculty survey instrument is listed as Appendix B.

Table 6.2 Information on faculty survey data

Date: Nov. 6, 2018	Venue: College English department conference room
Sent out: 32	Retrieved: 32
Female(23)	Male(9)
Title: Prof.(1) Associate Prof.(14) Lecturer(12) Teaching Assistant(5)	
Degree: Ph.D. (3) M.A. (22) B.A. (7)	

6.5.2 Classroom observation

Non-participant Classroom observations aim to find out what real College English classes or English training classes look like, or how faculty members and English training teachers teach and how students learn English in College English classes or English training classes. Classroom observations were carried out at two different places: one was at New University and the other was at ABC English Institute. The researcher talked with the teachers and obtained their consent to the observations. Permissions were also obtained to record the classes with a digital audio recorder.

All the observed classes were taught by faculty members or English training institute

teachers who agreed to participate in the interviews. Classroom observations were conducted before the interviews were carried out. This offered the researcher a chance to raise more specific questions during the following interviews. During the observations, the researcher also took field notes.

Each observation lasted two hours, and about 12 hours of audio data were generated.

6.5.2.1 College English classroom observation

For College English classroom observation, four classes were selected: two for freshmen and two for sophomores. The classes were taught by four faculty members who volunteered to participate in the interviews (Faculty Member A, B, E, and F).

The researcher came to the classrooms ten minutes earlier and sat at the corner of the last row to minimize the possible influence on the classes. When the classes began, the digital audio recorder was turned on. During the classes, the researcher concentrated on teachers' teaching methods and students' learning behaviors and noted all prominent features of the classes.

The following are the demographics of faculty classroom observation participants and the information on faculty classroom observation data collected.

Table 6.3 Information on faculty classroom observation data

Name	gender	age	title	degree	Year of teaching	Date of observation	venue	Duration (hours)
Faculty Member A	male	57	Prof.	B.A.	35	Nov. 2	W-209	2
Faculty Member B	female	50	Prof.	M.A.	28	Nov. 5	S-102	2
Faculty Member E	female	38	lecturer	M. A	15	Nov. 8	J6-101	2
Faculty Member F	female	30	lecturer	M.A.	5	Nov. 16	J6-202	2

6.5.2.2 English training classroom observation

English training classroom observations were conducted at the training center of ABC English Institute. The classes were taught by two teachers who volunteered to participate in the interviews (CET-4/6 Training Teacher A and B). The two selected classes had 45 students each and were held on Saturday from 8:30 to 11:30 AM and 2:30 to 5:30 PM, respectively. The researcher came to the classrooms ten minutes earlier and sat at the corner of the last row to minimize the possible influence on the classes. When the classes began, the digital audio recorder was turned on. The focus of the observations was the unique features of English training classroom teaching.

The following are the demographics of English training classroom participants and the information on English training classroom observation data collected.

Table 6.4 Information on English training classroom observation data

name	gender	age	Year of teaching	date of observation	venue	Duration (hours)
CET-4/6 Training Teacher A	male	36	10	Nov. 24, 2018	classroom	2
CET-4/6 Training Teacher B	female	31	6	Nov. 24, 2018	classroom	2

6.5.3 Interviews

Interviews aim to seek an in-depth exploration of the interviewees' thoughts concerning College English education and CET-4/6. The interviews were semi-structured and guided by interview outlines, which listed the topics and specific questions (see Appendix 3-7).

Interviews were conducted in a one-on-one and face-to-face format. Emails or instant messaging like WeChat or QQ were also used to seek clarifications and more information.

Before the interviews, the researcher contacted each participant, and a specific date and venue were set based on their preferences. All interviews were conducted in a quiet office room, a conference room, or a classroom.

Before each interview, the researcher once again briefly introduced himself and the purpose of the research. The researcher emphasized that the interviews would be kept confidential and only used for this research. After answering questions and concerns raised by the participants, the researcher asked them to sign a written form of consent.

The researcher also obtained verbal permissions from the participants to record the interviews with a digital audio recorder. Most questions asked during the interviews came from the interview outlines, but new questions were also raised during the interview to seek affirmation or clarification.

Each interview lasted between 40 and 80 minutes, and about 18 hours of audio data were generated.

6.5.3.1 CET-4/ committee member interview

Two members from the National CET-4/6 Committee were contacted through social connections. The interviews were conducted in their offices on September 14 and 20, 2018.

The following are the demographics of the national policymaker interview participants and the information on national policymaker interview data collected.

Table 6.5 Information on national policymaker interview data

name	gender	age	title	Date of interview	venue	Duration (minute)
CET-4/6 Committee Member A	male	52	Prof.	Sept. 14, 2018	office	47
CET-4/6 Committee Member B	male	44	Associate Prof.	Sept. 20, 2018	office	41

6.5.3.2 University administrator interview

Three university administrators from the Academic Affairs Office were contacted, and two of them agreed to be interviewed: one was an incumbent, and the other was a retiree. Both of them had been working at the New University for more than twenty years and were familiar with issues related to College English education and CET-4/6. The interviews were conducted in their offices on September 8 and 9, 2018.

The following are the demographics of university administrator interview participants and the information on university administrator interview data collected.

Table 6.6 Information on university administrator interview data

name	gender	age	ranking	Date of interview	venue	Duration (minute)
University Administrator A	male	63	retired	Sept. 8	office	42
University Administrator B	male	45	division chief	Sept. 9	office	50

6.5.3.3 Faculty member interview

After the faculty member survey was conducted, six faculty members volunteered to participate in the following interviews, and all of them were accepted as participants. The interviews were conducted in November 2018.

The following are the demographics of faculty interview participants and the information on faculty interview data collected.

Table 6.7 Information on faculty interview data

Name	gender	age	title	degree	Year of teaching	Date of interview	venue	Duration (minute)
Faculty Member A	male	57	Prof.	B.A.	35	Nov. 2	office	46

Faculty Member B	female	50	Prof.	M.A.	28	Nov. 5	office	40
Faculty Member C	male	49	Associate Prof.	Ph.D.	25	Nov. 21	Conference room	52
Faculty Member D	male	43	Associate Prof.	M.A.	20	Nov. 13	office	51
Faculty Member E	female	38	lecturer	M.A.	15	Nov. 8	office	47
Faculty Member F	female	30	lecturer	M.A.	5	Nov. 16	office	64

6.5.3.4 English training institute teacher interview

Two English training teachers from ABC English Institute who specialized in the training of CET-4/6 were contacted, and they agreed to participate in the research. The face-to-face interviews with the two teachers were conducted after their classes were observed by the researcher. The interviews were conducted on November 24, 2018.

The following are the demographics of English training teacher interview participants and the information on English training teacher interview data collected.

Table 6.8 Information on English training teacher interview data

name	gender	age	Year of teaching	focus of teaching	Date of interview	venue	Duration (minute)
CET Training Teacher A	male	36	10	CET reading	Nov. 24, 2018	classroom	44
CET Training Teacher B	female	31	6	CET translation / writing	Nov. 24, 2018	classroom	48

6.5.3.5 Student interview

After the student questionnaire survey was conducted, 32 students volunteered to participate in the interviews, and ten of them were picked as participants: two freshmen, two sophomores, two juniors, two seniors, and two graduate students. Data showed many of the ten

participants held similar ideas and ten interview participants were enough for this study. The interviews were conducted in October 2018.

The following are the demographics of student interview participants and the information on student interview data collected.

Table 6.9 Information on student interview data

name	gender	class	major	Date of interview	venue	Duration (minute)
College Student A	female	freshman	Chinese literature	Oct. 29, 2018	Conference room	40
College Student B	female	freshman	politics	Oct. 10, 2018	Conference room	50
College Student C	female	sophomore	computer science	Oct. 23, 2018	Conference room	53
College Student D	male	sophomore	statistics	Oct. 18, 2018	Conference room	41
College Student E	female	junior	biotechnology	Oct. 17, 2018	Conference room	46
College Student F	male	junior	geography	Oct. 12, 2018	classroom	51
College Student G	female	senior	accounting	Oct. 13, 2018	Conference room	49
College Student H	female	senior	finance	Oct. 26, 2018	Conference room	48
Graduate Student A	female	graduate	physics	Oct. 4, 2018	Conference room	80
Graduate Student B	male	graduate	civil engineer	Oct. 7, 2018	Conference room	42

6.5.4 Historical documents

Historical documents in this study include national and university-level College English curricula, CET-4/6 Syllabus, Higher Education Evaluation files, and other relevant documentary sources.

Those documentary materials were either downloaded from the Ministry of Education's

official website of the, the National Education Examinations Authority, the New University, or collected from the New University's Academic Affairs Office, university archives, and the College English Department.

6.5.5 Media reports and online resources

Media reports and online resources covered a wide range of supplementary information relevant to CET-4/6, College English Education, and language policies.

Media reports were media coverage of issues related to CET-4/6, including students' cheating on the test, faculty members' leaking of the test, and other relevant incidents. Online resources were job recruitment announcements, CET-4/6 training advertisements, and others.

There were also some pictures taken by the research on the campus of New University.

6.6 Data Analysis

As a qualitative case study, the majority of the collected data are about participants' lived experiences and understandings of CET-4/6, College English education, or language policies that are unknown to others. Therefore, data analysis focuses on uncovering significant themes, patterns, concepts, and insights that emerge from the data (Patton, 2002).

6.6.1 Data transcription and coding

Audio data, including interviews and classroom observations, were first transcribed online through speech-to-text software. Then, they were checked and edited by the researcher one by one to ensure the accuracy of the transcriptions. Data were coded to exhibit the answers to

direct questions, inferred opinions, attitudes, and beliefs of the participants. Concepts, categories, and themes were highlighted and identified. Prominent utterances of the interviews were highlighted and used as direct quotations in the dissertation.

During the coding process, the "two cycles of coding" (Saldana, 2009, P. 45) was employed. It helps to integrate the primary codes, categories, themes, and concepts into a narrative form and be ready for the data analysis.

Observational field notes of class observations and interviews were also taken during the data collection process to offer supplemental information for the analysis of the data.

The work of transcribing and coding were done during the whole data collection stage, usually immediately after the interview or classroom observation was conducted.

6.6.2 Questionnaire data analysis

Since the questionnaire surveys were conducted in a traditional paper-based manner and a total of 468 copies of questionnaires were retrieved, it's a huge task to do the percentage counting manually. Ten college students were paid to do the counting, and each item was counted by two students to double-check the results.

Questionnaire data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, depending on the nature of questions. Responses to the open-ended questions were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Glaser, 1965). Responses to the closed-ended questions were analyzed through counting and then presented in percentages.

The details of the questionnaire data analysis will be discussed in Chapter Eight, Nine, and Ten.

6.6.3 Interview and classroom observation data analysis

Merriam & Tisdell (2016) emphasize that the process that we should follow to analyze qualitative data are: first, think about the purpose of the study; second, think about the lens of the theoretical framework; third, code the data using a microscope; fourth, step back from the data using a bird's eye view; fifth, recheck the data; sixth, develop categories using the constant comparative method (Glaser, 1965).

According to Glaser & Strauss (1967), the constant-comparative analysis aims to generate prominent themes and patterns systematically. For this study, after data were transcribed, they were carefully read by the researcher to make the "category construction" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), a process which included coding, themes/patterns-identifying, and category-constructing.

The theoretical framework helped the researcher to pay more attention to the social contexts of policy changes and other big events concerning College English and CET-4/6. Through the data analysis, all direct answers, identifiable themes were sifted out of discrete data and became the basis of the writing of finding chapters. Those data not only offered responses to direct questions, but detailed college students' and teachers' understandings of College English and CET-4/6, and their perspectives on policy changes.

6.6.4 Other data analysis

Historical documents, media reports, and online resources were analyzed and categorized according to their relevance to research questions. Then, they were used as supplementary information and supporting evidence to the themes produced from the main body of data.

6.7 Ethical Procedure

Participants in qualitative case studies were human beings; therefore, it's a big issue to protect them from harming and respect their rights to privacy. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2015), the ethical issue is not confined to reporting and publication of the findings, but runs through the whole process of the case study, from the data collection process to the dissemination of the findings of the case study or any other qualitative research.

Tracy (2010) suggested that concerns about ethics in qualitative research consist of procedural/categorical ethics, situational and culturally specific ethics, relational ethics, and exiting ethics. American Educational Research Association (2006) also issued a set of ethical standards for qualitative researchers to follow when they conduct human-related research. It stipulates that formal approval must be acquired from an Institutional Review Board (IRB) before the start of the research, which demonstrates the specifics of the participants, contexts, activities, data collections, and manipulations involved in the study. Any openly reporting of the research findings should exactly follow agreements with the human participants, such as the anonymity of the participants and the confidentiality of information about them.

For this study, besides the formal approvals from the IRB, the New University, and ABC English Institute, the following measures were also taken to protect participant's privacy:

Anonymity. Both the research sites and participants were kept anonymous by using pseudonyms or code numbers in the report;

Consent. Consents or permissions were obtained from each participant or department before interviews and classroom observations were conducted and before documents were collected;

Candor. The purpose of this study was clearly explained to all participants, and they were fully aware that they had the rights to quit at any time and in any situation without any negative impact on them;

Confidentiality. Aside from the use of students to do the counting for questionnaires and the use of audio-to-speech software, the whole process of data collection and analysis was done by the researcher. All information and data collected from the participants were kept in confidentiality and only used for this research. Audio recordings will be destroyed after the research is finished.

Summary

The research design was determined by the nature of the study. Being a qualitative case study focusing on the initiation and evolution of CET-4/6 as a de facto, this research was conducted at a public state university in China. Multiple data were collected to ensure the research's trustworthiness of and depict a comprehensive and reliable picture of CET-4/6 and College English education, including questionnaire surveys, classroom observations, interviews, historical documents, media reports, and online resources. After the data were collected, the data was analyzed differently according to the types of data. Ethical concerns were also discussed to make sure that all rules and regulations were followed.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CET-4/6 AS A DE FACTO LANGUAGE POLICY

Introduction

Since CET-4/6 was initiated in the late 1980s, it has become a key component of College English education and a focus of public concerns. It had been used as a de facto language policy since the early 1990s but was dropped in the late 2000s.

This chapter answers the first three research questions: in what contexts CET-4/6 was initiated by the Ministry of Education, in what context CET-4/6 was used as a de facto language policy, and in what context this policy was dropped. This chapter's findings are based on data from interviews with CET-4/6 Committee Members and University Administrators, faculty and student surveys, historical documents, media reports, and online resources.

7.1 The Reasons Why CET-4/6 Was Initiated

According to interviews with the CET-4/6 Committee members, several factors led to the introduction of CET-4/6 in the late 1980s. It was in line with the bigger sociopolitical contexts China had experienced at that time.

7.1.1 The international and national situation

Internationally, the "Cold War" between the Soviet Union and the United States had reached its late-stage in the early 1980s when Soviet supreme leader Mikhail Gorbachev launched a radical economic reform and improved the relationship with the United States. The eased tension between the United States and the Soviet Union created a relatively peaceful

environment for world economic and social development, which was crucial to China's reform and opening-up.

In 1979, the United States changed its diplomatic recognition of China from Taipei to Beijing, and it became a major historic event both for China and the United States. The establishment of the Sino-US diplomatic relationship virtually ended the decades-long hostilities between the two countries. It paved the way for China to connect and communicate with the United States in various fields and learn advanced science and technology.

Since World War II, the United States had been taking the lead in scientific research, and the majority of the latest science and technology inventions were published in English. English education became one of the first and most critical steps to integrate itself into the international community and made use of the technological advancement represented by English.

Domestically, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was ended in 1977, and China's central task was shifted from class struggles to economic developments. Due to decades-long political movements and social turbulence, China largely lagged behind western countries in economic development and science and technology research. The top priority of the government was to restore school education and cultivate badly-needed talents and professionals.

English was defined as an essential tool to learn western science and technology and achieve the "Four Modernizations" (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018). Along with the restoration of social order, both English education and English educators were exonerated from all accusations and charges imposed on them during various political movements. It was urgent to strengthen foreign language education in China in a short period

of time.

However, the significance and urgency of English learning was not fully recognized and appreciated by the public. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

Although the Cultural Revolution was ended, it remained fresh in people's memories that English was vilified as the enemy's language and English educators were persecuted as traitors. Fears and uneasiness still lingered in many people's minds." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

To change this situation, a series of administrative orders were issued by the Ministry of Education to push English education across the country. In November 1977, the National College Entrance Examination was resumed, and higher education institutions began enrolling students based on examinations rather than recommendations.

Initially, English was not required in the resumed National College Entrance Examination in 1977, but from 1978, it was incorporated, and its proportion increased from 10% in 1979 to 100% in 1983 (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018). According to CET-4/6 Committee Members B:

The inclusion of English in the National College Entrance Examination and later in the Senior Middle School Entrance Examination had an "immediate impact on middle school English education" (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018).

Both middle school students, teachers, and administrators were forced to take action. For students, they had to study English hard to increase their chance of being admitted by senior high schools or colleges. For teachers, they had to try various means to raise their students' test

scores because their test scores were the only criterion that mattered in terms of salaries and personal gains; for school administrators, they had to pour more resources into English education to enhance their graduates' high school or college enrollment rates, because students' admission rates were the key index to the appraisal of their performance. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"Because of the inclusion of English in the Senior Middle School Entrance Examination and the National College Entrance Examination, English became one of the so-called '三大主科 Three Primary Subjects', together with Chinese and mathematics in middle school curricula. Middle school English education rapidly gained momentum." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

By comparison, English education at the tertiary level was a different picture. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"Because of the "宽进严出 hard to enter, but easy to exit" policy, and '毕业包分配 guarantee of jobs from the government', the recovery of College English education was slow. This situation was not improved until CET-4/6 was initiated." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

7.1.2 CET-4/6 was required by the national College English Curriculum

According to interviews with CET-4/6 Committee members, when the National College Entrance Examination was resumed in 1977, a large number of people took the test (China Education Yearbook 1949-1981 showed a total of 5.7 million people applied for it that year). As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"The extraordinary huge number was caused by a decade-long accumulation of high school graduates, educated urban youth sent to work in the countryside, veterans, factory workers, and people from all walks of life." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

However, because of the shortage of higher education resources, only a very small percentage of them were admitted (China Education Yearbook 1949-1981 showed 270,000 out of 5.7 million were admitted by 88 universities across the country in 1977). This extremely low admission rate, together with the scarcity of college students caused by decades of political movements, meant any individual who was enrolled was a lucky one. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"At that time, those who were admitted to colleges were called '天之骄子 God's favorites,' and their fates were utterly changes." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018).

The resumed National College Entrance Examination quickly gained its notoriety as the most competitive high-stakes test that involves millions of high school graduates each year. It's the only chance for ordinary people to change their sociopolitical and economic status. As the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"Because of the extremely low admission rate, the National College Entrance Examination was dubbed as '独木桥 a single-plank bridge', and only a few of them could pass it, thus changed their fates." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018).

"Unlike current college students, who have no big difference with other groups of

people, have to pay their tuition and fees, and seek employment on their own after graduation, those who were admitted to colleges in the 1980s were regarded as quasi-government officials. They enjoyed a number of special privileges that were beyond the reach of others. They didn't have to pay for their tuitions and fees; on the contrary, they were granted a certain amount of living allowance." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

Going to colleges was even vital for students who came from rural areas. It meant they could change their household registration status from "agricultural" to "non-agricultural," a critical switch that could completely change a person's fate and lift them from a miserable life into a decent living. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"In the 1980s, entering a college meant you didn't have to '地里刨食 toiling for their food in the field'; instead, you began '吃皇粮 living on the wages paid by the government." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

What's more, the moment a high school graduate received his college admission letter, a job was guaranteed for them by the government, a national policy started from 1951 stipulating that both the enrollment and employment of college students were pre-planned and the government was responsible for college graduates' job allocation. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"At that time, students who were admitted to colleges were similar with scholars in previous dynasties who succeeded in The Imperial Examination, which is called '中状元' and transformed themselves from insignificant peasants into a part of the upper class overnight." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

Although not all college graduates could become government officials after graduation, all of them would be allocated a job, mostly in government departments and quasi-government organizations like schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, and state-owned enterprises.

Besides, the differences between Chinese higher education system and western ones also contributed to the low motivation of English learning among college students. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

> "As we all know, western universities are '宽进严出 easy to enter, but hard to exit'; in contrast, Chinese universities were '严进宽出 hard to enter, but easy to exit'. Therefore, entering a college at that time meant you entered a '保险箱 safe'. As long as you didn't commit serious crimes, everyone could graduate and get a job." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

Those guarantees made college students less likely to continue working as hard as they were in middle schools, especially in terms of College English learning. They didn't take College English very seriously, unless for those who planned to go abroad after graduation. c

> "Both college students and college administrations paid little attention to College English education at that time, and College English became marginalized." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

To change this situation, the Ministry of Education decided to revise the old National College English Curriculum which was issued in 1980. Experts from the "Public English Textbook Compilation Committee" and "Public English Teaching Committee" understood this task. After three years of work, two separate Curricula were issued by the Ministry of Education in 1985 and 1986 respectively, one for science & engineering colleges and the other for liberal

arts colleges.

The new National College English Curricula played a significant role in promoting College English education. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"One of the biggest changes in the new curriculum was the introduction of 'Graded Teaching.' Another one was the stipulation that examinations should be administered at the end of each College English level. When the fourth and sixth level was finished, a national test should be conducted to meet the requirements prescribed by the curriculum. Students' transcripts should display which English level they were in and how many points they got." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

7.1.3 CET-4/6 was used as a de facto language policy

As a combination of administrative order and official language statute issued by the Ministry of Education, the two National College Curricula acted as the fundamental law guiding the education of College English across the country. Each institution of higher institutions is required to follow it. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"The design of CET-4/6 is required by the (National College English) Curriculum. Every college had to follow it." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

There were no problems for college administrations to follow the curriculum and offer required College English classes for their students. However, there lacked a tight rein on students or an efficient means to put students under stress, something like the entrance examinations on junior and senior middle school students. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee

Members pointed out:

> "Because English is a required subject in Senior High School Entrance Examination and National College Entrance Examination, students have the pressure and motivation to learn English. But once students entered universities, they lost the same pressure and motivation to learn English. It's necessary to design a similar mandatory test to stimulate them to study English." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

At the same time, in 1981, the American standardized English test, TOEFL, was introduced to mainland China. The introduction of TOEFL to China not only opened the door for Chinese students to seek overseas study but provided valuable references for the reform of existing English tests and the design of new ones, including CET-4/6. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

> "The introduction of TOEFL to China offered us a very good chance to learn the latest development of English testing. It acted as a reference to the design of CET-4/6." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

In February 1985, before the revised National College English Curriculum was issued, the Ministry of Education sent an official notification to all provincial education departments and institutions of higher education. It stipulated that from the fall semester 1987, the Ministry of Education would administer a national and standard test for those who had finished their College English Band-4 and Band-6. The test results would be recorded on their transcripts, acting as a reference for future employers.

> "The direct reason and main goal of CET-4/6 is to ensure the full implementation of the National College Curricula. There should be a mandatory thing acting like a goad to

spur students into action." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

However, in the first few years after CET-4 and CET-6 was initiated in 1987 and 1989 respectively, only tens of thousands students volunteered to take the test. Although the number of applicants increased over time, it accounted for a small proportion of the large college student body of more than two million at that time. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"Only those who were confident with their English abilities or had the plan to go abroad took CET-4/6 as a way to check their English learning effects. The assumed impacts on College English education were not fully achieved." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

To exert direct control on all higher education institutions, in 1990, the first official statute regulating higher education assessments, the "Draft Regulation of Higher Education Institution Evaluation" was issued by the Ministry of Education. Based on the trial evaluations conducted since 1985, it formally defined the nature, purpose, requirements, guiding principles, and basic forms of higher education institution evaluation. Among all the evaluation indicators, students' performance on CET-4/6 was incorporated as a key index to show the general quality of College English education. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"The Ministry of Education cannot force individual students to take CET-4/6, but when the test results are used as a required indicator (of Higher Education Institution Evaluation), each university (administration) will pay attention to it. After all, the evaluation result will greatly influence a university's public reputation and threaten their attractiveness to potential applicants." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B,

Sept. 20, 2018)

7.1.4 CET-4/6 was used as a comparable index in college evaluation

According to interviews with CET-4/6 Committee Members and New University administrators, each time when CET-4/6 was conducted, the test results would be made to the public. The information usually included the national average score, the average passing rate, and the list of ranking based on average score.

"Compare with other indexes in the college evaluation, the CET-4/6 passing rate was the simplest and most comparable one. It's an easy-to-read number. " (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

CET-4/6 ranking quickly became the focus of concerns of colleges and the public. While universities on the top would celebrate and use it as a selling point, those at the bottom would take it as humiliation and rush to take measures to improve their ranking.

"Tests are more efficient than any preaching. Once a test is linked with (university) leaders' appraisals, they would definitely pay more attention to it. (University leaders) will definitely take some measures to promote College English education, such as the increase of teaching resources, the increase of pressure on College English Department, and the link of CET-4/6 with students' personal interests". (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

Because of the publication of CET-4/6 results and the inclusion of CET-4/6 in higher education evaluation, an increasing number of colleges started to take various measures to exert pressure on college students, including the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas and

students' personal interests.

7.2 The Reasons Why CET-4/6 Was Linked with Degree Diplomas at the New University

According to interviews with New University administrators, the main reason why New University decided to link CET-4/6 with degree diplomas came from the pressure exerted by the Ministry of Education and the competition with other colleges in terms of student enrollment and employment rate.

7.2.1 To meet the requirement made by the National College Curriculum

When the revised National College English Curricula were issued by the Ministry of Education in 1985 and 1986, all higher education institutions were required to follow it and take action to mobilize their students. As the University Administrators pointed out:

"The (National College English) Curriculum was mandatory. We had to follow it, including the mobilization of students to take the test." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018)

"Before CET-4 was held in 1987, the Provincial Education Department had forwarded an official notification issued by the Ministry of Education, emphasizing that CET-4 was a key component of the National College English Curriculum and all eligible students should register and take the test." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

However, the tasks of mobilizing students to register and take the test were not easy,

especially when students had to pay for the test. The test fee became a factor contributing to the low CET-4/6 registration rate. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"Because a fee was charged, many students were reluctant to register and take the test in the beginning. But few could be done except persuasions." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

To meet the requirements prescribed by the National College English Curricula, individual colleges had to put pressure on students. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"We (individual colleges) had no choice but to make it a mandatory test. Otherwise, it's impossible to finish the task (of asking students to take CET-4/6)." (Interview with CET-4/6 University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018).

7.2.2 To get a good result from College Evaluation

According to University Administrators, meeting the requirement prescribed by the National College English Curriculum was one contributing factor for individual colleges to change their university-level policy. Another contributor was the ongoing College Evaluation. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"Compare with qualitative description, numbers (of CET-4/6 scores) can be easily and directly compared with other universities in Higher Education Evaluation across the country. No matter how beautiful the descriptive report is, if the number is ugly (low), the report is not convincing." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

The followings were statistics on CET-4/6 passing rates between 2004 and 2006. It was part of the formal evaluation report, which was written by New University and submitted to

the Evaluation Committee for inspection in 2007. In the report, statistics of CET-4/6 passing rates in the past three years was listed as a specific indicator of students' English test scores under the category of "Students' Actual Level on Basic Theories and Skills."

Picture 7.1: Students' test results as a chapter of appraisal report
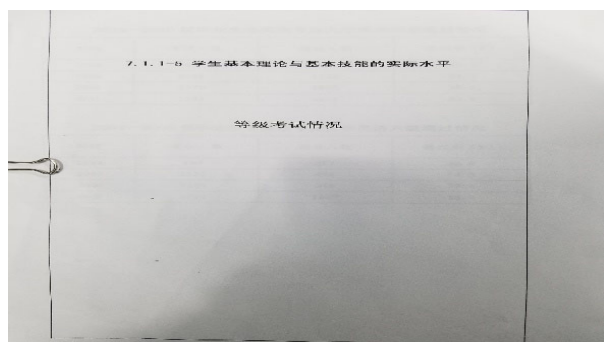
Picture 7.2: CET-4/6 passing rates (2004-2006)

7.1.1-6 学生基本理论与基本技能的实际水平

等级考试情况

2004—2006 届毕业生非英语专业大学英语四级通过情况

时间	考试人数	通过人数	通过率（%）
2004	1414	1258	89.0
2005	1798	1521	84.6
2006	2370	1860	78.5
合计	5582	4639	83.1

2004—2006 届毕业生非英语专业大学英语六级通过情况

时间	考试人数	通过人数	通过率（%）
2004	865	277	32.0
2005	1133	434	38.3
2006	1138	346	30.4
合计	3136	1057	33.7

(Source: New University Archives)   (Source: New University Archives)

Besides being used as an evaluation index, statistics on CET-4/6 were also used as a key indicator of a college's academic atmosphere and learning environment. It showed how hard college students were in terms of English learning. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"Students' average passing rate of CET-4/6 is a reflection of a university's general morale and learning atmosphere. If a university's learning atmosphere is very good, the results will not be too bad." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

By linking CET-4/6 with a student's degree diploma, the college administration could exert huge pressure on students to get a better test result. In return for students' hardworking, the university's general learning atmosphere would be significantly improved. As the University Administrator pointed out:

"It's a beautiful scene when lots of students are reading aloud in English in the morning on campus. That's the way a university should be." (Interview with University

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Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018)

"The Evaluation Committee will not just sit there listening to the written report. They will walk around the campus to make some on-the-spot inspection. They want to use field trips as a means to check the veracity of the self-evaluation report … if those experts happen to see the picture of students working hard on their studies, they will be impressed. Then, they are more likely to make a positive comment." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018).

7.2.3 To make college graduates more competitive

According to interviews with University Administrators, due to the increasing number of college graduates, the "Job Allocation Policy" was reformed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Except for a small proportion of college graduates, the majority of them had to enter the labor market and seek employment on their own.

Consequently, A growing number of employers, whether they were government departments, quasi-government organizations, state-owned enterprises, or private companies, began to list CET-4/6 certificate as one of the several basic requirements for being taken into consideration. As the University Administrator pointed out:

"With more and more high school graduates entering colleges each year, the demand was outnumbered by supply. College graduates were no longer as cherished as they were before. They had to compete with each other in the labor market for a good job." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018).

"With more and more college graduates being available, employers have become

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picky. They listed several criteria to sift job applicants. CET-4/6 certificate was one of them." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018)

Even the Ministry of Education listed CET-4/6 as a precondition when the recruited new staff. Among all the qualifications that an applicant was supposed to meet. No.3 required job applicants who applied some positions to report the scores and attending time of CET-6 or other English tests in their applications.

Picture 7.3: Announcement on job application from the Ministry of Education

四、网上填报信息注意事项

考生填报信息前请仔细阅读国家公务员局2018年度考试录用公务员专题网站发布的《中央机关及其直属机构2018年度考试录用公务员公告》《中央机关及其直属机构2018年度考试录用公务员报考指南》及我部考试录用职位要求，确保提交的申请材料真实、全面、准确，报考人员提供虚假报考申请材料的，一经查实，取消录用资格。

1、"学习经历"需从初中以上学历（不含初中）填起，并注明各阶段学习经历层次（如中专、本科等）、起止年月、就读院校、所学专业、学位类别（法学学士、经济学硕士、管理学博士等）、学习类型（如全日制普通高等教育、成人高等教育等），注明在职或非在职学习。上述信息均以所获学历证书和学位证书或教育部留学服务中心出具的《国外学历学位认证书》为准。

2、"社会工作经历"需连续、完整填写各阶段工作经历，并注明起止年月、工作单位、职位（或具体工作内容），待业经历也须填写，学生兼职和社会实践不填写。

3、报考有外语水平要求的职位（机关司局驻外储备人员职位、财务司职位、国际司职位），请考生在报名表备注栏中注明相关考试的名称、成绩及取得资格时间，例如：已通过大学英语六级考试，考试分数：XXX分，考试时间：XXXX年XX月。未注明英语考试名称和成绩，视同不符合相应条件。

(Source: http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A04/A04_gggs/s8463/201710/t20171030_317800.html)

Following was a job advertisement posted by a major state-owned bank. Among the listed necessary qualifications, No. 5 required that job applicants should score over 425 in CET-6.

Picture 7.4: Job advertisement from a bank

中国工商银行北京分行 2018 年社会招聘岗位一览表

序号	分行本部	岗位名称	需求人数	岗位主要职责	基本任职要求	备注
5	资产负债管理部	投资交易岗	1	1. 负责根据对投资品市场、理财产品市场和理财产品可行的资产情况进行研究和分析，设计理财产品； 2. 负责产品存续期间定期监控投资组合的资金、风险等情况，通过对政策、市场等情况的分析，对投资策略进行调整确保理财产品的安全性，同时提高理财产品收益； 3. 负责与理财产品的后台和托管核对相关数据报表，及时对到期产品收益和表现进行分析，保证产品的安全兑付； 4. 负责根据产品投资策略在债券市场或货币市场上进行债券买卖、回购融资、同业存单等外部投融资交易，并落实协议的签署等相关事宜； 5. 负责组织实施创新型理财产品可行性研究，并对创新产品研发进行分析和设计。	1. 30 周岁及以下； 2. 大学本科（含）以上学历及相应学位； 3. 具备金融学、数学与应用数学、计算机、会计、金融工程、经济学等专业知识，熟悉金融市场工具、银行理财产品，熟悉银行投资理财相关政策制度； 4. 具有 2 年（含）以上相关全职工作经历； 5. 英语 6 级在 425 分以上； 6. 具有较强的分析能力、创新能力及沟通能力，熟练使用计算机办公软件，具有较强文笔写作能力。	
6	资产负债管理部	理财产品销售岗	1	1. 负责法人理财重点客户营销拓展、市场分析、方案设计、业务指导等工作； 2. 负责法人理财业务组织推动、产品管理、支行培训支持以及日常业务答疑； 3. 负责法人理财业务相关数据的统计分析工作； 4. 负责法人理财业务相关系统验证、测试、投产、运营等工作。	1. 30 周岁及以下； 2. 大学本科（含）以上学历及相应学位； 3. 具备金融学、数学与应用数学、会计、金融工程、经济学等专业知识，熟悉金融市场工具、银行理财产品，熟悉银行资产管理业务相关政策制度； 4. 具有 2 年（含）以上相关全职工作经历； 5. 英语 6 级在 425 分以上； 6. 具有较强的分析能力、创新能力及沟通能力，熟练使用计算机办公软件，具有较强文笔写作能力。	

(Source: https://campus.icbc.com.cn/icbc/campus/default.htm)

According to interviews with University Administrators, the link between CET-4/6 and jobs exerted extra pressure on college students and university administration to pay more attention to College English education. For college students, this meant that CET-4/6 was equivalent to their degree diploma and jobs. For university administration, this meant that they had to takes measures to make sure their graduates could find jobs. College graduate employment rate not only became a key factor influencing college applicants' applications but became an index in Higher Education Evaluation that could impact the social reputation of a university. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"Like CET-4/6 passing rate, (college graduates) employment rates are simple and easy-to-read numbers. It's easy for people to make a comparison with other universities. A higher employment rate equals to higher teaching quality." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

Most importantly, compare with college graduates from top universities who usually enjoy more opportunities in job-seeking, college graduates from New University have fewer options, and they had to work harder to compete with others. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"To make our graduates more competitive in the job market, it's necessary to exert more pressure on our students to work harder, to obtain as many certificates as possible, especially CET-4/6 and computer proficiency certificates." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018)

7.2.4 To make college education more worthwhile

According to interviews with University Administrators, free higher education was ended in the late 1980s. From the early 1990s, college students were required to pay tuition and fees. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"With an increasing number of college students, the 'free tuition' was unsustainable. The government didn't have that huge amount of money. Asking college students to pay their tuition was the only option." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018).

College tuition increased rapidly. The China Statistical Yearbook (1999) showed the number increased from around 200 RMB ($53) per academic year in 1989 to 375 RMB ($68) in 1992, then to 3000 RMB ($359) in 1995. College tuition became a huge burden on ordinary families. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"In the 1990s, most families were poor. Paying for higher education became a luxury for many, especially those from the rural areas. Most of the time, money would be borrowed from all immediate and remote relatives or fellow villagers. If there were more than one child in each family, the others, in most cases, girls, would drop out of school and go to factories to make money for their brothers." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018).

This observation was echoed by the China Statistical Yearbook (1999), which showed the average annual income for an ordinary family in cities and rural areas was 4283 RMB ($513) and 1577 RMB ($189) respectively in 1995.

Because of the vast financial investment, college students were highly expected to find a decent and well-paid job, preferably becoming government officials, to repay their family's sacrifices. As the University Administrator pointed out:

"In the past, it's the whole family, even the whole village's pride to have a college student. Their parents felt very proud of their children. But, this (honor) also put huge pressure on college students, pushing them to cherish their chance of study." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018).

"Once college education was not free, and you to pay for it out your pocket, people would cherish it and make it worthwhile…. after all, it usually called for the whole family to make great sacrifices for one student to receive higher education." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

As a qualification required by most employers, CET-4/6 certificate was more critical for those impoverished students. As one of the University Administrator pointed out:

"If they (students from poor families) failed the test, and could not get their degree diploma, the consequence was dire. It not only meant they could not find a decent job but meant both their family's investment and hope were smashed." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

Besides, in many universities, passing CET-4/6 had been a condition for college students to apply for scholarships, to be recommended to attend graduate schools exempt from the National Postgraduate Examination and to seek other personal gains.

The following was a university's procedure on the recommendation of college seniors attending graduate schools exempt from the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination. Among the listed qualifications, No.4 required applicants to pass CET-4 to gain eligibility.

Picture 7.5: Requirements for college seniors being admitted to graduate schools exempted from examinations

XXXX大学 2020 年推荐优秀应届本科毕业生免试攻
读硕士学位研究生工作方案

根据教育部《2020 年全国硕士研究生招生工作管理规定》（教学函
〔2019〕6 号）、《全国普通高等学校推荐优秀应届本科毕业生免
试攻读硕士学位研究生工作管理办法（试行）》（教学〔2006〕14
号）和《关于做好2020年推荐优秀应届本科毕业生免试攻读研究生
工作的通知》（教学司函〔2019〕105 号）等文件精神，为规范我校
推荐优秀应届本科毕业生免试攻读硕士学位研究生（以下简称推
免）工作，制定本方案。

一、适用范围

推荐和招收推免生，适用本方案。

（三）推荐条件

1. 坚持中国共产党的领导，社会主义信念坚定，有高尚的爱国主义
情操和集体主义精神，社会责任感强，积极向上，身心健康；

2. 遵纪守法，品行优良，无任何违法违纪受处分记录；

3. 诚实守信，学风端正，无任何考试作弊和剽窃他人学术成果记录；

4. 通过国家大学英语四级考试，大学前三年所修全部课程平均学分
绩点（GPA）专业排名原则上在前35%以内；新疆和西藏地区少数民
族学生平均学分绩点（GPA）专业排名可放宽至前45%。

(Source: http://yjs.hzau.edu.cn/info/1025/4055.htm)

7.3 The Reasons Why the Link between CET-4/6 and Degree Diploma Was Removed

According to interviews with University Administrators, the most direct reason for the removal of the link between CET-4/6 and degree diploma at New University came from the press conference held by the Ministry of Education in 2005.

It's a specifically-designated conference focusing on the background, urgency, necessity, outline, and key issues of CET-4/6 reform. While it highlighted the great contribution of CET-4/6 to the development of College English education, it reiterated that there had no such a national policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas. Whether CET-4/6 should be a

precondition for students to obtain their degree diploma went to the autonomy entitled to individual institutions of higher education.

After this announcement, a growing number of colleges/universities began to drop this policy and practice, and New University was one of them.

Other contributor to the drop of this policy included: the several decades of development of English education in China, the rising demand for graduate education, a growing public resentment, series of motions proposed by delegates at each year's National People's Congress and Chinese Political Consultative Conference, and people's improved legal literacy.

7.3.1 English learning had become a fashion and conscious behavior

According to interviews with CET-4/6 Committee Members and University Administrators, although most people had limited knowledge about the world situation where English had been a de facto lingua franca in almost every field, they knew the significance of English learning. They understood that English was a compulsory subject in schools and a mandatory subject in entrance examinations for high schools, colleges, graduate schools, and overseas study. They also knew that English was essential for college graduates to find a better job and for a professional to seek a higher title.

This point was echoed by the faculty and student surveys, which showed the majority of college students and faculty members (85% and 100% respectively) agreed or strongly agreed that "English is very important." As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

"With the deepening of reform and opening-up, the significance of English speaks for itself. Whether you like it or not, you must learn English, unless you want to stay out

of school or are willing to do some low-end jobs." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

For University Administrators, some had a deeper understanding of the significance of English than others. As one of the University Administrators pointed out:

"Some students lost many good chances due to their poor English. They failed to go to graduate schools, find a decent job, or seek higher professional titles just because of English." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018)

At the same time, inspirational stories of ordinary people becoming millionaires with English have been known to the society, such as the founder of "New Oriental English" and the founder of "Crazy English."

"To obtain optimum personal interests is the most powerful factor that stimulates people to learn English." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018).

"Direct personal experiences are more convincing than any policy or government propaganda. (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

7.3.2 English remained a mandatory subject in the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination

According to interviews with CET-4/6 Committee Members and University Administrates, the enrollment expansion in higher education started in 1999 and the increased number of college seniors attending graduate schools played a significant role in the removal of the policy. Following is the trend of national college Enrollment from 1977 to 2018.

Figure 7.1: Trend of National College Enrollment (1977-2018)

Trend of College Enrollment (1977-2018)
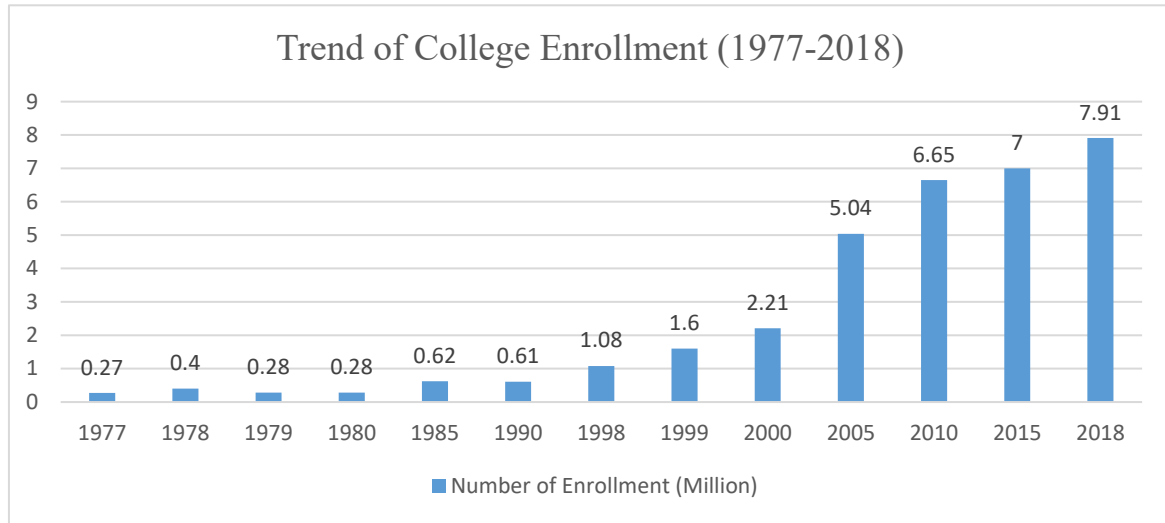
(Made by the researcher. Data source: the Ministry of Education)

The significant increase in college enrollments after 1998 made the competition of employment increasingly intensive. What made things even worse was the reform of state-owned enterprises started from the early 1990s, which laid off tens of millions of workers and put them back to the job market. As the University Administrators pointed out:

"On the one hand, the number of college graduates increased rapidly, but on the other hand, the reform of state-owned enterprises reduced jobs available on the market. Many college graduates had no choice but to further their study in graduate schools, hoping to enhance their competitiveness, and temporarily escape from the job market." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018)

"With the ever-increasing number of undergraduates, employers, especially institutions of higher education and government departments, raised their criteria for job requirements. This is called '水涨船高 when the river rises, the boat floats high.' Holding a master's or doctor's degree has become the minimum conditions applying for those so-

called "plum jobs." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018).

The fierce competition in the job market and the raised standard for job recruitment push college graduates to continue their studies in graduate schools. According to the Ministry of Education, the number of graduate school applications increased nearly ten times in two decades. In 2018, among 3.87 million undergraduate college students, 2.38 million applied to attend the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination.

Figure 7.2: Trend of National Graduate School Application and Enrollment (1998-2016)
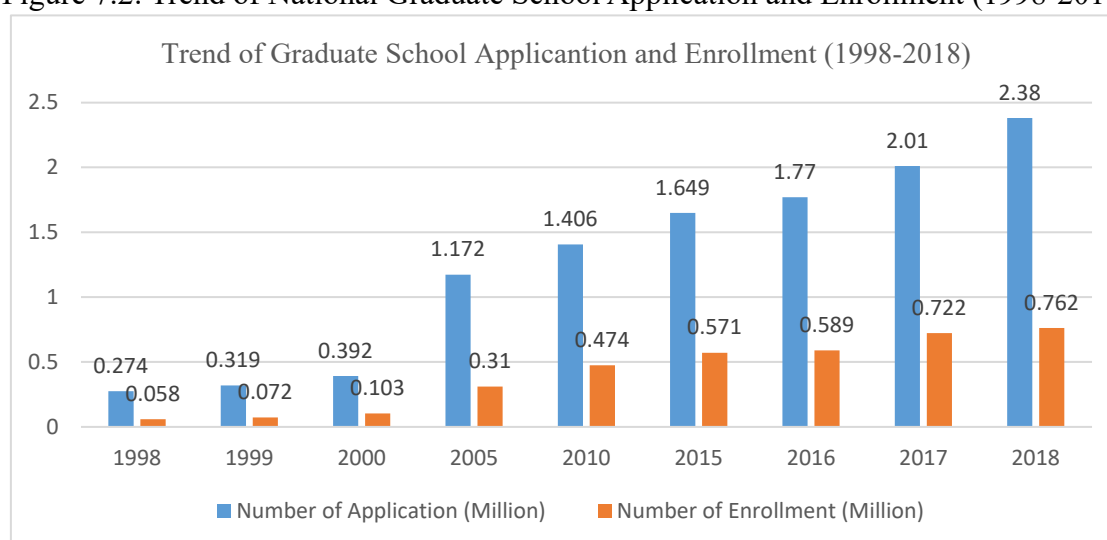
(Made by the researcher. Data source: the Ministry of Education)

Among the four mandatory subjects required in the "National Postgraduate Entrance Examination," Politics and English are designed and administered by the Ministry of Education. In comparison, the other two subjects in specialized fields are designed and administered by individual graduate schools.

Each year, after the examination was held, a national minimum passing score and an individual passing score for each of the four subjects will be set as the threshold for graduate school admission. Only those who reach both the overall and individual minimum passing scores will be eligible for admission by graduate schools.

The inclusion of English as a required subject in the "National College Entrance Examination" pushed the development of English education in middle school. Similarly, English as a required subject in the "National Postgraduate Entrance Examination" also forced college students to work hard in English learning. As one of the University Administrators pointed out:

"Due to the rapid increase of college students, taking part in the 'National Postgraduate Entrance Examination' has become a default option for most of them. It's a bit like high school graduates attending the 'National College Entrance Examination' many years ago." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

The pressure coming from the "National Postgraduate Entrance Examination" has exceeded the pressure coming from CET-4/6, which partially offsets the impact of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy on College English education. As the University Administrators pointed out:

"The role CET-4/6 has been playing in promoting College English education is becoming less significant than it used to be when very few students furthered their study in graduate schools." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2019)

"The number of students being admitted to graduate schools has become a major selling point for our university. It is an indicator of our university's high teaching quality." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2019).

The following was a display board on campus at New University, showing pictures and information of college seniors admitted to graduate schools.

Picture 7.6: Exhibition of college seniors admitted to graduate schools

(Source: take by the researcher at New University)

7.3.3 The public denunciations of CET-4/6 was strong

According to interviews with CET-4/6 Committee Members, originally, CET-4/6 was designed as an achievement test to check whether the requirements prescribed by the Curriculum had been met. However, gradually, it evolved into a high-stake and selection test that linked with personal interests and gains, including college degree diplomas, qualifications for being employed by top employers, eligibility for academic excellence awards, and other honors and benefits. As one of the Committee Members pointed out:

"CET-4/6 was designed to evaluate and promote College English education. It's not the original plan to make it a fateful force that involved so many people." (Interview with CET-Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

For non-English-major college students, failing CET-4/6 had a chain effect. It meant they

could not get their degree diplomas. Without a degree diploma upon graduation meant that they would not be eligible to apply for many good jobs.

Following was a job advertisement from a university museum in 2004. Among the listed qualifications, No. 1 required that applicants should hold both graduation certificate and degree diploma upon application.

Picture 7.7: Job advertisement from a university museum

(Source: http://bwg.nwu.edu.cn/Information/notice/319.html)

Therefore, taking and passing CET-4/6 had been the top priority for every college student the moment they entered the college. But the low passing rate of CET-4/6 nationwide meant that a large proportion of college students could not pass the test in a conventional manner, which caused some problems. As one of the University Administrators pointed out:

"When other possible options were also exhausted, such as attending extra-curriculum English training classes, some desperate students began turning to illegal means, including cheating on the test or forging a CET-4/6 certificate." (Interview with University Administrator B, Sept. 9, 2018).

CET-4/6 reputation was damaged by rampant CET-4/6 cheating and high-profile cases of CET-4/6 leaking involving faculty members. What's worse, some students got wounded during those illegal activities, and others even committed suicides due to desperation after repeated failures in CET-4/6. All those incidents made CET-4/6 a target for public criticism and outcry. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

> "Due to CET-4/6' negative impact on the society, the grievances about and denunciations of CET-4/6 were growing stronger and stronger among college students and the public." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018).

CET-4/6 cheating

According to interviews with University Administrators, CET-4/6 cheating could be done individually or carried out in an organized way. Some test-takers would bring some cheat slips with them, peep at immediate neighbors, or copy from others during the test. Some test-takers would make a down payment to a specially-established organization before CET-4/6 test. When the test began, answers would be sent to them through a mini-earphone or a fake rubber, which has a broadcasting receiver hidden in it. Some test-takers would fake a bathroom break to receive answers either through electrical devices or in person. Some test-takers would act more boldly by hiring a surrogate to take the test for them.

With the rising demand for passing CET-4/6 among college students, there emerged a new industry aiming to help CET-4/6 test-takers to pass the test at various means. Those companies or individuals usually bought off some faculty members to obtain the test paper ahead of time, or sent an associate to attend the test and sent back the test paper using hidden cameras. Once the test paper was finished, answers would be sent to test-takers who paid the down payment.

Picture 7.8: A flyer offering answers to upcoming CET-4/6.

(Source: taken by the researcher on campus of New University)

CET-4/6 cheating was also noticed by CET-4/6 Committee Members. As one of them admitted:

"Although CET-4/6 has been playing a significant role in implementing the (National

College English) Curriculum and in promoting College English education, it cannot be

denied that some problems have emerged and cases of cheating and test leaking have been

reported." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

Those kinds of crimes were so rampant that even the national television, China Central

Television (CCTV), once made a special investigation on CET-4/6 cheating on June 20, 2010.

Picture 7.9: CCTV investigation on CET-4/6 cheating

(Source: http://news.cntv.cn/society/20100620/102031.shtml)

The next day, CCTV presented another special coverage on CET-4/6 cheating. It showed that some colleges took a lax attitude towards test regulations and even turned a blind eye to students' cheating to improve their overall CET-4/6 passing rate.

"Invigilators' permissiveness towards test-takes is not right, but understandable. Students' overall CET-4/6 passing rate mattered only when it was compared with other colleges." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

Picture 7.10: Special coverage of CET-4/6 cheating by CCTV

(Source: http://news.cntv.cn/program/xinwen1jia1/20100621/103542.shtml)

CET-4/6 leaking

Apart from test cheating, CET-4/6 leaking was another problem mentioned by University Administrators during the interviews. They were shocking news because college faculty members or administrators were sentenced for leaking classified test papers for money.

In June 2004, an administrator in People's Public Security University of China was

sentenced three years in prison for the criminal charge of CET-4/6 leaking.

Picture 7.11: Sentencing of a university administrator for CET-4/6 leaking

泄露英语四级试卷：3名涉案教师被判刑3年和2年

NEWS.SOHU.COM　2004年06月03日09:39　来源：东北网
页面功能　【我来说两句】【我要"揪"错】【推荐】【字体：大 中 小】【打印】【关闭】

东北网6月2日电据新华网援引人民日报报道，北京市第一中级人民法院今天以故意泄露国家秘密罪，判处故意泄露国家英语四级考试试卷的史晓龙有期徒刑3年；曹宇有期徒刑3年；刘晨有期徒刑两年。

2003年，曹宇与刘晨在廊坊大学城合办了东方大学城宇航培训学校。同年8月，为使9月20日进行的国家英语四级考前辅导能够吸引更多生源，牟取暴利，曹宇与刘晨预谋利用曹宇的关系，通过担任中国人民公安大学教务处教务科副科长，并负责保管英语四级考试试卷的史晓龙透露一些试题的内容。

(Source: http://news.sohu.com/2004/06/03/99/news220369935.shtml)

The indictment showed that on September 19, 2003, two days before the scheduled CET-4/6 test, the Academic Affairs Office administrator illegally unsealed the test papers and sold it to a CEO of a private English training institute. Then the headmaster shared it to those who paid to attend the specially designed training classes for CET-4/6.

In December 2004, a faculty member in Southwest Agricultural University was sentenced four years in prison in for the criminal charge of CET-4/6 leaking.

Picture 7.12: Sentencing of faculty members for CET-4/6 leaking

英语四级泄题案一审审结 泄题教师被判四年徒刑

NEWS.SOHU.COM　2004年12月14日06:51　来源：重庆晨报
页面功能　【我来说两句】【我要"揪"错】【推荐】【字体：大 中 小】【打印】【关闭】

本报讯（记者肖玉实习生蒋文婕）本是大学英语考级的监考教师，却泄露考题牟利达20余万元。昨天，这起震惊全国的"大学英语四级考试"泄题案一审审结：原西南农业大学外语学院教师孔静，因故意泄露国家秘密罪，被北碚区法院判处有期徒刑4年，并追缴全部非法所得。

(Source: http://news.sohu.com/20041214/n223477776.shtml)

The indictment showed that from 2002 to 2003, the English teacher illegally unsealed the test papers ahead of the scheduled time, copied them, gave the copies to her accomplices to get the answers, and then sold the answers to test-takers.

In January 2005, a vice-dean from Guangxi Transport Vocational and Technical College was sentenced one and half-year in prison for the same charge of CET-4/6 leaking. Six faculty members from the same college were also punished for their role in the crime.

Picture 7.13: Sentencing of a vice dean for CET-4/6 leaking

泄露国家秘密罪　四名教师被判刑

http://www.sina.com.cn 2005年01月02日08:35 南方都市报

广西四六级试题泄密案

据新华社南宁1月1日电　2004年6月发生的广西监考人员泄露全国英语四、六级考试题案日前在南宁市新城区人民法院进行了一审宣判，4名教师被判刑。

2004年6月17日11时许，广西交通职业技术学院外语系副主任、考点"主考官"林继彬和该学院原外语系干事杨波绮(另作处理)领回全国大学英语四、六级考试试题后，交由杨波绮一人保管。当天13时许，杨私自开启密封试卷袋，授意教师甘深炎、张莉云、张靖分别按照试卷做出试题答案。林继彬知道后没有制止。后来，杨安排张靖、张莉云拿部分试题和答案给本学院学员上辅导课；林继彬还主动与南宁市一家外语培训中心联系，泄露了考题答案。

(Source: http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2005-01-02/08354694036s.shtml)

The indictment showed that on June 17, 2004, the vice dean and a faculty member of the Foreign Language Department illegally unsealed the test papers and gave it to three English teachers to get the answers. Then they shared the answers to students who paid to attend the training school run by them.

"Those cases put CET-4/6 under the spotlight. It revealed the problems of CET-4/6, questioning the legitimacy and reasonableness of CET-4/6 being linked to degree diplomas." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018).

CET-4/6 certificate forging

According to interviews with University Administrators, some college students found an easier and more direct way to get a certificate or test report other than cheating and leaking: buying a fake one.

Using "CET-4/6 report making" as keywords, the researcher searched in Baidu, the Chinese equivalent of Google. Sixteen millions of results popped up, and a large number of websites offering fake but highly authentic CET-4/6 certificate or test reports. All the websites claimed that their CET-4/6 reports held all the tamper-proof features and were hard to distinguish from the authentic ones.

Picture 7.14: Search results from Baidu with the key words of "CET-4 report making"

Advertisements of fake CET-4/6 making could also be seen everywhere on college campuses. The following was a flyer pasted to a wall on campus at New University, offering fake CET-4/6 reports.

Picture 7.15: A flyer offering fake CET-4/6 reports
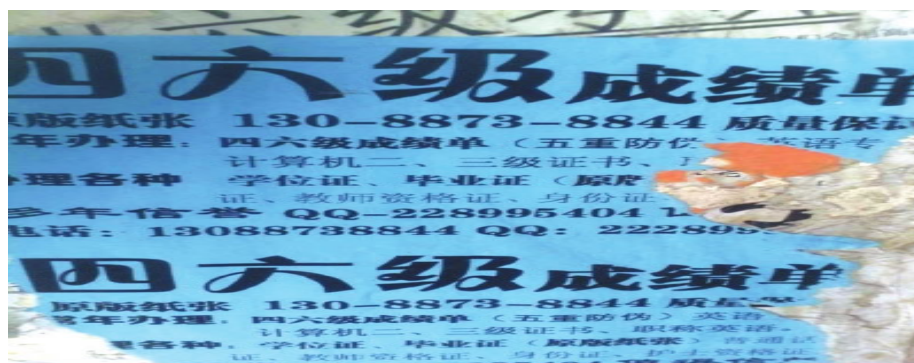
(Source: taken by the researcher on the campus of New University)

Student's suicides and other incidents

For University Administrators, the worse consequence caused by CET-4/6 were students' suicides and other incidents. Due to various reasons, some students failed to reach the minimum passing score, although they exhausted all options. Most of those students braved the harsh reality by finding jobs that didn't ask for a degree diploma or CET-4/6. However, some students couldn't overcome it, and the only way for them to end their trauma was to commit suicide.

Picture 7.16: Media report of a college senior committed suicide for failing CET-4

成都一大四男生英语四级未过 跳楼自杀

http://www.newssc.org   2006-03-01 20:13:21

四川新闻网消息

(本网记者 许莉 王琪 姚朔昂) 2月28日，早春的成都异常寒冷。大约下午4点，成都电子科技大学一名大四男生因为英语四级未过，从5楼跳下，结束了让他魂牵梦绕4年的大学生活。

(Source: http://scnews.newssc.org/system/2006/03/01/000059903.shtml)

Apart from suicides, there were incidents where paid surrogate test-takers sustained injuries while fleeing the test rooms to avoid being caught. Some of their injuries were fatal.

Picture 7.17: Media report of a surrogate CET-4/6 test-taker got fatally wounded

四级考某枪手露馅后逃跑摔成重伤

http://www.sina.com.cn 2004/06/21 10:44 河南报业网-大河报

重庆消息 19日是全国大学英语四、六级考试的日子，位于重庆市沙坪坝区的某高校内却发生一起惨剧：一个替人代考的"枪手"刘某在作弊行为败露后仓惶逃走，不慎从高处掉下，至今仍在医院抢救，生命垂危。

(Source: http://edu.sina.com.cn/en/2004-06-21/22799.html)
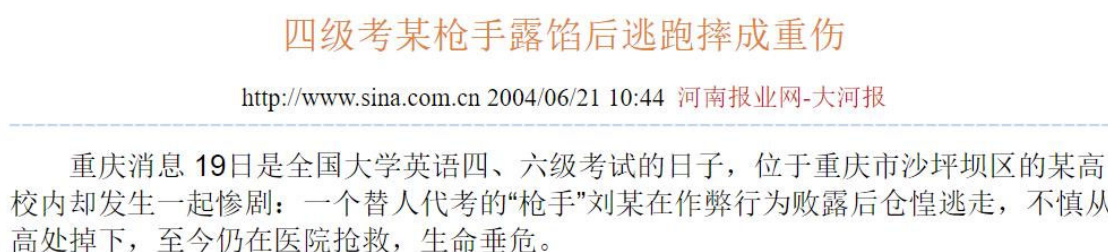
Although those incidents didn't happen at New University, the possibility of those things happing at New University was one of the factors that pushed the university administration to

remove the policy. As one of the University Administrators pointed out:

> "Students' safety is our top priority. We don't want any incidents like that to happen
>
> on our campus. Precaution is better than cure." (Interview with University Administrator
>
> A, Sept. 8, 2018)

7.3.4 An increasing number of motions had been proposed to remove the policy

According to interviews with CET-4/6 Committee Members and University Administrators, because of its high-stakes, CET-4/6 was not only a concern for college students but a concern for the public. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Members pointed out:

> "There is a big family behind each college student. CET-4/6 is more a social concern
>
> than an academic issue." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 018)

Besides, thanks to CET-4/6, a billion industry had been developed, and tens of thousands of people lived on CET-4/6: CET-oriented textbooks publishers, extracurricular English training teachers, and even those who offered fake CET-4/6 report. This close connection between CET-4/6 and the whole society meant that every change of CET-4/6 was bound to be the focus of public discussions. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Member pointed out:

> "CET-4/6 involved various groups of people. '牵一发而动全身 pull one hair and the
>
> whole body is affected (a slight move in one part may affect the situation as a whole.'"
>
> (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member B, Sept. 20, 2018)

With the development of the internet, CET-4/6 cheating, leaking, and other related incidents were increasingly covered by the media, which made a hot topic among the deputies from the "Two Sessions," the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's

Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Those deputies questioned the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas and proposed the disconnection of CET-4/6 and degree diplomas. Some of them even presented proposals asking for the removal of CET-4/6.

Picture 7.18: CPPCC deputy proposed the removal of CET-4/6

[打印文章] [大中小]

全国政协委员张庆文：英语四六级考试该取消

中国网 | 时间： 2006-03-13 | 文章来源： 华夏时报

"现在的学生太苦了，你帮忙呼吁一下。" 全国政协委员张庆文握着记者的手动情地说。她这次递交提案，呼吁取消大学英语四六级考试。

(Source: http://www.china.com.cn/txt/2006-03/13/content_6152510.htm)

As the top legislature and political advisory bodies in China, NPC and CPPCC are powerful in law-making and government-supervising. Proposals from the deputies cannot be ignored. As one of the CET-4/6 Committee Member pointed out:

"Those deputies (from NPC & CPPCC) did play a significant role in publicizing this issue and pushing the Ministry of Education to take action." (Interview with CET-4/6 Committee Member A, Sept. 14, 2018)

7.3.5 People's legal literacy had been improved

According to interviews with University Administrators, people's legal literacy and civil rights awareness had been improved in the past few decades, along with the improvement of the legal system and the promotion of the "rule of law." A growing number of people choose to defend their personal interests with lawsuits.

The majority of those who failed to obtain their degree diplomas accepted the results while

others filed lawsuits against their Alma Mater.

"Current students are different from students of my time. They are so quick to file a complaint against their teachers or a lawsuit against their schools." (Interview with University Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

They used the "Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Academic Degrees" as their legal basis, claiming that this national statute on degree-granting doesn't stipulate that college students should pass CET-4/6 to receive their degree diplomas.

Picture 7.19: College graduates sued their Alma Mater for denying their degree diploma due to CET-4/6

(Source: https://www.chinacourt.org/article/detail/2005/11/id/187025.shtml)

Although most of those lawsuits were dismissed by the court based on the fact that each college/university had their autonomy to make their regulations on degree-granting, the extensive media coverage of those incidents exerted massive pressure on universities.

"…no matter what the court rulings are, being sued by its students is not an honorable thing. It will surely impact a university's social reputation." (Interview with University

Administrator A, Sept. 8, 2018)

The Ministry of Education publicly denied that it made such a policy linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas at a conference in 2005, which caused colleges to modify their university-level regulations on degree-granting and drop the link between CET-4/6 and degree diplomas.

Summary

The initiation of CET-4/6, its use as a de facto language policy, and the drop of this policy were in line with the change of social context. CET-4/6 was initiated to promote College English education. Being listed as it a critical college evaluation index, CET-4/6 was used as a de facto language policy to push colleges to implement the revised National College English Curricula. Colleges put the pressure on students by linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas and other personal interests. Later, the major role CET-4/6 had played in pushing students to learn English was largely replaced by the National Graduate School Entrance Examination. The negative effects of CET-4/6 were widely reported, including CET-4/6 cheating and leaking, and other incidents involved college students. Also, students' legal literacy increased overtime, and universities were sued by denying students their degree diplomas. Those factors contributed to the removal of the policy by the Ministry of Education and New University.

CHAPTEN EIGHT: THE FOSSILIZATION OF COLLEGE ENGLISH EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter answers the fourth research question: in what ways did this change of policy impact College English teachers' English teaching at New University?

Findings are based on data collected from the faculty survey, and faculty class observations, faculty interviews, English training classroom observations, English training teacher interviews.

8.1 Faculty Members and College English Education/CET-4/6

Faculty members in China had less discretion in their work than their western counterparts due to different education systems. But as grass-roots educators, how they interpreted and understood language policies and the ways they taught College English still played a significant role in how they implemented foreign language education policies in real classrooms.

8.1.1 College English teaching

According to interviews with faculty members, College English at New University was a compulsory course only for first and second-year non-English-major college students. It offered four credit hours each semester. College English teaching tasks were undertaken by the College English Department. The same course offered by different faculty members were selected by students coming from various departments through an online course selection system. The maximum number for each class was 200. Once the selection procedure was

finished, students were required to stay in the same class for the whole academic year, and no switch of classes was allowed during that time.

College English (for first and second-year students) was held weekly, with three consecutive classes each time. Classes were usually held at a lecture hall equipped with modern teaching facilities. The following was a picture taken by the researcher during the class observations at New University.

Picture 8.1 A scene of a College English classroom teaching at New University

(Source: taken by the researcher)

None of the four College English classes observed by the researcher reached their full capacity of 200. The number of students was 88, 98, 135, and 143 at classes held by faculty member E, F, A, and B, respectively. No roll-calls were made in those four classes.

According to the observations, classes were heavily textbook-dependent. Textbooks played a fundamental role in classroom teaching, and all teaching activities were centered on textbooks. Modern technologies, mostly PowerPoints, only changed textbooks learning from the paper version to electronic one while the whole teaching contents remained the same.

www.manaraa.com

Students in the same university each had their textbooks. Faculty members had the same textbook, together with a reference book specially designed for teachers providing background information of the text and answers to exercise following each text. Textbooks were usually ordered in bulk before the start of a new school year and were distributed to freshmen once they finished the registration and their paid tuition and fees. Students were not allowed to procure textbooks through other options.

During the four observed College English classes, Chinese was the primary language of instruction, mingled with English. Chinese was used to greet students, review what had been learned in previous classes, brief what would be learned in this class, introduce the background information of the text, explain or translate difficult words, phrases, and sentences, organize activities, and assign homework for students. English was only used by faculty members to read words, texts, and example sentences from their PowerPoints.

Classes were heavily teacher-fronted. Teacher's teachings of textbooks took most of the time. There were few or no interactions between teachers and students in the four observed classes. During the whole classes, all the four faculty members stood or sat behind the front desk without stepping down the platforms or walking around the classrooms. Questions, asked either in English or Chinese, were responded by very few students sitting in the front rows. The class atmosphere was dull, and many students were reading books, doing homework, checking their phones, or taking naps.

The focus of classes was the teaching of texts from textbooks. All four observed classes shared a similar teaching procedure, which consisted of introducing the topic, playing the recordings of the texts, learning new words, going through the text sentence by sentence, and

assigning homework.

Traditional Grammar-Translation was the most commonly used teaching method. Texts were read sentence by sentence, with new words, phrases, grammar points, or sentence patterns being explained in English or Chinese, or both. PowerPoints were used throughout the entire class to offer example sentences and translations for difficult points.

The following was a 45-minute College English class taught by Faculty Member F (observed by the researcher on November 14, 2018). (English translations of the teaching were put in parentheses. Descriptions of the class activities were put in square brackets).

Faculty Member F: 大家先翻到 135 页，这个单词很少，先把单词给大家过一下。

(Please turn to page 135. There are only a few new words in this unit. First, we will go through those words briefly.)

[A tape recording was played where words and phrases were read one by one by a male native-speaker. Students read aloud together after him.]

Faculty Member F: 好，我们先从这一块开始，proper name，第一个是地名 Switzerland，这个单词很熟悉，瑞士，还有一个叫 Sweden，瑞典，不一个地方。下一个是 Chrysler Corporation，克莱斯勒汽车公司，我给大家介绍一下这个 background information，Chrysler Corporation，大家看到右边是公司的 logo，它是始建于 1920 年，是美国三大汽车生产商之一，然后，其它两大汽车生产商是什么？

(Good. We start from Proper Names. The first one is the name of a place, Switzerland. We are familiar with this word. There is another word, Sweden. They are two different countries. The next one is the Chrysler Corporation. Let me introduce some background information about it. On the right is the Logo of the company. It was established in 1920, the Chrysler Corporation,

and it's one of the three largest car manufacturers. What are the other two car manufacturers?)

Students: 福特。(Ford)

Faculty Member F: 对，Ford, f-o-r-d, 大家自己写。还有一个呢？

(Correct. Ford, f-o-r-d, you can spell the word by yourself. What's the other one?)

Students: 通用。(General Motor)

Faculty Member F: 对，General Motor. 福特和通用。好，我们看，克莱斯勒它的主要品牌包括克莱斯勒，吉普，还有道奇，这个大家都很熟吧。In 1998, it merged with Daimler-Benz at Germany, 在 1998 年的时候克莱斯勒和谁合并了？

(Correct, General Motor. Ford and General Motor. Now, we can see, the major brands of Chrysler Corporation consist of Chrysler, Jeep, and Dodge. You're familiar with them, right? In 1998, it merged with Daimler-Benz in Germany. In 1998, which corporation did Chrysler merge with?)

Students: 奔驰。(Benz)

Faculty Member F: 奔驰，和那个德国的奔驰，和奔驰合并了。奔驰公司那个主打的品牌就是 Mercedes-Benz, 梅赛德斯奔驰。Benz 中这个 z 读 /ts/. 本来 z 是读 /ziː/ 这个音，但是这个是德语单词，这个读成 /ˌbɛnts/，这个大家注意一下。德国的品牌还有什么？

(Benz. It merged with Benz in Germany. The leading brand is Mercedes-Benz. The letter z in Benz is pronounced /ts/. The letter z is supposed to be pronounced /z/, but this is a German word, it pronounces /ˌbɛnts/. Attention should be paid to this. What are the other brands in Germany?)

Students: 大众。(Volkswagen)

Faculty Member F: 大众。那个英文怎么写的？Volkswagen. Volks 发/ˈfɒlks/，这个没有

问题，然后那个 wagen 发 /vɑ:gən/。就是这样子的，不要说，哦，好难听啊，为什么读一个这么难听的单词，它其实读音就是这么难听的，它是世界上很难听的一种语言其实就是德语。它不太适合女生说，它比较适合男生，它的声音就很像野人发出的声音，一般女孩比较喜欢什么样的语言？

("Volkswagen". How to spell it? V-o-l-k-s-w-a-g-e-n. "volks" is pronounced /ˈfɒlks/, there is no problem with it. Then "wagen" is pronounced /vɑ:gən/. That's the pronunciation it has. Don't say, oh, it sounds terrible. Why did you read such an unpleasant word? Its pronunciation is uncomfortable to the ears. Germen is one of the harshest languages in the world. It's not suitable for girls. It is only suitable for boys. It sounds like the language for barbarians. What's the language for girls?)

Students: 法语。(French)

Faculty Member F: 法语，是吧，很优美的一种语言。为什么它叫 Daimler-Chrysler Corporation？它是一个合资的公司，有欧洲的投资商，还有美国，还有其它的国际上的投资商。2007 年五月，DaimlerChrysler AG 把它 80%的股份都卖给了 Cerberus Equity。好，大家把 equity 圈起来，equity 是股权公司。然后把名字改成了 Chrysler Holding LLC. 克莱斯勒控股有限责任公司。大家看后面的三个单词分别指的是什么？第一个 L 是 limited，就是咱们说的有限公司，limit 这个单词，会写吧？后面加上-ed，大家自己写。第二个单词 L 是 liability，大家自己写啊。怎么写？l-i-a-b-i-l-i-t-y，liability。这个指的是"责任"的意思，但是大家不要和以前的那个 responsibility 混到一块。这个单词来自 liable，be liable to 负有…法律责任。第三个单词 C 指的是什么？company 公司。LLC 就是有限责任公司。这些大家需要了解，你可以不会写，但是见到之后需要知道它是什么。

(French, is it right? A very beautiful language. Daimler-Chrysler Corporation is a joint,

company and it is owned by European investors, American investors, and other international investors. In May 2007, DaimlerChrysler AG sold 80% of its shares to Cerberus Equity. Please circle the word "equity," it means stakes. Then it renamed Chrysler Holding LLC. Pay attention to the last three letters. What do they stand for? The first L refers to "limited." We have learned the word limit. Just add -ed to it. The second L refers to "liability." How to spell it? l-i-a-b-i-l-i-t-y. It refers to "things that you're legally responsible for." But don't mix it with "responsibility." Liability comes from the word liable. The phrase "be liable to…" means be legally responsible for… What does the third word C stand for? It means "company." So LLC means Limited Liability Company. Those are things that you should know. You are not supposed to write them down, but you are expected to know the meaning when you come across them.)

…

[The background information introduction lasted for about 17 minutes.]

Faculty Member F: 好，大家翻到 132 页。先给大家 10 分钟时间把课文大概看一下，然后我再给大家讲。

(Ok, please turn to page 132. I will give you ten minutes to read the text. Then I will explain the text in detail.)

…

[Seventeen minutes later]

Faculty Member F: 好，我们从课文的第一段开始。翻到 132 页。

(Ok, we will start from the first paragraph. Please turn to page 132.)

[A tape recording was played, and the first paragraph was read by the same male native-speaker.]

Faculty Member F: 好，我们看一下这个题目 "Bribery and Business Ethics," 贿赂和商业道德。有时候我们还提到职业道德。把前面的 business 换成 work。Bribery 是贿赂的意思。然后这里有几个搭配，要求大家记一下。比如说 bribery 是一个名词形式，如果要表达行贿，怎么表达？bribery case, 这是一种表达，还可以用 bribe。Bribe 是一个动词。还可以说 offer a bribe。有行贿就有受贿，受贿怎么说？受贿就是 accept a bribe。这些就是固定的搭配。

(Ok, the title of this text is "Bribery and Business Ethics", it means … [Chinese translation was given]. There is another concept, work ethics. Just replace business with work. Bribery means … [Chinese translation was given]. There are some collocations that you should memorize. For example, "bribery" is a noun, and you can say "bribery case," or you can use "bribe." "Bribe" is a verb. You can also say "offer a bribe." Correspondingly, you can say "accept a bribe." Those are fixed collocations.)

[Wrote those phrases on the blackboard]

Faculty Member F: 然后我们回到原文。第一句话 students taking business courses 就是选修商业课程的学生，are sometimes a little surprised to find 他们很惊讶地发现，发现什么呢？classes on business ethics 关于什么的课程？关于商业道德的课程，have been included in their schedule。关于商业道德的已经课程排在了他们的课表上。Schedule 是什么？日程，安排，这里是课表的意思。They often do not realize that bribery in various forms is on the increase，on the increase 处于上涨的趋势，在增长。好，我给大家一句话，翻译一下。"从生态平衡的角度看，人类的智慧并没有随着财富的积累而增长。"这句话我直接给大家。In term of ecological balance, men's wisdom hasn't been on the increase along with the building up the wealth. Building up 就是 accumulation, 积累。

(Let's go back to the text. The first sentence, "students taking business courses" means … [Chinese translation was given], "are sometimes a little surprised to find", [Chinese translation was given]. What did they find? "Classes on business ethics", classes on what? [Chinese translation was given], "have been included in their schedule", [Chinese translation was given]. What does "schedule" mean? [Chinese translation was given]. Here it means … [Chinese translation was given]. "They often do not realize that bribery in various forms is on the increase," "on the increase" means … [Chinese translation was given]. Ok, here is a sentence for you to translate. [A Chinese sentence was given]. Ok, I will tell you the translation. "In terms of ecological balance, men's wisdom hasn't been on the increase along with the building up the wealth." "Building up" means "accumulation," [Chinese translation was given].)

[Wrote the word "accumulation" on the blackboard.]

Faculty Member F: 好，我们回到原文。"Bribery in various forms is on the increase" 各式各样的贿赂都处于上涨的趋势，"in many countries"，在很多国家， "in some, has been a way of life for centuries" 数世纪以来贿赂已经成为一种生活方式，bribery is prevalent 就是很普遍。

(Ok, let's go back to the text. "Bribery in various forms is on the increase," [Chinese translation was given], "in many countries," [Chinese translation was given], "in some, has been a way of life for centuries", [Chinese translation was given]. Bribery is prevalent, and it means [Chinese translation was given]. Ok, let's see the second paragraph.)

[The playing of the tape recorder was resumed, then the bell rang. The teacher paused the tape recorder and announced a ten-minute break.]

…

[After the break, the class continued with the same teaching method: first, read sentence by sentence or section by section, then translate them into Chinese, and then explain some difficult points, mainly the Chinese meaning and usage of words, phrases, and sentences.]

8.1.2 Faculty members' views on College English education

Faculty members from the College English department were the primary workforce that undertakes the task of College English education at the grass-roots level. College English was the only reason why the College English department was established, and the only meaning why College English teaching existed as a profession. This interdependence between faculty members and College English determined the ways faculty members viewed College English.

The following are the major points made by faculty members through the survey and interviews.

8.1.2.1 College English was necessary

According to the faculty survey, all faculty members thought that it was necessary or very necessary for students to continue English study in college. The reasons are as follows:

Firstly, the function of English as a lingua franca was becoming increasingly evident and critical, along with the integration of the world economy and the development of globalization, Although China had become the second-largest economy in the world, there was still a long way to go for China to catch up with western developed countries in terms of advanced science and technology. College students were the most-educated talents and the most reliable successor of the socialist cause. Their excellence in their professions and outlooks on the world, value, and life largely shapes the future of society. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"It's said that a person will be a modern illiterate if she/he doesn't know English. As college students in the 21st century, if they don't learn English, how can they learn western science and technology? How can they build our country? Is there any difference between college students and migrant workers?" (Interview with Faculty Member A, Nov. 2, 2018)

Secondly, higher education was becoming internationalized (Larsen, 2016), along with the development of globalization. International exchanges and cooperation among institutions of higher education from different counties were becoming increasingly frequent. Several measures had been taken by the Ministry of Education to promote this trend, including the recruitment of overseas students, the opening of bilingual courses, the introduction of English original textbooks, and the employment of foreign teachers. However, whether those measures could be successfully implemented largely depended on faculty members and college students' English proficiency. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"Internationalization of higher education, to put it bluntly, is Englishnization. But that is the general trend of the world situation. You can do nothing to change it … this definitely increases the demand for a higher level of English abilities among teachers and students." (Interview with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

Thirdly, since the mid-2000s, going to graduate schools had become the first option for most undergraduate college students. Of the four years in college, the first year was usually used as a transition from stressful and closely-supervised senior high school life to relaxing and free college life. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"Most students spent their time enjoying themselves with all kinds of activities rather than studies. Only in the second or third year would they go back to their studies and make

their decisions whether to continue their education in graduate schools and in what fields."
(Interview with Faculty Member A, Nov. 2, 2018)

Once a student decided to attend the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination at the end of the fall semester in their fourth year of study, English learning would automatically rise to the top of their agenda. The two-year College English then acted as a bridge between teacher-led middle school English and self-taught English when they were juniors and seniors. College English pushed college students to continue their English study before the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination replaces it and becomes a stronger impetus. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"English learning takes time. It's impossible to improve your English proficiency in a short time. Learning English without interruption is the key. It will be too late to study it when you need it." (Interview with Faculty Member E, Nov. 8, 2018)

8.1.2.2 College English education had its problems

Although faculty members highlighted the necessity of College English education, they also admitted that there were some problems.

Firstly, unlike the English Department, where the number of English majors in each class was usually no more than 30, the number of students in a College English class could reach as many as 200 students. College English classes could only be held in a large lecture hall as lectures. This big class size made it extremely hard or even impossible for teachers to conduct teacher-student interaction and communication, which was central to language education. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"I also want to have more classroom activities, but basically, it's unrealistic with 200 students in your class. On average, there will be less than one minute for each student per class." (Interview with Faculty Member E, Nov. 8, 2018).

Secondly, the university-level College English Curriculum stipulated that each College English class should be held once a week with three consecutive 50-minute periods. While there were nineteen weeks in each semester, two weeks would be reserved for the end-of-term examinations. For the rest seventeen weeks, ten units should be learned, with each unit having two texts, dozens of new words, phrases and expressions, background information, and several pages of exercises. This packed schedule made teacher-fronted and cramming teaching the easiest option. Besides, the completion of a teaching plan was a key target of teaching inspection conducted by the department and the Academic Affairs Office. Teachers had no choice but to speed up their teaching and finish their work on schedule. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"It takes time to have some activities during the class, but the problem is we don't have much time. We have to finish the weekly teaching plan based on the syllabus." (Interview with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

Being short of time was also cited by faculty members as the main reason why Chinese was used as the primary language of instruction in College English classes. For them, students' poor English listening comprehension ability made Chinese a preferable choice and Chinese was more efficient than English in teaching. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"Students' English listening comprehension ability is low. They can hardly understand what I'm talking about when I speak in English. I have to translate them into Chinese. It's

a waste of time. " (Interview with Faculty Member B, Nov. 5, 2018)

Thirdly, because of the "hard to enter but easy to exit" higher education system, the first one or two years of college life were usually used by college students to release their mental stresses and strains accumulated over the years preparing for the National College Entrance Examination. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"When we were in middle schools, our teachers often comforted and encouraged us by saying: 'Work hard. You will be liberated and freed once you enter colleges', and 'college life is beautiful, and you can do anything you want'." (Faculty Member F, Nov. 16, 2018)

Once in college, students took study as the least important thing to do; instead, they spent their time dating, participating activities held by various societies, and trying to make up for time lost to the National College Entrance Examination. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"Personally speaking, although it's not right, it is understandable that freshmen and sophomores don't work as hard as they did in middle schools. They have had so much mental stress and suppression. They need relaxation … it wasn't entirely their fault." (Interview with Faculty Member B, Nov. 5, 2018)

Fourthly, in recent years, smartphone addiction had become a big issue in modern society, especially among youths. Information on smartphone was more interesting and attractive than study being available on their phones. It became increasingly difficult for college students to concentrate on their studies during and after classes. Although several measures had been taken by the university to tackle this problem, there were no apparent effects. As one of the Faculty

Members pointed out:

> "As their teacher, I don't have the right to confiscate their phones, nor can I body-search them. The only thing I can do is to urge them to silence or turn off their phones during the class and concentrate on the classes." (Interview with Faculty Member D, Nov. 13, 2018)

Finally, according to faculty members, some students spent a little or no time on English study except attending the weekly College English class. They didn't take time to finish their homework, such as preparing for the class, memorizing new words, and listening to the tape recordings. It's impossible to learn English well only through weekly College English classes. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

> "Most college students are grown-ups. It's no longer possible for faculty members to feed them like kids. As the old saying goes, the teacher can open the door for you, but you must enter by yourself." (Interview with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

8.1.2.3 College English should not be removed from the curriculum

Despite those problems, all faculty members disagreed or strongly disagreed that College English should be removed from the Curriculum.

For them, if College English was removed from the Curriculum, it would send a wrong message to college students that English was not important, which was contrary to reality. Although theoretically, English could be learned through self-study, this was only applicable to students who had a strong will and high-level of self-control. Besides, the removal of College English from the Curriculum would put students from poor families in a disadvantaged

situation, because students from rich families had more options in terms of English learning. As the Faculty Members pointed out:

"If College English is removed, it is ordinary students that will be impacted the most. Those who come from affluent families always have resources to seek English education elsewhere." (Interview with Faculty Member D, Nov. 13, 2018)

"For a big country like China, with extremely unbalanced educational resources, College English should not be readily removed. Most freshmen's English proficiency is low, and they lack the basic knowledge to move forward without College English education." (Interview with Faculty Member B, Nov. 5, 2018)

8.1.2.4 College English should not be changed from compulsory to optional

According to the faculty survey, the majority of faculty members (84%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that College English should be changed from compulsory to optional.

For them, turning College English from compulsory to optional would exert negative impacts on students' English learning. Within China's test-oriented education system, being optional was equal to being unimportant, and this would send a wrong message to students. Besides, most first and second-year college students lacked the experiences and abilities of decision-making. Since they were in primary school, their lives had been arranged and well taken care of by their parents. Their parents made decisions like college applications and selections of majors. As students, the only thing they should care about and do was study. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"Most college freshmen and sophomores lack good judgment. They don't fully

recognize the value of English yet. They don't take English study very seriously even College English is a compulsory course, let alone an optional one." (Interview with Faculty Member E, Nov. 8, 2018)

8.1.2.5 College English should not be outsourced to English training institutes

According to the faculty survey, all faculty members disagreed or strongly disagreed that College English should be outsourced to English training institutes.

For faculty members, English training institutes might be helpful in preparing students for CET-4/6 or other tests, but it's not the right way for students to learn English. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"English training institutes are money-driven. They focus on the training of test-taking skills or tricks rather than the teaching of real English knowledge and intercultural communicative competence." (Interview with Faculty Member A, Nov. 2, 2018)

For the question of why English training teachers' classes were more attractive, most faculty members attributed it to English training institutes' commercial mode of operation and their specially-trained teachers. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"They (English training teachers) don't have to write academic papers and undertake research projects. They can concentrate all their attention on teaching and hone their teaching techniques through constant training and evaluation." (Interview with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

8.1.2.6 The criticism of College English being "time-consuming but low-efficient" was unreasonable

According to the faculty survey, all faculty members disagreed or strongly disagreed that College English was "time-consuming but low-efficient." For them, this criticism was unreasonable.

When College English is criticized as "time-consuming but low-efficient", the focus is on college students' "哑巴英语 (mute/dumb English)," a well-known phenomenon mostly common in China where people could read and write in English but could not speak it well. For many critics, it's understandable that middle school students cannot speak English well due to pressure form the high-stakes National College Entrance Examination. However, it's unacceptable that college students' spoken English abilities are not improved after two years of College English education.

Faculty members disagreed with this perception. For them, "mute/dumb English" was caused by many factors and College English should not be the only one to blame. The entire test-oriented education system had its problems. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

"Students' poor spoken English abilities are caused by many factors. It's a systemic problem. It's unfair to put all the blames on College English education. We are teaching in full accordance with the Curriculum." (Interview with Faculty Member F, Nov. 16, 2018)

From the very beginning, English speaking and listening were not the focus of English education. Both teachers and students had no strong motivation to improve their communicative abilities because speaking and listening were not included or counted in the

National College Entrance Examination. After more than ten years of exam-oriented education, students' perception of English as a school subject for test-taking and their habit of learning English by doing past and/or mock test papers had been firmly established. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

> "Once a habit is formed, it's hard to break. Two-year College English with three class-hours per week was not sufficient." (Interview with Faculty D, Nov. 13, 2018)

Besides, due to the "hard to enter but easy to exit" higher education system, college students didn't take their study very seriously in the first one or two years. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

> "Many students' minds are not in their study. They are keen on playing computer games, participating in social events, or falling in love. Only a few students formed the habit of learning English on a daily basis, knowing that it's hard to learn English well without a considerable investment of time and effort." (Interview with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

8.1.3 Faculty members' views on CET-4/6.

Since CET-4/6 was initiated in the late 1980s, it had been a key component of College English. Although CET-4/6 targeted college students, faculty members were part of it.

8.1.3.1 CET-4/6 was a reliable indicator of test-takers' English proficiency

According to the faculty survey, the majority of faculty members (84%) believed that CET-4/6 was a reliable indicator of test-takers' English proficiency. For them, no language tests could fully measure test-takers' real language competence, including TOEFL and IELTS.

Although there was no straightforward equivalence between CET-4/6 and real English competence, CET-4/6 result could roughly show test-takers' overall English proficiency. As the Faculty Members pointed out:

> "High scores (of CET-4/6) don't mean your English is excellent, but if you fail it, it surely signifies that your English is not good."(Interview with Faculty Member D, Nov. 13, 2018)

> "CET-4/6 cannot represent the upper limit of a person's English proficiency, but it can reveal the lower limit of a person's English proficiency." (Interview with Faculty Member F, Nov. 16, 2018)

8.1.3.2 CET-4/6 was less reliable and valid than IELTS/TOEFL

According to the faculty survey, all faculty members held that IELTS/TOEFL was more reliable and valid than CET-4/6. The followings are reasons summarized from the faculty interviews.

Firstly, while the registration fee for CET-4/6 ranged from $2 to $7, the registration fee for IELTS/TOEFL reached $300. The huge amount of money charged by IELTS/TOEFL meant that they have enough resources to design and administer the tests more professionally and rigorously than CET-4/6 did. News reports of IELTS/TOEFL cheating or leaking were scarce while news reports of CET-4/6 are common;

Secondly, while IELTS/TOEFL was only held at dozens of official testing centers within mainland China with three hundred thousand test-takers each year, CET-4/6 was held at more than two thousand college campuses with twenty million test-takers each year. The large

number of CET-4/6 testing centers and test-takers made the administration of CET-4/6 a formidable task. Cheating incidents were more likely to occur;

Thirdly, while IELTS/TOEFL was accepted by most academic institutions and professional organizations worldwide, CET-4/6 was only used by domestic employers. Students had to take IELTS/TOEFL when they wanted to study abroad or work in multinational companies;

Finally, while IELTS/TOEFL Test Report Forms were valid only for two years, CET-4/6 Test Report Forms had no time limit, even though it's true that a person's English proficiency may change as time goes by.

8.1.3.3 CET-4/6 should be reformed

According to the faculty survey, the majority of faculty members (78%) thought that it was necessary to reform CET-4/6. For them, CET-4/6 should model itself on IELTS/TOEFL and turn itself from an achievement test limited to college students to a proficiency test that was open to the public. With appropriate reforms, CET-4/6 should have developed into an international band of English proficiency test that was as famous as IELTS/TOEFL. As one of the Faculty Member pointed out:

"I think the best way to reform CET-4/6 is to make it a social test, compete with IELTS/TOEFL on the market with its low cost. Make it a famous Chinese brand." (Interview with Faculty Member E, Nov. 8, 2018)

8.1.3.4 CET-4/6 should not be terminated

According to the faculty survey, the majority of faculty members (90%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that CET-4/6 should be terminated. For them, it's not CET-4/6 itself but the

instrumentalization of CET-4/6 that was to blame. As a national standardized test, CET-4/6 had its merits.

Firstly, compared with end-of-term tests designed by each university, the national CET-4/6 had relatively higher reliability and validity. Test results were mutually comparable among test-takers coming from different colleges within China. CET-4/6 acted as an indicator showing which English level a test-taker was and whether they had reached their learning/teaching aims;

Secondly, compared with IELTS/TOEFL, which charges test-takers more than $300, CET-4/6 only costs $2 to $7. As a national standardized English proficiency test widely accepted by most employers in China, CET-4/6 was the most cost-effective test that proved a person's English proficiency. Even PETS (Public English Test System), another national English proficiency test administered by the Ministry of Education costed $20 to take;

Thirdly, it offered college students a goal to continue English learning in college. Although the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination acted as a more powerful impetus driving students to learn English, it was only taken by seniors at the end of the 7th semester. Before that, it's CET-4/6 that acted as a driving force behind college students' English learning. As one of the Faculty Member pointed out:

> "For Chinese students, from the very beginning, a perception has been formed that the purpose of studies is to take examinations. Without tests, studies will become meaningless." (Interview with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

8.1.4 The impacts of the change of policy on faculty members' teaching.

Five out of six faculty interview participants witnessed the removal of the link between

CET-4/6 and degree diplomas at New University. Their personal experiences enabled them to compare the differences in their teaching caused by the change of policy.

8.1.4.1 Different views on the change of the policy

Faculty members split over whether the link between CET-4/6 and degree diplomas should be removed.

Those who supported the policy change believed that this policy had accomplished its historical mission and should be dropped. In the past four decades, the importance of English had been recognized, and learning English had become a general consensus among the public, especially the middle-class families. It's unnecessary and inappropriate to force students to learn English by linking CET-4/6 with their degree diplomas. Most importantly, CET-4/6 had transformed from an achievement test into a hybrid of an achievement test, proficiency test, and high-stakes entrance test for degree diplomas, jobs, and other personal gains. As one of the Faculty Members pointed out:

> "CET-4/6 has mutated so much that it has deviated from its original design. It has become a negative force that suppressed English teaching and learning rather than promoted it." (Interview with Faculty Member F, Nov. 16, 2018)

Those who opposed the change of the policy claimed that the link between CET-4/6 and degree diplomas was justifiable. It could pressure students to continue their English studies in college. For those faculty members, college freshmen and sophomores were not mature enough to make sound judgments in terms of English learning. It's still necessary to keep the policy as a rein on students. As the Faculty Members pointed out:

"It's reasonable to link CET-4/6 with degree diplomas. In college, failing to complete any compulsory courses will result in the denial of degree diplomas. Since all the end-of-term tests are conducted by each college, it's easy to manipulate them and get the desired score. However, it is difficult to bluff your way through the national CET-4/6." (Interview with Faculty Member B, Nov. 5, 2018)

"CET-4/6 is administered by the Ministry of Education. Compared with end-of-term tests, CET-4/6 has more authority. It's the most devoted and impartial gatekeeper of higher education. The change of policy equals to the removal of the only gatekeeper to qualified degree recipients." (Interview with Faculty Member A, Nov. 2, 2018)

8.1.4.2 The impacts of the policy change on College English teaching

On the one hand, the policy change didn't exert a marked impact on faculty members' teaching. Their teaching went on as usual with the same teaching approaches and the same teaching philosophy.

"I don't think there is an obvious change in my teaching before and after the policy change. Everything remains the same as it was before: the same curriculum, the same syllabus, the same textbook, and even the same teaching plan. As long as the curriculum remains unchanged, the rest will be insignificant." (Faculty Member A, Nov. 2, 2018)

On the other hand, faculty members did mention some specific adjustments in their classroom teaching after the change of the policy. The followings are points summarized from the faculty interviews.

Firstly, in the past, each time before CET-4/6 was held, at least four weeks would be

reserved for CET-4/6 preparation. During that period of time, the teaching of textbooks would be suspended, and the focus of classes was on the learning of past CET-4/6 test papers and discussion of test-taking strategies. After the policy change, this practice was dropped and no designated time was kept for CET-4/6 preparation;

Secondly, in the past, each time before CET-4/6 was held, a university-level mock CET-4/6 would be conducted to familiarize students with CET-4/6 procedure. The test papers would be graded by faculty members using the formal grading criterion. The results would be used as a washback for students to find out their weaknesses. After the policy change, this practice was dropped and no university-level mock tests were conducted;

Thirdly, in the past, when some new words, phrases, expressions, and sentence patterns were learned, faculty members would emphasize that those words or expressions had been used or were supposed to be used in CET-4/6; therefore, more attention should be given to them. After the policy change, this practice was dropped, and most faculty members only did it occasionally;

Fourthly, in the past, each time after CET-4/6 was held and the test results were released, some faculty members would be rewarded with a cash bonus for their outstanding performance in coaching students for CET-4/6. After the policy change, this practice was largely dropped and there were no more cash bonuses for faculty member;

Finally, fewer students skipped College English classes in the past due to the massive amount of pressure coming from CET-4/6. Students asked more questions during or after classes. After the policy change, the number of students absent from classes increased while the number of students seeking help from faculty members decreased.

8. 2 English Training Institute Teachers and College English/CET-4/6

Teaching in English training institutes differed from College English education in several ways due to its market-oriented nature. Teachers from English training institutes viewed College English education and CET-4/6 differently from faculty members.

8.2.1 English training classes

Based on the data from CET-4/6 training classroom observations, English training classes were distinctive from College English classes. Unlike College English classes, which focused on the teaching of textbooks and the cultivating of students' general English abilities, CET-4/6 training classes were well-directed: to improve students' CET-4/6 scores in a relatively short time. To achieve this goal, CET-4/6 training classes usually used past CET-4/6 test papers as their primary teaching materials. Through the learning of those papers, English training institute teachers taught students not only specific language points but test-taking skills.

CET-4/6 training classes were also teacher-fronted. But compared with College English classes, CET-4/6 training class atmosphere was much more dynamic and lively. Both teachers and students shared a very clear aim: to pass CET-4/6. Students were more engaged in CET-4/6 training classes than in College English classes.

Chinese was also the primary language of instruction in CET-4/6 training classes. Different from College English classes which, spent a certain amount of time on the introduction of background information, CET-4/6 training classes focused on the teaching of English learning knacks and test-taking skills, including the rationale and pattern of each type of questions.

The followings were two excerpts from CET-4/6 training classes observed on November 24, 2018, which demonstrated the features of English training classes. (English translations of the teaching were put in parentheses. Descriptions of the class activities were put in square brackets).

Excerpt one:

CET-4/6 Training Teacher A: 好，现在我们看这个单词 "concentrate"，它的意思是什么呢？(Ok, now let's learn the word "concentrate". What does it mean?)

Students：集中注意力。[Chinese translation was given]

CET-4/6 Training Teacher A: 对。"concentrate" 最常见的意思就是"专注；集中注意力；聚精会神"的意思。这个词的前缀 con-和 come 一样，表示"共同，一起"。中间的 "centr" 是 "center" 的简写，加以一个后缀-ate 表示动词。Concentrate 的字母意思就是"集中到中心来"，也就是"专心"的意思。比如说 "When you read, you have to concentrate"，"阅读的时候你要集中注意力"。汉语当做把"专心"也叫做"集中注意力"。除此之外，"concentrate" 还有动词"浓缩"，名词"浓缩果汁"的意思，就是把某种东西的水分蒸发掉一部分。大家去超市的时候注意一下，会发现很多果汁的配料表就有"浓缩果汁"这一项。英文当中还有一个单词和 "concentrate"意思很接近，知道是哪个单词吗？

(Correct. The most frequently-used meanings of "concentrate" are … [Chinese translation was given]. The prefix of this word "con-" comes from "come", meaning [Chinese translation was given]. The middle party of the word "centr" is the short form of "center", and the last part "-ate" acts to create a verb. The literal meaning of "concentrate" is "come to the center". For example, "when you read, you have to concentrate", [Chinese translation was given]. In Chinese, "focused" also means "pay all your attention to". Besides, as a verb, "concentrate"

means … [Chinese translation was given], and as a noun it means … [Chinese translation was given], a thick juice where water has been removed. When you go to the supermarket, you will find that "concentrate" is listed as an ingredient of juice on the labels. "Concentrate" has a synonym in English. Do you know what it is?)

Students: "focus"

CET-4/6 Training Teacher A: 对，是"focus"。那么这两个单词有什么区别呢？(Correct, it is "focus". Then, what are the differences between the two words?)

Students: … "focus" 主要是"焦点"的意思吧？(…"focus" mainly means … [Chinese translation was given]?)

CET-4/6 Training Teacher A: 说的非常正确。"focus"这个作词动词是"聚焦，集中注意力，关注"的意思，作名词是"中心点，焦点，相机焦点"的意思。比如说 "The discussion focused on three main problems"，"讨论集中在三个主要问题上"。它和 "concentrate" 最大区别就在于作名词时候的含义。

(Exactly. As a verb, "focus" means … [Chinese translation was given]; as a noun, it means … [Chinese translation was given]. For example, "The discussion focused on three main problems", [Chinese translation was given]. "Focus" mainly differentiates itself from "concentrate" with its meaning as a noun.)

…

Excerpt Two:

CET-4/6 Training Teacher B: 四六级阅读文章都是选自原版英语报刊杂志，但是后面的题目都是中国老师出的。中国老师在出题的时候一般都会对文章中出现的词汇进行替换。其实，外国人在文章中用的词是千差万别的，几乎不太容易找到规律，所以我们要重点

去研究中国的老师是如何出题的，这样才能够在短短的几个月时间内有重大的突破。大家有没有信心？

(All CET-4/6 reading passages come from English newspapers and magazines, but the questions are designed by Chinese experts. When Chinese experts design the questions, synonymies will be used to avoid repeating from the passage. Words used by the author of the passage vary considerably and are hard to draw a regular pattern. Therefore, our focus is to study and find out Chinese experts' regularities in designing questions, and to make a breakthrough in one or two months. Do you have confidence in yourself?)

Students: 有。(Yes)

CET-4/6 Training Teacher B: 好，我们先看一道真题，是 2015 年 6 月四级考试的一道真题。这篇文章后面有 5 道题。我们在解题过程中来深切体会中国老师是怎么出题的，是如何把原文中的文字替换成选项中的文字的。首先我们来看一下第 56 题：

(Ok, let's see a question. It is a question in CET-4/6 test held in June 2015. There are five questions for this reading passage. We will have a deeper understanding of the ways of questions being designed by Chinese experts and words being replaced by synonymies. First, let's see question No. 56 :)

56. What is people's common expectation of a high-factor sunscreen?

A. It will delay the occurrence of skin cancer.

B. It will protect them from sunburn.

C. It will keep their skin smooth and fair.

D. It will work for people of any skin color.

注意这道题的四个选项主语都是代词 it。我想问一下大家，这个代词 it 所指代的名

词是什么呢？(Pay attention to that pronoun "it" acts as the subjects in the four options. What does "it" refers to?)

Students: a high-factor sunscreen.

CET-4/6 Training Teacher B: 非常正确。这个东西有点抽象，但是如果读过原文，就不难理解了。另外，我想让大家注意一下另外一个地方，people's common expectation，这是人们的普遍期待，并不是本文作者的期待。而且从我们做题的经验来判断，人们的常规预期和作者的预期是完全一致呢还是有所冲突呢？

Students：冲突吧？

(Exactly. This "high-factor sunscreen" is a little abstract to understand, but if you read the passage, you can know its meaning. Besides, please pay attention to the fact that "people's common expectation" is the result expected by the public, not by the author of the passage. Based on our test-taking experience, is people's common expectation the same with the author's expectation or are they different?

Students：冲突。(Different.)

CET-4/6 Training Teacher B: 非常正确。如果是完全一致的话题目就没有意义了，题目出的有价值就说明作者自己的想法可能和大家通常的想法有一定的落差。现在我们看一下原文：

(Exactly. The question will be meaningless if they are the same. A question is meaningful usually means the author has a different idea. Now let's see the first paragraph.)

If you think a high-factor sunscreen (防晒霜) keeps you safe from harmful rays, you may be wrong. Research in this week's Nature shows that while factor-50 reduces the number of melanomas (黑瘤) and delays their occurrence, it can't prevent them. Melanomas are the most

aggressive skin cancers. You have a higher risk if you have red or blond hair, fair skin, blue or green eyes, or sunburn easily, or if a close relative has had one. Melanomas are more common if you have periodic intense exposure to the sun. Other skin cancers are increasingly likely with long-term exposure.

　　我们都知道，一般考试的题目和原文都是一一对应的关系，一般都是一个题目对应一个段落。做题的时候需要把整段文章都读下来，但实际上第 56 题的答案就在原文第一句当中。这句话先说了普通人的想法"a high-factor sunscreen keeps you safe from harmful rays"，就是说高因子或者说强效防晒霜可以保护我们免收有害射线的伤害。题目问的是"people's common expectation"，我们现在看一下四个选项当中哪一个和第一句话表达的意思相同。注意，题目下的选项不可能和原文中的句子一模一样，这样题出的就没有质量了。出题老师绝对要对选项用词进行替换。比如选项 B，就把"keep you safe from"换成了"protect them from"，把"harmful rays"换成了"sunburn"。这样就把这个选项伪装的非常到位了。但只有选项 B 的陈述和原文一致，这样我们就知道这道题的正确答案是 B。把握住这样一个规律，思路就会很清晰，做题也就会变得容易了。

(We all know that questions usually correspond to the reading passage on a paragraph basis. We are supposed to read the whole paragraph before we finish the questions, but the answer to question No. 56 is in the first sentence of the paragraph. This sentence says that ordinary people tend to think that "a high-factor sunscreen keeps you safe from harmful rays", which means … [Chinese translation was given]. The question focuses on "people's common expectation". So, let's see which of the four options has the same meaning with the first sentence. Pay attention to that the four options use different wordings to differentiate themselves from sentences in the passage. It's no doubt that test-designers will use synonyms to replace words used in the options.

For example, option B replaces "keep you safe from" with "protect them from" and "harmful rays" with "sunburn", and presents itself in disguise. But only option B shares the same meaning as the first sentence of the reading passage. Therefore, we are sure that B is the answer to question No. 56. Once we understand and grasp this regularity of question-designing, our thinking will become clearer and answering the questions will become easier.)

…

8.2.2 English training institute teachers' views on College English education

Although English training institute teachers didn't engage in College English education, they were familiar with it either through personal experiences or through communication with their students. As outsiders of College English education, they viewed College English differently from faculty members. The followings were the major points made by English Training Teachers through interviews. Those points were their personal perspectives only.

8.2.2.1 Lack of a clear teaching objective

Unlike CET-4/6 training English which aimed to help college students to pass CET-4/6 through various means, College English had no clear teaching objective.

For English Training Teachers, this objective of College English described by the national College English Curriculum were too general and vague. The vagueness puts College English in a dilemma: trying to cover every aspect of English study but ending up excelling none of them. As one of the English Training Teacher noted:

"College English aims to help students lay a good foundation of English, but the problem is what 'a good foundation' means? When is the right time to start building the

house?" (Interview with English Training Teacher B, Nov. 24, 2018)

8.2.2.2 Outdated textbooks

Although there were many College English textbooks available in the market, they were basically the same in terms of teaching philosophy, modules, and contents. Due to requirements from the National College English Curriculum, all texts were written or edited by Chinese experts to make sure all sensitive information was removed, and all words were confined to the College English vocabulary. This made the texts lose their beauty of authenticity. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

> "Many students complain that the content of their College English textbooks is outdated. Complete out of step with the times and far away from students' life." (Interview with English Training Teacher A, Nov. 24, 2018)

Besides, the required textbooks severely restricted students' reading scope. Instead of learning English through comprehensive reading, college students were required to study their textbooks intensively: making sure they learned every word, phrase, sentence, and grammar point thoroughly. This practice not only imposed negative emotions on students in the form of intimidating tasks but weakened their enthusiasm for English learning.

8.2.2.3 Unnecessary duplication of learning

Currently, College English education and high school English education were two separate and irrelevant structures. There lacked a smooth transition between the two, and duplication had been a major problem for College English education.

The latest high school English curriculum showed that the number of required vocabulary

for high school graduates was 3,500, while the starting number of College English textbooks was only 1,800, a level set in the 1980s when considering the actual situation of English education at that time. The vast discrepancy between the two systems led to overlaps and unnecessary duplication of teaching and learning, which made College English unattractive to college students. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

> "It seems that College English tries to help students to make up English knowledge missed or not mastered in high school rather than teach them new knowledge." (Interview with English Training Teacher A, Nov. 24, 2018)

8.2.2.4 Low requirement of College English education

Apart from the small starting number of vocabulary for College English textbooks, the number of required vocabulary for CET-4 and CET-6 was also small: 4,500 and 6,000, respectively. After two years of College English education, college students were only expected to master 1,000 new words to pass CET-4 and reach the basic requirement prescribed by the national curriculum. This low requirement of learning made College English unchallenging to college students, and it became another contributor to the unattractiveness of College English education. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

> "Many students complained that the more they learned, the more regression they had in English. After two years of College English education, their English proficiency decreased rather than increases." (Interview with English Training Teacher B, Nov. 24, 2018)

8.2.2.5 Low-threshold of classroom teaching

Without a clear teaching goal, College English education focused on the teaching of textbooks. Thanks to modern technology and ready-made courseware provided by textbook publishers or downloaded from the internet, College English education had become a low-skilled job requiring little professional knowledge. Anyone who had some knowledge of English and Chinese could undertake the task. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

> "Teaching is just reading from the PowerPoints, translating from English to Chinese, and explaining some grammar points. It's very simple. Anyone can do it as long as you know English and Chinese." (Interview with English Training Teacher A, Nov. 24, 2018)

8.2.2.6 College English teachers' low level of oral proficiency in English

As English professionals, faculty members working in College English Department were supposed to be proficient in spoken English. However, due to the traditional "mute/dumb English education" that Chinese students had received, most faculty members had difficulties using English freely, especially spoken English.

Most importantly, faculty members had no pressure and motivation to improve their spoken English abilities to undertake their teaching tasks. On the one hand, they used Chinese as the primary language of instruction in College English classes; on the other hand, they wrote papers and conducted research projects in Chinese. Domestically, all research projects concerning English were conducted in Chinese, and nearly all academic journals specializing in English were published in Chinese. As long as College English faculty members stayed in China, spoken English proficiency was not an issue. This casual attitude towards English

communicative abilities was both the result and cause of "mute/dumb English." As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

> "College students are not good at speaking English. This is partly because some College English teachers are not proficient in spoken English themselves. This, in turn, is because they have received the 'mute English' education." (Interview with English Training Teacher B, Nov. 24, 2018)

Due to their limited English communicative abilities, only a small number of College English faculty members ever published papers in international journals or attended international conferences. Few English professionals became world-renowned scholars in their field.

8.2.2.7 College English teachers' poor teaching performance

Because of intense competition among private English training institutes, the employment standards were extremely high, especially for the prestigious ones. All potential candidates had to undergo a rigorous selection process, including background checks, interviews, and mock teaching demonstrations. Candidates were expected to be knowledgeable, articulate, and humorous.

Once outstanding candidates were accepted, they would undergo another robust process of pre-service training and assessment，which consisted of attending seminars, observing classes held by experienced teachers, and conducting real teaching. Only those who completed all those steps could stay and become a member of the institute. This rigorous process of sifting guaranteed that only the most capable would be employed, and their teachers' teaching was

excellent and appealing to potential clients. Only in this way could an English training institute compete with others on the market.

Employment for teachers at English training institutes was temporary, and job contract was only valid for a certain number of years. Teaching was their primary job, and their salary and allowances were dependent on their teaching performance. Pressures were high for teachers working at English training institutes to improve their teaching techniques.

However, it was a different picture for faculty members from the College English Department. For job candidates, it's their education background that mattered the most: whether they graduated from prestigious universities or whether they obtained a higher degree diploma. Once a candidate was accepted, their positions would be permanent. New faculty members usually started teaching with little or no pre-service training and assessment. Due to the publication-oriented appraisal system, faculty members' salaries and allowances only correlated with their professional titles. Therefore, faculty members spent most of their time and energy on academic paper-publishing and research project-applying. Teaching performance was a secondary index in faculty appraisals and promotion. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

"As far as I know, many College English teachers pay little attention to teaching. They take classroom teaching in a half-hearted and perfunctory manner. They can use the same teaching plan for many years without any updates. Teaching is just reading from the textbook or PPT." (Interview with English Training Teacher B, Nov. 24, 2018)

8.2.3 English training institute teachers' views on CET-4/6

Since CET-4/6 was linked with degree diplomas in the early 1990s, CET-4/6 training had been a major part of English training institutes' business. Through coaching students in CET-4/6 or attending CET-4/6 themselves, English training teachers were very familiar with it. Different from their criticisms of College English, they held similar views on CET-4/6 with faculty members.

Similar to faculty members, English training teachers also regarded CET-4/6 as a reliable indicator of a person's English proficiency. According to their observations, lack of test-taking skills was just a minor reason for students' failure of CET-4/6. The primary reason came from students' low English proficiency, which was either caused by their inefficient ways of learning or insufficient investment of time and energy. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

> "Many students admitted that they don't have the habit of learning English on a daily basis, such as listening to English tapes, memorizing news words, or reading English books. While finding the right way of learning and obtaining some test-taking skills are necessary, investing enough time and energy is the key. Teachers cannot take the place of students in learning." (Interview with English Training Teacher B, Nov. 24, 2018)

Similar to faculty members, English training teachers also thought that CET-4/6 should be reformed rather than terminated. They gave their support to CET-4/6 not only because CET-4/6 brought them business, but because CET-4/6 had been administered for 30 years and had firmly established its brand image in China as a reliable national English proficiency test. CET-4/6 was accepted by most employers. It could be developed into an IELTS/TOEFL-style proficiency test if it was overhauled, making it open to the public and perfecting its test management. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

"CET-4/6 is not the culprit of problems in College English education. As a test which

is taken by tens of millions of students each year, CET-4/6 has a good chance to become

a famous Chinese brand and compete with IELTS and TOEFL if it is overhauled."

(Interview with English Training Teacher A, Nov. 24, 2018)

8.2.4 The impacts of the policy change on English training institute teachers' teaching

For English training teachers, the most direct impact of the change of policy on them was

the decline in enrollment in CET-4/6 training classes. Before the policy was dropped, more

college students were attending CET-4/6 training classes, because the high-stakes CET-4/6

made every student nervous and few were 100% sure that they could pass the test. As one of

the English Training Teachers noted:

"In the past, many students paid extra money to attended CET-4/6 training classes not

because their English was too bad but because they wanted to seek double-assurance. Just

in case." (Interview with English Training Teacher A, Nov. 24, 2018)

Once the policy was dropped and the imminent threat was taken away from them, most

students felt relieved and began to take a casual attitude towards CET-4/6. They preferred to

prepare CET-4/6 by themselves: memorizing words and doing past test papers. Only those who

had been struggling with English or wanted to get a higher score would pay extra money to

attend CET-4/6 training classes.

However, the decline in enrollment in CET-4/6 training classes didn't exert much

influence on English training institutes' overall business. While the number of students

attending CET-4/6 training classes decreased, the number of students attending English training

classes targeting the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination increased rapidly. As one of the English Training Teachers noted:

> "As long as the situation remains the same that English plays a critical role in deciding a person's fate, there will always be a huge market for English training classes, unless China overtakes the United States and Chinese becomes the lingua franca. This is unlikely to happen in a short time." (Interview with English Training Teacher B, Nov. 24, 2018)

Summary

Although CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy was dropped by New University, it didn't exert a marked impact on College English teaching and learning. For faculty members, everything connected with their teachings largely remained the same: the similar national College English Curriculum, the similar teaching syllabus, the similar textbooks, the similar teaching procedures, and the similar faculty performance appraisal criteria. The fossilization of College English education at New University made it lag behind the expectations of college students.

At the same time, English training teachers were also key witnesses to the initiation, evolution, and impact of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy on College English education. Their observations provided different perspectives on College English education and CET-4/6.

CHAPTEN NINE: CET-4/6 AS PART OF COLLEGE LIFE

Introduction

Non-English-major college students were the ultimate targets of both College English education and CET-4/6. Their views and attitudes towards College English education and CET-4/6 were significant in understanding the current situation of College English education and CET-4/6. This chapter tries to answer the fifth research question: in what ways did the change of policy impact non-English-major college students' English learning at New University?

Findings are based on data from the student survey and student interviews.

9.1 College students' views on College English education

College students were the subjects of College English education, and they had the first-hand experiences of College English education.

9.1.1 College English was different from middle school English

According to the student survey, a little more than half the participants (57%) thought College English was different from middle school English. The followings are students' opinions summarized from the interviews.

Firstly, the teaching content was different. In middle school English, the texts were mainly about daily life, and the range of knowledge was limited; in College English, texts were more formal and professional and covered a much broader range of political, economic, cultural, and other topics. The writing styles and genres were also much more diverse;

Secondly, the teaching schedule was different. In middle schools, English was held every

day, together with early morning reading and evening coaching classes. Doing mock tests was a key component of middle school English education, especially in the last year of senior middle school, mock tests were usually administered on a monthly, weekly, or daily basis. After each mock test was taken, teachers would explain test questions one by one in a very detailed manner; in colleges, College English was usually held weekly, and no mock tests were administered;

Thirdly, the mentality was different. In middle schools, because of the National College Entrance Examination, both teachers and students were under stress. They worked together, shared the same commitments, and did their utmost to get the highest scores; in colleges, although there was CET-4/6, the pressure was much less. Both college faculty members and students didn't take College English very seriously, and few students worked as hard as they did in middle school. English learning was a student's responsibility rather than a task shared by teachers and students;

Fourthly, the teacher-student relationship was different. In middle schools, students had a close relationship with their teachers, and they treated each other like family members. They met each other several times a day and knew each other very well. Students could ask questions during daytime classes, early morning reading classes, or evening coaching classes; in colleges, the teacher-student relationship was remote, and they treated each other like service providers and clients. Except for the weekly lesson, they usually didn't see each other. Teacher-student interactions and communications were rare both in and after classes, and they knew little about each other. Not only didn't teachers remember most of their students' names, but many students also didn't know the name of their teachers;

Finally, the key to English learning was different. In middle schools, teachers played a crucial role in students' learning. Students were closely supervised and pushed by their teachers to work hard and finish all their homework every day; in colleges, the key to English learning was self-discipline and autonomous learning abilities. Since most first-year students were 18 years old or over, they were regarded as grown-ups. They were supposed to become independent, develop their English learning habits, and took care of their study and life.

9.1.2 It was necessary to learn English in college

Nearly all student survey participants (99%) said that it's necessary to continue English study in college. According to the interviews, the primary reason came from the significant role English had been playing both at home and abroad. The other reasons are as follows:

Firstly, middle school English was far from enough for college students to be capable of using English as a tool to obtain professional knowledge and communicate with foreigners. The middle school English curriculum stipulated that high school students should master 3,500 English words upon graduation.

"Having a vocabulary of 3,500 is nowhere near enough (to be proficient in English). I'm told that having a vocabulary of 3,500 is equal to kindergarteners in America." (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018).

What's worse, based on their experience, English education was heavily examination-oriented, and they only learned the knowledge about English rather than the English language itself. After learning English for at least ten years, few claimed that they could use English confidently in a real-life situation. They had difficulties in comprehending English radios,

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watching English movies or TV programs without seeing Chinese substiles, and communicating with foreigners freely. As one of the College Students noted:

"Everyone knows that we learn English for taking tests for higher scores. Good scores in tests are the key. We spent most of our time doing written exercises and doing mocks. " (Interview with College Students D, Oct. 18, 2018)

Secondly, English learning was a long-term process of hardworking and perseverance. Unlike some life skills, such as swimming or riding a bicycle, which could be retained forever once mastered, English competence would be lost quickly if a person stopped learning it. Continuous learning was critical in language education. As the College Students noted:

"Our teacher once told us that study is like sailing against the current: you either go forward or go backward. You probably cannot perceive that your English is improving even you keep working on it, but you definitely can realize that your English is going rusty once you stop learning it." (Interview with College Student C, Oct. 23, 2018)

"We are told that English should be learned every day. It's a slow process of accumulation. It is like having your meals regularly to grow up. You cannot skip several meals and then take a super big meal to make up for it." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

"Whenever I return to school after a long vacation, I feel much of my English has gone away. Many words have become unfamiliar to me." (Interview with College Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

Thirdly, most college students decided whether to further their studies in graduate schools in their second or third year at college. Before the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination

worked as a stimulus for college students to learn English as hard as they used to be in middle school, College English served as a driving force to push them forward. As one of the College Students noted:

"Although College English classes were held once a week, its existence constantly reminds us that we should keep learning English. It will be too late to resume English learning after one or two years." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

Finally, during the ten years of primary and middle school English education, students had accustomed themselves to the traditional teacher-fronted and "force-feeding" teaching method where teachers dominated the whole classes while students just listened and took notes. They lacked the experience and abilities of autonomous learning, and it took time for them to develop their self-study habits and skills. The two-year College English acted as a transitional stage for students to turn themselves from passive recipients to active learners. As the College Students noted:

"In College English classes, good teachers will help us to form a good habit of learning. When we listen to tapes, they will teach us how to predict and grasp the meaning of the dialogues or lectures. It spares us a lot of detours. (College English) should not be removed." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

"College English provides us an English learning atmosphere. Learning with classmates is more efficient than studying alone. We can influence each other." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

9.1.3 College English education fell short of expectation

According to the student survey, the majority of college students (80%) said that the current College English education didn't meet their expectations. For student interview participants, English was useful, but College English was useless. The similarities between College English and middle school English were the primary cause of their dissatisfaction.

Firstly, College English teachers' teaching philosophy remained the same as their middle school English teachers. During the interviews, a student mentioned that their College English teachers and their middle school English teachers were alumni. As the College Students noted:

"When my English teacher knew that I was admitted by New University, she said she has a classmate working at the College English Department there. They graduated in the same year, but her classmate worked at the New University while she went to a middle school." (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018)

"I feel that College English teachers' teaching has no difference with my middle school English teachers. Fundamentally, they teach English in the same mode: learning new words, explaining texts, translating English into Chinese, and doing exercises. No big difference." (Interview with College Student E, Oct.17, 2018)

Secondly, College English teachers' teaching methods remained the same. The traditional grammar-translation approach was the primary teaching approach used by their College English teachers, which was similar to middle school English education. Besides, few class activities were held due to the large size of College English classes and heavy teaching loads. The focus of College English classes was the learning of texts, sentence by sentence, phrase by phrase, and word by word. As one of the College Students noted:

"To be honest, I had a very high expectation in College English. I thought College

English classes must be utterly different from middle school English classes. It turned out that there were no big differences. It's disappointing. " (Interview with College Student C, Oct. 23, 2018)

Thirdly, College English class atmospheres remained the same. Although middle school English classes were totally teacher-fronted and focused on knowledge learning and test-taking skills, this was regarded by students as understandable and acceptable because of the National College Entrance Examination. They hoped College English class sizes would be smaller, and class atmospheres would be better. Therefore, they were disillusioned once they found that the class size was even larger, and the class atmosphere was more tedious than middle school. As one of the College Students noted:

"I thought college class sizes would be small. Class atmospheres would be lively. Students would sit around a table and discuss a topic with each other. Later, I found it's not the case. Classes remain teacher-fronted. Classroom interactions were rare. It's utterly different from what I have imagined." (Interview with College Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

Finally, the primary language of instruction remained the same. According to the questionnaire survey and classroom observations, Chinese was used most of the time in College English teaching, from greeting to background information introduction, new words learning, and explanations of difficult points. Besides, some of the faculty members not only had a strong accent in English but had a strong accent in Mandarin Chinese. As the College Students noted:

"In the very beginning, I thought all College English teachers could speak English fluently and beautifully, and English classes would be held in English. Several weeks later, I found I was wrong. My College English teacher's English is just so-so. His English

pronunciation is bad, even worse than my middle school English teachers." (Interview with College Student A, Oct. 29, 2018)

"I like English very much, but don't like the ways College English is taught: read from textbooks and PPT. (Their) pronunciation is not standard. (College English classes) look like Chinese classes." (Interview with College Student D, Oct. 18, 2018)

9.1.4 College English contributed little to students' English learning

According to the student survey, most participants (81%) held that their English proficiency decreased rather than increased after two-year College English education.

Most student interview participants claimed that thanks to intensive learning and doing mock tests daily in senior middle school, their English proficiency peaked right after attending the National College Entrance Examination. With the full knowledge of English grammar and a vocabulary of 3,500, they could have had a good chance to pass CET-4 if they were allowed to attend the test right after entering colleges. After all, the number of required vocabulary for CET-4 was only 4,000.

However, once in colleges, most students slacked off in their studies in the first one or two years, especially English study. College English was held only once a week, and learning English became personal decisions left to individual students. As one of the College Students noted:

"After two years of College English education, my English proficiency was not greatly improved; instead, it decreased. Many words and grammar points became strange to me because they had been lay idle for a long time." (Interview with College Student F, Oct.

12, 2018)

Although the student survey showed that 52% of students spent an average of 30-60 minutes on English learning each day and 38% spent less than 30 minutes, interviews revealed that most students learned English on a whim rather than on a fixed schedule. As one of the College Students noted:

"The time I spend on English study is very irregular. Sometimes, I don't touch English for several days. Then, on a certain day, usually the weekend, I spend several hours to study it. I spend more time on English learning weeks before each end-of-term test." (Interview with College English D, Oct. 18, 2018)

Reading English texts aloud and reciting words by repeating their spellings and Chinese meanings numerous times were the two most widely used methods of English study. Any activities involved in English were counted as studies by those students, including listening to English songs or tapes, watching English movies and TV serials, and reading English novels.

They admitted that this irregular way of English learning, together with the lack of self-control and absence of close supervision from parents and teachers, made it hard for them to learn English well. Their English proficiency tended to decline as time went by until CET-4/6 was imminent, and they started to pay more attention to English learning. As one of the College Students noted:

"We usually began to treat English learning more seriously several months ahead of CET-4/6. Many students will buy a CET-4/6 vocabulary book and begin to memorize words or do previous/mock CET-4/6 test papers if they have the time." (Interview with College Student D, Oct. 18, 2018)

9.1.5 College English should not be removed from the curriculum

Although college students felt disappointed at College English education, most student survey participants (93%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that College English should be removed from the curriculum.

According to the interviews, the removal of College English from the curriculum meant English learning was turned from a compulsory school subject into a personal choice before they were ready. In that case, self-discipline and family background would be the critical factors in their English learning. Those who lacked vision and self-control or came from ordinary families would be at a disadvantage. As one of the Graduate Students noted:

"You never know the value of what you have until you lose it. Few students appreciate College English when it is offered as a compulsory course to everyone. But if it is removed, it's ordinary students that will get the short end of the stick." (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

At the same time, the student survey showed that the absolute majority of participants (92%) would continue learning English even if College English was removed from the curriculum. The majority of them (87%) would select it as an elective course if College English was turned from compulsory to optional. As one of the College Students noted:

"No matter how College English will be reformed, I will keep learning English, not only for myself but for my children. Otherwise, I will not be able to help my children with their English homework in the future." (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018)

9.1.6 College students' ideal College English education.

Being disappointed at College English, student interviews participants talked about their ideal College English classes.

Firstly, the number of students in each class should be small, no more than 30. Students should develop a closer relationship with each other and with their teachers. With fewer students, more teaching activities and interactions should be conducted during the class.

Secondly, English should be the primary language of instruction, and the use of Chinese should be kept at its minimum. This point was echoed by the questionnaire survey, which showed the majority of participants (91%) preferred English as the primary language of instruction and Chinese as a supplement. Most students thought it's not necessary to translate everything into Chinese during the class. Although, in the beginning, it would be hard for them to follow their teachers' teaching in English, they could gradually adapt to the change and improve their listening comprehension.

Thirdly, the focus of teaching should be on the practical use of English, rather than on the theoretical knowledge of English. Words and grammar points should be learned through their contexts and usage. More attention should be paid to improve students' communicative competence and cultivate students' self-directed learning abilities rather than assign more mechanical exercises and spoon-feed knowledge into students.

Finally, if possible, part of the College English classes should be taught by foreign teachers. The questionnaire survey showed that nearly all participants (99%) held this idea. For them, having foreign teachers would enable them to engage with native-English speakers and have a deeper understanding of what real and authentic English looked like. It also would arouse their interests in English learning, motivate them to improve their communicative competence, and

help them to find the right way to learn English well.

9.2 College students' views on CET-4/6

College students were the only target group of CET-4/6. Interviews showed most of them took CET-4/6 seriously. For them, although the link between CET-4/6 and degree diplomas had been dropped, CET-4/6 still meant a lot in their study and life. This strong connection made college students saw CET-4/6 differently from faculty members and English training institute teachers.

9.2.1 CET-4/6 was not a reliable indicator of test-takers' English proficiency.

Contrary to faculty members and English training teachers, most student survey participants (75%) claimed that CET-4/6 was not a reliable indicator of test-takers' real English proficiency.

For student interview participants, although CET-4/6 covered four English skills: listening, reading, translating, and writing, it only focused on test-takers' knowledge of English learned by rote rather than real communicative competence acquired through use. According to their own experiences and observations, few students could use English freely in real-life situations even though they scored high in CET-4/6. As one of the Graduate Students noted:

"I passed the CET-6. But to be honest, I don't think I'm good at it. I still have

difficulties in using it in daily life, especially listening and speaking." (Interview with

Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

But at the same time, some of them admitted that they made this judgment not because

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CET-4/6 was utterly invalid and unreliable as a proficiency test, but because they felt frustrated with their low English proficiency after years of hardworking. As one of the College Students noted:

"CET-4/6 is an impartial judge. Failing to pass CET-4/6 is mainly caused by limited time and energy spent on English learning. The other reasons are just pretexts." (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018)

9.2.2 CET-4/6 was less reliable and valid than IELTS/TOEFL

Similar to faculty members and English training institute teachers, the majority of students (95%) held that IELTS/TOEFL was more reliable and valid than CET-4/6. The reasons mentioned by students were also similar: IELTS/TOEFL's international reputation, brand influence, and acceptability were much reliable than CET-4/6, and IELTS/TOEFL's management was much rigorous than CET-4/6.

9.2.3 It was unreasonable to ban first-year college students from taking CET-4/6

According to the student survey, the majority of participants (97%) held that it's unreasonable to ban first-year college students from taking CET-4/6.

When the researcher repeated the explanation offered by university administrators that freshmen were banned from taking CET-4/6 because there were not enough places for all test-takers, they disagreed. They thought the primary reason was to force them to attend College English Classes. As the College Students noted:

"The administrators don't allow freshmen to take CET-4/6 mainly for fear that, if they

pass CET-4/6 right after entering colleges, they will no longer attend College English classes." (Interview with College Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

"They (university administrators) thought freshmen were not ready to take CET-4/6. They held wishful thinking that if students spent two more years to learn English, there would be a better chance to pass CET-4/6, thus increased the university's overall passing rate."(Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

9.2.4 CET-4/6 should be terminated because of its negative effects

The student survey showed participants split over the proposal that "CET-4/6 should be terminated". According to the interviews, those who supported this proposal held that CET-4/6 did more damage than good to their studies.

Firstly, CET-4/6 took up too much their valuable time, especially those who had been struggling with English or those who had no plan to attend the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination. After slacking off in their English studies in one or two years in colleges, college students had to spend more time and energy to prepare CET-4/6. As the College Students noted:

"If CET-4/6 is dropped, there will be more time for us to focus on our professional fields. There will also be more time for us to improve our real English communicative abilities rather than test-taking skills." (Interview with College Student A, Oct. 29, 2018)

"If we are allowed to take it (CET-4) in the first semester, I believe most students can pass it. In that case, it will not waste our time in our second or third year when our study load is the heaviest." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

Secondly, CET-4/6 was the culprit of College English being examination-oriented. More

than half the student survey participants (57%) agreed or strongly agreed that CET-4/6 was the leading cause of College English education being examination-oriented. For them, CET-4/6 worked as a "teaching baton," and directed where College English should go. Apart from heavily CET-oriented textbooks, the majority of student survey participants (82%) said CET-4/6 was mentioned by their College English teachers in classes, and the majority of them (95%) said they wanted CET-4/6 to be covered by their teachers. As one of the College Students noted:

"I feel the only aim of College English is to help us preparing CET-4/6, including the vocabulary, the exercises, all are designed for CET-4/6." (Interview with College Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

Thirdly, CET-4/6 hindered them from improving their real English competence. While in middle schools, due to the fierce competition in the National College Entrance Examination, they concentrated all their efforts on getting high test scores and paid little attention to real English communicative abilities. They hoped more attention would be paid to communicative competence while in college. They became disappointed when they found things largely remained the same. As one of the College Students noted:

"I have been very interested in English. I was hoping that I could improve my listening and speaking abilities in college, but once in college, I found it was nothing like what I was expecting. The purpose of studies is still for tests." (Interview with College Students C, Oct. 23, 2018)

Finally, CET-4/6 was a corrupting influence on students' moral development. On the one hand, some interview participants claimed that, although they knew cheating was wrong, they understood the plight of those who were desperate to pass CET-4/6, and they would take

cheating as one of their options as well if necessary. As one of the College Students noted:

"We often joke that CET-4/6 is a test that forces good people to do evil things. No one wants to take risks, but sometimes, you have no other alternatives." (Interview with College Student F, Oct. 12, 2018)

On the other hand, they admitted that CET-4/6 cheating was unfair to honest people and should be addressed. As one of the College Students noted:

"It's unfair for those who worked very hard but failed while their roommates or classmates cheated and succeeded in CET-4/6. It exerts a negative effect on college students' more development." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

9.2.5 CET-4/6 should be retained because of its positive effects

Interviews revealed that those who disagreed with the proposal that "CET-4/6 should be terminated" mainly focused on the good sides of CET-4/6.

For them, the most critical role CET-4/6 had been playing was to spur college students to continue their English study. As one of the College Students noted:

"Although I know English is very important, I still need external pressure. Laziness is one of human being's natures." (Interview with College English D, Oct. 18, 2018)

The other good side of CET-4/6 was its low registration fee. Compared with IELTS/TOEFL, which charged test-takers more than $300, CET-4/6 only cost around $4. Being a national standardized English proficiency widely accepted by most employers in China, CET-4/6 was the most cost-effective test proving a student's English proficiency. As one of the College Students noted:

"Many people claim that CET-4/6 should be terminated because it has so many problems. I just want to know how to prove your English proficiency without CET-4/6. Not everyone can afford IELTS/TOEFL." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

9.3 The impacts of the policy change on college students' English learning.

Although student survey and interview participants didn't experience the change of policy personally and they would learn English anyway, they would have acted differently in some ways if CET-4/6 remained linked with their degree diplomas.

9.3.1 College students' attitude towards CET-4/6 was not impacted

According to the student survey, two-thirds of participants (67%) said the policy change didn't affect their English learning. The vast majority of them (94%) said that they had taken or were planning to take CET-4/6, although nearly half of them (44%) even didn't know that CET-4/6 was no longer linked with degree diplomas.

For student interview participants, CET-4/6 being no longer linked with degree diplomas didn't exert a marked impact on their attitude towards CET-4/6. Through communication with older students or their own observations, they gradually formed the idea that learning English and taking CET-4/6 was a natural thing to do in college

Firstly, they realized that CET-4/6 certificates were a valuable asset. It's not only required by many employers but was also listed as a requirement to seek graduate school candidacy exempt from the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination, and gain other personal benefits.

Without CET-4/6, they were even not qualified to enter the competitions. As the College Students noted:

"I find an employer's words are very impressive and convincing: 'CET-4/6 certificate is nothing when everybody has it, but it is something when everybody has it except you'." (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018)

"It's said that CET-4/6 is just a 敲门砖 qiaomenzhuan (a knocking brick or a stepping stone), and no one cares about it or your real English proficiency when you achieve your goals. But the point is you need the stepping stone to enter the door and get the job." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

"I didn't know things about the link between CET-4/6 and degree diploma. Once in college, I was told by fellow students in their third or fourth year to obtain as many certificates as possible, including CET-4/6, saying those certificates will be beneficial and necessary in the future." (Interview with College Student A, Oct. 29, 2018)

"CET-4/6 is an absolute veto. If you don't have the CET-4/6 certificate, you're not qualified to be considered for scholarships, honorary titles, and other academic or financial awards." (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

Secondly, they claimed that CET-4/6 had become a part of college life. Although few of them knew clearly how and when this happened, they just followed suit once they enter the college. As the College Students noted:

"I feel it's a natural thing for me to take CET-4/6 although no one forced me to do so. Everybody else around me is doing that." (Interview with College Student F, Oct. 12, 2018)

"For college students, taking CET-4/6 has become a matter of course. It's said that

your college life will be incomplete if you didn't take CET-4/6." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

"Some employers claim that they list CET-4/6 as one of the job requirements not only because CET-4/6 is a proof of a candidate's English proficiency, but because it is a clear reflection of a student's attitude towards study during their four-year college education. CET-4 is a requirement for college students, and it is not unreachable." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

Thirdly, they thought the significance of English remained the same. For them, English was a critical factor in their efforts to go upward for a higher level of socio-economic status, especially their pursuit of graduate education and better jobs. As the Graduate Students noted:

"I think it (the change of policy) has no impact (on my English learning) because the significance of English is obvious. It is a required subject in the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination. It's an essential condition to find sought-after jobs." (Interview with College Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

"For many college seniors who are planning to take the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination, they worry about English the most. It's acknowledged that test-takers' success is largely determined by English rather than their excellence in their professional fields." (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

"I don't think the significance of English will be changed by a single piece of policy." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

9.3.2 Time spent on English learning was not impacted

For student interview participants, the fact that CET-4/6 was no longer linked with degree diplomas didn't exert a marked impact on the time they spent on English learning. The amount of time spent on English was determined by many factors, such as self-control abilities, learning habits, date (whether it was close to an examination), personal plans (whether to continue one's study in graduate schools), and individual situations. As one of the College Students noted:

> "I feel that whether CET-4/6 is linked with degree diplomas or not has little influence on my English study. Even if the two are linked with each, the time I spend on English learning might be the same. Those who want to study always have numerous reasons. Those who don't want to study also have numerous pretexts." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

9.3.3 Changes among college students in English learning

Although student interview participants' attitudes towards CET-4/6 and the time spent on English learning were not impacted, they would have acted differently in some ways if CET-4/6 remained linked with degree diplomas.

Firstly, the policy change made them feel relieved. Knowing the policy change offered them a sense of relief, especially those who were struggling with English. Although they knew the significance of English learning and the value of CET-4/6 and would work hard at it anyway, they still felt excited and relieved once they heard about the news. They didn't have to worry about losing their degree diplomas. As one of the College Students noted:

> "When I knew that our university no longer links CET-4 with degree diplomas, I feel

relieved and lucky, because some of my friends went to colleges where passing CET-4 is still a requirement for them to obtain their degree diplomas. Sorry for them." (Interview with College Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

For them, this sense of relief was not only very conducive to their English study but their overall college education. Under less mental pressure, their study would be more efficient. As one of the College students noted:

"Laziness is one of the human natures. We need some kinds of pressure in our lives to do things that we don't like, such as study. But it's not good if the pressure is too much. In the most severe cases, it can drive people to do something extreme." (Interview with College Student D, Oct. 18, 2018)

Secondly, the policy change made them less likely to cheat. For them, the change of policy significantly reduced their impulsion to cheat on CET-4/6. In the past, failing CET-4/6 had a disastrous consequence for individual students: no degree diplomas, no decent jobs, and no other awards, which drove many students to cheat in CET-4/6.

Currently, they understood that even if a student didn't pass CET-4/6, they still had opportunities as long as they had their graduate and degree diplomas in hands. Fewer students were desperate to pass CET-4/6 through cheating. Besides, CET-4/6 cheating had become risky and costly when cheating on exams had been criminalized since 2015. As one of the College Students noted:

"I haven't thought about getting my CET-4/6 certificate through cheating. Although CET-4/6 is still necessary for employment and other personal gains, it is not worth the risk. However, if CET-4/6 is still linked with degree diplomas, I think I'll take it (cheating)

into consideration when it's necessary. After all, failing to get my degree diploma is a big deal. My four-year college education will be in vain. How can I break the news to my parents?" (Interview with College Student A, Oct. 29, 2018)

Thirdly, they would readjust their ways of learning if CET-4/6 was still linked with degree diplomas. For them, their English was mainly learned through self-study, although they didn't want College English to be removed. As one of the College Students noted:

"When I found College English didn't meet my expectations, I began to skip classes and prefer to stay in my dormitory or go to the library to study by myself … This had little to do with the change of the policy. I just felt disappointed with the inefficiency of the College English classes." (Interview with College Student F, Oct. 12, 2018)

The most commonly used learning methods were memorizing new words, reading books, magazines or newspapers, listening to English songs or tapes, watching English movies or TV series, and chatting with friends in English. According to the student survey, only a small percent of them (9%) had ever attended or would attend extra-curricular English classes to pass CET-4/6. Some of them began to do past or mock CET-4/6 test papers a few weeks before CET-4/6 was held while others didn't make any special preparation for it at all.

However, most of them said they would learn English differently if CET-4/6 was still linked with degree diplomas. As one of the College Students noted:

"If CET-4/6 is still linked with degree diplomas, I think I would pay more attention to it. I would make passing CET-4 as my top priority. I would take more effort to memorize CET-4/6 vocabulary and do past or mock CET-4/6 test papers. I would very likely attend CET-4/6 training classes." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

Fourthly, the change of policy created a phenomenon of "naked test-taking." Because of the change of policy, current students didn't take CET-4/6 as seriously as students in the past did. Many of them took CET-4/6 without any preparations, which was dubbed as "裸考 luokao (naked test-taking)." As one of the College Students noted:

"Many of my classmates were 'naked test-takers.' They barely make any preparations before the test, saying they can take it next time if they failed. It's no big deal." (Interview with College Student F, Oct. 12, 2018)

Besides "naked test-taking", the number of students who decided to skip the test at the last minute also increased. As one of the College Students noted:

"The last time when CET-4/6 was held, one of my roommates remained in bed after we got up early to prepare. I asked her why she didn't get up. She said she didn't make any preparations for the test and didn't want to take it." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

Finally, the change of the policy created a phenomenon of "score-refreshing". In the past, a CET-4/6 certificate only showed whether a test-taker "Failed (<60)," or "Pass (60-84)," or "Be Excellent (85-100)." Now, CET-certificate was replaced by CET-4/6 report detailing both the overall score and subset scores. Because of this change, many students decided to retake CET-4/6 several times until they got a satisfactory result, which was dubbed as "刷分 shuafen (score-refreshing)." As one of the College Students noted:

"The score is displayed (on the CET-4/6 report form). It's not presentable if it's too low. Everybody desires a higher score. The higher, the better." (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018)

Summary

The drop of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy didn't impact college students' perspectives on English and English learning. Both their attitudes towards English and their time spent on English learning was not impacted, although they would act differently in some ways if CET-4/6 was still linked with Degree diploma. For college students, the significance of English learning and the value of CET-4/6 stayed unchanged. English learning had become a natural thing to do, and taking CET-4/6 had been a part of college life.

CHAPTEN TEN: ENGLISH EDUCATION THROUGH MACROACQUISITION

Introduction

Chapter Nine showed the removal of the link between CET-4/6 and degree diplomas didn't impact college students' perspectives on English and English learning. Although several policies or proposals had been made to "cool down" English education, the majority of the student participants still paid much attention to learning English.

This chapter answers the sixth research question: what were the major factors that influenced college students to learn English?

Findings are based on data from the faculty survey, faculty interviews, the student survey, and student interviews.

10.1 College Students and Faculty Members' Perceptions of English Education in China

Through surveys and interviews, college students and faculty members expressed their opinions on general English education in China. The followings are the major points summarized from the surveys and interviews.

10.1.1 English was a lingua franca

According to student and faculty surveys, the vast majority of participants, 93% of college students, and 100% of faculty members believed that it was still necessary or very necessary for Chinese to learn English.

For student and faculty interview participants, although China had emerged as the second-

largest economy in the world, and Chinese was becoming increasingly popular around the world, the role of English could not be replaced. As the faculty and student participants noted:

"The majority of international academic research is written and published in English. The so-called "Chinese fever" is just a propaganda stunt. English as a lingua franca will not be replaced by Chinese in the foreseeable future." (Interviews with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

"When I started my graduate study, the first thing my advisor asked me to do was to read the most recent research publications in English. Through reading, I can have a general idea of the latest research trends, find a good research topic, and 'avoid heating leftover rice' (duplicate research that has been done by others)." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

Although Chinese was one of the six official languages of the United Nations and the most-spoken native language in the world, its use is mostly confined to China. By contrast, English was the most widely used language in the world. English acted as a lingua franca and the primary medium of international communication. As one of the Faculty members noted:

"No matter how large-scale a conference is, it cannot be called an international academic conference if English is not the working language. Similarly, no matter how excellent an expert's research work is, they will not be widely recognized by the international community if they cannot deliver a speech or present their papers in English." (Interview with Faculty Member B, Nov. 5, 2018)

The significance of English as a lingua franca was not limited to academia. It involved every aspect of life and can save lives. As one of the College Students noted:

"I once came across the Thallium Poisoning Case of ZhuLing. It's reported that Thallium was finally identified as the culprit several months later by foreign experts, only when her symptoms were translated into English and posted to the Internet by her friends from Peking University. Otherwise, she couldn't survive it." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

10.1.2 English was a ladder to success

For student and faculty interview participants, among dozens of compulsory school subjects, English was the only one that followed a person all along with their efforts of seeking a higher socioeconomic status. English would follow them from primary schools to middle schools, from colleges to graduate schools, and from entrance examinations to proficiency tests for higher professional titles. It had become so powerful and crucial that no one can extricate themselves from English unless they were willing to stay at the bottom of society and undertake low-end jobs. As the study participants noted:

"Because of the direct connection between English and upward mobility, English has been a decisive factor that determines a person's social status and fate. It will be an advantage for those who are good at English learning, but for those who are not, the consequence will be grave." (Interview with Faculty Member D, Nov. 13, 2018)

"Some of my classmates in senior middle school failed the National College Entrance Examination. They were excellent in all subjects but English. They had been struggling in English for years and couldn't find the way. Most of them ended up going to third-tier colleges or dropped out of schools and became migrant workers in factories." (Interview

with College Student E, 2018)

For student and faculty interview participants, the more education a person received, the more crucial English would become. For senior high school students who were not very good at English, they still had the chance to go to college because admission was based on their total score. But for college students who wanted to further their studies in graduate schools, they had to meet both the overall and individual minimum passing scores.

For college student participants, they had a deeper understanding of the significance of English learning if they had attended the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination. As one of the Graduate Students noted:

"For non-English-major college students, whether they can succeed in the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination largely depends on their English proficiency. Each year, a large number of students failed this examination not because they lacked solid professional knowledge in their fields, but because they could not reach the minimum passing score of English." (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

Each year after the postgraduate enrollment procedure was finished, there would be news reports of professors complaining that they couldn't enroll the best candidates because of English. According to those professors, some gifted applicants with high potentials in their fields were turned down because they failed to reach the national minimum passing score of English. At the same time, those who met the requirements were mediocre in their fields.

High English proficiency was not only an advantage in education but a valuable asset in employment. Due to the "mute/dumb English education," anyone excellent in English would make themselves tower over the others. Students in my study frequently stated the value of

English. One of them captured it as follows:

> "One of my English teachers constantly urged us to learn English well. He said the benefit of English learning could never be overstated. If your English is excellent, especially your spoken English, you will have numerous opportunities for a decent job. You can work as an English teacher teaching in public schools or private English training institutes. You can work as an interpreter in companies. Or you can start your own English training business. No other school subjects can offer you all those benefits." (Interview with College student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

When talked about the real examples of people benefiting from English, many of the study participants cited the successful stories of Yu Minhong and Li Yang. Both of them became millionaires thanks to business related to English, with the former being the founder of the New Oriental Education & Technology Group Inc. and the latter being the founder of Crazy English.

Another example mentioned by some of the study participants was the incredible story of Luo Yonghao. He dropped out in the second year of high school. Without any skills, he struggled to survive by doing various odd jobs. Then he decided to change his life situation by learning English. After several years of preparation, he was accepted as an English teacher in the New Oriental Education & Technology Group Inc. in Beijing, teaching GRE to college students. Based on the fame he gained through English teaching, he started his own business.

10.1.3 English was a window to a bigger world

For faculty and student interview participants, English learning was worthwhile not only because English was a required subject in high-stakes examinations, but because English

offered access to a new world that could not be reached otherwise. For them, learning English enabled them to learn western culture in its original form through reading English books and other materials. As the Faculty Member pointed out:

"English is like a pair of binoculars. It enables us to see scenery that cannot be reached through our own eyes." (Interview with Faculty Member F, Nov. 16, 2018)

"You can still live without learning English, but your world will be confined to a smaller place, and you will lose a valuable opportunity to communicate with people around the world." (Interview with Faculty Member E, Nov. 8, 2018)

For students who loved American culture, learning English enabled them to enjoy English films and TV series with their original soundtracks. As the College Students noted:

"English soundtracks were one of the most distinctive features of American movies and TV series. It's an enjoyment to watch them in their original forms." (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

"I love American films and TV series. I prefer the original soundtracks with English because watching dubbed foreign movies feel like eating steamed bread that has been chewed by others." (Interview with College Student D, Oct. 18, 2018)

10.1.4 Excellent English was a virtue

According to the student survey, most participants (84%) were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their English. Student interview participants expressed their frustrations with their low English proficiency after more than ten years of study: not only bad at spoken English, but poor at other skills, including listening, writing, translating, and reading. They wanted to

learn English well and admired those who spoke beautiful and excellent English. High proficiency in English was a virtue pursued by all of them. As one of the College Students noted:

"Because of my broken English, I greatly admire anyone proficient in English. They can communicate with foreign teachers freely and happily in the English Corner while I just stand there listening. It's an embarrassment." (Interview with College English A, Oct. 29, 2015)

10.1.5 English learning was more like a pain than a pleasure

Although student participants were aware of the importance of English learning and willing to learn it well, the student survey showed the majority of them (91%) thought English learning was more like a pain than a pleasure.

For student interview participants, their English learning experience was not a beautiful one. In their mind, English learning was equal to memorizing words, grammar points, and texts, and doing mechanical exercise. Their initial excitement of learning a new language went away quickly. As one of the College Students noted:

"Very often, I found English classes were torture to me. But I had no choice. I had to learn it to continue my study." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

For them, the beauty of the English language was destroyed by the test-oriented education system, which took English as a scientific subject like mathematics and physics and focused on standard answers to questions, being obsessed about mathematical precision and ignoring the vagueness of languages. The following was the response given by all student interview

participants:

> The researcher: How are you?

> Students: Fine, thank you. And you?

When the researcher asked them whether there were other variations except for this one, they said no and claimed that this was the only expression they learned from the textbook.

According to the interviews, the scientification and mechanicalization of English education not only stunted the growth of real English competence but killed their enthusiasm of English learning with rote memorization of new words and grammar points, and endless reciting texts and mock tests. As one of the College Students noted:

> "In middle school, we always took a lot of time fussing with trifle grammar points, trying to figure out why it should be so. In the end, we were told by our teacher that it was an idiomatic usage, and we just need to memorize it." (Interview with College Student B, Oct. 10, 2018)

10.1.6 English was not the blame for the decline of Chinese literacy

In recent years, the decline of overall Chinese literacy had become a public concern. Many people blame English, claiming it was English learning that took away students' time for Chinese education.

However, the faculty and student surveys showed that the majority of student participants (83%) and the majority of faculty participants (96%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with this criticism. For them, the decline of general Chinese literacy was the result of many factors, including the test-oriented education system, the rigid national curricula, the inflexible teaching

methods, and the digitalization of work and daily life. For them, English and Chinese were not mutually exclusive, and the two different languages could benefit each other. As the study participants noted:

"Chinese is our mother tongue. We use it all the time, from morning till night. It's in our blood. Our Chinese competence cannot be damaged by English. But, like the problems of English education, Chinese education is also test-oriented and focuses on test-taking skills rather than real language competence." (Interview with Faculty Member D, Nov. 13, 2018)

"English and Chinese are not arch enemies to each other. As far as I know, many well-known experts and professionals in the Republic of China were proficient in both Chinese and English. It's unlikely your English proficiency is very high if you are bad at Chinese. The more English you learn, the more deeply you will understand and appreciate the Chinese language and culture." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

10.1.7 The Significance of English education should not be judged on its immediate usefulness

According to the faculty and student surveys, all faculty members and the majority of students (94%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that "It's unreasonable to ask all students to learn English because many of them won't have the chance to use it in the future."

For faculty and student interview participants, this argument was untenable. If the value of knowledge was judged only on whether it would be used in one's work or daily life, most

school subjects they had learned were unnecessary except the basics. As the study participants noted:

"This idea is ridiculous. If we follow it, we don't need to learn many school subjects. It's useless to learn mathematics beyond the addition and subtraction within 100. It's enough for us to go shopping at the grocery store." (Interview with Faculty Member E, Nov. 8, 2018)

"Education is more than the learning of knowledge. It's about the development of outlooks, visions, logical thinking, and problem-solving abilities. If the value of a school subject is determined by its usefulness, you don't have to go to college. You can go to vocational schools to learn useful skills, like hairdressing, repairing, and cooking." (Interview with Faculty Member D, Nov. 13, 2018)

"Even though we are not required to use English in our work, it doesn't mean English is useless. At least we need it to help our children with their homework in the future. It will be an embarrassment if parents who graduate from colleges cannot tutor their kids in English." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

10.1.8 It was absurd to define English educators as accomplices of linguistic imperialism

According to Phillipson (1992), the spread of English is the imposition of English on local people by imperialist agencies like the British Council. English educators and professionals play an indispensable role in this malicious scheme, abetting imperialists to achieve their goals.

When this claim was presented to the faculty interview participants, it was denounced by all of them. For them, this allegation was invalid, and it was absurd to take English educators

as accomplices of linguistic imperialism. Although many countries and their people were compelled to learn English, their national sovereignty and personal free will enabled them to choose between accepting English and refusing it. Many countries and their people decided to embrace English not because they really loved English but because they might be substantially rewarded by English learning. As one of the Faculty Members noted:

"With the development of globalization, English has become a global language, rather than an exclusive language to certain countries. English is a precious and free commodity. There are always people who are eager to obtain it and benefit a lot from it. It's only your loss if you reject it." (Interview with Faculty Member C, Nov. 21, 2018)

Faculty interview participants emphasized that they strongly supported English education not only because they benefited from English, but because English education was a global trend due to the significance of English. English was not a sworn enemy of Chinese, and the English language and culture were worthy of learning. English spread should not be regarded as linguistic imperialism. As one of the Faculty Members noted:

"If the spread of English is defined as linguistic imperialism, then what should we call the efforts made by our government to promote Chinese education around the world through the establishment of Confucius Institutes? Are we also imperialists?" (Interview with Faculty Member E, Nov. 8, 2018)

10.1.9 The development of artificial intelligence and machine translation would not make English learning redundant.

In recent years, there was growing confidence among the public that the significant

progress in artificial intelligence and machine translation would make English learning redundant. However, according to the faculty and student surveys, the majority of student participants (79%) and the majority of faculty member participants (96%) didn't think it would.

For student and faculty interview participants, machine translation was far from perfect and trustworthy. Based on their experience of using machine translation or online translation, they pointed out that the only beauty of machine translation was the offering of professional vocabulary and terms, which spared them a lot of time and effort. But the grammar and sentence patterns looked odd. As the study participants noted:

"Machine translation is a very good tool for ordinary people with a limited vocabulary, but you cannot totally rely on it. You will be in big trouble if the translation is incorrect, and you didn't know it." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

"I think English education will remain necessary for the foreseeable future. Even though machine translation develops rapidly, it cannot guarantee 100% accuracy. You have to learn English to gain the faculty of judgment. Just like the self-driving technology. I will never take a self-driving car if I don't know how to drive. What should I do if there is an emergency?" (Interview with Faculty Member A, Nov. 2, 2018)

10.2 Language Policy/Planning and English Learning

LPP was supposed to play a critical role in people's English learning. However, surveys and interviews showed that the power of LPP was influenced by many factors, and students had contradictory feelings towards it.

10.2.1 College students' unfamiliarity with LPP

Although college students were primary stakeholders of LPP at the grass-root level, they had little knowledge of the term of LPP. According to the student survey, the majority of participants (84%) had never heard about the term of LPP, and nearly all of them (96%) had never participated in official surveys on LPP.

For student interview participants, LPP was an administrative affair undertaken by government officials from the Ministry of Education. As students, they had no right to participate in it. What they could do was following the policies made by the government. As one of the College Students noted:

> "I have never heard of the term of LPP before. I feel it's none of my business. Be a good student and work hard. Be obedient and do whatever my parents and teachers tell me to do. That's what I should do." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

10.2.2 LPP was a primary concern of college students

Although college student participants were not familiar with the term of LPP, they were aware of the power of LPP in their studies. They had witnessed several policy changes launched by central or provincial education departments while they were in primary or middle schools. Those policy changes were conducted in the name of "New Curriculum Reforms", and they consisted of reforms of curricula, textbooks, assessments, and even the National College Entrance of Examination. Those reforms were the focus of their concerns.

According to the student survey, about two-thirds of participants (63%) said they cared about foreign language education policy changes. For them, they concerned themselves with policy changes because LPP was highly connected with national and personal interests. LPP

played a critical role in their studies. As one of the College Students noted:

> "I care about the changes in educational policy because it will impact my learning. For example, when I was in middle school, I would only study subjects that were included in the curriculum and required by entrance exams. Books that interested me a lot but were regarded as irrelevant to exams would be kept for the future." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

For those who said they didn't care about the LPP, they claimed that it's not because they didn't pay any attention to it, but because their concerns were not taken into consideration by policymakers. As one of the Graduate Students noted:

> "I want to show my concerns to it, but the problem is my concerns don't matter. Just like the old saying goes: those who eat meat (the ruling class) will take charge of it, then, as a person who eats chaff (the ruled class), why do you want to get involved in it?" (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

10.2.3 The influence of LPP changed over time

According to the student survey, the absolute majority of participants (93%) said their English learning was influenced by the social context. For college students, any changes in LPP could impact the general English learning environment. As individuals, the broad social and political context was beyond their control, and they had to take different actions accordingly.

However, according to student interviews, the influence of LPP on their English learning changed over time. LPP played a more crucial role in primary and middle school students'

English learning than in college students.' As the College Students noted:

> "I knew nothing (about LPP) when I was little. I just learned whatever my teachers taught me in school." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

> "Suppose English is not required in the National College Entrance Examination, I probably will not learn it in high school. I will only focus on the required subjects. After all, being admitted to a prestigious university is the most important thing for me. But nowadays, tests play a less critical role in my English learning." (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

According to the student survey, the majority of participants (88%) said school education was their primary means to learn English before going to college. Only a small number of them (12%) said that they learned English through other ways, such as self-study, attending English training institutes, or hiring a private tutor. As one of the College Students noted:

> "When I was in middle school, only a few of my classmates attended extracurricular English training classes. Generally, they were students from affluent families or students struggling with English." (Interview with College English B, Oct. 10, 2018)

Due to the crucial role LPP played in primary and secondary English education, most student survey participants (75%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the proposal that English education in primary schools should be removed. For them, the removal of English education from the primary school curriculum would exert a profound impact not only on English education but on the whole society. As one of the Graduates noted:

> "It will put ordinary students at a disadvantage because not every family can afford or have the foresight to send their children to attend extracurricular English training classes.

It will increase the gap between the rich and the poor and aggravate social inequality."

(Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

10.2.4 College students' evolved views on LPP

For student interview participants, their attitudes towards LPP changed overtime. When they were in primary and middle school, their English study was mostly passive and test-oriented. Due to their lack of judgment and foresight, their English learning was sensitive to any changes in school curricula and testing policy.

However, as they grew older, especially when they were college juniors, seniors, or graduate students, their views on LPP changed. According to the student survey, nearly two-thirds of participants (59%) claimed that their English learning would not be impacted by the changes in foreign language education policy.

For those students, as they grew older and gained more personal experiences, they were increasingly aware of the critical role English had been playing in their efforts to change their socio-economic status. For them, the significance of English increased as they furthered their studies, and it's always a good thing to learn English well. As the student interview participants noted:

"The higher the social ladder a person climbs on, the more important English will become, and the less likely they will be impacted by policy changes." (Interview with Graduate Student B, Oct. 7, 2018)

"My teacher once said that English is like gold in a gold mine. Its value remains the same no matter what happens. You will lose your fortune if you stay away from it while

others are working hard to pan it. " (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018)

10.2.5 The marginalization of PETS (Public English Test System)

According to the student survey, the absolute majority of participants (91%) said they had not taken or had no plans to take PETS. The majority of them (82) even didn't know about PETS.

According to student interviews, although PETS was also a national standardized English test administered by the Ministry of Education, it was not a compulsory one with specific means of forcible execution. Unlike CET-4/6, PETS was not linked with universities' and students' interests through administrative orders issued by the authorities at every level. Besides, PETS was not widely known to and accepted by the public. It was reported that more than ten provinces had stopped administering PETS in their jurisdictions in the past few years. As one of the College Students noted:

"I know PETS, but I have no plan to take it. It is not well-known to the public, and many people don't hear about it. It's not widely accepted by employers. There is little use to take it." (Interview with College Student H, Oct. 26, 2018)

10.2.6 The procedure of LPP should be improved

According to the student survey, the majority of participants (85%) said the policymaking process should be improved. For interview participants, although policymaking was the official duty of the Ministry of Education, other stakeholders, including English professionals/experts, faculty members, teachers, and students should have the chance to participate. Before a

particular policy was made or changed, an extensive and in-depth grass-roots survey and data collection should be conducted to collect as much first-hand information as possible. As one of the College Students noted:

> "As students, we don't have the authority and expertise to make any policies, but leaders from education departments should come to the classrooms to listen to opinions of teachers and students at the grass-roots level." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

10.3 English Learning through Macroacquisition

According to the student survey and interviews, the communities where students were living and studying, including neighborhoods, schools, classrooms, dormitory rooms, study groups, and family backgrounds, also played a significant role in students' English learning.

10.3.1 Neighborhood and English learning

According to the student survey, the absolute majority of participants (98%) said their English learning was influenced by where they lived. This neighborhood included various communities, from cities to schools, classrooms, dormitory rooms, and families.

According to the student survey and interviews, students from cities started learning English in the 3rd or 1st year of primary school or even kindergarten. In contrast, students from rural areas began their English learning in the 1st year of junior middle school. This result was in line with the national policy issued by the Ministry of Education in 2001 stipulating that, from the fall semester of 2001-2002 academic year onward, English would be taught in the 3rd

or 1st grade, first in schools in cities and then in schools in other areas.

According to student interviews, people differed significantly on their experiences, perspectives, and visions of English learning based on whether they lived and studied: the coastal region or rural area, metropolises or small cities, prestigious or ordinary university. Compared with people in rural areas and small cities or towns, people in coastal areas and big cities enjoyed a better English learning environment. They had more resources and options to learn English, benefited more from English learning, and were more motivated to learn English. They would offer better conditions for their children. As one of Graduate Students noted:

"My uncle went to a prestigious university in Shanghai and stayed there after graduation. My cousin started learning English when she was three years old. Since first grade, she has been attending extracurricular English training classes. She said most of her friends and classmates had been taking English training classes since kindergarten, and many of them already had a vocabulary of 3,000 before entering primary schools. Participating in "overseas study-tours" during summer or winter vacations has become a fashion for them. Now she is attending an international high school where more than half the teachers were native English speakers, and their only goal is to study in the United States, UK, or Canada. People's goals and expectations differ significantly according to what kind of settings they are in." (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)

Even for students who came from rural areas or small towns but went to top universities in big cities, their perspectives and expectation of English learning would change and become distinct from their classmates who went to ordinary universities in inland areas or small towns. As one of the College Students noted:

"Some of my high school classmates went to universities in Beijing and Shanghai. For them, CET-4 was not a big issue. Most of them passed CET-6. Many of them also took IELTS or TOEFL, hoping to further their studies abroad or gain an advantage over other students in employment. That's the difference." (Interview with College Student E, Oct. 17, 2018)

10.3.2 Schools/classrooms and English learning

While in the same neighborhood, especially in the same schools or colleges, it was peers around them that exerted more influence on their English learning than others.

According to the student survey, the absolute majority of participants (97%) said their English learning was influenced by the people around them. For student interview participants, compared with influence coming from peers far away from them, influence coming from classmates or roommates close to them was direct and immediate. This influence was usually named as "校风和班风 (school/classroom learning atmosphere)," and it was a key indicator in school/college evaluation. As one of the Graduate Students noted:

"I think the secret of good schools is not only the highly-qualified teachers but the good learning atmosphere. People are easily assimilated into the surroundings. As the saying goes, "近朱者赤近墨者黑 (Literally, one who stays near vermilion gets stained red while one who stays near ink gets stained black, or if you lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas.)". That's why Mencius's mother moved three times to find the best place to raise her child. (Interview with Graduate Student A, Oct. 4, 2018)"

For student interview participants, the school/classroom learning atmosphere could

influence the rate of graduates being admitted to colleges or graduate schools. They noticed that each time after the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination was finished, there would be news reports covering incredible high percentages of graduate school admission of students in specific colleges or classes. Many colleges became well-known for this and were named as "考研基地 (supply base for graduate school candidates)," where the overall graduate school admission was as high as 60%. For some classes, the number could reach as high as 90%.

10.3.3 Dormitory rooms and English learning

According to student interviews, compared with schools and classrooms, dormitory rooms played a unique role in students' studies, including English learning. The number of students who shared the same dormitory room ranges from four to eight. Students in the same dormitory room usually stayed together for their whole college life. For many college students, they spent more time with their roommates than with their family members.

For those students, this closeness among students in the same dormitory room made dormitory room a unique community where the influence was direct, constant, and subtle. As one of the College Student noted:

> "I will feel guilty if my roommates are working hard while I'm sleeping or having fun. But if everybody else is playing, I feel relaxed and I will very likely to join them. It is the force of osmosis." (Interview with College Student G, Oct. 13, 2018)

They noticed that each year when the admission results of the National Postgraduate Entrance Examination was published, some dormitory rooms would be praised as "考研明星宿舍 (star dormitory rooms)," where all roommates were admitted to graduate schools. Their

achievements would be trumpeted by the university administration as proof of the university's excellent learning atmosphere.

Following is a picture showing a banner hung outside a residence hall at the New University, exclaiming that "It's unbelievable that all students in Room No.510 are admitted to graduate schools."

Picture 10.1 A banner celebrating the success of dormitory room No.510

(Source: http://www.sohu.com/a/228516672_147654)

10.3.4 Study groups and English learning

Study groups were small groups of people who regularly meet to study a particular field of knowledge, either in person or online. In China, study groups consist of traditional "English Corner" and newly-appeared online chat groups.

Emerged in the 1980s, "English Corner" had been a distinctive feature of English education in China. It was a place where people could talk with each other in English to practice their speaking skills. "English Corner" was usually held outdoors, on campuses, or in parks. It's free and open to the public. Most of the participants were college students, aiming to practice their spoken English.

According to the student survey, the majority of participants (87%) had ever taken part in "English Corner" or other English learning groups, and the majority of them (84%) said those forms of English learning was useful or very useful.

For student interview participants, the significance of "English Corner" was the learning environment it created for students to speak English without worrying about losing face. Due to shyness and the lack of practice, most of them felt unnatural and embarrassed to speak English in public. "English Corner" offered them a rare opportunity to open their mouth to talk with others in English after so many years of learning English in written forms. In "English Corner," everyone was supposed to speak English, and this ground rule compelled them to open their mouth and practice. As one of the College Students noted:

"We seldom talk with each other in English in our classroom or dormitory room. It sounds unnatural. We even use our local dialect rather than Mandarin Chinese in our dormitory to avoid the suspicion of showing off and try to integrate with others." (Interview with College Students C, Oct. 23, 2018)

Besides the "English Corner," some participants also mentioned the emergency of online chat groups as a new platform for them to learn and use English. Joining and following specially-designated English-learning WeChat public accounts or other online study groups was the mostly-used form. Others got chances to make friends with people around the world, even though access to the international community was limited.

10.3.5 Family background and English learning

For students who lived and studied in the same neighborhood, their family background

also played a significant role in their English learning. The student survey showed that the majority of participants (88%) said their English learning was influenced by family background.

For student interview participants, family backgrounds were not limited to financial situations; it included their social status, especially parents' education levels and occupations. Strong economic strength meant more resources and options, while social status meant better visions and perspectives. Parents who received higher education and worked as professionals or government officials tended to pay more attention to their children's English education. As one of the College Students noted:

"When I was in junior middle school, my desk-mate was the top student in English. Her mom was an English teacher at our school. She told me her mom was very strict with her study, especially her English study, asking her to learn English well. She said she began to study English since she was in kindergarten and going to extracurricular English training classes on weekends had been part of her life. She was the envy of us." (Interview with College Student C, Oct. 23, 2018)

Summary

For college students who participated in this study, English was important because it was a lingua franca, a ladder to success, a window to a bigger world, a personal virtue. English was not the blame for the decline of Chinese literacy. The significance of English education should not be judged on its immediate usefulness. The development of artificial intelligence and machine translation would not make English education redundant. But at the same time, English learning was more like a pain than a pleasure for them due to the problems of College

English education.

For those students, the neighborhood where they lived played a significant role in their English learning. English learning had become closely related to who you were and where you will go. Peers around them exerted a growing influence on each other in English learning.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

Based on the research findings presented in the previous four chapters, this chapter discusses those findings and their implications within the theoretical framework of macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017) and the notion of tests as de facto language policies (Shohamy, 2001, 2007).

11.1 The History of English Education in China was in line with the Development of World English

The review of history of English education in China demonstrates that English education in China was not an isolated phenomenon. Instead, it was a component of the development of World English as a lingua franca and a part of the general trend of English spread around the world along with the rising of Great Britain and the United States as economic, military, and cultural superpowers.

When English reached China in the early 17th century, it was the result of English dispersing from the UK to the world through migration, colonization, or trade. However, as a country with thousands of years of uninterrupted civilization, China exhibited many distinctive features: thousands of years of uninterrupted history, a powerful unified written language, splendid culture and civilization, well-established traditions, and deep-rooted belief of China being the "Celestial Empire."

Those unique sociopolitical conditions made the process of English spread in China slow

and full of challenges. English education met strong resistance from Chinese culture and the ruling class (Guo, 2017; Li, 2002). The strong opposition from Chinese culture and its deep-rooted sense of superiority contributed to the classification of China into the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1992), rather than the Outer Circle.

The role of historical and political events in the spread of English was summarized by Schneider (2007) as a dynamic process. It proved that sociolinguistic concepts like identity, language contact, and language evolution played a significant role in the development of World English.

Although English encountered strong resistance in the beginning, history showed that the spread of English in China was inevitable. This inevitability came from local people's will and agency to gain economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991), rather than the growing military, economic, cultural, and technological power behind the English language, mainly the United Kingdom and the United States.

Once the local people, either ordinary people or the ruling class, understood and benefited from English learning, they became the proponent of English education. During this process, people from the ruling class played a critical role in advocating the use of English.

After centuries of development, English firmly established its position as a required school subject in China and a useful tool employed by local people to change their socioeconomic status. Before 1949, enormous achievements had been made in English education, and English was the primary language of instruction in many schools and higher education institutions.

However, the momentum of English education was abruptly stopped due to the radical transformation of the sociopolitical system in China when the capitalist Republic of China was

replaced by the socialist People's Republic of China in 1949. English education was virtually suspended in the following three decades because of numerous sociopolitical movements.

Then, another drastic social transformation occurred in 1976 when China ended the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and reopened its door to the western world. The shift of focus from political movements to economic development, and the urgency of China catching up with the western world offered a good English education environment.

However, due to the deep and negative impacts of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," people were slow in responding to the change of foreign language education policies and the alteration of international and national situations. English education, especially College English, didn't develop as rapidly as it's expected and was far from satisfying the needs of China's economic development.

To change this situation and promote English education, series of foreign language education policies were made, including the initiation of CET-4/6 and the use of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy.

Thanks to those foreign language education policies, English education made great achievements in the following two decades, especially after China was admitted into WTO and won the bid for the Olympic Games in the early 2000s. English education reached a historical high when China successfully hosted the 29th Summer Olympic Games in 2008 and the 41st World Expo in 2010.

In 2010, China became the second-largest economy in the world, which was a significant event in China's history. The economic development brought about changes in people's perceptions of English and English education. After that, the focus of policymaking was

switched from pushing English education to promoting Chinese education both at home and abroad. Several policies or proposals had been made to "cool down" English education while "heat up" Chinese education.

The change of socioeconomic context, the increasingly negative impacts of CET-4/6 on the society, and the growing legal literacy among the public contributed to the drop of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy.

11.2 The Change of CET-4/6 as a Language Policy didn't Exert a Fundamental Impact on College English Teachers' Teaching because of the Fossilization of College English Education

The findings of this study showed the drop of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy didn't have a significant influence on College English teachers' teaching at New University.

Thanks to series of foreign language policies, including the CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy, College English education made great progress. Both universities and college students paid much attention to it. A specially-designated department was established to undertake College English education. College English was a compulsory course for all non-English-major students. Students had to pass CET-4/6 to get their degree diplomas.

Over the years, College English had conventionalized its ways of operations. On the one hand, the national College English Curricula guaranteed the prescribed requirements could be followed by all higher education institutions. But, on the other hand, the national College English Curricula restricted College English educators' autonomy in teaching.

College English had been fossilized in terms of teaching philosophy, teaching curricula,

teaching approaches, and teaching plans in the past four decades. The national College English Curriculum was so all-encompassing that everything connected with College English education was covered by it. Checking whether requirements prescribed by those curricula were fulfilled became a primary criterion for faculty members' appraisals.

Therefore, when CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy was dropped, it didn't exert a fundamental impact on College English teachers' teaching. They continued their College English teaching in the same way as they did in the past. Their personal interests, including salary and seeking of professional titles, were not impacted by the policy change.

The fossilization of College English education, together with the test-oriented education system, became the primary contributors to the criticism of College English education being "time-consuming but low-efficient," although this accusation was strongly denied by College English teachers.

The fossilized College English teaching, the lack of a clear teaching aim, the outdated textbooks, the unnecessary repetition of already learned knowledge, the low requirement of learning objectives, and College English teachers' poor teaching performance were the primary factors that disappointed college students and pushed them away from College English classes, which they had high expectations while in middle schools.

11.3 Language Learners' Free Will and Agency Played a Significant Role in English Learning

The finding of this study showed language learners' free will and agency played a critical role in English education in China.

Due to the unique features in the first three decades after the People's Republic of China was founded 1949, language learners had few chances to make their own decisions, including the learning of English. language learners were under the tight control of the government, and their fates were in the hands of others.

This situation was changed when the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was ended, and the society was brought back to normal. After that, language learners began enjoying more and more freedom, including the freedom to learn English. The benign sociopolitical context provided a good environment for the development of public and private English education.

Although language learners had to follow government policies and regulations on English education, they had more autonomy, and their free will and agency played an increasingly significant role in their English learning. Individuals could choose to give up English learning because it's hard to learn, or they could work hard and use English as a means to change their socioeconomic status. The free will and agency of individuals, together with their family backgrounds, prompted them to form different perceptions of English learning and make different decisions concerning English learning.

While some welcomed the proposals of reducing or removing English from public school education, others spent more resources to learn. While some parents send their children to attend traditional private English training institutes, others let their child participate in online one-on-one English conversations with native English speakers. While some parents send their children to attend international schools at home, others directly send their children abroad to study in English-speaking countries. Language learners' decisions on English learning not only influence the effectiveness of language policy but shape the future of English education.

As Burtt-Griffler points out, non-mother tongue English speakers are not "passive victims of Western ideological hegemony," but rather active actors with agency and will in the development of English as a world language (p. ix). They were "independent beings, capable of acting in their own best interests with regard to language use" (Davies, 1996, p. 248).

English as a world language is no longer the exclusive property of native speakers from the Inner Circle countries; instead, it can be owned by anyone who masters and uses the English language for various reasons (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, p. vii).

11.4 Language Learners Exerted Increasing Influences on Each Other's English Learning in Particular Communities

The findings of this study showed mutual influences among language learners in particular communities played an increasingly significant role in English learning.

Language learners were easily influenced by peers around them in the same neighborhood, the same school, the same classroom, and the same dormitory room. The unique environment in particular schools and classrooms were usually named as "校风和班风 (school/classroom learning atmosphere)," and it played a significant role in a person's study.

Those communities were the basis of social acquisition or Macroacquisition, "the acquisition of a second language by a speech community" and "a process of social second language acquisition, the embodiment of the process of language spread and change (Brutt-Griffler, p. 138). Within those communities, language learners' language learning is not confined to individual learners; instead, language learners can communicate with each other based on "*shared subjective knowledge*" (p. 142), no matter whether they are in a physical or

virtual boundary, have become the bases of English learning at the grassroots level.

Through macroacquisition, or the acquisition of a second language by a speech community, social and interactive networking is formed where language learners not only play an active role as agents in language learning but interact with each other and influence each other. Therefore, English is actively acquired by learners through social Second Language Acquisition, or Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002) to achieve personal goals.

11.5 The Power of Tests Relied on the Force of Government Authorities

The findings of this study showed the power of tests relied on the force of government authorities.

According to Shohamy (2001), it's not the quality of tests but the use of tests that matters the most. In practice, many tests, including language tests, are used by government and other institutions as powerful tools to manage, manipulate, or control society. As a key component of language policy, language tests are more than an instrument to check test-takers' language proficiency, many of them are "used as a means for policymaking and power control" (P. 97).

However, there were several types of tests. Whether a test could act as a de facto language policy depended on the authorities empowered by the government or other institutions. Although both CET-4/6 and PETS were national standardized English tests administered by the Ministry of Education, only CET-4/6 had been used as a powerful tool to manipulate the society while PETS had been marginalized.

In the first few years after CET-4/6 was initiated in the late 1980s, it was purely voluntary, and only tens of thousands of students volunteered to attend it each time. Then, from the early

1990s, the Ministry of Education identified CET-4/6 as a compulsory test for all non-English-major college students, claiming that it was a requirement stipulated by the National College Curriculum.

To push each college to implement this policy, the Ministry of Education linked CET-4/6 with college evaluation and listed the passing rate of CET-4/6 as a key indicator of national college evaluation. The result of assessments impacted each college's public image and reputation and its administrators' promotion.

As a result, nearly all colleges revised their university-level regulations of academic degrees, stipulating that all non-English-major students were required to pass CET-4 to obtain their degree diplomas. University administrators also linked CET-4/6 with students' other personal gains, including scholarships, honor, and the eligibility for an exemption from the National Graduate School Entrance Examination.

At the same time, CET-4/6 was also gradually accepted by employers as a means to check job candidates' English proficiency. Compare with end-of-term or other university-level English tests that didn't share the same rationale, CET-4/6 was mutually comparable, and its validity and reliability were much higher.

CET-4/6's popularity remained unchanged when PETS was initiated by the Ministry of Education in 1999. Compared with CET-4/6, PETS was voluntary and was not linked with college evaluation or students' personal gains. It's not widely known to the public. The registration rate and acceptability have been low until it's halted by many provinces since 2016.

11.6 The Effectiveness of LPP Was Weakened due to the Development of World English.

The findings of this study showed the effectiveness of LPP was weakened due to the development of World English.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the first and foremost goal of LPP is about social change (Cooper, 1989; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971; Tollefson, 1991), whether it intends to reconstruct the social system or retain the existing one. LPP is not an isolated issue; instead, it is closely related to politics, culture, and ideology. LPP can be implemented through various mechanisms, overt or covert (Shohamy, 2001), including explicit and official laws, regulations, administrative orders, and implicit and informal "de facto" language policies and practices.

Because of the government authorities at all levels, LPP is supposed to be fully implemented in every corner of society. This was true several decades ago in China when people's lives were tightly controlled by the government. However, the situation had been changed since the late 1970s. The effectiveness of LPP had been weakened by the development of World English.

While the development of globalization and informatization enabled people to communicate with others and learn about the outside world, the development of World English and its growing significance raise people's awareness and push language learners to learn English more actively. Besides, language learners were living in a relatively more favorable English learning environment, and they enjoyed more freedom to make their own decisions on English learning.

As a key component of politics, language policies were reflections of the will of the ruling class. Through the initiations and language policy changes, those in power could maximize their interests by manipulating and controlling the public, including keeping English out of the

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reach of the people at the bottom.

The impact of language policies on different groups of people varied considerably due to their family backgrounds. Wealthy people were mainly immune to language policy changes because they had resources and more options other than public school education. In contrast, poor people were vulnerable to any language policy changes due to their limited knowledge, visions, and financial resources. They struggled with their life, and their children's English learning was heavily dependent on public school education. Receiving higher education was their only chance to avoid ending up as migrant workers. But, since they were already at the bottom of society, their expectations were low.

Language learners from middle-class families were in an embarrassing situation. Being in the middle of the social ladder, they had to do their utmost to climb upwards or at least keep their current economic and sociopolitical status. Although they have more resources than those at the bottom, they don't enjoy the same power and privileges as those at the top. With an ever-increasing awareness of the importance of English learning, they tended to spend more resources on their children' English education. Their enthusiasm contributed to the booming of the private English training market.

11.7 The Paradox of LPP: Absoluteness and Arbitrariness

The review of the history of English education in China revealed contradictory features of LPP in China after 1949: absoluteness and arbitrariness.

On the one hand, the Chinese socialist sociopolitical system means the Party exercises overall and absolute leadership over the whole society, including the educational system.

Schools and colleges were more like administrative departments than academic institutions. All school principals, university presidents, college deans, department chairs, section directors, and other administrators held administrative ranks. They were appointed by and therefore responsible for their immediate superiors.

This "party-leads-all" principle and top-down management ensured that all policies issued by higher-level authorities would be fully implemented at a lower-level without any delays and doubts, no matter whether those policies were reasonable or not. All schools or colleges were required to follow the same provincial or national English curriculum, teaching syllabus, and textbooks, although the disparities among different regions and schools were enormous. This highly centralized and hierarchically-structured educational system explained the vicissitudes and capriciousness of English education in the last seven decades. It also explained why CET-4/6 could be used as a de facto language policy and became so powerful only a few years after it was initiated.

On the other hand, those unique features in the political and educational system resulted in the arbitrariness of LPP. Educational government officials did the foreign language education policymaking based more on preferences rather than professional knowledge. English education at each level was isolated and uncoordinated. This lack of systematicness and consistency in LPP was one of the roots resulting in the problems of English education in China.

Summary

The review of the history of English education in China and the findings of the study showed the history of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy was shaped by international and

national contexts. The change of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy didn't exert a fundamental impact on College English teachers' teaching because of the National College English Curricula and the fossilization of College English education in terms of teaching philosophy, teaching curricula, teaching approaches, and teaching plans. Language learners' free will and agency played a significant role in English learning, and language learner exerted increasing influences on each other's' English learning in particular communities. Although tests could be used as a de facto language policy, their power relied on the force of government authority. LPP in China was both absolute and arbitrary, and the effectiveness of LPP was weakened due to the development of World English.

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION

12.1 Reflections on China's English Education History

The development of English education in China is full of setbacks and challenges and is in line with the development of World English worldwide. As a key element of the social superstructure, English education is connected with Chinese sociopolitical, economic, and ideological context. It is determined and shaped by domestic social context and international situations. In return, English education also exerts considerable influences on the development of Chinese society.

The history of English education in China is the history of China in China is the history of China struggling to find its place in a fast-changing modern world where the old eastern Chinese Tributary System collapsed and the new Western Civilization System emerged. It's the history of China being wakened up from its "Celestial Empire" fantasy and being passively integrated into the international community. It's a history of China being gradually transformed, either passively or willingly from an imperial despotism to a relatively modern and enlightened republic.

As the most populous country and the only country with a thousands of years of uninterrupted civilization, China exhibits distinctive features in its politics, economy, culture, and ideology. Within this unique social context, both the status of English and foreign language education policy have undergone wide fluctuations and are still experiencing tremendous shifts in recent years.

On the one hand, Chinese ancient glories and the notion of the "Celestial Empire" fostered

a deep-rooted sense of superiority over other languages and cultures. Chinese people are proud of their language and culture. Chinese language and culture is supposed to be admired and learned by others, not the other way around. As a result, for a long time, learning foreign languages, especially English, had been denigrated as degrading and humiliating.

But on the other hand, due to the corrupt nature of imperial despotism, Chinese social system and ancient glories decayed and fell in the 19th century and China suffered a series of defeats and humiliations. Those humiliations became a contributing factor for the Qing Dynasty to finally accept English as a school subject and a useful tool to learn western science and technology in 1862.

Although Chinese people's sense of superiority and the concept of "Celestial Empire" were suppressed, it never dies out. In their deep heart, Chinese language and culture is the most civilized and beautiful. Other languages are mere "鸠舌之音 (sound of a bird)" (Zhong, 1985:89). That's why notions of "中学为体，西学为用(Chinese learning for essence, western learning for application)" and "师夷长技以制夷 (Learn western barbarians' skills to beat western barbarians)" became and still remain the underlying tenets for English education in China.

Therefore, when China became the second largest economy in the world, China was eager to reverse the trend of English mania. Great efforts have been made to rejuvenate Chinese ancient glories and series of proposal and policies have been made to "cool down" English education, "heat up" the Chinese language and culture education.

This international and national context is the background to the initiation of CET-4/6, CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy, and the removal of this policy.

12.2 Implications of the Study

The findings of this study will contribute to the literature on the spread of World English and the development of English education in China. It offers some suggestions for stakeholders of English education, especially College English, to make appropriate decisions concerning English teaching or learning.

12.2.1 Theoretical implication

The history of English education in China shows that English education is not an isolated event, but an integral part of the spread of World English.

Due to the military, economic, scientific, and cultural might coming from the United Kingdom and the United States, the development of English around the world has been an unstoppable trend and few countries can stay immune to the influence of English spread, including ancient China and socialist China in the first three decades after 1949.

Although English was imposed on people in some colonial countries or regions in the early stage, English quickly became a valuable asset pursued by individuals once the significance of English education was recognized by the government and the public, no matter what denigration and resistance English as a foreign language had been receiving.

When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, its full sovereignty enabled it to terminate the booming English education and switched to Russian education. However, history proved that the removal of English and the isolation from the western world were a calamity to the whole nation. The situation lasted for three decades until China reopened its door to the western world in the late 1970s. After that, the government resumed English

education and took a series of measures to promote it in the following decades without any eternal coercion or imposition.

Once the public awareness of the importance of learning English was roused, English learning became a social consensus. Influence among people in certain communities and neighborhoods play an increasingly critical role in English education, which is in line with the theory of Macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017). This acquisition of a second language among communities reduces the power of foreign language education policies and pushes people to make decisions that are inconsistent with national policies.

The history of English education in China also shows that foreign language education policy is not only determined by the characteristics of a society in its economy, politics, culture, ideology, education, and tradition, but is shaped by the world situation, especially the spread of World English.

Whether a country likes English or not, as a world language and a lingua franca of advanced science and technology, the significance of English is undeniable. The history of English education in China shows that when English education is appropriately employed, it promotes China's economic and social development. When English education was suppressed, it can cause damages to the nation.

12.2.2 Practical implications

The history of English education in China shows that, as a part of the political superstructure, LPP is built on the economic foundation. English education policy change is not the real solution to problems of English education in China, especially the imbalanced

English education between cities and rural areas.

Although a large number of government officials, experts, and ordinary people constantly propose that English should be removed from the National College Entrance Examination, claiming the English education quality in poor areas is low due to the enormous economic and educational disparity between different regions. It's unfair for students from impoverished neighborhoods or poor families to compete with peers from the affluent neighborhoods or rich families by the same criterion, this claim is untenable.

Due to the "urban-rural dual structure" and other sociopolitical reasons, the disparity between different neighborhoods, especially cities and rural areas are enormous. It is not only the quality of English education but the quality of the whole education that is low in impoverished neighborhoods. By their reasoning, it is not only English but all school subjects should be removed from the National College Entrance Examination and students should be admitted to colleges based on their backgrounds rather than test scores.

However, removing English from the National College Entrance Examination or lowering English education standards and requirements to cater the special needs of certain groups of students are not the real solution to this problem; on the contrary, it further put those people in a more disadvantaged situation, because employers usually select job candidates based on merits rather than family backgrounds. Schools and colleges can lower English education standards and requirements for their students, but the real demands for English work remain unchanged and will not be adjusted to meet special needs.

Therefore, the more permanent cure for this problem is to narrow the huge disparities between different regions and schools. More resources should be invested in impoverished

neighborhoods to boost their economy and strengthen their public school education, which is the only option for ordinary people to receive English and other subjects' education.

The findings of this research also shows that the bureaucracy-oriented and test-oriented education system, and the scientized and the mechanicalized English teaching philosophy and practice are the roots of English education being "time-consuming but low-efficient" in China.

Based on those findings, different measures could be taken to tackle those problems and make sure English education is in line with the world trend and China's development plans.

For policymakers, the whole English education system could be overhauled to make English education more coordinated and systematic. The procedure of LPP could be popularized among the public and all stakeholders of foreign language policies could be involved to understand their views and concerns. The discreet English education system and incompatible English tests could be integrated into a single consistent system.

For English educators, their philosophy and perception of English and English education could be improved. Measures could be taken to change the practice of teaching English as a scientific subject like mathematics and physics. The focus of education should be the cultivation of English learners' real English competence rather than the knowledge about English. From the very beginning, educators should expose English learners to as much comprehensible input (Krashen, 1977) as possible to increase their underlying linguistic competence.

For school and university administrators, excellent pronunciation and fluency could be a basic qualification for any candidates applying for English teaching positions. More pre-service and in-service training could be offered to their English teachers or faculty members to improve

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their teaching proficiency. More freedom could be offered to faculty members to conduct College English education reforms.

For English learners, it is advisable to be aware of the significance of English learning and avoid being misled by false claims that English is no longer important or English is useless because it is rarely used at work. Those claims are problematic if the world situation of English spread is taken into consideration. For a long time, the significance of English will remain the same no matter whether individual learners like it or not. For ordinary people, English learning is the most rewarding investment that can change a person's economic and sociopolitical status. There is no harm to learn a global language and a de facto lingua franca.

12.3 Limitations and Assumptions of the Study

This is a qualitative case study conducted in a single university in China. The data mainly come from surveys, interviews, class observations, historical documents, media reports, and online resources. This study assumes that all participants provided honest and complete answers to both questionnaire survey and interview questions based on their personal experience and understanding. It is also assumed that data coming from this sample university would provide valuable insights into what is happening to CET-4/6, College English education and foreign language education policy at a national level.

Since this is a case study research, this study inherently bears all the disadvantages that a case study usually has. First, case study usually produces huge amounts of data which is "too lengthy, too detailed, or too involved for busy policymakers and educators to read and use" (Merriam, 1998, p. 42); case study can either oversimplify or exaggerate a phenomenon,

leading the readers to misinterpret the findings of the research by taking the part of life as the whole(Guba & Lincoln, 1981); second, case study is disadvantaged by its total independence on the sensitivity and integrity of the researcher (Merriam, 1998), and therefore the quality of the study varies greatly among different researchers; third, case study is limited by its generalizability due to the subjectivity and bias of the researcher (Hamel, 1993).

As for this particular case study, the first limitation is representativeness. Only one university is selected for this study among 2956 colleges and universities in China, and this limits the generalizability of the findings of the study because there exist huge diversities among different neighborhoods and universities both in English education and in many other aspects. A single study can hardly depict the whole picture of English education and it just offers its share to the literature on CET-4/6, College English education and foreign language education policy in China.

The second limitation is the tendentious analysis of the data and findings. Due to the subjectivity and bias of the researcher, the design of the questionnaire survey and interview questions, the analysis of the data, the research findings, and the conclusion of the study may be partial or even biased.

12.4 Directions for Future Research

By making a detailed account of College English education and CET-4/6 and the impact of CET-4/6 as a de facto language policy on College English education, this qualitative case study contributes to the literature of English education in China within the context of World English and English spread through macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2016, 2017).

However, more areas remain to be explored through future research.

Firstly, comprehensive research on English education from 1912 to 1949 (the Republic of China), where English education reached an unprecedented high level and enormous achievements had been made, should be conducted. The focus of the research would be on the factors that contributed to the high effectiveness in English education and what lessons would be learned from it.

Secondly, longitudinal and experimental studies would be conducted in College English education to find out the most efficient teaching methods, including the full implementation of "teaching English in English" or taking English as the language of instruction for other subjects. English educators should have the discretion to conduct College English education reforms without worrying about the national College English Curriculum, CET-4/6 syllabus, and other requirements and restrictions.

Thirdly, more research could be conducted to find a balance between offering English learners enough comprehensible input (Krashen, 1976) to learn English well and limiting the teaching contents to prevent them from being "westernized". In what ways the dilemma the government is facing could be solved.

Finally, more research could be conducted to find out what kind of role the internet can play in English education. What challenges English educators would face in this fast-growing globalization and digitalization and what they could do to compete with this omnipotent rival.

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Dear Students,

I'm Jiang, Xiaojun. I'm working for my doctorate degree at the University at Buffalo, the State University of New York. My dissertation is on the impact of CET-4/6 on College English education. As part of the data I need to collect to finish my dissertation, this questionnaire survey is designed to explore college students' views on CET-4/6 and College English education. The questionnaire survey is designed by the researcher under the guidance of my advisor, Dr. Brutt-Griffler. There are no standard answers to each question. Please answer the questions based on your personal experience and understanding.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. You are encouraged to finish all the questions, but you're free to skip any questions. This is not an assessment on your learning performance or on your teachers' teaching evaluation. There is no connection between your participation and your final score of this course. Responses will not be reported individually. All the data will be kept in confidentiality and will only be used for my dissertation research.

Your participation is essential to this research study. If you have any questions or if you are interested in participating in the following interviews, please contact me. My email address is: 13503762783@163.com; QQ: 857271103; WeChat: 17167309564.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Section One: Demographic Information

1. 1. You are: Male (   ) Female (   )
2. You are: Freshman (   ) Sophomore (   ) Junior (   ) Senior (   ) Graduate (   )

Section Two: General English Study

1. When did you begin to study English?
   A. Kindergarten
   B. 1st year of primary school
   C. 3rd year of primary school
   D. 1st year of middle school
   E. Others
2. Is English learning
   A. A pain
   B. A pleasure
   C. More like a pain than a pleasure
   D. More like a pleasure than a pain
3. For the statement that "English is very important", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree.
4. China has become the second-largest economy in the world. Is it still necessary for Chinese

to learn English?
   A. Very necessary
   B. Necessary
   C. Not sure
   D. Unnecessary
   E. Very unnecessary
5. What's the primary means for you to learn English before going to college?
   A. School education
   B. Self-study
   C. Attending English training institutes
   D. Finding a private tutor
   E. Others (specify _____)
6. Are you satisfied with your English?
   A. Very satisfied
   B. Satisfied
   C. Not sure
   D. Dissatisfied
   E. Very Dissatisfied
7. Do you want to learn English well?
   A. Yes
   B. No
8. Have you ever attended extra-curricular English classes?
   A. Yes
   B. No
9. Will the development of artificial intelligence and machine translation make English learning redundant?
   A. Yes
   B. No
10. For the proposal that "English education should be removed from primary schools", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
11. For the proposal that "English should be removed from the National College Entrance Examination", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly Agree
12. For the proposal that "the weighting of English should be decreased and the weighting of China should be increased in the National College Entrance Examination", you
   A. Strongly disagree

  B. Disagree

  C. Not sure

  D. Agree

  E. Strongly agree

13. For the claim that "English is to blame for the decline of Chinese literacy", you

  A. Strongly disagree

  B. Disagree

  C. Not sure

  D. Agree

  E. Strongly agree

14. For the claim that "It's unreasonable to ask all students to learn English because many of them won't have the chance to use it in the future", you

  A. Strongly disagree

  B. Disagree

  C. Not sure

  D. Agree

  E. Strongly agree

15. Is your English learning influenced by family background?

  A. Yes

  B. No

16. Is your English learning influenced by people around you?

  A. Yes

  B. No

17. Is your English learning influenced by where you live?

  A. Yes

  B. No

18. Is your English learning influenced by the overall social environment?

  A. Yes

  B. No

Section Three: College English

1. Do you think it is necessary to continue English study in college?

  A. Yes

  B. No

2. Are there any differences between College English and middle school English?

  A. Yes

  B. No

3. Does the current College English education meet your expectation?

  A. Yes

  B. No

4. While in college, the primary motivation for you to continue English study is

  A. Initiative and agency

  B. Pressure from course credits

  C. Pressure from CET-4/6

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D. Pressure from the National Graduate School Entrance examination
E. E. Others (specify _____)

5. While in college, the average time you spend on English learning each day after classes:
    A. 0 minutes
    B. <30 minutes
    C. 30-60 minutes
    D. 1-2 hours
    E. 2-3 hours
    F. >3 hours

6. While in college, have you ever attended "English Corner" or other English study groups?
    A. Yes
    B. No

7. Is "English Corner" useful for English learning?
    A. Very Useful
    B. Useful
    C. Not Sure
    D. Useless
    E. Very useless

8. Which do you prefer as the language of instruction in College English classes?
    A. 100% English
    B. 100% Chinese
    C. English as the primary language and Chinese as a supplement
    D. Chinese as the primary language and English as a supplement
    E. E. Others (specify _____)

9. If possible, do you want part of College English classes to be taught by foreign teachers?
    A. Yes
    B. No

10. If College English is turned from compulsory to optional, will you select it as an elective course?
    A. Yes
    B. No

11. If College English is removed from the curriculum, will you continue to study English?
    A. Yes
    B. No

Section Four: CET-4/6

1. Have you ever taken or are you planning to take CET-4?
    A. Yes.
    B. No.

2. Do you know that CET-4 is no longer linked with degree diplomas?
    A. Yes
    B. No

3. Have you ever attended or will you attend extra-curricular English classes to pass CET-4?
    A. Yes
    B. No

4. Is CET-4 certificate a reliable indicator of a test-taker's real English proficiency?
   A. Yes
   B. No
5. Is it necessary to reform current CET-4/6?
   A. Yes
   B. No
6. CET-4/6 and IELTS/TOEFL, which is more reliable and valid?
   A. CET-4/6
   B. IELTS/TOEFL
7. For the proposal that "CET-4/6 should be terminated", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
8. Do you know about PETS (Public English Test System)?
   A. Yes
   B. No
9. Have you ever taken or are you planning to attend PETS?
   A. Yes
   B. No

Section Five: CET-4/6 and College English education

1. Is CET-4/6 mentioned or covered by your College English teachers?
   A. Yes
   B. No
2. Do you want CET-4/6 to be mentioned or covered by your College English teachers?
   A. Yes
   B. No
3. For the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diploma, you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
4. In the past few years, more and more colleges have discontinued the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas. For this change of policy, you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
5. Does the change of policy impact your English learning?
   A. Yes
   B. No

6. For the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being examination-oriented", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
7. For the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being 'time-consuming but low efficient'", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
8. If CET-4/6 is terminated, will it impact your English learning?
   A. Yes
   B. No

Section Six: Foreign Language Education Policy/Planning

1. Have you ever heard about the term of "National Foreign Language Policy/planning"?
   A. Yes
   B. No
2. Have you ever participated in foreign language education policy/planning?
   A. Yes
   B. No
3. For the claim that "The formulation, revision or revocation of any foreign language education policy/planning should solicit opinions of all the stake-holders, including students and their parents", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
4. Do you care about the changes of foreign language education policy/planning?
   A. Yes
   B. No
5. Is your English learning influenced by the changes of foreign language education policy/planning?
   A. Yes
   B. No
6. Do you think the formulation process of foreign language education policy/planning should be improved?
   A. Yes
   B. No

Dear Teachers,

I'm Jiang, Xiaojun. I'm working for my doctorate degree at the University at Buffalo, the State University of New York. My dissertation is on the impact of CET-4/6 on College English education. As part of the data I need to collect to finish my dissertation, this questionnaire survey is designed to explore faculty members' views on CET-4/6 and College English education. The questionnaire survey is designed by the researcher under the guidance of my advisor, Dr. Brutt-Griffler. There are no standard answers to each question. Please answer the questions based on your personal experience and understanding.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. You are encouraged to finish all the questions, but you're free to skip any questions. This is not an evaluation on your teaching performance. There is no connection between your participation and any kinds of appraisal. Responses will not be reported individually. All the data will be kept in confidentiality and will only be used for my dissertation research.

Your participation is essential to this research study. If you have any questions or if you are interested in participating in the following interviews, please contact me. My email address is: 13503762783@163.com; QQ: 857271103; WeChat: 17167309564.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Section One: Demographic Information

1. Gender: Male (   ) Female (   )
2. Degree: Bachelor (   ) Master (   ) Doctor (   )
3. Title: Teaching Assistant (   ) Lecturer (   ) Associate Professor (   ) Professor (   )

Section Two: General English Study

1. For the statement that "English is very important", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
2. China has become the second-largest economy in the world. Is it still necessary for Chinese to learn English?
   A. Very necessary
   B. Necessary
   C. Not sure
   D. Unnecessary
   E. Very unnecessary
3. For the proposal that "English education should be removed from primary schools", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
4. For the proposal that "English should be removed from the National College Entrance

Examination", you
A. Strongly disagree
B. Disagree
C. Not sure
D. Agree
E. Strongly Agree

5. For the proposal that "the weight of English should be decreased while the weight of Chinese increased in the National College Entrance Examination", you
A. Strongly disagree
B. Disagree
C. Not sure
D. Agree
E. Strongly Agree

6. For the claim that "English is to blame for the decline of Chinese literacy", you
A. Strongly disagree
B. Disagree
C. Not sure
D. Agree
E. Strongly Agree

7. For the claim that "English teachers are accomplices of Linguistic imperialism", you
A. Strongly disagree
B. Disagree
C. Not sure
D. Agree
E. Strongly Agree

8. For the claim that "It's unreasonable to ask all students to learn English because many of them won't have the chance to use it in the future", you
A. Strongly disagree
B. Disagree
C. Not sure
D. Agree
E. Strongly Agree

9. Is English study influenced by family background?
A. Yes
B. No

10. Will the development of artificial intelligence and machine translation make English learning redundant?
A. Yes
B. No

Section Three: College English

1. Do you think it is necessary to continue English study in college?
A. Yes
B. No

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2. For the claim that "College English is basically no different from high school English", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly Agree
3. For the claim that "College English is time-consuming but less-efficient", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly Agree
4. For the proposal that "College English should be overhauled", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly Agree
5. For the proposal that "College English should be replaced by Academic English", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly Agree
6. For the proposal that "College English should be outsourced to English training institutes", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly Agree
7. For the proposal that "College English should be turned from compulsory to optional", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly Agree
8. For the proposal that "College English should be removed from the Curriculum", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree

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E. Strongly Agree

Section Four: CET-4/6

1. Is CET-4/6 result a reliable indicator of a student's real English proficiency?
   A. Yes
   B. No
2. CET-4/6 and IELTS/TOEFL, which is more reliable and valid?
   A. CET-4/6
   B. IELTS/TOEFL
3. Is it necessary to reform current CET-4/6?
   A. Yes
   B. No
4. For the proposal that "CET-4/6 should be terminated", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
5. Do you know about PETS (Public English Test System)?
   A. Yes
   B. No

Section Five: CET-4/6 and College English education

1. For the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diploma, you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
2. In the past few years, more and more colleges have discontinued the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diplomas. For this change of policy, you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
3. Does the change of policy impact your English teaching?
   A. Yes
   B. No
4. For the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being examination-oriented", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree

5. For the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being 'time-consuming but low efficient'", you
   A. Strongly disagree.
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
6. If CET-4/6 is terminated, will it impact your English teaching?
   A. Yes
   B. No

Section Six: Foreign Language Education Policy/Planning

1. Have you ever heard about the term of "National Foreign Language Policy/planning"?
   A. Yes
   B. No
2. Have you ever participated in English language education policy/planning?
   A. Yes
   B. No
3. For the claim that "The formulation, revision or revocation of any foreign language education policy/planning should solicit opinions of all the stake-holders, including English educators", you
   A. Strongly disagree
   B. Disagree
   C. Not sure
   D. Agree
   E. Strongly agree
4. Do you care about the changes of foreign language education policy/planning?
   A. Yes
   B. No
5. Is your English teaching influenced by the changes of foreign language education policy/planning?
   A. Yes
   B. No
6. Do you think the formulation process of foreign language education policy/planning should be improved?
   A. Yes
   B. No

APPENDICE C: CET-4/6 Committee Member Interview Outline

As we know, College English Test is a national English test administered by the Ministry of Education in 1987 and 1989 respectively.

Could you talk about the historical background for the initiation of CET-4/6?

(What were the purposes of CET-4/6?)

(What was the nature of CET-4/6?)

(What was the relationship between CET-4/6 and College English education?)

Initially, CET-4/6 was optional. But few years, nearly all colleges and universities made it a required test, stipulating that all non-English-major students must take and pass the test as a precondition to receive their degree certificate upon graduation.

Why did universities make this policy?

As we know, during a news conference held in 2005, the spokesman for the Ministry of Education openly reiterate that the Ministry of Education has never issued such a policy, and the linkage between passing CET-4/6 and obtainment of graduate/degree certificate is only a school-level policy.

Do you know in what circumstance this announcement was made?

Could you talk about the positive and negative impacts of CET-4/6 on College English education?

Do you have any other ideas that you want to share with me about CET-4/6 and College English education?

APPENDICE D: University Administrator Interview Outline

As we know, College English Test is a national English test administered by the Ministry of Education in 1987 and 1989 respectively.
Could you talk about the administration history of CET-4/6 in our university?
When and why CET-4/6 was linked with students' degree certificate?

As we know, in 2008, our university dropped this policy.
Could you talk about the considerations behind this change?

According to your observations and knowledge, did this change of policy impact College English education? If yes, to what extent? In what ways? If no, why?

Our university doesn't allow first-year college students to take CET-4/6. Could you tell me the considerations behind this regulation?

How much autonomy a university has in terms of foreign language education policy-making?

Do you have any other ideas that you want to share with me about CET-4/6 and College English education?

Section One: General English Study

China has become the second-largest economy in the world. Is it still necessary for Chinese to learn English? Why?

Should English education be removed from primary schools? Why?

Should English be removed from the National College Entrance Examination? Why?

Is English the blame for the decline of Chinese literacy? Why?

According to the Linguistic Imperialism, English teachers are accomplices of Linguistic imperialism. What's your comment on this claim?

What's your comment on the claim that it's unreasonable to ask all students to learn English because many of them won't have the chance to use it in the future?

Is English study influenced by family background? In what ways?

Will the development of artificial intelligence and machine translation make English learning redundant? Why?

Section Two: College English

Is it necessary to continue English study in college? Why?

What's the difference between College English and high school English?

What's your comment on the claim that "College English is time-consuming but less-efficient"?

Should College English be reformed? In what ways?

Should College English be outsourced to English training institutes? Why?

Should College English be turned from compulsory to optional? Why?

Should College English be removed from the Curriculum? Why?

Section Three: CET-4/6

Is CET-4/6 result a reliable indicator of a student's real English proficiency? Why?

CET-4/6 and IELTS/TOEFL, which is more reliable and valid? Why?

Is it necessary to reform current CET-4/6? Why?

What's your comment on the proposal that "CET-4/6 should be terminated"?

How much do you know about PETS (Public English Test System)?

Section Four: CET-4/6 and College English education

What's your comment on the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diploma?

Our university dropped the policy in 2008. What's your comment on this policy change?

Does the change of policy impact your English teaching? In what ways?

What's your comment on the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being examination-oriented"?

What's your comment on the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being 'time-consuming but low-efficient'"?

If CET-4/6 is terminated, will it impact your English teaching? In what ways?

Section Five: Foreign Language Education Policy/Planning

Do you care about the changes of foreign language education policy/planning? Why?

Is your English teaching influenced by the changes of foreign language education policy/planning? Why?

Do you think the formulation process of foreign language education policy/planning should be improved? In what ways?

Do you have any other ideas that you want to share with me?

Section One: College English
What's the differences between College English classes and English training classes?
What's your comment on College English education?
What's your comment on the claim that "College English is time-consuming but less-efficient"?
What's your comment on the proposal that "College English should be outsourced to English training institutes"?
What's your comment on the proposal that "College English should be removed from the Curriculum"?
Why students still need to attend extracurricular English training classes even though universities offer them compulsory College English classes?

Section Two: CET-4/6
Is CET-4/6 result a reliable indicator of a student's real English proficiency? Why or why not?
CET-4/6 and IELTS/TOEFL, which is more reliable and valid? Why?
Is it necessary to reform current CET-4/6? Why or why not?
What's your comment on the proposal that "CET-4/6 should be terminated"?
How much do you know about PETS (Public English Test System)?

Section Three: CET-4/6 and College English education
What's your comment on the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diploma?
In the late 2000s, most universities removed the link between CET-4/6 and degree diploma. What's your comment on this policy change?
Does the change of policy impact English training institutes' business? In what ways?
What's your comment on the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being examination-oriented"?
What's your comment on the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being 'time-consuming but low-efficient'"?
Should CET-4/6 be terminated? Why or why not?

Do you have any other ideas that you want to share with me?

APPENDICE G: College Student Interview Outline

Section One: General English Study

Is English important? Why?

China has become the second-largest economy in the world. Is it still necessary for Chinese to learn English? Why?

Should English education be removed from primary schools? Why?

Should English be removed from the National College Entrance Examination? Why?

Is English the blame for the decline of Chinese literacy? Why?

What's your comment on the claim that it's unreasonable to ask all students to learn English because many of them won't have the chance to use it in the future?

Is English study influenced by family background? In what ways?

Is English study influenced by people around you? In what ways?

Is English study influence by where you live? In what ways?

Is your English learning influenced by the overall social environment? In what ways?

Will the development of artificial intelligence and machine translation make English learning redundant? Why?

Section Two: College English

Is it necessary to continue English study in college? Why?

What's the difference between College English and high school English?

Does the current College English education meet your expectation? In what ways?

Is "English Corner" useful for English learning? In what ways?

If College English is turned from compulsory to optional, will you select it as an elective course? Why?

If College English is removed from the curriculum, will you continue to study English? Why?

Section Three: CET-4/6

Have you ever taken or are you planning to take CET-4? Why?

Is CET-4/6 result a reliable indicator of a student's real English proficiency? Why?

CET-4/6 and IELTS/TOEFL, which is more reliable and valid? Why?

Is it necessary to reform current CET-4/6? Why?

What's your comment on the proposal that "CET-4/6 should be terminated"?

How much do you know about PETS (Public English Test System)?

Have you ever taken or are you planning to attend PETS? Why?

Section Four: CET-4/6 and College English education

Do you want CET-4/6 to be covered by your College English teachers? Why?

What's your comment on the policy of linking CET-4/6 with degree diploma?

Our university dropped the policy in 2008. What's your comment on this policy change?

Does the change of policy impact your English learning? In what ways?

What's your comment on the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being examination-oriented"?

What's your comment on the claim that "CET-4/6 is the blame for College English education being 'time-consuming but low-efficient'"?

If CET-4/6 is terminated, will it impact your English learning? In what ways?

Section Five: Foreign Language Education Policy/Planning
Do you care about the changes of foreign language education policy/planning? Why?
Is your English learning influenced by the changes of foreign language education policy/planning? Why?
Do you think the formulation process of foreign language education policy/planning should be improved? In what ways?

Do you have any other ideas that you want to share with me?