Xiao Long-Fu

Teaching English Cultural Background: Introducing the Target Culture into the Chinese Secondary School English Classes

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1. Introduction

The Cultural Peculiarity and the Relationship of Language and Culture

"By nature men are nearly alike; by practice they get to be wide apart' (Confucius) . . . People everywhere are impelled to satisfy certain basic needs such as for food and shelter, for love and affection, and for self-pride. Man has banded together to meet these needs. Predictably, different bands of people have developed different ways of doing so. An Eskimo might convey love and thoughtfulness to an elderly person by helping his friends and relatives hang him when he wishes to die; an American might manifest the same sentiment by attempting to prolong the life of an incurably sick elder in constant pain . . ." (Seelye, 1987, 29).

A similar idea is expressed by a pupil informant who cited a story from nowhere when responding to one of the questions on our questionnaire asking the informants to evaluate the importance of the teaching of culture in language learning. The story goes like this: when a large ship met with mishap and was about to go down, a lifeboat came quickly to its rescue. Seeing the situation, what the English said was "We must keep a stiff upper lip!"; the Americans said, "What a great experience!"; the Germans said, "This is the choice of life and death!", while the French said, "Look! What a romantic scene!" (My own translation).

In greeting routines, the Chinese people usually use the person's title, plus her/his family name if the person being greeted is one's senior, regardless of her/his age. For example, "Hello, Uncle Zhang! Hello, Mr/Miss/Ms Liu! (Mrs is rarely used in modern China). Hello, Principal Li! etc." It would be considered impolite to greet the person without using the person's title in the above cases. In English-speaking countries, people would use the person's first name in greeting regardless of the person's age or generation in most daily communication activities, for example, "Hello, Tom!" While in Finland, people would normally greet each other using neither the other's title nor both names, just saying "Terve!" "Huomenta!" The direct English translation would be "Hello!" "Good morning!" which might appear not to be very pleasant to the ears of the native speakers of English.

During the Qing Dynasty in China, as is revealed by literature, the Emperor had 3000 beautiful women at the back palace and a clear hierarchy of wife and concubines was formed. Thus, in Chinese language there exists a large vocabulary of empress and concubines such as "Huanghou" (Empress), "Huangguifei" (high-ranking imperial concubine), "Guifei" (highest-ranking imperial concubine), "Pin" (a concubine of an Emperor), "Guiren" (a woman attendant at court), etc. All these form part of the imperial court culture of the Chinese Qing Dynasty (1616-1911). While in England, a constitutional monarchy, there exists a clear hierarchy among the nobles, which forms its own peculiar title culture of nobility such as Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron etc.

The preference for different colours among different cultures is another example. According to Wu Guohua (1994), when Queen Elizabeth visited China in 1987, she wore a yellow dress, which might show a cultural awareness. This is because 'yellow' is the traditional colour of the Emperor and Empress of the past ages. Moreover, the significant lucky sign that symbolised this visit must be the date when the Queen arrived in China. It was the ninth of September (lunar month). According to the British newspaper *Today* (14/10/1987), the Queen chose this day to arrive in China, because the number '9' is a 'lucky' number in China.

In semantic terms, Chinese learners of English may feel puzzled over the words and expressions about the word, dog, such as "Gay dog", "lucky dog", "Top dog", "a jolly dog" etc., which carry very positive meanings because people in English-speaking countries think of dogs as their friends. While in the Chinese context, generally, a negative meaning is attached to the word as reflected by such words and expressions as "Zougou" (stooge), "Habagou" (sycophant), "Langxin Goufei" (rapacious as a wolf and savage as a cur), "Huqun Goudang" (a gang of scoundrels), "Gouzhang Renshi" (like a dog threatening people on the strength of its master's power, i.e. be a bully under the protection of a powerful person) and others.

Furthermore, "East wind", according to *Modern Chinese Dictionary* (1982), (1) refers to "spring wind", and (2) is linked to "revolutionary power"; while "West Wind" (1) refers to "autumn wind" and (2) is often linked to "decaying power". This is because there is usually wind from the east in spring in China. And to the

east of China is a sea. Owing to the effect of the warm current from the sea, the wind coming from the east is usually warm. Thus, it is common to hear such an expression as "East wind blows green the two sides of the Changjiang River". While there is usually more wind from the West or Northwest in winter, which is piercing cold, because of the cold current from Siberia. Thus, in Chinese people's mind, east wind symbolises warmth and indicates the coming of spring while west wind represents coldness and means the coming of winter.

However, on the contrary, west wind reminds the British people of the warmth because of the geographical location of the country. This cultural phenomenon is well expressed in many English poems and literary works, such as in "Ode to the West Wind", by Shelley (1792-1822). If a Chinese learner of English does not understand the relevant background information, it is very hard for her/him to get the relevant feeling about the expression and vice versa.

In English language, there is also such an expression as "as merry as a cricket/grig", which means very happy. However, in Chinese culture, crickets are a symbol of sorrow, worry and dreariness and appear as such in Chinese literary works throughout history.

All these illustrate that "Language is a social fact" (Halliday, 1978, 1). "Language is the mirror of thought (if only the distorting mirror) and both reflector and reflected are conventional" (Palmer, 1968, 8). "Language is deeply embedded in culture" (Rivers, 1968, 263). Language conveys culture and is part of a culture.

Similar expressions of the relationship of language and culture were made by an American Committee on Language and Culture in 1960: "(1) Language is a part of culture, and must be approached with the same attitudes that govern our approach to culture as a whole; (2) Language conveys culture, so that the language teacher is also of necessity a teacher of culture; (3) Language is itself subject to culturally conditioned attitudes and beliefs, which cannot be ignored in the language classroom" (Bishop, 1969, 29, cited in Stern, 1984, 251).

In the 1960s, several investigators tested the Whorfian hypothesis, which produced some conflicting results, while studying the different aspects of language that related to certain extralinguistic phenomena such as kinship terms, colour terms, and

modes of address in different cultures. Yet, according to Stern (1984, 206), the following three statements have been agreed upon as to the relationship of language and culture:

- 1. Languages primarily reflect rather than create sociocultural regularities in values and orientations. [Feminists and post-structuralists in particular would take issue with this].
- 2. Languages throughout the world share a far larger number of structural universals than has heretofore been recognised (Fishman, 1972, 155).
- 3. If we put aside the issue of 'what first causes what', we are left with the fascinating process of ongoing and intertwined conversation and interaction. In these processes languages and societal behaviour are equal partners rather than one or the other of them being 'boss' and 'giving orders' to the other (op. cit, 171).

In Stern's view, these studies are of crucial importance for language teaching and learning, and "they have led to the widespread conviction that the language learner should not only study the cultural context ('language And culture') but that he should be made aware of the interaction between language and culture ('language IN culture', 'culture IN language')" (Stern, 1984, 206). Language IN culture suggests language does more than reflect culture.

This relationship of language and culture is also clarified by Malinowski's recognition of four pragmatic functions of language use and the relationship between language use, context of situation, and culture that he observed in a primitive community. He was fully convinced that an understanding of the language was impossible unless one constantly relates it to the culture it was spoken within. Therefore, he forcefully argues that:

- 1. "Language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture, the tribal life and customs of the people, and . . . it cannot be explained without constant reference to these broader contexts of verbal utterance" (1923, 305).
- 2. "An utterance becomes only intelligible when it is placed within its *context of situation*, if I may be allowed to coin an expression which indicates on the one hand that the conception of *context* has to be broadened and on the other that the *situation* in which words are uttered can never be passed over as irrelevant to the linguistic expression" (op. cit., 306).

3. "The study of any language spoken by a people who live under conditions different from our own and possess a different culture must be carried out in conjunction with a study of their culture and of their environment" (loc. cit.) (Cited in Stern, 1984, 207-208).

The Significance of Teaching Culture in Language Teaching — Towards an Intercultural Understanding Dimension

The above examples illustrate that each culture/nation has its own unique cultural norms, which are nurtured and shared by its members within the community and manifested in terms of linguistic, paralinguistic and non-verbal forms. "Language is inseparable from culture. Thus, as learners learn about language they learn about culture and as they learn to use a new language they learn to communicate with other individuals from a new culture . . . Language pre-eminently embodies the values and meanings of a culture, refers to cultural artefacts and signals people's cultural identity" (Byram, 1989, 22). "The meanings of a particular language point to the culture of a particular social grouping, and analysis of those meanings - their comprehension by learners and other speakers – involves the analysis and comprehension of that culture" (Byram, 1989, 41). Therefore, to behave in a culturally appropriate manner, to understand the target people, and their way of life, and to gain successful intercultural communication, the concomitant target cultural references in terms of verbal and non-verbal forms to the language choices becomes a very important issue while teaching the foreign language.

Although the issue of integrating culture in language teaching remained an 'unstated aim' (Kelly, 1969, 378) and 'hidden curriculum' (Byram, 1989, 1) for various reasons in most of the foreign language teaching programmes the world over until the 1950s, the relationship of language and culture related to language teaching has long been recognised by many scholars, educators and teachers and culture has been included in practical language teaching in various ways. And since the 1950s and 1960s cultural aims have appeared in many official language teaching objectives in different parts of the world. And many scholars and educators began to deal with the problem seriously. For instance, the leading works on language teaching theory during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (Lado, 1957, Brooks, 1964, Rivers, 1968, Chastain, 1976) have all indicated

the importance of the teaching of culture while teaching the language to the effect that we are teaching meaningless syllables if we teach the language without teaching culture. This view of the importance of the teaching of culture in language teaching has also been taken up by some other scholars of the time such as Kelly (1969), and Seelye (1974).

Into the 1980s and the 1990s, the issue has been dealt with more systematically, scientifically and professionally by many scholars in the area such as Byram (1989, 1991a, 1991b, 1994, 1997), Seelye (1984), Kramsch (1991, 1993), Kaikkonen (1996, 1997) etc. In modern language teaching, for instance, Byram (1991) notes that two dimensions of teaching culture in language teaching have usually been approached. One is associated with teaching 'language for reading', the other is associated with the teaching of 'language for touring'. In teaching 'language for reading', according to Byram, learners learn to read and write a language and the cultural references associated therefore are confined to the studying of literature, philosophy and science produced by individuals in the society which spoke the language or at least used it for recording its achievements. Because of the lack of opportunity or intercultural interactions, the social function of language in direct verbal contact with members of other societies was not encouraged.

After the Second World War, the changes in the world brought about more opportunities for people of one society to travel to another. The social function of language was emphasised. Under the banner of Communicative Language Teaching, the language is mostly taught as 'language for touring'. In teaching the 'language for touring', according to Byram, learners are encouraged to learn by rote a large number of expressions or given situations, which are mostly those that might be encountered by a tourist and, therefore, by definition are seen from the foreigners' viewpoint. The process of further socialisation through the language is not usually developed, nor is reflection on one's own language and culture. As Byram (1991) maintains,

When language learning was related to study of intellectual artefacts, there was an assumption that such artefacts had, besides their specific historical meaning, a universal value which would lead to a better understanding of the self and the native society. This meant that it was above all in the detail of language and

meanings that the specificity of native language and culture was evident for reflection. Where language learning is dominated by its reference to tourism, there is considerable danger that reflection on self is subordinated to an assumption that the foreign language and culture is to be understood in relationship to the native, which in fact is taken for granted rather than held up for inspection . . . In both cases, however, the learner is taken to be more than sufficiently occupied with the study and acquisition of the structures and vocabulary of the language. (8-9)

Since the 1980s, especially the 1990s, not only the Europeans but also people from other continents have gained more opportunities to move across their borders to live or work in another neighbouring state and direct experience of another country for both many secondary school and university students, especially in Europe, is also available. The individual has to live or stay for one reason or another for a longer time in a culture different from her/his own and needs to understand, accept and cope with the ways of thinking and modes of behaviours of the target people. This in turn, in Byram's view, requires a change in language learning.

Thus, instead of teaching 'language for reading' or 'language for touring', Byram suggests that teachers should teach culture in language teaching for 'intercultural' understanding', which embraces both 'language for reading' and 'language for touring'. The learners' ultimate goal is to gain intercultural competence. To achieve this, according to Byram, "Learners should be encouraged to model themselves on the ethnographer: someone who learns language and culture as a whole in order to describe and understand the people in question. Rather than drawing on the products of ethnography and social anthropology – as is currently the case with sociology and history – teacher and learner should become acquainted with the procedures and process of this other discipline" (10).

Based on personal experiences, small scale case studies or large research projects, the teaching of culture in relation to language teaching has been discussed in great depth in the West since the 1980s and more areas within the issue have been explored.

The Situation of Language and Culture Teaching in China

Compared with that in most Western countries, foreign language teaching in China has been very traditional even till today.

Communicative Language Teaching was officially advocated in the early 1990s, but the theoretical understanding of the method is far from deep enough for it to be comfortably put into practice by the practitioners. Isolated discussions of the teaching of culture in language teaching started in the early 1980s and were encouraged by a few conferences on intercultural communication in the mid-1990s. Thereafter, several collections of papers were published themed intercultural communication: Intercultural around Communication – what it means to Chinese learners of English (Hu, ed., 1988), Language and Culture (Deng and Liu, eds., 1989), Culture and Communication (Hu, ed., 1994), Culture and Language eds., 1994), Aspects of Cross-cultural and Wu, (Wang Communication (Hu, ed., 1999). Furthermore, a number of articles were also published in various journals.

However, although the mentioned major publications and the discussion of the issue, undoubtedly, throw a great deal of light on the teaching of culture in language teaching in China, and a lot of work has been done so as to put the theory into practice, yet the limited amount of discussion remains at a very general level and seems to lack information. Even the understanding of the definition of culture is very confusing among some professionals and in some of the publications. For instance, the following quotations concerning the concept of culture are only some of the examples:

habits, rites and rituals and ways of living of two different peoples (what [a certain professor] called high culture)¹, it is inevitable to trace them to the philosophical foundation and national character or temperament, or deep culture. (Cited in Hu, ed., 1999, 55)

changes in the definition of culture by Western scholars and distinguished between the definition of culture with the material aspects and definition of culture excluding the material aspects. They may be called the culture in the broad sense (culture with capital C), as compared with the culture in the narrow sense (culture with a small letter c). (see Qi Yucun, 1994, p. 14) The concept of culture in intercultural communication studies, as I understand it from the reading of literature, is culture in its narrow sense. (Cited in Hu, ed., 1999, 58)

¹ My own emphasis.

If we put aside the issue of this author's understanding of the whole business of teaching culture and intercultural communication, it is obvious, if the writer cited correctly or understood the concerned text well enough, that the professor cited by the writer in the first quotation wrongly classified the customs and the way of living, etc. of a people, which are usually accepted as anthropological culture or small 'c' culture, into high culture. While the professor cited in the second quotation labelled the two types of culture the other way round.

Moreover, the issue linked to secondary school foreign language teaching is even less discussed. Although the cultural aims reappeared in the official national secondary school 1993-syllabuses, what has been understood about the issue seems not to be very well informed even by the policy-makers. All in all, the practical foreign language teaching at both school and university levels in China still follows, to the greatest extent, its traditional way of approaching the language in the classroom, largely ignoring its social and cultural context. Nonetheless, this is precisely the phenomenon existing in many current language teaching classrooms the world over. As a result, however partial or complete, breakdowns in intercultural communication and understanding among people of different nations frequently occur. The following example is just one of the many such phenomenon existing at least in many Chinese schools, universities and other fields, where foreign staff are employed, though this one was unluckily brought to court.

As is reported in an article "A Foreign Teacher's Teaching Is Not Very Effective, Is It Because of His Dereliction of Duty or Cultural Difference? - a school attempts to terminate the contract in advance with a foreign teacher and causes a lawsuit" (in *Qilu Evening Paper*, p. 8, 26/10/2000), a school in Qingdao, Shandong, thinks that the foreign teacher they employed did not take his teaching seriously, largely following his own free will and the school wants to end the contract with him two months early. The foreign teacher, nonetheless, thinks that his teaching is very flexible and his not being punctilious in teaching is a characteristic of his own culture. This dispute was finally brought to a local court of Qingdao.

According to the local court, Qingdao Hallmus (transliteration) School signed a one-year contract with Richard Bruce Callaghan, an

American, on 18th August 1998, which includes items such as salary, accommodation allowance and other welfare benefits. It is also stated that if the defendant is guilty of serious dereliction of duty or has moral problems, the contract will be terminated. Then the defendant was assigned to teach two classes of Oxford Business English at Huaxia School Branch. During the time, according to the school authorities and some teachers and students, the defendant did not put his heart into his teaching, did not carefully prepare his lessons, nor teach according to the teaching programme. His teaching is always away from the textbooks, following his own way. His teaching is not very effective. Therefore, the defendant was selected as "the most unpopular foreign teachers of the year" by his students.

Yet, the defendant thinks these accusations were not really a representation of the truth, arguing that his not being punctilious in teaching is a reflection of his own culture and the school should not be too overcritical. The reasons why the teaching results are not very satisfying are that he himself did not understand the Chinese language and the students' English is poor. There is no Chinese coaching in between. All of these led to the breakdowns in his communication with his students.

On 28th May 1999, the school informed the foreign teacher by e-mail of his being dismissed at the end of June.

However, the court ruled in favour of the foreign teacher that although the defendant's strong commitment to his Western free style of teaching ill suits the Chinese students, the defendant did not take account of the characteristics of Chinese students and taught them in accordance with their aptitude, all of which are considered as flaws in the defendant's teaching. However, these flaws are not serious enough to result in an early termination of contract according to the law. Moreover, the defendant is on the point of finishing his teaching contract. The case was ended by the ruling that the school pay the foreign teacher the remaining salary, the relevant welfare benefit, a one way air ticket to the United States and other fares.

Although the foreign teacher won the case, yet, it seems to be largely his lack of cultural awareness and intercultural competence that brought all these troubles upon him. This also echoes Byram's (1997) philosophy of intercultural communication and understanding, ". . . but this [communication] has be to understood as more than the exchange of information and sending messages . . .

Even the exchange of information is dependent upon understanding how what one says or writes will be perceived and interpreted in another cultural context; it depends on the ability to decentre and take up the perspective of the listener or reader . . . "(3). This provides the language profession the world over with an excellent example of the importance and necessity of cultural studies in foreign language education if we still cherish the hope of "a global village".

The Research Questions and the Components of the Study

Thus, based on my own experience of teaching English in a provincial key secondary school for quite some years and studying abroad for several years, and motivated by my studies in the Department of English, University of Tampere, the present study aims to find ways to improve the teaching of culture while teaching English in the Chinese educational culture in general, and in Chinese secondary schools in particular. However, the intention of this work is not to create new theories, because sophisticated theories already exist. What is lacking might be ways of combining them with practice in a given level of language teaching, improving it and making it a systematic and consistent practice.

Nonetheless, we are ready to challenge and remedy any existing ideas and practices necessary so that we can make those ideas and practices better suit the situation to which we apply them.

This thesis is made up of five major chapters (2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). The first four of these are, to a large extent, independent of one another. Nonetheless, they are linked to one another where it is possible. The issues are explored largely in their own right to provide background information for the central part of this work, Chapter 6, which combines the theories and information to be obtained from the West with the current practice in China and offers suggestions for how to implement the necessary changes in Chinese foreign language teaching classrooms.

Thus, in chapters 2 and 3, we will trace back respectively the history of teaching culture in language teaching from the early years down to the present day in both the Western context, where language teaching theory, practice and researches are always in the foremost of the language teaching reform and development, and the Chinese context to examine how the issue under discussion has been going

on throughout history and follow carefully the research work carried out in the area in both contexts in an attempt to draw a frame of theory and practice from the former and help to analyse and interpret those existing in the latter.

Although the way of presenting the development of the language teaching in both cases is somewhat conventional, yet we are to look at them from a 'new and fresh' perspective. And the purpose of presenting the Western tradition of language and culture teaching is twofold: (1) to obtain a frame of reference for the teaching of culture in language teaching in China in both theory and practice from those developed in the West, and (2) to offer the Chinese foreign language teachers and educators alike a concrete and specific picture of language teaching development in the West and the theories developed alongside each relevant period of language teaching history and bring them the latest research information so that they may have a better idea to follow in developing their own language and culture teaching practice or theories.

The purpose of presenting the history of the Chinese tradition of language teaching, the cultural teaching practice and the research work is also twofold: (1) to examine how the teaching of foreign languages in China was treated both socially and politically throughout history and how and to what extent the teaching of the target culture was integrated in their language teaching programme and the teaching materials as well. We hold the view that the overview of the foreign language teaching development in China is very necessary and crucial for this study. For we are talking about teaching culture in language teaching. If the teaching of a foreign language itself is not well treated or valued, the suggestion of any dimension of language teaching seems like a castle in the air. (2) At the same time the survey plays a similar role in that the Western scholars and educators who are interested in Chinese foreign language education might feel it a greater timely help to interpret the Chinese foreign language education development than some summarised statements. Valuable and insightful suggestions may come up from the Western scholars and researchers as to how to improve and bring the issue into the Chinese foreign language teaching. Evaluations can also be made as to whether our suggestions for integrating culture into language teaching are theoretically and technically feasible.

We will also offer the readers some brief introduction to the latest development of the issue in the fields of teaching Chinese to foreigners and teaching Chinese in China in order to help the readers to obtain a more complete picture of the issue in question in China.

Chapters 4 and 5 share similar features in that they explore and present some basic and authentic information about the teaching of English-language culture in China. To implement our overall aims of the study, to draw a frame of reference from the Western tradition towards the issue and put it into practice in the Chinese context, it is essential to chart Chinese attitudes towards teaching culture and analyse the textbooks. For the Chinese learners of English and their teachers are the immediate mediators of the language and culture in the classrooms, and textbooks in China in particular, and maybe elsewhere, too, are always perceived as the primary means for the teachers to present the pupils with cultural information.

To chart the Chinese attitudes towards the teaching of culture in teaching the language, we conducted a survey. The survey sample consists of several groups of informants. The data are to be analysed in detail in Chapter 4 to see what attitudes towards teaching cultural information in English classes exist among Chinese secondary school pupils, their teachers, and teacher-trainers.

In Chapter 5, the English textbooks currently in use in the Chinese secondary schools are to be analysed to see how much and to what extent cultural information is presented. However, to make the teaching of culture in language teaching a systematic and consistent practice, we firmly hold the view that an official place for the teaching of culture in language teaching has to be obtained in both the national language teaching syllabuses and the teaching materials. Thus, we also intend to suggest improving the teaching material content that can best systematically integrate culture into language teaching in the textbooks being used, if the current textbooks in use fail to do so. In order to add a historical dimension to this, we are to include in our analysis of the textbooks the ones used before the current ones, to see to some degree how textbook writing has been developed in the context of Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching.

In Chapter 6, based on our research findings and the discussions made so far, suggestions on what and how to teach the target culture in Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching

and proposals for implementing new approaches and methods and means of testing are to be made.

2. Historical Overview of the Western Tradition in Teaching Culture in Foreign Language Teaching and Learning, and Research in the Area

Over the centuries, many new ideas, theories, experiments, or debates concerning language teaching and the integration of culture have come up, and then been taken over later by others during the different periods of the history of foreign language teaching throughout the world, in an attempt to improve the existing language teaching methods, and to make the language teaching more effective. These changes have been a response to a number of factors: a constantly advancing society which creates new roles for language in society, the development of social sciences, and new objectives of language teaching. Therefore, language teachers during the different periods have been constantly encouraged to follow certain methods, methods that were created under various circumstances and for various purposes.

Ironically, "nobody really knows what is new or what is old in present-day language teaching procedures . . . In any case, much that is being claimed as revolutionary in this century is merely a rethinking and renaming of early ideas and procedures" (Kelly, 1969, ix). And again Kelly (1969) maintains, "the total corpus of ideas accessible to language teachers has not changed basically in 2000 years. What has been in constant change are the ways of building methods from them, and the part of the corpus that is accepted varies from generation to generation, as does the form in which the ideas present themselves" (368). This viewpoint is further supported by much the same statements made by Stern (1983):

The perspectives of language instruction have changed along with the role of languages in society and changes in the intellectual climate expressed by contemporary scholarship, which Kelly (1969) calls the 'parent sciences', and 'the critical sciences'. Language teaching is principally an art which through the ages has pursued three major objectives: social (language as a form of communication), artistic-literary (language as a vehicle for artistic creation and appreciation), and philosophical (linguistic analysis). Those broad aims have, in different periods in history, been emphasised to varying degrees. (81)

In the Classical Period, the Renaissance and Modern Age, for example, emphasis was laid on social objectives in language teaching, with a strong emphasis on communication, while in the Middle Ages and the Age of Reason, emphasis was laid on written and analytical skills. And with the development of modern sciences in recent years, the concept that the narrow linguistic notions of language that disregard the social and cultural context of language use and learning cannot be of much help to the effective language learning process, or its objective of intercultural communicative competence has been widely accepted and is gaining recognition world wide. Thus, the reason for the failure in intercultural communication and the frustration in language learning, to a great extent, is viewed to be cultural rather than linguistic in nature. And the demands for the integration of culture within the foreign language teaching, something which has been debated and emphasised at various times during the history of language teaching, have been increasingly felt, owing to the rapid overall development of the global society and social sciences.

Although the integration of culture in language teaching may seem to be a very implicit part in their language teaching theory, the literature reveals that early practitioners already approached the issue in various ways during the different periods of history, emphasising different aspects of the culture to be included in their teaching programme. Therefore, the main purpose of this chapter is to explore how the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching has played its part under various circumstances throughout the history of foreign language teaching in the West, and find out some generalisable patterns of teaching language and culture from the total corpus of ideas of language teaching in the area and make use of the relevant research findings in the Western context that might be applied to improve the present Chinese situation of teaching the language and culture.

Since we are talking about the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching, it is only reasonable to do it by placing the former in the context of the latter. Thus, we will first start with the examination of some of the major teaching methods developed in the teaching of foreign languages in the West since the early times to the present day as a key principle to interpret the foreign language teaching history of the West, and examine closely how the integration of culture has been included in each newly-created language teaching method by different periods of history.

2.1 What Is Culture?

To start with, it is very necessary to define our terminology clearly from the outset so that the readers may easily follow what we or others refer to or what the term includes when we talk about the teaching of culture in language teaching. And we will have to make it even more specific when we attempt to make it accessible to the actual Chinese secondary foreign language classroom teaching later in Chapter 6. This is because culture is so broad a concept that in its anthropological sense it embraces almost all aspects of human life. Moreover, this is also because the vast majority of our language teachers and professionals around the world, excluding the last one or two decades, were trained solely within either the traditional linguistic or literary disciplines, not any of the social sciences (for references, see Rivers, 1968, Chastain, 1976, Seelye, 1984, Byram, 1989, 1991, 1994) because language teaching during this time has been founded entirely on 'reading' or 'language for reading', to use Byram's term (1991a, 10).

Although defining the term 'culture' has always been a very difficult task, definitions of culture are many. Different scholars from different fields perceive it differently. Even within the same field of foreign language teaching, culture has been approached from a number of perspectives in relation to language teaching, though they mean roughly the same thing. For example, Huebener (1965) defines culture into three categories. For him, first, there stands the sociological or social sciences dimension of culture, which include the history, geography, economics and political development of a nation. Then there is the artistic dimension of culture, which consists of literature, music, art, etc. And finally there is the anthropological-oriented dimension of culture, which covers aspects such as the

behavioural patterns of the people, namely customs, daily life, standard of living, religion and so on (78).

However, the term 'culture' is generally regarded to be carrying two different meanings in our modern sense. One is the narrow definition of culture, referring to something artistic or academic. This category of culture can be further divided into 'high culture', referring to literature, history, geography, education, sciences, drama, music and so on, and 'popular culture', referring to entertainment and everyday pleasure for the mass. According to Chastain, this category of culture

focuses on the major products and contributions of a society in general or of outstanding individuals in that society. With this approach, often referred to as "large C culture", the students study the economic, social and political history and the great politicians, heroes, writers, artists, etc. of the country. Although inherently interesting in its own right to many teachers and students, materials of this type may not contribute significantly to the students' ability to function linguistically and socially in the contemporary culture nor to their intercultural understanding. (1976, 388)

The other is the broad definition of culture or anthropological definition of culture, referring to the way of life of a people, labelled 'small c culture', and containing the ways of thinking, habits, customs, traditions, etc. of a society. According to Chastain (1976, 388),

This definition of culture as the way people live is the one most commonly and most highly recommended as the basis for selecting cultural content for second-language classes. This definition encompasses the type of information that would seem to be of most interest and of most importance to the typical student enrolled in a second-language class.

In the following pages, we shall thus see how these two categories of culture have been emphasised and included in language teaching during different periods of history in the West.

2.2 The Teaching of Culture in Foreign Language Teaching in the Early Years (before the mid-eighteenth century)

"Language is the most typical, the most representative, and the most central element in any culture. Language and culture are not separable" (Brooks, 1964, 85). Thus, since the early years of language teaching, many language educators, teachers or theorists alike have stated time and again that an important purpose of language teaching was to learn about a country and its people, though it is a common conception to believe that language teaching during the early period or even the period dominated by the Grammar-translation Method and some others stressed the purely linguistic side only. But what some of the following early language teachers and textbook-writers did shows a clear parallel to what we moderns are arguing and practising today in the same area. For example, the use of dialogues, which was highlighted by the structuralists in the 1950s, had a long-established tradition in the teaching of spoken Latin in the Middle Ages. The daily life of the target culture was frequently depicted, which certainly involved the reflection of the cultural phenomena of the target people, to be exact, the culture of broad definition. Howatt gives an example of this:

The best-known example of a Latin-teaching dialogue, or colloquy, as they were usually called, is one by Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham, written in the eleventh century, before the Norman Conquest. The Latin text, which is accompanied by an interlinear translation in Anglo-Saxon, consists of a series of questions and answers relating to topics and activities of everyday rural life, farming, hunting, trading and so on. (1984, 5)

The first textbooks designed for teaching English as a foreign language prepared by William Caxton in 1483 are another good example. Caxton, according to Howatt (1984, 7), was a prominent figure of the English merchant community in Bruges where he spent much of his life. His experience in the textile trade in Flanders helped him to realise the promising market for English. With an emphasis on the commercial needs of his learners, his textbooks seem to develop what we call today communicative competence. As Howatt (1984) observes:

The Caxton manual follows the tradition of the older *maniéres* except that, unlike them, it is bilingual and severely practical in its aims and contains no linguistic information about either French and English. It opens with a set of customary greetings: 'Syre, god you kepe! . . . I haue not seen you in longe tyme . . . Syre, gramercy of your courtoys (courteous) wordes and of your good wyll', and so on. It then moves on to very simple texts which are designed to introduce useful vocabulary for household equipment ('ketellis, pannes, basyns'), servants, family relationships, etc. A shopping dialogue follows with lists of words for meat, birds, fish, fruit, herbs, etc. and a very detailed dialogue on the buying and selling of textiles of various kinds, mainly wool but also hides, skins, and other materials . . . After a dialogue about finding and paying for lodgings, the book ends with a short prayer that it will enlighten the hearts of its readers. (7)

Those dialogues with a clear situational background, which was a popular form in language teaching of the mid-20th century, were also used by many others (e.g. Gabrie Meurier (1533) and Holyband, Jacques Bellot and John Florio, another three teachers of the 16th century. For detailed reference, see Howatt, 1984, 17). Howatt notes that:

Bellot's dialogues have a domestic setting with a strong emphasis on shopping. His characters visit the poulterer, the costermonger, the draper, the fishmonger, and the butcher in a lengthy sequence of shop scenes in the middle of the book, which follows more or less the sequence of a single day. It begins with getting up in the morning and seeing the children to school. Then comes the shopping and, in the evening, friends call in for dinner, and the conversation gets round to their present depressing predicament . . . (1984, 17)

John Florio (c.1553-1625) made a living by tutoring in Italian, a very popular language among the cultured aristocracy of the time. His textbooks, *First Fruits* (1578) and *Second Fruits* (1591), according to Howatt (1984), suited his students' interests and tastes very well, which, we may say, reflected a clear sociocultural dimension of language teaching, especially in the teaching of dialogues. Howatt (1984) notes of the two series:

They consist of Italian and English dialogues, some of which are quite long and discursive, dealing with the topics of artistic and intellectual interest. There are no commercial texts, though he does find room for everyday phrases and practical language of the 'Grand Tour': finding the way, arranging accommodation, dealing with landlords, etc. He also includes some interesting dialogues that explore different modes of address: how to talk to a gentleman, a lady, a servant, and so on. (26)

What Florio was doing here seems to construct a functional syllabus and suggests a communicative approach to language teaching, which clearly involves the integration of the teaching of culture, the culture of small 'c', though these early practitioners might not be able to get theoretical support for, nor realise this aspect of the work.

And similarly, in *The Schoolmaster* (Roger Asham, 1570), "Culture and sensibility, derived from close familiarity with the great literature of the ancient world, received considerable attention, and also what he calls 'eloquence', which implies a more subtle and complex control of the use of language than mere 'public speaking' in the modern sense' (Howatt, 1984, 33).

And a similar viewpoint towards foreign language teaching can also be interpreted in the work of John Amos Comenius of the early seventeenth century. As Howatt (1984) notes: "Comenius had argued that grammars were either long and tedious or short and confusing, and useless either way. In addition, they were by definition imperfect since language was in a state of constant flux and change, from one regional dialect to another, and from one year to another over both space and time" (1984, 35). This concern for dialectal variation over both space and time which we now call the sociolinguistic dimension of language teaching is really a sign of cultural identity which people meet daily in their life. People use language variation in varying degrees of self-awareness to signal their social or national identity, as to wear a particular article of clothing is to make a statement about clothing which has connotations of personal, social and surely on many an occasion, political attitudes.

In addition, many other means were also employed to teach culture while teaching the foreign languages during this period of time, though the phenomenon may be only implicit in these early practitioners' recognition of the relationship of language and culture

and their understanding that cultural teaching is an necessary integral part of the language teaching programme. However, according to Kelly (1969),

Music and songs became an integral part of language teaching during the Middle Ages. The first introduction to Latin was given to most pupils in the 'song school', or school of liturgical music. After the rhythm and flow of the language had been drilled by plain chant, which was based solidly on speech rhythms, the pupil began the formal study of Latin. From a rather ambiguous reference to *nenia* in the *Fecundia ratis* it seems that songs were occasionally used in the secular classroom. One of the most popular songs came out of Clenardus's school at Braga. According to his own account, this song which dealt with greetings was originally a dialogue taught as such in the school. (99-100)

A logical extension of the use of songs was the introduction of drama, as Kelly notes:

Drama, because of the classical prejudice against actors, is not mentioned until the eleventh century, reaching the height of its popularity during the Renaissance. Plays have been employed to teach skill in language only since the Middle Ages. Classical drama formed an integral part of the Renaissance classics curricula. In England several who founded grammar schools specified that a classical play should be performed every year; and on the continent, where Catholics were teaching in Protestant schools and vice versa, the religious climate excluded contemporary religious plays, so the classical repertoire was used extensively. (1969, 123)

As to reading, the modern distinction has been made in terms of Intensive Reading and Extensive Reading. In Intensive Reading, details of language skills are usually carefully examined, while Extensive Reading aims at ideas rather than grammatical structures. A cultural approach to language teaching in those two areas is also clarified by Kelly (1969):

Intensive reading, and its French equivalent, *lecture expliquee*, are derived from the classical exercise of *praelectio*, which was still in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the late Middle Ages, this was linked with translation by the development of "construing", which consisted in dismembering the sentences,

describing the grammatical function of each of its parts, and linking them with vernacular equivalents. The exercise had relevance in teaching the cultural facts of the foreign language, as some of the comment dealt with literary and social topics. (132)

The other aspect of the matter is demonstrated clearly by a quotation from a teacher in the late nineteenth century, de Brisay.

The Latin sentence does not need to be dissected; it is more beautiful and more logical as it stands. If it seems awkward and unintelligible to our young students in its natural form, that is because his modern mind has only been accustomed to think in the narrow and inflexible English mould. What he must do is to free himself from his fixed habits. (de Brisay, 1897, 14, cited in Kelly, 1969, 150)

It is obvious that what Brisay suggests here is the implication of the cultural approach to the problem of extensive reading so as to absorb the ideas and gain a full understanding of the reading. In Kelly's view, "This quotation illustrates one constant that can be found in discussion of extensive reading from the medieval scholiasts: that it should be part of the introduction to the foreign culture" (1969, 150).

Another tendency towards a cultural dimension of language teaching during the time is demonstrated by the selection of vocabularies for the teaching materials. According to Kelly (1969), vocabularies in the teaching materials of the seventeenth century were classified under the subject headings according to the necessity of daily life. In the grammars of the eighteenth century, utility or necessity was the most important criterion in selecting items for vocabularies, showing a clear pragmatic-orientated dimension of language teaching.

In addition, the exchange of university students as part of the language teaching programme is another such example, which certainly involves cultural studies. This seems to be a rather modern phenomenon, suggesting our modern idea of "twinned cities", which provide people with the opportunity to enter into the target community life. As Kelly (1969) maintains:

Travel has always been the most widely recommended method of adding a polish to linguistic knowledge. The custom spans two

thousand years from the great schools of Athens, which received Roman boys on the threshold of a public career, to the modern graduate student, who very often, studies in a foreign language university. This reached its peak during the Middle Ages, when the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris were truly international societies, with all the teaching in Latin. (295)

Although the language teaching objectives during this time have not always included an overt cultural dimension, practitioners, as the above examples show, have related the language being taught and the culture and society in various ways. As Kelly (1969, 379) recognises, "Under the name of 'antiquities' it was an essential part of the classics course . . . The traditional classics course includes a thorough treatment of both history and geography of the Roman Empire and an account of daily life in classical times, in other words, a full area program subordinated to the literary and linguistic content". And Kelly continues:

Whereas the 'construe' continued the grammatical tradition of the Middle Ages, its techniques of literary comment were perpetuated in countries of French tradition by *lecture expliquee*. This exercise, while not neglecting grammatical and lexical knowledge, concentrated on the literary values of *praelectio*. It assumed ability to translate and a good knowledge of grammar. It was intended to instil sensitivity to the stylistic and literary conventions of the foreign language, and in the hands of most teachers it became a rigorous introduction to the life and thought of the other culture. (135)

These early examples of the social-dimension of foreign language teaching, among many others, provide us with evidence that the fact that language is deeply embedded in a culture, and every language is part of a culture, has been unconsciously understood though not always recognised. The cultural aims based on a primarily close knowledge of everyday life, literature and history has had a long tradition stretching back to the early years of language teaching. Many practitioners in many cases, as has been shown, accepted 'culture' as a broadly defined concept in their language teaching, although for much of the language teaching profession, culture has been understood primarily as the fine arts and history, and included as such in language teaching. Therefore, it would be

unfair to claim that the early language teaching lost sight of the teaching of culture and that the inclusion of culture in language teaching is a modern revolution only. It is likewise unfair to claim that early thinking of relating language and culture is confined to historical studies or philosophy only. Owing to the innate relationship of language and culture, it is just impossible to avoid teaching the culture while teaching the language.

2.3 The Grammar-Translation Method

As a means of language teaching, the application of translation can be traced back thousands of years to the teaching of Greek and Latin, "but the regular combination of grammar rules with translation into the target language as the principal practice technique became popular only in the late eighteenth century" (Stern, 1983, 453).

In the Middle Ages, Latin was the language used for education, a language of administration, and the lingua franca of both scholarship and Christendom. Thus, the fact that in the Middle Ages Latin was used as an international language is self-evident.

As a language of scholarship and administration, Latin remained very important until well into the seventeenth century. For example, in 1651 John Milton published Defensio pro populo anglicano in which he defended the execution of Charles I, writing in Latin so the whole of Europe could read what he wrote. This use of Latin as a lingua franca also has an effect on the cultural aspect of language teaching. And until the eighteenth century the usual language through which other languages were taught was Latin. Even during the twentieth century, according to Kelly (1969), there were a few Greek grammars published with the explanations in Latin. Although Latin teaching during the Middle Ages was very formal, spoken language was not yet totally ignored. As we noted earlier, the teaching of Latin dialogue or colloquy is a good example of this on one hand, and of the inclusion of the teaching of culture on the other. Therefore, the fact that Latin was required for oral communication among scholars and as the medium of instruction was also self-evident.

However, in practical teaching, especially when Latin was no longer learned as a language for communication among scholars, a more formal approach gradually dominated the teaching practice, emphasising the study of language form and knowledge. The learning of rules and their application in every detail became the chief concern, though, as is noted earlier, the inclusion of culture was constantly involved. The main objective of learning Latin and Greek as well during this time was intended to be the cultivation of people and "the key to the thought and literature of a great and ancient civilisation" (Rivers, 1968, 15). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries modern languages such as English and French began to be taught at schools, and the model was simply transferred from the teaching of Latin and Greek.

As literature reveals, "the history of language teaching is dominated by translation which, at certain times, has even driven reading and composition from the classroom" (Kelly, 1969,171). In the nineteenth century, down to even the present-day, language teachers generally viewed translation as the only reliable method to transmit meaning. The method cannot be traced back to any particular scholar or teacher. Yet there is no doubt that it originated in the formal teaching of Latin and Greek in Europe over many centuries. And into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries this method was also applied to the teaching of modern languages. The main purpose employed by this method, as the development of the society required, was to prepare the learner for an in depth study and appreciation of the great literature in Latin and Greek, through a detailed analysis of the grammar rules of the foreign language and translation from and into the target language.

During the development of this method, several labels were given to it such as: the Grammar-Translation Method; the Grammar Method; the Traditional Method; the Classical Method and the Old Method. Although the method carried the names of different descriptions it remained essentially the same despite all apparent changes. It simply means to teach a foreign language with the help of the native language. However, the method, according to Rivers (1968), Chastain (1976) and Omaggio (1986) among others, has the following characteristics in its strongest version:

1. Students first learn the rules of grammar and bilingual lists of vocabulary pertaining to the reading or readings of lessons. Grammar was learned deductively by means of long and elaborate explanations. All rules were learned with their exceptions and irregularities explained in grammatical terms.

- 2. Once rules and vocabulary were learned, prescriptions for translating the exercises that followed the grammar explanations were given.
- 3. Comprehension of the rules and readings was tested via translation (target language into native language and vice versa). Students had learned the language if they could translate the passage well.
- 4. The native and the target languages were constantly compared. The goal of instruction was to convert L1 into L2, and vice versa, using a dictionary if necessary.
- 5. There were very few opportunities for listening and speaking practice (with the exception of reading passages and sentences aloud). Since the method concentrated on reading and translation exercises, much of the class time was devoted to talking about the language; virtually no time was spent talking in the language.

The main drawbacks of this method from the perspective of modern educators or teachers, such as Rivers (1968, 55), are that little emphasis is laid on speaking practice and thus communication skills are neglected. Too much emphasis is laid on learning rules and exceptions, some of which may be rare, old-fashioned or have little or no pragmatic value. Most students have to work hard at the endless written exercises, which they consider tedious and laborious. The role of the students in the classroom is mostly a passive one.

However, every method in language teaching is a product of its times and also a reflection of the requirements the society imposed upon the language teaching at that time. The method per se concerns itself primarily with the written language of classical literature and analyses different types of sentences, different parts of speech. And, as Rivers (1968) and Omaggio (1986) among others argue critically, it ignores 'authentic' spoken communication and the social language variation and offers no concern for the teaching of cultural awareness, at least on an everyday level. Yet, a close examination of the technical characteristics illustrated by the method reveals one of the most interesting facets of social consciousness in language teaching, although it may have been very vague in the minds of many practitioners of that time. In fact, despite what Omaggio and Rivers argue, The Grammar-Translation Method was perhaps forced into a somewhat unconscious relationship with the cultural dimensions of language, because it constantly involved the comparison of the two languages through translation. It was forced

to recognise that language is a social phenomenon, a means of communicating thought, an aspect of human behaviour, a rulegoverned system, a mirror of thought; it implicitly recognised that language is closely interwoven with every aspect of culture; and, in fact, that language is also culture. We might even argue that the Grammar-translation Method came close to a belief in one of the statements expressed by several investigators who have tested the Whorfian hypothesis, "Languages primarily reflect rather than create sociocultural regularities in values and orientation" (cited in Stern, 1983, 206). The culture involved here, though, is mostly a traditional one, referring to the high arts of a country, which may not contribute significantly to the students' ability to function linguistically and socially while facing a foreign reality in daily social interaction, nor to a full understanding of the foreign people. That is why, according to Kelly (1969), Kappert (1915), a Direct Methodist, strongly complained about the Grammar-Translation Method, saying that by such a method the pupils did not get a clear picture of the foreign reality.

Nonetheless, such a criticism might not be very fair. As we argued, every method is a product of its time, which may impose new roles upon the language being used. In the case of the Grammar-Translation Method, this may simply be due not only to the fact that social sciences did not exist or were in their infancy, but more especially that there was not much face-to-face personal interaction between peoples of various cultures chiefly because the world economic situation was very primitive indeed then. All of these provide the most important prerequisites for a sociocultural dimension of language teaching. And it was only the social elite and the rich who were expected to acquire foreign language skills at the time. Thus, the purpose of mastering a foreign language (i.e. Latin or Greek) during this period was largely literary rather than pragmatic.

Therefore, we may say that the method well matched the requirement of the role of the language in society then. And the teaching of culture in language teaching presented in the Translation Method is clear. Besides, at the advanced stage, culture of narrow definition was clearly integrated. Otherwise it is impossible to explain that the purpose of the foreign language teaching conveyed by the Grammar-Translation Method was to prepare students to appreciate the great ancient literature in Latin and Greek. Thus, the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching during the

domination of the Grammar-Translation Method in language teaching may be better generalised by Brooks' statement:

Culture in its refinement has long been attached to language teaching. The language teacher is presumed to be a cultured person and the learner is presumed to enhance his own culture as he learns a second language. The culture of the foreign country whose language is being studied, as reflected in its literature, art, architecture, music, dance, and the like, is the subject of much consideration. (1964, 83-84)

2.4 The Direct Method

With the rapid development of industrialisation in Europe with Great Britain taking the lead at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and advances in sciences and technology, and with the birth of the steamboat, train and other means of transportation, the foundation for a social objective of language teaching was laid. People were not satisfied with the traditional way of learning foreign languages, nor its objectives, because people now wanted to travel abroad, and do business there, dealing with real-life situations in a foreign country, which requires oral communication skills. "Dumb language" would be a serious obstacle to the interaction between peoples. Therefore, peoples' attitudes towards the way foreign languages were taught changed dramatically. Against this background, a new method, the Direct Method, also known by several other names such as the Oral Method, and the Reformed Method, was born. The method, advocated by educators such as Berlitz and Jesperson in the nineteenth century, was based on the way children learn their native languages. They believed that the learners learn to understand a language by listening to it a lot and to speak it by speaking. They also related speech to appropriate objects and action in teaching the foreign language, without the use of the native language.

The method, according to Rivers (1968), Omaggio (1986), and others, has the following characteristics:

1. Language learning begins with the learning of foreign words and phrases associated with objects and actions. When pupils have learned enough words and phrases, which they could use

- appropriately, lessons moved on to involve common situations and settings of everyday life.
- 2. Lessons often developed around specially constructed pictures of life of the target culture. When the meaning of the new words failed to be communicated by concrete representation, teachers used other means rather than native-language translation, such as miming, sketches, or explanation in the target language.
- 3. From the beginning of the course, the teachers speak complete and meaningful sentences in the form of question-answer exchange.
- 4. Grammar was not taught as had been in the case of the grammar-translation class, but taught mainly through practice. Students should make their own structural generalisations from their own experience in learning. Thus, the study of grammar remained at a functional level.
- 5. When reading material was introduced to the students, they were encouraged to seek direct comprehension by guessing the meanings of the unknown information from the context instead of looking for equivalents in a bilingual vocabulary list. When this fails, the teacher explains it in the target language.
- 6. When students learn to write the target language, they do it first by dictation, then by composing summaries of what they have read or discussed. Thus the classroom is always filled with the sound of foreign language and the activities associated with the actual use of the target language.
- 7. Students are encouraged in oral language use that is contextualised and, to some extent, personalised. The use of culturally oriented pictures makes students aware of some of the everyday situations they might encounter in the foreign culture.

The main defect of this method, according to Rivers (1968, 20), was that it made the student express himself too soon in the foreign language in a relatively unconstructed situation, which led to the development of a kind of glib but inaccurate fluency. And in her view, it was unrealistic to believe that the conditions of native-language learning could be re-created in the classroom with adolescent students, because students already possess well-established native-language speech habits, which will certainly determine the form in which they expresses themselves unless they receive systematic practice in the foreign language structures, particularly at the points where the foreign language and the native language do not run parallel.

Moreover, according to Rivers (1968) among others, it was the highly intelligent students with well-developed powers of induction who benefited most from the method, since it required the students to make a direct association between the foreign language phrase and situation at all times. On the other hand, this same aspect of the method had the effect of making the less talented ones feel very discouraged and bewildered. The method also made great demands on the energy of the teacher. She/He needs to be fluent in the language and very resourceful in order to make meaning clear in various ways, without resorting at any time to the use of the native language.

However, as is demonstrated above, the Direct Method's preoccupation with culture in language teaching is self-evident, associated with small 'c' culture at the beginner's stage, and high culture at the advanced stage. It realised the importance of the teaching of culture and did regard the cultural contents as an important part of foreign language teaching. This enables the pupils to learn the foreign behaviour patterns in accordance with the language, in an attempt to simulate natural effective language use rather than the intellectual analytical characteristics of grammar-translation.

This cultural dimension of foreign language teaching during this period of time was supported by many scholars and educators. Gouin, for example, devoted a whole chapter of his book to discussing the importance of culture. Strohmeyer, one of the later Direct Methodists, established a principle that introducing the pupils to the foreign culture should be one of the most important aims of language teaching. And Huebner, according to Kelly (1969, 200), demanded that material presented in the language course should provide a natural introduction to the culture.

In 1904, Jespersen in his book, *How to Teach a Foreign Language*, also emphasised the cultural dimension of language teaching, though Jespersen's stress was laid on the teaching of high culture. As Jespersen argues:

The highest purpose in the teaching of languages may perhaps be said to be the access to the best thoughts and institutions of a foreign nation, its literature, culture---in short, the spirit of the nation in the widest sense of the word. (Cited in Rivers, 1968, 261)

Furthermore, according to Stern (1983), in both Britain and Germany, government committees, after an investigation of the situation of foreign language teaching in each country, concluded that foreign language teaching should be conducted with a pragmatic and educational dimension. Both reports (Modern Studies, 1917, Britain; General Studies, 1918, Germany) reveal a very clear awareness of one component of the foreign language teaching, namely to learn about a country and its people.

However, the lack of a well-defined sociolinguistic and sociocultural theoretical basis made the teaching of cultural content incidental and something subordinated to the teaching of the language. As Finocchiaro & Brumfit (1983, 6) commented on the method, "all the statements used were related to the classroom. Teachers did not generally think of students using language beyond the classroom. Any connection with the real life was expected to come later and was not the business of the school". Such a viewpoint is not without justification. It is mainly because of the low level of development of the whole global economy in terms industrialisation which led to the fact that the demand for a social dimension of language teaching was not that urgently felt by the society. In addition, the Direct method is very demanding for the teacher. And this as well as the lack of development of the social sciences must be probably one of the most crucial reasons, too, why the limitations of the method in terms of teaching language for 'real' communication and integration of culture became obvious. As Stern (1983) maintains:

Even the shift towards an attention to the spoken form, which occurred by the end of the nineteenth century, did not bring about a fundamentally new approach to language in society. Language learning in the classroom continued to be conceived as training rather than as 'real' communication or as an introduction to a foreign society. This emphasis on learning language forms, developing mental associations, and acquiring speech habits in the abstract, or, to use a modern term, the emphasis on the acquisition of skills, independent of communication in society, prevailed until the most recent times and in many ways is still dominant today. (247)

2.5 The Audio-lingual Method

The emphasis on being able to communicate in a foreign language once again led to the birth of the term 'audio-lingual' as a method, which is also known as Aural-Oral, New Key, the American Method of Language Teaching, etc. It was developed in America in the 1940s and flourished during the 1950s and the early 1960s. The theory underlying the methodology was rooted in psychology, namely behaviourism and neobehaviourism; and linguistics, specifically structuralist, or descriptive linguistics.

Before the Second World War, foreign language teaching was not given much attention in America and, therefore, had a very low status in its education system. Not many pupils in high schools or universities took up a foreign language in their school careers. And when those did take up a foreign language, it would last no more than two years. This is also partly because only a few foreign language courses were offered at both schools and universities. The purpose of foreign language teaching was confined to the traditional training of the ability to read, ignoring the oral skills. This traditional idea of foreign language teaching prevailed a long time in American schools and universities. The Grammar-Translation Method was widely used in teaching both classical languages and modern ones. Teachers, doubtless, spent much of the time explaining grammar, sentence structure and translation of both languages. In Europe, the Direct Method was adopted at the beginning of the century, but in the United States, it was never officially accepted (Omaggio, 1986).

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbour by surprise in 1941, the U.S.A. joined the Second World War and more young people were needed on the battlefield. But most of these people did not know any foreign language, because it was not emphasised by the country in the school system. So both the army and the government made special plans to train more young people needed in foreign languages within a short time. These plans proved to be a great success and were characterised by the following two prominent features: intensive courses, which lasted from a few months to one year, with small groups and native-speakers being the teacher; and the use of the Audio-lingual Method, which combines the theory of structuralist linguistics into the teaching practice. After the war, this method was adopted by many high schools and universities.

According to Chastain (1976, 111-112), five basic tenets of the method can be listed, although different writers lay stress on different aspects of this theory.

- 1. The goal is to train the students to gain the same types of abilities as the native-speaker possess and the final aim is that the students can handle the language at an unconscious level.
- 2. To achieve the goal, the native-language system should not be referred to while teaching the second language. And the second language acquisition should be contextualised.
- 3. The acquisition of the new language is to be obtained through stimuli-response techniques. And those conditioned responses can be achieved through dialogue memorisation and pattern drills practice.
- 4. Students drill the patterns first, then have the structure explained but only in brief terms. The thorough explanations of the Grammar-Translation Method should be avoided.
- 5. The four language skills should be developed in the way that children learn their native language, which is in the order of listening and speaking first, and then reading and writing.

From these principles of the method, we can note that, besides the emphasis on linguistic competence, the method also places language teaching and learning in a related context, which aims to develop an understanding of the target culture. As Rivers (1968) states:

The objectives of the audio-lingual method are clearly stated to be the development of mastery, at various levels of competency, in all four language skills---beginning with listening and speaking, and using these as a basis for the teaching of reading and writing. Paralleling this linguistic aim is the endeavour to develop understanding of the foreign culture and the foreign people through experience with their language. These aims are undoubtedly appropriate in the present age when ability to use a foreign language actively and to understand people of other cultures is thrust upon us, in no matter what country we live. (44)

The use of colloquial, and sociolinguistically appropriate language in the dialogues is also a prominent feature of the method, which implies that besides the emphasis on oral skills, which led to good pronunciation and correct speech, the method also emphasised the teaching of small 'c' culture, especially in the early years of the

language learning. This viewpoint is further reinforced by Chastain's statements:

Another characteristic of the dialogue in early audio-lingual text was that they were to be linguistically and culturally authentic. Linguistic authenticity meant that the utterance in the dialogue were to be true to native speech. . . . Cultural authenticity meant that the conversation was to take place in the second culture and be appropriate to the dialogue situation. (1976, 114)

However, the cultural orientation with a sound theoretical basis implied by this method per se is still something which is seen as being behind the 'real business of foreign language teaching' and was placed at a subordinate position. As Stern (1984) points out: "while audio-lingualists were not impervious to the cultural aspects of second language instruction, language learning, in the first instance, was viewed as the acquisition of a practical set of communicative skills" (464). Furthermore, the volume of the international debate over the teaching of culture, on the other hand, was still very small. The interest in the social and cultural context of foreign language teaching implied by the method was, to a large extent, overshadowed by the influence from linguistics and the modernisation of language teaching through the language laboratory which encouraged an emphasis still on language form and the speaking of language as a skill.

By the end of the 1960s, the Audio-Lingual Method was condemned severely for all that was wrong with language teaching by psychologists and linguists: it lacks a sound theoretical basis and it did not fulfil its aims. And with respect to practical language classroom teaching, Rivers (1968) summarises that: "It has been objected that the techniques of memorisation and drilling that this method implies can become intensely tedious and boring, causing fatigue and distaste on the part of the student" (46). Moreover, as is clearly demonstrated in the definition of the method, apart from the mechanical miming of pattern drills demanded by the method, it, as is the case with the Direct Method, is also very demanding on the part of the classroom language teachers. As Rivers (1968) further comments,

The Audio-Lingual Method makes considerable demands upon the teacher. It demands of him a near-native articulation and intonation if he is to model utterances for the students (If he is lacking in this area he must learn to use a tape model and work along with the class at making up his deficiencies). The method calls for considerable energy if the teacher is to keep oral practice moving smartly and imagination and enterprise in using persons and situations in the classroom if foreign language-learning material is to acquire reality and relevance. It also demands of the teacher careful preparation and organisation of material. For those reasons, it is difficult for a teacher to teach a number of parallel classes during the day by this method without becoming weary of material and physically and emotionally exhausted. (49-50)

2.6 The Cognitive Approach

By the 1960s, the behaviourist school in psychology and the structuralist orientation in linguistics were being replaced in popularity by two new schools of thought. In psychology, cognitive theories of learning were emphasising the role of the mind in actively acquiring new knowledge. They back the idea that learning in general and language learning in particular are internal, and mental operations controlled by the individual. The foreign language learners are viewed as acquiring competence with consciousness in a meaningful manner as a necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of the performance skills. As Chastain (1976) elaborates:

Behavioristic psychology views all learning as a process of conditioning acquiring behaviours through and new reinforcement. The basic factors in conditioning behaviour are the stimuli and reinforcements that determine which responses are learned. The mind is a tabula rasa upon which are stamped association between stimuli and responses. Such a conception of learning is an external, mechanistic point of view . . . Cognitive psychology, however, does not accept the behavioristic point of view. The term *cognition* implies mental activity, mental process. Cognitive psychologists emphasise the role of the mind in acquiring new information. They say that learning is controlled basically by individuals and not by their surroundings. Cognitive theory stresses perception of experiences and organisation of knowledge. The mind is not a passive plastic glob to be modeled by environmental forces, but an active and determining agent in the acquisition and storage of knowledge. Such a viewpoint of learning is considered to be mentalistic. (Chastain, 1976, 133-134)

Carroll (1959) thinks a second language is a system of knowledge. The aim of foreign language learning, according to Carroll, was to gain conscious control over phonetics, words and phrases and grammar through studying and analysis, and the ability to use the language will be developed while using language in a meaningful situation. Caroll also thinks that the differences between cognitive-code learning theory and listening, speaking, and habit learning theory lies in how to learn the pattern drills of the second language. Listening, speaking and habit learning theory advocates learning pattern drills through mimicry, memorisation, and repeated exercises, while cognitive-code learning theory advocates that pattern drills should be used after an understanding of the structure of the sentences has been gained and practice should be based on this understanding of the sentence structure.

Rejecting the behavioristic point of view in language learning, Ausubel (1968) also argues that "Some kinds of learning, such as rote learning and motor learning are considered so inconsequential a part of school learning as to warrant no systematic treatment in a textbook on educational psychology . . . And still other kinds of learning, for example, animal learning, conditioning, instrumental learning, and simple discrimination learning, are considered irrelevant for most learning tasks in school, despite the fact that wildly extrapolated findings in these areas quite commonly pad the learning chapters of many educational psychology textbooks" (viii, ix). Then Ausubel argues forcefully for the cognitive theory of learning and stresses that "The acquisition of large body of knowledge is simply impossible in the absence of meaningful learning" (61).

In linguistics Noam Chomsky published *Syntactic Structures* (1957) and *A Review of Skinner's Verbal Behaviour* (1959), which had great influence in the field of linguistics, regarding the conceptions of what language is and how language is learned. Chomsky thinks that language is a rule-governed system. The process of language learning is not simply one of mimicry, memorisation, but one of creativity. Even for children, the most important is not mimicry, but mastery of the rules, mainly grammar

rules while learning a language. These rules can be deduced and transformed to form sentences. Human beings, according to Chomsky, can understand sentences that they have never heard and perform discourse that they have never learned before with the help of these rules. In Chomsky's view, however good the students' pronunciation is, however many words the students have learned, they cannot be said to have mastered the language if they cannot form and understand an infinite number of sentences within the limited rules. Chomsky then concludes that language is more complex than it had originally been considered.

According to Chastain (1976) and Omaggio (1986), the Cognitive Approach to second language teaching and learning has the following basic features:

- 1. The goal is to train the students to develop the same kind of abilities that the native-speakers have, which is the same as that suggested by the audio-lingual method, but the concept of what language is differs.
- 2. In teaching the language, the teacher must first of all teach the rules of the language then ask students to apply them. The foundation, which is made up of grammar and language, must be laid first.
- 3. Both teaching materials and the teacher must introduce the kinds of situations in which the creative use of language is encouraged. The main point is to let the students have active practice to gain competence by understanding how language works.
- 4. Because of the changing and innovative nature of language, the teaching of the language rule system becomes a necessity. However, these language rule systems should not be approached as the teaching of exceptions to these rules as such but as a functional system that can help the learner to communicate within the given context.
- 5. Learning should be meaningful. This implies that the learners should know all the time what they are being asked to do. Since not all students learn in the same way, the teacher should also appeal to both the eye and the ear through written and oral exercises so as to teach the language effectively.

It is, thus, evident that proponents of a cognitive approach have as their first goal the development of competence in the second language learner. The means employed to achieve this goal is based on mentalistic interpretations of learning. The cultural dimension of language teaching reflected by the Cognitive Approach is not as clear as in the previous methods, though, as is discussed in the preceding pages, "cognitive psychologists in the late 1960s placed great importance of meaningfulness and organisation of background knowledge in the learning process" (Omaggio, 1986, 114).

"As a fully-fledged language teaching theory the cognitive method has not as yet been critically examined. In the early eighties, its contribution has been overshadowed by the increasing shift of interest to the communicative approach" (Stern, 1984, 469).

2.7 The Functional Approach

The Functional Approach is also known as the Communicative Approach, the Notional Approach and the Semantics-Notional Approach, it is developed largely upon the work commissioned by the Council of Europe, an organisation founded in 1949 and which now includes almost all Western European countries.

From the 1970s on, the world economy has developed rapidly, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, and international contacts such as exchanges in the areas like education, science and technology, commerce and trade alike are increasing each day. Simply being able to 'read' the language (emphasised by the Grammar-translation method and the Cognitive Method) or 'speak' the language (emphasised by the Direct Method and the Audio-lingual Method) is far from satisfactory in a modern multicultural global society. This is because people who were brought up in one culture will have, for one reason or another, to live in another culture, whose system of values or social norms alike may be partly or totally different.

So learning a foreign language nowadays without learning its culture seems to be out of tune with the time. The fact that the primary goal of learning a foreign language in most school systems of the world today, in Stern's term, as part of total personality formation, is to develop the ability to use real and appropriate language to communicate and interact with others has been clearly rooted and commonly accepted in most teachers' and students' mind. To keep pace with the requirements the industrialised society made upon the role of language at the time, the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe held a symposium in 1971 in Ruschlikon, Switzerland, on teaching adults foreign languages. The

purpose of the symposium was to discuss the possibility of organising modern language teaching by instituting a unit-credit system, which is based on the variety of purposes and abilities of the adult-learners. Later, after the symposium, another meeting of more than 100 linguists and methodologists from 15 Western European countries led by Trim of Cambridge University was held again to work out a European modern language teaching syllabus. After the meeting, many influential articles about the functional approach appeared, concentrating on the view of language as a tool of communication between people. The choice of methods and the arrangements of content were to be based on the purpose of communication in foreign language teaching. As a result of three years' co-operation between many experts, such books as Van Ek's Threshold Level (1975), Wilkins's Notional Syllabus, (1976), van Ek et al's WayStage English (1977), and Brumfit's Teaching Language as Communication, (1978), laid the groundwork for a new kind of syllabus, the Functional-Notional Approach. This quickly became accepted within the language-teaching profession as the standard approach to teaching languages.

The Functional-Notional Approach, according to Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983, 91-93), has the following major characteristics,

- 1. The primary concern employed by the method is the communicative purpose of a speech act, which focuses on the learner and the function or functions of language. Neither grammar nor situation is excluded or neglected, but no longer considered the primary focus.
- 2. Language learning is learning to communicate. So, effective communication is to be sought and contextualisation is a basic premise.
- 3. Communicative competence is the desired goal (the ability to use the linguistic system effectively and appropriately). And the target linguistic system will be learned best through the process of struggling to communicate.
- 4. Language is created by the individual often through trial and error. So fluent and acceptable language is the primary goal; accuracy is judged not in the abstract but in context.
- 5. It provides for the teaching of everyday, real-world language use in a variety of sociocultural situations in which features of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and culture are selected and graded according to their priority in actual communication.

As is seen from the above features mentioned, in functional theorists' view, language is regarded as a means of communication. And therefore the primary emphasis of language teaching is laid on fostering the students' communicative competence. In accordance with the sociolinguistic viewpoint that language is greatly influenced by the society, economics, culture, and the people who use it as well, communicative theory intends to place foreign language learning in a clearly defined social and cultural context. Hence, we can say that the sociolinguistic factors embedded in and conveyed by the approach are evident, and given a prominent place. This viewpoint is also supported by Stern's statement: "Communicative competence no doubt implies linguistic competence but its main focus is the intuitive grasp of social and cultural rules and meanings that are carried by any utterance" (1983, 299).

Thus, if we say that the Direct Methodists and structuralists emphasise the teaching of culture in language teaching and view language in a particular context of language use, then we may well say that communicative theory presents the target language in a more clearly specified social and cultural context in language teaching, and view the inclusion of cultural elements in language teaching as the most important, besides the linguistic competence. As Finocchiaro & Brumfit (1991) further argues:

First and foremost, the emphasis has shifted from the former overweening preoccupation with structure and setting to the communicative purpose of the speech act. Communicative competence is viewed as the desired goal in language learning. Since a speech act, communication, takes place in definite but varied sociolinguistic situations, both linguistic and extralinguistic factors have been taken into consideration. The approach takes cognisance of the fact that the social roles and the psychological attitudes of the participants towards each other in a conversation (employer-employee, teacher-pupil, doctor-patient, parent-child, for example), the place and time of the conversation act and the activity or topic being discussed will determine to a large extent the form, tone, and appropriateness of any oral or written message. (22)

As one of the most influential teaching methodologies in the history of foreign language teaching, the communicative approach to language teaching, to meet the requirement of our modern society,

has been widely accepted and applied in many classrooms throughout the world. In addition, many new textbooks have been compiled in different countries in accordance with the teaching objectives laid down by the communicative theorists.

Although the communicative approach to language teaching and 'communicative competence' as one of the major goals in language teaching have received widespread acceptance the world over as a standard practice, the term 'communicative competence' has been defined in many versions. However, linguistic competence and sociolinguistic competence have always been two prominent parts of the makings of the term. Taking issue with Chomsky's formulation of linguistic competence or "the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language", Hymes (1972) includes grammatical competence (i.e. knowledge of the structure of a given language) and sociolinguistic competence (i.e. knowledge underlying its effective and appropriate use) with an emphasis on the knowledge of sociolinguistic rules, or the appropriateness of an utterance in forming his theory of communicative competence while discussing communication and social interaction within a social group using one language. When the term came to be used in the discussion of foreign language teaching, it frequently refers to the ability to convey meaning or combine linguistic knowledge sociolinguistic rules in any communicative interaction.

According to Savignon (1983), Paulston also emphasised the social rules of language use along the line of Hymes' definition of communicative competence in her discussion of the issue in foreign language teaching and laid a special emphasis on the integration of the second culture in second language programmes in developing the learners' communicative competence.

In Canada, Canale and Swain (1984), have defined communicative competence as consisting of four aspects:

- (1) Grammatical competence: mastery of the language code (verbal or nonverbal), thus concerned with such features as lexical items and rules of sentence formation, pronunciation, and literal meaning.
- (2) Sociolinguistic competence: mastery of appropriate language use in different sociolinguistic contexts, with emphasis on appropriateness of meanings (e.g. attitudes, speech acts, and propositions) and appropriateness of forms (e.g. register, nonverbal expression, and intonation).

- (3) Discourse competence: mastery of how to combine and interpret forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres by using (a) cohesion devices to relate utterance forms (e.g. pronouns, transition words, and parallel structures) and (b) coherence rules to organise meanings (e.g. repetition, progression, consistency and relevance of ideas).
- (4) Strategic competence: mastery of verbal and nonverbal strategies (a) to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to insufficient competence or to performance limitations (e.g. strategies such as use of dictionaries, paraphrase, and gestures) and (b) to enhance the effectiveness of communication (e.g. deliberately slow and soft speech for rhetorical effect) (112).

In much the similar way, according to Byram (1997, 10), van Ek (1986) compiled his definition of communicative competence, comprising six components:

- (1) Linguistic competence: the ability to produce and interpret meaningful utterances which are formed in accordance with the rules of the language concerned and bear their conventional meaning . that meaning which native speakers would normally attach to an utterance when used in isolation (p. 39).
- (2) Sociolinguistic competence: the awareness of ways in which the choice of language forms . . . is determined by such conditions as setting, relationship between communication patterns, communicative intention, etc., etc., . . . sociolinguistic competence covers the relation between linguistic signals and their contextual or situational meaning (p. 41).
- (3) Discourse competence: the ability to use appropriate strategies in the construction and interpretation of texts (p. 47).
- (4) Strategic competence: when communication is difficult we have to find ways of 'getting our meaning across' or of 'finding out what somebody means'; these are communication strategies, such as rephrasing, asking for clarification (p. 55).
- (5) Sociocultural competence: every language is situated in a sociocultural context and implies the use of a particular reference frame which is partly different from that of the foreign language learner; socio-cultural competence presupposes a certain degree of familiarity with that context (p. 35).
- (6) Social competence: involves both the will and skill to interact with others, involving motivation, attitudes, self-confidence, empathy and the ability to handle social situations (p. 65).

However, to define communicative competence largely in terms of the sociolinguistic norms of a particular community or on a native-speaker model basis seems to be rather narrow a view from the perspective of intercultural communication. This is because such a model ignores the social identity of the learners in any intercultural Thus, event. Savignon communicative (1983)offers interpretation of communicative competence from an alternative perspective as a continuous process of expression, interpretation, and negotiation of meanings between those involved, which requires the participants to take the perspective of the other participants in a transaction, to empathise with the perspective of others (p. 43). Savignon did not, however, further elaborate the well-made point, nor did she clarify her criticism of the native/second culture model in developing the learners' communicative competence.

From the perspective of cultural/intercultural learning, the method was also criticised by Byram for viewing the learner as an incomplete native speaker. That is, the method requires the learner to model on the native speaker only and the learner's social identity and culture is largely ignored in a communication event. Two major specific reasons are identified by Byram for criticism. As Byram (1997) argues,

The first is a pragmatic educational one which has been recognised widely in recent years. It is the problem of creating an impossible target and consequently inevitable failure. The requirement that learners have the same mastery over a language as an (educated) native speaker ignores the conditions under which learners and native speakers learn and acquire a language . . . The second ground for criticism of the native speaker model is that, even were it possible, it would create the wrong kind of competence. It would imply that a learner should be linguistically schizophrenic, abandoning one language in order to blend into another linguistic environment, becoming accepted as a native speaker by other native speakers. This linguistic schizophrenia also suggests separation from one's own culture and the acquisition of a native sociocultural competence, and a new sociocultural identity. (11-12)

This dimension of cultural involvement, as illustrated in Communicative Language Teaching, is well presented in the French textbooks (*Action*!, Buckby, 1982) used in secondary schools in

England. The target culture presented in this series, according to Byram, is largely from an outsider's view or a tourist view, which does not bring the learner into contact with the social institutions of a country, nor real social interaction. It involves largely the tourist information such as asking the way on the street, asking information at a hotel, restaurant, etc., buying things in a supermarket. The picture of the target people and the country is incomplete and superficial. There is simply no opportunity for the learner to understand or see the target people's way of life from within. Moreover, the learner's own cultural patterns are not involved.

The teaching materials produced for this dimension of language teaching in the U. S. A. during the same time seem to share a similar feature. As an illustration of evaluation in terms of its usefulness in developing the learners' communicative competence, Savignon (1983) cited five examples with a word of caution that one exercise or page from a set of materials is not necessarily representative of the complete set of materials. One of the examples is quoted as follows:

ACCEPTING

1. KENJI: Do you think you'll be able to?

2. FRANCESCA: Yes. It sounds fine.

3. KENJI: That's great.

4. FRANCESCA: Thanks for asking me.

5. KENJI: You're welcome. I'm glad you can make it.

6. FRANCESCA: So am I.

7. KENJI: Okay. We'll see you then.

8. FRANCESCA: Right. I'm looking forward to it.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

FRANCESCA might be accepting:	What else?
a dinner invitation	a skiing invitation
a babysitting job	
a substitute-teaching job	
an invitation to meet his family	
a tennis date	
a ride in a car pool	

Source: C. Akiyama, *Acceptance to Zeal* (New York: Minverva Books, Ltd, 1981), p. 3. [cited in Savignon, 1983, p. 13]

Then Savignon criticised this kind of presentation of language as a means of communication and argued that the dialogue in this example seems inadequate and even misleading in its representation of language as interaction. It reveals very little about the participants' identities in relation to their age, occupation, and the situation of happening as well. Savignon also argues that since Francesca is a female, it might be helpful to change the role to see if the same forms are appropriate for a male in "accepting". Savignon also raises the question about the appropriateness of females extending invitations, a form of behaviour that may not be acceptable in some contexts. Savignon also argues that asking the students to provide different 'invitations' does not seem to be an activity that helps the students to better understand why Francesca choose the form she does. It seems obvious that the form to be chosen depends on just what she is accepting. For example, as Savignon argues, the appropriateness of the dialogue would be questionable if Francesca is accepting a substitute teaching job.

Still further, Savignon argues that the generalisability of these forms can also be questioned for cultural reasons. In order to interpret the meaning more fully, the cultural context of the information exchange should be made clear. Therefore, Savignon (1983) maintains, "this exercise misleads students and does not provide them with everything they need to know to *interpret* and *express* meaning effectively. This is a result of an inadequate representation of language as interaction" (14). Savignon (1988), thus, goes on to argue,

Not every text, drill, or activity now bearing the label "communicative" is an example of communication. Many attempts to "personalize" activities in a language classroom are actually thinly disguised drills, which provide no opportunities for actual sharing of information. For example, "What is your name?" has no communicative value when the name of every student in the class is already known to every other student. The notorious question "Are you a boy or a girl?" would be considered both ridiculous and insulting to a student of any age if it were asked in the native language instead of the target language (118).

And Paulston (1974) argued for a similar viewpoint, maintaining that "many 'communicative activities' in language classrooms, though they provide useful practice in the manipulation

of linguistic forms, are devoid of 'social meaning' in the sense that they are not an accurate reflection of L2 culture" (in Savignon, 1983, 2).

The limitedness of this dimension of culture teaching presented by the Communicative Language Teaching is also reflected in practical language and cultural teaching, as the research findings from Byram et al. (1991b) show: "the effect of language teaching on pupils' view is disappointing, which does not amount to an understanding of or insight into another people's way of life and thinking" (Byram et al., 1991b, 380).

Thus, instead of a 'language for reading' or 'language for touring', Byram (1991) suggests a 'language for intercultural understanding' dimension of cultural teaching, which provides "a learner with the ability to see and manage the relationship between themselves and their own cultural beliefs, behaviours and meanings, as expressed in a foreign language, and those of their interlocutors, expressed in the same language — or even a combination of languages — which may be the interlocutor's native language, or not" (12).

This dimension of teaching culture in language teaching, rooted in Europe and produced against the European language teaching background, has mostly dominated the discussion of the issue in question in Europe, and the theory has been proved very successful by research projects (Byram et al, 1991, Byram et al., 1998, Kaikkonen, 1996, 1997, among others).

2.8 A Brief Overview of the Trends in the Teaching of Culture and the Research in the Area within the Western Tradition

In modern foreign language teaching, we can identify two major trends to the teaching of culture from a pedagogical perspective, which are theoretically identified. One is represented by theorists or educators such as Brooks (1964), Rivers (1968), and Chastain (1976) among others. Their central points are: (1) the culture of broad definition rather than that of narrow definition should be emphasised in the integration of culture in language teaching. (2) The teaching of culture is supposed to be integrated

along with the actual teaching of the language. (3) the teaching of culture is largely viewed as the teaching of target culture only. The underlying theory is simply based on that of the relationship of language and culture and pragmatic-orientated. Language first of all is viewed as a tool of communication. The techniques proposed by those early theorists and educators are eclectic ones, where culture is only incorporated into the curriculum as needed or desired.

This approach to the teaching of culture in language teaching seems to be followed by some other educators such as Lafayette (1978), Seelye (1984), Spinelli (1985), Omaggio (1986), and Kramsch (1993) among others in the sense that culture should be taught through the actual teaching of the language. For example, Lafayette feels that the most basic issue in cross-cultural education is the degree to which cultural information is integrated with the study of language. To achieve this integration of culture in language teaching, Lafayette suggests the following procedures:

- (1) Present cultural topics in conjunction with related thematic units and closely related vocabulary and grammatical content whenever possible.
- (2) Use a variety of techniques for teaching culture that involve speaking, listening, reading and writing skills. Do not limit cultural instruction to lecture or anecdotal formats.
- (3) Treat cultural topics in the target language whenever possible.
- (4) Use cultural information when teaching vocabulary. Teach students about the connotative meaning of new words.
- (5) Group vocabulary into culture-related clusters.
- (6) Use cultural contexts for language-practice activities, including drills and exercises for the learning of grammar.
- (7) Use small-group techniques, such as discussions, brainstorming, and role-plays, for cultural instruction.

Spinelli (1985) suggests in much the similar sense that cultural learning can be easily integrated into vocabulary or grammar lessons through the use of contextualised exercises. Spinelli argues that students at the beginning and intermediate levels of proficiency in speaking can practice such things as numbers, dates, times, addresses, weather expressions, greetings, and vocabulary clusters dealing with everyday topics, as well as basic grammatical structures, in exercises that are culturally based. Spinelli offered an

example of this: students who are learning numbers might practice them while learning about using the phone, having currency exchanged, or buying food at the market. Time expressions can be practised in the context of using the public transportation system or by contrasting mealtimes in the target and native cultures. And in much the similar sense Kramsch argues:

As educators who teach language in the full sense of word, their obligation is to confront students with the meanings associated with the specific uses of words, not with disembodied ideas and beliefs. People are not what we believe they are, but what they say they are. The responsibility of the language teacher is to teach culture *as it is mediated through language*, not as it is studied by social scientists and anthropologists. The privilege of the intercultural speaker must be accompanied by an increased sense of personal and individual responsibility in the use of words and in the ownership of their meanings (1998, 31).

And in 1991 Kramsch developed her argument, maintaining that:

Cultural competence can best be developed in a structured learning environment, where conscious parallels can be drawn, where language can be explicitly linked to its meaning in a particular sociocultural and historical context, where disparate linguistic or cultural phenomena can be brought together and attached to more abstract principles of both base (C1) and target (C2) language and culture. (229)

However, the later educators', especially Kramsch's, approaches involve a much clearer intercultural dimension, which involves the inclusion of the learners' own culture rather than the primary foreign culture dimension implied by the former ones. In brief, one of their major concerns about the teaching of culture in language teaching is to teach culture through the teaching of language. Moreover, Byram's (1989) model also applies this approach to the teaching of culture, but with a different view of the theoretical background from the earlier theorists mentioned, as can be seen in the following discussion and elsewhere.

The other major trend to the teaching of culture in language teaching is the Cultural Studies Approach, which is developed by the European scholars (Byram, 1988, 1989, 1994 and Murphy, 1988 among others). This approach takes a much broader view of culture, namely while recognising the importance of the anthropological sense of culture in cultural studies in foreign language education, they also include the relevant high culture content. Theoretically, the proponents, while sharing the same basic theory of language and culture, draw their theories from a larger context such as sociology, anthropology, psychology and sociolinguistics. While recognising the intercultural communication objective of language teaching, the approach gives primary emphasis to the understanding of the people and the country where the language is spoken and of the understanding of the learners' own culture and society as well through the contrast between the two cultures. In another word, the proponents of this approach focus their chief concern on developing the learners' intercultural competence. And most strikingly, as is argued by Meyer (1991) among others, this approach to language teaching places the teaching of culture in a much looser context of language teaching by offering a separate course, though this is not necessarily the only technique proposed by its proponents to put their theories into practice. This approach has dominated the discussion of the issue in question especially in Europe since the late 1980s and has been supported by a number of research projects (Byram and Esarte-Sarries, 1991, Byram et al, 1991, Byram and Cain 1998, Kaikkonen, 1996 & 1997 among others). One of the major techniques advocated by the Cultural Studies Approach to the teaching of culture in language teaching (Byram, 1989, Byram & Morgan et al., 1994) is the comparison between the learners' own culture and the foreign culture(s) at various levels of language learning.

The above classification of the two major trends in the teaching of culture is also recognised by Kramsch (1991). As Kramsch states, "If the American view might be seen as too much focused on language as a tool for action, the European view might be considered to be too concerned with language as an object of linguistic or social reflection. Both views illustrate two complementary aspects of culture: culture as performance, culture as competence" (226).

As to the research in the area, the results seem to be still very disappointing before the late 1980s. In the opinion of Lafayette and Strasheim (1981) and Omaggio (1986), the integration of culture in

language teaching remains insubstantial and sporadic in most language classes although the integration of culture into the foreign language curriculum has been discussed since the early 1970s. And Stern (1984) shares the same opinion but in a more critical manner, saying that "Next to nothing has been done to describe cultural aspects of languages commonly taught" (64). As reasons for this state of affairs Stern blames the belated contact of social sciences and language teaching, arguing that, "social scientists, unlike linguists, have been somewhat indifferent to language pedagogy and have hardly recognised the importance of theories and descriptions of society and culture for language teaching . . . language teaching theory today is fast acquiring a sociolinguistic component but still lacks a well-defined sociocultural emphasis" (246 - 284).

This also echoes Byram's (1989) research findings. As Byram finds:

- (1) despite a wide range of writings, cultural studies lacks direction and fails to attract serious attention, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world, and consequently lacks status
- (2) existing research is mainly exploratory and theoretical, dealing with concept definition, delimitation of the field of interest and discussion of aims and purposes
- (3) theorists draw on a wider range of academic disciplines than those to which language teachers are usually exposed
- (4) what empirical research and development does exist is usually on a small scale, often arising out of teachers' individual practice, without reference to theory, and concerned with outcomes rather than processes of teaching and learning. (78)

To improve the situation, Byram (1989) points out, "The task for the future is to improve the situation by bringing together the theory and the practical experience, by theoretically well-founded empirical research" (79). Although much effort has been made in the discussion of the integration of culture in language teaching, research effort, especially in relation to the issue under discussion in the secondary school and teacher-training context, is still limited in quantity.

In considering the proposal by many educators and theorists such as Brooks (1964), Rivers (1968), Seelye (1984) Valdes (1986) and Byram (1989) among others that the teaching of culture should start from the first day with the first foreign language lesson, the

research projects by Byram et al (1991 & 1998) and Kaikkonen (1996 & 1997) in relation to the issue in question within the context of the secondary school foreign language education are of particular significance in facilitating the realisation of cultural studies in foreign language education.

The research project carried out by Byram, Esarte-Sarries and Taylor (1991b) during the three years spanning 1985–1988, under the title 'The Effect of Language Teaching on Young People's Perceptions of Other Cultures', is perhaps one of the most systematic in terms of width and depth and influence. The purpose of the project, according to Byram et al, was to study the relationships between learning a language as a school subject, and the perceptions of the associated culture (or cultures) and attitudes towards people of that culture.

The project involves 401 pupils in England who were learning French as a foreign language (208 pupils from eight primary schools and 193 pupils from eight classes of two separate secondary schools). The research instruments include tests, questionnaires, interviews, classroom observations, and textbook analysis.

The findings of the research show that pupils who had been taught French in secondary schools had more, and more differentiated, images of the French way of life than those in the primary schools did. As for the question of attitudes, the evidence did not show any significant association between learning French and attitude change. However, there was evidence to show that external factors affect pupils' attitudes more than the learning of French in school does.

The findings, based on the classroom observation, textbook analysis and pupil interview, also show that the effect of language teaching on pupils' view is disappointing, despite the participant teachers' recognition of the importance of and their positive attitudes towards the teaching of culture in language teaching and their genuine effort to put it into practice. It remains true, on the basis of their classroom observation, textbook analysis and the pupil interview, that cultural information was integrated into the teaching of language largely as a separate and decontextualised acquisition of information, which by no means can be said to have contributed much insight into the understanding of the patterns of living of the target people. Pupils are more influenced in their perceptions of and attitudes towards the foreign culture and the people by experiences

outside school, from which source many pupils developed their stereotypes about the foreign culture and the people. The presentation of cultural information in the textbooks and the limited purposefully structured efforts during a few hours of language teaching in school cannot really counterbalance and modify students' stereotypes built from the influence of the media, parents, peers, siblings and the like. In addition, the teachers' teaching of culture was observed to be incidental and haphazard, which is actually quite representative in nature among many language teachers.

From the following perspectives in terms of the research findings and the research methodology, we may find that this research is of particular significance:

- (1) To language teachers and teacher-trainers. During the interview in the programme, it was plain that many pupils had stereotypes in varying degrees in their perceptions of and the attitudes towards the other cultures and the people. For example, quite frequently, the pupils hold the image of the French people as that: they are dressed in a beret, wearing a striped jumper or tee-shirt, sometimes, riding a bicycle, carrying a string of onions (or garlic) around their neck. Frenchmen have long moustaches. Frenchwomen wear flowery clothes. And quite a number of pupils do not like Germans because they thought 'the Germans were always killing people'. The sources that help to build those perceptions of and attitudes towards the relevant people and culture are largely from media such as television, comedy series and films, from parents, books, personal experiences and peers. Thus this might in turn suggest that when we want to use the media, personal experience or anything but the textbooks in use to transmit the target culture or relate those to the language teaching, we must make very careful selection in order to avoid stereotypes or negative presentation. And most importantly, those selected cultural information must match the learners' intellectual capacities. Otherwise, an explanation of those cultural phenomena must be followed to avoid stereotypes and prejudice. If a film is to be used, for example, a follow-up discussion should be organised to further clarify the cultural information presented and rectify any possible misunderstandings as well.
- (2) To textbook writers and policy-makers. As is demonstrated, most of the pupils' cultural reference in relation to their perceptions of and attitudes towards the French people are obtained outside school

rather than from the textbook language teaching. This shows the textbook cultural information is very limited, and it might be far from satisfactory to help to understand the people and the countries in question. This is, in fact, clarified by the analysis of the textbooks in use. Nonetheless, the outside cultural information obtained is not well-structured or -chosen for the purpose of the language teaching. Thus stereotypes are bound to occur. Since the textbooks are mostly the only sources the teachers rely on for cultural information, to systematically and effectively integrate the target culture into the language teaching, textbook writers are duty-bound to compile textbooks that fully and best relate the language being taught to its society and culture, that provide cultural information which can best help the learners to understand the target people and the countries and that should integrate an appropriate proportion of the learners' own and other foreign cultures through comparisons and in their own right to match some of the educational aims. To systematically relate our language teaching to the social and cultural contexts, an official place should be offered by policy-makers in language teaching curriculum, as was argued a long time ago (e.g. Byram, 1989). For, being incidental, how could the teaching of culture at school counterbalance and remedy students' stereotypes built upon the influence from the media or any other possible sources outside schools.

And also, as these research findings show and Byram et al summarised, "One noticeable difference between the two age groups was that among the juniors some pupils described other peoples in terms of physical and behavioural differences rather than in terms of personalisic attributes, with their concomitant evaluations" (219). This might in turn suggest that textbook writers and language teachers as well should take into account the learners' age and linguistic factors when selecting cultural aspects and the sequence of doing it so as to match the pupils' intellectual capacity, the power of reasoning and interests as well and enable the integrated cultural information to play its appropriate and full part.

(3) As is illustrated in the interview and mentioned in the previous pages quite many pupils' negative attitudes towards the target people are caused by influences from outside school, which seems to be beyond the control of the language teachers and textbook writers at the moment. But in a few limited places, pupils' negative attitudes are caused by the breakdown of communication. For example, one

pupil reported that he did not like the French, because "Like if you go into a shop there they say to you what do you want instead of can I help you and stuff like that" (in Byram, 1991b, 190). This might remind us that cultural aspects that are closely related to the facilitation of successful communication should not be ignored, because one of our ultimate aims of learning another language is to communicate with people from that culture effectively and successfully, whatever forms it may take. The significance of this aspect of the matter has been noted in a sense by Carol Morgan, one of the English team members, who wrote the following statement in a different chapter while discussing another research project from another perspective, "Two factors became evident during the period of this cross-cultural collaboration: firstly that linguistic proficiency did not automatically equal cultural proficiency. All team members were able to communicate fluently in the language of the other team and yet this did not prevent cross-cultural misunderstanding. Secondly, despite some difficulties and misunderstanding, the collaboration was successful" (1998, in Byram, 1998, 224).

- (4) Lots of information itself derived from the research, namely the information provided by pupils and teachers in the course of interviews, can actually be used as very good authentic and sample information when the teachers attempt to teach the target culture or emphasise the cultural awareness in their language teaching, irrespective of negative or positive information. And similarly, those research findings are equally significant to others who attempt to carry out research work in the same area.
- (5) Another significant contribution of this research might be its multi-layered technical approaches and methods employed by the researchers in the project. More authentic information may thus be obtained. For example, the use of a questionnaire allows the informants to have relatively more time to think about the questions before giving the final answers and to look up background information. However, it lacks flexibility: flexible questions cannot be added nor can the planned questions be removed freely according to the situation or different interviewees. An interview might prove more effective in this sense. And in some places both mentioned techniques may not work as well as a test.

Another research project, which is characterised by an international co-operation, was organised by two researchers during the period of 1990 to 1993: Michael Byram (Durham University,

School of Education) with a team of additional 5 teachers and one research assistant; and Albane Cain (Institut National de Recherche Pedagogique, Paris) with a team of another nine teachers.

The research was carried out separately in both countries, involving 17-18 year old students at upper secondary school in England and both lower (11-15) and upper (15-18) secondary school pupils in France.

The aims of the project, according to the researchers, are to introduce cultural awareness, to foster intercultural competence and to offer pupils the opportunity to better understand and appreciate their own cultural practices as well in both educational cultures in question.

These aims, while being well related to the cultural studies theory, are also built upon the current situations of the foreign language teaching in both countries, which, in the researchers' view, need a change. The situation in England is much like this: the learning of foreign language is not well received by the students, and foreign language teaching in upper secondary schools focuses largely on literature. Thus the concept of cultural teaching is always related to the teaching of literature. The foreign language teaching and the textbooks in use in the lower secondary schools are more communicatively orientated, as Byram's analysis of the textbooks shows, but fail to help the pupils to understand the target people and the country. Many pupils hold stereotype-dominated images of France in varying degrees, and actual classroom practice was disappointing in rectifying those.

However, the situation of foreign language learning in France, comparatively, seems to be 'worse' in the sense that although the learning of English is well received, the communicative dimension of language teaching seems not to be well established there, and language is taught as such largely isolated from its social and cultural contexts, though the cultural aim is referred to in the national guidelines. As the researchers find:

-There is no hostility towards the English language, as most French students and their parents are utterly convinced of its usefulness; this creates a different kind of problem: English is considered to be a sort of international Esperanto not connected in any way to any cultural matter;

- Another element to be taken into account is the gap between the 11-15 year old group and the 15-18 year old group: for the former, language itself is the main objective, one could almost say the only aim pursued, the prevailing idea being that cultural matters can always be dealt with later on, in the *lycee*. However, language mastery is still the overwhelming issue during the first two years of *lycee*, and although the last year is traditionally devoted to the study of the United States, British culture is often never dealt with. (Byram and Cain, in Byram and Fleming, 1998, 33)

However, although the two teams share the same concern with developing appropriate knowledge in students, they approach the aim differently in methods and teaching contents. This is mainly, according to the researchers, because of the function of the respective educational contexts. Thus, the French team introduced a stronger historical dimension to their materials and methods, while the English team, according to the researchers, take their departure point from sociology, social anthropology and ethnography. Following the criteria for material selection:

- a document has to involve a 'gap in content' (ecart de contenu) by which we mean a significant difference between the implicit references inherent in (a part of) the students' native cultural system and the information included in the document,
- there has to be a problem of cultural understanding requiring an intellectual effort involving the learners in a process of 'decentring',
 - the various documents have to be presented in a specific thematic order (*un fil conducteur*),
- the choice of topics has to ensure that they are within the intellectual grasp of learners and that they deal with significant, fundamental areas of cultural life and practices (Byram & Cain, in Byram and Fleming, 1998, 36).

the English team made their choice of teaching content by consulting several syllabuses for teaching sociology at GCE A-level and narrowed the choice down to something which reflects the intellectual level expected of students at this stage of learning. Five topics related to the students' existing syllabus were chosen and each topic lasts 10 hours. Of them, the first three focused on socialisation and on the values inherent in the process of acquiring various social identities. Those topics are: 'The Family', and themes within the unit

include: name-giving, ceremonies (of name days, birthdays, Christmas, etc.), mealtimes (as a location for the creation of a family and its values) and differing family structures, including links with extended families. 'Education': the specific nature of French schooling and its historical origins was the starting point. Students also learn about the structures and experiences of being in upper secondary education through interviews with French students, and compared them with their own. 'Work': students here study working patterns, questions of the prestige of different jobs, the ways in which people acquire particular jobs and the process of their socialisation into them, and the relationships between 'work' and 'leisure'. 'Regional Identity': this is to demonstrate to the students that we have multiple identities, each linked with a particular culture and cultural practices.

The French team selected the following topics, which consist of six dossiers, each consisting of 10 lessons. Each lesson lasts one hour. There is one exception: one dossier lasts nearly five weeks instead of two or three weeks. The topics for the dossiers are:

- Housing in Great Britain and in France: beyond appearance;
- Education in France and Great Britain: two ways of achieving citizenship;
- Monarchy and Republic: two views of democracy;
- British Political Institutions;
- An example of multiethnic society: Great Britain;
- Sports. (Byram & Cain, in Byram and Fleming, 1998, 38)

The first three dossiers, according to the researchers, were written for the lower secondary groups and the last three for the upper secondary group. As an example, the authors further explain the dossier 'Monarchy and Republic' includes the following content:

- -The sovereign (the work consists in determining the role of the Queen in British society from the clues given by her picture on stamps, coins and similar public objects, and bringing students to an awareness of the hereditary nature of the monarchy);
- -The degree to which the church and State are or are not separate (using a comparison of images on banknotes in France and Britain, and a speech given by the Queen for Christmas 1991, in which references to 'God' and 'prayers' appear);
- The distinction between Queen and Prime Minister (UK);

- The electoral systems (UK and France);
- The anthems and the part God plays, or does not play, in each (UK and France). (Byram & Cain, in Byram and Fleming, 1998, 39-40)

The dossier 'British Political Institutions' includes the following detailed aspects:

- factual data concerning the British political system;
- work on the ideological programme of political parties, and on the potential contradictions and surprises these positions at times imply;
- a study of the profile of the British electorate on the basis of statistical data;
- -an analysis of the symbolic role of the monarch through the study of a range of interviews with members of the British electorate. (Byram & Cain, in Byram and Fleming, 1998, 40)

Both the units of work and the dossiers, according to the researchers, are taught in parallel with other lessons that focus on the acquisition of language skills and knowledge of the foreign language, and taught in the target language. Language and cultural learning are thus integrated.

As to the assessment, the following aspects, according to the researchers, are to be tested:

- -the 'content' to be tested: knowledge, attitudes, behavioural skill with respect to the non-verbal dimensions of social exchange;
- -the ability to investigate: since we have focused on ethnographic techniques, these should in principle also be tested;
- -the techniques for testing: oral and/or written assessment, using role-play, using the essay;
- -the criteria for assessment and the determination of levels of competence. (Byram & Cain, in Byram and Fleming, 1998, 43)

Though the projects were at the closing stage by the time of the presentation of the project, we may say, based on the detailed description of the teaching content, and aims and the background situation of the foreign language teaching in each country, that the cultural teaching syllabus designed by the English team seems to better suit the actual current foreign language teaching at the British upper secondary schools. For those topics can serve better as a sort of remedy for the current textbooks in relation to their cultural content and better follows its set-up criteria for the material selection in the project. For example, according to Byram's textbook analysis (*Action*! 1982), the textbooks used in the lower secondary school in England give primary concern to communicative language teaching. The cultural topics such as food and eating, using services, leisure, housing, schooling and historical and geographical matters are all touched upon. The problem is that the presentation of the mentioned cultural information is, according to Byram, very superficial and provides few opportunities for the learners to get to know the French people and their way of life.

While the foreign language teaching in the English upper secondary schools, according to Byram, tends to concentrate on the teaching of literature in teaching the language. In other words the teaching of culture is often associated with the teaching of literature. Thus, the image of French people continues to be a blind spot in the textbooks during the whole period of secondary school education in England. To remedy this state of affairs, the five cultural topics chosen by the English team for the secondary school group, we may say, are better selected.

However, the cultural teaching syllabus of the French team, based on the background information provided by the researchers, seems to be arguable, especially with respect to the dossiers for the lower secondary school group. For example, as we see from the background information, the foreign language teaching in France seems to be rather traditional. Language acquisition is the primary focus. The target cultural information in its modern sense seems to be very rare in their textbooks. The French students' understanding of the contemporary British people is almost non-existent. Students have stereotypes about the target people and culture. As the researchers' summarised statements about the understanding of British people and the country based on the findings of a survey (by the French team) concerning the students all over France reveal:

It is a rainy country, deprived of industry, with no historical past, ruled by a queen, where people drink tea, beer or whisky, where men are still carrying umbrellas and wearing bowler hats, where the countryside is green. The country is also famous for its rock group or singers, when they are not confused with American ones.

It is inhabited by people of phlegmatic temperament and will soon be connected to the continent by a tunnel (Cain 1990, in Byram & Fleming, 1998, 33).

Although the six dossiers will surely offer some insights into the British society to some extent, the traditional classroom language teaching remains the same. How to make the 'dead' language teaching come alive remains a problem, because the six dossiers do not seem to be closely related to the actual language teaching. Moreover, a closer understanding of the British people's way of life (e.g. family, work and leisure, food and drinks, customs etc.) to be conveyed by the six dossiers might still remain a challenge because of their emphasis on the historical dimension of integration of culture.

To sum up, both the units and dossiers may thus fulfil the aims of the project: to introduce cultural awareness and to foster students' intercultural competence. But as a model of cultural studies teaching content for the secondary foreign language education, a number of issues, especially concerning the choice of cultural topics selected by the French team in the light of the general information provided, seem to still remain arguable. For example, (1) Can the historical dimension of cultural teaching employed by the French team really help to present a realistic image of the English people and help the French pupils to understand the English peoples' patterns of living? We might argue that at this stage the pupils might not even possess a fuller understanding of the matter existing in their own cultural system. Thus, the understanding of this category of cultural knowledge might become difficult for the majority of pupils without a frame of reference parallel to the learners' own. (2) Ten hours for each topic for those language beginning learners at the lower secondary level seems to be too 'professional' and the pupils' capability of comprehension of the cultural knowledge taught in the target language might be also doubted in terms of pupils' in-take. (3) In considering the whole secondary foreign language education, the six topics seem to be very narrow. And most importantly, whether the six selected topics are the most appropriate ones to help to understand the British people and the country and to realise the other aims of foreign language teaching as well probably still remains an issue to be discussed.

In the previous major works on language and culture teaching, quite a number of educators and theorists recognised that the success of the integration of culture in language teaching depends heavily on the teachers while they also recognised that most of the teachers were simply not equipped to take up the task. Thus the teacher-training education turns out to be a crucial factor. Although many educators and theorists have touched upon the problem, actual experiments in this area seem to be very rare. Therefore, the following research project carried out by Kaikkonen in relation to the teacher education must be also of special significance to the improvement of the intercultural studies in foreign language education.

The first experiment, *Culture Experienced*, was associated with teacher education students majoring in German at Tampere University (1989-1991). It, according to Kaikkonen, consisted of four stages:

- a preliminary course in December 1989;
- a seminar in spring 1990;
- a stay in Germany (Berlin, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg) in May 1990
- practical classroom experience as teacher education students at a Finnish comprehensive and high school in 1990-1991.

The purpose of the project, according to Kaikkonen, "is to make clear to the participants the differences between two cultures, to examine the role of prejudices, clichés and stereotypes, to illustrate the problems of generalising knowledge which is culturally or nationally specific, and to set in motion an active process of perception and reflection in all those taking part" (1996, 121). Thus, in Kaikkonen's view, those students as future teachers will be better able to help their own students to develop their intercultural communicative competence and intercultural understanding.

Kaikkonen's research findings reveal that the experiment and the procedures involved did effect a change in the teacher education students' cultural awareness. Thus, during their teaching practice in the following-year, according to Kaikkonen (1996), "all students emphasise[d] the importance of one's own and the foreign culture in teaching the target language, in which contrastive procedures are used" (112).

The effectiveness and success of the experiment was of great significance to the Department of Teacher Education of Tampere

University. Since then, intercultural learning, according to Kaikkonen, has been an integral part of the department. Courses in intercultural learning and multiculturalism are offered to all teacher education students now. Trainees have been offered more opportunities to mature their intercultural competence at different levels of school and abroad as part of an intercultural teacher education student exchange programme.

Culture and Foreign Language Learning was another experiment conducted by Kaikkonen (1993-1995) in collaboration with the Tampere University Department of Education and the high school, Tampereen normaalikoulu. It consisted of a two-year teaching experiment with Finnish upper secondary school pupils (17-18 years of age).

This teaching experiment, according to Kaikkonen (1997), consisted of five courses, 38 lessons each, of French and German in the upper secondary or high school level. Thirty pupils participated in the programme. Those pupils had learned about 160 lessons of the language in question before the programme started.

Each course, according to Kaikkonen, "contained certain culturally connected themes which gave the framework for the study of language and culture" (1997, 50). The third course was planned as a study visit to both France and Germany. While in Germany and France, each pupil lived alone with her/his host family and they were also given daily observational and linguistic assignments. The pupils also kept a reflective journal about what they did in the group and as an individual in their spare time.

During the five courses, according to Kaikkonen, the teaching materials were considered very carefully. The publisher's materials were used only when they were relevant. The researcher used a lot of video-recordings. As part of the teaching experiment, the pupils' projects (their reflective journals) were considered of great importance. According to Kaikkonen (1997),

they were linked to a certain theme, such as living, eating, living in town or countryside, etc. the pupils worked in small groups, sought information, evaluated it, simulated the foreign situation and presented their own projects to the others. . Within the framework of their project, the pupils designed a questionnaire for the pupils of the twin school and got back extensive written materials about the young people's ideas on friendship, dating and falling in love.

The Finnish pupils considered this material more valuable and authentic, according to our interview, than the ready-made material. This is only natural because the writers were their friends of the same age who they really knew (50).

The findings of the research show that during their project work students have learned significantly that a foreign language has to be studied with its cultural background, that the foreign language learning as a traditional school subject can only to some extent help pupils to grow towards intercultural understanding and intercultural learning. Thus, Kaikkonen firmly believes that "A dramatic change in pupils' opinions on the importance of intercultural learning is unlikely to come about on the strength of one school subject" (1996, 123). In Kaikkonen's view, the integration of intercultural learning into the whole school curriculum should also be introduced. Based on the research findings, Kaikkonen therefore suggests:

In order to achieve intercultural learning, the curriculum of all school subjects should be developed in the direction which includes all the basic fundamentals in intercultural learning: (a) an individual's own culture, his own cultural behaviour, and his own language on the one hand, and (b) foreign culture, strange behaviour, and foreign language on the other. So familiarity and 'foreignness' are the experiences the pupils should be exposed to constantly at school (1997, 50).

According to an article in *Aviisi* (12/99, 6), the newsletter of the Student Union of Tampere University, "27 per cent of Finnish teenage boys have racist tendencies. Refugees are not welcome. Even the international students of this university have had to face jeers and racist attacks". If this is true, then what Kaikkonen has done and has suggested doing to promote intercultural learning and understanding in Finnish secondary schools is of crucial significance. And his thinking of introducing intercultural learning into the whole school curriculum seems to be of first importance as well in Finland.

Nonetheless, some problems, according to Kaikkonen, arose during the project, especially during the second year of the school. As he comments:

However, especially in the second year of high school, the pressure of the following year's national matriculation examination was apparent. The pupils criticised the lack of traditional language teaching. Some pupils were worried about whether they learned enough grammar and the 'right' vocabulary from the point of view of the national matriculation examination. They were clearly firm in their belief that the examination is based on publishers' materials. (1997, 50)

Those problems identified by Kaikkonen might once again reveal that the intercultural learning as a part of foreign language education needs an official place. The improvement of textbooks might also need seriously considering if the status of teaching culture in the form of a separate course cannot be gained in the school curriculum.

Textbooks in the teaching of culture in language teaching also play a crucial role and are usually considered by the majority of language teachers to be the only source to present their pupils with the target cultural information. Thus, the analysis of the textbooks in use must prove to be a necessary step forward. Risager and Byram have offered concrete examples and models of how this may be done.

Risager (1991a) analysed the cultural contents of the textbooks for elementary level used in Scandinavia, which, according to Risager, are mostly produced in Sweden, but the overall tendencies seem generalisable to the whole of Western Europe.

Risager first outlined the situation concerning the contents of the textbooks used before the 1950s and the ones after. According to Risager, "During a long period before the 1950s, textbooks primarily served linguistic purposes, containing on the whole examples of linguistic or grammatical matters: isolated sentences, dialogues, proverbs, anecdotes, fairy tales, journey accounts, and extracts of literature. But since the 1950s they have been ascribed an increasingly important cultural role as well: linguistic examples have been dramatised to a larger extent, interlocutors have become flesh and blood by the way of drawings and photos, and the everyday life, the social context, and the natural environment of the foreign countries concerned have been gradually introduced" (Risager, 1991a, 181).

In spite of the improvement in the new teaching content towards a cultural dimension, according to Risager, language teachers and textbook-writers lack cultural awareness in practice, which led to a low status of cultural teaching in foreign language teaching. Risager also attributes this to the traditional language teaching and teacher-training the language teachers received.

In analysing the cultural contents of the textbooks, Risager (1991a) adopted a model which was originally based on the analysis of realistic prose and adapted to the present purpose. The model involves the following four general areas:

- 1. The micro level phenomena of social and cultural anthropology:
- a. the social and geographical definition of characters
- b. material environment
- c. situation of interaction
- d. interaction and subjectivity of the characters: feelings, attitudes, values, and perceived problems
- 2. The macro level social, political, and historical matters:
 - a. broad social facts about contemporary society (geographical, economic, political, etc.)
 - b. broad socio-political problems (employment, pollution, etc.)
 - c. historical background
- 3. International and intercultural issues:
 - a. comparisons between the foreign country and the pupils' own
 - b. mutual representation, images, stereotypes
 - c. mutual relations: cultural power and dominance, co-operation and conflict
- 4. Point of view and style of the author(s).

At the micro level, Risager explored the life and activities of the textbook characters and made a contrast between those in the earlier textbooks and the newer ones. In her findings, Risager noted that the textbooks had portrayed the predominantly middle classes, usually with a house surrounded by a large garden, during the whole period, though some representative characters from the working class and immigrant community had appeared in the textbooks since the 1970s. During the whole period, people of over 50 years of age and small children were almost absent, though a few exceptions in some textbooks from the late 1970s occurred. However, according to

Risager, there was a clear tendency that the age-group of the characters in the textbooks was close to the intended pupils.

The sex roles in the textbooks during the whole period, according to Risager, changed from depicting housewives working at home in earlier textbooks to depicting women working outside the home, though female unemployment was avoided. And geographically, life in urban centres instead of capital cities dominated the places of happenings during the whole period.

As to the material environment, Risager observed that the primitive drawings of the earlier textbooks were replaced by large quantities of realistic drawings and photos, showing persons, environments, and things for everyday use such as coins, signs, menus and the like. Isolated pictures, instead of connected ones like strips, predominate.

And the situations of interaction in the earlier textbooks underwent significant changes in the newer ones, which indicated a change in methodology, besides the actual change of situations. The family-centred situations in the earlier textbooks were mostly found at home, such as in the sitting rooms, in the gardens, or in the kitchens, and outside the home, such as shopping, on vacation, on the bus, etc., and at school for children. However, the situations of happenings in the newer textbooks since the 1970s occurred at places like a reception desk, restaurant, booking office and the like, which demonstrated that teaching materials were closely associated with communicative situations, indicating a sociolinguistic dimension of language teaching.

As to the aspect of interaction and subjectivity, Risager found that the relations between people depicted in the textbooks during the whole period are neutral and friendly, with little anger, love, disappointment, hatred or fear being depicted. Language function in terms of phatic and informative function is clearly demonstrated in the newer textbooks, such as expressing opinions, sympathy or antipathy. However, aspects concerning religious, philosophical and moral questions, according to Risager, were generally absent. As she said, "There are only a few more problems represented in the newer books compared with the earlier ones. We see here a strong underrepresentation of the subjective aspect of culture" (Risager, 1991a, 186).

Within the second category, the macro level: social political and historical matters, Risager observed that the information about

sociocultural facts that might be practical to visitors in a broad sense was given in some textbooks since the late 1970s, but placed only at the end of each lesson. Geographical information was presented in newer textbooks, while was almost non-existent in the earlier textbooks. As to the cultural geography, Risager found that no information was given in any of the textbooks.

Broad socio-political problems, such as youth unemployment, violence, racism alike, according to Risager, were not touched upon in the earlier textbooks, but did appear in the newer ones since the 1970s, and were treated briefly in thematic units. Concerning the historical background, Risager noted that "There are practically no passages giving historical background, though this should be possible in the mother tongue. Still, thematic units have in some cases given way to historical information, for instance, a theme on 'la Bretagne' "(Risager, 1991a, 187).

When coming to the third category, international and intercultural issues, Risager found almost no sign of this kind of information existing in the textbooks during the whole period. However, she mentioned that "in some recent textbooks one can find examples of invitations to discuss the stereotypes that different nationalities are supposed to have about the country and the people in question" (Risager, 1991, 188).

When referring to the point of view and style of the author(s), Risager comments that: "Expressions of attitudes - positive, negative, critical - towards the country and the people are extremely rare, especially in the textbooks of the 1970s and the 1980s. There are no hints at connections or contradictions, or invitation to critical analysis, not even in the mother tongue" (Risager, 1991, 188).

Based on the above analytical description of the 'European' elementary foreign language textbooks used before the 1950s and since the 1960s, Risager concludes that,

1. All the textbooks examined, earlier textbooks used before the 1950s, and the newer ones used since the 1960s, and especially since the 1970s and the 1980s, share a similar sociocultural focus: people from the middle class, or socially indefinable, of both genders, living in an urban environment, who carry out rather trivial linguistic interaction in situations of spare time and consumption. The age of characters is more or less adapted to the age of the intended pupils. However, this in turn shows the

- narrowness of the textbook characters in terms of both social and regional identities.
- 2. Both the triviality of dialogues and the tendency of infantilisation at the elementary level, are great problems, and therefore Risager suggests creating dialogues that are more imaginative. In addition, the situations of interaction are rather limited.
- 3. Both the subjectivity and feelings of textbook characters during the whole period are under-presented. In a way they are halfpersons.
- 4. All the textbooks are characterised by an objective, neutral style. Everything that might be provocative or cause conflict is avoided. Thus the presented cultural information lacks reliability and realism. All in all, a realistic image of the target people and the country is not obtained.

In another paper Risager (1991b) described the international influence on the debate on foreign language teaching in three Scandinavian countries: Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Risager first made a very brief historical introduction of the relationship between the three countries in terms of economics, politics and culture and then described the foreign language teaching and the teaching of culture in each educational system. English as a foreign language, according to Risager, has been compulsory starting from varying grades of the Primary Schools (comprising nine years) in the respective countries under discussion:

- -in Sweden from 1962 (from the 4th year of school. Until 1969 it was optional in the 8th and 9th years. From 1969 English started in the 3rd year; from 1980 schools may choose to wait until the 4th year);
- in Norway from 1974 (from the 4th year);
- -in Denmark from 1976 (from the 5th year. During the period 1958-1970 English or German were obligatory from the 6th year, but the majority chose English. In 1970-6 both English and German were obligatory, one from the 5th year, the other from the 7th year).

And the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching was prescribed among the official goals of foreign language teaching,

- in Sweden (in 1962)
- in Norway (in 1974)
- in Denmark (in 1975)

Before discussing the professional debate about the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching in each country, Risager first outlined three trends in the international debate as a framework to interpret the situation in each given context.

- 1. The justification of cultural studies, a trend focusing on the role of cultural studies in relation to various types of general and professional education.
- 2. The content of cultural studies, sometimes divided into three subtrends:
 - -the social and historical trend, focusing on pupils' ability to comprehend the structure, development and mutual relations of society. Thus it starts from the macro-level of society.
 - -the anthropological trend, focusing on pupils' ability to gain a sympathetic insight into society and culturally different conditions. Comprising such themes as the daily life of a social group, or the political and ideological struggle of minorities and grass-root movements, it starts from the micro-level of society.
 - the pragmatic trend, focusing on pupils' ability to communicate in the foreign culture. It starts from the utilitarian perspective of the learner.
- 3. The history of cultural studies, a trend focusing on the development of cultural studies, and on meta-scientific aspects.

In the Danish tradition, according to Risager, the debate covers all the above trends and all levels of teaching and Denmark can be said to be the centre of international debate. While in Norway the social and historical trend dominated the professional discussion at university level, focusing on problems of content in the teaching of British and American civilisation, represented by two groups of opinions: one prefers the teaching of history of ideas; the other prefers the teaching of contemporary institutions. The discussions about other trends were also touched upon.

In Sweden, according to Risager, a strong methodological and pragmatic tradition is clearly identified in foreign language teaching there and cultural studies are not very much discussed. And this phenomenon, in Risager's interpretation, can be best explained by the relative weakness of humanistic and social tradition in the Swedish context. Cultural studies, in the Swedish sense, are usually connected with the study of immigrants' cultures. "The social and historical trend has been presented by a politically tinted discussion on what to understand by the post-war 'German reality'

(Hermodsson, 1972, 1973; Grass 1973a & 1973 b, cited in Risager, 1991, 43), which indicates a Swedish conservative and ethnocentric tendency towards the attitude of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching. This characterisation is further justified by one of the official goals of Swedish foreign language teaching, "students should be able to describe Swedish society in the foreign language" (Risager, 1991, 42). However, the pragmatic trend, according to Risager, is favoured by the majority, which is reflected by the quantities of teaching materials published at the elementary and early intermediate levels, focusing on the activities of daily life, tourism and the like. Sweden in particular is influenced by the pragmatic tradition of the teaching of English as a foreign language, originating in Britain.

Concerning the teaching practice, according to Risager, the Scandinavian countries have much in common in terms of teaching contents. As Risager points out,

The elementary level in particular, and to some extent the early intermediate level, are marked decisively by materials produced in Sweden. The cultural content of these is mostly characterised by the pragmatic trend. Yet the materials are of a quality that can easily compete with non-Scandinavian materials. At the intermediate level, teaching in Denmark, and to a certain degree in Norway, is influenced by materials produced in Denmark, with a cultural content characterised primarily by the anthropological trend, often with a critical perspective . . . (1991b, 44).

In another paper, Buttjes (1991) of West Germany reviewed the history of the teaching of culture in German foreign language teaching, which covered the period from the beginning of the modern language reform movement in the 1880s till the 1960s, when foreign languages became a regular school subject in the German educational system.

The long history of academic interest in Landeskunde in Germany seems to make the practice of integrating culture within foreign language teaching a special German predilection. The close link between language and society was well recognised among the early German language theorists and historians and during the first half of 20th century culture was never doubted as part of the foreign language curricula However, the attitudes towards their own tradition of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching

within the German language teaching profession, according to Buttjes, are full of ambivalence.

According to Buttjes, the German debate on the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching started in the 1880s, when foreign languages were accepted into the German school curriculum. After less than 20 years of German modern language teachers' striving for realia and culture to be integrated into foreign language teaching, the cultural objectives of foreign language teaching had become widely accepted among the teaching profession. The English teaching materials during this period (around 1900), according to Buttjes, demonstrated a clear tendency towards everyday life, social customs in Britain, while, at the same time, not rejecting topics like education, Ireland, or the empire for the advanced learners. Cultural contents of foreign language teaching during this period, as Buttjes states, were realistic and fair reflections of the foreign societies. As Buttjes notes:

Within the foreign language rationale, culture had come to occupy a central and crucial position. Foreign language teaching was seen to concern itself with the real life expression of modern people and foreign language teachers were considered experts of the material and intellectual culture of foreign peoples. The term 'realia' was at the time expanded beyond merely visible objects for demonstration to include any aspects of the foreign social reality. Foreign language skills as well as literary and linguistic knowledge were considered subordinate and instrumental only in achieving such cultural and educational objectives. (Buttjes 1991, 53-54)

However, influenced by German political ideology, especially during the Nazi period with its rejection of Western democratic values and of sociology as an alien discipline, the notion of culture was branded by a clear and strong ethnocentric nature. As Buttjes notes,

Culture was set apart from the social realia and mystified as a people's soul and character as expressed in their philosophy, arts and literature. Any cultural expression was to be reduced to certain national traits of character. These characteristics would then have to be compared between the native and the foreign cultures; this comparison would lead to a knowledge of weakness and strengths which would be for the national benefit. Finally, the German

cultural values (Deutschkunde) were prescribed as the crosscurricular standard for all subjects in the Prussian school reform of 1924/25, leaving no room for any genuine interest in foreign culture. (Buttjes, 1991, 55)

Nonetheless, "the majority of foreign language theorists supported Kulturkunde, even under the perverted and paradoxical label of Deutschkunde" (Buttjes, 1991, 56). The cultural contents in many of the textbooks of this period, according to Buttjes, showed a clear intercultural distortion and prejudice, though not all of them. Therefore, in Buttjes's view, it was the enthnocentric and aggressive tenets of Deutschkunde and its fascist counterpart, Wesenskunde, which dominated Kulturkunde in the 1930s.

Influenced by the experience of the 1930s, cultural teaching in German foreign language teaching, according to Buttjes, was confined to the domain of high culture instead of the realities of the political and social life of the target country. Therefore, language curricula and the teaching materials of the 1950s show a clear bias toward the classics and aesthetics.

During the 1970s and 1980s, foreign language teaching in Germany began to develop fast again, along with the debate on the teaching of culture. In spite of the profound changes made in the recent years, in spite of the growing concern among many German teachers, scholars, and administrators that foreign language teaching must and can serve international understanding, "the language teaching profession in Germany did not find it easy to break with their nationalist cultural learning tradition after World War II" (Buttjes, 1991, 61).

All in all, the teaching of foreign language and culture in Germany bears its own peculiar characteristics, which might be offered as both a good example and lesson for the language teaching profession the world over when trying to integrating the foreign culture into their actual classroom language and culture teaching. This fascinating and controversial history of teaching language and culture in Germany can best be generalised by the following statement from Stern (1983),

Since the days of Von Humboldt the German intellectual tradition had been accustomed to viewing language and nation as closely related. Moreover, some German historians expressed ideas on the culture of nations which have much in common with the modern anthropological culture concept . . . However, the concept of culture became tainted by the development of extreme nationalism. Even before World War I, and more so in the interwar years, Kulturkunde was increasingly understood as an assertion of German identity. German educators advocated Kulturkunde in mother tongue education as the unifying principle binding together the feeling of 'German subjects', German language, German literature, German history, and the geography of Germany. (248)

In conclusion, Buttjes criticised the German cultural teaching tradition to some extent, though without expressing any firm hope for a change, saying:

With the legacy of Kulturkunde dominating great parts of the German language teaching history, the faults and contradictions of narrow culture concepts have been exposed. Such a view of culture has not only discredited cultural studies, but has also counteracted language teaching in several ways. It was used for the national distinction between foreign and native cultures rather than serving international objectives. It was committed to idealistic speculation rather than on comprehensive concepts of culture. Finally, it was reserved for a social elite and the advanced learners only, rather than addressing all pupils at all stages of language learning. (61)

2.9 Conclusion

Although the idea of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching seems often to be regarded as a new phenomenon by many of our modern language learners and language teachers as well, especially those outside the European and North American countries, in the light of the above brief survey, the practice got started when language teaching itself got started. Whichever method is to be employed in teaching the language it is impossible to teach a language without teaching the culture in which it operates because a language is deeply embedded in a culture and language itself is part of a culture. As Kelly (1969) further argues:

The cultural orientation of language teaching has always been one of its unstated aims. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain the hold Greek literature, history, and attitudes had over Roman thought. It is likewise noteworthy that the scholia so frequent in medieval

editions of the classics dealt with cultural facts as with grammar. We have already mentioned the importance of the Renaissance colloquy in teaching basic etiquette. In addition, scholars of the Renaissance recognised the utility of language as a medium of international understanding. (378)

In Kelly's view, the cultural dimension of language teaching has long been a traditional and an integral part of language teaching throughout history, though practitioners have not always clearly recognised the issue.

But why has the cultural orientation of language teaching always been one of its unstated aims, as Kelly claims in the above statement? This is because, as our survey findings recognised, language is so deeply embedded in a culture. Language is always by definition a culture-specific or situation-dependent phenomenon. Without constantly relating them to the related cultural context, meanings are difficult to get across, as Malinowski's among others investigation shows (p. 4). On the other hand, no accessible theory of the relationship between language and culture was available at that time, because the best-associated theories that can be drawn on are within the fields of sociology, anthropology and sociolinguistics. However, "For thousands of years men have observed and reflected upon the societies and the groups in which they live. yet sociology is a modern science not much more than a century old" (Bottomore, 1971, 15. In Stern, 1983, 192). And indeed Stern (1983) also notes that:

In the fifties and sixties, an anthropological and sociological view of language in connection with culture and society began to influence language teaching theory to a limited extent. Earlier thinking on language and society was directed to historical studies or philosophy. Sociolinguistics as a relatively newcomer in the language sciences has only quite recently become involved in pedagogy (1983, 246).

However, the culture integrated in the teaching of the language and into the language teaching programmes during the early years and down to the long period dominated by the Grammar-translation Method was mostly confined to that in its narrow sense, though, as is illustrated, quite a number of examples about the integration of anthropological culture existed to satisfy the new role of language required by the communities.

Since the late 1880s down to the 1970s, the emphasis on teaching the anthropological culture has been laid by many scholars and educators. But owing to the lack of sound theoretical basis and sophisticated discussion of the matter in question, the teaching of culture in language teaching, as is illustrated, was still regarded as being something secondary to the teaching of the language forms and knowledge.

Into the 1980s and 1990s, although the Cultural Studies theory, supported by a number of researches, has become very sophisticated, more clearly stated cultural aims have entered more language teaching syllabuses, the vast majority in the profession have widely accepted the idea of teaching culture and the classroom teachers have better theoretical bases for their work, the practical classroom teaching has included a much larger amount of cultural information, the majority of practitioners have shown much greater cultural awareness in language teaching than ever before in history, and modern foreign language textbook-writers have included a lot more cultural information in the textbooks, the practical situation in actual classrooms in most Western countries at the moment seems to be still very unsatisfactory. The vast majority of classroom culture teaching practice is still witnessed to be incidental and superficial in nature. The language teaching profession seem to be still groping for ways to make the teaching of culture consistent and systematic. These have been clarified by the research findings of Byram et al. (1991b) and Kaikkonen (1996, 1997) and the background information provided in the above-discussed projects. And in a recent research paper, Sercu's (1998) description of the situation of foreign language and culture teaching in Belgium might be another proof of this aspect of the matter. As Sercu notes,

Belgian teaching is largely dominated by the knowledge dimension of learning and teachers feel uneasy having to deal with affective or behavioural aspects of the learning process. Also, they have a hard time reflecting on their own teaching practices, partly because they have not acquired the necessary professional terminology to discuss and reflect upon theories and proposals for practical applications. The professional identity of language teachers, too, is a very traditional one. Most language teachers think of themselves as 'language people'. Their courses, traditionally, consist of language work and are sometimes complemented with literature or 'Kennis van land en volk' (knowledge of the country and its people), which is said to bring a welcome change from teaching but which is not felt to be an important objective of foreign language teaching. As it appears in schoolbooks, 'kennis van land en volk' is eclectic in content and method. It does not support reflective learning nor does it aim at enhancing the learners' intercultural competence (257).

And this also echoes Morgan's (1996) following statement. As Morgan maintains:

'Cultural competence', in the field of modern foreign language teaching, is a field of study relatively unexplored in Europe . . . In Germany and France, a proportion of the Modern Foreign Language curriculum is devoted to an understanding of the history and institutions of the target country ('Landeskunde' and 'civilisation') but in general this deals with information on external cultural realities and does little to help students to understand the inner codes and values that inform these realities. In Britain, although lip service is paid to an understanding of cultural values in both Lower Secondary and Upper Secondary curricula, the main emphasis is on linguistic proficiency (seen solely in terms of language and not cultural semiotics) and on literary appreciation or encyclopaedic knowledge. (225)

3. The Chinese Tradition of the Teaching of Culture in Foreign Language Teaching

In the following sections, I will approach the history of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching in China by following the commonly identified four chronologically- and politically-divided stages of Chinese history rather than by tracing something like the development of the teaching methods, as has been dealt with in the Western tradition, because nothing like that is appropriate in this context.

The survey will proceed by examining some teaching aims, school and university curricula, relevant literature and some textbook contents and viewing the research work done in the area alongside the ups and downs of Chinese foreign language teaching development. The purpose is twofold: (1) to see how the issue in question has been going on throughout history and draw out some useful and general patterns for the teaching language and culture in Chinese secondary foreign language education, and (2) to provide the Western scholars and researchers who are interested in Chinese foreign language education with a relatively detailed presentation of the history of foreign language teaching in China to help them more exactly interpret the development of foreign language teaching in China, to elicit at the same time their informed and effective suggestions so that the teaching of language and culture in China can be made more effective and meaningful.

3.1 The Early Foreign Language Teaching and the Teaching of Culture in China (before 1840)

Huihui Guozi Xue (The Huis School of Higher Education)

Literature reveals that in as early as the Qin² (221-206 BC) and Han (206 BC-220 AD) Dynasties contacts in the field of trade,

² Here and in the following pages, we use the terms such as 'the Qin Dynasty', 'the Han Dynasty', 'the Qing government' etc. The terms (Qin, Han, Qing, etc.) in both cases refer to the names of the countries given by the relevant monarches who built the country in ancient China. Thus, when we talk about, for example, the Qing government, it means the Chinese government. It is not normal to refer to a particular administration by reference to the chief ministor's name – all decisions are made in the Emperor's name. Dynasty refers to the whole period during which the monarch (one or several generations) was/were in power.

culture, sciences and technology between peoples of China and other countries had already started. Chinese silk, for example, was brought to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe by land and sea, while goods from those continents were brought to China, too. This greatly promoted the development of the relationship between China and the "rest" of the world in even more areas. One of the most prominent figures during this time of the history, who is considered to have made the greatest contribution, according to Fu (1984, 1), is Zhang Sai (?-114 BC), who was sent by the Emperor on two diplomatic missions in 139 BC and 119 BC respectively to what is now called Central Asia, the northern part of Afghanistan and Persia. Through these travels, contacts between China and these countries were established in areas such as culture and economics. From then on, till the early years of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), close contacts between China and some other countries remained. And so it is clear that there was a need for personnel who were proficient in foreign languages.

However, no historical document has ever been found carrying any information about the formal foreign language teaching then. The Huis School of Higher Education, according to Fu (1986, 7), is the earliest foreign language school in China, which was built in 1289, and where Persian was taught to children of high officials and the rich. The school was built to produce interpreters/translators for the government, because of the increasing contacts in commerce and trade between China and some other countries, mostly from Central Asia. That is why Persian language was taught, not any other languages. Owing to the absence of historical documents concerning the foreign language teaching then in terms of teaching materials, methods, examination systems and the like, which is also the case in the two schools dealt with below, it is very hard to make any scientific evaluation about the teaching of culture within foreign language teaching at that time. However, foreign language teaching during this period of time could be interpreted as being socialoriented based on the above information we have. Therefore, it is fair to assume that cultural information was included in the practical language teaching.

Si YI Guan (The Si Yi Foreign Language School)

Being a relatively powerful country among the neighbouring ones, China was in a dominant position in the region during the time. Some neighbouring countries came to China to pay their tributes in as early as 1407. To deal with these international relations, schools of eight foreign languages were founded in 1407, aiming at producing translators/interpreters for the government. As Fu (1986, 8) notes:

From 1407 onwards, foreign countries came to pay tributes, thus a total of eight language schools were set up to serve the purpose of these international interactions, i.e. the School of Mongol, the School of Nuzhen Language (an ancient nationality in China), the School of Tibetan Language, the School of Indian Language, the School of the Huis Language, the School of the Dai Language, the School of the Uygur Language and the School of Burmese Language. Students and translators/interpreters were asked to translate the written language and interpret the spoken language. [All quotations from Fu are my own translation]

Then from 1426 on, according to Fu (1986, 8), the teaching of foreign languages (i.e. Indian, Burmese, Thai, besides the Chinese minority languages) got started, because of the increasing commercial contact between China and those countries which was chiefly brought about through the travels made by Zheng He (1371-1435), a famous Chinese navigator, who, according to our history textbooks (History, J. B. I, 1992), travelled seven times to more than thirty countries in Asia and Africa with large groups of people by sea (27,000-28,000 people in more than 200 ships each time), taking things such as silk, plates made of celadon and other things used to exchange for other goods with the local people of the visited countries. Zheng's travelling to the 'West' greatly promoted China's relationship with those countries in, particularly, trade, which made the mastery of a foreign language highly appreciated at that time. Therefore, not only the students with good grades from the Si Yi Foreign Language School could be appointed to positions as government officials dealing with foreign affairs, but the people in society who knew a foreign language could also be recommended to some relevant positions. As a result, according to "Diangu Jiwen" (Yu Ji-deng, in Fu, 1986, 9), "Private foreign language learning

became very popular then. In order to go in for official careers, people made every effort to employ teachers to teach them a foreign language in private, besides striving to enter the official Si Yi Foreign Language School".

Thus we have evidence that foreign language learning was highly valued during this time in China, because of the increasing international contacts between peoples. The development of foreign language teaching in China, as is the case elsewhere, was closely associated with the development of the society. Similarly, it is reasonable to deduce here, too, that the social dimension of language teaching was included here too.

Eluosiwen Guan (The Russian Language School)

This Russian language school was the first Russian language school in Chinese history and was founded by the Qing government (1616-1911). It began, according to Gao (1979, in Fu, 1986), in 1708, though different opinions exist. Gao's source is a document stored in the Imperial Palace, Beijing, which reads as follows:

On March the eighth 1708, Emperor Kang Xi thought the contact between China and Russia was increasing very fast and Chinese translators/interpreters of Russian language should be trained so that some tricks played by some foreign interpreters could be avoided. (Cited in Fu, 1986, 10)³

In the early practical language teaching, according to Fu (1986, 11), Russians both working and settled in China were the main source of teachers, and Chinese teachers of Russian language joined in later. Owing to its feature of appointing students to official careers through selection by examination, the school had a very strict examination system. Examinations were held monthly, quarterly, annually and the final one was held every five years. The school was not simply producing translators/interpreters alone, but also aimed to train officials dealing with diplomatic and commercial affairs with

³ Note: According to the information provided by Fu (1986, 10), "the translation and interpretation work between Chinese and Russian at the governmental level was carried out by some missionaries from the West, Russian business people, Russian students and war prisoners in China during the Qing government. Those people were not all honest and some had done many things that harmed the Chinese internal affairs and foreign affairs. Xu Ri-sheng, a Portuguese, and Zhang Cheng, a Frenchman, for example, colluded with Ge Luo-wen, a Russian diplomatic mission, accepted bribes and practised favourism, disclosed secrets, when they acted as interpreters during the negotiation of the Nibuchu Treaty in 1689, and sacrificed the Chinese interest."

the Russian government. The number of students at this school, according to Fu (1986, 12), remained between 25 and 27 all the time. It was not until 1860 that some other foreign languages were added to the teaching programme. This school was incorporated into the Beijing Translation School in 1862 after 154 years. We may deduce that the teaching of culture was probably a prominent feature in actual language teaching.

3.2 Foreign Language Teaching and the Teaching of Culture in Modern Times (1840-1919)

Five wars in Chinese modern history, the Opium War (1840-1842); the War between China and British and French Allied Forces (1857); the War between China and France (1884); the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and the War between China and the Eight-power States (1900), forced the Chinese Qing government to sign treaties which reduced China to the status of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. Besides a few diehards, according to Fu (1986, 14), "the majority of government officials and the public realised that only through learning from and understanding the Western civilisation and striving for vigorous development, could the power of the Qing government be preserved". Against this background, clearly a political motivation, foreign language teaching once again became highly thought of and several foreign language schools and schools of sciences and engineering were set up to implement their goal of learning and understanding the Western civilisation through the medium of the foreign languages being taught at those schools, while at the same time quite many students were sent out to study abroad.

Beijing Tongwen Guan (The Beijing Translation School)

The Beijing Translation School is the earliest modern foreign language school that was ever founded in modern times in China. When the Qing government suffered time and again in dealing with Western powers, they realised that knowing nothing about the relevant foreign language and being duped by outsiders was also one of the reasons. Therefore, according to Fu (1986, 15), the Reverent Prince, Yi Xin, presented a proposal to the Emperor to set up what is now called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And in 1861, the

Ministry was set up, but most officials did not speak a foreign language at all. Then the Prince and his supporters presented a memo again to the Emperor to select some gifted children of less than 13 or 14 years of age to learn foreign languages. Thus, the Beijing Translation School was built the next year, in 1862 to meet the needs, and was placed under the command of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to use the modern term.

When the Beijing Translation School started in 1862, according to Fu (1986, 15), only an English language school existed, with J. C. Burdon, a British missionary, being the teacher of English, while Xu Shu-lin was the teacher of Chinese. In 1863, a French school and a Russian school were added, with Smornenberg teaching French and A. Popoff teaching Russian. In 1872, a German language school was added, with Titouskin being the teacher of German. And finally in 1896, a Japanese language school joined in.

10 students, according to Fu (1986), were admitted each year into each school at the Beijing Translation School. The period of schooling there was three years, with English and Chinese being the main subjects. Later, it was discovered that the students' achievements were not satisfactory within such a relatively short time. The period of schooling therefore was extended to eight years. The curriculum during those eight years, according to Fu (1986, 16-17), was as follows:

The first year: Read and write, explain simply the words and

phrases, explain simple books.

The second year: Explain simple books, practise sentence

structures, translate brief informational notes.

The third year: Explain maps of different countries, read brief

histories of different countries, translate

selected collections.

The fourth year: Impart rudimentary knowledge of mathematics

and physics, explain and study algebra, translate

official documents.

The fifth year: Explain and study the principles about the whys

and wherefore of things, original goniometry, plane trigonometry, and arctrigonometry,

practise translating books.

The sixth year: Explain and study apparatus, infinitesimal

calculus, nautical survey, and practise

translating books.

The seventh year: Explain and study chemistry, astronomy,

surveying, public laws of many countries, and

practise translating books

The eighth year: Explain and study astronomy, surveying

geography, inscriptions on ancient bronzes and stone tables, essays in making the country rich,

and practise translating books.

From this school curriculum, we can see that the integration of culture in the foreign language-teaching programme and classroom activities was self-evident, though in its traditional form. Yet, in practical classroom language teaching, the integration of the target culture might be also a distinctive phenomenon in considering the source of employed teaching staff. As to the cultural element in the foreign language teaching materials in use at this school, it is hard to make any reasonable interpretation, because no relevant textbooks or documents are available.

In 1865, the school became a college of higher education and ceased to exist in 1900, because of the war with the Eight-power States. In 1901, the school was incorporated into Beijing University and was called the Translation School with a five-year school system. The teaching in this Translation School concentrated on the teaching of foreign languages, while the teaching of Chinese was also emphasised. According to Fu (1986), a student could only choose one of the five foreign languages (English, German, French, Japanese, and Russian) and other subjects such as Human Relations, Chinese Literature, History and so on were taught as minors. In practical classroom teaching the Translation Method was used. The teaching of culture occupied a larger part in this syllabus than in the former one, though still remained within the confine of the teaching of fine arts. The teaching of everyday culture could be proved if the conversations that appeared in the texts were authentic. Fu (1986) elaborates the whole teaching programme as follows:

This school offered 36 hours of teaching each week, six hours per day. Foreign language teaching occupied 16 hours per week during the first two years, and 18 hours per week during the last three years. During the first three years, constructing sentences, pronunciation, translation, grammar, conversation, and composition were dealt with, while during the last two years, essentials of literature were added. The other subjects that occupied two hours

per week are: Chinese history and geography (dealt with during the first two years); Asian and European history and geography (dealt with during the third year); African and American history and geography (dealt with during the fifth year), and a few more courses (dealt with during the last year). Students were grouped according to their achievements in the examination after they entered the school. The final results of the examination were classified into 5 grades, according to which posts were assigned. (20)

Besides the Beijing Translation School, several other foreign language schools, according to Fu (1986), were also founded, such as the Shanghai School of Guangzhou Dialect (1863), and the Guangzhou School of Guangzhou Dialect (1864), where a foreign language was the main subject, while history, geography, and some natural science subjects were minors. "The purpose of the schooling in these schools was to enable the students to read 'Western books', translate 'Western learnings' and learning from 'the West' (in Fu, 1986, 15). The teaching of culture, as was the case before, occupied a very stable place in its traditional manner in the teaching programme, emphasising the high arts of the target country and other countries as well.

Foreign Language Teaching and the Teaching of Culture in the Schools of Other Kinds during the Westernization Movement⁴

In 1864, when Zeng Guo-fan and others put down, with the help of foreign forces, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864) established by Hong Xiu-quan during the Taiping Revolution, the largest of the peasant uprisings in China's history, they realised the power of Western warships and their sciences and technology. Thus, according to Fu (1986, 21-22), they presented a proposal to the government and were granted approval to build a number of factories, mines, and other enterprises, and some military schools as well, such as the Fujian Shipbuilding School (1866), the Tianjing Seaman School (1881), the Nanjing Seaman School (1890) and several others. Most of these schools hired foreign teachers to teach

for foreign capitalists in a colonial and semi-colonial country.)

⁴ The aim of Westernization was to introduce techniques of capitalist production, initiated by comprador* bureaucrats in the latter half of the 19th century in order to preserve the feudal rule of the Qing government. (*According to the Modern Chinese Dictionary (1978), a comprador is an agent who promotes the sale of goods, plunders natural resources and carries out activities of economic invasion

both foreign languages and other subjects through the medium of foreign languages being learned.

However, for the similar reason previously mentioned the teaching of target culture largely in its traditional form was probably a prominent feature both in the ongoing teaching of the language itself and the actual school and classroom activities, interpreted from the existing information in terms of teaching staff and the teaching aims. Moreover, as can be seen, the teaching of a foreign language in China so far has been reserved for the social elite only.

Foreign Language as a Regular Subject in both Secondary Schools and Universities after the Constitutional Reform and Modernisation (1898)

When the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) ended in the defeat of the Qing government, and the Westernization Movement fell through because of the intervention of Ci Xi, the mother of the Emperor, and her followers, Emperor Guang Xu and his supporters decided to follow the example of the Meiji Reform of Japan (1868), and began a political reform, i.e. the Constitutional Reform and Modernisation (1898).

This political reform touched upon the areas of politics, economics, education and military. With respect to education, the reform aimed to reform the imperial examination system⁵ and abolish the Bagu (an eight-part essay, which was a literary composition, known for its rigidity of form and poverty of ideas), and suggested (1) setting up primary and secondary schools on a large scale and universities in the capital city; (2) setting up a translation publishing house, translating foreign books; (3) allowing newspaper offices and academic societies to set up and (4) encouraging scientific works and innovations by giving awards. However, owing to the coup staged by Ci Xi, the mother of the Emperor, the reform finally ended in failure. Yet, some of the items were retained, such as the items concerning education.

In education they adopted the principle of 'learning our own things (Confucian classics, Chinese traditions) is the central aim while learning foreign things is simply for the reason of utility' (in

⁵ According to the *Modern Chinese Dictionary*, the imperial examination system was used to select reserve civil and military officials through separate examinations starting from the Sui Dynasty (581-618) till Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). During the Tang Dynasty (618-907), there were more classifications of posts for civil officials, and the examination was held every year. During the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing Dynasties, there was only one division for civil officials.

Fu, 1986, 23). The authorities recognised the importance and necessity of learning the Western language and culture in order to hold onto their power and make the country stronger at the same time. Yet, this politically motivated principle clearly narrowed the aims of language and culture learning, which, to a large extent, has dominated the foreign language education in China ever since.

According to this principle, a new school system for the whole country was issued and implemented in 1903 after it was revised and approved. This school system lasted till 1911, when the Qing government was overthrown by the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, which is known as the Revolution of 1911. During this period of time, some changes also occurred. These changes include shortening the period of primary schooling, making divisions to separate those who learn liberal arts and those who learn sciences in secondary schools, allowing girls to go to school, and allowing boys and girls to attend the same school. This system divided the whole education into three stages:

- (1) Primary education: Infant School and Junior Primary School (5 years); Senior Primary School (4 years)
- (2) Secondary education: Secondary School (5 years)
- (3) Higher education: Preliminary courses (3 years); university (3-4 years); institute of postgraduate studies (5 years)

According to this school system, children started junior primary school at the age of seven and a foreign language was compulsory from secondary schools onwards while it was only recommended in some coastal city senior primary schools. Thus, a foreign language as a regular school subject in both secondary school and the university in China started officially in 1903. Foreign language teaching during this time was placed in a very important position, and the reasons for this can be identified in the Zouding School Constitution cited below:

Students from secondary schools upward must study a foreign language hard. People who do not understand a foreign language in the current situation will have obstacles in communication, travelling and pursuing studies abroad . . . Absurd interpretations would have no chance to play their tricks, if there were more people in China who understood foreign languages. Therefore, students from secondary schools upward have to make every effort

to study foreign languages hard. Students who major in Confucian classics, Lixue [a Confucian school of idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties], Chinese literature and historiography also have to master a foreign language to be used later. (Cited in Fu, 1986, 24)

From the above information, we can see that the social-dimension of language teaching was clearly demonstrated during this period of time, emphasising the use of language as an instrument. This also echoes the 1903 secondary school foreign language teaching objectives, which says: "The main point of learning a foreign language is to skilfully practise the basic Japanese, English, Russian, French, and German. English and Japanese should be given special attention so as to use them when needed" (in Fu, 1986, 25). And the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching, though not offered any official place in the teaching aims, was still performed in the traditional way, as is reflected in the teaching materials.

Foreign Language Teaching and the Teaching of Culture during the Period from the Revolution of 1911 to the May 4th Movement of 1919⁶

In 1912, Yuan Shi-kai, a warlord, proclaimed himself Emperor. During the eight years of his being in power, China was still characterised by a semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. The whole educational system, though changed a little, was still influenced by the one initiated in 1903. In the September of 1912, the Ministry of Education issued a new school system, which was revised in January 1913 (Guichou year) and also known as the Renzi-Guichou School System. This school system worked till 1922, when another new school system came into being. This school system was organised as follows:

- (1)Primary school education: junior primary school (4 years); senior primary school (3 years). Foreign language teaching may start from either the second or the third year of the senior primary school, depending on the situation. Children start school at the age of seven.
- (2) Secondary school: 4 years, foreign language is compulsory

⁶ An anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, political and cultural movement influenced by the October Revolution and led by intellectuals having the rudiments of communist ideology.

(3) University: 3-4 years, foreign language is compulsory

Literature reveals that the practical classroom foreign language teaching during this time was still approached in the traditional way. However, while the training of the linguistic skills were given primary concern, spoken English was emphasised at the early stage. This is clarified by the following 1913-foreign-language-teaching objectives: "The main point of learning a foreign language is to understand the basic spoken and written foreign language and be able to use them and increase knowledge" (cited in Fu, 1986, 25). The teaching of culture, though not mentioned at all in the official aims of foreign language teaching, was clearly identified in the school curriculum, illustrated by such courses as history, geography and literature.

3.3 Foreign Language Teaching and the Teaching of Culture During the Period of 1919-1949

Foreign Language Teaching Organised by the Chinese Communist Party

Influenced by the "October Revolution" in Russia, the Chinese Communist Party decided to follow the Russian example and learn from Russia. To learn from Russia, the first thing for the Chinese Communist Party to do was to train some Russian language personnel. Against this political background, the Foreign Language Learning Society was set up in 1920, which was the first school specialised in foreign languages run by the Chinese Communist Party.

The Society, according to Fu (1986, 46), recruited students from all walks of life in society. The main subjects taught there were Russian and Marxist theory. The teaching facilities there were very simple. The classrooms were used for other purposes when they were not used for teaching. The school ceased to exist in July 1921 after less than one year. Its teaching activities and contents and the achievements of the students were not documented.

Shanghai University was another one founded by the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 as a place to train revolutionary leaders. There were three departments there: the Department of Chinese Literature, the Department of British Literature and the Department

of Sociology. Students there, according to Fu (1986, 48), were mostly revolutionaries. English, Russian, German, and Japanese language teaching were offered there. In 1927, the university was forced to stop, because of the coup staged by Jiang Jieshek. No documents can be traced about the teaching materials, methods and the like.

During the eight years of the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), Japanese language teaching was definitely encouraged. The teaching was going on in small training classes and the teaching contents, according to Li (1988, 49-50), were some very basic words and phrases at the beginning. In the early 1940s, the Russian Red Army began to build contacts with the Chinese Red Army and sent them doctors, technicians, medicine, and Russian newspapers and magazines. Thus learning Russian language turned out to be another urgent need. Against this background, a Russian language department in Yan'an University was set up in September 1941. The teaching materials were mostly written by the teachers themselves, largely selected from Russian newspapers and journals. This department existed till the beginning of 1943.

At about the same time, another foreign language school was set up in Yan'an by the Chinese Communist Party. The purpose of the school was to train military interpreters and translators to carry out the political struggle. There was, according to Fu (1986, 50-51), no definition to the length of schooling there. Once needed, the students would be transferred to work at any time. The teaching objective was pragmatic-oriented and so closely associated with their practical needs in daily life and work. Some foreign teachers were employed to teach the native language there and used the Direct Method, which certainly conveys the native culture while teaching the language. A Chinese teacher helped to explain the grammar points.

All of these foreign language schools and universities mentioned above are characterised by the limitation of time in practical teaching and the short period of existence. The purpose of the language teaching is clear, to communicate with people from other cultures. The teaching was thus pragmatic, with a very evident social and political dimension of foreign language teaching, which might recognise the inclusion of culture.

Foreign Language Teaching and the Teaching of Culture under the Rule of the Kuomindang Government (1922-1949)

In 1922, the Kuomindang government issued another new school system. This time instead of following the Japanese model there was a change to the British and American one in terms of school system, curriculum, and the teaching methodology. Pupils usually started their schooling at the age of 7, and spent 4 years in junior primary school, 3 years at senior primary school, 3 years in lower secondary school, 3 years in upper secondary school, and 4-6 years at universities.

Foreign language teaching during this time began to be influenced by the Direct Method to some extent. In the schools and universities run by the foreign churches, the Direct Method was adopted, emphasising the training of listening and speaking, for the teachers there were native-speakers and the textbooks were published in Britain or America. Since the Direct Method emphasises the integration of culture in teaching the language, the teaching of culture in their foreign language teaching is thus selfevident in their practical classroom teaching. Some local teachers were also influenced. Zhang Shi-yi, for example, tried and advocated the Direct Method. In actual secondary school classroom language teaching, contextualised language use was emphasised at the beginners' stage, while at the advanced stage, foreign language teaching mainly served a literary purpose, though practical language use was not ignored. The cultural orientation of language teaching is clearly presented, as is shown in both the following teaching objectives (in Fu, 1986, 56) and the teaching materials used during this time (see Table 1), emphasising the traditional high culture in some textbooks, and the culture of broad definition in others.

Lower secondary school:

- 1). to enable the students to practise using basic English that is related to the daily-life.
- 2). to enable students to lay a good foundation for further study of English.
- 3). to enable students to develop their language experience through the study of English.
- 4). to enable students to gain interest in studying all things foreign through the study of English.

Upper secondary school:

- 1). to enable students to practise using the commonly-used practical English.
- 2). to enable students to have a general understanding of the English literary works of modern times.
- 3). to enable students to lay a good foundation for further study of the specialised learning in English.
- 4). to enable students to lay a foundation for the use of English in further professional training.
- 5). to enable students to develop their experience in language through the study of English.
- 6). to enable students to further their interests in studying foreign culture through the study of English.

Table 1. Some of the Most Influential Textbooks Used in Secondary Schools in the 1920s (cited in Fu, 1986, 57):

Name	First	No. of	Size	Contents and its arrangements
of book	edition	vols	of	_
			vocab	
English	1917	4	4,433	1. Grammar-translation Method is
Model,				totally avoided and all explanations
a				are in English. 2. International
reader				phonetic symbols are introduced in
(Zhou				the first volume and a good
Yue-				pronunciation is required. 3. The
ran)				vocabulary is very practical and
				centred around daily-life within the
				first three volumes. 4.Grammar is
				explained inductively in the second
				and third volumes. Rhetoric and
				composition are dealt with in the
				fourth volume. 5. The whole fourth
				volume consists of extracts from
				British and American classic literary
				works, with a variety of styles and
				has a high coefficient of difficulty.
Kaiming	1927	3	2,356	1. It starts with spoken English,
Junior				attaching importance to the training
English				of phonetics and idioms.
, a				International phonetic symbols are
reader				used. 2. Key points are dealt with in
(Lin				grammatical exercises, such as
Yu-				comparison. 3. Texts are
tong)				characterised by vividness with a

1 .	1020	2	.1	care to the students' interests. 4. The repetition of vocabulary and pattern drills is also given attention.
Junior Standar d English (Lin Han- da)	1930	3	about 2,500	1. Attention is paid to the overall training of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. 2. There are plenty of grammatical examples, laying stress on pragmatics, with little theoretical explanation. 3. The texts are characterised by the variety of short stories and poetry, and the variety of style and theme. 4. The repetition of vocabulary and pattern drills was also given some attention.
Senior English Literary Selections (by Su Zhong Secondary School Teacher s' English research Society, 1929)	1929	3	2,628	1. Some famous European and American literary works that can arouse interest are selected and processed from the easy to the difficult. 2. There are exercises in the form of question answer, sentence-making, and recitation, with an average of 10 exercises in each lesson. 3. Notes and explanations are in English.
Stand- ard Senior Literary Selec- tions (Li Ru- mian)	1931	3	4,473	1. Some famous European and American literary works are selected characterised by a long and difficult text. 2. Exercises involve the summarising of the main point of the text and paraphrasing in English.

In addition, according to Fu (1986), some other textbooks such as "Direct Junior English" (Zhang Shi-yi, 1930), "Cultural English, a reader" (Li Deng-hui, 1928), "Direct English, a reader" (Wei Youzhang, 1935) were also used by many schools.

Since the 1920s, English was offered for the first- and secondyear non-English major college students. A different emphasis of language teaching can be pinpointed there. The teaching objective for those students, according to Fu (1986, 59), was to improve the students' ability to read and translate. Therefore, the majority of students concentrated on reading British literary works and original specialised academic books, paying little attention to listening and speaking. The Grammar-translation Method was used in practical language teaching. The textbooks used for other subjects were also produced in the West. Thus, although reading and translation were the main activities in the classrooms then, the integration of culture in those students' learning the language and other subjects is, nonetheless, evident. And also, as we noted about the Grammar-translation Method, the method was forced into a somewhat conscious relationship with the cultural aspect of the language.

This dimension of foreign language teaching was even more clearly demonstrated in the foreign language teaching in the Departments and Institutes of Foreign Languages. However, a sense of nationalism in learning the language and culture can be felt as well in some places. For example, as is shown in the following foreign language teaching objectives in the Department of Foreign Languages of the Former Central Committee University⁷. The teaching objectives in this department were:

(1) to give attention to the training of the basic and practical foreign language skills so as to improve the students' ability to read, write and translate; (2) to teach the standard foreign literary works so as to improve the students' standard of appreciation and criticism of them, and absorb its outstanding literary ideology to be viewed and emulated; (3) to study the manifestation of the literature and national ideology of different countries so as to arouse students' consciousness of independent development and train them to propagate and express Chinese national ideology. (The Department of Foreign Language of the Central Committee University, 1935, cited in Fu, 1986, 59).

As to the syllabus design during this time, it followed the British and American model, which was characterised by more courses in the histories of various subjects and closely followed the set teaching objectives. Though the focus of foreign language teaching was still on developing students' ability to read and

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⁷ The present Nanjing University.

appreciate the foreign literature of different periods of history, the cultural teaching in foreign language teaching was fairly clear in the official syllabus and teaching materials, represented by a heavy load of high culture courses. As is illustrated in Table 2 below:

Table 2. The Syllabus in the Department of Foreign Languages of the Central Committee University in the 1930s (cited in Fu, 1986, 59-61)

r		Name of the course	Len	C	Н	Note
r	of		gth	re	r	
	course		(yr)	di	S	
				t	/	
1st	Comp	History of British literature	1	4	3	
	Comp- ulsory	Selections of famous British	1	4	3	
tal	-		1	6	3	
	(29 cr-	literary works		6 4		
	edits)	English conversation	1		3	
cre		English composition (A)	1	4	3	
d-		French (A)	1	6	3	(1)
its)		German (A)	1	6	3	(1)
		Sketches of the history of Chinese		_	•	(2)
		literature	1	5	3	(2)
	Options	Japanese (A)	1	6	3	(-)
	(3cr-	History of Western philosophy	1	6	3	(3)
	edits)	Ethics	1/2	3	3	(4)
		Politics	1	6	3	(5)
		Economics	1	6	3	(6)
		General sociology	1	6	3	(7)
2nd	Comp-	Selections of contemporary British				
(To	ulsory	& American poems	1	4	3	
tal	(24 cr-	Selections of contemporary British				
of	edits)	& American prose works	1	4	3	
32	ŕ	English composition (B)	1	4	3	
cre		French (B)	1	6	3	
dits		German (B)	1	6	3	(8)
)		History of Chinese civilisation	1	6	3	` /
	Option	Japanese (B)	1	6	3	
	s(8cre-	English oratory & debate	1	6	3	
	dits)	19 th -century British literature	1	6	3	
	/	History of American literature	1/2	3	3	
		Contemporary European &				

American novel		Γ			_	_	
American opera Sketches of critical interpretation of ancient texts 1				1	6	3	
Sketches of critical interpretation of ancient texts 1			Contemporary European &				
Optional content texts 1			American opera	1	6	3	
Subjects of poetry category 1			Sketches of critical interpretation				
Subjects of poetry category 1			of ancient texts	1	5	3	(9)
Aesthetics 1/2 2 2 (11)			Subjects of poetry category	1	4-		
Style of life					2		` /
Nowledge of arts 1/2 2 2 (13)					2		, ,
Compulsory Compute Compulsory Comput			•				, ,
CTO Ulsory C17cre-	2 1						(13)
tal (17cre- 34 dits) French or German (c)		_			_	_	
dits) Options (17 the-century British literature 1 1 6 3	`	_	*			_	
Cre dits) Options (17 18 th-century British literature European & American literature and the social ideological trends Contemporary European & American literature its) European & American literature and the social ideological trends Contemporary European & American literature & national ideology Japanese (C) Subjects of poetry category Philosophy of life of Goethe & Faust History of Western civilisation 4th Compulsory (16 European & American literature (A) (16 European & American literature (16 European & American literary (16 European & American literary (17 Credits C	tal	(17cre-	English composition	1	4	_	
dits) Options (17	34	dits)	French or German (c)	1	4	3	(14)
Options (17	cre						
Options (17	dits						
ns (17 cred- cred- its) Record European & American literature 1)						
ns (17 cred- cred- its) Record European & American literature 1	/	Ontio-	17 th -century British literature	1	6	3	
credits European & American literature 1/2 3 3 3 3 4 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 4				_	_		
its) and the social ideological trends Contemporary European & American literature & national ideology Japanese (C) Subjects of poetry category Philosophy of life of Goethe & Faust History of Western civilisation 4th Comp- ulsory Selections of English words tal (16 European & American literary 34 credits cre) English composition (D) Options (18 credits) Options (18 credits) Selections of famous French literary works Literatures of the Renaissance Study of the experts specialised in European & American literature History of poetry & verse Modern British & American 1/2 3 3 1/3 3 1/4 3 3 1/5 3 1/2 3 3 1/2 3 3 1/3 4 3 1/4 3 1/5 3 1/6 3 1/7 1/8 3 1/8 1/8 3 1/9 1/9 3 1/9 1/0 3 1/1 1/0 3 1/1 1/0 3 1/1 1/0 3 1/0 3 1/0 3 1/0 3 1/1 1/0 3 1/0		`		1	0)	
Contemporary European & American literature & national ideology Japanese (C) Subjects of poetry category Philosophy of life of Goethe & Faust History of Western civilisation 4th Comp- History of European literature (A) I			•	1 /2	2	2	
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			philosophy	1/2	4	3	

French modern philosophy	1/2	3	3	
German modern philosophy	1/2	3	3	

Note: (1)=only one of these two foreign languages can be chosen. Once chosen by the student, he/she has to continue the course for 3 successive years. (2), (9), (10), (15), (18)=The Department of Chinese Literature. (3), (4), (11), (12), (13), (16), (19), (20), (21)=The Department of Philosophy. (5)=The Department of Politics. (6)=The Department of Economics. (7)=The Department of Sociology. (8)=Continue the foreign language chosen. (17)=The Department of Historiography.

Note: within the four years of study in this department, students had to complete at least 132 credits so as to get the diploma.

In December 1948, the Guomindang Government also issued "criteria for lower and upper secondary school English teaching". However, according to Li (1988, 177), all the documents issued by the Ministry of Education of the Guomindang government were not actually effective at all, because the Chinese mainland was in the process of being completely liberated and the People's Republic of China was on the point of being established. Yet, these criteria seem to include the best clearly and officially defined cultural dimension of foreign language teaching in Chinese secondary schools so far. As is illustrated in the following models:

- -The criteria for lower secondary school English teaching:
- . to practice the basic English related to daily life.
- . to form a sound base of the further study of English.
- . to understand British and American national spirit and customs.
- . to stimulate [pupils'] interest in learning Western things.
- -The criteria for upper secondary school English teaching:
- . to practice the basic and pragmatic English.
- . to improve the language training through the learning of English poetry and prose.
- . to gain interest in Western civilisation/culture through the learning of English.
- . to have a general idea about the customs of English-speaking countries through the learning of English.
- . to stimulate patriotism and international understanding from the record of British and American national historical relics.

Although the two criteria for the secondary foreign language teaching were not actually put into practice, the communicative dimension and cultural dimension of language teaching are, to some degree, evident. Such an understanding of the English language teaching theory in the Chinese foreign language education at that time can be said to be very novel. The major aims of the foreign language teaching can be identified in these two models and they seem to be much in advance of their times.

Moreover, as is mentioned at the beginning of Section 3.2, during the period of 1870-1949, a large number of students were sent, chiefly by the government, to study in the United States, Japan, Britain, France, Germany, among other countries. To offer a better connection with the studies abroad, such as school systems, some preparatory schools were set up to meet this need. For example, in 1911, according to Fu (1986), the Qing government set up another preparatory school for those who were to be sent to study in the United States. The school totally modelled itself on the American secondary school system in terms of school subjects, textbooks, teaching materials, sports, military exercises, extracurricular activities etc. All courses except Chinese, Chinese history and Chinese geography were given in English. Even the school administrative meetings, school notices, speeches at meetings etc. were all carried out in English, which became a lingua franca in this school. From 1911 to 1929, when the school ceased to exist, according to Fu (1986), 1,279 pupils were sent to the United States alone. Most of these pupils came back with the degree of M.A. or Ph.D after 2 or 3 years of study there.

Furthermore, a large number of Western church people, according to Fu (1986, 40), came to China to run schools and universities of all levels and all kinds (see Table 3), which also influenced the foreign language and cultural teaching in China in varying degrees.

Table 3. The Schools and Universities Run by Christian Churches During the Period of 1840-1921 (cited in Fu, 1986, 40)

Type of school	No.	No. of students
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Infant School	139	4.244
Primary School	1,599	184,481
Secondary School	1291	15,213
Teachers' College	48	612
University	16	2,017
College of Law	1	27
Medical College	10	563
School of Nursing	106	1,380
School for the Blind	29	794
School for Orphans	25	1,733
School for the Deaf	5	60
Bible School	100	2,659
College of Theology	73	391
Total	7,382	214,174

Besides these above mentioned schools of all kinds and all levels run by Christian Churches, according to Fu (1986), those run by the Roman Catholic Church during the time also reached about 6,255, with a total number of 144,344 students. Take the area of Shanghai for example: the Catholic Church ran 2 missionary universities, and 170 missionary primary and secondary schools.

Some of the famous universities run by these churches include Yanjing University, University. Shandong Hongkong University and others. These missionary schools and universities were run by Western people in the Western tradition. St. John's University in Shanghai, for example, according to the information provided by Fu (1986, 41-42), consisted of six colleges. They were the College of Liberal Arts, the College of Sciences, the College of Engineering, the Medical College, the College of Agriculture and the College of Theology, where the heads of each college and the attached divisions were missionaries, including the head of the Chinese division. All textbooks and reference books (including Chinese history and geography) were compiled in English. Even the test papers were directly brought there from the University of Columbia in the United States. In practical teaching, all the teachers taught in English including the local teachers, except the teachers of Chinese. Such events and activities as writing notices, letters, and documents; speeches at meetings and so on were all carried out in English. In addition, the university required that all the students, regardless of their majors, use English in social interaction in the university. Thus, cultural teaching and learning is clearly part of the

teaching programme and school activities as well. The Western tradition was not only reflected in practical teaching only, but also in students' daily life, too, such as dress, social interactions, etc. And also the university required the students to celebrate the Western festivals such as Christmas Day, April Fool's Day, Thanksgiving Day, Halloween and so on.

3.4 Foreign Language Teaching and the Teaching of Culture from 1949 to Today

1949-1956 (a Period of Maintenance with Great Difficulty)

October 1 1949 saw the founding of the People's Republic of China. The new government paid great attention to the development of foreign language education. Russian language teaching was emphasised and made the first foreign language in both secondary schools and universities because of the government's general policy of learning from Russia in the building of the country. Therefore, several foreign language schools were set up to meet the needs, while the teaching of English and other foreign languages during this time was very much ignored. This is because, on one hand, China had no diplomatic relationship with the West and the contacts with other Asian, African and Latin American countries remained on a very small scale on the other. The need for a mastery of other foreign languages than Russian was small. What is more, the government then lacked an overall and long-term policy in managing the foreign language education and ignored the teaching of other foreign languages, which caused a great deal of trouble later on.

From 1955 on Russian language teaching in China was following the Russian model, in terms of teaching syllabus, teaching materials and methods. "... much of the content of the textbooks used for teaching Russian as a foreign language in China was originally from textbooks for teaching Russian as a native language in the Soviet schools. These contents provided extensive knowledge about the Soviet culture: its Marxist and Leninist ideology, its socialist political system, its achievements in technology and sciences and the ways of life of the people" (Chen, 1999, 29-30).

With respect to the teaching of English, the textbooks used during this time were rather a reflection of the Russian culture. As Chen notes of the matter: "Rather than providing cultural information about English speaking countries, the English textbooks imported from the [former] Soviet Union contained a large amount of information about the Soviet way of life" (1999, 30).

The Russian Conscious Comparative Method was introduced and widely followed in especially Russian language teaching. Cultural teaching, as it happened before, has never failed to be part of the university syllabus, though not officially stated in the teaching objectives, reflected by courses like history, geography, literature and the way of life of the target people.

The Conscious Comparative Method, which is also known as the Comparative Method and the Translation-comparative Method, was once advocated by the former Soviet Union education authorities and became the only formal teaching method in foreign language teaching across the country during the period from the 1930s to the 1960s. The method was initially used to teach foreign languages in Russian primary and secondary schools and later it was adopted in college foreign language teaching and in foreign language teaching in the departments of foreign languages as well. And a good many textbooks were compiled for this method.

The method, according to Zhang Jian-zhong et al. (1983, 70-89), and Li Tingxiang et al. (1983, 317-318), had the following tenets:

- 1. The analysis of grammar and sentence structure is the primary focus.
- 2. The use of native language, which is regarded as a very important means of foreign language teaching is emphasised, and the constant comparison of the two languages in the process of the foreign language teaching becomes crucial.
- 3. Translation from the target language and vice versa is emphasised.
- 4. The training of the students' ability to read is also one of the primary concerns of the method.

In fact, the Conscious Comparative Method is the Grammartranslation Method under a different name. Thus, it is clearly a theoretical step backwards in the teaching of foreign languages in China from the Direct Method, which was once advocated by both some Chinese and Western scholars and used in all church-run schools and universities and some local schools as well. Although the method, like the Grammar-translation Method, emphasises the teaching of linguistic rules, with little attention being paid to the teaching of spoken language, yet, the integration of culture in actual classroom language teaching is frequently involved, because of the constant comparison of the two languages, the translation from one language to the other and the exercises based on largely selected literary works, which itself is part of a culture.

1957-1966 (a Period of Early Recovery)

In 1957, as might be expected, it was found that there were more students of Russian language major than were needed. Therefore, the government, according to Fu (1986, 73) took the following steps to solve the problem. They

- persuaded the Russian language major students currently in the universities to change their major to learn other foreign languages rather than Russian.
- persuaded that year's graduates to remain in the university for another year.
- stopped accepting students of Russian language major for one year.

By the end of 1957, the provision of Russian language teaching was reduced, and that of other foreign language teaching, such as English, began to be relatively enlarged in both secondary schools and universities. During the time of the late 1950s and early 1960s, the relationship between China and the former Soviet Union began to change dramatically. The former Soviet leaders at that time wanted China to follow their model of managing the country while the Chinese leaders of that time rejected the idea, arguing that every country should follow their own independent way of doing things. The dispute finally resulted in the withdrawal of all the Russian experts working in China in all fields. And China started the reconstruction of their own model of foreign language education among other things.

In 1958, the Revolution in Education took place. The government proposed such a policy that "Education serves the proletarian politics and education should be combined with productive labour", intending to get rid of the outdated educational ideology, old systems, old textbooks, old teaching methods, and old consequences of teaching. Some of the changes this revolution brought about were beneficial. But some of them were clearly detrimental. For instance, foreign language teaching was accused of

the tendency of being divorced from politics and realities, and was told that foreign language teaching should serve the politics and the people. As a result, articles of a political theme reflecting the realities of Chinese contemporary society dominated the new textbooks. Translated texts of Chairman Mao's works and quotations also occupied a large part. Language teaching theory was ignored and the teaching of the language was mostly placed outside its social and cultural context. Thus, the authentic language use was distorted.

In addition, there were other political movements during this period of time, such as 'the Anti-Rightist Struggle' (the counter attack in 1957 against the bourgeois Rightists), the Anti-rightist Struggle in 1964 and others, and too much productive labour, too. Classroom teaching was thus squeezed to an unimportant place and the teaching quality was greatly affected. Take the 1965-syllabus of the Foreign Languages Department of Wuhan University for example (see Table 4). Of the total 260 weeks during the five years of study in this university, according to Fu (1986, 128), 24 weeks were spent doing physical labour; 26 weeks were spent participating in the Siging Movement (a political movement); 6 weeks were spent in military training; 169 weeks were spent in classroom teaching⁸; 13.5 weeks were reserved for examinations; five weeks were spent on field work (educational practice); five weeks were reserved for other purposes; and 35 weeks were for vacations. In sum, only 56 percent of the total time during the five years was spent in classroom teaching, and about 21 percent of the whole period was spent doing extra activities such as physical labour, military training and the participating in political movements etc. and the rest was spent on vacations and examinations.

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⁸ This may seem to be odd compared with a total of 140 weeks of classroom work for Finnish students in 5 years of their university careers, which is also roughly the situation in British universities.

Table 4. The 1965-Syllabus of the Foreign Languages Department of Wuhan

University (cited in Fu 1986 128)

Original SyllabusThe 1965-syllabusSubjectsperiodsPoliticals SubjectsPeriodsThe history of the ChineseCommunist Party105Political economics70Political economics70Philosophy70Philosophy70Philosophy70Political ideologicalEducation68English1,541English1,564English grammar35Theory of EnglishForeign literature critics81Chinese & exercises inChinese & exercises in35An introduction to linguistics36History of British & American165An introduction to literature selections126Chinese & exercises in105Chinese & exercises in104Second foreign language180A survey of British & American literary35English Pedagogy36Physical Education40*History of European literatureForeign writers & their worksEnglish historical grammarHistory of Chinese literatureEnglish historical grammarHistory of Chinese literatureLectures on modern EnglishTotal3,134 - 3, 2602,297	University (cited in Fu, 1980	6, 128)		
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				2,297

^{*} These were optional courses, which occupied 126-252 periods.

In 1960, the government summed up the experience and lessons gained from the Revolution in Education and did something to return things to normal again. The textbooks co-authored by both teachers and students during the Revolution in Education were abandoned. English (1-4) written by Xu Guozhang was published for

the university language major students and was used well into the next two decades.

In spite of the government's attention to enlarge the teaching of other foreign languages rather than Russian, there were still, according to Fu (1986, 223), two-thirds of the total number of students in secondary schools all over the country who were learning Russian language as a foreign language by the end of 1963, while one-third were learning English and other languages.

In October 1964 the Ministry of Education published *The Seven-Year Plan for Foreign Language Education* in order to strengthen and further develop the foreign language teaching. And during the period 22 June to 6 July 1965, the Ministry of Education held a symposium, discussing the possibility of a reform in foreign language teaching in the foreign languages institutes and departments, following the guidelines of "the seven-year plan". Such topics were discussed in details: the training objectives, educational system, teaching principle, and teaching contents, etc.

As to the training objectives, besides the mention of the students' relevant future careers for which the relevant universities are responsible, it is also stated, according to Fu (1986, 81), that foreign languages institutes and departments must train the students into revolutionaries and successors to the cause of proletarian revolution, serving both the Chinese and world revolution; at the same time train the students to gain competence in the four language skills and the Chinese discourse as well; provide them some knowledge of the history, geography, culture and customs and current situations of the target country; handle appropriately the relationship between "being socialist-minded and professionally proficient", "politics and vocational work"; enable the students to follow the correct direction while enabling them to master the authentic foreign language.

As to the curriculum design and the teaching contents, apart from the requirement for a change from the study focus on large numbers of classical literary works, phonetics, grammar and the theory of lexicology, it is proposed that the following relationships should be handled appropriately in selecting teaching materials: (1) the relationship between positive and negative, which argues that the major objectives of the foreign language teaching are to enable the students to master the authentic language, but at the same time to enable them to be influenced by the revolutionary ideas. Therefore,

the formal teaching materials should contain some positive and revolutionary contents and works that disclose the negative side of the capitalist society should also be selected but not be included in the formal teaching materials; (2) the relationship between classics and modern, which requires that a selection of contemporary literary works should prevail over the classical ones; (3) the relationship between Chinese and foreign, which refers to the idea that while providing room for the demonstration of Chinese revolutionary experiences and achievements in building the country, special attention should be paid to the foreign culture(s) such as the national characteristics, historical legacy, geographical conditions of the target country, and the way of life and the way of thinking of the target people; (4) the diversity of the theme and style, which requires to add an appropriate proportion of political articles, popular sciences stories, and letter-writing texts, etc. while reducing the proportion of classical literary works.

However, these guidelines that stress the teaching of home culture (mainly political-orientated) and foreign culture though without providing any theoretical argument and are supposed to be meant for the teaching of foreign languages in the following seven years were not put into practice because the country was on the point of experiencing a disaster, the Cultural Revolution.

1966-1976 (a Period of Disaster)

In 1966 the "Cultural Revolution" took place, which was launched by Mao Zedong and started from the field of education.

In June 1966, secondary schools in Beijing and some other big cities all over the country formed the "Red Guard" organisation, and started the revolution, following the examples of Beijing University, Attached Secondary School of Qinghua University, and Attached Secondary School of Beijing University. The aim was to clear the "four olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits). They put up Dazibao⁹, uncovered, criticised and denounced "class enemies of all descriptions". Much teaching equipment and many library books were destroyed. A large number of school and

search the person's house, and take the person to meetings to be publicly criticized.

⁹ Dazibao were big-character posters, which people used to disclose a person's wrongdoings. In fact, some of what people wrote in those Dazibao were facts, while lots of them were made-up stories. And also quite many people took the chance to make trouble by writing false stories against the persons they hated or who held different ideas. If the Red Guards noticed the stories and were interested, they might

university teachers and leaders suffered greatly by being publicly criticised and persecuted. Afterwards, the schools in small towns and countryside suspended their classes to join in the revolution. There was chaos everywhere in schools and in society. Teaching was paralysed and at a total standstill.

Although the government tried hard to get the teachers and students back to school in the early months of 1967, the problem was not completely solved until the late 1968. During this time, foreign language teaching suffered greatly. Such remarks as that foreign language teaching was useless could be frequently heard. Everything foreign was said to worship the West. Therefore, plenty of Western classical literary works were sealed up. The importation of these kinds of books was totally banned. Foreign journals, broadcasting stations and films in the original were regarded as forbidden areas as well. Nobody dared to take one step further.

From 1971 to 1972, some foreign language institutes and departments started to accept students of foreign language majors without examinations but rather based on recommendation of their working units. These students were workers from factories; peasants from the countryside and soldiers from the army. Therefore, these students were also known as "worker-peasant-soldier college students".

During this period of time some of the foreign language institutes and departments added new foreign language teaching programmes to their former ones. Because of the lack of professional teachers, foreign teachers began to be hired to teach their native languages, though on a very small scale. But owing to the interference of the "Gang of Four", a group of powerful left-wing government officials headed by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, foreign language teaching in China at that time suffered greatly. They advocated that political criteria should be given priority, saying that imported textbooks contained the 'poison' of feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism and the Western literary works could very easily 'poison' the students' minds. They also advocated that 'education should be combined with the productive labour', which laid down that students had to do some physical labour every year in the countryside, or factories and receive some military training in the army. This was called learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Thus, the total time spent on classroom study during the three years in the university was about one year and a half. At the same time the 'Gang of Four' also encouraged these worker-peasant-soldier college students to participate in the management of the university. Culture in foreign language teaching, though not totally ignored, did not have much space in the teaching syllabuses nor in the classrooms across the country during this period of history, because of the predominant political concern in the teaching of the foreign language.

1977 to the Present Day (a Period of Prosperous Development)

The October of 1976 saw the smashing of the "Gang of Four" and the Cultural Revolution finally came to an end. In 1977, the university matriculation examination system, which was abolished during the Cultural Revolution, was restored. In December 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee was held in Beijing, at which it was announced that the country was to be open to the West. The acquisition of a foreign language was once again very much valued in the school and university curricula, in the minds of the majority of Chinese people, and in the building of the country after years of the country being closed to the West. New syllabuses, new textbooks and new foreign language teaching policy have been introduced in relation to secondary schools and universities. Foreign language teaching, after about thirty years of following the ups and downs of the country's political and economic situation since 1949, seems to be developing on its right track and takes the following forms:

- 1. Foreign language education within the normal education system, which includes: primary and secondary school foreign language education; college foreign language education; foreign language teaching in the university departments and institutes of foreign languages and foreign language education for children in some big cities.
- 2. Voluntary foreign language education, which started in 1958 and stopped during the period from 1966 to 1983, and then continued till today. This type of foreign language education is diversified and represented by the variety of television foreign language teaching programmes on several channels owned by the Central Committee Television Station. In addition, many province-owned television stations also regularly broadcast their own foreign language teaching programmes. Besides, there are people who

- attend Evening University and Correspondence Schools to get their diploma.
- 3. Examination for those who study by themselves for a degree of higher education, which started in 1981, owing to the expanding of the numbers of people who want to learn a foreign language. It includes the following types of examinations:
 - Examinations given by the university concerned, several separate subjects may be tested at a given time organised by the university together with the relevant governmental education authorities. In this way students earn their credits until they get enough to be granted a diploma.
 - According to the teaching plan, the university concerned may test all the subjects at one given time. If students pass them all, then they can get their diplomas.
 - The last kind is the examination organised by the local education authorities, who decide the subjects to be tested and the means of testing them. When students earn enough credits, they will be granted their diplomas.

3.5 Discussion of the Teaching of Culture in Chinese Foreign Language Teaching and the Related Research Issues

3.5.1 The Discussion of the Teaching of Culture in the Teaching of English and Research Before 1949

A review of literature reveals that research in the field of foreign language teaching before 1911 was almost non-existent. The teachers' task, according to Fu (1986) and Li (1988), would be fulfilled when they finished their classroom teaching. No requirement or encouragement for any sort of research was ever made. Most of the textbooks then used were imported from the West and the textbook writing was mostly controlled by foreigners. Some local teachers compiled some selected readings or collections of articles, but they were for temporary use only, not systematic, nor stable and had little influence in the field of foreign language teaching. Research touching upon teaching methods was scarce. And the discussion of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching was almost non-existent, though the practice was often carried out in actual classroom teaching in various ways.

Then after 1911, foreign language teaching in China began to be developed in terms of research and reform. Textbooks written by Chinese appeared, though most of them were confined to the secondary school use. Most university textbooks were still imported from the West and the situation remained much the same until 1949.

There was no nation-wide centralised teaching plan or syllabus during the time. Each school or university taught according to their own plan. The teachers, according to Fu (1986) and Li (1988), usually taught three or four different classes in primary school and secondary schools. In the universities, teachers usually had 10-20 periods of class to teach, which was considered too much in the Chinese educational context. The majority of teachers knew very little about the latest theory of foreign language teaching. They usually taught basing their practice on the experience they had gained in their own learning and teaching. The teaching contents were hardly ever renewed, nor was there any change in their way of doing it. Some teachers may have taught the same book during their whole teaching career. The Translation Method was the generally dominant one in the foreign language teaching at all levels in China then, except in the schools and universities run by foreign churches, where the Direct Method was employed.

During this time several academic works were published discussing the foreign language teaching methodology such as *Professional English Teaching Method* (Zhang, 1922), and *Foreign Language Teaching Methodology* (Chen, 1922).

In the early 1940s, a nation-wide organisation specialised in research into English language teaching was organised by the Ministry of Education of the Kuomindang government and officially set up in Nanjing Central Committee University with the name of 'Chinese Society for English Teaching and Research'. According to Li (1988, 208), "the aims of this society were to get together the professionals of English language teaching to discuss and improve the English language teaching in schools of various levels". They also planned to carry out research concerning English teaching, offer further courses for in-service teachers of English in secondary schools, and compile books and journals concerning English teaching. In July 1946, *English Teaching (Quarterly)* run by this society started publication, which was, according to Li (1988), the first nation-wide academic journal specialised in research work in English language teaching. The research during this time touched

upon many aspects, one of which, according to Fu (1986) and Li (1988), was the discussion and advocating of the Direct Method.

The Direct Method, according to Fu (1986), and Li (1988), was very popular in the schools and universities run by foreign churches, where the teachers were almost all native English speakers. B. Gaze (1915), headmaster of Yali Secondary School, Hunan, for example, wrote a textbook *Practical English Textbook* and one book *English Teaching Methodology in Chinese Schools*, discussing the Direct Method. Later the Society of English Teachers of North China run by the church also discussed the Direct Method.

Dr. J. G. Endicott, a Chinese-Canadian priest, according to Li (1988, 209), was also a keen advocator of the Direct Method. In the summer of 1927, he visited H. E. Palmer in Japan and started to spread Palmer's Direct Method. In 1932, Endicott wrote a series for the Direct Method, *English Textbook for Direct Method at Lower Secondary Schools* (1-4), which was used by some schools at that time.

However, among a number of other Chinese scholars who were very active in discussing the Direct Method in relation to ordinary Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching Zhang Shi-yi (1886-1969) was commonly regarded as the earliest and the most influential person who discussed and advocated the Direct Method during this time.

Zhang started his teaching of English in 1907 at Chengdu Teachers' Institute of Higher Education, Sichuan and then at Nanyang Public School from 1908 on. In 1914, he took a job as an English editor at China Publishing House. Then he went to study at the University of Columbia in the USA and took the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts in Education. He then worked as professor and once Dean at the Department of English and Education of Nanjing Teachers' Institute of Higher Education.

In as early as 1922, according to Li (1988), Zhang wrote an article, *The Reform in English Teaching at Secondary Schools in China*, discussing and advocating the Direct Method, which was published in *New Education* (1922, Vol. 5 No. 1 & 2). In another article carried in *Education* (Vol. 16 No. 2, 1926), Zhang made some suggestions in advocating the method, which can be summarised as follows:

(1) The criteria to be followed in writing textbooks should be: using a sentence as a unit; more repetition of pattern drills; in

- accordance with the English spoken by native speakers; having an interesting plot, which can be performed.
- (2) The training of listening and speaking should be taken as the first step without using textbooks till pupils master 100-200 commonly-used sentences.
- (3) After transferring from the training of ear and mouth to that of eyes and hand, attention should still be paid to the training of ear and mouth.
- (4) Practice listening and speaking, i.e. listening to classroom English, silently reading after the teacher and then reading aloud, using audio-visual aids, using question-and-answer technique and others, but not translation.
- (5) Practice reading, i.e., read after the teacher, and analyse phonetics and spelling.
- (6) Practice writing, i.e., copying and practising calligraphy.

Zhang not only discussed and advocated the Direct Method but also participated in person in writing new textbooks, experimenting in teaching and training teachers of English. For example, he compiled *Direct Junior English* (1-6) in 1930, which was written for the Direct Method and used by some lower secondary schools and trained secondary schoolteachers at Central Committee University, Nanjing Teachers' College and other universities, suggesting improving both the training of linguistic skills and the theory of English teaching methodology.

Zhou Yue-ran, editor of the Commercial Press and once professor of English at the Department of English Literature in Shanghai University, was another one who actively participated in the discussion and advocating of the Direct Method. In 1930, according to Li (1988), Zhou wrote a textbook series, *English Model, a reader* (1-4), which was used in many secondary schools. In 1932, Zhou wrote another textbook, *Lower Secondary School Foreign Language Teaching Methodology*, in which, according to Li (1988, 212), Zhou suggested (1) accepting Palmer's Direct Method; (2) awakening the pupils' natural gift, speaking more instead of analysing grammatical structures; (3) training the ear first, then mouth; (4) that the objectives of foreign language teaching be (a) understanding the foreigners' fluent speech, (b) understanding what the foreigners write (c) writing sentences like the ones foreigners usually write.

Although some effort was made by these individuals among others advocate the Direct Method, it proved to be difficult to carry out in ordinary Chinese foreign language classrooms controlled by the local teachers. One of the apparent reasons, as we have noted of the Direct Method earlier, is that the method is very demanding on the part of the teachers, while the majority of local teachers of English then were not competent enough to meet the challenge to use the method in practical classroom teaching. As Li comments:

The Direct Method was advocated for more than 20 years in old China, but most schools still used the Grammar-translation Method in practical teaching, except in some schools where foreigners were teaching. However, the introduction and propagation of the Direct Method worked in some way. Some of its elements and teaching techniques were adopted in practice by many local teachers. Thus, many local teachers were actually using a kind of eclectic method or synthetic method instead of a pure Direct Method or Grammar Method. (1988, 215)

With respect to the teaching of culture in language teaching, it is, thus, obvious that Chinese advocators of the Direct Method do not seem to have sensed the necessity and the importance of the issue in practice, nor appropriately interpreted it from the method itself. There is simply no indication that any actual effort has ever been made to discuss the issue in question.

In the following pages, we will deal with the research work done in relation to the teaching of culture in the teaching of English in China after 1949 separately in terms of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching in the Departments and Institutes of Foreign Languages, in College foreign language teaching and in secondary school English teaching so that the readers may have a clearer picture of each. For a further better understanding of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching in China, we will also make some brief introduction to the teaching of culture in the teaching of Chinese to foreigners in China and in the teaching of Chinese as well in China

3.5.2Discussion of Teaching Culture in Foreign Language Teaching in the Foreign Languages Departments and Institutes and the Research

Before 1949, according to Fu (1986, 117), of the 205 universities and colleges all over the country, 62 had foreign language departments, which offered courses in more than 10 foreign languages.

After 1949, of the 805 universities and colleges, 421 had foreign languages departments, offering courses in 34 foreign languages. In addition, there were also a number of foreign language institutes and universities. In the last few years, quite a number of universities and colleges have been incorporated.

As we have noted earlier, foreign language teaching in the foreign languages departments from the 1920s to the 1940s was greatly influenced by the Western tradition in terms of syllabus design, teaching methods etc. In the syllabuses during this period of time, literature, especially British literature and classical literature, was given primacy in language teaching, while linguistic knowledge was relatively ignored. This can be illustrated by the syllabus of the Department of Foreign Languages of the former National Sichuan University (see Table 5).

Table 5. The Syllabus of the Foreign Languages Department of National Sichuan University in the 1940s (cited in Fu, 1986)

Academic year	1st	yr.	2no	d	3rd		4tl	ı yr.	Oth-
			yr.		yr.				ers
Semester	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
period/w									
Subject									

	_		_		1				
An introduction to literature	2	2	2	2					
Poetry (short poem reading									
& explanation)	4	4							
Novel (short-novel reading									
& explanation)	4	4							
Drama (modern drama)	4	4							
Prose (17 th , 18 th century)	4	4							
Phonetics	2	2							
Rhetoric	2	4 2 2 2 2 2							
History of Chinese literature	2	2							
Exercise in composition	2	2	2	2 4	2	2			
Second foreign language	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	
Psychology	4	4							
Sociology	2	2							
History of Western civilisation			4	4	2	2			
British history	2	2	4	4					
An introduction to Western									
fairy tales and legends			4	4					
A history of literature	2	2	4	4					
Poetry (long poem-reading &									
explanation)	2	2	2	2					
Novel (long-novel reading &									
explanation)	2	2	2	2					
Drama (Shakespeare)			2	2 2 2 2 2					
Prose (19 th century)	2	2	2 2 2	2	2	2			
Poetry genres			2	2	2 2				
History of European literature			2	2	2	2			
History of Western philosophy					2 2	2 2 2 2			
Aesthetics					2	2			
History of western music					2	2			
History of drama					2	2			
History of novels					2	2			
History of ideas in literature									
& art					2	2			
Poetry (studies by expert)					2	2			
- 1					2	2	2	2	
`									
1							2	2	
- '							2	2	
							2	2	
_							2	2	
							2	2	
1							2	2	
							2	2	
=							2	2	
Poetry (special lectures)							2	2	
Novels (studies by expert) Drama (introduction to Shakespeare) Prose (modern period) Linguistics Comparative grammar History of Western fine arts History of social evolution Literary criticism Literary morphology					2 2	2 2	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	

Novel (special lectures	2	2	
Drama (studies of			
Shakespeare & his			
Contemporary writers)	2	2	
Prose (studies by expert)	2	2	
Comparative literature	2	2	
History of linguistics	2	2	

Note: (1)-(10)= options.

Compared with the university syllabuses of the 1920s to the 1940s, the syllabuses made in the early 1950s were characterised by fewer courses in literature, histories of various kinds, and more integration of political ideological education. Courses in Political Theory (History of the Chinese Communist Party, Political Economics, Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism), Chinese Language, and Physical Education occupied one-sixth of the total teaching hours. The following is the outline of the syllabus of the Foreign Languages Department of Nanjing University, designed in 1954:

- 1st year: Chinese composition, general history of China, English
 - 2nd year: Chinese literature, theory of literature and art, English

- 3rd year: The theory of literature and art, British history, selected

literary readings, vocabulary, composition, and second

foreign language

- 4th year: History of British literature, selected literary readings, vocabulary, translation, composition, and second foreign language

From 1955 on, as is noted in the previous pages, a systematic learning from Russia was instituted within the field of foreign language education. With the help of the Russian experts, centralised syllabuses for the three-year and four-year university-level Russian language course were designed. Those syllabuses that were centred on the Conscious Comparative Method gave much attention to the linguistic training and grammatical analysis. For example, in teaching Russian grammar, teachers first teach practical grammar, then theoretical grammar, and then historical grammar. There must have been a great deal of overlap in these courses. In addition to the courses such as Political Theory, Chinese Language, and Physical education, the syllabus for the four-year university-level Russian language major students includes the following:

- 1. The history and language courses include: History of the Soviet Union, History of Russian and Soviet Literature, History of Chinese Literature and Linguistics.
- 2. Practical modern Russian language courses include: Pronunciation, Grammar, and Vocabulary.
- 3. Russian language theory courses include: Phonetics, Theory of Grammar, Lexicology, and Historical Russian Grammar.
- 4. Courses in education: Education and Russian Pedagogy.
- 5. Translation
- 6. Educational practice
- 7. Year-end paper for translation

However, during the Revolution in Education of 1958, some of these problems with respect to syllabus design were overcome. But under strong interference by the leftist ideology, the syllabus design went to another extreme: participation in political movement and activities, and productive labour also occupied a relatively large part in the curriculum, as has been described in the preceding pages.

With the encouragement from the government, research in the foreign language teaching began to increase in the early 1980s, which touched upon the areas such as linguistics and linguistic theory, foreign literature, foreign language teaching methodology, the compilation of textbooks, the contrast between Chinese and foreign languages, teaching Chinese to foreigners, bilingual language teaching, cultural teaching, comparative literature, audiovisual teaching and so on. Academic societies or organisations have been set up, too, scattered around the country. The Society for Foreign Language Teaching and Research in China, for example, was set up in 1981, and several information centres that collect, copy

and introduce various kinds of information about foreign language teaching and research abroad were set up, too, in 1980, located in Beijing Foreign Languages University, Shanghai Foreign Languages University and elsewhere. About 100 institutes of research concerning foreign languages, literature, culture, society, and so on have also been set up in various universities. Several academic journals started publication, too.

In late December 1983, a meeting was held by the Ministry of Education in Shanghai to discuss the syllabus design for the university English major students. Participants from 12 universities and colleges were present. At the meeting it was generally agreed that the first two years was classified as the elementary stage. As to the syllabus design for the university English major students at this stage, two different opinions existed. One was suggested by the participants from the University of Fudan, the University of Nankai and others, which was centred around Intensive Reading of English, and represented a traditional dimension of language teaching, as is illustrated in Table 6. And the other was suggested by those from Guangzhou Foreign Languages Institute, the University of Nanjing and others, which is made up of basic language knowledge, language skills and cultural knowledge, and demonstrated a fairly new and dynamic direction of language teaching. This is presented in Table 7.

Table 6. A Syllabus for English Teaching in the Departments and Institutes of Foreign Languages at the Elementary Stage suggested by the University of Fudan and Others in 1983 (cited in Fu, 1986, 129)

Subject	Intens-	Extens-	List-	Oral	Phonet	Gr-	Com-
	ive rea	ive read	ening	English	-ics	am-	posit-
	ding	ing				mar	ion
Period/							
W							
Semest							
er							
1st/1st	8	2	2	2	1		
yr.							
2nd/1st	7	3	2	2	1		
yr.							
2nd/1st	6	3-4	2	2		1	1
yr.							
2nd/2n	6	3-4	2	2		1	1
d yr.							

Table 7. A Syllabus for English Teaching in the Departments and Institutes of Foreign Languages at the Elementary Stage Suggested by the University of Guangzhou Foreign Language Institute and others in 1983 (cited in Fu, 1986, 132)

Subject		Period/	Others
		W	
Basic language	Intensive Reading	4	
knowledge	Phonetics	2	offered in 1st yr.
			offered in 2nd yr.
	Grammar	2	
Basic language	Oral English	3	
skills	Listening	3	
	Composition	1	offered in 2nd yr.
	Extensive reading	1-2	offered in 2nd yr.
	Typing	to be	
		decided	
Cultural	Knowledge about the		
knowledge	world	2	
	British & American		
	culture	2	
	Lectures on history of		
	the development of	1-2	
	sciences	1-2	
	Reading outside class		
	Video/film & other	to be	
	lectures	decided	

And in early December 1983, the meeting to discuss the teaching of English at the advanced level for university English major students was jointly held by College and University Foreign Language Textbook Editorial Committee (English section) and China Association of English Teaching and Research in Beijing, at which representatives from the English departments and institutes of the 25 colleges and universities across the country took part. Although the meeting did not specially lay down that the teaching of culture in language teaching should be an integral part of the whole teaching programme, the relevant decision concerning the syllabus design did indicate this dimension. For the discussion resulted in the following courses, according to Fu, (1986), being listed as options for the university English major students at the advanced level: "An Introduction to European Civilisation", "General history of the

World", "The History and a Survey of Britain and the US", "Chinese History and Culture", "Western Philosophy", "Newspaper Selections".

However, no definite decision was made at both meetings as to which syllabus was to be adopted or whether the optional courses outlined were "compulsory" at all universities across the country. Everything was left open for each university to make their own decisions. And in 1989 the teaching of culture in the university foreign language teaching finally got a narrowly defined official place, as is seen from the following teaching objectives for the university English major.

The teaching task and objectives for English teaching in the departments and institutes of foreign languages at the elementary stage are: to teach the basic knowledge of English and train the students' basic skills in a rigorous manner; to train the students' ability to use the language in real-life situations and to improve their study skills; to train the students' ability of thinking logically and working independently; to enrich the students' knowledge of social culture and reinforce the students' sensibility to cultural differences and lay a sound foundation for the students to move on to the advanced stage. (Chinese Ministry of Education, 1989)

Following the international debate over the teaching of culture in language teaching in the West, genuine discussion of the issue started in China in the mid-1980s, though mostly centred around the theme, 'cross-cultural communication and culture'. Those discussions certainly added new insight and impetus to the traditional foreign language teaching in China, and a new dimension of language teaching seems to be on the way, though it seems to take time and more effort from both theorists and practitioners of the profession in China.

In the field of foreign language teaching, Xu Guo-zhang wrote an article, *Culturally Loaded Words and English Language Teaching* (Xu, 1978), which is considered as one of the earliest articles dealing with the study of language and culture. Moreover, several collections of papers were published: *Intercultural Communication – what it means to Chinese learners of English* (Hu ed., 1988); *Culture and Communication* (Hu Wen-zhong, ed., 1994); *Language and Culture, a contrast between Chinese and English language and culture* (Deng Yan-chang and Liu Run-qing, eds.,

1989); Culture and Language (Wang Fu-xiang and Wu Han-ying, eds., 1994).

Hu Wen-zhong, professor of English and former Deputy President of Beijing Foreign Languages University, is one of the earliest and leading figures in the research into intercultural communication and cultural teaching in foreign language teaching in China since the mid-1980s. While introducing some of the results in research into intercultural communication and its relationship to foreign language teaching abroad to China, Hu also made his own points as well about the principle of integrating the target culture into foreign language teaching.

In his collection, *Culture and Communication* (1994), Hu collected 44 papers, which deal with the following aspects: cultural factors and foreign language teaching, language and culture, nonverbal communication, translation and culture, pragmatics and culture, and some theoretical discussion. This is, according to Hu, the first effort in the history of Chinese foreign language teaching to bring together the findings of research into sociolinguistics, cultural linguistics, pragmatics, translation, teaching Chinese to foreigners and cultural teaching in foreign language teaching into one single book, which will enable the readers to get some general understanding of the situation in the area in both China and abroad. The authors are mostly famous scholars, professors, and researchers in the area.

However, the vast majority of those collected papers that are related to the issue of teaching language and culture gave a very general description of the matter in question and discussed the relationship between cultural teaching and foreign language teaching in a very broad fashion. Some introduced some work done in the West and expressed their own opinions as well. However, in terms of the suggested cultural aspects to be integrated, there seems at places to be some repetitions of what should be done in secondary schools while the discussion is placed against the university language teaching. This might in turn suggest that the discussion of the integration of culture in language teaching in China lacks a general direction in relation to the view that secondary school foreign language education are two different stages of the whole foreign language education.

And still some reported their own conducted experiments concerning cultural teaching in foreign language teaching. Wang Zhan-ya (1990, 108-117), for example, conducted a sociocultural test, in which he tested 31 new students at Xuanwumen Technical College of Further Training in Beijing in an attempt to find out how these informants' linguistic competence is associated with their communicative competence. These students had already had a college professional training before entering this college.

Wang's test contained 60 questions, which are divided into three parts. The first two parts, according to Wang, tested the participant students' cultural knowledge of broad definition, namely, social customs (40 questions). This category of cultural test is further divided into verbal and nonverbal forms (such as greetings, social interaction, gestures, distance, tone, seeing friends, helping people, asking people for help, seeing a doctor, going to the theatre etc.).

Based on the results of the test, Wang concludes that these students' sociocultural competence is far behind their linguistic competence, which, he thinks, is a direct result of the teaching contents. Wang complains that the teachers now deal with the cultural elements in foreign language teaching in a random and unplanned way, while students pick them up according to their own interests. And because of this, Wang thinks it is difficult to carry out any effective cultural test. Therefore, Wang makes three suggestions, which can be summarised as follows: (1) decide, first of all, which part of the culture should be taught; (2) cultural teaching must be integrated into foreign language teaching; (3) more cultural information concerning foreign language teaching should be offered by applied linguists and researchers in foreign language teaching methodologies.

In his article "Cultural Differences and Foreign Language Teaching" Hu (1982) suggested that three relationships should be correctly handled, in relation to the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching, though Hu did not discuss the matter in further detail:

- 1. the relationship of language and culture
- 2. the relationship of linguistic competence and communicative competence
- 3. the relationship of foreign language teaching and other disciplines.

In another article, "Why Culture Should Be Touched Upon in English Language Teaching", Hu (1986) analysed the mistakes made by the Chinese students, and classified them into four kinds, which Wang calls 'cultural errors':

- 1. errors that are regarded as being unacceptable from the perspective of sociolinguistics.
- 2. errors that are regarded as being unacceptable from the perspective of cultural behaviour.
- 3. errors made owing to the conflicts between systems of different cultures.
- 4. errors made owing to too much simplification or too many generalisations.

Based on his analysis of those cultural errors, Hu maintains that "some errors are easier to correct, but some others concerning the values, beliefs and the like demand great efforts and quite some time in order to be corrected. Whatever errors they are, I firmly hold the view, after this investigation, that 'cultural errors' are more serious than linguistic errors, because the former can easily cause emotional unhappiness between a Chinese interlocutor and a foreign one" (in Hu, ed. 1994, 126-133).

In the light of Hanvey's (1979) four levels of cross-cultural awareness, Hu developed his own way of teaching culture in foreign language teaching, in an attempt to remedy the identified situation.

According to Hu (1999, 11), Hanvey's four levels of cross-cultural awareness are: "Level 1 is awareness of superficial cultural traits often interpreted as exotic or bizarre. Level 2 is awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own and are interpreted as unbelievable and irritational. Level 3 is similar to level 2, but the cultural traits are recognised as believable through intellectual analysis. Level 4 is awareness of how another culture feels from the standpoint of the insider. This is termed empathy by some and transspection by others.

Then, Hu classified the first three stages of Hanvey's model into one category, leaving the fourth one alone, to be the other category. To deal with the cultural phenomena of the first category, Hu suggested seven ways to teach culture:

- 1. Add into the textbooks information concerning Western customs and behaviour, starting with something like greetings, addressing, shaking hands, taking leave and so on at the beginning. As the students' knowledge advances, some texts concerning anthropology and sociolinguistics should be introduced. But so far, such textbooks are rare or do not exist at all.
- 2. Let the students discuss some differences existing between different nationalities and regions within China, through which students can gain some sensibility to culture.
- 3. Make use of English tapes and films in foreign language teaching, and then discuss them.
- 4. Encourage students to contact native English-speakers.
- 5. Ask students to read some short stories and plays and then write down some interesting cultural information.
- 6. Ask students to read more books about intercultural communication.
- 7. Give lectures about foreign customs. If possible, contrast them with Chinese culture.

To reach the fourth stage, Hu suggested: (1) offering courses in anthropology and sociolinguistics; (2) encouraging students to do large quantities of reading, such as the reading of fiction and non-fiction, children's books, literature or philosophy; (3) if possible, sending students to study abroad for some time.

Generally, the suggestions to deal with the first category of cultural phenomena are practical and accessible, which can be put into practice if one wants to try them, and culture teaching to some extent is given an official status by suggesting adding more cultural information into the textbooks. However, at the end of the article, Hu warned that

While emphasising socioculture in language learning, we should pay attention to another phenomenon: we should not assume that all the people that are learning English, whatever work they are doing, should pay equal attention to cultural studies and understanding. Some people are learning English to read scientific and technical information or academic journals, for whom it is unnecessary to spend much time studying and understanding Western culture, while those who are learning English to take up a profession in the area of international exchange should not only

understand British or American customs but also those of other countries" (1986, 133). (My own translation)

There is something we can disagree with here. First of all, as is demonstrated in our survey of the language teaching history of both the West and China, language is part of a culture. While teaching a language we cannot avoid teaching the culture for whatever reason. And the integration of culture has been implemented since the early years of language teaching in various ways. Therefore, every student should have equal opportunity to learn culture while learning the language, whatever profession they may enter later on. What really matters might be the emphasis on the part of culture to be integrated.

Secondly, science and technology themselves are part of a culture, and reading is also a kind of communication. The theory is very simple: how can one succeed in intercultural communication with his/her interlocutor without understanding the interlocutor's culture? Liu Xian-gang (1992), in an article, *Cultural Translation and Pragmatics*, offers an example of this:

In Chinese oil industry, there is a fracturing working procedure that can improve the oil production. In this working procedure, a term 'shabi' (sand ratio) is often used to refer to a technical parameter index concerning the amount of sand to be added. But in English it is not called sand ratio, nor sand content, but concentration. In the view of Westerners, the sand mentioned is not the basic concept of sand but a kind of solid, pellet-like sustaining agent that generally refers to sand, ceramics, etc. With the rapid development of science and technology, this kind of sustaining agent is increasing as time goes on. This is a foreign concept, which is different from ours. (25)

And Buttjes (1991) argues that there are cultural differences in scientific discourse that attention should be paid to:

Even in writing and reading, cultural variation cannot be denied. Thus, Anglo-Saxon readers may miss linearity and relevance in German academic discourse, German readers may seek in vain for textual and syntactic markers of . . . academic register in English-language contributions, and French readers may be confused by the lack of a clear tripartite structure so familiar to them from essay writing. Patience and persistence will be required for any

intercultural reading, because the contributions are bound to be different in reasoning and style. Even translations into English and English-language versions by non-native authors cannot meet all the cultural reading expectations of an international audience. (12)

Thus, such a narrow definition of teaching culture in language teaching demonstrated in Hu's statement above, not only further reinforced the present status of culture teaching as something subordinated to the teaching of the language, but also abandoned the ground already gained and at the same time made the teaching of culture in actual classroom teaching difficult to manage. This once again reveals what a necessity it is to begin with a discussion of cultural aims and objectives in foreign language teaching, and with a systematic discussion of at least some basic theory of language and culture.

With respect to language and culture teaching in China, another collection of papers, *Culture and Language*, (Wang Fuxiang and Wu Han-ying, eds., 1994), discussed the following aspects:

- 1.a brief history of Language and Cultural Background, Crosscultural Communication and Cultural Linguistics, and the relationship of language and culture.
- 2. what has been achieved in China in the discussion of the teaching of language and culture and intercultural communication.
- 3. culture and translation.
- 4. culture and foreign language teaching.
- 5. pragmatics and language teaching.

In another collection of papers, *Aspects of Cross-cultural Communication* (Hu ed., 1999), almost all the papers dealt with the issue from the perspective of intercultural communication and some discussion of the relationship of language and culture. However, among those few authors who touched on the subject matter of foreign language teaching, the results of their efforts as to improve the teaching of culture in Chinese foreign language education seem to be unreliable. For example, He (53-71), in addition to presenting some discussion of the relationship of language and culture, reported in his/her paper within the space of one and a half pages the survey s/he carried out in June 1997. The survey, according to He, tested 23 students' knowledge of Western tradition and customs. All the sample students are from Beijing, who were working and studying

part-time in He's class. 16 (70%) of the 23 students have a university education, 6 (26%) have a 2-year college education and 1 (4%) did not provide any information about his/her educational background.

The survey consisted of 15 questions. According to He, "Of the questions asked, No. 2 (responding to a compliment) and No. 7 (the colour of wedding gown) have the highest correct rate (100%). This means that everybody in the class knows that the correct response to a compliment is 'thank you' and that a Western bride wears a white gown. Students also did quite well on other verbal communication questions on greeting (1 wrong answer), age and salary as inappropriate conversation topics (2 wrong answers) and sneeze (4 wrong answers – all knew the person who sneezes says 'excuse me', but were not sure what the person beside the sneezer would say). The worst part was on questions of etiquette: 9 students did not know if it is all right to ask for drinks or whether they should wait to be offered, and 10 were not sure if the guest was supposed to finish the food on his plate . . ." (68). Based on the findings from the survey, He concludes

The result of the survey shows that young educated Chinese have a fair knowledge of culture in the West, and that our teaching of the English language has been quite a success in this respect. I assume that Westerners in China, at least in a city like Beijing, should experience less of a cultural shock because as people (though at present not everyone, but the number is increasing) become aware of differences between Chinese and Western culture, they would adjust their behaviour to Westerners accordingly...(68-69)

However, He's survey, as a number of others did, seems to include some problems. The survey procedures might not be technically acceptable. How can the sample of 23 students be representative of all the Chinese learners of English? How and to what extent can the selected 15 questions be representative of Western tradition and customs? Thus, the result from the survey might not be very convincing. Moreover, He's assumption that the Chinese would adjust their behaviour to Westerners in China is also debatable.

3.5.3 Discussion of the Teaching of Culture in College Foreign Language Teaching and the Research¹⁰

Before 1949, English was the most taught foreign language in universities for non-foreign language major students, but during the whole decade of the 1950s, Russian became dominant, precisely because of the political reasons rather than academic ones. From the 1960s on, English as a foreign language began to occupy an important place and from the 1980s onwards English once again dominated the college foreign language teaching.

The result of college English teaching, as is recognised by the profession in China, has not been very successful, though some attention has been given to it. The following reasons for this might be traced, which are more or less identical to all levels of foreign language teaching in China. Firstly, at the beginning of the 1950s, English was replaced by Russian as a college foreign language and the majority of teachers of English then had to change their teaching from English to Russian. They taught Russian while they had to learn it themselves at the same time. At the beginning of the 1960s, English again became the first and widely taught college foreign language instead of Russian. Then, groups of teachers of Russian had to change from teaching Russian to English. Thus, many teachers are also learners themselves. The qualifications of the teaching staff remained at a rather lower standard.

Secondly, college foreign language teaching took a roundabout course, because of the above-mentioned change of choice of the foreign languages to be taught. Moreover, when English became the dominant college foreign language since the beginning of the 1960s, Russian language teaching was still dominating the place of foreign language teaching in secondary schools. As noted earlier, there were still two-thirds of the total number of the students in secondary schools across the country learning Russian as their foreign language by the end of 1964.

Thirdly, another crucial factor that affected the college foreign language teaching was the status of the foreign language in the nation-wide university matriculation examination. The score for the foreign language tested in this examination began to be included into the total score of all the other subjects tested in 1962 and the

⁸ College foreign language teaching means foreign language teaching for non-foreign language major university students.

situation lasted only till 1965, when the Cultural Revolution took place the following year. Then it started again from 1983.

The objective for college foreign language teaching was first officially laid down in 1953 at the second meeting for Russian language teaching held by the Ministry of Education. According to this objective, the teaching of Russian was to train the students to read basic books and journals in Russian. Each university could make their own detailed teaching objectives based on this guideline. For example, the Chinese People's University took the training of students' ability to read as its objective of foreign language teaching. These teaching objectives were favoured again in the university syllabuses designed in the early sixties and eighties.

In 1982, the Ministry of Education held a meeting in Wuhan to discuss college English teaching and suggested revising the syllabus. Several universities joined in the work, and after two years of work, a new syllabus was worked out in 1984 which emphasised the development of students' communicative competence in college foreign language teaching. Thus, the teaching of culture can be said to be theoretically recognised if the term 'Communicative Competence' is correctly interpreted.

However, the present classroom teaching, namely textbook-based and teacher-centred, is still conducted in the traditional way, emphasising the teaching of the linguistic skills. This dimension of language teaching is further reinforced by two kinds of examinations called College English 4/College English 6 (CE 4/CE 6), which were introduced in 1987, intending to reinforce college English teaching and learning in terms of the acquisition of the language itself. This is because college students generally were not very interested in the study of any foreign languages, but rather their major subjects. The system laid down that failure in CE 4 means that the student will not be granted a diploma.

In order to pass the CE 4 examination, which is based on the textbooks being learned, students have to memorise the necessary vocabulary and understand all the taught grammar points and sentence structures that appear in the textbooks. This also means that teachers have to follow the traditional way of language teaching, ignoring largely the training of the students' ability to use the language appropriately in a given context and concentrate on the teaching of grammar and structures. Any hope of a systematic and consistent integration of culture as embedded in the Communicative

Language Teaching or the concept, 'Communicative Competence', which is emphasised by the 1984-syllabus, is gone with the actual traditional classroom practice and the accompanying tests.

This situation of college foreign language teaching also echoes the survey findings obtained by Wei Royao et al. (1998), who investigated the present situation of college foreign language teaching in China.

Wei's survey was conducted through the form of a questionnaire, which contained 25 questions and investigated 115 students from different departments of their university. Some of the questions and responses are cited below as an illustration:

- The main drawback of how the teacher teaches English, you think, lies in:
- A. explaining words and phrases only, ignoring the overall training of the ability of listening, speaking, reading, writing and translating. (26% yes)
- B. speaking very little English, and lacking language context. (33% yes)
- C. there are few opportunities of communication between teachers and students, and students listening to the teacher passively and so it is easy to be absent-minded. (36% yes)
- D. others. (5% yes)"
- What do you think of the CE 4 / CE 6?
- A. It may encourage students to study English hard. (47% yes)
- B. What has been learned is not of much use. (27% yes)
- C. It imposed too much pressure on the students and I hope it will be cancelled. (19% yes)
- D. Others. (10% yes)"
- Can you freely converse in English?
- A. It is impossible to open my mouth. (10% yes)
- B. I can speak some but will make many mistakes. (25% yes)
- C. I am all right with the familiar everyday English that is frequently in use. I cannot handle a more complex situation. (65% yes)
- D. Fluently. (0% yes)".
- If a foreigner wants to talk with you in English, you will...
- A. take the chance. (27% yes)

- B. hesitate and dare not take the chance. (65% yes)
- C. move away. (6% yes)", reflects the students' strong desire to communicate but lack of confidence.

Based on the findings from the survey, Wei et al. suggest that student-centred classroom teaching should be recommended instead of teacher-centred one and training the students' communicative competence instead of focusing on linguistic competence only should be given primary concern. This viewpoint is also supported by many other teachers of college English, such as Lin Ru-chang (1995); Wang Qing (1997); Xia Qing-wen (1998); and Li Xiao-fei (1998) among others.

Despite the emphasis on communicative language teaching in the official syllabus, college English language teaching has been very traditional in the majority of college English teaching classrooms. One of the apparent reasons might be the primary concern of students' passing the CE4 examination, which allows a student to graduate with a diploma and brings the teacher more merits if more of his/her students pass the examination. Other reasons might include such ones as many in-service teachers' low qualification in teaching and the lack of satisfactory teaching materials, etc. Thus, the teaching of culture in language teaching is more difficult to put into practice and least discussed in this field. Even though some unsystematically organised cultural information might be presented in the current teaching materials, both the teacher and students might not be aware of their existence. This is because of their primary focus, which emphasises the acquisition of the language itself and their weak understanding of the whole business of the teaching of culture in language teaching as well. This also echoes Li Xiao-Fei's (1998) viewpoint when Li discussed the problems that hindered the teachers of college English from teaching the language for the purpose of developing students' communicative competence, which can be summarised as follows:

- -English had been taught in China as knowledge rather than as a means of communication. Therefore, classroom teaching is teacher-centred, textbook-centred, and language-centred, focusing on grammatical explanations, and memorisation of new words and phrases.
- -The CE 4/CE 6 general examination system, to a large extent, undermined the requirement laid down in the college English

- teaching syllabus, to develop the students' communicative competence, and hindered many teachers from doing so because of its language knowledge-oriented examination.
- The unsatisfactory qualifications of a large number of teachers of college English affected the teaching of culture in college English teaching and the training of students' communicative competence.

3.5.4 Discussion of the Teaching of Culture in Primary and Secondary School English Language Teaching and the Research

The new school system, which was established in 1903 and referred to in Section 3.2, set the teaching of a foreign language as a regular school subject from secondary school upward. Foreign language teaching during this 20 years from 1903-1922, according to Fu (1986) and Li (1988), was characterised by the following features:

- 1). More hours of classroom teaching. The total periods per week during the five years in secondary schools were 8,8,8,6,6.
- 2). Most textbooks used were written by church people or imported ones such as *English for Beginners* by E. A. Spencer, and *Nesfield Grammar* by J.C. Nesfield. Those textbooks, according to Fu (1986), generally consist of British and American literature, with a large vocabulary, which was considered very difficult for the students.
- 3). Grammar-translation was the major teaching methodology in ordinary Chinese schools. The schools run by foreign churches used the Direct Method.
- 4). The objectives of foreign language teaching of 1903, and 1913 reveal that foreign language teaching during this period of time still emphasised the developing of students' ability to read and translate. The teaching of culture was, though not mentioned in the official aims of foreign language teaching, absolutely part of the teaching programme, which was carried out through the teaching of the texts concerning both British and American literary works.

In 1922, another new school system was introduced, which followed a British and American model and is referred to in Section 3.3. Foreign language teaching was also compulsory from lower

secondary school upwards. The foreign language teaching during this period of 1922-1949, according to Fu (1986), changed in some aspects, which can be summarised as follows:

- 1). The hours of classroom teaching were reduced. In 1933, the classroom teaching hours during the six years' secondary education were 5 periods per week (each period lasted 50-60 minutes at that time). In 1936, the classroom teaching hours during the six years were 4 periods per week for lower secondary school and 5 periods per week for upper secondary school. By 1948, this had been reduced to 3 periods per week for lower secondary school and 5 periods for upper secondary school. And in some big coastal cities, English was offered from the fifth or sixth Grade, 5 periods per week.
- 2). The influence from Western foreign language teaching methodology could be seen in secondary school English teaching materials during this period of time. The Direct Method, which was used by teachers at church schools, began to influence the teachers of English in ordinary Chinese secondary schools. The teaching of spoken English was paid attention to. The International Phonetic Alphabet began to be used. Some experiments and research were carried out. Zhang Shi-yi, for example, tried to spread the Direct Method.
- 3). There were more varieties of textbooks written by local Chinese scholars, such as *Kaiming English, a reader* (Lin Yu-tang, 1927); *Cultural English, a reader* (Li Deng-hui, 1928); *Standard English for Secondary School* (Lin Han-da, 1930), and some others. Of these textbooks, the one written by Lin Yu-tang (1927) was the most popular and lasted the longest period of time. However, they were still strongly influenced by the original teaching materials from the West in contents, characterised by more literary-themed texts at the advanced stage of the school years. The integration of culture in foreign language teaching was still mostly confined to the high culture of the target countries, while culture associated with daily life appeared in some textbooks at the early stage.
- 4). Students had more opportunity to use English. In some secondary schools, textbooks in maths, physics, chemistry, history of foreign countries were imported from abroad. British and American films, newspapers and journals, commercial advertisements appeared in some big cities in large numbers, which also greatly influenced

- the foreign language teaching at that time, because students could read and hear more English in their daily-life.
- 5). The objectives of foreign language teaching changed a little, emphasising the four language skills at the same time in lower secondary schools and the training of reading and translating at the upper secondary level.

The cultural-orientation of foreign language teaching was evident in the 1992 English teaching objectives, though rather narrowly. The integration of culture in the form of both definitions is also self-evident in the existing teaching materials, for example, in English Model, a reader (Zhou Yue-ran, ed., 1917) among others. This may not be surprising if we remember the fact that China maintained a semi-feudal and semi-colonial status, from 1840 to 1919. Even some time after that, Chinese society still bore a similar character. Chinese education, in terms of school system, syllabus design, teaching materials and methodology was clearly influenced by the West. Tang (1985) noted of the matter in relation to the textbook writing for Chinese secondary school that from 1903 on, when foreign language became a regular school subject, to 1949, when China was born, textbooks used for teaching English at the earlier years were either imported or written by Westerners, and are characterised by a variety of style and theme, such as literary selections, which occupied a very big part, rhetoric, composition, dialogue, and so on.

Moreover, the fact that foreigners could open business and run schools and universities of all kinds in China, usually in big cities, also greatly influenced the teaching of language and culture at that time.

In October 1949, the Chinese Communist Party came to power. The first half of the 1950s was a period of learning from Russia. The general background information during this period has been given in discussing the college English language and culture teaching and elsewhere. The situation of secondary school foreign language education during this period of time, according to Fu (1986), and Li (1988), can be summarised as follows:

(1) The hours of classroom teaching were reduced. According to the teaching plan issued by the Ministry of Education, foreign language teaching was offered only in upper secondary schools. The total classroom teaching hours during the three years were 4 periods per week.

- (2) A low criterion of foreign language teaching was implemented. In the syllabus for upper secondary school English and Russian issued by the Ministry of Education, around 1000 Russian words were required to be mastered by Russian language learners, while 1500 English words were required for English learners. The criteria for the mastery of the four basic language skills were also set at a very low level.
- (3) As to the teaching method, the Russian Conscious Contrast Method dominated the foreign language teaching from this period onward, emphasising the contrast between the foreign language and native language. However, the vast majority of practitioners might not know there existed a Russian Conscious Contrast Method in their language teaching practice. For one can see no real difference between the Conscious Contrast Method and the Grammar-translation Method, which they had been using all the time throughout the history of their language teaching.

From the very beginning of the 1950s, foreign textbooks were not used any more. Many schools used some rewritten textbooks to teach English, because it was very difficult for the government to compile new ones. However, at the same time, in some big cities like Shanghai and Beijing, local scholars began to compile their own textbooks. Two sets of such English textbooks were used by many schools during this period of time, one was *New Junior English* written by Ding Xiu-feng of Shanghai in 1951, and the other was *Senior English, a reader* written by a group of scholars in Beijing in 1952.

In 1953, China started "the first five-year plan" programme and model the former Soviet Union in building the country, which sent large numbers of experts to help China's socialist construction. As is noted earlier, many teaching materials for both the schools and universities were imported from the former Soviet Union and the integration of Russian culture was a prominent feature in the teaching of the foreign languages then.

In 1957, the first nation-wide centralised English textbooks (5 volumes, with the first two volumes for lower secondary school use, the rest were used by upper secondary pupils) were compiled by Beijing Foreign Languages Institute, at the request of the Ministry of Education. The first volume is text-centred, emphasising phonetics and grammar. The second volume emphasised grammar and vocabulary.

At the same time, the government decided to enlarge the English teaching, while reducing the Russian language teaching in scope, and suggested that at least half of the total lower secondary schools all over the country should resume English classes from the autumn of 1957. However, several political movements, as was mentioned in the previous pages, took place one after another, which greatly influenced the teaching contents. Moreover, according to the government education policy then, to avoid being controlled by the few specialised offices of the Central Committee and experts, as was the case before, the writing of textbooks should involve more teachers and students. Thus the textbooks written after 1954 were abandoned, regarded as being divorced from politics, production and realities. And 18 provinces and municipalities began to compile textbooks of their own, which were closely following the political situation of that time.

During April to September 1960, the People's Education Press compiled another series of English textbooks (4 volumes) based on the ones used since 1954. This series was also very much politically-oriented. The content in those textbooks, according to Li (1988, 358), was mostly associated with the political situation, and not based on any theory of language teaching. The vocabulary associated with daily life was very small. Moreover, the textbooks themselves also lacked a natural connection between one another. Though this series was revised several times, they eventually stopped circulation in classrooms in 1962, because of the situation described above.

In October, 1960, the Ministry of Education asked the People's Education Press to write another series for the ten-year system secondary school English (5 volumes). This was the second nation-wide centralised series since 1949. Unfortunately, this series was used for just one round till the summer of 1966, when the Cultural Revolution took place.

Owing to the situation that some schools still adopted the twelve-year school system during this period of time, another nation-wide centralised textbook series (9 volumes) was compiled by the People's Education Press. Of the nine volumes, only six volumes were actually in use. The rest did not have time to prove themselves before the Cultural Revolution took place.

During this period of time, more hours were given to English classroom teaching, 6 periods per week. 3500-4000 words were

required to be mastered during the six years of secondary school. At the same time, the Audio-lingual Method was introduced to China, and Audio-lingual aids began to be made use of in classrooms. Oral language teaching began to be emphasised, especially in the early years of lower secondary foreign language education.

During the ten years, 1966-1976, foreign language teaching was shattered. There was no normal teaching until the early 1970s. When English classes began to resume in secondary schools, only a few periods of classroom teaching were offered. Some textbooks were compiled to repair the shattered teaching. But most texts were about political slogans and quotations of top leaders of the country, closely linked with the political situation and movement of that time.

After the ten-year Cultural Revolution, English teaching in secondary schools became one of the three main subjects, alongside Chinese and maths. Especially after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in 1978, at which it was announced that the country was to be open to the West, the acquisition of a foreign language was valued once again.

In January 1978, the Ministry of Education issued two syllabuses, one being "The Syllabus for Russian-teaching at Fulltime Ten-year Primary and Secondary Schools", and the other being "The Syllabus for English Teaching at Full-time Ten-year Primary and Secondary Schools". (Note: most primary schools and secondary schools adopted the system of 5 years in primary school and 5 years in secondary school from 1960 onwards. The twelveyear school system has gradually been restored since 1980). The two syllabuses were still emphasising the traditional language teaching theory. Take the English syllabus for example: the teaching objectives of English was to train the students' ability to read and study English by themselves, as well as some ability to listen, speak, read, write and translate, and lay a good foundation for further study and use of English in the three great revolutionary movements (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) after graduation.

During the period of 1977-1978, a fourth nation-wide centralised series of textbooks for the ten-year secondary school system English (9 volumes) was compiled by the Ministry of Education and came into use in the September of 1978 and lasted till 1982.

During the period of 1982 to 1984, another new nation-wide centralised series for the twelve-year secondary school system (9 volumes), which will be analysed in another chapter, was compiled and came into use in 1982 and lasted till 1992.

In 1992, the syllabus for English teaching in full-time lower secondary schools and the syllabus for English teaching in full-time upper secondary schools were issued, both of which started to follow the Communicative Language Teaching theory. The objectives of English teaching in the syllabus for lower secondary schools "is to enable the students to gain basic knowledge of English and communicative competence by the way of training in listening, speaking, reading, and writing, form good study habits and lay a basic foundation for future study". While

the objectives for full-time upper secondary school English teaching are to reinforce the students' basic knowledge gained during the compulsory lower secondary English learning, develop their basic skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing, foster students' ability to carry out some basic communication in English in both oral or written forms, while giving attention to students' ability to read so as to enable students to obtain some ability to study on their own, and lay a good foundation in real earnest for further study and use of English; teach students moral character, patriotism, socialism and so on and promote the understanding of the country whose language is learned; develop students' intelligence, promote their ability to think, observe, notice, imagine, associate and so on. (Syllabus for English teaching at full-time senior middle schools, 1993, the 1st edition)

It is obvious from the above two teaching objectives that a cultural dimension of language teaching can be interpreted, though the language teaching theory presented in the two groups of teaching objectives is unevenly understood by the writers. Nonetheless, these two objectives can be considered as a breakthrough in terms of cultural teaching in Chinese foreign language teaching. Following the two groups of teaching objectives, another new series, coauthored with Longman (Britain), was written and put into use from 1993 (this series will be analysed in a later chapter).

Although, parallel to the West, there has been some discussion of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching in Chinese universities, which came late and has been smaller in volume and shallower, the link with school work has hardly been made. Despite some articles on teaching techniques, suggestions of using relatively more 'authentic' materials and so on, the fundamental discussion for an official place of cultural teaching in secondary school foreign language teaching with a well-founded theoretical frame to follow is infrequent and very narrow in scope.

However, within the last few years, the concept of foreign language teaching in Chinese secondary schools, as at the other levels of foreign language teaching, has been changing, from emphasising the traditional teaching of language skills to developing the learners' communicative competence. The concept that cultural teaching in foreign language teaching is very important has been accepted by the majority of in-service Chinese foreign language teachers. The integration of culture in their foreign language teaching seems to be undertaken one way or another, though not systematically, nor with any theoretical framework for guidance, sometimes even without any realisation that this is in fact what is being done.

Yang Yu-chen and Lin Wei (1997), for instance, carried out a survey of Chinese secondary schoolteachers' cross-cultural communicative competence. With the help of Joan Fleming, a foreign teacher working in the Foreign Languages Department of Northeast Teachers' University, Yang and Lin designed a questionnaire containing 15 questions and tested 60 teachers of English from both lower and upper secondary schools and secondary technical schools within the three provinces in the North-eastern region of China. These 60 teachers of English were at the time attending correspondence courses in the above-mentioned university.

According to Yang and Li, the 15 questions are classified into three categories, ranging from difficult, through medium to easy. The difficult questions depict the cultural phenomena that are regarded as being the same in both Chinese and Western cultures, but the strategies to deal with these situations are different. The findings from the survey show that the cultural differences in this category trouble the tested teachers the most. The participant teachers did not really know how to handle the situations in the questions. Thus, they just offered the solutions with recourse to the local customs, which therefore result in cultural errors.

The medium difficult questions, according to Yang & Lin, are further divided into two kinds: one containing cultural phenomena

that are regarded as the same in both Chinese and Western cultures but some of the ways of dealing with these phenomena can be acceptable in both cultures but the Chinese way is not the best choice in the Western tradition. The other category contains the cultural phenomena that are widely known. In response to these questions many informant teachers used generalisations because they hold very vague ideas about the phenomena. The last category of the questions refers to the situations that are the same or similar, and the responses to these situations are also the same. The findings of the survey show that there were fewer problems there.

Based on the findings of the survey, Yang & Lin concluded that those Chinese secondary schoolteacher informants' crosscultural communicative competence in general is far from the standard that the modern language teaching requires. The reason for this, according to Yang & Lin, may lie in the traditional way of foreign language teaching in the past, through which these teachers were trained.

A similar test was carried out by Lei Qing (1996), who tested 155 upper secondary Grade One pupils that had just graduated from lower secondary school, to see how much their linguistic competence was different from their communicative competence, intending to gather some information about the success or failure in the teaching of culture in English language teaching in secondary schools. The test paper consisted of two parts with 60 questions altogether. Part one, 30 questions, tested the participant pupils' daily communicative language skills that were derived from their textbooks, such as what to say in a certain context. Part 2, another 30 questions, tested their basic language knowledge or linguistic competence, such as the knowledge of phonetics, vocabulary and grammar.

Based on the results from the test, Lei concludes that Chinese secondary school pupils' communicative competence is far behind their linguistic competence. In Lei's view, this phenomenon might be correlated with the secondary school foreign language teaching objectives, which emphasise the teaching of English phonetics, vocabulary and grammar, which makes the foreign language teaching become a pure training of language skills that are decontextualised. After he analysed the errors made by the examinees in the test concerning daily language use and cultural differences such as in greeting, addressing, praising, making an

apology, expressing thanks, making introductions, taboos and so on in the first part, Lei suggested doing the following to improve the situation, though he noted the difficulty in doing so.

- 1. In practical teaching, special attention should be paid to teach the culture concerned, such as British and American cultural background, and customs so that students can perform appropriately according to different contexts.
- 2. Teach cultural differences. While systematically introducing and teaching the communicative cultural knowledge, teachers should also help them to make situational conversations to let them play a real-life role and practice their everyday language use. Thus, similarities and peculiarities between the two cultures can be shown clearly through the contrast of the native culture and the foreign culture.
- 3. Simplified reading materials concerning British and American cultures should be introduced to the students to gain more cultural information.
- 4. Make full use of pictures, slides, films, TV and other audio-visual aids to make the teaching more vivid and take all opportunities to get acquainted with the British and American customs and language behaviours, and have a thorough understanding of the differences between Chinese and British and American cultures.

Besides, enabling students to have more contacts with foreign teachers or guests, if possible, is also a good way of promoting this learning. In this way students can learn things that they cannot from the textbooks.

In another article "Communicative Culture and English Teaching in Secondary Schools", Li Guo-liang (1995) discussed the definition of culture and the relationship of language teaching and cultural teaching in a very brief manner. Li suggested that some basic information for a cultural dimension of English teaching at the early stage of secondary school, which might include greetings, introductions, addressing, taking leave, congratulations, courtesy language, taboo and the like should be included. In his conclusion, Li argued: "The ignorance of communicative culture will affect the quality of foreign language teaching and the students' ability to use the language as well. Therefore, the development of the students' sensibility to cultural differences should be emphasised at the early stage and the teaching of communicative culture should play its role in every English classroom teaching" (19).

3.5.5 Discussion of the Teaching of Culture in Teaching Chinese to Foreigners and the Research

The teaching of Chinese to foreigners started in China from the very beginning of the 1950s. According to Fu (1986) and Li Ren-xin (1994), the exchange of students between China and some East European countries started in 1950. The first group of 30 students from these areas arrived the same year and the Ministry of Education set up a special class for these exchange students to study Chinese language in Qinghua University. This, according to Li, is regarded as the very beginning of the teaching of Chinese to foreigners in China.

In 1952, another 100 students arrived and this special class became part of Beijing University and was called "Special class for Chinese language for overseas students, Beijing University", and offered courses in Chinese language, Chinese literature, Chinese history, ancient Chinese prose, Chinese philosophy, a survey of Chinese geography and so on. The teachers were drawn from different departments such as the Departments of Chinese, History, Foreign Languages and so on, because of the lack of experienced teachers. Nobody, according to Li (1994), knew exactly how to teach this subject. They just did it according to their own individual way and experience. The concept of the relationship of second language teaching and second cultural teaching was very vague an idea to them and not taken seriously, though the practice was clearly part of the teaching programme. For a time in the 1970s, for example, the courses belonging to the cultural domain such as Chinese literature, Chinese philosophy, the history of Chinese civilisation, geography and the like were either cancelled or reduced in terms of teaching hours. No teaching syllabus nor systematic teaching materials for the teaching of Chinese culture to foreigners were ever compiled. Academic discussion of the teaching of culture in Chinese teaching was minimal. This phenomenon of emphasising language teaching while ignoring the teaching of the relevant culture, as is much the case in foreign language teaching in China, brought up another phenomenon: many overseas students speak 'correct' Chinese language, but constantly cause serious failure communication with Chinese people, as Timothy Light,

American professor of Chinese language in Michigan State University, pointed out in the following remarks after a careful investigation of the situation about the teaching of Chinese to foreigners in China in the 1980s:

Foreign students ignore Chinese daily customs, basic ways of greetings, Chinese attitude towards the relationship between people and the general cultural background. An even more common phenomenon is that many foreign students' behaviours towards greetings and dealing with the relation with their Chinese teachers are not in accordance with Chinese culture and customs. Chinese teachers have learned to tolerate and forgive this kind of phenomenon and even some serious errors that are inappropriate to Chinese cultural behaviours in constant contact with foreign students. But apart from keeping a certain distance to them, it is still very difficult to deal with those who are unwilling or not able to overcome those inappropriate cultural behaviours. (1987, 87)

Since the middle of the 1980s, the debate over the relationship of Chinese teaching and Chinese cultural teaching in the teaching of Chinese to foreigners has taken off. A seminar on language and culture, and the language teaching and cultural teaching methodology was organised by the leading office of teaching Chinese to foreigners and on the basis of this seminar it was planned to compile cultural teaching materials. Academic seminars themed around second language and second cultural teaching were organised by several universities and foreign language institutes. Cultural teaching and research institutes have been set up around the country and abroad as well. In practical teaching and research, the following aspects, according to Li Ren-xin (1994, 144-146), have been probed and tried by some teachers:

- 1. Designing a syllabus which systematically integrates culture into Chinese language teaching; compiling Chinese cultural teaching textbooks for beginners, which emphasise the cultural background concerning the daily communication, and for advanced learners, which emphasise the high culture.
- 2. Adding notes about cultural elements in Chinese teaching materials.
- 3. Writing supplementary reading materials, selecting some stories about some idioms, historical culture, fairy tales and so on and compiling them into a textbook for students to read so as to

- develop their cultural awareness and enrich their cultural knowledge.
- 4. Giving lectures about the contrast between Chinese language and culture and foreign language and culture.
- 5. Organising visits and trips that will benefit the study of Chinese language and culture.
- 6. Organising some theatrical performances for multiple purposes.
- 7. Improving the teaching methodology to make it suitable to integrate Chinese culture into the teaching of Chinese language to foreigners.

3.5.6 The Study of Language and Culture in the Teaching of Chinese

The study of language and culture in the teaching of Chinese language, in essence, started much earlier. For example, in the traditional teaching of Chinese, according to Pan Wen-guo, (1994), the teaching was always centred on critical interpretation of ancient texts, which had much to do with the ancient culture, involving the study of philosophy, history, literature and so on. However, those connections of language with culture at that time only happened with some texts or some sentences, and there was not really any kind of systematic study of culture through language teaching materials. This phenomenon lasted well into the early years of this century.

The first article, according to Pan (1994), to talk about language and culture in the teaching of Chinese was written by Fan Zhong (1925), published in *The Study of Ancient Culture Through Language*. In 1931, B. Karlgren, a Swedish scholar, published his *Linguistics and Ancient China* and Luo Chang-pei published several articles such as "Language and Drama" (1935), "Language and Minority Culture" (1942), and one book *Language and Culture* (1950), which is regarded as being the first to have systematically discussed and explained the relationship of language and culture from the perspective of language and which had a great influence at the time.

From the beginning of the 1980s on, the study of Chinese language and culture in China developed very quickly. Firstly, according to Pan (1994), Chen Yuan published his book *Language* and Social Life (1979 Hong Kong edition; 1980, mainland edition).

This is regarded as the first treatise on sociolinguistics. And in 1982, Chen published another book *Sociolinguistics*, which discussed matters such as the linguistic variation caused by the changes in social life.

Although quite a number of scholars are working within the area of cultural linguistics, there are big differences between the theories, principles and methodologies applied by each. In general, three major trends are recognised by the profession in the discussion of Cultural Linguistics in China, represented respectively by Chen Jian-min, You Ru-jie and Shen Xiao-long.

Chen Jian-min, researcher and director of the Sociolinguistics Research Division of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, started to offer a course titled "Cultural Linguistics" to the postgraduates of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 1984, which is regarded as the earliest course on the topic ever offered in China. According to Pan (1994, 61-74), Chen also discussed in his article "A Brief Introduction to Cultural Linguistics (1987)", cultural linguistics and how to construct it as a discipline as well. In 1989, he discussed the relationship of language and society, and language and psychology, and put forward his view of cultural linguistics as a discipline in his book *An Inquiry into Language, Culture and Society* and also discussed the results of his research into Chinese pattern drills and spoken language. Thus, his research is called by Shao Jing-min (1994, 1994) "cultural linguistics of social intercourse".

You Ru-jie, then suggested a two-directioned alternative study of from language to culture and from culture to language. Therefore his research is called by Shao Jing-min (1991, 1-11) the 'Two-directioned alternative cultural linguistics.' The former viewpoint, according to Shao (1991, 1-11), is elaborated in his book *Dialect and Chinese Culture* and the latter is discussed in his article "Four Tones and Forms Discovered in the Table by Songjiang Baishi".

Shen Xiao-long, associate professor of Chinese at Fudan University, is the last of the three, but not the least important. According to Pan (1994, 61-73), he wrote more than 10 treatises and over 100 articles concerning cultural linguistics within a few years, which found an echo in the academic world of Chinese language. His theory of study, according to Pan, is what he calls 'humanistic', which is contrary to the "scientism" of the West in studying languages. His so-called Chinese humanistic means more dependency on people's subjective consciousness and the human

environment and less on rules in the form in analysing and understanding.

From the late 1980s onwards and into the 1990s, the debate over culture and language among the Chinese language teaching profession came to its climax, represented by several academic seminars. For instance, the first nation-wide seminar on language and culture and the first academic seminar on language and culture was held in 1989 in Wuhan. In addition, the Chinese Society of Language and Culture was set up in 1989. Some professional journals and newsletters themed around language and culture also came into being during the following years.

3.5.7 Conclusion

As is revealed from our overview of the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching in China, the foreign language teaching in China, as is mostly the case elsewhere throughout the world, has been greatly influenced by the same factors at home and abroad, too, whether as to the choice of the foreign language to be taught or the design of the syllabus or the status of the foreign language to be taught in the syllabus. But the development of foreign language teaching and the inclusion of the teaching of culture in the Chinese context have been particularly characterised by the influence of political factors rather than by the intellectual climate along its history.

In the light of the three general patterns of language teaching objectives identified by Kelly (1969, 81), namely, social (language as a form of communication), artistic-literary (language as a vehicle for artistic creation and appreciation), and philosophical (linguistic analysis), which have been emphasised differently with the development of the society or the role of the language in society, we may conclude, based on our findings from the survey, that foreign language teaching in China before the 1920s remained largely social-oriented or pragmatic-oriented, because of the requirement of the society, emphasising the role of language in communication (mainly in written form). This requirement mainly refers to the government's general policy of learning from the West in terms of

science and technology (1870-the 1910s) and commercial and diplomatic needs (before 1870); foreign language teaching between the 1920s and 1940s remained largely artistic-literary-oriented, owing to largely both the domestic political situation and Western academic influence. This was demonstrated in both the teaching objectives and the teaching contents which are characterised by large quantities of courses in literature, history, poetry, drama, prose etc. in the university teaching syllabuses and, to a lesser extent, in secondary school teaching materials; foreign language teaching during the 1950s to the late 1970s did not follow clearly any of the three models of language teaching objectives, largely because of, again, the domestic political situation in the first place; and foreign language teaching since the late 1970s resumed a social-dimension, emphasising the social function of the language (largely in written form before the 1990s). In general, the acquisition of a foreign language and the purpose of the foreign language education in China during the whole period of language teaching history can be perceived as largely being pragmatic-oriented in the first place.

Following the objectives of the language teaching imposed by each period of history in China, the integration of culture, mostly in the form of high culture, in Chinese foreign language teaching is not unfamiliar practice. Nonetheless, the practice has been undertaken largely habitually, without being based on much theoretical discussion of the practice in question before the 1980s. Even when the issue was officially stated in the latest teaching objectives, the understanding of the issue of the teaching of culture in language teaching is not profound and the discussion has never gone beyond a rather small scale and narrow scope. This can be traced to correlate with the lack of research tradition of the subject matter and the language teaching itself as well during the whole period of history. This can be seen in our overview of the discussion of and research in the issue of teaching culture in Chinese foreign language teaching. The research and work done in this area can be summarised as follows:

1. The preliminary work of a systematic discussion of the aims of the teaching of culture is almost non-existent, which in turn made the current discussion of the matter such as the cultural aspects to be included in the teaching of culture, etc. less effective and less meaningful. There is very little discussion of how the term 'culture' should be defined in relation to a specific level of language teaching and what specific elements the term covers. It is not because people have already understood the term, but rather vice versa. Therefore, the misunderstandings of the concept of culture frequently occur. This happens even in our very recent academic writings and researchers in the area.

Moreover, the need for the teaching of culture in language teaching to have an official place is not theoretically recognised at all, though a few writers' statements have implied the idea while making suggestions as to how to teach culture.

In a word, the discussion of the teaching of culture in language teaching in China seems to lack direction.

- 2. The debate over the teaching of culture in language teaching in China is largely guided or aimed towards an intercultural communication dimension. From the perspective of foreign language education, this pragmatic-orientated dimension of teaching culture seems rather too narrow. For intercultural communication is only part of the aims of foreign language and culture teaching. As many have recognised and Byram (1989) notes of this,
 - component with appropriate aims and methods. It certainly plays a role in *language* teaching in the sense that words in the foreign language refer to meaning in a particular culture creating a semantic relationship, which the learner needs to comprehend. Yet, where language teaching is part of general education, there is much more than this. Language learning, it is often said, 'broadens the horizons' and, if it does, then it has educational significance. In fact what is really meant is that cultural learning, as a result of language learning, broadens the horizons, and once that is recognised then the need for good 'cultural teaching' becomes quite evident. (4)
- 3. Discussions of the teaching of culture in the teaching of a foreign language in Chinese secondary schools is minimal. Although the relevant research described in the previous pages gives some hope that cultural language teaching is entering Chinese secondary

schools, the overall situation is not as optimistic as it may seem from the above discussion. Very little of this research is in fact available to the ordinary classroom teachers. For instance, I collected and examined some academic journals specialised in English teaching in primary and secondary schools and found a rather small number of articles on the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching. Take the two specialised monthly journals entitled respectively: Foreign Language Teaching in Primary and Secondary Schools, and English Teaching and Research in Primary and Secondary Schools that have been published in the last few years for example. Of the approximately 330 articles carried in the former journal published during the three year period 1996-1998, only 5 articles deal with cultural in foreign language teaching; while approximately 500 articles carried in the latter journal published during the 5 year period 1993-1997, only 12 articles deal with the topic.

- 4. The small body of existing research done is very limited in scope and width, and without well founded theoretical support. Therefore, they lack reliability.
- 5. Although quite a lot of work in the area has been done as to bring the issue to the fore of the foreign language teaching profession, the critical review of the literature reveals that most discussion did not go beyond a general discussion of the matter. A systematic and consistent discussion of how to integrate the teaching of culture into a given level of foreign language teaching in terms of what aspects of culture should be included, when to do it, the sequence and procedures of doing it, the kind of textbooks to be used and the kind of theoretical framework to be followed have not been developed at all, as the findings of our research show.
- 6. Discussion of the teaching of culture in language teaching in teacher-training colleges and universities and in the training of inservice teachers of English is even rarer.
- 7. The work of analysing the foreign language teaching textbook cultural content, which is also a very important step forward to bring the practice of teaching culture in language teaching into reality in real classroom activities, is nonetheless almost non-existent.

As to the textbooks for the teaching of foreign languages in China, our present overview reveals that though the teaching of

foreign languages in China started earlier, foreign languages as a regular school subject across the country started in 1903. The textbooks used from then till 1949 were mostly imported from the West. Owing to being unable to get access to the textbooks used during those times, we can only conclude from our survey of the teaching objectives, and descriptions of the teaching materials used then that culture teaching is always part of the teaching programme, either being offered as separate courses or integrated in the language teaching materials. In both cases, the culture being taught is mainly high culture components. From 1949 to the late 1970s, the Chinese profession used the textbooks almost completely written by themselves. However, the writing of textbooks during this period of time followed largely a political dimension. Owing to the constant political movements and the changing government's educational policy, the teaching materials were always in constant change.

Since the late 1970s, the writing of textbooks began to follow the language teaching theory. However, owing to the lack of research in the area and a sound understanding of the language teaching theory, the textbook writers do not seem to feel very comfortable in converting the theory into useable practice. This state of affairs can also be witnessed in the latest two national syllabuses and the relevant textbooks.

In brief, our overview in relation to the textbook development in China might suggest that the Chinese profession also lacks experience of writing textbooks that closely follow the language teaching theory.

4. The Chinese Attitude to the Teaching of Culture in Foreign Language Teaching: A Survey

4.1 The General Background and the Research Questions

As is illustrated in Chapter 3, influenced by the Western debate over the role of culture in language teaching since the mid-1980s, a number of articles and a few collections of papers and conferences on the topic have been produced by the profession in China. And a few small scale studies and tests in the area have also been carried out (for example, Wang Zhan-ya, 1990; Lei Qing, 1996 and Yang Yu-chen et al. 1997, among others.) in an attempt to find out how the Chinese teachers' and students' sociocultural competence is related to their linguistic competence. Although the findings of these studies show that the Chinese teachers' and students' cultural competence is far behind their linguistic competence, yet they did not throw much light on their attitudes towards the issue of teaching culture in teaching the language.

Nonetheless, some surveys to elicit this type of data information have been conducted within the context of Western foreign language teaching and learning, and perhaps elsewhere, too. For instance, as is reported in Lessard-Clouston (1996), Adamowski (1991) and Prodromou (1992) have carried out studies on the view of culture and its role in English language teaching and learning in Canada and Greece respectively.

In his survey of eight English-as-a-second-language teachers of adults in Toronto, Canada, Adamowski (1991) asked the following questions: (1) how these teachers define the term 'culture', (2) whether these teachers were teaching culture in their classroom, and if so, (3) how they were doing it, and (4) how much time they spent on the teaching of culture, in an attempt to find out how these teachers perceive the role of culture in their English as a second language teaching. The findings show that all the informant teachers give a very broad definition of culture, and that they teach culture either explicitly or implicitly by "(1) giving information about the culture, (2) raising cross-cultural awareness, and (3) teaching something that is a part of language" (in Lessard-Clouston, 1996, 200). According to Lessard-Clouston, Adamowski also found a

correlation with the informants' claimed amount of time they spent on culture and their view of how important it was to teach culture.

Prodromou's (1992) study in Greece focused on what culture and which culture should be integrated in the informants' language learning, by asking 300 students who were studying English as a foreign language in Greece about their reactions to the importance of the cultural (1) background, (2) foreground (local culture), (3) crosscultural understanding and multicultural diversity, and (4) English teaching as education. The findings show that over 50% of the informants think that the native-speaker teachers should know the learners' mother tongue and their culture. The findings also show that the respondents provided ten categories of cultural topics, ranging from "English language" (84%), "British life and institution" (60%), "English/American literature" (44%), "American life and institution" (26%) through to "Culture of other countries" (6%). The findings also reveal that 40% of the informants claim that they are not interested in British culture and American topics are particularly unpopular.

Byram, et al. (1991) went beyond these basic research questions and investigated directly the effect of the cultural teaching on pupils' attitudes towards the foreign people and their culture. Quantities of valuable information have been obtained and fresh insights have been brought to the notice of the profession as to how to further strengthen and improve the teaching of culture while teaching the language. The whole research project has been referred to in Chapter 2.

There is no doubt that these studies and research mentioned above throw a great deal of light on how to go on with and improve the learning/teaching of language and culture. However, the two studies surveying the informants' attitudes towards the learning/teaching of culture by Adamowski and Prodromou seem to be rather limited in the sense that the number of informants in Adamowski's studies is small, while the questions asked in both studies are narrowly covered. Thus, the studies might lack validity. In order to gain consistent data information about the issue and to improve the matter, both pupil and teacher informants should be involved at the same time because learning and teaching are closely related.

However, the most systematic study of this kind so far within the context of Chinese foreign language teaching was conducted by Lessard-Clouston, a Canadian scholar, when he participated in a six-week summer programme for 110 secondary school English teachers in a provincial education college jointly run by the college and the English Language Institute/China in 1996.

The English Language Institute/China recruited volunteer instructors from the United States and Canada. The main aim of the programme was to improve the participant teachers' oral and aural skills through direct contact with those native speakers of English and to be introduced to various Western methods of teaching languages. The programme consisted of formal classes centred around a textbook, *Educator's English*, and audiotapes of *Educator's English* (Dirksen, 1989), and lectures on language teaching methodology and North American culture which included the following:

- 1. The Geography of Canada and the U.S.
- 2. The American Family.
- 3. Canadian and American Education.
- 4. American History.
- 5. Introduction to Canadian History and Politics
- 6. American Economics
- 7. The Mass Media
- 8. Minorities in the U.S.
- 9. U.S. Politics
- 10. American Literature
- 11. American Values/Religion
- 12. American Leisure Time

According to Lessard-Clouston (1996), all the informant Chinese teachers came from urban areas. Their experiences of teaching English ranged from one year to fifteen years. All had at least two to three years of post-secondary education at normal or educational college (where they majored in English) except one, who held a three-year university degree in English.

Towards the end of the programme, sixteen teachers were randomly chosen to be interviewed by the researcher and his colleagues in an attempt to find out how much the participating Chinese teachers had learned about the American and Canadian culture(s) during the summer programme and how these teachers viewed culture, culture teaching and learning in teaching and learning English language. Each interview lasted about 30 to 45

minutes, and the researcher went through the questionnaire orally and audiotaped the interview with the participants' permission.

The interview consisted of 13 questions and some relevant follow-up questions. The first two questions investigated whether the participants had learned about US/CDN English culture that summer and which parts of the programme were most helpful in learning English language culture.

Question 3 asked whether the informants teach culture in their actual classroom language teaching. If 'yes', which aspects. 31% informants said 'yes'; 50% said 'seldom' and the others said 'no'. The most common responses to the follow-up question were History (31%), Literature (25%), and Work habits, People, Everyday life, Politics, Geography, and Institutions (13% each).

Question 4 asked whether their teaching materials talked about English language culture and what aspects, if 'yes'. 31% said 'yes'; 38% said 'no'; 19% said 'seldom' and 6% gave no response. The most common cultural aspects offered by the informants were History (25%), Literature (19%), Habits, Institutions, People, and Geography (6% each).

Question 5 asked the informants whether their students were interested in learning English language culture, and what aspects, if 'yes'. 69% said 'yes', 19% said 'no' and 13% gave no response. The most common cultural aspects offered by the informants were History (25%), Youth issues (25%), Politics (13%), Geography (13%), and Economics, Education, Background, Work, Customs, Religion (6% each).

Question 6 asked what type of English culture the informants learned in the programme might be taught to their students later. The most common responses were "Teaching methods" (63%), Education (31%), Marriage (19%), History (19%) and Religion (19%).

Question 7 elicited the informants' definitions of culture. The most common responses were History (75%), Education (63%), Customs (50%), Literature (38%), Geography (38%), Religion (38%), Family (25%), Politics (25%), Economics (19%) and Marriage (19%).

Question 8 asked how the informants had learned about English language culture before the programme. 94% of the informants claimed that they had learned it through printed matters such as books, magazines, newspapers etc.

Questions 9 and 10 asked respectively how important the informants thought culture was in learning a foreign language and a training programme. 100% and 99% of the informants gave positive answers respectively.

Question 11 asked if the informants would like to attend such a training programme exactly designed for the secondary schoolteachers and if 'yes', what aspects would they expect/wish to be included in it. 44% of the informants said 'yes', 13% said 'maybe' and others said 'no'. The most common aspects of culture expected to be learned were Literature (24%), History (19%), Religion (19%), Politics (19%) and Teaching methods (19%).

Questions 12 and 13 asked respectively how a foreign teacher and a Chinese teacher taught culture in FL classes in China. Various responses were collected, ranging from Videos, Workshops, Slides, and Movies through to answering the students' questions etc.

Given the brief description of the questions and the findings of the survey carried out by Lessard-Clouston, it becomes obvious that the study provided some basic information about and added interesting and fresh insights to the teaching of language and culture in China. However, considering Lessard-Clouston's research background, several issues might be questioned from the following perspectives:

- In the light of Lessard-Clouston's established research background, the first two questions seem to be well designed because they are well related with the immediate business. All the other questions to probe the Chinese teachers' view of culture in language teaching, which are supposed to be the real business of the investigation, do not seem to be well placed. That is, the interviews were carried out immediately after/at the end of the programme that had a direct connection/influence on the informants' attitudes towards the issue to be investigated. Thus, the reliability and validity of the study are, to a large extent, undermined by the context of the survey. Moreover, the first two questions at the very beginning of the interviews are also very personally biased. That is, they might become the frames of cultural reference for those 'fresh' cultural learners. As further proof, the informants' elicited definition of culture and responses to almost all the questions concerning the cultural aspects cover largely high culture aspects, which follow roughly the same pattern as the culture programme offered by the researcher and his colleagues. Even the cultural aspects nominated

by the informants (question 5), who think they might interest their pupils, follow largely the high-culture pattern of the summer culture programme.

The design of question 6 is also very personally biased by asking such a question instead of asking in the first place whether the cultural information learned during the summer programme interest both the informants and their pupils. Thus, when the informants were asked what type of culture they learned during the summer programme might be taught to their pupils later, the most frequent response given is "Teaching methods" (63%). One might immediately ask how can "Teaching methods" be translated into the secondary school language classroom activities as a major cultural topic? How can these things interest the secondary pupils anyway?

The expectation of cultural aspects to be learned in an assumed programme for exactly secondary schoolteachers of English might be another such example. The expected cultural aspects to be learned during such an assumed programme again follow roughly the plan of the summer culture programme. Thus, one might ask what is the motivation of attending/designing such a culture programme – to cultivate the teachers themselves or for the purpose of secondary foreign language classroom teaching?

The responses to questions 8 and 9 show that the informants' support of the role of culture in language teaching is very high (100%). However, responses to question 11 show that the desire to attend a cultural training programme for secondary schoolteachers is very low (44%). This apparent logical conflict might correlate with the cultural content learned during the summer programme offered by the researcher and his colleagues and might be a reflection of the informants' latent objection to the culture content designed for the summer programme when the informants came to really consider their practice in secondary school English classrooms.

- The representativeness of the sample might not be able to ensure the external validity of the study. That is, how can the sample of 16 informants be generalised to the whole population of, at least, the urban secondary schoolteachers of English?
- The design of the culture programme is also debatable (see the culture programme above). And again, as is argued above, what is the purpose of such a culture programme? If it is designed for the purpose of the secondary school foreign language teaching, we may say that it might be of little help to the pupils, who are learning first

of all to communicate in appropriate language with the people whose language is being learned.

With these identified problems in mind, we conducted a similar survey but included more informants of different status and used a different data-collection instrument, intending to find more consistent answers to the following specific questions:

- (1) whether the learning/teaching of culture in learning/teaching English in Chinese schools or teacher-training universities takes place and what sorts of cultural information have been learned/taught if 'yes'. Whether their teaching materials contain cultural information, and what aspects, if 'yes'. By asking these questions we intend to find out how and to what degree the cultural awareness in the learning/teaching of English is developed and cultural/intercultural learning takes place among the Chinese learners and teachers of English. As to how much and to what degree the cultural information is integrated into the teaching materials they are using at the moment, we will get the information by analysing the relevant textbooks in an independent chapter;
- (2) how the concept of culture is understood by the profession in China;
- (3) how the profession in China view the role of culture in their learning/teaching of English,
- (4) how they would like to teach or to be taught the cultural knowledge in learning/teaching English and
- (5) what the problems are for them to implement the task of teaching culture in teaching the English language.

We decided to ask these basic questions rather than others as they may allow us to go further to explore phenomena such as the effects of cultural/intercultural learning in language learning on pupils' attitudes towards or understanding of the target country, their people and their way of life or the relationship between different variables, all of which might in turn provide us with a picture of the issue to be investigated in the Chinese foreign language teaching as well from a different perspective. This is because we are fairly sure, based on our examination of the current practice under investigation, and our overview of literature, that the issue under discussion in Chinese foreign language teaching is far from a consistent and systematic practice at all. It lacks the kind of basic systematic discussion in terms of the cultural aims in foreign language teaching,

the definition of the term 'culture', the relationship of culture and foreign language teaching, etc. Thus, we firmly hold the view that the foundation, which is made up of the understandings of these basic concepts and their inter-relationships, etc. must be laid first.

4.1.1 The Choice of the Instrument

Among the research methods available for investigating second/foreign language acquisition, there are many methods of obtaining information from subjects or other sources. The most commonly used ones can be generally categorised into non-experimental (qualitative and descriptive researches) and experimental research (quantitative research).

Qualitative research, according to Nunan (1991, 20), is the positivistic notion that the basic function of research is to uncover facts and truths which are studied within a natural context and independent of the researcher. Qualitative research is often heuristic and deductive and seeks to derive general principles, theories, or 'truth' from an investigation and documentation of single instances because few decisions in relation to the research questions or data are made in advance. Qualitative research is also synthetic with little or no manipulation of the research environment and the use of data collection procedures with low explicitness. Once all the data are collected, hypotheses may be derived from those data. Thus, qualitative research also works towards hypothesis-generation. Technically, qualitative research is also concerned with description.

In qualitative research, data are often collected by means of observations, interviews, diary and log, tape and recording, verbal reporting, questionnaires, etc.

Descriptive research can nonetheless be heuristic or deductive. Descriptive research refers to investigation which utilises already existing data with a preconceived hypothesis or theory. It begins with a hypothesis or theory and then searches for evidence either to support or refute that hypothesis or theory.

Descriptive research shares many of the characteristics with both qualitative research and experimental research designs. For example, it is similar to qualitative research because it also deals with naturally occurring phenomena and uses the similar data collection procedures such as interviews, questionnaires, observations, etc. The difference between them is small. It differs from qualitative research in that it is often deductive and begins with a preconceived hypothesis and a narrower scope of investigation. In this respect, it shares some of the characteristics of experimental research. For example, both types of research can be hypothesis-driven in that the researcher starts with a theory or a specific research question. The basic difference, according to Seliger & Shohamy (1989, 188), is that descriptive research can be either synthetic or analytic in its approach while experimental research must be analytic. Descriptive research also differs from experimental research in that in descriptive research there is no manipulation of natural phenomena, while manipulation and control become important measures of both internal and external validity in experimental research. In addition, descriptive research is often quantitative.

Experimental research is a relative newcomer, compared with qualitative and descriptive research methods. Experimental research is analytic and deductive. it involves the control or manipulation of three basic components of the experiment, and statistical analysis. It is concerned with studying the effects of specified and controlled treatments given to subjects usually formed into groups.

Some questions are best investigated through some form of experiment, while others might be investigated best through other methods. In principle, as Nunan (1992, 71) argues, the research method or methods one employs should be determined by the research questions.

Thus, in the light of the very nature of our set research questions, which directly ask the informants to offer information in relation to their attitudes towards the issue in question, we decided to employ a non-experimental method using a survey to obtain our needed data information.

Surveys have been widely used to collect data information in most areas such as social inquiry, politics, education etc. about people's attitudes, opinions, motivation etc. Surveys are usually conducted in the form of questionnaire or interview, or a combination of the two. Questionnaires and interviews share many of the same characteristics. For instance, they, first of all, rely on directly asking people questions to get information. However, there are also some differences between the two instruments, which have been discussed by many researchers such as Fin & Kosecoff (1985),

Seliger & Shohamy (1989) and Nunan (1992), among others. According to Seliger & Shohamy (1989),

Interviews are personalised and therefore permit a level of in-depth information-gathering, free response, and flexibility that cannot be obtained by other procedures. The interviewer can probe for information and obtain data that have not often been foreseen. Much of the information obtained during an open/unstructured interview is incidental and comes out as the interview proceeds. There are disadvantages, however. Interviews can be costly, time-consuming, and often difficult to administer. They depend on good interviewing skills that might require extensive training. They may introduce elements of subjectivity and personal bias, and rapport may cause the interviewee to respond in a certain way to please the interviewer. (166)

While questionnaires, according to Seliger & Shohamy,

a) are self-administered and can be given to large groups of subjects at the same time. They are therefore less expensive to administer than other procedures such as interviews. b) When anonymity is assured, subjects tend to share information of a sensitive nature more easily. c) Since the same questionnaire is given to all subjects, the data are more uniform and standard, d) Since they are usually given to all subjects of the research at exactly the same time, the data are more accurate. However, one of the main problems with questionnaires is the relatively low response rate (especially with mailed questionnaires), which poses questions about the reasons why certain subjects respond and others do not. A low return rate may therefore influence the validity of the findings. Another problem with questionnaires is that they are not appropriate for subjects who cannot read and write. This is especially relevant to research in second language, as subjects very often have problems reading and providing answers in L2. Thus there is no assurance that the questions used in a questionnaire have been properly understood by the subjects and answered correctly. (172)

Considering the above-mentioned advantages and disadvantages of both of questionnaires and interviews identified by Seliger & Shohamy among others, a combination of the two instruments would apparently work better. However, taking into

account the disadvantages of the interview, which are difficult for us to overcome, in terms of time, cost, the training of interviewers in our case, among other things, and in the light of the information required to be elicited from the informants, we think a questionnaire is sufficient enough and the only practical and best appropriate means whereby, in our case, to get the needed information. Thus, we decided to use a questionnaire as our instrument to elicit the data information we need and try as much as possible to reduce and avoid some of the above mentioned problems derived from the instrument.

4.1.2 The Sample and Its Representativeness

As has been planned, we decide that the four different groups of informants: pupils, schoolteachers, teacher-trainers, and some educational administrative officials, including some relevant university departments heads and some school heads, too, are to be surveyed at the same time in order to find genuine and consistent answers to the research questions we set up.

It is obvious that we cannot survey the whole relevant population. Thus, we have to draw a sample large enough to be representative of the whole population. Among the strategies for survey sampling such as a probability sample and a non-probability sample, we selected a non-probability sample strategy, even though the possibility sampling strategy is the most widely used so as to guarantee a valid representativeness of the sample population. This is simply because of the financial consideration and other practical difficulties such as lacking time and possible local help and cooperation if an unfamiliar area is to be selected. For example, if a sampling site is to be selected outside Shandong, where I live and work, it will produce some problems. They might include: if we travel there to conduct the survey, to get from one place to another in China would take time, even several days and nights by train. And it would be difficult to obtain local help and co-operation for any research that is not locally officially organised in an unfamiliar area. If we do it by post, we are fairly sure that the return rate would be very low (in fact we discovered this when in 1999 we tried giving questionnaires to pupils and allowing them to fill them in voluntarily - the return rate was well below 50%), which will also reduce the validity of the research results.

Although a non-possibility sampling lacks validity of sample representativeness, we, nonetheless, selected it as our sampling procedure owing to the above mentioned practical reasons and tried our best to make the sampling as representative as possible. Thus, we chose Shandong¹¹, as our sampling site. we first stratified the whole population into three groups: the coastal area population, the inland area population, and the rural area population. Of the four coastal cities in the province, we selected two of the bigger ones, Qingdao and Yantai¹². Of the more than six inland cities, we selected two of them, Jinan and Qu Fu¹³. With respect to the rural area, we selected Licheng county¹⁴, because there happened to be a meeting of the teachers of English from this county and one of my university colleagues was organising the meeting there.

This is also correlated with my personal experience of being a teacher of English in a larger city upper secondary school and of being taught in the rural primary and secondary schools. These experiences will help me to better and fairly decide the typical sampling sites in our case when we cannot afford a possibility sampling strategy because of the mentioned problems we have.

Those cities are chosen for the reasons that Jinan and Qu Fu are inland cities, while Qingdao and Yantai are two coastal cities, where there are more joint ventures, and foreign tourists, which might imply that pupils and teachers there might have more opportunities to experience and perceive the foreign culture and their way of life. Although foreign culture is also a fairly familiar phenomenon to some extent in many people's life in a capital city like Jinan, there seem to be some differences between the coastal cities and the inland cities with respect to this point.

Although a very large part of the lower secondary pupil population are from the rural areas owing to the compulsory

¹² Qingdao is the biggest coastal city in Shandong with a population of approximately 6.9 million. Yantai, being relatively smaller in size and population, is an old coastal city with many newly developed overseas ventures and joint ventures.

¹¹ Shandong, one of China's 30 provinces (these include six municipalities directly under central government control and autonomous regions), is located in the middle-eastern part of the country and ranked the top in terms of population, general economic achievements and education standard, etc.

¹³ Jinan is the capital city of Shandong with a population of approximately 4.5 million, while Qu Fu, the hometown of Confucius, is the small in size and population.

¹⁴ Licheng used to be an independent county. It became part of Jinan in terms of admistrative division a few years ago.

education¹⁵, we decided to draw our sample concerning this group of informants from cities to ensure the quality and validity of our survey. This is because we think our research questions might appear to be more unfamiliar to the relevant rural population than to those town and city ones, who might have more opportunities to experience and perceive English-language cultural phenomena and therefore have a better understanding of the matter.

The vast majority of upper secondary schools in the rural areas are located in county towns, where the living patterns are greatly influenced by those in bigger cities around. Though most pupils are from the surrounding villages or smaller towns, their perceptions of the world are surely different from their younger peers at the lower secondary schools located in the less developed typical rural areas. On the other hand, the teaching facilities and teaching staff resources in those upper secondary schools are much better than those in the lower ones. Thus, our upper secondary sample drawn from city schools may be generalised, to some extent, to represent the whole population across the country.

The schoolteacher sample were planned to be drawn largely from both city and county schools.

Thus, following the criteria by Fowler (1988, cited in Nunan, 1992, 142) that ". . . a sample of 150 people will describe a population of 15,000 or 15 million with virtually the same degree of accuracy, assuming all other aspects of the sampling design and sampling procedures were the same", and based on the statistics provided by Dai (1998) that there are 474,000 teachers of secondary school English, 50,000,000 lower secondary and 7,690,000 upper secondary pupils across the country, we planned to sample 150 secondary schoolteachers (80 from Jinan and Licheng, 35 from Qingdao and 35 from Yantai) and 350 pupils (180 from Jinan, 100 from Qingdao and 70 from Yantai). We also planned to survey some teacher-trainers to further help explain the whole issue of teaching language and culture in the Chinese secondary school context. And a survey of a certain number of administrative officials in education and schools was also part of our survey agenda.

¹⁵ According to official statistics before the 1980s, 85% of the Chinese population live in the rural areas. Owing to the urbanisation during the last two decades, the rural population can still be estimated as about 75%. This is my own estimation. No official statistics are obtainable.

4.1.3 The Field work and Its Ups and Downs

During the period of March to June of 1999, I was in China carrying out the present survey. Keeping in mind the disadvantages of the questionnaires cited in a previous section, namely that the relatively low response rate might influence the validity of the findings, and that different teaching styles and environment influenced the extent to which culture is presented in their classroom language teaching activities (research findings from Byram et al., 1991b) and other such factors that might affect the validity of the findings, I decided first to contact and interview some relevant administrative officials in the area and some schoolteachers about the ongoing survey. Most of the people I contacted agreed to help with my survey. After a few meetings with those I contacted, we dismissed the idea that the questionnaires would be given to a whole class and collected from those who would like to fill in them, because we feared that some of the pupils who were not interested in the issue might give up and thus the validity of the findings might be reduced. We then agreed that each teacher could randomly select 3 or 4 groups of pupil from one of his/her two classes. (Each teacher usually teaches two classes, and each class consists of 8 groups. Each group consists of usually 7 pupils and most class activities are carried out in terms of the group.) Either the first 3 or 4 groups or the last 3 or 4 groups were to be chosen, and each chosen pupil must complete the 'task' as well as possible.

Within Jinan, my informant pupils are from several different schools. School A is a key upper secondary school with a total of approximately 2000 pupils at school, ranging from sixteen to eighteen years of age. Pupils in this school are admitted by selection through examination each year from different parts of the city. There have been several foreign teachers teaching English in this school in the past few years. These teachers are from Britain, the United States, and Switzerland. Three of the total 19 teachers of English in this school have once studied abroad in Australia or the United States. The school has several 'twinned schools' in Australia and Europe. One Australian high school organises a summer Chinese course programme every year with about 20 students each time. In 1999 visits to Australia, Germany and Japan were organised. Foreign visitors frequently come and visit the school. Foreign reality seems to be a familiar phenomenon to both the teachers and pupils in

this school, though the phenomenon may be perceived in different ways. This school has only three grades, i.e. upper secondary Grade 1, 2 and 3.

My informants are pupils from four different classes of upper secondary Grade 2. 100 questionnaires were handed out and 89 completed questionnaires were collected here. So far this group of pupils has officially learned English for five years at school, starting from the first year of lower secondary school, and has almost completed their compulsory textbooks for the six years of secondary school foreign language education. The textbooks for next year, i.e. the last year of their upper secondary, are optional and are not to be tested in the college entrance examination the following year. Teachers and pupils usually spend the last year together making preparations for the coming nation-wide college entrance examination, busy with mostly reviewing what has been learned during the six years of secondary school.

School B is another school where my informants are from. This is an ordinary school with both lower and upper secondary classes. The total of pupils at this school is about 1200, ranging from twelve to eighteen years of age. The source of pupils of this school is mostly from the surrounding areas. There is also one foreign teacher teaching English in this school at the moment. And foreign visitors frequently come to visit the school. Thus, foreign reality is also a familiar phenomenon to this school. My informants are pupils from upper secondary Grade 1. 25 questionnaires were given out and 25 completed questionnaires were collected.

School C, a lower secondary school, is another school where some of my questionnaire survey took place. There is a total number of about 2000 pupils at school, ranging from twelve to fifteen years of age. Pupils in this school are also mostly from the area where the school is located. There is no foreign teacher working there at the moment. My informants here are pupils from lower Grade 3, who have been officially learning English for three years. 75 questionnaires were handed out and 70 completed questionnaires were collected.

In addition, some pupils from several other schools in Jinan are also part of my informants as an emergency plan in case we fail to collect enough. 35 questionnaires were sent out and a total of 32 completed questionnaires were collected here. The informant pupils are from upper secondary Grade 2.

With the help of my colleague, who is now in charge of the secondary school English teaching of Shandong Province, we also sent 100 pupil questionnaires to the persons in charge of the secondary school English teaching in Qingdao and 80 in Yantai also. 96 completed questionnaires were received from Qingdao, of which 51 are upper secondary pupils, while 45 are lower secondary ones. 61 questionnaires were collected from Yantai, of which 34 are upper secondary pupils, while 27 are lower secondary ones.

Thus, a total of 410 pupil questionnaires were sent out, and a total of 373 returned and completed ones were collected. The return rate is 90%. Of the 373 collected pupil questionnaires, 193 are upper secondary Grade 2 pupils, 38 upper secondary Grade 1 pupils and 142 ones from lower secondary Grade 3.

A total of 200 schoolteacher questionnaires were sent out, and a total of 167 returned and completed ones were collected. The return rate is 84%. Of the 167 collected questionnaires, 33 (20%) are from the more than 70 lower secondary schools in Jinan¹⁶; 54 (32%) are from a total of 44 lower secondary schools in Licheng, 32 (19%) are from Qingdao, 28 (17%) are from Yantai and another 20(12%) from two other schools in Jinan as an emergency plan.

Unlike the data-collection procedures in the secondary school context, where I know quite many people who can actually use their 'privilege' in the classroom and fairly easily help to organise the whole thing, the teacher-trainer questionnaires proved to be somewhat difficult in two places. In two universities (one is a teachers' university), my friends gave out 10 and 8 questionnaires in each of their places and only 4 and 3 completed ones were collected. In two other universities (one is a teachers' university), where my university classmates are in charge of the departments, it turned out that both the quality of the responses and the return rate proved to be

¹⁶ The schoolteacher questionnaires for the Jinan and Licheng areas were directly handed out to them at at two separate meetings in mid-June 1999, at which about 120 school English teachers were present. The organiser of the two meetings is my former university classmate and now is in charge of the secondary school English teaching of Jinan municipality. When I talked with him about my plan for surveying some secondary schoolteachers of English, he was more than happy to help me. Thus, before the meeting actually started, we handed out the questionnaires. He read the questionnaire through to be sure all the teachers with a questionnaire there understood the questions and then emphasised the importance of the work, saying that it was very important for the future secondary school foreign language teaching. And he told the participants who hold a questionnaire at the meeting that it was a kind of assignment and those who hold a questionnaire should co-operate. About 50 minutes were given to these teachers to answer the questions. These who did not finish before the meeting actually started spent some additional time after the meeting completing the questionnaires. I waited there until the last questionnaire was collected. 100 questionnaires were handed out and 87 completed questionnaires were thus collected. The return rate here is 87%.

very satisfactory. 25 questionnaires were given out at each place and all were returned. The return rate thus reached 100%. Another 10 completed questionnaires were collected from some individuals from other universities in Jinan. Thus, a total of 51 teacher-trainer questionnaires were collected.

The survey of the administrative officials proved to be even more difficult to carry out for various reasons. Only a few completed ones were collected. Thus we decided to give up this part of the survey.

In addition, according to the original plan, the survey was to be carried out among the last-year pupils at both types of schools. This is because we think these two groups of pupils can offer better pictures that may best summarise the situation of cultural learning in their English language learning. Yet, owing to the fact that the college entrance examination was drawing near (7th, 8th and 9th of July each year), all the persons I contacted expressed reluctance towards the idea of carrying out the survey among the upper secondary Grade 3 pupils. No objection came up against involving lower secondary Grade 3 pupils. Thus, I had to choose the upper secondary Grade 2 pupils instead, considering that they have just completed all the compulsory textbooks to be learned in secondary schools by then, and thinking that there should be no problem for them to offer adequate descriptions of the cultural content of their teaching. In fact, as is indicated above, a small number of upper secondary Grade One pupils happened to be involved as well.

4.1.4 The Items of the Questionnaires, Their Designs and the Choices of Data Analysis

The questions on the questionnaires for the three different groups of informants are mostly identical, with a combination of closed and open-ended ones. Seven questions are asked the pupil informants, eleven questions are asked the schoolteacher informants and eight questions are asked the teacher-trainer informants. To ensure that all the lower and upper secondary sample pupils can properly understand all the questions, which will in turn further ensure the validity of the survey, we included a Chinese version of each question on the questionnaire originally written in English. The

questions on the other two types of questionnaires are written in English only.

Seven questions on each type of questionnaire are identical. Four additional questions are designed for the schoolteacher informants. This is because teachers have always been regarded as one of the most important factors that ensure a successful integration of culture. The transmission of cultural knowledge in the classroom depends largely on the teacher. Thus the quality of a teacher in this area becomes particularly important. For this very reason, we planned to ask the schoolteachers a few more questions to get more consistent data towards the matter.

The four additional questions for schoolteacher informants include questions 7, 8, 9 and 11. Question 7 asks the informants whether their pupils are interested in learning cultural matters. We asked the pupil informants the same question. The purpose of asking the schoolteacher informants this same question is to find out how confident the schoolteacher informants might feel about their pupils towards the issue under discussion, and whether the pupils, from the schoolteacher informants' perspective, might resist them in transmitting culture while teaching the language in the classroom. Question 11 asks the schoolteacher informants to identify any possible problems that might challenge them in implementing the task, which will be taken into consideration when we consider our possible techniques for the teaching of culture in language teaching later in this work.

Questions 8 and 9 are intended to gain some information about the schoolteacher informants themselves. That is, whether they have been taught culture themselves and whether they would like to attend a programme about secondary school foreign language culture teaching. The two questions are closely related so that consistent information can be obtained.

Only one additional question was asked the teacher-trainer informants (question 8 on the teacher-trainer questionnaire), which is identical with question 11 for the schoolteacher informants.

These questions on each questionnaire can be classified into four categories for all, and one additional category for the schoolteacher and teacher-trainer informants only.

The first category (questions 1 and 2 for all and 8 for the schoolteacher only) is to investigate the informants' ongoing cultural learning/ teaching in their language learning/teaching or their

cultural awareness. They ask the informants to report whether they had learned/taught the culture(s) of English-speaking countries while learning/teaching the language and if 'yes', to give examples, and whether their learning/teaching materials talk about English language culture(s), and give examples, if 'yes'. These are very basic yet crucial issues. By asking these questions, we want to know exactly the situation from the perspective of the three different groups of informants and whether and to what extent the cultural learning/teaching in their ongoing practice is taking place. The purpose of the follow-up questions are twofold: to avoid the informants' possible random choice of 'yes' or 'no' to the main questions; and to further examine to what extent the informants' cultural awareness has been developed and by collecting information about the specific cultural aspects the informants had learned/been taught, to see whether gaps exist between the informants' selfreported cultural aspects learned/taught and those they identified in the textbooks. The two questions are placed far apart to avoid, again, the informants' possible personal bias. One of the two questions is placed at the very beginning, specifically before eliciting the informants' open-ended definition of culture, and is aimed at getting the informants' genuine and consistent information as to whether they know what culture is really about before eliciting their definition of culture.

One additional question (question 8) was asked here of the schoolteacher informants, as is explained above.

The second category consists of only one question for all and is to investigate the informants' understanding of the term 'culture', that is, to elicit their open definitions of culture. To ensure consistent data, we place this question (question 2 - 'what does culture means to you?') at the second place to test the informants' real definition of culture or to what extent they understand the term 'culture' and whether their understanding of the term 'culture' will be constrained by what they will claim they have learned/taught or go beyond that. If we place this question right at the first place, we fear that the informants would follow this frame of cultural reference in answering the other relevant questions and bias might occur. Though the informants' definitions of culture might be influenced, to some extent, by the responses to the first question. However, the bias, which can hardly be avoided anyway in the same questionnaire, might be smaller this way.

The third category (questions 3, 4, & 5 for all and 9 for the schoolteacher informants only) is to investigate how the informants perceive the role of the learning/teaching of culture in learning/teaching the language. The three questions ask respectively whether the informants are interested in learning or teaching English language culture while learning/teaching the language and which parts of culture are most interesting to them in learning/teaching culture, if they are interested and how important they think culture is in learning/teaching a foreign language.

From the perspective of pedagogy and curriculum development, the three questions are of particular importance. In language pedagogy, students' interests are always regarded as being one of the important factors to be considered by the pedagogists. And the teachers' interest in the issue is also crucial and fundamental. By eliciting the informants' opinions about the specific cultural aspects that might interest them, we can see first of all whether the existing cultural aspects in their learning/teaching and in their learning/teaching materials are among those that interest them, and then obtain first-hand data for the improving of the textbook cultural content if big gaps exist. Question 5 is to further investigate to what extent they perceive the role of culture in language learning/teaching by asking them to evaluate how important culture is in learning a language.

The fourth category is also a pedagogical issue, which is to elicit the informants' ideas on how cultural information should be presented in teaching the language so that a systematic and consistent practice with proper implementation methods can be developed. This issue has been regarded as being one of the important components in relation to the success of the integration of culture in language teaching and been discussed in some detail by many scholars such as Rivers (1968), Chastain (1976), Seelye (1984), Byram (1989, 1991) among others. Nonetheless, serious effort to seek systematic and consistent methods in implementing the teaching of culture in actual classroom language teaching seems still to need taking, especially in relation to different given educational contexts.

The fifth category, as is explained above, asks both the schoolteacher and teacher-trainer informants what the potential problems/challenges are for them to carry out the teaching of culture while teaching the language so as to make the teaching of culture

become more systematic and consistent. We did not ask the pupil informants this question, because we are sure that we may not get reliable responses from the pupil informants on this point.

All the responses to the questions for both pupil and schoolteacher informants will be analysed in detail and the findings will be compared, because these two groups of informants teach and learn in the 'same' classroom and use exactly the same learning/teaching materials. They are therefore comparable. The teacher-trainer questionnaires will be analysed systematically, too, but not in as much detail because our focus is on the secondary school context. However, the survey among this group of informants has been regarded as a very important component and serves as very important background information to the whole project in consideration of foreign language education as a whole. This is because the teacher-trainer should be at the forefront of new ideas and change. They are responsible for giving ideas to a new generation of teachers. The majority of graduates from the teachers' college and universities will go into a teaching career in secondary schools and some will teach in the universities of all kinds. Thus, the education given to the students at those teachers' colleges and universities will directly affect the standard of foreign language teaching in the whole country. In this perspective, the findings of survey of teacher-trainers' attitudes deserve serious consideration.

The majority of pupil informants answered the questions in Chinese, while schoolteachers and teacher-trainers answered mostly in English. In translating pupil informants' and some of the schoolteacher informants' responses to the questions, the criterion of direct translation was used, and remained the same throughout. It is easy to make a direct translation of the vast majority of responses without distorting the data. However, there are a few cases which could be placed in an appropriate category only after careful thought about the meaning of the response in order to keep the original data accurate.

Responses to those closed questions can be easily quantified. Nonetheless, the free form responses from the open questions, though they may result in more useful and insightful information, are much more effort- and time-consuming. In interpreting and quantifying those responses to the cultural aspects throughout the whole process, two general widely-used terms by many modern

scholars in dealing with the term 'culture' in relation to the teaching of culture in language teaching are adopted to categorise this group of responses: "Culture of Broad Definition" (other relevant terms are Small 'c' Culture, Anthropological culture) and "Culture of Narrow Definition" (other relevant terms are: Large 'C' Culture', High Culture). Terms such as "Education" and "Music", which are normally regarded as high culture, are classified into "Culture of Broad definition" in our analysis. This is because, we are sure, in the light of secondary school foreign language and culture teaching that the informants refer by these terms to school activities, school subjects and popular music such as folk songs, pop music, etc. Thus, it might be more appropriate that they are thus categorised.

In quantifying other qualitative data, we adopted a key idea or phrase analysis, generating categories from the collected data themselves, and then quantified them. In some cases, where the respondents referred to several aspects of key ideas in one single statement, we counted all their points but put the statement into the category which we think the statement best fits. The raw data information are provided under each identified category so that we offer the readers the opportunity to assess our identified patterns themselves, and that they might also find some useful comments from our informants that might be used as examples in their classroom language and culture teaching.

Original responses in English are retained unchanged; though sometimes many informants use different terms to mean the same thing (e.g. manners and etiquette).

4.1 .5 The Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are always regarded as two very important criteria for assuring the quality of the data collection procedures in social sciences empirical research. According to Nunan (1992), "Reliability refers to the consistency of the results obtained from a piece of research. Validity, on the other hand, has to do with the extent to which a piece of research actually investigates what the researcher purports to investigate" (14). Similar definitions can be found in many works by researchers such as Seliger & Shohamy (1985), among others.

Reliability can be further estimated as 'Internal Reliability', which, according to Nunan (1991, 14) among others, is concerned with such a question as "would an independent researcher, on reanalysing the data, come to the same conclusion?', and 'External reliability', which concerns the question of "would an independent researcher, on replicating the study, come to the same conclusion?".

However, as is argued (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989), different types of reliability need to be computed, depending on where the researcher suspects that inaccuracies in the data collection procedure could occur. In our case, some of our data collection procedures involve some qualitative responses and categorising some cultural aspects. In using these data collection procedures of low explicitness, we follow the commonly used strategy of inter-rater reliability, which, according to Seliger & Shohamy, examines to what extent different raters agree on the data collected. This is done by my supervisor, who is a native speaker of English. Nonetheless, we have to point out here that as we will explain in the following pages, the majority of pupils' responses are in Chinese. Besides the 'yes' and 'no' responses, which are easily quantified, in a few other places they give free responses in relation to their view of the role of culture in language teaching and the cultural aspects, etc. The method of direct translation of these responses is adopted and this was easily done without distorting the original data because these statements are not really complex. It is precisely because of the fact that it is very difficult to find an expert in this field who knows both languages, our inter-rater reliability check takes my translation for granted. We finally agreed upon almost all the patterns and the classifications of the cultural aspects I qualified after some discussion in certain places where we disagreed.

Moreover, I also adopted a "Regrounding Reliability" theory to estimate the consistency of the results obtained, which, according to Seliger & Shohamy, requires the researcher to go back to the data a second time and compare the patterns obtained with the results obtained the first time, and is used with procedures of low explicitness. Thus, I went back to the raw data collected and started the re-generation of patterns from the original raw data and the reclassification of the cultural aspects. The regrounding reliability check finds that the patterns of and the classification of our relevant data remain almost consistent and accurate.

As there are different types of reliability, there are different types of validity. According to Nunan (1992), there are two types of validity: *internal validity* and *external validity*. The former has to do with factors that may directly affect the research results. The latter has to do with generalisability.

With respect to internal validity, we can, in our case, get evidence for the following criterion, 'Construct Validity', which is, according to Seliger & Shohamy (1985), to examine whether the data collection procedure is a good representation of and is consistent with current theory underlying the variable being measured. And Nunan (1992, 16) explains the term in an even more accessible manner, maintaining that *construct validity* has to do with the question: Is the study actually investigating what it is supposed to be investigating? We compared the questions and responses from the respondents, and feel sure that our data collection procedure measures what needs to be measured, except in a few places, for example, where the informants were asked to offer their definition of culture, some said something else (for detailed information, see Chapter 4).

As to external validity, although our data collection procedure lacks representativeness in some way as we pointed out in the preceding pages, yet we sampled a large enough number of subjects to represent the whole population. As all the subjects are chosen at random, and as they are all actively engaged in the learning/teaching of English in the Chinese school system, we can claim them as a representative sample.

4.2 Results of the Pupil Survey

4.2.1 Culture in Pupils' Learning of English (Q 1 & 6)

In response to questions one and six - whether the pupil informants have learned any aspect of culture in the course of their learning English as a foreign language and whether their learning materials (textbooks, supplementary readings, etc.) talk about the culture(s) of English-speaking countries, of the total 373 informants, 341 (91%) and 345 (92%) said 'yes', while 32 (9%) and 48 (13%)

said 'no' respectively. In answering both follow-up questions, 'If yes, what sort of things have you learned about these countries?', most informants offered answers and gave examples which touched upon a wide range of aspects. The most common responses to both follow-up questions are the customs of the English-speaking countries given by 89 (24%) and 100 (27%) informants respectively. The details of the questions and answers are summarised and shown in tables 8-1 and 8-2.

Table 8-1. Culture in the	Pupil Informa	nts' Learning of English (N	= 373)		
Question one: "Have you learned the cultures of the English-speaking					
countries in the course of your studies of English up to and including					
the present moment?"	-				
Yes	341 (91%)) No 32 (9%)		
If yes, what sort of thing	s have you le	earned about these countries	? Give		
some examples.					
Culture of broad definition	on: 374 resp	oonses*			
Customs	89	Festivals	55		
Food	40	Sports	35		
English names	35	Songs & music	32		
Weather	14	People's way of life	13		
Etiquette	11	Cultural differences	8		
Manners	5	Making phone calls	4		
Idioms	4	Body language	4		
Language	3	Spoken English	3		
Dress	3	Films	3 2 3		
Society	3	Proverbs	2		
Population	3	Legends			
Education	1	Stories	1		
Culture of narrow definition	tion: 228 resp	onses			
History	75	Literature	43		
Geography	36	Famous persons	26		
Art	18	Politics	9		
Drama	6	Science	5		
Architecture	4	Economics	3		
Religion	3				
Others:					
	-	United States, Australia,	New		
Zealand, and/or Canada		82			
No answers	48 (13%)				

^{*} In giving examples of cultural aspects, some informants offered more than one response here and elsewhere. Thus, the number of total responses will exceed the number of the total informants in some places due to rounding.

Further data analysis reveals that of the 32/9% informants who said 'No' in answering question one, 23 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 16% of the total 180 informants in this group and 9 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 4% of the total 193 informants in this group.

And of the 48 (13%) informants who failed to specify any cultural aspect they might have learned in answering the follow-up question, 24 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 17% of the total 180 informants in this group, while the other 24 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 10% of the total 193 informants in this group.

Data analysis also reveals that of the 48 (13%) informants who failed to specify any cultural aspect in answering the follow-up question, 16 (33%) contradicted themselves by saying they had learned the cultures of English-speaking countries in answering question one. These include 11 lower secondary pupils, which represent 6% of the total 180 informants in this group and 5 upper secondary pupils, which represent 3% of the total 193 informants in this group.

Table 9.2 Culture in Dunil Info	rmonta	Lograina of English (N -	272)	
Table 8-2 Culture in Pupil Informants' Learning of English (N = 373)				
Question six "Do your learning materials (textbooks, supplementary				
readings, etc.) talk about E	nglish l	anguage culture(s)?"		
Yes	345 (9	92%) No 28	(8%)	
If yes, what aspects are dealt	,	,		
Culture of broad definition:	301 re	esponses		
Customs	100	Communicative langua	ige 29	
Cultural differences	26	Language	26	
Food	19	Holidays & Festivals	15	
People's way of life	15	Music	14	
Idioms	12	Sports	8	
Stories	7	Weather	6	
Proverbs	6	Etiquette	5	
Education	4	Population	3	
Film	3	Fairy tales	3	
Manners	2	Names	2	
Body language	2	Jokes	2	
Traffic	1	Trips	1	
		•		
Culture of narrow definition:	208 re	esponses		
History	65	Literature	40	
Geography	35	Famous persons	30	

Art	15	Science	12
Politics	8	Religion	1
Law	1	Economics	1
Others: 72 responses ¹⁷ No answer Many	62 4	Not many	6

Data analysis shows that of the 28 (8%) informants who said 'No' in answering question six, 18 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 10% of the total 180 informants in this group and 10 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 5% of the total 193 informants in this group.

Of the 72 (19%) informants who failed to specify any cultural aspects from their learning materials, 43 informants are identified as lower secondary pupils, which represent 24% of the total 180 informants in this group, and 29 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 15% of the total 193 informants in this group.

And data analysis also shows that of the 72/19% informants who failed to specify any cultural aspects from their learning materials 34 informants contradicted themselves by saying their learning materials talk about the cultures of English-speaking countries while they failed to offer any example of cultural aspects in answering the follow-up question. These 34 informants include 21 lower secondary pupils, which represent 15% of the total 180 informants in this group and 13 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 6% of the total 193 informants in this group.

4.2.2 Pupils' Concept of Culture (Q 2)

In answering question two, "What does 'culture' mean to you?" the informants' responses range from one aspect of culture to several and cover a wide range of cultural aspects. The most common responses are Customs 207 (55.5%), History 140 (37.5%), Language 60 (16%) and Literature 50 (13%). The responses concerning both types of culture are almost the same, though the biggest support goes

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¹⁷ Of these 72 responses, 62 informants simply left the place empty, 6 informants simply wrote 'not many', while 4 informants wrote 'It dealt with many aspects', or 'many aspects'.

to the anthropological culture, Customs (207/55.5%). However, 21 (6%) informants simply failed to figure out what culture means for various reasons, 3 (0.8%) informants felt that the term is too big and complex for them to define, and 31 (8%) informants, I would interpret, misunderstood the question. The detailed question and answers are shown in Table 9.

Table 9. The Pupil Informants'	Defir	nition of Culture $(N = 373)$	
Culture of broad definition:		responses	
Customs	207	Language	60
Knowledge	37	People's way of life	30
Music	25	Food	19
Sports	18	Education	17
Holidays & Festivals	10	Communication	3
Society	3	Sculpture	3
Cultural background	3	Etiquette	3
Beliefs	2	Entertainment	2
Names	2	Idioms	1
Body language	1	Films	1
Fairy tales	1	Population	1
Culture of narrow definition:	426 1	responses	
History	140	Literature	50
Spiritual & material			
wealth	48	Science	45
Art	45	Geography	40
Politics	21	Economics	11
Thought	12	Religion	6
Law	3	Philosophy	2
Aesthetics	1	Architecture	1
Astronomy	1		
Others:	55 re	esponses	
Do not know	21		
Too big	3		
Misunderstandings	31		

Further data analysis reveals that of the 21 (6%) who failed to provide any example of cultural aspects, 16 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 11% of the total 180 informants in this group and 5 are upper secondary ones, which represent 3% of the total 193 informants in this group.

Of the 31/8% who misunderstood the question, 11 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 6% of the total 180 informants in

this group and 20 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 9% of the total 193 informants in this group.

All these who failed to give a specific example of cultural aspects add up to 55 (15%), with 30 being lower secondary pupils, which represent 17% of the total 180 informants in this group and 25 being upper secondary ones, which represent 13% of the total 193 informants in this group.

The answers I interpreted as misunderstandings are illustrated as follows¹⁸:

"Culture contain a lot. All of the people make the culture. Except politics everything in our society is culture." [Culture is a kind of historical sediment]. [I feel the meaning of the word 'culture' is very complex. If I say I have learned something about culture, I have only learned some superficial knowledge of it]. [It means the culture of a country, which is unique]. [Culture is the formation and development of pronunciation and intonation]. "[culture] means many many things about one country." [Some knowledge that is useful to me]. [Culture means what life needs]. "I think it mean so many." "I can't speak clearly." [It means passing the examination]. [It means having knowledge and being educated and keep up with the current trend]. [It means a country's special knowledge]. [For me, this is new]. [It is different from ignorance]. [Understanding of the world and people of the past and present]. [It means culture].[The degree to which one understands the scientific knowhow]. [I can not answer it clearly. It can be sensed, but not explained in words]. [Culture refers to, what people call, linguistic competence]. [Culture, I think, is a kind of subconsciousness of human beings]. [All contents that enable me to understand every aspect of a country or nation]. [The necessity for a person's being trained to be of highly quality]. [The contents concerning spirit in the course of human activity]. "Grammar, useful expressions, listening and so on." "It is all kinds of things created by human". "It is too big. I can't say".

¹⁸ The following statements in square brackets are my direct translation of the pupils' original responses in Chinese and the rest are their own original responses in English. Errors in spelling and sytax have been retained. This also applies in other places of the same circumstances.

4.2.3 The Pupils' View of the Role of Culture in Their English Language Learning (Q 3, 4,5)

In response to questions 3, the findings show that most pupils (354/95%) are interested in learning English language culture(s) as part of learning the English language. When pupils were asked to specify the aspects of culture that they are most interested in in answering question four these informant pupils did not confine themselves to their concept of culture illustrated in answering question two. Instead, the balance is broken and a majority favours the culture of broad definition. As is shown in tables 10-1 and 10-2.

Table 10-1. The Pupil Informants' View of the Role of Culture in Learning English (N = 373)

English (N –3/3)						
Question three, "Are you interested in learning English Culture (s) in						
learning English Language?"						
Yes	354 (95	5%) No	19 (5%)			
Question four, "Which pa	rt of th	e culture, do you thin	k, is most			
interesting in learning about English language culture(s), if you are						
interested?"						
Culture of broad definition:	377 res	ponses				
Customs	160	Communicative langua	ige 45			
Music	36	Cultural differences	30			
People's way of life	25	Sports	20			
Festivals & Holidays	15	Idioms	12			
Humour	11	Etiquette	4			
Film	4	Proverbs	4			
Body language	3	Society	2			
Education	1	Cultural background	1			
Dialect	1	Food	1			
Fairy tales & legends	2					
Culture of narrow definition	: 177 res	ponses				
History	78	Literature	35			
Science	15	Famous persons	15			
Art	14	Geography	8			
Politics	4	Economics	2			
Astronomy	2	Thought	1			
Architecture	1	Poems	1			
Civilisation	1					
Others:	24 resp	onses				
No answers	20 (6%)) Many aspects	4 (1%)			

Data analysis shows that among those 19/5% who said "No, I'm not interested" in answering question 3, 13 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 7% of the total 180 informants in this group and 6 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 3% of the total 193 informants in this group.

Two of the six upper secondary pupils also offered their additional explanations. One takes learning English language culture in English classes to mean learning grammar things such as different complexity of English He dislikes the attributive clauses. grammatical structures, compared, in his/her view, with his native language system, though the mentioned grammatical phenomenon can also be identified in Chinese. The other expressed his/her feeling of helplessness towards the learning of English language culture, saying that he/she had no choice but to pay much attention to the learning of English language culture, because, in her/his view, English is very important. As the two comments argue: [I am not interested. It is too troublesome to learn this or that kind of [English] attributive clause. It is not as pithy and sprightly as Chinese]. [It is not a matter of interest. English is very important. I only have to pay much attention to it].

Data analysis also reveals that of the 24/7% who failed to give any specific example of cultural aspects 17 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 9% of the total 180 informants in this group and 7 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 4% of the total 193 informants in this group.

And data analysis further shows that of the 24/6% who failed to give any specific example of cultural aspects here, 11 contradicted themselves by saying they were interested in learning English language culture in answering question three while they failed to offer any example of the cultural aspects that they might feel interested in in learning English language culture in answering question four. These 11 informants include 8 lower secondary pupils, which represent 4% of the total 180 informants in this group and 3 upper secondary pupils, which represent 2% of the total 193 informants in this group.

When pupils are asked to evaluate the importance of culture in their learning of English language in answering question five, a clear and firm support for the role of culture (349/93.4%) is revealed here.

Most informants (of whom most are upper secondary group pupils) offered their positive opinions and explained in an authentic manner, which are categorised in the following patterns and summarised in Table 10-2:

A). About 90 (24%) of the informants say 'yes' or 'very important', because they think culture learning in English language learning will widen and enrich their knowledge and view of the world and can improve their competence in intercultural communication as well. This can be identified in the following remarks:

"Very important. Culture learning enables us to appreciate the local conditions and customs of the target people, broadens our outlook and increases our knowledge." "I think it is very important. Misunderstanding will occur in communication with foreigners if we don't have enough background knowledge." "Cultural learning concerns whether we can succeed or not in communicating with a foreign reality." "Learning a foreign language is a half-illiteracy at best without the necessary cultural background knowledge." "For example, when you meet a native English-speaker and have a conversation with her/him, s/he may frequently use some idioms or proverbs in the course of the conversation. For us it is difficult to understand them all. But if we misunderstand her/him, we will make a fool of ourselves. In this very sense, cultural knowledge is extremely important." "Understanding the culture of a country is not only beneficial to language learning, but also beneficial when communicating with foreigners. The ignorance of cultural differences will bring about misjudgement and then in turn cause communicative barrier." "It is very important, because it can help us to understand some phenomena of the language and use the language more appropriately in daily communication with foreign people. And we also need to understand the cultural background when we do language exercises or solve problems in the exams." "Cultural knowledge can help us to link the learning of language knowledge with the target customs, to bring the students imagination and creativity to their full play, enhance students' initiative, and memory. Therefore, it is very important." [Understanding the target culture is one of the aims of learning the target language. Therefore, it is very important].[Cultural knowledge is fundamental. There will not be much meaning in learning a foreign language without learning its cultural knowledge]. [When one learns a foreign language, the first things to start with should be the understanding of

the cultural background and the current social situations of the target country]. [Very important. Without understanding of the target culture, learning the target language can only be said to be involved in memorising the foreign words and sentence structures]. [It is very important. It is the makings of the language]. [It is very important. Only when you have understood the culture of the country, can you really understand the context in which the language is appropriately used]. [Cultural knowledge is a reflection of a country's "personality". This "personality" is very important in learning the language. If you place yourself in this "personality" like an actor/actress, then your use of the language will be more serviceable]. "Culture is as important as the three meals of each day. If we lack the cultures of the foreign country, we won't be able to learn its language well." "It's more important than anything else. In other words, culture is the intention of any language." [I think cultural learning is very important. To offer an example of this: the learning of language in its own sense is like walking on a rugged small path, while culture knowledge is like the 'changeable beautiful landscapes' by the sides of the path. People walking on this rugged path will soon become tired and weary and may give up without the existence of these 'landscapes'].

B). 46 (13%) who said 'yes' or 'very important' see that culture learning can arouse students' interest in learning English. As the following comments argue:

"I think it is very important, because, first of all, cultural learning will arouse our interest in learning English and stimulate our desire to study; second, the aim of our learning a language is to use it and more understanding of cultural knowledge not only help us understand the language, what's more, it can help us to use the language with high proficiency." [Very important. It can arouse pupils' interest in learning the language and satisfy pupils' curiosity]. [Cultural knowledge is very important if you want to really master the foreign language. i.e. to get rid of the barrier in communication. Cultural knowledge is helpful when you learn some grammar and some words and expressions. You can master these words and expressions with ease. What is more important. It will not make pupils feel tedious]. "You can learn much more about Englishspeaking countries, which can improve the interest of learning English." "You may lose the interest in studying English without it [culture learning]." "Most importantly, it can increase your interest in learning a language. Learning a language will be boring and unactive without culture." "It is very important because if you know the country's culture, it can help you learn English. You will now more vocabulary if the cultural knowledge in interesting. It may cause you to learn English well." [Very important. it can increase our interest in learning English]. [Understanding the cultural knowledge can arouse pupils' interest in learning English language, deepen and reinforce the learning of English]. [I think one cannot master English language without knowing the cultures of Englishspeaking countries. While understanding the target culture, one understands the target language better and will become more and more interested in English language. It is helpful to our learning of English]. [It is very important. It is helpful to stimulate pupils' interest in learning English, widen our knowledge and makes it easy to understand the language]. [It is very important. First, it can stimulate pupils' interest in learning the language and enable us to learn the language through curiosity; second, it is a branch of rich knowledge. After having learned some cultural knowledge, our standard of education will improve with it. The feeling of achievement and satisfaction brought about by the learning of English language culture is a necessity for pupils]. [Very important. In a sense, it is the source of interest in learning English. It can also increase the learner's sense of achievement]. "It is certainly important! We can't learn things without background, So we need culture. Culture gives us happiness in learning and it shows hoe [how] good the language is." One pupil expressed his/her viewpoint in a more professional and complex manner, saying that [Very important. First, one should have a good command of [Chinese] language, because languages are interlinked. Having had this basis, we can more easily memorise many things in learning English and in turn it will strengthen pupils' interest in learning English]. This pupil's statement echoes many scholars' arguments. For example, Kaikkonen argues that, "when learning a foreign language and culture, one always has to pay attention to the learner's own culture and its relation to the foreign culture. If the cultures are similar, learning is easier than if they are different" (1994, 26).

C) 45 (12%) who said 'yes' or 'very important' referred the matter to the relationship of language and culture and foreign language learning, saying that culture learning is a prerequisite to mastering English. As is argued in the following comments: "Cultural learning

in English learning is as important as the relation of flesh and blood." "Only having had a proper understanding of British and American culture, can we master the essence of English and appropriately understand the meaning of the special idioms in learning English." "By learning culture in language learning, we can correctly understand the connotation of a word and the real meaning of the language so as to master the language." "Understanding the cultural background of a country may enable us to master and use the language of the country freely and appropriately and make fewer mistakes caused by one's own cultural habit." "I think it is impossible to master English without a thorough understanding of the cultures of English-speaking countries." "The value of English learning will be greatly reduced without learning the culture." "I think it is very important. Only when we understand the cultural knowledge of the country whose language is being learned, can we learn the language better, so as not to restrict the use of English with Chinese linguistic forms." "Only when having understood the culture, can we really master the quintessence of the language." "Understanding the necessary cultural background is the prerequisite in the real mastery of a language." "We can appropriately use the language if we understand the target culture. So, we can say that cultural knowledge is the foundation in learning and using a language." "It is very important. For example, when we learn an English text, only when we get some knowledge of the story in terms of the date of event and the background of the story, can we thoroughly understand this text." [It is very important. If we don't know a language culture, we can't get the correct meaning of this language, and we can't translate it into Chinese, either]. "It is very important. I think, first of all, we should learn the language culture and understand its history in order to learn the language and really master the language. Or, the learning of the language will become very superficial. It won't work well even if we skilfully master the language form only." "We can thoroughly understand the meanings of the sentences and texts if we know the cultural background." [I think culture is so important that if we do not learn about it, we can't say we are really learning English]. [I think it is very important. For example, when you read an article, you have to know the culture more or less, otherwise, you won't understand the article]. "Besides the four language skills, i.e. listening, speaking, reading, and writing, cultural knowledge is absolutely necessary. We have to know the necessary cultural background, otherwise, we will be made a fool of ourselves, be ignorant and ill-informed if we can only master these four basic linguistic skills." "From the perspective of pragmatics, cultural learning is more important than grammar learning."

D). 20 (5%) who say 'yes' or very important' relate the importance of learning culture to the examinations, the general quality of education in Chinese secondary schools and intercultural communication as well. As is shown in the following remarks:

"Seen from the perspective of sitting for an examination, learning foreign cultural knowledge can be a better help for us in filling a word or phrase slot and reading comprehension. Seen from the perspective of quality education, it can help to improve our quality, widen our knowledge and so on". "It is very important. In the English examination, culture is touched upon in the parts of filling word slot and reading comprehension. Knowing the cultural background can help us with these questions that need the concerned cultural background in the mentioned areas of examination. In addition, cultural knowledge is also needed when we practise situational dialogues so that embarrassment can be avoided while foreigners." "Cultural with knowledge communicating fundamental. There is not as much value in learning a language if we ignore the learning of the target culture." "It plays a necessary part. using is the purpose of learning a language. if you want to master it, you should not only know the knowledge that the books tells you, but also culture." [It should occupy an important part. Learning English is not learning grammar only, we should use it to communicate with others and understand each other better. To achieve this, culture serves the language, increase the width and depth of a discourse speech]. "Very important. The cultural shock could give the learner a hard time in communication. In the other words, use this thing well will group [help] your study."

E). 1 (0.3%), while recognising the importance of the relationship of language and culture, links the learning culture of a foreign country to learning to behave like a foreigner in terms of the way of thinking and social norms etc. As the following statement shows: "It is very important. We cannot understand the language without knowing the culture. There are many differences between Chinese culture and Western culture. As a Chinese, I think, the structure of our own cultural knowledge, our own way of thinking that are formed during

one's own life-time are hard to change during the course of only a few years' English learning."

Table 10-2. The Pupil	Informants' View	of Culture in	Learning	English	(N =	= 373)

Question five, "How important is culture, do you think, in learning a foreign				
language such as Eng				
Important ¹⁹	135 (36%)	Very important 214	(57.4%)	
Not important	24 (6.4%)			
Some informants' con	nments on the	role of culture in language lea	arning from	
those who claimed that culture was important or very important $(N = 201)$				
- Widen and enrich th	e knowledge o	of the world and facilitate		
	inte	rcultural communication	90	
- Arouse the learners' interest in learning the language 46				
- Owing to the relationship of language and culture 45				
- Cultural knowledge	helps in the ex	caminations	20	

Data analysis shows that the 24/6% informants who said 'no' said so without giving any explanation. They include 13 lower secondary pupils, which represent 7% of the total 180 informants in this group and 11 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 6% of the total 193 informants in this group.

Data analysis further shows that of those 24/6% who said 'no' here 15 are the same pupils who said they were not interested in learning English language culture in answering question three. This in turn shows 9 informants confused themselves in answering those questions.

4.2.4 The Pupil Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Teaching of Culture (Q7)

In answering question 7 – "How do you think a teacher should teach English language culture(s)", the majority (347/93%) expressed an opinion and the suggested techniques are categorised in the following patterns and summarised in Table 11.

not important.'

¹⁹ The term 'important' here includes the responses that directly said 'yes, it is important', and those that did not say directly it is important or very important, but implied their recognition of the importance of culture in language teaching. For example, "If you don't study it, you will fail in the exam." "You can't learning a foreign language without its culture." "It enables us to understand the foreign country and enrich our knowledge." The term 'very important includes only the responses that directly included it in their responses. The term 'No' means the responses that directly said 'No, it is

A). 162 (43%) informants suggest that the teachers should integrate the target culture into the classroom English language teaching while teaching the language.

[When teaching a new word, try to tell the students how the word came about. In class, try to use as many gestures in foreign countries as possible]. [A teacher should teach English culture(s) while teaching the language]. "At first, the teachers should told us more and more useful idioms. Because uses widely today. Second, when we learn a new lesson or a new unit, we want to know more things about it, such as its history, the setting of it, the development and the result. Just like our Chinese lessons". "Cultural knowledge should be referred to accordingly in the course of the teaching." "It is possible to compile plenty of teaching materials and exercises concerning the cultural background of the language. Try to make the teaching of culture as in accordance with the local conditions and customs as possible, analyse the differences between the two cultures and relate it to the teaching of the texts." "Teachers can add some cultural information in the course of teaching the texts or send out some concerned reading materials that contain the cultural information which is related to the text being learned. And also, the teachers can make use of the facilities in school to show some special films." "Cultural learning should be closely linked with the practical learning of the textbook or the reading materials and the real foreign life." "When teaching the relevant texts, teachers should give more concerned English language culture and more examples." "As the explanation of the text goes on, appropriately add some English culture." "While explaining the text, the teacher can insert some short stories that refer to the cultural knowledge, and some jokes originated from English dialects. And also special classes can be offered to teach the concerned cultural knowledge." "The teacher should introduce some English culture before she (or he) teach every text and when the students make this kind of mistakes, she (or he) should correct them in time". "Based on text-explanation in classroom teaching, cultural teaching can then be developed from giving brief introduction to the concerned background. For example, the teacher may introduce the origin of a certain holiday, a certain loanword in the target language or a certain custom of the target country." "I think the teacher should try every means to relate the cultural knowledge to the reality in teaching the English language culture(s) and should not talk in generalities. It's

better to teach more cultural knowledge at the point that students are mostly interested in. For example, communication is an important part and students are also very interested in it. Thus, I hope the teacher will make every class lively and interesting together with the teaching of the concerned cultural knowledge." "The teacher should add some more language culture while explaining the text to make the students feel no longer tedious in learning words and grammar, to arouse students' interest, improve students' understanding of the cultural knowledge of English language and the country and widen the students' knowledge." "There is no need to offer a special course to teach cultural background. It is better to add the concerned cultural knowledge to the teaching of tedious knowledge that need to memorise in ordinary English teaching in order to bring the teaching of cultural knowledge into full play. This not only enriches students' knowledge but also makes it easier and more thorough for the students to memorise the grammar." "The knowledge gained through such a way that is imperceptibly influenced is not only having a deep impression on the students, and not easy to forget, but also easy to use. I think the teacher should adopt such similar teaching techniques. For example, add the concerned cultural knowledge in explaining the text, but avoid too professional knowledge that may make the students feel bored. This may bring about good results." "Relate the teaching of culture with the foreign reality and the teaching of grammar as well." "Integrate these cultural knowledge into the daily English teaching in the form of story-telling, offering general knowledge which will have the students master these cultural knowledge in a somewhat common daily-chatting manner. In short, these must interest students." "Not only teaching grammar. It is better to insert some interesting episodes of famous persons and foreign film stars, that you have seen or read, and cultural geography and folk customs of the foreign country as well." [I think a good teacher must make the student know the grammar as much as possible. The more the students have learnt, the better the students master the language. And also, an English teacher had better tell more about the foreign countries to his (or her) students so that the students will understand the language deeply]. "I think the teacher should teach the students more cultural knowledge. For example, on the first of April, the teacher may explain the origin of April Fool's Day. On 25th of December, the teacher can talk about Christmas Day and what the children and their parents are doing on that day. And some other literary quotations can be dealt with the same way. Of course, I hope the teacher will explain these stories in words and phrases that we have learned. If the words and phrases fail to express the knowledge, Chinese translation can be used. In this way, we can gain more knowledge, improve our listening and promote our interest in learning English."

- B) 71(19%) informants suggest that teachers should speak more English in class rather than their native language, by simply saying "Use more spoken English or Speak more English in class." Data analysis reveals that this group of suggestions are mostly put forth by junior pupils.
- C). 60 (16%) informants suggest that cultural teaching in English teaching should be structured so that it should be centred around students' interest in learning English, which is also very well recognised and discussed in great detail by Byram (1989) and Kaikkonen (1997) among others. As is recognised in the following remarks: "Songs and films can be used as a departure point, because many typical sentences or phrases or grammar rules appear there. This can stimulate students' interest on one hand, and it is easier to memorise this concerned cultural knowledge on the other. I, at least, feel it easier to recite the words of a long song and I can more easily understand it. As is the case with the English MTV from the channel of Shandong Wire-broadcasting Station. After each song is over, the host/hostess usually explains some special words of the song together with the cultural information. This is indeed very interesting." "I think the teachers should first stimulate students' interest in learning English rather than have them mechanically memorise some tedious words only and instil some 'dead' knowledge. The teacher should start with the history of the development of English. Let the students first have a general idea about English, then make an earnest start. As is the case when foreigners are learning Chinese. Only when they understand the rich Chinese culture, can they start with each phonetic letters and each Chinese character." "I think the teacher should have the students study consciously and develop students' interest in learning. For example, students can write dialogue themselves, memorise words in a special way, enlighten students' creative thinking, introduce to the students more foreign customs and habits and enable students have a proper understanding of language context that they are learning."

D). 58 (16%) informants suggest that the teachers should use various activities and aids to teach culture(s) of English-speaking countries, which is also discussed in many places by many theorists and educators, such as Rivers (1964), Chastain (1976), Kaikkonen, (1997) among others. As the following informants' remarks argue: [First, the teacher should often let students listen to English tapes; second, they should give many interesting words about many countries' culture; third, take many games in order to make us know the spirit of the culture. And this is very easy for us to accept. Fourth, have oral practice as much as possible to improve our speaking level. Besides these, pay attention to one thing: To compare with our own Chinese culture]. "Multimeans should be used such as pictures, television, tapes and the like." "Beside teaching the cultural background in the text, it is better for the teacher to use some concerned pictures, video in teaching English language culture. It is also better for the teacher and the students to role-play these abstract customs and let the students have a 'real' experience and thorough understanding of the target culture." "Tell story or have us act plays".

E). 48 (13%) informants suggest that the teacher should create more language contexts and let the students experience the "real cultural life" to make the teaching of culture more lively and interesting. This has also been discussed a lot by many theorists, especially those who favour the communicative language teaching. In these informants' view, they can learn to use the language more appropriately and naturally in this way. As the following statements argue: "Since we are learning a foreign language, we should create a necessary atmosphere. It is better not to teach devoid of the necessary cultural background knowledge. It is easier for us to understand the language if the monotonous language learning could be related to the concerned social customs or other background knowledge." "The teacher should create more language contexts, enable students to master English unconsciously and improve students' expressive ability." Nevertheless, while having made a similar suggestion to the above ones, one pupil made an addition comment, which reveals a divided attitude to the introduction of culture, namely: learning the target culture in language learning is necessary but dangerous. In her/his view, learning the target culture in learning the language might lead to the destruction or at least dilution of Chinese culture. As is argued in her/his comment:

"Create more language contexts, and make the students feel they are using English not learning English. But they should be informed that the aim of their learning English is to enrich their own country and die for their country. Don't let students become 'bananas' Don't let our country become the base of training qualified personnel for foreign countries."

F). 45 (12%) informants suggest that the teachers should provide more reading materials concerning the cultural knowledge. How to provide cultural information in the teaching of the language has also been discussed by many theorists as a problem (for example, Rivers, 1964, Chastain, 1976, Byram, 1989, among others). As the informants' following remarks say: "They should bring more newly-materials about the English-speaking countries. They should teach students not only about people's lives but also about some special field such as politics, geography and so on". "Get some interesting articles or take the students to the target foreign country or talk with some foreigners." "The teacher should expand the teaching of cultural knowledge and introduce to the students some authentic materials."

G). Still 30 (8%) informants suggest using the method of comparison. This technique is also well recognised by Byram (1989), who discussed it in great detail when explaining his model of foreign language education. Kaikkonen (1997) also recognised the role of comparison in the process of intercultural learning while learning the language. The points can be identified in the following comments by these informants: [Compare with Chinese culture, then we can easily master English language and culture]. "Give more examples they shoe the Chinese linguistic behaviours are different from the Western ones." While one informant comments that: "First, the teacher must know the culture well and then teach us. If he/she doesn't know the language culture at all, he/she can't teach us."

H). 2 (0.5%) informants strongly criticise the present situation of teaching English which they perceived as being organised in a traditional way, divorced from its social and cultural context. As they argue: [Only one piece of advice: help the students out of books. Most of us can do the exercises well, but we don't know how

²⁰ According to *The Dictionary of American Slang* (1995, 16) 'banana' means 'by 1980s an Oriental sympathetic with and part of the white majority society. Because white on the inside though yellow on the outside.' By 'banana', the pupil informant thus probably means a Chinese person who has become corrupted by Western values.

- to use them in daily life]. [I think he (or she) should tell his (or her) students something interesting about English language culture(s) to make them comfortable to learn English].
- I). To teach culture effectively, 8 (2%) informants suggest that cultural knowledge should be tested in the exams besides the test of linguistic knowledge. This, too, has been recognised by some theorists and researchers, such as Valette (1986, in Valdes, 1986), who discussed the matter in some detail. As the pupils' following remarks argue: "First, let the students know that these cultural knowledge must be tested in the examinations, then students will know the importance of learning the cultural knowledge in learning the language. It is very necessary to master some knowledge beyond the textbooks, but the college entrance examination make the students reluctant to absorb the knowledge or words and phrases beyond the textbooks." "Cultural teaching should be linked as much with exams as possible." "From the perspective of pragmatic, English cultural learning is very helpful for the examination. It can help us to understand the topic and text easily. Therefore, English language culture should touch upon more aspects without the necessity of going too much deep."
- J). Several informants (6/2%) suggest that the teachers should offer special classes to teach culture in order to have more cultural information beyond the textbooks. As the following comments show:
- "The teacher can fix a certain time to give a special training within a given language context. Not only the teachers speak. More students can also join. Topics such as films, football, basketballs and so on that interest students are welcome. These topics are not necessarily going on very professionally, just like ordinary chat, starting with the simple and basic. Some pop songs are also welcome." "Offer special course in cultural teaching and teach the cultural information related to the real foreign life." "Cultural teaching should not be limited within the textbooks. There is not much cultural information in the textbooks after all. It should be widened in scope and depth. The more, the better."
- K). Nonetheless, 3 (0.8%) informant pupils show an ambivalence towards the teaching of culture: they are afraid that using some of the class time to learn English language culture will affect their success in exams, arguing that: "I think it is the best if the teacher can offer us more Western cultural background knowledge in

addition to classroom textbook-teaching, or give the students the chance to talk about the things that they are interested in English. In this way, it can either satisfy our curiosity, or bring our positive factor into play. If only we had a few more teaching hours from our foreign teachers. However, owing to the existence of the college entrance examination, the present way of teaching English is very suitable for the preparation for this examination. But I am afraid that students will be in a very negative position which will bring about a phenomenon, 'dame English', if we are taught in such a way." "In a word, all teaching and learning should be centred around the examinations. The college entrance examination is the most important after all." "All aspects can be touched upon. Special language culture course should be offered if it possible. The overwhelming majority of students will take the course if there no college entrance examination."

L) 1 (0.3%) informant, however, favours the teaching of culture by offering his/her own teacher as an example, saying that: "Like what my teacher has been doing, she always introduces the concerned cultural background knowledge that is related to the text. In addition, she also teaches us some cultural background knowledge beyond the textbooks, such as the origin of a festival or some local customs. I think this is the way foreign language class should be taught."

Table 11. The Pupil Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Teaching of Culture (N = 373)

71 (19%)
` /
60 (4 60 ()
60 (16%)
, ,
58 (16%)
, ,
48 (13%)
45 (12%)
30 (8%)
10 (3%)
8 (2%)
6 (2%)
4 (1%)
26 (7%)

Data analysis further reveals that of those 26/7% who did not offer any suggestion for the teachers to implement the teaching of culture in English language teaching, 16 are lower secondary pupils, which represent 9% of the total 180 informants in this group and 10 are upper secondary pupils, which represent 5% of the total 193 informants in this group.

4. 3 Results of The Schoolteacher Survey

4.3.1 Culture in Schoolteacher Informants' Teaching and Learning of English (Q 1, 6 & 8)

Questions one, six and eight ask the informants whether they teach cultural knowledge in their formal English language teaching and whether their teaching materials talk about English language culture(s) and whether they were taught the cultural knowledge. The detailed questions and answers are summarised in tables 12-1 and 12-2.

Table 12-1. Culture in Schoolteacher Informants' Teaching and Learning of English (N = 373)

Question one, "Do you tead	ch the culture	e(s) of English	-speaking
countries in teaching English as	a foreign lang	guage?"	
Yes	162 (97%)	No	5 (3%)
What aspects, if 'yes'?			
Culture of broad definition:	220 respon	ses	
Customs	86	People's way	of life 32
Food	16	Society	15
Holidays & Festivals	14	Sports	12
Cultural differences	7	Etiquette	6
Language	6	Manners	5
Greetings	5	Education	2
Background	2	Language	2
Way of thinking	2	Dress	2

Music	1	Value	1
Legends	1	Taboo	1
Making phone calls	1	Social problems	1
Culture of narrow definition:	114 re	sponses	
History	53	Geography	20
Economics	15	Literature	14
Art	6	Science	4
Politics	2		
Others:	40 resp	oonses	
No answer	35 (21	%) According to the text 4	(2%)
Not often	1 (0.69	% 0)	

Table 12-2. Culture in Schoolteacher Informants' Teaching and Learning of English (N = 373)

Eligiisii (N –373)		• • • • •	•	
Question six, "Do your teaching materials (textbooks, supplementary				
readings, etc.) talk about E	•	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		
Yes	150 (90%)	No	17 (10%)	
What aspects are dealt with	1?			
Culture of broad definition	: 82 response	S		
Customs	40	People's way of life	12	
Holidays & Festivals	7	Cultural background	3	
Humour	3	Manners	2	
Beliefs	2	English names	2	
Body language	2	Fairy tales	1	
Education	1	Values	1	
Language	1	Cultural differences	1	
Idioms	1	Greetings	1	
Traditions	1	Weddings	1	
Culture of narrow definition	on:	91 responses		
History	28	Science	20	
Art	18	Politics	14	
Famous people	7	Literature	4	
Others:	94 response	S		
No answers	94 (56%)			
Question eight, "Have culture(s) of these countries		been taught things	about the	

Data analysis further shows that of the 5/3% informants who said 'No' in answering question one, 4 are from Licheng, which represent 7% of the total 54 informants in this area and 1 are from Qingdao, which represent 3% of the total 32 informants in this area.

In answering the follow-up question, 40/24% informants failed to offer any example of cultural aspects. These include 22 from Licheng, which represent 41% of the total 54 informants in this area, 9 from Jinan, which represent 27% of the total 33 informants in this area, 4 from Qingdao, which represent 13% of the total 32 informants in this area, 3 from Yantai, which represent 11% of the total 28 informants in this area and 2 from other schools, which represent 10% of the total 20 informants there.

Of these 22 informants from Licheng who failed to offer any example of cultural aspects in answering the follow-up question, 20/91% contradicted themselves by saying 'Yes' in answering question one, while 7/80% of the 9 informants from Jinan, 3/75% of the 4 informants from Qingdao contradicted themselves respectively.

Of the 17/10% informants who said 'No' in answering question six, 11 are from Licheng, which represent 20% of the total 54 informants in this area, 3 from Jinan, which represent 10% of the total 33 informants in this area, 2 from Qingdao, which represent 6% of the total 32 informants in this area and 1 from other schools, which represent 5% of the total 20 informants there.

Of the 94/56% informants who failed to offer any example of cultural aspects from their teaching materials in answering the follow-up question to question six, 35 are from Licheng, which represent 65% of the total 54 informants in this area, 20 from Jinan, which represent 61% of the total 33 informants in this area, 15 from Qingdao, which represent 47% of the total 32 informants there, 12 from Yantai, which represent 43% of the total 28 informants there and 12 from other schools, which represent 60% of the total 20 informants there.

And again of these 94/56% informants, 77/82% informants contradicted themselves by saying 'Yes' in answering question six while having failed to offer any example of cultural aspects in answering the follow-up question. These include 37 Licheng informants, which represent 69% of the total 54 informants there, 12

from Qingdao, which represent 38% of the total 32 informants there, 12 from Jinan, which represent 36% of the total 33 informants in this area, 4 from Yantai, which represent 4% of the total 28 informants in this area and 12 from other schools, which represent 60% of the total 20 informants there.

Of the 17/10% informants who said 'No' in answering question eight, 10 are from Licheng, which represent 19% of the total 54 informants in this area; 4 from Qingdao, which represent 13% of the total 32 informants in this area; and 3 from Jinan, which represent 9% of the total 33 informants in this area.

4.3.2 The Schoolteacher Informants' Definition of Culture (Q2)

Turning to question two, which is to elicit those schoolteachers' open-ended definition of culture. The responses cover a wide enough range of cultural aspects to include almost all aspects of the life of a people. However, there is a fairly large number of them (28/17%), who either failed to provide a definition that may include even one aspect of the culture or misunderstood the question. And some responses are only narrowly included in some groups of cultural aspects. The most popular response 'Customs' is mentioned by only less than half of the informants. The detailed question and the responses are summarised in Table 13.

Table 13. The Schoolteacher Informants' Definition of Culture (N = 167)				
Question two, "What does cultur	re mean	to you?"		
Culture of broad definition: 207 responses				
Customs	73	People's way of life	52	
Language	13	Background	13	
Food	10	Sports	10	
Education	9	Knowledge	7	
Etiquette	6	Music	4	
Festival	2	Manners	1	
Society	1	Country	1	
Cultural differences	1	Jokes	1	
Greetings	1	Communication	1	
Entertainment	1			
Culture of narrow definition:	101 re	esponses		
History	43	Literature	13	
Geography	12	Art	11	
Science	6	Politics	3	

Beliefs	3	Thought	1
Economics	1	Civilisation	1
Philosophy	1		
Others:	28 respon	ises	
Misunderstandin	gs 22 (13%)	No answer	6 (4%)

Further data analysis shows that of the total 28/17% informants who failed to offer any definition of culture, 12 are from Licheng, which represent 22% of the total 54 informants in this area; 7 from Qingdao, which represent 22% of the total 32 informants in this area; 5 from Jinan, which represent 15% of the total 33 informants in this area; and 4 from other schools, which represent 20% of the total 20 informants there.

Data analysis further shows that of the 22/13% who misunderstood the question 11 informants are from Licheng, which represent 20% of the total 54 informants in this area; 5 informants come from Qingdao, which represent 16% of the total 32 informants there; 3 informants are from Jinan, which represent 9% of the total 33 informants in this area; and 3 informants are from other schools, which represent 15% of the total 20 informants there. These 'misunderstandings may be classified into three types: (1) the responses were intended for some other questions rather than the current one, but randomly placed here; (2) the concept of culture is too big for them to give a concrete definition. Further analysis may suggest that some may really feel the term is too complex to define; (3) some went too far away from the topic. All these can be identified in the following:

[Understand British and American culture. Lay a foundation for future further study]. [Very wide]. "Very important." "I think it important." [The basis for studying English well]. "I can understand other countries." "I think culture is very important. The students are interested." "It is important in teaching English." "It mean a lot to me. It is very important to the English language teaching." "Culture in language learning and teaching is very important, especially for Chinese people, because there are so many differences between us." "Everything our ancestors left us." "Culture is communication." "All aspects of the society." "It include many kinds of directions." "I mean it include many direction." "Tool of exchange." I think it's very widely." "Sth. useful for Ss [students] to improve knowledge, etc." "It means the ways of learning English." "It means almost

everything of a country." [Development of language]. [The necessary supplement in English language teaching].

4.3.3 The Schoolteacher Informants' View of the Role of Culture in Their Teaching of English (Q 3.4.5.9)

In charting these schoolteachers' view of the role of the teaching of culture, four questions were asked. Questions three and four asked whether these teachers were interested in teaching the culture(s) of these English-speaking countries in teaching English as a foreign language and which part of the culture(s) they thought was the most interesting in teaching about English language culture(s), if they are interested. The findings show that all the schoolteacher informants feel interested in teaching culture while teaching a language and that the majority of them favour the culture of broad definition, with the culture of narrow definition being placed in an absolutely secondary position. The responses to the following two questions are summarised in tables 14-1 and 14-2.

Table 14-1. The Schoolteacher Informants' View of the Role of Culture in the Teaching of English (N = 167)

Question three, "Are yo	ou interested in t	eaching	the culture(s) of these
English-speaking countr	ries in teaching E	nglish as	a foreign language?"
Yes	167 (100%)	No	0 (0%)

Question four, "Which part of the culture(s), do you think, is the most interesting in teaching about English language culture(s), if you are interested?"

interested'?"			
Culture of broad definition:	186 res	ponses	
Customs	86	People's way of life	20
Cultural differences	14	Festivals & holiday	8
Humour and jokes	7	Sports	7
Language	6	Etiquette	6
Manners	4	Education	4
Background culture	4	Greetings	4
Fairy tales	2	Spoken English	2
Food	2	Music	1
Film	1	Knowledge	1
Taboo	1	Making phone call	1
Buying	1	Body language	1
Marriage	1	Interesting stories	1

Trip	1		
Culture of narrow definition: History Politics Geography	47 responses 39 1	Literature Science	5 1
Others: Misunderstandings	14 responses 6 (4%)	No answer	8 (5%)

Data analysis reveals that of the total 14/9% informants who failed to identify any cultural aspects that they might feel interested in in teaching about English language culture, 4 are from Yantai, which represent 14% of the total 28 informants in this area; 3 from Qingdao, which represent 9% of the total 32 informants in this area; 3 from Licheng, which represent 6% of the total 54 informants there; 2 from Jinan, which represent 6% of the total 33 informants in this area and 2 from other schools, which represent 10% of the total 20 informants there.

In addition, the total 14/9% informants who either misunderstood the question or failed to specify any part of the culture(s) they might feel interested in in teaching English language in answering question four have apparently contradicted themselves, based on the fact that 167/100% informants claimed that they were interested in teaching the cultures of English-speaking countries in answering question three.

The responses that are interpreted as 'misunderstandings' are illustrated as follows: "Only the part about the lessons me teach." "I think the most interesting" "English spoken." "Foreign language is important, especially English novels." "Such as study hard, do some housework, help sb. to do sth. And etc." "Background culture."

When question 5 asked them to evaluate the importance of culture in teaching English language culture while teaching the language and whether the informants would like to attend a culture programme for secondary school English culture teaching, the informants offered various responses. The findings show that almost all (163/98%) support the role of culture in foreign language

teaching, though opinions vary. As are categorised in the following patterns and shown in Table 7-2:

A) 52 (31%) informants realise the importance of culture in teaching a foreign language such as English from the perspective of the relationship of language and culture and the foreign language teaching and believe that cultural learning can help students to learn the English language better. As the following comments show:

[Culture plays an important part in English teaching, especially for middle school students]. "This helps to further understand English. And also it can interest students and push them to learn English." "It can help us understand the way of living in these countries." "If you want to learn English well, you must learn about it. That means you must know the culture as well." "It is helpful and useful for the learners to understand and grasp the spirit of the language." "It can help students to understand the texts." "It can strengthen the atmosphere of learning English." "It helps the Ss [students] to understand the language better and know the differences between the cultures of two countries. Learn to use the language not just learn the language." "It will help the Ss [students] to understand the knowledge better and know the differences between our culture and the cultures of other countries." "It's easy for the students to understand what you have taught them after you teach the cultures." "Culture is a prerequisite of our quality education, and learning English well. It is a very important part of our English language teaching". "It is the necessary common-sense knowledge in learning English." "Very important. We must teach it as an important subject." "It is as important as teaching English itself". "I think it's very important for us teachers, but I have no time to learn and teach it." "A foreign language is some kind of culture." "Culture is one of the key factors to help understand and use the language better." "Man can never learn a language without learning its culture." "Culture is as important as that fish needs water." "I think if you don't know the culture, you won't know the language well."

B). 28 (18%) informants say culture is very important or important, because they think it can arouse students' interest in learning English. As the following remarks show: "It is very important, I think. It can arise the Ss' [students'] interests and help them study well". "It can guide the students interested in English language." "I think if the students learn cultures such as social customs of English-speaking countries, they can take more interest in learning English."

"Culture can interest students and improve the quality of classroom teaching."

C). 20 (12%) informants say that the teaching of culture can enrich students' knowledge and can help students to use the language more appropriately in communicating with foreign people: "It enriches the learners' knowledge, allowing them to approach the language more lively and effectively." "We can understand each other better." "To tell the students the differences between the two cultures can help them communicate with foreigners well." "It is natural to learn some culture, if you are studying a foreign language. For it can widen your knowledge, it can also arise your interest." "Another way to communicate with others. A window opens to the co-understanding in our global village."

D). 2 (1%) informants give negative answers, while showing some kind of hesitation. They comment: "In my opinion, it is not very important. Perhaps I'm not right." "Not very important, but necessary. It can stimulate the students' interest of the language."

Question nine asks the informants how they support a cultural training programme for the secondary school English teachers. The findings show that 161 (96%) informant teachers support a programme about cultural information for the teaching of culture in secondary school English language teaching, which correlates with these teachers' support of the role of culture (163/98%) in answering question five. The detailed two questions and answers are shown in Table 14-2.

Table 14-2. The Schoolteacher Informants' View of the Role of Culture in the Teaching of English (N = 167)

reaching of English (N 107)				
Question five, "How important is culture, do you this	nk, in teaching a			
foreign language such as English?"				
Very important 120 (72%) Import	tant 43 (26%)			
Not important 4 (2%)				
Comments on the role of culture from some of those	who claimed that			
culture was important or very important	(N = 100)			
- owing to the relationship of language and culture 52				
- arouse the students' interest in learning the language 28				
- enrich the students' knowledge and help in communication 20				
Question nine, "Would you attend a programme for hig	gh school English			
teachers that is exactly about English language culture(s)?"				
Yes 161 (96%) No	6(4%)			

Data analysis reveals that of those 4/2% who said 'No' in answering question five, 2 are from Qingdao, which represent 6% of the total 32 informants there and 2 from Licheng, which represent 4% of the total 54 informants in this area.

Of the 6/4% informants who said 'No' in answering question nine, 2 are from Qingdao, which represent 6% of the total 32 informants in this area; 2 are from Licheng, which represent 4% of the total 54 informants in this area; 1 is from Yantai, which represent 3% of the total 28 informants in this area and 1 is from Jinan, which represents 3% of the total 33 informants in this area.

Data analysis further reveals that of the 6/4% informants who said 'No' in answering question nine, 4 informants contradicted themselves by saying culture is important or very important in answering question five while they expressed a negative attitude towards a possible cultural programme for secondary school English teachers. These include 3 informants from Licheng, which represent 6% of the total 54 informants in this area and 1 from Qingdao, which represents 3% of the total 32 informants there. There seems to be fewer problems here with all the informants. And the existing problems are roughly evenly present among the informants of different regions.

4.3.4 The Schoolteacher Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Teaching of Culture in Their Teaching of English (Q10)

To make the teaching of culture in Chinese secondary foreign language teaching consistent and systematic, question ten, "How would you pass cultural information on to your students, if you are interested in teaching the English language culture(s)?" is designed to elicit the informant schoolteachers' open-ended suggestions to the teaching of English language culture(s). In responding to the question, 92% of informants offered their opinions, which are categorised in the following patterns and shown in Table 15:

A) 73 (44%) informants suggest teaching the cultural information through the normal teaching of the language, saying that: "We have been trying to teach some words with some concerned cultural background information." "When I teach them knowledge, sometime I leave a few minutes to talk with them about culture." "I

talk about the culture when we learn the text." "If the customs connect with the text, I will tell them before the class begins." "I put the cultural information into the everyday teaching. When the cultural information is concerned in everyday teaching, I will explain more." "I'll put them into our teaching activity. I will use the comparison method." "When my students start to learn a new unit, I would like to introduce something more about the topic." "I would teach them the culture through reading the text." "Teach them from the text, workbook, and so on." "Before teaching the text, I often talk about something about the text." "According to the textbooks, supplementary readings, newspapers, and magazines." "I would teach culture while explaining the exercises and texts related to different cultures."

- B) 67 (40%) informants suggest teaching culture through all kinds of activities such as "telling stories", "giving lectures or talks", "roleplay", "making dialogues" etc.
- C) 40 (24%) informants suggest using multimedia to teach cultural knowledge, arguing that: "Explain it by showing flashcards." "By means of video, cassette, photo-showing and telling stories." "Slide show, pictures, performance, conversation, etc. in teaching the English language culture."
- D) 31 (20%) informants suggest providing students with more reading materials that talk about cultures of English-speaking countries. As the following remarks show: "First, I can read some relevant materials to the students. Second, the students and I can exchange some information. Third, let the students read some materials." "By doing some extra reading materials." "Teach them the information by reading relative [relevant] materials." "By introducing some extra materials, talking to them, telling stories, watching TV, or videos, and so on." "Give them some background information and show them some cards, photos, slides, pictures, or videos." "I give them some reading materials for them to know it." "By some listening materials, inviting foreigners to my class and supplying some supplementary reading materials."
- E) 7 (4%) informants suggest using the comparative method, noting that: "Usually by comparing similarities and differences, I wouldn't define what is good and what is bad." "Through situational dialogues, and make comparison between English culture and Chinese culture."

F) 4 (2%) informants say that students should play an active part in learning the cultures of English-speaking countries, arguing that: "Let my students to collect some information and then give a short report before class. Discuss together after class in English, or write some things about English culture on the back blackboard." "When students do class reports that touch the topic or meet some texts then I can pass cultural information onto them."

Table 15. The Schoolteacher Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Teaching of Culture in Their Teaching of English (N = 167)

reaching of Cartare in Their reaching of English (10 107)	
1. Through the teaching of texts	73(44%)
2. Through all kinds of activities	67 (40%)
3. Multimedia (such as pictures, videos, cards,	
photos, watching TV, and etc.)	40 (24%)
4. Give students more reading materials	31 (20%)
5. Compare two cultures	7 (4%)
6. In every way I can think of	2 (1%)
7. Let the pupils play their role	2 (1%)
Other:	
Misunderstandings	4 (2%)
No answers	10 (6%)

Data analysis shows that of the 10/6% informants who failed to offer any suggestion of how to implement the teaching of culture in their school English language teaching, 4 are from Licheng, which represent 7% of the total 54 informants in this area; 3 from Qingdao, which represent 9% of the total 32 informants in this area; 1 from Jinan, which represent 3% of the total 33 informants in this area and 2 from other schools, which represent 10% of the total 20 informants there.

Of the 4/2% who 'misunderstood' the question, 2 are from Yantai, which represent 7% of the total 28 informants in this area; 1 from Licheng, which represents 2% of the total 54 informants in this area and 1 from other schools, which represents 20% of the total 20 informants there.

The interpreted 'misunderstandings' are as follows: "Tell the students something that id helpful to understand the text or that has something to do with the text." "I'd like to try almost every approach to make them know more about English-speaking countries." "Yes." "Mainly in English."

4.3.5 The Schoolteacher Informants' Perceived Challenges in Their Teaching of Culture (Q 7 & 11)

In response to question seven, "Are your students interested in learning the English language culture(s)?" the findings show that the informant teachers hold a very positive attitude to the students' interest in learning the culture(s) of English—speaking countries, as is shown in Table 16.

Turning to question eleven, "What sort of challenges are there in teaching English language culture(s) and incorporating them into the school curriculum?", the informants offered very valuable comments, which are categorised in the following patterns and shown in Table 16.

- A). 67 (40%) informants claim that they have not enough time in class to deal with the teaching of cultural information in teaching English language while recognising its crucial importance, saying that: "Because our text-teaching task is very heavy, so we don't have a lot of time to teach English language cultures. But I think the cultures are important too. So I think when we meet the cultures connect with the text, we should tell students some of them. Then day after day, the students will learn lot of the cultures." "There's little time to practise them because of so much to do. But the students are very interested in them." "We don't have enough time and we don't have enough materials for this."
- B) 29 (17%) informants complain that there are not enough materials concerning the cultural knowledge. "Sometimes I find it is difficult to find the right materials for the students to read, but I try to find as much as possible." [We are short of appropriate teaching materials.] [We are short of appropriate cultural teaching materials. We hope some cultural teaching materials concerning the primary and middle school English language teaching or a training programme in this area will be offered.]
- C). 14 (8%) informants blame the examination systems as a main obstacle to the teaching of culture, saying that: "The examination system is the main trouble. We usually test the language knowledge not language cultures." "The examination system is the main trouble. What is most popular and interesting, useful to learn and teach is usually not tested, so we have to give it up." "Time is limited. Knowinging more culture doesn't mean high marks." "It will take up much time, causing pressure upon the formal teaching."

- D). 8 (5%) informants perceive the teachers' incompetence in teaching culture as the main challenge, noting that: "Sometimes we don't know exactly about English language cultures." "Sorry, I have to say that I don't think I've got enough knowledge about the culture or the background, and I also think we need knowledge from books and we also need knowledge from our experience as well. In fact, I think, to be a teacher of language is much more difficult than that of science. There are so much knowledge to master, most of which is of culture or something to do with culture." "Bilinguals. To teach the cultures in Chinese is easier and more attractive than in English." "I understand them a little. There are many difficulties in teaching." "The teachers themselves are weak in English. They know little about these countries." "I understand them a little. There are many difficulties in teaching." [Our cultural knowledge of Englishspeaking countries such as their customs, way of life are minimal. Therefore we feel very passive in teaching this kind of knowledge.] [Students' strong desire to learn more about English language culture and the teachers' limited knowledge in this area remain a kind of challenge.] [I don't have enough knowledge about English language culture myself.] "The main one is [the teachers'] language ability and the knowledge is incomplete." "We can't frequently get 'recharged'." "I find I need to study more, there is no end for me to study knowledge include culture, because my knowledge is very poor."
- E). 7 (4%) informants claim that the differences between Western and Chinese cultures are very big, which is very difficult for the students to master, as the following voice argues: "Because the customs of the Western countries are quite different from those of the Eastern countries, the students have many difficulties to learn them."
- F) 3 (2%) informant regards the environment as a kind of challenge, saying: "The surroundings are not good enough for my students to learn English. They always speak Chinese English." [The problem in teaching culture in English language teaching may be the students' limited vocabulary and shortage of advanced teaching aids which makes the teaching of culture far from audio-visual.] "There isn't a good place for the students to use a foreign language freely after class."
- G). 1 (0.6%) informant says she/he just ignores whatever challenge might exist and approaches the teaching of culture in her/his own

way. As the statement shows: "I pay no attention to this. I only try my best to pass on what I know."

H) 1 (0.6%) informant blames the authorities as an obstacle in implementing the task for whatever reason, saying that: "I think there are a lot. I wish the leaders should give the teachers the chances."

Table 16. The Schoolteachers' Perceived Challenges in the Teaching of Culture in Their English Teaching (N = 167)

In Their English Teaching $(N-107)$						
Question 7,	"Are your	students	interested	in lear	ning the	English
language cult	ure(s)?"					
Yes	156	(93.4%)	Most	of them	9(5.4%))
No	1(0			swer	1(0.5%))
Question 11,	"What sor	t of chall	enges are t	here in	teaching	English
language cult	ure(s)?"					
1. Not enough					67 (40%	6)
2. Lack of ma	aterials				29 (17%	(o)
3. Examination	on system				14 (8%))
4. Teachers'	weakness in	English			8 (5%)	
5. Big cultural differences				7 (4%)		
6. Not enough contact with foreigners				3 (2%)		
7 Students' lack of interest				3 (2%)		
8. The learning environment 3 (2%)						
9. Education system 2 (1%)						
10. Not much knowledge in the text 2			2 (1%)			
11. Mainly not knowing its importance				1 (0.6%	5)	
12. Bilinguals	S				1 (0.6%	5)
13. The some	what negati	ve role of	the authori	ties	1 (0.6%)
Others:						
Misunderstan	dings				25 (15%	6)
No answers					26 (16%	(o)
·			·			

Data analysis shows that of the 25/15% informants who misunderstood the question, 7 are from Qingdao, which represent 22% of the total 32 informants in this area; 5 from Licheng, which represent 9% of the total 54 informants in this area; 3 from Jinan, which represent 9% of the total 33 informants in this area; 2 from Yantai, which represent 7% of the total 28 informants in this area and 8 from other schools, which represent 40% of the total 20 informants there.

Of the total 26/16% informants who failed to perceive any challenge, 19 are from Licheng, which represent 35% of the total 54 informants in this area; 5 from Qingdao, which represent 16% of the total 32 informants in this area; 1 from Yantai, which represent 4% of the total 28 informants in this area and 1 from Jinan, which represents 3% of the total 33 informants in this area.

All those who failed to perceive any challenge in the teaching of culture in teaching the language add up to 51/31%. These include 24 informants from Licheng, which represent 44% of the total 54 informants in this area; 12 from Qingdao, which represent 38% of the total 32 informants in this area; 4 from Jinan, which represent 15% of the total 33 informants there; 3 from Yantai, which represent 11% of the total 28 informants there, and 8 from other schools, which represent 40% of the total informants there. Thus, there is clear indication that informants from Licheng and Qingdao have significantly greater problems here.

The interpreted misunderstandings are illustrated as follows. "There are cultures in newspapers and books." "According to the dialogue practising." "To deal with it by different countries, different customs." "They [pupils] don't understand the difference between English and Chinese." "Speaking." "I can look up in the dictionary." "It's impossible for Ss [students] to learn English well." "Learn more culture in English-speaking country as you learn the language, which is easy to improve English." [By means of looking for information and asking for help from others]. [Read more books about British and American customs]. [The differences between foreign humanism and China].

4.4 Results of the Teacher-trainer Survey

4.4.1 Culture in Teacher-trainer Informants' Teaching of English (Q1, 6)

In response to questions one and six - whether these teachertrainers teach English language culture(s) and whether their teaching materials talk about the culture(s) of English language, the findings show that all (51/100%) claim that they teach the culture(s) of the English-speaking countries in teaching English as a foreign language and all (51/100%) claim that their teaching materials talk about the cultures of English language. But when asked to specify what aspects of culture their teaching materials (textbooks, supplementary readings, etc.) talk about in answering the follow-up question in question six, 15 (29%) informants failed to offer any example. It is thus apparent that those 15 (29%) informants contradicted themselves by saying that they taught the cultures of English-speaking countries and their teaching materials talk about English cultures in answering questions 1 and 6. The detailed responses to both questions are summarised and shown in Table 17.

Table 17. Culture in Teacher-trainer Informants' Teaching of English (N = 51)

(11 – 31)		() 0.1 = 1:1			
Question six, "Do you teach the culture(s) of the English-speaking					
countries in teaching English	sh as a foreign	language?"			
Yes	51(100%)	No	0(0%)		
			, ,		
Question six, "Do your to			ementary		
readings, etc.) talk about E	nglish culture(s)?"			
Yes	51(100%)	No	0(0%)		
	,		, ,		
From what aspect, if 'yes'?					
Culture of broad definition	: 30 responses				
Customs	12	Beliefs	3		
Values	3	Holidays & Festivals	3		
People's way of life	2	Cultural differences	2		
Education	1	Dress	1		
Food	1	Idioms	1		
Street crimes	1				
Culture of narrow definitio	n: 29 response	S			
Literature	12	History	7		
Art	4	Poems	1		
Psychology	1	1 Octilis	1		
1 Sychology	1				
Others:	15 responses				
No answers	15 (29%)				
	- ()				

4.4.2 The Teacher-trainers' Definition of Culture (Q 2)

In response to question two, "What does culture mean to you?", all informants expressed their opinions. However, 9 (18%) informant teacher-trainers failed to offer any definition of culture, which in turn clearly shows that these 9 (18%) informants contradicted themselves by saying that they had taught the culture in English language teaching in answering question one, and their teaching materials talked about English language cultures in answering question six and that their understanding of the term of culture is very vague indeed. The detailed responses are shown in Table 18.

Table 18. The Teacher-trainer Informants' Definition of Culture (N = 51)

Culture of broad definition	n: 82 respo	nses	
Customs	31	People's way of life	16
Beliefs	11	Music	6
Social problems	3	Language	3
Food	4	Values	2
Sports	2	Education	2
Dress	2		
Culture of narrow definiti	on: 62 resp	onses	
Literature	16	History	15
Art	1	Religion	9
Ideology	3	Psychology	2
Geography	2	Politics	1
Economics	1	Philosophy	1
Sciences	1		
Others:	9 respon	ses	
Misunderstandings	9(18%)		

The responses that are interpreted as misunderstandings are illustrated as follows: "Means some background and famous novels by writers." "Everything related to the language mentioned." "An important and basic factor of language learning." "All that means culture to me." "I see culture in relationship to other cultures." "Different nations have different language, habits, dress, foods, psychology." "Culture is ultiquilous, concerning every aspects of life"

4.4.3 The Teacher-trainer Informants' View of the Role of Culture in Their Teaching of the Language (Q 3,4,5)

The same three questions are asked here to seek information about these informant teacher-trainers' view of the role of the teaching of culture in their English language teaching.

The findings show that all (51/100%) expressed strong support for the role of culture in English teaching in answering question three. Doubtless, the informants think the integration of culture in foreign language teaching plays an important part. However, when asked what part of the culture is most interesting in their teaching about English language culture in answering question four, 13(25%) informants failed to offer any example of the cultural aspects, which shows these 13 (25%) informants contradicted themselves by saying they were interested in teaching English language culture. The detailed questions and responses are shown in tables 19-1 and 19-2.

Table 19-1. The Teacher-trainer Informants' View of the Role of Culture in Their Teaching of English (N = 51)

O	. 1 1	· 1 1 () C	11	
Question three, "Are you interested in teaching the culture(s) of these				
English-speaking countries in teaching English as a foreign language?"				
Yes 51 (1	100%) No	0(0%)		
Question four, "What part of	the culture,	do you think, is	most	
interesting in teaching about	English lang	uage culture, if yo	u are	
interested?"				
Culture of broad definition:	36 response	es		
Customs	15	Cultural difference	es 6	
People's way of life	5	Beliefs	2	
Values	2	Music	1	
Sports	1	Background	1	
Pragmatic	1	Holiday	1	
Idioms	1	•		
Culture of narrow definition:	19 response	es		
Literature	10	History	6	
Religion	2	Famous people	1	
Others:				
Answers which reveal a weak or shallow understanding of the term				
'culture' add up to 13 (25%)				

The responses that are interpreted as being a weak understanding of the term 'culture' are illustrated as follows:

"The part which easily causes language failure." "Because culture is so general and big a term that I con'y actually single out any interesting focus." "Cultural conflict." "Pragmatics." "The background." "Something quite different from ours or something quite similar to ours." "the 19th century and 20th century of British and American culture." "The culture in the 19th century." "the culture in the 20th century." "The European culture, especially that of the ancient Greece & Rome." "The different things from those of Chinese tradition." "Allusion and things which may affect social interaction." "Culture related language points."

Turning to question 5, which asked the informants to evaluate the importance of culture in teaching a foreign language such as English, the informants had a lot to say. An overwhelming majority offered a positive answer and gave detailed information and comments, which are categorised in the following patterns and shown in Table 19-2.

A). 15 (29%) informants said culture is important or very important in the teaching of English by relating it to the relationship of language and culture. As they argue: "It is very important, because language and culture are inseparable. If one does not understand the culture of English-speaking countries, I dare say, it is very difficult for him to communicate with people from English-speaking countries, therefore we could say what he learns are just meaningless." "To answer this question, first we must be clear about the relationship between culture and language. Putting it simply, culture is the content and language is the carrier. Without culture, there would be no language. Each language is based on a certain culture and culture is different from country to country, so language would not exist itself. What we teach language is not only to understand the nature of language, but also to teach the students how to use language. In order to know how to use the language, the students must be taught how to understand the language with culture in it. That is the importance of culture in teaching a certain language." "The teaching of cultural information, to a large extent, affects the students' understanding in FLT. Or sometimes it may even determine whether the students understand or misunderstand a piece of material. Therefore, the teaching of related cultural information is extremely necessary and indispensable in FLT." "It is of vital importance in teaching a foreign language and it is indispensable. I think, language acquisition involves grasping that language and knowing of the culture. So, telling them something about culture will help them grasp the language and spur their interest, and vice versa." "Language is also a kind of culture. If you really want to learn and understand a language, you should know the cultural background of the language. For example, we know in English there are many slang words which are used among particular groups of people and some taboos which are forbidden, if you don't know these, you may make mistakes when you speak. And English sometimes is expressed differently in different countries, if you don't know the differences between them, you still can't make yourself fully understood. Knowing cultures of the English-speaking countries will help you to learn and grasp the English, and help you make fewer mistakes. So, we can see, teaching culture is important when you teach a foreign language." "Language is based on custom and convention rather than logic and just a part of culture. We cannot teach language without mentioning culture. Otherwise, misinterpretation of another culture and culture shock happen." "Without relating background knowledge, it is impossible to master English." "Language is part of a culture. Cultural information helps promote language learning." "There is a very close relationship between culture and language. So teaching culture is very important in teaching a foreign language." "According to me, it is of great significance to teach the culture in teaching a foreign language and it is impossible for a teacher to teach a foreign language well without teaching culture since every nation has its own culture and language and culture are not separable." " It is very important. If you know little about a foreign country, you won't know the language well." "Be sure not to think that teaching English has nothing to do with culture. On the contrary, language could not develop without the nourishment of culture." "Very important. It should be regarded as part of the teaching." "Culture is the key to understand how people do things in a different way." "Culture is pervasive in the teaching process."

B). 9 (18%) informants who said culture is important or very important in the teaching of English offered their additional comments, saying that culture is very important in teaching a foreign language such as English, because they think it can help students to master English language. This can be identified in the following

remarks: "It helps the students to study English well." "Culture teaching can not only make you understand the language well but also learn something new." "Help students understand the language better so as to master it." "Very important, especially in mastering a foreign language. Understanding the culture is the prerequisite." "If students know more about culture, they tend to express more interest in their studies. The more they look into culture, the better they enjoy reading articles and watch foreign movies. Cultural knowledge also help them improve their ability to comprehend and communicate with foreign teachers." "Without the teaching of the culture(s), students will not be able to use English appropriately." "If the students could seldom get some knowledge about the culture, they will loose their interest in English gradually."

- C). 8 (16%) informants who offered additional comments relate the matter with intercultural communication here or elsewhere in the above comments, saying that the ignorance of culture in English learning will cause a barrier to communication and so on. As the comment shows: "Very important or there will be a lot misunderstanding."
- D) 5 (9%) informants who offered additional comments argue that the teaching of culture in the teaching of English can stimulate students' interest in learning the language. This point can be identified in the comments made by the informants elsewhere in answering this question.
- E) 1 (2%) informant teacher who offered additional comments reports that she/he teaches language and culture at the same time, saying that: "In my English class, we study language and culture simultaneously."
- F) Another 1 (2%) informant who offered additional comments says that the teachers' role in teaching cultural knowledge while teaching a foreign language is very important, too, arguing that: "Language teacher should not only teach language in its own sense, more important, the teacher plays a role as culture transmitter, as the purpose of learning a foreign language is to communicate."

Table 19-2. The Teacher-trainer Informants' View of the Role of Culture in Their Teaching of English (N = 51)

Question five, "How important culture is, do you think, in teaching a foreign language such as English?"

Very important 50 (98%) No answer 1 (2%)
The comments on the role of culture from some of those who claimed

that culture was important or very important:	(N = 37)
- the relationship of language and culture	15 (29%)
- help the students to master the language	9 (18%)
- facilitate the communication in the language	8 (16%)
- stimulate the students' interest in learning the language	5 (9%)
	, ,

4.4.4The Teacher-trainer Informants' Suggested Techniques in Teaching Culture (Q7)

In response to question seven, "How would you pass cultural information on to your students, if you are interested in teaching English language culture(s)?", almost all expressed their opinions, which are categorised in the following patterns and shown in Table 20.

A) 22 (43%) informants say that they teach both language and culture while explaining the text, claiming that: "Language and culture is like a sheet of paper, with one side being the language and the other is culture, so I just teach the integrated whole naturally." "I never mind introducing bits and pieces of related cultural information to the students whenever they seem to be necessary or whenever I get the chance. The method I employ seems to be more like a piecemeal work than a systematic deed." "Nearly every class, I will introduce one American idiom to my students. Whenever possible, I will expand some background knowledge concerned with the texts or lectures. I suggest some books such as *The Introduction* to Britain and American Culture and Society and Cultural Differences between Chinese and American and so on." "Sometime, I just give them a lecture about culture (esp. for Britain & America). And, sometimes, explain it when it occurs in the textbooks, then the students will understand it better." "Mainly from explaining background of the text or word in class." "In class, tell about the culture as stories, and with great emotion of myself." "I try to introduce some information to them in class, and sometimes advise them conculting some books by themselves." "To teach them what the texts says is the main way. I tell them sth. else from what I learned in college." "I would try hard to infiltrate culture into teaching English in class so that the students can obtain as much

- cultural information as possible. In addition, I'd like to recommend good books about English language culture for the students to rad after class."
- B) 17 (33%) informants say that they use the method of comparison. "Together with the comparison with the Chinese culture." "I would pass cultural information whenever necessary by drawing the contrasts and comparisons between Chinese culture & English language culture, using my own and others' experience in communication with that culture, either with the people, or with some works of art, literature or architecture." "It depends on the nature of complexity of the information, mainly through comparison."
- C) 8 (16%) informants suggest using multimedia and all-round input, noting that: "I would show them pictures, tell them about the customs, say sth. about its history and compare theirs with ours." "Showing the movie, giving them more information which isn't in the book, and discussing the culture." "classroom teaching, video, recording." "Teaching English culture needs an 'all-round input', from the 'unconscious input'---teachers' behaviour before the class to the 'conscious input'---consciously provide knowledge of the foreign culture. As an English language teacher, we should not omit any details. As to 'conscious input', I think, there are many ways to do it." "I'll take up a large part of the work of course. By explanation and comparison. I hope I can show them a portait of the English-spoken countries, their people and their culture. Visting scholars will be of great help of course. Anyway, I myself am a foreigner to that country. So it would be more authoritative and authentic to learn directly from the horse's mouth. In fact, if possible, I want them to learn more by communicating directly with Westerners, through internet, for example, movies, films are also helpful."
- D) 7 (14%) informants say that they use the method of discussion. "Usually, I will ask the students to discuss. First, they are assigned to find some cultural information by themselves. Then in class, some will report their findings. If they have known a lot, I need not talk more. If they are not familiar, I will talk about it. For example, one extensive reading passage talks about Picasso. In class I will show the students some pictures of Picasso, by which students can understand his painting features well." "I tell my students cultural information, which has something to do with the material. We will

- discuss." "I tell them what I know and gather some other information from all the students, then we discuss them." "I tell my students cultural information which has something to do with the material. We'll discuss." "I'll give them some good works, introduce some customs and make them discuss, compare with our culture."
- E) 5 (10%) informants say they usually provide more reading materials to the students. "Additional reading materials; Extracurricular activities; Contact with foreigners." "With the aid of some reading materials, I pass cultural information onto students." "I would instruct the students. Give them additional material about culture or talk about culture in class."
- F) 5 (10%) informants suggest doing it by the means of telling stories. "Tell students stories, read literary works, show films and so on." "Trough stories, novels and so on".
- G) 1 (2%) informant confesses that she/he cannot perceive any challenge, because she/he has not at all experienced the teaching of culture in her/his teaching English language. "Honestly speaking, I have no idea."
- H) 1 (2%) informant suggests cultural knowledge should be tested. "In the exam paper contains some of cultural information."

Table 20. The Teacher-trainer Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Teaching of Culture in Their Teaching of English (N = 51)

reaching of culture in Their reaching of English	(* '	
1. Through the teaching of texts	22 (43%)	
2. Comparison	17 (33%)	
3. Multimedia (such as showing videos, films and etc.)	8 (16%)	
4. By discussion	7 (14%)	
5. Providing reading materials	5 (10%)	
6. Telling stories	5 (10%)	
8. No answers	2 (4%)	
7. Cultural test	1 (2%)	
9. I have no idea	1 (2%)	

4.4.5 The Teacher-trainer Informants' Perceived Challenges in Their Teaching of Culture (Q8)

Findings from the responses to question eight, "What sort of challenges are there in teaching about English language culture(s)

and incorporating them into the school curriculum?" show that 47 (92%) informants offered their opinions, which touched upon the following aspects and are summarised in Table 21.

- A) 20 (39%) informants complain that they have not enough time to teach cultural knowledge in their formal teaching of English language, but also touch upon several other factors, as the following argument shows: "Language students are short of cultural knowledge to a great extent. There should be more class hours and lectures on culture." "One thing I really regret is that I don't have a large scan of time to deal with this matter which I am so bent on. If ever permitted the chance, I would like to study a guidebook of Western cultures carefully and share it with my students in a more subtle and systematic way. That would be highly beneficial both for my students and for me. Of course, a more practical way at present seems to be offering to the students more supplementary materials about certain cultural aspects. The teaching materials we use contain such things, but they are far from enough if we really want our students to be both linguistically and culturally acquainted with the language they learn." "It is not very difficult. But sometimes because time is limited, even though students are eager to talk about, I had to interrupt them. And another thing, the cultural information we can get is not enough. We just know a little about it. And sometimes students only get abstract concepts, they can't understand them fully." "The challenges include the limitation of class hours and my own limited cultural knowledge."
- B) 16 (32%) informants say that they, as teachers of English, lack appropriate cultural knowledge themselves, saying: "First and most important, the teachers themselves form an obstacle simply due to their inability of or lack of access to all the cultural factors underlying the English language. Second, there has existed traditional understanding of English teaching that can be put to the effect that 'language is what we teach, but culture can only be what we talk about'. Last but not the least, there seems to be a scarcity of well-designed inductive coursebooks or materials." "Since culture covers a wide range, I feel I've got to make unremitting efforts to study and read extensively about culture, otherwise it will be difficult to meet the students' demands for cultural information." "Teachers rare not quite prepared to take up the job, and incompetent teachers will weaken the students' interest in acquiring a foreign culture."

- 14 (28%) informants complain that there are no suitable materials to teach culture, saying that: "In teaching English language culture, the challenge is that sometimes the cultural background is not given. I have to find out myself, otherwise, the language and content could not be fully understood. On this occasion, I would spend hours or even days getting the related information either from books or from foreign teachers. The challenge in incorporating the language culture teaching into the school curriculum is that I must follow the school curriculum. So sometimes if I have much to say about the language culture, I would not occupy much of the class hour, for the details, I would tell the students after class or hand out them sheets for them to read after class. For those easily found materials concerning language culture in the text, I would list some reference books for the students to find out themselves." "The materials, the schedule, and the students' scope of knowledge are all limited. We need more reference books."
- D) 9 (18%) informants express the pressure from the examinations of all kinds, saying "The students are very busy with vocabulary or things for examination. No time during the class." "Various kinds of exams are executioners of learners' interest in culture(s)."
- E) 3 (6%) informants perceive the big differences between Western and Chinese culture as the main challenge, saying that: "Some cultural agents are sharply different from that of the mother tongue and difficult to accept." "I think the different historical background between English and your mother tongue are rather difficult for you to really understand the culture in England."
- F) 3 (6%) informants complain that they are short of teaching aids, such as videotapes in teaching English language culture, saying: "I think we need some audio-visual aids, such as wall maps, videos."

Table 21. The Teacher-trainer Informants' Perceived Challenge in Teaching Culture in Their Teaching of English (N = 51)

c 011001 c 111 1 11011 1 000 111111	(1, 01)
1. Time-limited	20 (39%)
2. The teachers' lacking cultural knowledge	19 (38%)
3. No suitable materials	16 (32%)
4. Examination system	9 (18%)
5. Lacking direction in teaching culture	3 (6%)
No video tapes	3 (6%)
Cultural differences	3 (6%)
6. No answers	6 (12%)

4.5 Discussion

4.5.1 Culture in Informants' Learning/Teaching of the Language

It seems to be evident, based on the findings from the three different groups of informants' responses to questions one and six, that the integration of culture in Chinese secondary school English language learning/teaching is taking place in a seemingly consistent manner. This is supported by our findings that a clear majority of informants claim that they have learned/taught culture in the course of their language learning/teaching and that their learning/teaching materials talked about English language culture (see tables 22-1 and 22-2). And this might in turn show that the informants' cultural awareness is well developed. However, the rather low and heterogeneous responses to both follow-up questions do not lend complete support to our above assumption. And other evidence might include the fairly large number of informants who failed to specify any example of cultural aspects both in their learning or teaching of the English language and in their learning or teaching materials in answering both follow-up questions. As one specific example, 91% and 92% of pupil informants respectively claim that they learned English culture and their learning materials talk about English language culture, yet "Customs" and "History", the two most commonly mentioned cultural aspects in responding to both follow-up questions, were thought of by only 24%, 20% and 27%, 17% of the informants.

Nonetheless, from the findings, we can also get the following consistent data about the pupil and schoolteacher informants' ongoing cultural learning/teaching:

- 'Customs' and 'History' have always been recognised as the most commonly identified cultural aspects in relevant responses. The other cultural aspects belonging to the two different types are often placed in no particular order in answering the similar questions. This is especially true in the case of culture of broad definition. This might have something to do with the informants' use of the term

- 'Customs', which might be used by many informants to cover a large number of cultural aspects or phenomena.
- Cultural aspects of broad definition always prevail over the cultural aspects of narrow definition in answering the similar questions. This clearly correlates with the direction set by the modern scholars in the field while discussing what part of the culture should be integrated at secondary level of foreign language education.
- The cultural aspects of both definitions identified by the pupil and schoolteacher informants from their teaching materials are roughly the same and more consistent than those identified in their learning and teaching. This might further show that their learning/teaching materials do talk about English culture(s), with the tendency of emphasising the culture of broad definition.

Thus far, the above findings might bring us to the conclusions that cultural learning/teaching does take place in Chinese secondary schools, but not systematically; and the Chinese secondary school English language textbooks do talk about the cultures of the English-speaking countries, but, as some of the informants indicated in answering some other questions, they may not be well presented. This in turn shows that culture learning/teaching in Chinese secondary school English language learning/teaching is theoretically recognised but dealt with incidentally and their cultural awareness is therefore superficial.

Compared, there seem to be more problems with the schoolteacher, and teacher-trainer informants in particular. This is reflected by the more failures from these two groups of informants in answering the follow-up questions which in turn shows more informants from these two groups of informants contradicted themselves by saying 'yes' at first while failing to offer any example of cultural aspects in answering the follow-up questions. Within the pupil informants themselves, there are apparently more problems with the juniors.

In addition, in answering question six, three upper secondary students made some additional significant comments while recognising the existence of the cultural knowledge in their learning materials, saying that: "Yes. But most of them are 'antiques' and having us who are learning to speak the language read and learn these famous literary works seems to be a little too early." "Yes. They are famous foreign literary works, and famous people. But it is too early to read these things in learning a foreign language at this

stage of English language learning." "Yes. But they are mostly literary works. At this stage of learning, our vocabulary and the knowledge demanded are too limited to understand these literary works without misunderstanding the initial essence of the author." Although these are only three comments, they may at least suggest one interesting trend: namely that at this stage of English language learning cultural information belonging to the culture of broad definition may interest these secondary school pupils most. Nevertheless we should bear in mind that despite what the three pupils say it may not necessarily be true that the cultural knowledge in their learning materials consists of mostly literary texts and facts. However, the view of emphasising the culture of broad definition in foreign language teaching at the intermediate stage that these pupils hold is also favoured by many researchers and educators (for example, Seelye, 1974; Rivers, 1964; Chastain, 1976; Valdes 1986; Byram, 1989; Kaikkonen, 1997 and others).

Table 22-1. Culture in Informants' English Language Learning and Teaching

C 1	C : C	. 1 1 1	.1 1		
Question one for each group of informants asks whether they have					
learned or taught the cultures of English-speaking countries?					
5 11 1 2	Yes		No		
Pupil informants:	341 (919		32(9%)		
Schoolteacher informants:	,	· ·	5 (3%)		
Teacher-trainer informants:	51 (100)	2%)	0 (0%)		
What aspects, if "yes"? (Thi	s is only f	for the pupil and so	hoolteacher		
informants)	J	1 1			
,	C. B.	D^{21}	C. N. D		
Pupil informants:					
Customs	89 (24%)	History	75 (20%)		
Festivals & Holidays	` ,	Literature	43 (12%)		
Food	` /	Geography	36 (10%)		
Sports	` /	Famous people	26 (7%)		
English names	35 (9%)		18 (5%)		
Songs & music	35 (9%)		9 (2.4%)		
Schoolteacher informants:			,		
Customs	86 (51%)	History	53 (32%)		
People's way of life	` /	Geography	20 (12%)		
Food	` /	Economics	15 (9%)		
Society	` /	Literature	14 (8%)		
Holiday & festivals	14 (8%)		6 (4%)		
Sports	` ′	Sciences	4 (2%)		
Failures:			` ,		
Pupil informants	48 (13%)				
Schoolteacher informants	40 (24%)				
1					

Table 22-2. Culture in Informants' English Language Learning / Teaching

 $^{^{21}}$ C.B.D & C.N.D refer respectively to 'Culture of Broad Definition' and 'Culture of Narrow Definition'.

Question six asks each group of informants whether their learning materials talk about English language culture(s).					
materials talk about Eligiisi	Yes	iuic(s).	No		
Pupil informants:	345 (92	2%)	28 (8%)		
Schoolteacher informants:	150 (90	· ·	17 (10%)		
Teacher-trainer informants	,	· ·	0 (0%)		
	. 51 (100	<i>570)</i>	0 (070)		
What aspects, if 'yes'?	C.B.D		C.N.D		
Pupil informants:					
Customs	100 (27%)	History	65 (17%)		
Communicative languag		Literature	40 (11%)		
Culture differences	26 (7%)	Geography	35 (9%)		
Language	26 (7%)	Famous people	30 (8%)		
Food	19 (5%)	Sciences	12(3%)		
Schoolteacher informants:	40 (2.40/)	TT* /	20 (170()		
Customs	40 (24%)	History	28 (17%)		
People's way of life	2 (7%)	Sciences	20 (12%)		
Holidays & festivals	7 (4%)	Art	18 (11%)		
Cultural background	3 (2%)	Politics	14 (8%)		
Humour	3 (2%)	Famous people	, ,		
Manners	2 (1%)	Literature	4 (2%)		
Teacher-trainer informants	•				
Customs	12 (24%)	Literature	16 (31%)		
Beliefs	3 (6%)	History	7 (14%)		
Values	3 (6%)	Art	4 (8%)		
Holidays & festivals	3 (6%)	Poems	1 (2%)		
People's way of life	2 (4%)	Psychology	1 (2%)		
Cultural differences	2 (4%)	<i>y</i>	,		
Failures:					
Pupil informants	72 (20%)				
Schoolteacher informants					
Teacher-trainer informants					

One additional question in this category is asked the schoolteacher informants, "Have you been taught about the culture(s) of these countries?" The responses turn out to be 154 (92%) 'yes', which may have further supported the informants' claim that they have taught the cultures of English-speaking countries in answering question one. However, it may also once again reveal that these schoolteacher informants' understanding of

the term 'culture' is very weak and culture teaching and learning is far from a consistent and systematic practice. A clear example of this is that 154 (92%) schoolteacher informants claim that they have been taught about the culture(s) of English-speaking countries, nonetheless, 40 (24%) and 94 (56%) of the informants failed to specify any aspect of culture dealt with in their learning/teaching materials.

4.5.2 The Informants' Definition of Culture

The findings from the responses to question two for each group, "What does culture mean to you?" show that the difficulty of defining culture is evident. The fact that 55 (15%), 28 (17%), and 9 (18%) respondents from each group failed to define the term 'culture' in any possible way and the rather low responses to the question shows that the term 'culture' is not very well understood by most informants and that defining the term 'culture' seems to be the first step that needs to be taken when trying to introduce a systematic cultural integration into Chinese foreign language teaching. A good example of the problem is that almost half of the pupil informants, more than half of the schoolteacher and teacher-trainer informants failed to recognise "Customs", the most commonly mentioned cultural aspect, as being a component of the term, 'culture'. Aspects such as "History", "Literature", "People's way of life", "Belief", "Food", "Music", etc. are identified as part of culture even much less frequently (See Table 23). A similar phenomenon is revealed by the findings from the responses to the follow-up questions to questions 1 and 6. Overall, there are more problems with the teacher-trainer informants and the lower secondary pupils.

Table 23. The Informants' Definition of Culture					
Question 2 "What does culture mean to you?					
	C.B.D	,	C.N.D		
Pupil informants:					
Customs	207 (56%)	History	140 (38%)		
Language	60 (16%)	Literature	50 (13%)		
Knowledge					
		_	wealth 48 (13%)		
People's way of life	30 (8%)	Sciences	45 (12%)		
Music	25 (7%)	Art	45 (12%)		
Food	19 (5%)	Geography	40 (11%)		

Schoolteacher informants	S:			
Customs	73 (44%)	History	43 (26%)	
People's way of life	52 (31%)	Literature	13 (8%)	
Language	13 (8%)	Geography	12 (7%)	
Background	13 (8%)	Art	11 (7%)	
Food	10 (6%)	Sciences	6 (4%)	
Sports	10 (6%)	Politics	3 (2%)	
Teacher-trainer informan	ts:			
Customs	15 (29%)	Literature	16 (31%)	
People's way of life	11 (22%)	History	15 (29%)	
Beliefs	11 (22%)	Art	11 (22%)	
Music	6 (12%)	Religion	8 (16%)	
Social problems	3 (6%)	Ideology	3 (6%)	
Language	3 (6%)	Psychology	2 (4%)	
Failures:				
Pupil informants:	55 (1	15%)		
Schoolteacher informants: 28 (17%)				
Teacher-trainer inform	`	/		

4.5.3 The Informants' View of the Role of Culture in Their Learning/Teaching of English

In investigating these informants' view of the role of culture in their learning and teaching of English language, three similar questions were asked, except that one additional question was asked the schoolteachers.

Questions three and four are closely linked. The findings (see tables 24-1 & 24-2) from the responses to both questions show that these informants clearly and strongly support the role of culture in their English language learning and teaching. However, the findings from the responses to question four, that is, the rather too low responses to the question, the number of failures in specifying any example of cultural aspects and the number of informants who also contradicted themselves by saying they were interested in learning or teaching English language cultures while learning or teaching the language, severely undermined some informants' self-reported

serious interest in and strong support of the role of culture in language learning/teaching. As is discussed earlier, the similar problem exists with respect to specifying cultural aspects in answering questions 1 & 6. All this is not in harmony with a systematic and consistent cultural learning/teaching tradition. This once again shows that these informants' understanding of the term 'culture' is very weak indeed, and defining culture more clearly and precisely in the context of Chinese school English language learning/teaching and teacher-trainers' English language teaching as well is obviously an urgent matter to start with.

Another interesting, yet very significant finding is that a clear majority of the teacher-trainer informants, as the pupil and schoolteacher informants did, claimed that cultural aspects of broad definition were most interesting to them in their teaching of English language culture. This might bear at least two interpretations: one is that the discussion of cultural teaching in language teaching in China lacks direction, as is discussed earlier, because the three groups of informants expressed the same interest in the cultural aspects to be integrated, yet against different linguistic and educational backgrounds; the other, which might be correlated with the emphasis on the cultural aims of language teaching, is that more research effort is needed into how to integrate systematically different layers of cultural knowledge into different levels of language teaching to avoid repetition and ensure effective and informed discussion.

Table 24-1. The informants' View of the Role of Culture in Their Learning/Teaching of English

Question three asks who	ether the	informants are	interested in
learning/teaching English	language cı	ılture in learnii	ng/teaching the
language.			
	Yes		No
Pupil informants:	354 (95%))	19 (5%)
Schoolteacher informants:	167 (100%	(o)	0 (0%)
Teacher-trainer informants:	51 (100%		0 (0%)
			, ,
Question four for each grou	p asks the in	nformants to spe	cify the aspects
of culture that they may for	eel most int	terested in in le	arning/teaching
about English language culti	ure.		
C	.B.D	C.N.D	
Pupil informants:			
Customs	160 (43%)	History	78 (21%)
Communicative language	45 (12%)	Literature	35 (9%)

Music	36 (10%)	Sciences	15 (4%)		
Cultural differences	30 (8%)	Famous people	15 (4%)		
People's way of life	25 (7%)	Art	14 (4%)		
Sports	20 (5%)	Geography	8 (2%)		
	` ,		` ,		
Schoolteacher informants:					
Customs	86 (51%)	History	39 (23%)		
People's way of life	20 (12%)	Literature	5 (3%)		
Cultural differences	14 (8%)	Politics	1 (0.6%)		
Holidays & festivals	8 (5%)	Sciences	1 (0.6%)		
Humour & jokes	7 (4%)	Geography	1 (0.6%)		
Sports	7 (4%)	5 1 1	, ,		
Teacher-trainer informants:					
Customs	15 (29%)	Literature	10 (20%)		
Cultural differences	6 (12%)	History	6 (12%)		
People's way of life	5 (10%)	Religion	2 (4%)		
Beliefs	2 (4%)	Famous people	1 (2%)		
Values	2 (4%)				
Music	1 (2%)				
Failures:					
	24 (60/)				
Pupils informants: 24 (6%)					
Schoolteacher informants: 14 (9%)					
Teacher-trainer informar	its: 13 (25%)			

Turning to question five, "How important is culture in learning/teaching a foreign language such as English?" A clear majority of informants from each group support the role of culture in learning/teaching English language, as is shown in Table 24-2.

Table 24-2. The Informants' View of the Role of Culture in Their Learning/Teaching of English

	Learning Teaching of English					
Important or v		t or very important	Not important			
	Pupil informants:	349 (94%)	24 (6%)			

Schoolteacher informants: 163 (98%)	4 (2%)		
Teacher-trainer informants: 50 (98%)	1 (2%)		
Comments on the role of culture from some of those who claimed that			
culture was important or very important in learning/teaching the			
language:			
Pupil informants:	(N = 201)		
(1) Widen one's knowledge and the picture of the world	90 (24%)		
(2) Stimulate learner's interest in learning the language	46 (13%)		
(3) Owing to the relationship of language and culture	45 (12%)		
(4) Help in the exams, quality education & intercultural			
communication	20 (5%)		
Schoolteacher informants:	(N = 120)		
(1) Owing to the relationship of language and culture, it can help the			
pupils to understand the language better	52 (31%)		
(2) Stimulate pupils' interest	28 (18%)		
(3) Enrich one's knowledge and widen one's picture of			
the world	20 (12%)		
(4) Use the language more appropriately or communicate with			
	s 20 (12%)		
Teacher-trainer informants:	(N = 37)		
(1) Owing to the relationship of language and culture	15 (29%)		
(2) It can help the students to master the language	9 (18%)		
(3) Help in communication	8 (16%)		
(4) Stimulate students' interest in learning the language	5 (9%)		

From the above findings, we can see that all the three groups of informants perceive the role of culture in language teaching in almost the same way. The major aims of intercultural learning are equally recognised by all the three groups of informants, though perceived in different orders.

Both groups of pupil and schoolteacher informants think that the learning/ teaching of culture in learning/teaching English will widen or enrich one's knowledge and picture of the world. This echoes exactly one of the goals, educational motivation, in intercultural learning discussed by many theorists and educators. For example, as Byram (1989) argues,

It is often said that language teaching 'broadens the horizons' and, if it does, then it has educational significance. In fact, what is really meant is that cultural learning, as a result of language teaching,

broadens the horizons, and once that is recognised then the need for good 'cultural teaching' becomes quite evident (4).

And Kaikkonen (1997) also argues in much the same way,

In the process of intercultural learning the learner constantly compares new experience with the old ones, new linguistic phenomena with those of his mother tongue, and new information with old information etc. In other words, intercultural learning is a process where the learner's picture of culture grows wider, with the help of new information about foreign culture and language, increasing at the same time the consciousness of the special feature of one's own culture and language. (49)

Another comment turned out to be identical with all the three different groups of informants, which is "to stimulate the learner's interest in learning English". This has been talked about by many educators, too. This is a very important educational psychological or pedagogical issue. Without any interest in a thing, how is it possible for one to succeed in doing that thing? However, many practitioners, to some degree, often overlook this factor in practical classroom teaching.

A third comment is also identified by the three different groups of informants, which is their understanding of the relationship of language and culture. This is also very important, because a better understanding of the relationship of language and culture serves a better and genuine practice in approaching the teaching of culture in the learning/teaching of English.

The fourth one is also equally recognised by the three groups of informants, namely: the mastery of cultural knowledge in language learning can help the learner to communicate more appropriately with foreigners.

The fifth one is made by one pupil informant who regards the learning of culture in learning English is to learn to behave like a native in terms of values and way of life, etc. within one's own social context while communicating with the members of one' own community (her/his comment is referred to in page 161). This phenomenon has also been discussed by many scholars (e.g. Valdes, 1986; Byram, 1989, 1991; Kaikkonen, 1996 among others), arguing that one of the major aims of cultural/intercultural learning is to help the learner to better understand the target countries, their people and

their way of life, and a better quality of intercultural communication not to abandon one's own cultural and social identities. Thus, this may bring up another important issue here, namely, the aims of culture learning in the learning/teaching of English in Chinese secondary schools should be made clear from the outset.

If we interpret those informants' view of the importance of the role of culture as that of the cultural aims in language teaching, in the light of our following interpreted general cultural aims in language teaching, namely 'Intercultural Communication', 'The understanding of the target people and their way of life', 'The understanding of the country whose language is being learned', and a set of educational aims, we may conclude that the educational aims of cultural studies in Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching are given primacy by these Chinese learners of English and their classroom teachers, then followed by the 'Intercultural communication' goal. This is significantly in contrast to the current discussion of the issue of cultural teaching in Chinese foreign language education by the theorists working in this area who perceive the role of culture in language teaching as being largely the factor to facilitate successful intercultural communication. This in turn suggests that there is a gap between the current theorists' discussion of teaching culture in language teaching in China and the thinking of the issue on the part of the Chinese learners of English and their classroom teachers.

The other major aims of cultural studies in language teaching, namely the 'understanding of the target people, their way of life' and 'the understanding of the country whose language is being learned' are somewhat absent or at least not clearly stated at all in both the current discussion of language and culture learning/teaching in China by the theorists and these informants.

And pedagogically, we may conclude that the pupils informants perceived the matter from the perspective of pragmatics, while the schoolteacher and teacher-trainer informants did it largely from a theoretical background, arguing that the necessity of teaching culture is, first of all, due to the relationship of language and culture.

One additional question is asked the schoolteacher informants, "Would you attend a programme for schoolteachers that is exactly about English language culture(s)?" 161 (96%) informants show a strong desire to learn relevant cultural knowledge so that they may in turn teach them to their pupils.

4.5.4 The Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Teaching of Culture(s) in Teaching the Language

The findings from the responses to question 7, which elicits the informants' open-ended suggestions for the teaching of culture, we can say that the three different groups of informants' suggested techniques are mostly identical. The major suggested techniques that are equally identified are: teaching culture through the teaching of the language being learned; using multimedia; comparison and providing more relevant materials, etc. In the viewpoint of those informants, the teaching of culture in Chinese foreign language teaching can be best approached by the means of the four major identified methods.

If we go back to our overview of the Western tradition of teaching culture in language teaching in Chapter 2, we may find that the informants' first suggested technique of teaching culture is favoured by the early educators and theorists in their discussion of the teaching of culture (e.g. Brooks, 1964; Rivers, 1968; Chastain, 1976; Byram, 1989, Laffavette, 1991; and Kramsch, 1993, among others). The second has also been discussed by these educators and theorists. The third has been discussed in great detail by Byram (1989), and Byram & Morgan (1994) among others. The fourth has been recognised by even more theorists and researchers who try to put the theory into actual classroom language teaching practice.

However, another two suggested techniques by the pupil informants (teachers should use more spoken English in class and culture teaching in English language teaching should be centred around the pupils' interest), which are never mentioned by the schoolteacher and the teacher-trainer informants, are placed among the top ones on their list. The idea behind the former one may be that teachers should change their teaching method, from the traditional one to the communicative one. This may also indicate that the cultural information in lower secondary school English textbooks may have a lot to do with such cultural phenomena as greetings, addressing, enquiries, doing shopping and etc. Therefore, they hope that their teachers would speak more English to reinforce or model the situation, in which the appropriate language is used. The second one is perceived by the pupil informants from the perspective of

educational psychology, which is often largely ignored by their classroom teachers in their practical classroom teaching. This gap seems to deserve serious consideration by the teachers so as to make the teaching and learning more effective.

Seen from the perspective of educational psychology, interest first of all shows one's positive attitude to a certain thing or idea. Interest in learning is one of the important components of one's motivation to learn. Only those who are interested in learning can take an active part in it, can overcome the difficulties on the way while learning, and can strengthen their perseverance in overcoming the difficulties in their learning. If a pupil is not interested in English or English language culture, it is impossible for him/her to master them or learn them well. This suggestion may at the same time illustrate a very common phenomenon existing in present-day Chinese school English classroom learning or teaching: classroom teaching is very teacher-centred, conducted in the traditional methods, too much emphasising grammar and sentence structures, which are reinforced by plenty of written exercises. To a great degree, English language is actually learned/taught just for the purpose of passing all kinds of examinations during the pupils' school careers not for the purpose of using it as a tool for communication, as is clarified by the informants' comments analysed above.

The comment that "Create more language contexts" suggested by the pupil informants clearly shows these informants' better understanding of the issue of language and culture learning. That is, language should be taught/learned within its social and cultural contexts.

The two suggestions made by the pupil informants, namely, "Teachers' using more spoken English in class" and "Centred around the pupils' interest" are simply ignored by the schoolteacher and teacher-trainer informants, who made their own suggestions simply out of the consideration of teaching technique per se rather than from the perspective of the learners' learning process to some degree. The ignorance of the pupils' interest in learning the culture in the learning of the language by the school English teachers and the teacher-trainers can be regarded as a serious problem in terms of successful learning or teaching.

All in all, the techniques of teaching culture in language teaching suggested by the informants are very closely related to

those major ones advocated and discussed by many scholars, especially by those from the West. The most commonly suggested one, "teaching culture while teaching the texts", might especially well suit the present situation of culture teaching in the Chinese secondary school context, where the level of teacher qualifications is particularly problematic and serious and consistent interest in research in the area is not well developed. The suggestion to "Compare two cultures" seems to be technically and practically well made. The detailed responses is shown in Table 25 below.

Table 25. The Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Teaching of Culture

Table 25. The Informants' Suggested Techniques for the Te	eaching of Cul
Pupils:	
1. Teaching cultures while teaching the texts	162 (43%)
2. Teachers' using more spoken English in class	71 (19%)
3. Centred around the pupils' interest	60 (16%)
4. Multimedia	58 (16%)
5. Create more language contexts	48 (13%)
6. Providing more materials	45 (12%)
7. Compare Chinese culture and Western culture	30 (8%)
8. Giving more examples	10 (3%)
9. Relating the cultural teaching to exams	8 (2%)
10. Offering special classes to teach culture	6 (2%)
11. Teachers should have enough knowledge in the area	4 (1%)
Secondary Schoolteachers of English:	
1. Through the teaching of texts	73 (44%)
2. Through all kinds of activities such as telling stories,	
giving lectures and talks, role play, playing games, etc.	67 (40%)
3. Multimedia	40 (24%)
4. Providing more materials	31 (20%)
5. Compare two cultures	7 (4%)
6. In every way I can think of	2 (1%)
7. Inviting foreigners	1 (0.6%)
Teacher-trainers:	
1. Through the teaching of texts	22 (43%)
2. Comparison	17 (33%)
3. Multimedia	13 (26%)
4. By discussion	7 (14%)
5. Providing more materials	5 (10%)
6. Cultural test	1 (2%)
The failures:	
Pupil informants	26 (7%)
Schoolteacher informants	14 (8%)
Teacher-trainer informants	3 (6%)

4.5.5 The Informants' Perceived Challenges in the Teaching of Culture in Teaching the Language in China

As is shown in Table 26 below, the schoolteachers and teacher-trainers identified much the same types of challenges that they think might hinder their teaching of English language culture. They both (67/40% schoolteachers and 20/39% teacher-trainers) recognised that "they did not have enough time to do so in class" was the biggest challenge for them, followed by "Lacking appropriate materials", and the "Examination systems", which largely ignored the test of cultural knowledge. The problem of teacher qualifications was also equally recognised by the informants. These major problems are also among the ones identified by many scholars in the area when discussing the same question. This shows these informants who made these suggestions have a fairly good understanding of the teaching of culture and are really interested in the issue. And also it shows their greater awareness of the complexity and scope of culture teaching.

Table 26. The Informants' perceived Challenges in Their Teaching of Culture in Teaching the Language

in reaching the Eangaage		
Schoolteachers:		
Not enough time	67 (40%)	
Lacking appropriate materials	29 (17%)	
Examination system	14 (8%)	
Teachers' inability in teaching cultural knowledge	8 (5%)	
Cultural differences are difficult to learn 7 (4%)		
The teacher-trainers:		
Time-limited	20 (39%)	
Teachers' inability in teaching cultural knowledge	19 (38%)	
No suitable materials	16 (32%)	
Examination system	9 (18%)	
No video tapes	3 (6%)	
Failures:		
Schoolteacher informants	51 (31%)	

However, 51 (31%) schoolteacher informants failed to offer any information concerning the possible challenges in their present or future teaching of cultural background knowledge in teaching English language and the percentage of each area of perceived challenges is rather low. This once again shows that the teaching of culture is by no means a widely recognised normal practice in Chinese secondary school English language teaching and the teacher-trainers' English teaching, either. It also shows these informants' awareness of the complexity and scope of the issue is therefore somewhat superficial. Some may try it once in a while, some may teach it whenever culture information comes up, while still others may never have the sense of ever taking up the task so that they cannot exactly pinpoint what kind of challenge might exist in their teaching the culture(s) of English-speaking countries.

4.6 Conclusion

The findings of this study show that (1) cultural learning and teaching in Chinese secondary school and university English language learning and teaching does take place, and the Chinese secondary school and university English learning and teaching materials do talk about the culture(s) of English-speaking countries. (2) The understanding of the term 'culture' in the context of Chinese English language teaching is very weak and in some places confusing, which might suggest that the term 'culture' needs defining more explicitly and precisely before anything else. (3) The role of culture in the teaching/learning of English in China is well recognised by the vast majority. (4) Good and realistic suggestions for the teaching of culture in the teaching of English in China have come up, and possible problems that may hinder the Chinese teachers from implementing the teaching of culture in language teaching have been identified, both of which are mostly identical with those discussed by many scholars in the area. More importantly, the informants' most popular suggested technique, of teaching culture through the teaching of the textbooks, gives the teaching of culture an official status. This further shows that the

majority of informants' view of the importance of the role of culture in language teaching is genuine.

However, the findings of this study also show that the practice of the integration of culture in the teaching/learning of English in China is incidental and the informants' cultural awareness in the learning/teaching of English is developed to some degree but very superficial and that culture in the Chinese secondary foreign language textbooks may not be well presented. Thus, two crucial questions may arise here: To what degree have the informants learned or taught cultural knowledge in their daily formal English language learning and teaching? To what extent do their learning and teaching materials talk about the cultures of English-speaking countries? Since the majority of schoolteacher and teacher-trainer informants claim that they teach culture mainly through the teaching of their texts, and the pupil informants suggest that their teachers should teach the culture(s) of English-speaking countries through the teaching of their textbooks, an analysis of the Chinese secondary English learning and teaching materials in use may thus turn out to be necessity and may help to make the matter clear. And this will be pursued in the next chapter. Since this study is concentrating on the integration of culture in Chinese secondary school English language teaching and learning, we will not further discuss the relevant work concerning the university English language and culture teaching and learning, but we assume that similar and equivalent changes and developments should take place in university-level English syllabuses.

In addition, the findings also show that: (1) there seems to be no difference between lower and upper secondary pupils in their recognition of the role of culture in learning English, but differences do occur in their understanding of the cultural aspects. The problems are more common among the lower secondary pupils. This finding also echoes the research results from Byram et al. (1991b), which illustrate that "When distinctions were drawn between linguistic and cultural aspects of French lessons the latter were usually positively evaluated. Pupils in the higher achievement groups did not differ from those in the lower achievement groups in their appraisal of this aspect" (131). As a comparison group, Byram (1989) conducted similar interviews with some junior pupils.

It was found that no junior pupils referred spontaneously to the cultural studies aspect of French lessons. For most the image of French lessons was confined to the acquisition of linguistic skills. Older siblings were an obvious source of information about French lessons as well as about the language itself. However, those aspects of French lessons thought to be most interesting by secondary school pupils, such as learning about France and taking an active role by engaging in dialogue, had not been understood by the younger age group to form part of the content of future lessons (132).

(2) The teachers working in the rural areas generally have a less clear view of the role and importance of culture in their teaching of English. This might suggest that there might be potential difficulties in the implementation of the teaching of culture in teaching English in the less economically developed areas. (3) There exists a gap between the focus of current discussion of the teaching of culture in language teaching by the theorists in Chinese foreign language teaching, who focus on the cultural aim of intercultural communication and ignores largely the educational motivation, and that of the Chinese learners of English and their classroom teachers, which focus on an educational one. (4) Compared among the three different groups of informants, the understanding and the practical implementation of the integration of culture in the learning/teaching of English in China are better demonstrated by both the pupil and schoolteacher informants. More problems seem to remain among the teacher-trainer informants. This may be explained, to some extent, by the three reasons identified by Niu (1997) for the failure of communicative teaching of English in Chinese teachers' colleges and universities.

In her article, "The Importance and Necessity of the Implementation of Communicative Teaching of English in Chinese Teachers' Colleges and Universities", Niu Rui-ying (1997) identifies three reasons why communicative teaching of English is difficult to put into practice in Chinese teachers' colleges and universities. Since the Communicative Language Teaching recognises and emphasises the integration of culture as an important component (though research findings from Byram (1991) that the dimension of culture teaching demonstrated by the Communicative Language Teaching is rather limited) Niu's three reasons for the failure of the implementation of communicative teaching of English in Chinese

teachers' colleges and universities can be borrowed to explain why the teacher-trainer informants in our survey understood the whole matter of the integration of culture in their teaching of English so weakly.

According to Niu, (1) traditional language teaching has a long history in China, which the teachers have long been used to, and this in turn makes it hard for them to change to the communicative one. In addition, the traditional language teaching agrees well with the Chinese traditional culture and the traditional idea of nobility and humbleness. In traditional language teaching, the teacher dominates the classroom, while the pupils are placed in a subordinate position. In communicative language teaching, pupils are the centres of the whole classroom activities. Pupils are free to express their opinions and may even question their teacher in class. This change of the roles in the classroom may not be easy for some teachers to accept, particularly at university level, where there is a strong traditional hierarchy between teacher and student. Further, in traditional language teaching, teachers can repeat what the book says regardless of the pupils' demands or interest, while in communicative language teaching the teachers must take all these factors, among others, into consideration. Thus, teachers who are used to the traditional language teaching method might feel it hard for them to accept the new method on one hand and find it very demanding in the practical classroom teaching on the other. (2) Many teachers of English were taught by the traditional method. And their communicative competence is actually very limited. Nevertheless, communicative language teaching method is very demanding. Moreover, there might be quite a number of teachers who do not really know the theory underlying the Communicative Language Teaching. (3) There is no unified guidance or direction for the teaching of English in Chinese colleges and universities. Each college or university draws up its own curriculum. There is seldom exchange of ideas in the teaching of English among universities.

The reasons Niu identifies for the failure of the implementation of the Communicative Language Teaching are also recognised by some others, as is talked about in our discussion of the issue in relation to the college English teaching. They are very representative of the present situation of English teaching at Chinese university level in general and the phenomenon exists in the Chinese school English teaching, too.

Similarly, Zhang Ying & Wang Qiang (2000) share this viewpoint. Based on their findings from the 74 teachers' colleges and universities across the country they investigated, they find that the English teaching for those four-year system English major students is absolutely teacher-centred. The textbooks they use are too much focused on the learning of the language as a skill-acquisition.

All in all, since the communicative teaching of English, according to Niu among others, is hard to put into practice in Chinese teachers' colleges and universities, nor is it fully understood by the profession in China, this partly explains why a better understanding of the whole process of the integration of culture in many teachers' teaching of English is, to a large degree, hindered.

However, to teach culture in language teaching from the perspective of intercultural understanding, as we discussed in the preceding chapter, we have to go beyond the teaching of culture presented in the Communicative Language Teaching. Nonetheless, this is one of the aspects that is least realised and discussed by the Chinese profession.

In a word, the findings of the survey show that the profession in China hold a very optimistic and positive attitude towards the teaching of culture in Chinese foreign language teaching, though the practice is incidental. The findings also suggest that there is great need for more research into this complex aspect of foreign language teaching in particularly the Chinese foreign language education context and elsewhere, too.

5. Cultural References in Chinese Secondary School English Textbooks

It becomes quite clear from the survey of the three groups of informants discussed in the previous chapter that the majority of informants suggest that the integration of culture in the teaching of English in China should be approached through the medium of the English textbook teaching, and the majority of both school and university teachers of English reported that they had taught the cultural information or knowledge mainly through their teaching of the textbook knowledge, if they ever happened to do so. This also correlates with the findings from the case studies in Byram's (1991b) research project, where, based on classroom observations, and teacher interviews, Byram finds that:

As far as cultural information is concerned in all the classes observed, the textbook provided a potential core of information and in fact teachers relied on the textbook for cultural information a great deal. Building on this core of information, teachers variously used their personal experience and other materials, or artefacts from France. However, on the whole these were again determined by the textbook. Only the topics included in the textbook were covered, and other information was integrated with the topic currently being studied from the textbook (351).

Since the primary means for the teachers to present their pupils with cultural information/knowledge in Chinese Secondary school English teaching, as is revealed in our survey discussed in the previous chapter, is through the medium of the textbooks in use, and the main sources of cultural information or knowledge are from the textbooks in use, then we need to ask the following questions:

- whether the Chinese English textbooks in use contain any target cultural information as the informants in our survey have claimed.
- whether the cultural aspects identified by the informants in our survey are a fair representation and to what extent those cultural aspects are integrated in the Chinese English textbooks.

- whether the presentation of target culture in the current teaching materials, if any, is balanced and realistic in relation to the cultural aims of language teaching.
- whether the integrated cultural information or knowledge matches the declared cultural aims set up in the 1993-syllabus for secondary school English teaching and those proposed by the theorists and educators in the area.
- whether these textbooks fulfil their declared general aims set up in the syllabuses.

Therefore, to make the matter clear, an analysis of the textbooks in use becomes necessary. To make the task more manageable and go with the main objective of our research, we will concentrate on the analysis of the English textbooks used in Chinese secondary schools.

In analysing the textbook contents, we also think it is interesting to include in our analysis of textbooks the textbooks used before the current ones in use so that we can, to some extent, get a picture of the textbook-writing development in China in terms of both language teaching theory and cultural information presentation. Analysing both series will allow suggestions for the improvement of textbook cultural content based on the findings in order to introduce the teaching of cultural content in a systematic and consistent way in China

5.1 The Textbooks to Be Analysed

The textbooks to be analysed here are the 1982-English series, and the 1993-English Series.

The 1982-English Series consists of six volumes of junior English and three volumes of senior English. This series was written by the English Division of the Foreign Languages Department of the People's Education Press of China and published by the People's Education Press in 1982 and was used by almost all the secondary schools across China.

The 1993-English series consists of three volumes of junior English and three volumes of senior English. This series was written jointly by both the People's Education Press (Liu Dao-Yi et al, China) and Longman (L. G. Alexander & N. J. H. Grant, et al,

Britain) and published by the People's Education Press in 1992. According to the agreement reached by both the Chinese government and the United Nations Development Programme, the series is sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation, with the United Nations Development Programme being the executive body. This series was first tried during the period 1993 to 1996, with eventually about 70% of the total schools of the country taking part. Then from 1996 on, the first volume of this series began to be used nation wide.

5.2 The Aims of English Teaching in Chinese Secondary Schools During the 1980s and the 1990s

- The Aims of English Teaching in Chinese Secondary Schools in the 1980s

According to the English teaching syllabus written by the Chinese State Education Committee in 1986 (this syllabus is based on the trial draft of the "English Teaching Syllabus for Full-time Ten-year Primary and Secondary Schools" written by the former Chinese Ministry of Education in 1978 and the "English Teaching Syllabus for Full-time Six-year Key Secondary School English Teaching", a draft for advice, 1982), the objectives of English teaching in secondary schools are:

to train the pupils' listening, speaking, reading, and writing, to develop the pupils' ability to learn to use the simple and basic English in both written and spoken forms, to focus on developing the pupils' ability to read, and lay a sound foundation for further study and use of English (State Education Committee, 1986, 1-2).

The Aims of English Teaching in Chinese Secondary Schools in the 1990s

According to the English Teaching Syllabus written by the Chinese State Education Committee (1993), the objectives for English teaching set up in the Nine-Year Compulsory Education Full-Time Lower Secondary School English Teaching Syllabus are

to enable pupils to gain basic English language knowledge and the ability to use English for the sake of communication, to stimulate pupils' interest in learning English, to develop sound learning methods, and lay a good foundation for the next stage of learning

through the training of listening, speaking, reading and writing; to enable pupils to be educated in terms of ideology and moral character, patriotism, and socialism; to develop pupils' ability of thinking, and self-learning (Chinese State Education Committee, 1993).

While the teaching objectives set up in the Full-time Upper Secondary School English Teaching Syllabus (1993) are

based on the compulsory education lower secondary school English teaching, to reinforce and enlarge pupils' basic English knowledge, develop their basic skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing, develop their ability to communicate in English both orally and in written form, lay particular emphasis on their ability of reading, and enable pupils to gain some ability of self-learning to lay a good foundation for their future study and use of English; to enable pupils to be educated in terms of ideology and moral character, patriotism, socialism and so on, promote the understanding of the country whose language is being learned; to develop pupils' intelligence, improve pupils' attention span and capacity of thinking, observing, memorising, imagining and associating (Chinese State Education Committee, 1993).

5.3 The Layout and Organisation of the Two English Series

- The 1982-junior English books one to six:
 - 1) 1200 words and phrases are required to be mastered in the whole six volumes of Junior English.
 - 2) Each volume is organised in terms of lessons. Each lesson consists of three parts: Drills, Dialogue/Text, and exercises.
- The 1982-senior English books one to three:
 - 1) 900 words and phrases are required to be mastered in senior books one and two. Senior Book three is optional.
 - 2) Like the Junior English Series, the Senior English Series are also organised in terms of lessons, but each lesson contains only a text/dialogue and the exercise.
- The 1993-junior English series one to three:

- 1) 600 words and phrases are required to be mastered²².
- 2) Each volume is organised in the form of units. Each unit consists of four lessons. Each lesson consists of one or more independent parts under different sub-titles, such as Read and say; Look, listen and say etc. Exercises are organised separately as an independent part within each volume, but closely connected with the relevant lessons or units. However, those exercises focus on the structural and grammatical matters.
- The 1993- senior English series one to three
 - 1) about 1200 words and phrases are required to be mastered.
 - 2) Like the junior English volumes, each volume here is also organised in terms of units, which consists of four lessons. In volume one, each lesson occupies exactly one page. If the text is longer than one page, it automatically goes into the next lesson. From the second volume on, each unit occupies 6 pages, because of the necessity of more space for practising language activities. The first lesson in each unit is designed for communicative activities in the form of a dialogue, and the second and third lessons are literary texts, which are the major part of the unit. And the forth lesson is simply a revision lesson. Volume 3 is optional. Although the layout and organisation changed, the new series does not seem to break through the old system of content design.

5.4 The Part of the Textbooks to be Analysed

The drills in the 1982-junior English series consists of only several pairs of sentences each, which serve precisely the purpose of practising the linguistic forms and grammatical structures of the current lesson. And a close examination of those drills reveals that almost none of them are designed for the purpose of intercultural communication within any 'authentic' cultural contexts. Therefore, an analysis of the drills will not be included in our work.

The exercises are primarily designed to reinforce the linguistic acquisition, though there may be some short close test passages that

²² Because of the nine-year compulsory education, which was initiated in 1993 and one of whose aims was to reduce the pupils' heavy burden of learning in school, the class hours for English were reduced from 500 class hours to 400 class hours. Thus the vocabulary is reduced, too, from 1200, which was considered too much for the junior English learners, to 600 items.

deal with some target cultural phenomena such as history, literature, anecdotes, etc. The contents of the passages are not usually the primary concern of both the pupils and teachers, but the answers. Pupils are supposed to complete all the exercises following the lesson being learned by the end of the lesson. The teacher checks the answers in class by asking several pupils to read a certain part of the exercise each while the others listen. When an error is made either the teacher or the pupils would point it out immediately and get it corrected. The teacher would give some particular explanations at the place where the error occurs. The translation exercise is usually assigned as homework and handed in for the teacher to correct. In a word, the exercises in each lesson are almost exclusively concerned with grammar rules and sentence structures related to that particular lesson. Thus, the exercises will not be included in the present analysis either.

Nonetheless the dialogues/texts or lessons usually have a context or theme, and were treated as the most important, given more time and detailed explanation. Thus, we will analyse only the dialogue/texts or lessons in this study.

As is explained above, the 1993-Series is organised in the form of units, each with a heading of its own. Thus, the series is normally supposed to be thematic. However, a close examination of those headings and the contents of the lessons within the related units reveals that many of the unit headings do not seem to match the contents of the relevant unit. For example, the heading of Unit 6 (J. B. 1, L. 21, 22, 23 & 24) is 'How old is he?' One might expect that the whole unit, regardless of how many lessons there are in it, should be centred around or related to this topic of 'How old is he?' However, lesson 23 of this unit is something different. The first part of the lesson deals with the starting routine of the typical Chinese class, and the second part of it is a telephone conversation, Mike asking to speak to Bill, who is not in. Thus, we see the whole lesson has no connection with the unit heading/theme at all.

However, a dialogue between a schoolgirl and an elderly lady from the West, who are engaged in asking each other's name and age, which would seem to fit 'perfectly' here in Unit 6, are somehow placed in lesson 16 in unit 4 (J. B. 1, L.16), entitled 'Numbers in English'. The story is about when a girl asked the elderly lady how old she was, the lady replied 'Ah, it's a secret!' This polite refusal at least suggests that it is not polite in the Western culture to ask a

person's age who is older than you. As can be seen, such a valuable cultural reference for the topic is totally ignored among the four lessons of Unit 6. But paradoxically, the dialogue is used in a place where the learners learn to practise numbers in English.

Another example is the unit headed 'Merry Christmas' (J. B. 3, Unit 13, p. 49). Of the four lessons (L.49, 50, 51 & 52) in this unit, lessons 49 and 51 do not even mention the term 'Christmas', let alone any description of the festival. In lesson 51, the phrase 'Merry Christmas' is mentioned only once in a mechanical pattern-drill practice, without any other information about Christmas being revealed. Only lesson 50 briefly gives some information about what people usually do before Christmas in the form of a letter from Jim, who is attending a Chinese secondary school and has gone back to London for the holiday, to his Chinese classmate, Lin Feng. However, the funny thing is that in another unit, Unit 14 (J. B. 3, p.53) entitled 'Mainly Revision' two lessons (lessons 54 & 55) are devoted to talking about the very tradition of Christmas in England, and the concepts such as Father Christmas, chimney, stockings, Christmas gifts, and Jesus Christ are all mentioned.

There are some other such examples, where the content of the lesson does not comfortably go together with the theme that the unit heading is supposed to cover and sometimes is attributed to a wrong one. For this very reason, each lesson in the 1993-series will be analysed as an independent unit in examining whether any cultural information is contained there.

The student workbook of the 1993-series, as was mentioned earlier, is designed independently, and for the very same reason as is in the case of the exercises in the 1982-English series, the exercises in the 1993-series will not be included in the analysis, either.

Furthermore, because both the 1982- and 1993- senior volume 3 are optional, we will not deal with them in detail in the section of discussion and evaluation. Thus, when we talk about the 1982-series or 1993-series in that section, we generally refer to the 1982- and 1993-compulsory English textbooks. If something in the optional volumes has to be referred to, we will make it clear by referring to the 1982- or 1993- optional volume.

5.5 The Aspects Touched upon in the Two English Series

To have a better understanding of the two English series, it might be helpful to first identify and classify the textbook content into as many kinds of aspects as the contents actually cover. This will allow us to gain some idea of whether these textbook contents cover a wide enough range to serve their writers' declared aims. Thus, on a lesson-by-lesson basis, we identified the following areas the two series have actually covered.

- **Target Cultures**. This covers 'authentic' dialogues dealing with target daily life, customs etc., literature (stories, literary selections, plays etc.), history (famous persons, historical events, or sites), factual knowledge of the countries in terms of history, geography, economy and politics, etc.
- Chinese Culture. This term here includes the dialogues and stories or other forms of presentation that depict a certain aspect of Chinese culture such as its value systems, patterns of living and so on.
- Other Cultures mean any other specific cultures other than both the Chinese and target cultures.
- General Cultures. Those cover all the cultural phenomena that are dealt with in a global manner. In the case of the two series, they include: sports, geographical information, population, advertising, food, environment, music, health matters and popular sciences, etc.
- Contrast Between Cultures. These cover the contrasts and comparisons between two or more cultures.
- Language Acquisition. This may seem to be a problematic category, because, as is always recognised in our frame of reference, language is part of a culture and language itself is culture. Therefore, how can we define a term such as language acquisition without recognising that it also means cultural acquisition. However, there are texts/dialogues and lessons that do not fall into any of the above described categories and focus only on language acquisition. These will therefore be placed into this category. The detailed specific aspects covered in the two series and the proportion of them are shown in tables 27 & 28:

Table 27. The Aspects Touched upon in the 1982-English Series

Volumes (Lessons)	L.A.	T.C.	C.C.	O.C.	G.C
J.B.1 (21)	15	2	4		
J.B.2 (17)	6	2	9		

J.B.3 (15)	7	1	6		1
J.B.4 (14)	5	1	4	4	
J.B.5 (12)	4	4	3	1	
J.B.6 (10)	2	3		1	4
Total: (89/100%)	39/44%	13/15%	26/29%	6/8%	5/5%

Volume (Lessons)	L.A.	T.C.	C.C.	O.C.	G.C.
S.B.1 (18)		2	2	10	4
	1	3		4	4
S.B.2 (12)					
Total: 30/100%	1/3%	5/17%	2/7%	14/47	8/27%
				%	

Volume (Lessons)	L.A.	T.C.	C.C.	O.C.	G.C.
S.B.3 (12)		11		1	
Total: 12/100%	0/0%	11/92%	0/0%	1/8%	0/0%

Table 28. The Aspects Touched upon in the 1993-English Series

Volume	L.A.	T.C.	C.C.	O.C.	C.Contr	G.C.
(Lessons)						
J.B.1 (120)	110	8	2			
J.B.2 (112)	86	15	6		5	
J.B.3 (96)	78	9	3		2	4
Total:328/100%	274/84%	32/10%	11/3		7/2%	4/1.2%
			%			

Volume(lesson)	L.A.	T.C.	C.C.	O.C.	C.	G.C.
					Contr	
S.B.1 (104)	59	23	7	10	3	2
S.B.2 (96)	51	25	3		3	13
Total:200/100%	110/55	48/24%	10/5%	10/5%	6/3%	15/8%
	%					

Volume(lesson)	L.A.	T.C.	C.C.	O.C.	C.	G.C.
					Contr.	
S.B.3 (96)	47	32	2	4		11
Total:96/100%	47/49	32/33%	2/2%	4/4%		11/11%
	%					

Note: L.A = linguistic Acquisition; C. C = Chinese Culture; T.C = Target Culture; O.C = other cultures; C. Contr. = cultural contrast; G.C = General Culture.

From the above tables, it is clear that with respect to the target culture presentation both the 1982 and 1993 compulsory series are almost balanced, 15% and 17% in the 1982 series compared with 10% and 24% in the 1993 ones. As to other culture presentation, there is a huge fall in quantity in the 1993 compulsory series, from 8% and 47% in the 1982 compulsory series to 2% and 3% in the 1993 series. Turning to general culture presentation, similar things happened. There also exists a big difference: 5% and 27% in the 1982 compulsory series and 1.2% and 8% in the 1993 ones. Coming to the Chinese culture presentation, there is a clear cut down in quantity in the 1993 compulsory series: 3% and 5% in the 1993 relevant compulsory series and 29% and 7% in the relevant 1982 ones. Turning to language acquisition category, we can see that there is a huge increase in amount in the 1993 compulsory series: 84% and 55% in the 1993 series versus 44% and 30% in the other.

In brief, the tendency that can be easily identified is that the culture presentation in the 1993 compulsory series in fact decreased despite the syllabus writers' claim that the newer textbooks are communicative-orientated. This is not surprising if we look back into the 1993 English teaching syllabus, where the cultural aims of English teaching is very vague and hidden. Thus we see that language acquisition still seems to be the main focus of the 1993 series, though under a different banner, namely through more dialogues or communicative dialogues because of the emphasis on communication in language learning laid down in the 1993 English teaching syllabus. However, what is new in the newer series is that a new category, the contrast between two or more cultures, comes in, which brings the new series more merits.

As is noted above, the 1982-senior series covers more topics about other cultures (37%, while the target culture occupies 27%). This seems to be both strange and yet understandable. It is strange because when the learners learn a foreign language, the learners are supposed to be introduced mostly to the target culture. Language is part of the culture, and the values, beliefs, norms and the patterns of living etc. of a people are carried and reflected in that particular language. And the communication style is closely related to that

particular culture. Thus, in order to understand the people and the countries whose languages are being learned, and in order to achieve successful intercultural communication, the culture whose language is being learned should be the dominant part in cultural learning in learning the language, though it is necessary to include both the native and other cultures as well so as to develop the learners' intercultural communicative competence, and realise other educational aims as well. But, if the other cultural information is not used mainly for the purpose of contrast and comparison, such a big load of other cultural information in the 1982-senior series seems to be seriously out of balance and indeed strange.

However, it is also understandable in the case of the 1982senior series because of the strong emphasis laid on language acquisition in the 1986-syllabus. Thus, those texts about other cultural themes might be helpful for the purpose of attracting the learners' interest in learning the language and enriching their knowledge of the world as well.

Nonetheless, this series does talk about the target culture, which correlates with our findings from the survey discussed in the previous chapter, where 92% of the total 373 pupil informants and 90% of the total 167 schoolteacher informants claim that their learning/teaching materials (1993-series) talk about English language culture(s).

5.6 The Cultural Information Presented in the Two English Series

As is shown in tables 27 and 28 in the previous pages, the 1982- and 1993-series do contain cultural information. And further data analysis shows that culture of narrow definition dominates the 1982-series, while culture of broad definition predominates in the 1993-junior series. The detailed specific information is summarised in tables 29 and 30, where the raw figures are calculated in terms of lessons.

	Culture of broad definition ²³	Culture of narrow definition ²⁴	total ²⁵	total ²⁶
		literature history		
J.B.1-6	5/13 = 38%	3/13=23% 5/13=38%	13	13/89=15%
(89				
lessons in				
all)				
S.B.1-2	X	4/5=80% 1/5=20%	5	5/30=17%
(30				
lessons in				
all)				
S.B.3 (12	X	9/11 =82% 2/11=18%	1	11/12=92%
lessons in				
all)				

Table 30. The Western Cultural Aspects Dealt with in the 1993 Series

	C.B.D	C.N.D	C.B.C.	C.B.	То	Total
	*	literature history		A.C.	t-al	
				A.N		
J.B. 1-3	29/39	1/39(3%)	7/39		39	39/328
(328	(74%)	2/39(5%)	(18%)			(12%)
lessons						
in all)						
S.B.1-	10/54	11/54=20%	6/54	6/54	54	54/200(
2, (200	(19%)	2754=39%	(11%)	(11%)		27%)
lessons						
in all)						
S.B.3	7/32	15/32=47%	7/32		32	32/96
(96	(22%)	3/32=9%	(22%)			(33%)
Lessons						
in all)						

*C.B.D.=Culture of broad definition; C.N.D=Culture of narrow definition; C.B.C.=Contrast between cultures; C.B.A.C.N.A=Cultures of Britain, America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand

²³ Culture of broad definition here includes: telephoning, introducing people, forms of address, festivals, writing letters, pop music and the like.

²⁴ Culture of narrow definition takes here the forms of literature (literary selections, stories, plays, fairy tales) and history (famous persons, historical events and sites).

Total = the total lessons which dealt with a specific target cultural phenomenon in the whole volume.

Total = the total percentage of the cultural information occupied in the whole volume.

Compared with the cultural information presented in the 1982series (see Table 29), a clear change takes place in the 1993-series (see Table 30) in terms of the emphasis of cultural aspects. That is, the culture of broad definition absolutely predominates in the 1993junior series and comes up in the 1993-senior series as well.

Notably, too, literary topics decreased sharply in the 1993-series. The findings with respect to the cultural information in the 1993-series as a whole also correlate with the findings from our previous survey discussed in Chapter 4. There, according to both the pupil and schoolteacher informants, the culture of broad definition is apparently in the dominant position in their learning/teaching materials, with high culture, especially history topics, following behind.

Thus, we may take the opportunity to clarify, based on the above findings, two points related to the cultural aspects specified by both the pupil and teacher informants in our questionnaire survey when they were asked to do so from their learning/teaching materials (1993-series):

(1) Nearly every cultural aspect referred to by both pupil and schoolteacher informants when they were asked to offer examples of culture in their learning/teaching materials can be found in the textbooks we analysed. And some others are closely related to some relevant cultural topics in the textbooks. For example, 3 pupil informants mentioned 'film'. There are actually no lessons or units particularly talking about film(s). The term is however referred to by the three pupil informants. This may be because of the two lessons which have talked about Charlie Chaplin and his life and work, where it is mentioned that this famous film actor made quite a few popular films.

Another example is that quite a number of pupil informants (35) referred to "geography", while none of the teacher informants mentioned that when they were asked the same question. There are actually no lessons or dialogues that focus on this aspect of the target countries as an independent topic. However, in a number of lessons or dialogues some names of famous cities or towns are mentioned, sometimes with the help of some map-drawings. And clearly their major focus is not on the cultural information of the geography of the country in question but used for dialogue practice. And still, there are a few other lessons talking about the countries such as

Britain and Ireland, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, where a mixture of historical, geographical, and some political information is given. It is very difficult to define those topics using only one category. And maybe because of the difficulty to define the nature of these types of lessons in terms of culture, 82 (22%) pupils informants, therefore, used a term, the culture of Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, which is retained in my analysis. This may be another source which makes the pupil informants refer to geography.

Thus we may confirm that the cultural aspects that the pupil and schoolteacher informants identified from their learning/teaching materials in responding to question 6 match exactly those appearing in their current textbooks (1993-series).

(2) At the same time, based on the fact that since those cultural aspects mentioned by both the pupil and schoolteacher informants are true and that many cultural aspects are referred to by less than half of the informants among each group (even the most common responses are not yet more than half in most cases), we may thus conclude here that the cultural learning/teaching in language teaching is apparently not at all the focus of English teaching of the 1990s in Chinese secondary schools and, to a large extent, dealt with incidentally by individual teachers and learners. This may have its roots in the 1993-syllabuses, where the cultural aims in language teaching is very narrowly referred to.

5.7 Discussions and Evaluations

5.7.1 Whether the Cultural Information Presented in the Two Series Is Balanced and Realistic in Relation to the Cultural Aims of Foreign Language Teaching

Given the background information of the textbooks in use in the Chinese secondary schools since the 1980s, the general description of the coverage of the aspects dealt with and the general percentage of the cultural information carried in the two series, we now move to the question of evaluation, focusing on two of the questions raised at the beginning of the chapter: whether the presentation of the cultural information in the two series is balanced and realistic, and whether the integrated cultural information or knowledge matches the declared cultural aims set up in the 1993-syllabus and those proposed by the theorists and educators in the area.

Theories and strategies about the teaching of culture in language teaching are many, but discussions of how to evaluate the cultural content in teaching materials are relatively rare. And actual evaluations of the matter in foreign language teaching materials are even rarer. This might be one of the very serious reasons why a consistent and systematic practice of cultural studies in our foreign language teaching classrooms around the world has not successfully been established yet. This lack of attention to the analysis of textbook cultural content was also recognised by Byram in the late 1980s. He comments as follows when he overviewed the work done in the past and was actually analysing the French textbooks used in English secondary schools.

Given the significance of textbooks in language teaching it is scarcely surprising that numerous evaluations are carried out. However, attention to the cultural studies dimension is often missing. Even in German literature there is a dearth of work concerned directly with criteria for analysis. (1989, 71)

Nonetheless, according to Byram (1989, 1991a) and Cortazzi & Jin (1999), a few textbook evaluation checklists and criteria for cultural information have been suggested. For example, Huhn (1978), according to Byram (1989), proposed seven criteria in dealing with the cultural information in textbooks (see figure 1), which seems to be very good direction guidelines in textbookwriting and -evaluation, although they are very broad and general criteria. Harmer (1991), McDough & Shaw (1993)Cunningsworth (1984) among others suggested their own checklist for the evaluation of textbook cultural content. Moreover, according to Cortazzi & Jin, those checklists are very limited and biased. They lay different emphasis on the role of culture in textbooks, which reflected those individual scholar's own interests. And noticeably, those checklists do not even include such criteria as historical and comparative dimensions of culture. Nor are broad socio-political problems such as unemployment, poverty, racism etc. included.

Figure 1. Huhn's Seven Criteria for the Analysis of Textbook Cultural Content (1978, cited in Byram, 1989, 73)

- factual accuracy and contemporaneity of information in cultural studies an *a prior*i point which raised immediately the question of keeping books up to date
- the avoidance or at least relativisation of stereotypes by making pupils conscious of them
- the presentation of a realistic picture, not one which implies the foreign society is problem-free (this is the point which Andersen & Risager have developed in detail)
- freedom from, or at least the questioning of, ideological tendencies in the material pupils should not be encouraged to accept the dominant image of society, whether foreign or their own, but rather to question it, partly through comparison
- the comparative dimension further requires that phenomena be presented in their structural, functional contexts rather than presented as isolated facts a view shared by Andersen & Risager, and of significance for the view taken of the appropriate model of cultural analysis
- the sixth and seventh criteria are concerned with the presentation of historical material: its relevance to understanding contemporary society should be explicit, and where presented through personalities it should be made clear that they are products of their age.

Nonetheless, the most rigorous model developed so far for evaluating the cultural content in elementary foreign language teaching textbooks might be the one by Risager & Andersen (1986, 1991). The model, according to Risager, originated from the analysis of realistic prose and was adapted by Andersen & Risager to the actual appearance of textbooks and the pedagogical needs as well. The model consists of the following four categories (see figure 2):

Figure 2. Risager's Analytical Categories of Textbook Cultural Reference (1991, in Buttjes and Byram, 1991)

- 1. The micro level: phenomena of social and cultural anthropology
 - a. the social and geographical definition of characters
 - b. material environment
 - c. situations of interaction
 - d. interaction and subjectivity of the characters: feelings, attitudes, values, and perceived problems.
- 2. The macro level: social, political, and historical matters

- a. broad social facts about contemporary society (geographical, economic, political etc.).
- b. broad sociopolitical problems (unemployment, pollution etc.).
- c. historical background.
- 3. International and intercultural issues
 - a. comparisons between the foreign country and the pupils' own
 - b. mutual representations, images, stereotypes
 - c. mutual relations: cultural power and dominance, co-operation and conflict.
- 4. Point of view and style of the author(s).

However, Risager (1991a) does not give any further explanation herself about the model as regard to how the whole system of the model actually functioned when she applied this model in evaluating the cultural information in the European elementary foreign language textbooks. Nonetheless, in a number of places, Byram (1989, 1991) interpreted Risager's model in a more comprehensive way. In Byram's interpretation, the general criteria of Risager's model is the concept of realism.

According to Byram, "In a literary sense 'realism' can be defined in terms of readers' perceptions and their dependence on the portrayal of real places, situations and people which are believable because they are similar to what we already know" (1989, 126). Thus by 'realism', in Byram's interpretation, Risager "refers not simply to accuracy and comprehensive coverage in the depiction of the foreign culture in textbooks but, more importantly, to the degree to which the reader may perceive and accept the image presented – no matter how complete or partial – as being realistic" (Byram, 1991b, 303). For an accurate view of another culture and for cultural studies to be realistic, in Byram's interpretation (1989, 1991b, 126), Risager stresses that the universe of the culture presented in the textbooks must be,

- a) balanced, comprehensive
- b) at micro and macro level
- c) positive and negative

Two actual examples of analysing the elementary and lower secondary school foreign language textbook cultural content can be identified so far. One was offered by Risager (1991a), using her own model described above to evaluate the cultural information in the elementary foreign language textbooks used in Scandinavian countries, which, according to Risager, can be generalised to refer to

the situation of the whole of Europe. This descriptive research has been discussed in detail in the research section of Chapter 2. The other one is offered by Byram et al. (1991), who analysed the French textbooks used in the lower secondary schools of England in the 1980s, using a thematic approach. This is because these textbooks are organised in thematic units.

Byram then divided the cultural topics in the textbooks into main themes and minor themes, which is simply based on the criterion of quantity in relation to the relevant topics dealt within the textbooks. Then Byram related the analysis results to Risager's criterion of 'realism' to see whether the cultural content presented in the textbooks would bring the readers a realistic, comprehensive and balanced image of France, the people and their way of life. And Byram also related the analysis results to the textbooks-writers' declared aims to see whether the presented cultural aims fulfil their own criteria.

However, an evaluation, according to Byram (1989, 1991), has to be related to a particular view of cultural studies aims in foreign language teaching, such as the cultural aims in the national curriculum. Therefore, we would like to argue that the model should either take the appropriate cultural aims of language teaching for granted or set them up for the evaluation to follow if there are no set ones or just follow the ones in the national curriculum or declared by the textbook writers. Thus, the criterion 'balance' should also involve the evaluation of whether all the cultural aims in language teaching are balanced in all stages of language learning. Then the presented cultural information should be evaluated in all the terms developed by the model: balance, comprehensive, realistic, etc. In another word, the criteria of the model should be framed by the set cultural aims of language teaching and given level of language teaching, not independent of them in their own right. This is because even if the presentation of culture is met with the criterion of 'realism', they might not necessarily better fulfil the general cultural aims in foreign language teaching: intercultural communication and the understanding of the people and the country in question. This is because not necessarily every aspect of small 'c' culture, nor large 'C' culture can play its full part in realising the cultural aims of language teaching unless the correct choice and sequence of the cultural content to be integrated are made according to the stages of learning and the cultural aims to be emphasised.

For example, if intercultural communication is the main focus of the first few years of language learning, the small 'c' culture should play the major role in the integration of culture in language teaching, while large 'C' culture might play a secondary role. For instance, it would be wiser to choose first at the beginning stage such topics as greetings, friendly exchange, farewells, patterns of politeness, holidays, invitations, family meals, schooling, housing, careers and etc, which are directly relevant to the pupils' language use and immediate interest and are within this age-groups' power of reasoning or comprehension, rather than topics like saving accounts, movies and theatres, yard and lawns, tobacco and smoking, folklore, childhood literature, religion and so on, which might need the power of more adult reasoning or experience and might work better at a little later stage. Here the problem of setting up cultural aims, and other educational aims turns out to be crucial.

Similarly, within the category of large 'C' culture, we have to be even more careful with the selections of contents. For example, the society and people depicted in 19th century literary works might not be so helpful to the understanding of 21st century society and people. Similarly, some history topics like famous persons in the history, might best serve the purpose of attracting the pupils' interest in learning the language, and in some sense, moral education or enriching the pupils' knowledge per se while they might have little to do with the pupils' understanding of the country and the people of the present time in general.

Moreover, in order for the presented cultural information to be balanced and comprehensive, social problems of the target culture, according to Risager, should also be presented. This is also a troublesome aspect to tackle. For example, how far and wide should the selected social problems be presented. In what way are these selected problems to be presented – related to the problems that exist in the learners' own society or in the target ones? If these problems are presented from the perspective of the target people some pupils might in turn build up a negative attitude towards the target society and form stereotypes because of the social problems presented in the textbooks. This is because their intellectual capacity and social experience developed so far may not allow them to handle this aspect of culture healthily. This has been clarified in some way by Byram's research findings, where the school informants including the secondary ones hold the view that the French people ride

bicycles with a string of garlic or union around their neck and that they do not like the Germans because they always kill people or that they like France very much, because there are jobs there. These perceptions are true and realistic in the sense that the students got them from sources they might think of equal authority to their school textbooks or their classroom teachers, such as films, televisions or adult people.

Moreover, since Risager's model is the one used to evaluate the textbooks written for cultural dimension of language teaching, it is thus not fair to use this model to evaluate the Chinese secondary English textbooks we are to analyse, especially the 1982-series. This is because these textbooks are not written for this dimension of language teaching. Nonetheless, the evaluation of the Chinese textbook cultural content through such a model will provide us the needed basic information as to how far or how near the cultural information presented in the Chinese secondary school English series is from the widely-recognised cultural aims of language teaching.

Since the two Chinese series are organised in much the same way – not in an 'authentic' thematic way, we will not follow a thematic approach but combine Risager's model with some other theories to see how cultural information is presented in the two Chinese secondary school English series.

Micro level: phenomena of social and cultural anthropology

- The social and geographical definition of characters

In the 1982-series, as is shown in Table 3, of the 89 lessons in the 1982-junior series only 5 texts deal with the anthropological sense of culture and in none is anthropological culture touched upon in the 1982-senior series. Thus, few target characters are involved. However, in those few limited places where they are involved the activities are almost always family-centred. These characters' geographical background are not always told, but their occupations are either clearly told or identifiable. The central characters are mostly school pupils of the learners' own age and their parents, who are mostly teachers.

Although more communicative activities are involved in the 1993-series, especially in the 1993-junior series, the involvement of target characters from different social background is by no means ideal. For example, in the 1993-junior series, Volume 1, all the

activities are centred regularly around the same group of characters, mostly from the learners' own culture: Miss Gao, a teacher of English in a Chinese secondary school; Li Lei, Han Meimei, Ling Feng, and Wei Hua among many others, the Chinese pupils who are attending Miss Gao's class; Lily and Lucy (American twins), Jim and Kate (an English brother and sister), and Bill (an American), the foreign pupils who are attending Miss Gao's class, too (the reasons why they are here attending a Chinese school are not told). And occasionally, Mr Green, who is Jim's father and a teacher of English teaching in another Chinese secondary school, is involved in a few limited activities.

However, from the beginning of the second semester Mr Hu turns out to be the key figure to control the class instead of Miss Gao (the reason is not known) and is involved in all the activities in that volume. Thus, the target characters' geographical and occupational identities are identified as pupils and a teacher from England and the USA.

Of the 112 lessons in volume 2, 5 lessons involve activities that take place in the foreign culture, to be exact, British culture, where a policeman, a farmer, a doctor, and some patients are involved. Noticeably again, in this volume Mr Wu, another Chinese teacher, turns out to be the key figure to share all the activities with the same old familiar-faced pupils and a few more new ones who turn up from nowhere and regularly join in the group. They are Sam, Ann (from a much later text we get to know she is from England, because she talks about English food in that text) and her mother, whose occupation is not told nor the reason why they are in China, Bruce (an Australian boy, the reason why he is there in China studying in that school is not told), and Mary (no information is given about both her geographical and occupational identities). Thus we see that the target culture in relation to the characters' social identities and life cycle are absolutely unbalanced. And moreover, most of the characters seem to be some kind of invention, no real sense of authenticity is felt to help the learners in their learning and understanding the target language, culture and the people.

Of the 96 lessons in volume 3, two dialogues seem to take place in the target culture where the characters' regional and social identities are not identified. The other activities are mostly centred around Miss Zhao, another Chinese teacher, with the same group of

pupils, both Chinese and foreigners. No more new foreign characters join this year, but a few more Chinese adults turn up.

Of all the 328 lessons in the total 1993-junior English series, communicative type of texts occupy 213/65%. Almost all the activities take place in the Chinese culture, centred around the happenings in and out of the school, and at homes etc.

Thus, we see that the 1993-junior series, is also largely centred around a Chinese school, focusing almost exclusively on those Chinese pupils' life in and out of school. The foreign pupils' life and activities are closely mingled with the Chinese culture, showing a very close social network with the Chinese pupils and immersed in the Chinese culture, instead of the other way round.

Because of the emphasis on pupils' ability to read and comprehend in the upper secondary school English learning, the 1993-senior textbooks concentrate on longer reading passages and communicative dialogues become sharply reduced. Of the 200 lessons, 49 (25%) texts are communicative type of dialogue. Of the 49/25% communicative dialogues, 36 (73%) texts take place in the Chinese culture, while the rest take place in the foreign culture. The characters in these dialogues have changed. The old familiar faces are nearly all gone, except Bill. More new faces appear. Only in one case is the activity centred around the old group of pupils. A close examination of all the texts reveals that the first lesson of each unit, which takes the form of a dialogue, is mostly a kind of introduction to the subject matter of the next reading text of the unit. Thus the subject matters in those dialogues follow closely those of the following literary texts. The topics are diversified, but, as one might imagine, jump from one place to another, independent of each other. There is no longer a set of central characters. Thus the fragmentation and triviality of the interactions in the dialogues are even more evident in the 1993-senior series. The foreign characters' occupations in those dialogues involve students, farmers, journalists, a professor, pop musicians from England and the United States.

- Material environment

There are some drawings in the 1982-junior series. These drawings mostly stand there to help the learners to practice the drill-patterns. Since, as is discussed in the early part of this chapter, the drills are largely focused on language acquisition, these drawings usually stand there serving as substitutes for dialogue practice.

However, there are a lot more drawings and pictures in the 1993-series, especially in the 1993-junior series. However, most of those black and white drawings lack authenticity, and in many cases are a bit misleading or generalised in terms of authentic physical appearance. The foreign boys are always characterised by wearing longer hair than the Chinese ones, while foreign girls' and their adult mothers' hair are longer and curling in some cases. In the cases when the Chinese lady-teachers are wearing long hair, it is very difficult to tell one from another in relation to their physical appearance. And in other cases, the very same character in the same text bears a very different physical appearance. And, still in others some characters, who are apparently pupils, are dressed like street boys (e.g. J.B.2, L. 49).

Moreover, drawings or photos showing the foreign environment, articles such as coins, signs, menus, timetables, family dwellings where they live, the supermarkets where they buy food, traffic facilities, schools and anything else related to people's daily life, work and leisure etc. are almost non-existent. But there are a number of places where the simple maps of the world with a few intentionally marked famous cities such as London, Sydney, Tokyo, Toronto or Washington are used to help to practise dialogues.

In general, the material environment of the 1993-series is absolutely Chinese culture-bound, which, to me, greatly undermines the learners' interest in learning the language and understanding the foreign cultures. The curiosity and novelty held by the pupils towards the foreign language, culture and people might be diminished or to some degree destroyed. For example, in one lesson (J.B.2, L. 35), learners are encouraged to read maps, which is at least very important for tourist language learning. However, instead of showing a map of a foreign country or cities, the text presents the learners with a local town map of China, where the buildings are Chinese type, the name of the schools are numbered in Chinese tradition, and Tea Houses, a very clear Chinese culture-bound product, are included.

In some places, even the pictures showing the Chinese settings are not realistic and the cultural phenomenon is very rare. For instance, in Lesson 74 in Junior Book One, pupils are asked to read and act out an isolated dialogue about buying things to eat and drink with the help of a picture showing the scene: there are three characters, a Chinese woman shop assistant standing behind the

counter, on which there is a set of scales, and two Chinese school pupils with school bags on their shoulders, perhaps on their way home from school. The goods on the shelves are not identifiable. The dialogue goes as follows,

Woman: Can I help you?

A: Yes. Er, what would you like?

B: I don't know.

A: Well, would you like something to drink? What about a glass of milk?

B: No thanks. I think I'd like a bottle of orange. What about you?

A: I'd like a cup of tea. What about something to eat?

B: Some cakes, please.

A: We would like a cup of tea, a bottle of orange, and four cakes, please.

Woman: OK. . . Here you are.

The kind of place where one can buy a glass of milk, a bottle of orange, a cup of tea and cakes among other things (because there is a set of scales there on the counter) is very rare in China, if it does exists. At least I have not come across such a place in my life. Moreover, it might be also very rare for the Chinese school pupils to buy such 'a lot of' things to eat and drink on their way home from school. If this is a particular occurrence, there is simply no reference. And a school boy's choice of a cup of tea rather than orange pop is also not common nowadays.

However, it is obvious that the 1993-series shows a greater awareness to the foreign culture than the 1982-series in terms of its presentation of the material environment.

- Situation of interaction

As is mentioned in the above section and elsewhere, there are only few communicative activities in the 1982-series. These easily identifiable situations are always located at a home setting.

Most of the happenings in the 1993-junior series take place in the Chinese culture with the dominance of the Chinese characters in the almost exclusively school-centred surroundings.

In the 1993-senior series the dialogues follow the subject matter of the reading texts of the unit and most of these situations of interaction also take place in the Chinese culture. Where the target cultural context is involved they take place against the background of a university, farm, airport and the like to follow the subject matter of the following literary text(s).

- Interaction and subjectivity

As is noted above, the interaction in the 1982-series is very limited, while in the 1993-junior series the informative and phatic function of language prevail. However, owing to the 'given context' of the happenings in the text, the majority of dialogues are controlled by the Chinese characters with a small number of foreign characters playing the secondary role.

Thus, some of the foreign characters' behaviour patterns, rather than representing and reflecting their original 'selves', are greatly modified by the influence of Chinese culture. All of these factors greatly influenced the foreign characters' ways and content of interaction and subjectivity. For example, some of the foreign characters have developed the kind of empathy or immersion into Chinese culture which the learners, according to Byram (1989), and Kaikkonen (1996), are supposed to. The foreign interlocutors should also learn the ways of life of their partners' in order to be successful in the ongoing intercultural communication, but those foreign characters in the 1993-series seem to benefit much more than those who are learning their language and culture. For example, in a dialogue in lesson 74 (J.B.2, L. 74) between a Chinese elderly man and Ann, Ann has learned very well to use a very popular greeting routine in the Chinese culture, 'uncle', which is used by the young to greet a man of one's senior generation or older. As the part of the dialogue goes: "Ann: Hello, Uncle Wang. Nice to meet you" (74). Thus, we might have reasons to worry that the learners might assume that this polite form of greeting might be applicable in the English culture as well, because Ann, Jim and others all use it in their interactions.

Similarly, in another dialogue in Lesson 1 (J.B.3, p. 1) between Jim and Li Lei (two school friends), when they two meet the first day at school after the summer holiday, Li asked Jim how his parents and sister were, Jim replied and expressed his thanks and also reciprocated in the same way, asking about how Li's family members were. This interest in the other's family members in daily greeting conversation seems to be rare in the individualism-dominated Western society, especially among the children of about

12 years of age. And this is not a very common phenomenon among the pupils of that age in the Chinese culture, either, but a social norm of politeness among many adults in socialisation between very close friends and relatives. It might then be interpreted that the dialogue is intended to transmit a clear Chinese cultural social norm.

In some cases, the interlocutors' interaction seems to have gone back to the traditional structural way of language learning. For example, in the following dialogues and elsewhere, too,

Teacher: What are those? [pointing to the coats]

Twins: They are our coats. Teacher: ...(J.B.1, p. 41)

Jim: What's this? [holding the watch]

Li Lei: It's my watch. (J.B.1, p.57).

the characters are standing beside the objects which are within their reach by hand, or face to face. They are not joking but do seriously mean business. Such dialogues, which are really a kind of mechanical practice, undermine the thinking of communicative theory of language teaching inscribed in the two 1993 syllabuses, and underestimate the intelligence of the learners as well. In another dialogue (J. B. 3. p. 49),

Mr Hu: Good afternoon, class! Who is on duty today?

Lily: Good afternoon! I am. Today is (day and date). Everyone is here, except Jim Green.

Mr Hu's utterance mixes the two language functions, phatic and interrogative, together without a separation, which seems to be unusual in both foreign and Chinese cultures. Moreover, the American girl does not wait for the whole class to respond to the teacher and does it instead. This is maybe because Lily finds it difficult for the whole class to react. And, more importantly, Lily returns the greeting without a title, which is acceptable in some of the Western culture, but not at all in the Chinese culture. The teacher, thus, has to follow Rivers if the teacher wants to make the dialogue authentic or work better: add something that is missing, otherwise, there would be cultural shock here.

In some other cases, the interaction does not seem to finish but the dialogue finishes. For example in the following one (J.B.1, p. 89):

Woman: Good morning.

Mr Green: Good morning. Could I have some bottles of milk,

please?

Woman: Sorry, there aren't any. Would you like some bottles of

orange?

Mr Green: OK.

Woman: How many would you like?

Mr Green: Three please. Woman: Here you are.

Mr Green: Thanks.

the process of paying, which might be a very important part of the shopping activity, is gone for ever. More importantly, to a native speaker of English, it seems to be very rare nowadays anywhere in the English-speaking world, to buy milk like this. Milk is usually bought in a supermarket, not across a counter. Moreover, it is unthinkable to a native speaker of English or most Western countries that a shop would run out of milk. Thus, we see that both interaction and situation are less than believable and unrealistic.

As to the human relations, they are very smooth and friendly throughout the interaction in the two series, especially in the 1993-junior series. The attitudes and value-judgements of the characters are very rarely expressed, except in one or two places in the 1993-series, where personal opinions of the characters are occasionally presented. For example, during a dialogue (J.B.1, p. 107) when Mr Green was asked if he liked to work in China, he gave a positive answer and added that Chinese people are very friendly. In some other similar cases, Jim and the twin American sisters expressed the same opinions. Besides, a Chinese pupil shares much the same attitude when he says that there are some foreign pupils in his class, who are from America, and England, saying: 'American – English – Chinese! There is no difference, we are all friends' (J.B.1, p.92).

In all the above-mentioned examples the foreign characters seem to enter Chinese life very naturally without any cultural shock or discomfort, without any questioning about any cultural difference, which seems to be incredible.

Macro-level: Social, Political and Historical Matters

- Broad social facts about the contemporary society

In the 1993-series, only some general social cultural information about the five major English-speaking countries in terms of geography and politics is given. Economic factual knowledge is nowhere to be found. Cultural geographical information is also non-existent. Some few major cities are mentioned, but there is no mention of others, which might be representative for their natural beauty or industrial reputation, etc. Social facts about the contemporary society is very limited.

- Broad socio-political problems

Broad socio-political problems are, in a way, touched upon in both series, though in a very general way. For example, in the 1982-series, there is a text about the dustmen on strike, which might be regarded as being problems in Chinese culture. In the 1993-series, a few more broad social problems have been referred to in a few literary texts. For instance, sex discrimination in careers in Australia is demonstrated through a story which tells how a woman struggled for four months to get a job as an engineer without success and how she finally decided to cut her hair short, bought some men's clothes, and used a man's name and got the job as a man, because it was impossible for a woman to get that kind of job.

In another place the poverty of some poor Americans is briefly depicted. In another place, the problem of smoking in Britain is dealt with in passing, saying that 110,000 people die each year from smoking (S. B. 2, p. 8). Still in other places, the problems of pollution, environment protection, animal protection etc. are dealt with in a more or less global manner, referring to Europe. Race discrimination in the USA is depicted through the story about Martin Luther King. Other socio-political problems such as unemployment, youth problems, and violence etc. are not mentioned at all.

- Historical background

Historical background information is dealt with only briefly while introducing the countries.

International and Intercultural Issues

- Comparisons between the foreign countries and the pupils' own

There are a number of texts that do involve the comparisons between two or more cultures such as the contrast between the Chinese diet and the Western one in general (J.B.1, L. 58 & 59), the time difference between China and the USA (J.B.1, L. 2), differences in body languages between China and Britain and other countries as well (S. B. 2, L.10 & 11), differences in the term 'football' in China and the USA, and differences in time, weather conditions, between China and Britain, USA, and Australia (J.B.2, L. 27, 62, 66, 67, 78), and the differences between Chinese names and British ones (J.B.3, L. 2). As is mentioned earlier, only in one place does the contrast seem to be involved in a value-judgement.

- Mutual representations

There is simply no presentation or discussion of such examples as stereotypes that each nationality in question is supposed to possess about the other.

- Mutual relations

Similarly, such areas are not discussed nor related.

Point of view and style of the Author(s)

Although expression of attitudes - positive, negative, critical or neutral, towards the country and people are not directly demonstrated, they are expressed in a number of ways: through the choice of contents, through the mouths of the characters or the like. Thus, we may say that in the two series the authors' attitudes towards the foreign countries and their peoples are positive. There are no negative depictions. However, their pedagogical concern to show how the pupils can best learn the language and 'culture' in an more 'authentic' manner proves to be a kind of 'amateurism' and superficiality. Moreover, whether the fact that the predominant settings of language learning in the two series, especially in the 1993-junior series, is within Chinese culture is an ideological concern or a question of their practical understanding of language teaching theory remains unclear.

Nonetheless, according to Xu Fang (1997) of the Teaching & Research Centre of the Chinese National Education Research Institute, the following factors have been taken into account with respect to the integration of the culture of English-speaking countries into the 1992-junior series when it was written:

- 1. The vocabulary of the 1992-junior series is limited and the texts are largely dialogues, both of which make the integration of foreign culture difficult;
- 2. China is a big agricultural country. A large number of pupils who receive compulsory education are from rural areas. Most of them do not even have the opportunities to visit their county towns nor the provincial capitals. And the opportunities for them to use the English language in the future might be even rarer. Thus, foreign cultures for these pupils are far too remote a thing.
- 3. If the textbooks are too 'Westernised' [too much foreign cultural information or language and culture are so closely related], it might be difficult for them to be accepted. (My translation).

If this is really the case, we then have reasons to say that those 1992-series writers might be wrong. First, as we summarised at the end of Chapter 2, many theorists and educators have actually suggested that the target cultures should be taught through a dialogic pedagogical approach. For example, over thirty years ago Rivers (1968) argued that the teaching for cultural understanding can be fully integrated with the process of assimilation of language patterns and lexicon from the early stages through dialogues since many textbooks begin with dialogues. However, Rivers rejected four kinds of dialogues while selecting teaching materials for cultural content. The first one, according to Rivers, is the kind that reflect common, everyday experiences of the student in his native culture. This kind of dialogue, in Rivers' view, not only neglects the opportunity of introducing the pupils to cultural differences in everyday situations, it also loses the opportunity of taking advantage of the natural curiosity of the pupil about the foreign 'othernesses'. This might also leave the pupils with the impression that foreign language is the native language in another dress: an unnecessarily confusing way of saying what the student can already express satisfactorily in any case (274).

The second kind, according to Rivers, is the dialogues of being 'culturally neutral'. This kind of dialogues, according to Rivers, may be interpreted as familiar patterns of the pupils' own culture. To make this kind of dialogue work or authentic, in Rivers' view, the teacher must add more background information that are behind those familiar patterns of living.

The third kind of dialogue identified by Rivers are those that "may represent an interesting situation or relationship in the foreign

culture, but be expressed in language which would never be used in such circumstances or among people of the type depicted" (275).

The last kind of dialogue are the ones that the writer may have overloaded to such an extent that it gives the pupils the feelings that they are an artificial inventory and are hardly usable or believable in a real life situation.

Those kinds of dialogues, in Rivers' view, should be avoided in a textbook, because of the lack of authenticity.

Then Rivers argues, "The dialogue should be constructed around an experience, compatible with the age and interest of the students, which will clearly demonstrate behaviour culturally appropriate for speakers of the language. As students memorise the dialogue and act it out, they learn through role playing, as they did in their own culture in childhood games and experienced relationships" (274).

And the limitation of vocabulary does not seem to be an excuse, either, because cultural topics, as is referred to in Rivers' suggestion, can be actually and directly taught in conjunction with the related vocabularies themselves. This approach to the teaching of culture suggested by Rivers, Lafayette and Spinelli has been referred to in Chapter 2.

The second reason cited above by Xu, that foreign cultures will be too remote for the students, seems to be practical but in fact it is very unbelievable and near-sighted. It is true that China is an agricultural country; that many pupils are from rural areas; that the rural pupils might not have many chances to visit big cities or towns at the moment and that they might not have any opportunities at all to use the English language learned at school in the future. Is it because of all these that we should keep the rural pupils from learning the foreign culture while learning the language? Should we keep the country agricultural all the time? Should we keep the rural pupils around their own areas and keep them ill-informed all their lives? Is utility the only aim of a certain subject during the compulsory education? If utility is the major reason, then how many pupils actually use what they learn in physics, chemistry, or biology etc.? If all the reasons are possible, how about the urban pupils? Will different textbooks be written for them or do we let them suffer? Should we not help those rural pupils or people to create more opportunities for them to get to know the other parts of their own culture and the foreign culture as well or should we wait till the country turns into an industrial one and the rural areas are well-informed then seriously consider the matter in question?

Thirdly, the textbook-writers' worries about the negative acceptance of the textbook if 'there is more cultural information' in them seem to be a sort of stereotype. In fact, the pupils, teachers and teacher-trainers are very much interested in learning/teaching language and culture together. They show very positive attitudes towards the integration of culture. They are complaining about the present situation that language and culture are not very well related in their textbooks and that there is not enough cultural information available to them while they want to integrate culture into their English learning/teaching. They suggest one way or another to relate the teaching of language more closely to the foreign culture and society. The pupils actually show even more enthusiasm than their teachers. More importantly, the pupil informants from rural areas actually show as much interest in learning the foreign cultures as those from urban areas. All these can be seen from the findings of our survey described in Chapter 3.

However, to be fair, the authors of the 1993-series clearly do show an awareness of the role of culture in the teaching of English in Chinese secondary schools. They by no means reject the idea of integrating culture in language teaching. The major problem is that there is a great need to fully and further understand the relationship of language and culture, and the contemporary language teaching theories and to define the aims of language teaching in a more scientific and comprehensive way. Xu shares this viewpoint and argues that,

It does not necessarily need a large vocabulary or complex pattern drills while introducing the foreign culture. It does not have to be done through narratives either . . . The authors can integrate the foreign cultures through short dialogues. The enclosure or ill-informedness of the rural pupils should not be an obstacle to the integration of foreign culture, either. On the contrary, it is because of the enclosure of the rural pupils that they need to be introduced to this kind of knowledge and enabled to get to know there are many other different countries and people in this world and the differences as well between their own culture and the foreign culture. (1997, 9)

This echoes a similar example offered by Omaggio (1986, 357). That is, when a Georgia school board member approached Genelle Morain of the University of Georgia with the question: "Why should a student who will never leave Macon, Georgia, study a foreign language?" she replied: "That's why he should study another language."

In summary, the cultural information presented in the two series is limited in both quantity and quality. The authentic picture of the target people is presented in a very limited sense or, we may say, unpresented. The cultural topics of small 'c' culture in both series are almost all centred around the same phenomena, such as telephoning, introducing people, writing letters and the like. A large number of topics related to the patterns of living in the foreign culture associated with the learning of the language are not presented. Moreover, the currently presented cultural phenomena are very superficial. As is discussed, they, in most cases have been just touched upon. There is simply no way for the learners to get close to the understanding of the foreign people, culture and the countries in question.

In dealing with large 'C' culture, though some general information about a few target countries is given, major social facts are still unpresented. There is simply no presentation of any information about the capital cities of the target countries, nor any information about other major cities (except New York, which is briefly dealt with within one single page). Cultural geographical information about the target counties is nowhere to be found, either.

Comparatively, the 1993-series has the following merits:

- (1) there are more 'communicative' type of dialogues. The authors, in a way, are trying to make the situations of interaction as 'authentic' as possible.
- (2) There is more cultural information presented in the 1993-series in terms of cultural aspects and categories. In other words, the 1993-series shows much greater cultural awareness to the teaching of language than the 1982-series did. For example, a number of contrasts between cultures can be considered the major merits in presenting the target cultures, though the comparisons in relation to the value systems, social norms and ways of living are almost completely ignored. Besides, some texts are trying to bring the pupils to an understanding of the target countries by presenting some broad sociocultural facts. Noticeably, this kind of cultural

information is presented only about to Britain, Ireland, Scotland, and Canada in the compulsory textbooks, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand are talked about in the optional volume, which might be totally ignored by the majority of teachers and pupils.

The major problems, especially in relation to the 1993-series, in terms of textbook content in general and cultural content in particular are,

(1)to present the learning of the target language and culture almost completely within the context of the Chinese culture must be regarded as problematic. The majority of the 'communicative' dialogues (97% in the 1993-junior English series, and 73% in the 1993-senior English series) take place within the Chinese culture. Although we need also to prepare the pupils to meet and converse with foreign people in their native culture, the exclusively dominant Chinese cultural situations of the interaction between the characters seem to leave the reader with the impression that those people from the target culture are there simply to help the learners to practise and complete the dialogues. The interaction seems to be a very artificial inventory. Surely this is the wrong way round, and against the language teaching theory, because we are constantly encouraged to relate the teaching of language to the target society and culture, namely teaching the language in its social and cultural context.

Moreover, there are quite a number of dialogues which take place between the Chinese characters only. Although the intention might have been to encourage the pupils to speak the language at any time at any place, they in fact make the language learning less interesting, or even have taken away some of their interest in learning language and culture. The students might understand that their native language can work better in those cases in their actual daily life interaction.

And in many places, the dialogues depict the Chinese classroom settings, school environment, school subjects, the routine to begin a normal class; they tell that the Chinese shops are not open before eight o'clock; they tell young people to call an older male 'uncle'; they show the Chinese pupils flying kites after school; they show pictures of some isolated goods with price-labels in the Chinese money system; they show a Chinese farmer carrying a sprayer to spray poison to kill plant pests in the

- field, but they never, never ask whether these statements or phenomena are also true of the English, Americans, Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders. Thus we see that what the two junior English series demonstrate is to use the target language to describe largely the Chinese cultural happenings and activities. The social identities of the target characters in the 1993-series prevent the learners from getting a closer look into the target society, their social institutions and patterns of living from a wider age-range, social class-range and viewpoints. The social interaction presented, in terms of quantity and quality, is far from a normal part of the English-speaking people's own experience of life that could best help those age-group pupils to understand them from within.
- (2) Because of the above-mentioned reasons, the subjectivity and feeling of the foreign characters are not presented. In a way, they seem to have lost their cultural identity. Sometimes they are between cultures and living in the cultural marginality. These 'borrowed' foreign participants in the 1993-junior series seem to be doing what Byram (1989), Kaikkonen (1996) and many others suggest in intercultural learning, fieldwork abroad. During their 'fieldwork' they are friendly, tolerant, and empathetic, the qualities which many theorist and educators (e.g. Byram, 1989, Kaikkonen, 1997) expect from the fieldwork abroad. Owing to the lack of authentic expression of emotion, both positive and negative, the 1993-series leave the learners with the impression that the very limited number of English-speaking characters are unemotional. Thus, the characters become less credible.
- (2)Some 'authentic' target cultural information in many places is devalued. For example, in Lesson 34 (J.B.2, p. 34), the background information says, "Mr Fang is in London. He is looking for different places. He needs help. Practise dialogues like these:
 - A: Excuse me. Is there a *post office* near here? (*hospital, station, fruit shop*)
 - B: Yes, there is. Walk along this road, and take the *fourth* turning on the left. It's about a hundred metres along on the right/left. (*first*, *second*, *third*)

There are altogether three groups of dialogues organised like this in the whole lesson. The differences among the three groups of dialogues are B's answers, which is a positive answer in the first place and then offers the relevant information in the first group; a negative answer in the first place and the relevant information in the second group; and the 'do not know' answer and a suggestion to ask the policeman nearby in the last one.

Thus, instead of dramatising the dialogue against the authentic background, the dialogue falls into a kind of mechanical pattern practice. Why not concentrate on only one place such as the post office and develop it further in terms of when the post offices in London are open daily, taking turns to buy a stamp and envelope in the post office, how much a stamp for a domestic letter costs and how much a letter going abroad costs, mailing the letters or postcards, checking the address on the envelope etc. Thus the related cultural information would be vividly presented while learning the language. And why not tell something about London first since London is used as background information and no information has ever been given about London anywhere in either of the two series. Some of the pupils might even think London might be a town, village or whatever somewhere in a faraway place. This is by no means a joke, because something similar really happens in a report written by some of our scholars/teachers who first tried the 1993senior series in a local secondary school. They claim that the new series refers to some geographical and scientific knowledge such as world-famous cities "Toronto (the capital of Canada), Sydney (the capital of Australia), Oxford (Oxford, Oxford university), London (the capital of Britain), Paris (the capital of France), Richmond (the capital of Virginia, USA), Florida (the state of Florida) and so on" (Wu, 1998, 14 &15). Although London, among some others, is correctly recognised, Toronto and Sydney are wrongly thought of as being the capital of the country in question. This is probably not an individual exception nor simply an error in writing. It is all too common because such cultural information is not sufficiently dealt with, even to the least extent, in many of our textbooks or supplementary readings. Similarly, this is by no means a phenomenon that happens in China. It happens elsewhere, too, including the technologically advanced Europe, where, for example, students of France still hold the view that Great Britain

is a rainy country, deprived of industry, with no historical past, ruled by a Queen, where people drink tea, beer or whisky, where men are still carrying umbrellas and wearing bowler hats, where the countryside is green. The country is also famous for its rock groups or singers, when they are not confused with American ones. It is inhabited by people of phlegmatic temperament and will soon be connected to the continent by a tunnel (Cain, 1990 in Byram & Cain, 1988, 33).

Furthermore, as is mentioned in the above pages, the occupations of the characters in the 1993-senior books involve farmers, students, a professor and so on and a number of famous cities around the world are referred to to help to practise the dialogues in some places in the 1993-series. But all these, as part of the authentic cultural information itself, are used in some daily conversation settings as simply supporting background information alone in its narrow sense rather than being used as independent cultural topics themselves to be probed and presented (for example, 'farmers in England').

(4) As is mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, many of the unit headings do not go together with the content of the unit. Facing such an awkward situation, our pupils and teachers might feel puzzled. Our linguists might find it both funny and annoying. For we can imagine one's reaction who enters a bookshop to search for some books and finds there are clothes on sale there, too, or even a large part of the shop is selling clothes. S/He might at least wonder whether this is a professional bookshop. What would you expect from the topic 'Food and drink' in a foreign language teaching textbook? You might expect that the topic would talk about food and drink in the target culture or talk about them through a comparative approach while others might expect that they would talk about food and drink in the learners' own culture. But would you expect the following dialogue as a major part of one single lesson under a unit title 'Food and drink' (1993-J.B.1, L. 73):

1. Read and act

MEIMEI: Hello, Lily! How are you today? LILY: Fine, thanks. How are you?

MEIMEI: Fine! I have a new watch. Do you like it? LILY: Yes, it's very nice. What's the time, please?

MEIMEI: It's four o'clock.

LILY: Oh, it's time to play games.

MEIMEI: OK. Let's go. LILY: Yes. Let's.

2. Read and Learn

Food We eat these things: **Drink** We drink these things:

rice²⁷ a cup of tea
bread a bottle of milk
meat a glass of water
cakes bottles of orange

Luckily, the second part of the lesson does talk about food and drink, though it focuses on what 'we', rather than 'they', eat and drink, or 'we' eat and drink these things while 'they' do like that. Moreover, once again here some shoddy linguistic forms occur, namely [we drink] a bottle of milk and bottles of orange. People may buy a bottle of milk and bottles of orange juice (not bottle of orange) and drink a glass of milk (rather than a bottle of milk). Thus, drinking a bottle of milk to the native English speakers seems to be as strange a phenomenon as drinking a pot of tea to the Chinese people.

This seems to be indeed a serious problem in the Chinese educational culture where textbooks are always regarded as being authoritative by both the pupils and teachers who depend almost solely on textbooks to achieve their educational aims.

In contrast, the latest 1993-series falls a long distance behind the European textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s in terms of authentic cultural information presentation. Although, according to Risager (1991a) and Byram (1991a), the foreign language teaching textbooks in Europe and Britain fail to bring the learners a realistic and balanced picture of the people and the country whose language are being learned, they at least presented a much much larger amount of authentic cultural information. However, compared with the European elementary and secondary foreign language teaching textbooks and the French textbooks used in English secondary schools, the 1993-series of China includes such topics as sociopolitical problems and contrast between cultures, whereas those topics, according to Risager and Byram, are not touched upon in European textbooks.

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²⁷ There are pictures companying each word or phrase.

5.7.2 Does Everything Taught in the Name of Culture in the Two Series Lead to Successful Intercultural Communication and Understanding of the English-speaking World?

Now let us move on to look at the cultural contents presented in the two series and see what kind of cultural aspects are presented, and to what extent they are presented and whether the presented cultural information there leads to a successful intercultural communication and understanding.

As is seen from Table 29, 13 (15%) of the total of 89 texts in the 1982-junior series are identified as depicting the target culture. Of the 13 texts, only 5 texts are identified as dealing with small 'c' culture, which thus takes up 6% of the total 89 texts of the whole junior series. While 8 (9%) texts are identified as depicting high culture, in the form of literature and history. A close examination of this anthropological cultural information reveals that the depiction of the cultural information is rather superficial and fragmented. And those genuine cultural topics are not seriously made use of, nor are treated as a means to release the relevant authentic information to help the pupils better understand the people and facilitate successful intercultural communication. Instead, they tend to be used as a means to attract pupils' interest in learning the language only. The five texts depicting small 'c' culture will now be discussed in more detail.

The text of Lesson 14 (J.B.1, p. 77) is entitled 'My Family'. The story is told by Mike, an English boy. He tells the readers his and his sister's age, both of whom are at school. Then the boy introduces his parents' professions (the father is a teacher of English while the mother is a nurse). And finally the boy introduces his youngest brother, Jack, who is four years of age. Besides the cultural similarities or cultural neutrality demonstrated in the text such as the type of jobs mentioned, the most striking cultural phenomenon here might then be the three children of the family, which is very rare in a modern Chinese family, owing to the one-child policy initiated in China in 1979.

The text in Lesson 11 (J.B.2, p. 73) is a letter written by Alice Green, an American schoolgirl. She tells in her letter about her

family members and her parent's profession (both are teachers) very briefly. The most striking cultural information here should be the placement of the date when the letter was written. If the teacher has a sense of cultural awareness, the comparison between the two cultures can be made. For example, in Chinese tradition, the date is always placed at the same place as the signature at the end of the letter, while it is always placed at the top right corner of the letter in English.

The text 'A [birthday] Present' in Lesson 13 (J. B. 2, p. 91) is approached rather in the form of a riddle than releasing any genuine information about a person's birthday in the West. Thus, we may say that such a genuine cultural topic, as it is exemplified here, has lost its real function. The story goes like this: It is Betty's birthday and she found a card from her parents to her, which lay on the table. The card read, "I'm your present. My first letter is in the word, 'book' but not in the word, . . . " This phenomenon of buying children birthday presents or celebrating a child's birthday in a family might be regarded as a Western cultural phenomenon then. At the time of the publication of this series, it was not a common phenomenon in China to buy children birthday presents, nor to celebrate every family member's birthday. Traditionally, only the eldest of the family have their birthdays celebrated by some families. The younger ones' were usually ignored, because of the traditional Chinese system of hierarchy and other reasons such as cost. Nowadays this has changed and it is a common phenomenon in Chinese culture too to celebrate a child's birthday, as well as the eldest's.

The other text in this lesson (J.B.3, L.4) is a phone call between Mrs Black and Mary, though the telephone number is not included in the text. The basic authentic linguistic forms are introduced, such as 'This is Tom (speaking). Is that Tom (speaking)?' While in Chinese culture, people would normally say on these occasions 'I am xxx'. Are you xxx?'.

The last of the five texts depicting the daily life in the West involves the introduction of one person to another. The dialogue (J.B.1, L. 11) consists of four pairs of sentences. After the normal greetings from each other, one introduced a new pupil to the other, saying 'This is Mike. He's a new student' (p. 75).

The other 8 texts depicting the target culture are concerned with literature and history. The cultural information included in

those three literary stories is very limited and superficial and cannot be said to be of much value in understanding the contemporary people and their way of life.

One text (J. B. 5, L. 5) tells the story of a group of American men, women, and children who travelled from the east to the west and got to a place now called Salt Lake City and there they started farms and built homes. The story then tells how those people fought against the locusts that came to eat their crops. The farmers seemed to have no way to stop those locusts from eating their crops until millions of seagulls came to eat them. Thus, the farmers' crops were saved and from then on the farmers there decided not to kill even one seagull. They even built a monument to the seagulls.

Another text 'Dustmen On Strike' tells how the dustmen (the geographical location of the characters is not told) struck in order to get more pay and left the streets full of uncollected rubbish. This might be described as a socio-political problem in some target countries: the dustmen's job is regarded as unimportant and therefore they are poorly paid.

Another text (J. B. 6, p. 2) talks about English language through a dialogue between a father and his son, which briefly discusses how English language is widely used in the world.

Another 5 historical stories dealt with 5 different historical characters/events: Miss Evans (J. B. 4, L.13), Nathan Hale (J. B. 5, L. 2), Edison's boyhood (J. B. 5, L. 9), Dr Bethune (J. B. 6, L. 10) and Joe Hill (J. B. 6, L. 2).

"Miss Evans" is a very short story about the tragedy of the 'Titanic' (The text does not actually give any information about the name of the passenger ship or which country this ship belongs to. But, from the content, we know that the happenings in the text refers to the tragic sinking of the British passenger ship in 1912). The story tells that when the ship hit the iceberg and started to go down, it was decided that women and children were to get into the lifeboats to leave the ship first. Because of the shortage of lifeboats, not every woman or child had a chance to leave in the lifeboats. It happened that a mother who was in the sinking ship wanted very much to join her children in the lifeboats, though someone in the lifeboat shouted that there was no more room there. At this time a young woman sitting near the children got up and offered her place to the mother. Soon the ship went down and more than 1,500 people lost their lives, Miss Evans included. The text tells that nobody knows any more

information than that she was Miss Evans and going home to Boston.

"Nathan Hale" tells how Hale (1755-1776), an American Captain in the army, was arrested by the British soldiers when he went to Long Island to get information for the American army about the British army's defence works. When Hale refused General Howe's (a British general in the USA during the period of the American War of Independence, 1729-1814) offer of high rank and pay to work for the British army, Hale was hanged as a spy. What Hale said before dying becomes known among many Americans. That is "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The story "Edison" tells the anecdotes about this American scientist as a boy: he was interested in finding out how things worked; asking questions that had nothing to do with his lessons, etc.

"Dr Bethune" (1890-1939) tells how this Canadian chest surgeon, a member of the Canadian Communist Party and sent by the Communist parties of Canada and the United States, came to China in the spring of 1938 and helped the Chinese army in the war against Japan in some field hospitals with the wounded soldiers. Bethune contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died on November 12th, 1939. Mao Zedong, the Chinese leader then, once wrote three famous articles, one of them is 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' (December 1939). These three articles become very popular and were printed in various editions. Nearly everyone in the country then had one during the 1960s. People read them individually or in groups.

"Joe Hill" tells how Hill (1879-1915), a Swedish-born American, actively took part in the American workers' struggles for better pay and working conditions, how he helped to form trade unions, spoke at meetings and organised strikes. Even when he was in prison he kept on writing songs to keep up the workers' fight against their bosses.

Differently from the three literary stories, these 5 historical ones seem to have little to do with either the actual communication skills of the people or the understanding of the people and the countries whose language is being learned. However, they might help to fulfil other educational aims such as stimulating the pupils' interest in learning the language, enriching the pupils' knowledge or developing the pupils' character.

In the 1982-senior English books one and two, the lessons depicting Western cultures amount to 17% (5 out of the total 30 lessons), which take the forms of literature and history only.

Of the 5 lessons, the topics concerning literary themes, which take the form of literary selections, story, folklore, and drama, take up 4/5 = 80% lessons, while history topics take only the form of introducing famous persons and involves only one lesson.

And again here, while those topics under the heading of literature may be interesting in themselves, they present very little information about modern life in any English-speaking countries. For example, 'All those things are to be answered for' adapted from *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens depicts a very interesting story through the account of a doctor about how the nobles of 18th century France, before the French Revolution, took advantage of the poor. And 'Footprint' adapted from *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe depicts how Crusoe floated to a lonely island where he lived for many years, because his ship struck a rock in a storm and went down.

The text, 'At a tailor's shop' adapted from *The £1,000,000 Banknote* by Mark Twain, tries to convey the idea that money is everything and money makes the world go round. This cultural phenomenon may be still functioning in many cases in the contemporary society all over the world. Thus we may say this text works better than the other ones mentioned in understanding the contemporary society. Nonetheless, no real picture of what the contemporary target people are like is given in an actual modern life situation in terms of family, work, leisure, community or national activities. The one lesson concerning history topic tells about Abraham Lincoln (S. B. 1, L. 6) in terms of his political life and work.

Turning to the 1993-English series, we can see from Table 30 that the cultural topics take up much the same space, compared with the 1982-series.

Compared with the 1982-junior series, the small 'c' culture covers a few more topics such as forms of address, polite expressions, taking turns while waiting in a public place such as a bus stop or a doctor's waiting room. But, these topics, as is the case of the depiction of the small 'c' culture in the 1982-series, are not organised in any thematic manner, they are shallow and superficial in description.

For example, in a short text in Lesson 64 (J.B.1, L. 64), there is a picture of Kate's family members standing before their house in England. The text simply presents Kate's introduction to her family members, without taking the opportunity to tell anything about the British houses: what the houses in Britain look like, how many rooms (such as sitting rooms, bedrooms, bathrooms, etc.) do they usually have inside? Do most English people live in detached houses or apartments in multiple-storyed buildings? Other such related questions might be also very crucial and interesting to the Chinese learners of English in understanding the target people and their way of life.

The best description of the target culture in the whole of the 1993-junior series would be the introduction of Christmas in a unit 'Mainly Revision' instead of in the unit titled 'Merry Christmas'. Although some basic genuine cultural information such as turkey and Christmas puddings are missing, the text tells the usual happenings starting from Christmas Eve till before breakfast on Christmas Day. That may be why the words 'turkey' and 'pudding', two truly authentic pieces of cultural information, are left untouched.

Other authentic anthropological cultural information presented includes the customs of queuing in Britain, taking turns in public places such as seeing a doctor, waiting for a bus etc. Others, such as the forms of address, and polite expressions can also be spotted here and there, though all of these phenomena are depicted rather superficially. The teachers, however, have to be very good at cultural awareness, otherwise all this authentic information might be ignored, because they are not thematically dealt with.

The other four texts that depict the target culture fall into the culture of narrow definition, dealing with literature and history.

In this category of culture, two texts tell the story of Edison, an American inventor, in relation to his childhood, without mentioning what this inventor invented. One text tells about the English language, which is used in the USA, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand as the first language, and in many others as a foreign language. These stories, as presented, may be interesting in themselves or interesting to the pupils in the sense that they are good models in their own life and attractive to their interest in learning English, but may prove to be of little value in facilitating both the pupils' intercultural communicative competence or the

understanding of the people and the country whose language they are learning.

In the 1993-senior series, Volumes 1 & 2, there are 48 texts that are identified as depicting the target culture. But the culture of broad definition drops in quantity, while large 'C' culture increases.

The 10 texts that depict the small 'c' culture repeated some of those in the 1982-series such as telephoning, writing letters, seeing doctors and etc.

Among the high culture topics, history takes the lead. Several topics that appeared in the 1982-series come back again, such as the stories of Abraham Lincoln (S. B. 1, L. 43, 50 & 52); Albert Einstein (S. B. 2, L. 50 & 51). Some literature topics such as 'At a tailor's shop', and 'All these things are to be answered for' never die, and as is always the case, most of these stories might be said to better serve the purpose of language acquisition and the attraction of the pupils interest in learning the language, rather than understand the people and the country.

However, a small number of texts can be said to have conveyed some authentic cultural information about the target culture, which is really helpful in realising the widely accepted cultural aims of intercultural communication and understanding. For example, lessons 9 and 11 (S. B. 1, pp. 9-11) talk about some differences between British English and American English and the basic reasons why those differences occur. Lesson 46 (S. B. 1, p. 46) tells briefly how BBC English is organised and broadcast from London. And some factual knowledge in terms of history, geography, political information about Britain, Ireland, and Scotland is also given, which is indeed very important information to understand the countries and the peoples as well. In much the similar way, those kinds of information are also given about Canada (S. B. 1, L. 10 & 11). The USA, Australia and New Zealand are talked about in volume 3, which is an optional course book.

Another topic about the contrast between cultures is also very helpful to understand the people and the country. There are 6 texts in the 1993-senior textbooks one and two which are involved in the comparison of two cultures, a method advocated by Byram (1989) at all levels of the learning of a foreign language, which can help in understanding not only the target culture but also one's own culture. The text in Lesson Two (S. B. 1, p. 2) is a letter written by Charlie, an American boy, to Li Xiaojun, his pen friend in China. The

content of the letter involves the comparison between Chinese culture and American culture in terms of general weather condition, food, and time differences.

Lesson 25 (S. B. 2, L. 25) deals very briefly with the differences between American and British English. Another two lessons (S. B. 2, L. 10 & 11) talk about the differences of body languages in several countries.

Another two lessons (S. B. 1, L. 58 & 59) involve the comparison of Chinese and Western foods. However, the comparison this time involves 'good' and 'bad', which is not recommended by many theorists, because it implies the devaluation of one culture or a certain aspect of one culture. As the texts says,

The Chinese diet is considered to be the healthiest in the world. It contains a lot of fruit and green vegetables. It is rich in fibre and low in sugar and fat . . . People in the Western world do not eat such healthy foods. They eat too much fat and sugar, and don't take enough exercises (2).

To support this, the writers offer an example of an interview with a doctor, who makes the following comment:

I advise people not to have hamburger. The foods that you buy in hamburger restaurants are high in fat, sugar and salt. All these things are eaten a lot in the West. They are not a healthy diet. As a result, many Westerners die at an early age from heart illnesses. Many of them have weight problems (3).

Another two texts (S. B. 2, L. 10 & 11) involving the comparison of two cultures are well chosen. It involves the comparison between the body languages used in China and Britain, as well as in some other countries such as France, Russia, Arab countries, and Southern African countries. And a special contrast between Chinese and American body languages is made in the form of a close test.

In sum, the target culture presented in both series is, first of all, very limited. In the 1982-junior English series culture topics occupy 15% and 27% in the 1982-senior series, while the proportions actually diminish to 10% in the 1993-junior and 24% in the 1993-senior series.

The culture topics of broad definition presented in the two English series are, in fact, simply confined to the linguistic form practice concerning telephoning, introducing people, thanks, letter writing, greetings and forms of address etc. They are not at all dealt with beyond that. They are, in a sense, isolated and fragmented cultural information. Further background information underlying or accompanying those cultural topics, which might help to see how such patterns function in relation to a given context, is not given for whatever reason. For example, in the following dialogue,

A: Excuse me. What is your full name please?

B: My name is Robert Thomas Brown.

A: Thank you, Mr Robert.

B: No, I'm Mr Brown.

A: Oh, sorry.

B: That's all right. Why don't you call me Robert or Bob? But please don't call me Mr Bob.

A: Thanks, Bob. I won't. (J.B.3, p. 3)

B refused to be called Mr Robert, but the reasons that follows the cultural norms, values, beliefs or customs are not yet told. Although an informal form of addressing is introduced, the dialogue fails to take the opportunity to further demonstrate on what occasions Mr/Mrs/Ms should be used, and when the short forms are used. And on what occasions a professional title may be preferred rather than the polite Mr/Mrs/Ms, or vice versa. The Queen would be probably very unhappy even when she is greeted or addressed by such a polite form as Madame instead of Your Majesty. On some social or academic occasions some people would probably like to be addressed by their professional titles, while they might feel more comfortable to be called by short names on other occasions. Only when those social values underlying these seemingly simple patterns of living are understood can the pupils understand the target people better, and breakdowns in intercultural communication can be avoided to a large extent.

Moreover, the dialogue fails to take the opportunity to make a comparison between cultures while depicting this cultural phenomenon.

Similarly, the cultural routine of introducing people in the two series also lacks a more sensitive and probing dimension. The texts only introduce the learner to the simple linguistic form, namely "This is . . . and That is . . ." They fail to relate those examples to their social and cultural contexts and to the forms of address on

different occasions as well. Thus, it might be quite possible that the pupils would experience an intercultural communication breakdown even though s/he masters those polite linguistic forms fairly well.

Thus, we see that the cultural information of broad definition, limited in quality and quantity in both English series, contributes to the success of intercultural communication and understanding of the people in a very limited sense and at a very superficial level, too.

The cultural topics of narrow definition in the two English series are presented largely in the form of literary selections and stories from the 19th century, and history stories relating to some historical characters. As is briefly discussed in the proceeding pages, those topics might be helpful in enriching the pupils' knowledge and attracting their interest in learning the language, which in turn might be helpful to the pupils' acquisition of language, but might be less helpful in understanding the contemporary people and the country whose language is being learned.

However, a number of topics depicting this category of culture, though limited in quantity, might be considered very helpful in understanding the countries in question such as Britain and Ireland, and Canada. Because of the mixed feature of the cultural information presented those relevant in texts (historical. geographical and sometimes political factual knowledge are given in one single text), some pupils define those texts as "Culture of Britain, Ireland, and Canada etc". The pity here is that several other similar introductions to Australia (S. B. 3, L. 9, 10, 11, 12), USA (S. B. 3, L. 47, 49), and New Zealand (S. B. 3, L. 73, 74) are dealt with in the third book of the 1993-senior English series, which is optional. Thus, the cultural information to help to understand those countries in question might be totally left untouched by the majority of pupils and become a blind spot.

In addition, a number of lessons devoted to the contrast between the Chinese and target culture(s) can be said to have brought a lot more merit to the cultural presentation in the 1993-English series, which works better towards the realisation of the cultural aims of modern language teaching.

Thus, we see that the presented cultural information of narrow definition better suits the purpose of language acquisition and other educational aims rather than those of intercultural communication and understanding. This may correlate with the 1993-syllabus

writers' somewhat narrow understanding of modern language teaching theory and the relationship of language and culture.

All in all, the limited cultural information presented superficially in the two English series serve better in terms of language acquisition rather than intercultural communication and understanding. Not much can be said to contribute to the understanding of the target peoples and the success of intercultural communication.

5.8 Conclusions

It is thus clear from our analysis that the 1982-series does talk about the target culture, but the integration is very limited and its presentation is very superficial. No real picture of the target people and the countries in question can be said to be offered. Nor any help to facilitate the pupils' intercultural communicative competence is obtained. Thus, we may conclude that the 1982-series might fulfil the aims of the 1986-syllabus. We might also claim that the integration of culture in the teaching of English that took place in the 1980s in the Chinese secondary schools was incidental and was completely a consequence of the teachers' taken-for-granted thinking of the relationship of language and culture. This also correlates with the 1986-syllabus, where both the communicative language teaching theory and sociocultural emphasis of language teaching are totally ignored, and which claims to be based on the structuralist and behaviouralist theory of language teaching of the 1950s and 1960s though even this dimension of language teaching has not been comfortably interpreted and demonstrated in both the syllabus and textbooks.

However, in the 1993-syllabuses and textbooks, changes have taken place and the influence of modern language teaching initiated in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s can be easily seen. Large number of 'communicative' dialogues come into this series and the cultural dimension of language teaching is referred to in the teaching aims. But, as is discussed in Chapter 3 and argued in this chapter, the understanding of the communicative language teaching among the writers of the 1993-syllabus and -textbooks proves to be problematic. As our analysis shows, many of the dialogues in the 1993-junior series cannot be said to be qualified as authentic

according to the criteria of Rivers, Byram and Kramsch. And the cultural aims of language teaching are not well recognised or understood in the two 1993-syllabuses. Thus, the presentation of the target culture in the 1993-series shares much the same characteristics as that in the 1982-series. The representation of the target culture demonstrated in the 1993-series cannot be even said to fulfil the narrow cultural aims set up in the 1993-syllabus in terms of understanding the country where the language is spoken.

Lastly, we have to point out that the 1982-syllabus did not at all include the cultural aims of language teaching there. And although the 1993-syllabuses either have implied or narrowly defined the cultural dimension of language teaching, the interpretation of cultural studies theory is rather limited. Thus, as we mentioned in the previous sections, it might not be fair to use such a professional model to evaluate these two series' cultural content while the declared criteria of language teaching are not developing towards that direction. But, by so doing, we can see how far away things are from the 'professional' criteria.

Therefore, the immediate problems from our analysis of the two English series can be seen to be the following:

First of all, the cultural aims should be made crystal clear from the outset in the given educational culture in question in the relevant syllabus and textbook writing in terms of the major aims and sub aims. As is always the case in many language teaching syllabuses, linguistic aims are always emphasised differently according to different stages of learning in terms of listening, speaking, reading and writing. The cultural aims in language teaching should be added to this list.

Second, according to the cultural aims to be emphasised, the cultural content to be integrated into the teaching materials should be carefully selected, and depicted appropriately in depth so as to offer the learners a real picture of the target country, their people and their way of life, all of which will in turn facilitate the learners' ability to communicate with foreigners who are 'others'.

Thus, we will focus on those problems, as well as such other factors that have something to do with the successful implementation of the task in question, for example, the role of the teachers and the implementing approaches etc. and deal with these in the next chapter.

6. Discussions of What and How to Teach English Language Cultures in Chinese Secondary School Foreign Language Teaching

To come to the central aim of this study – to introduce the target culture into Chinese secondary school foreign language classrooms, we shall focus in this chapter on two major issues: what aspects of the target culture are to be introduced, and how to do it. Nonetheless, to complete these tasks is very complex and difficult. For, first of all, culture, as is recognised, is so complex and the formal language teaching classroom hours for secondary school pupils are so limited in most educational systems. Thus, identifying what basic cultural information that can best enable the pupils to function in their intercultural interactions, best help the learners to understand the target people, their way of life and their society, and best help to realise the other educational aims as well should be selected in keeping with the pupils' interest and linguistic and intellectual capacities has become particularly important. However, before getting down to the central point of this chapter, one might ask the following question.

6.1 Is a Cultural Dimension of Language Teaching Possible for the Language Teaching Profession in China?

This seems to be a very crucial question in the Chinese educational culture as many people might be somewhat sceptical because language and culture teaching has always been influenced by the given social and political systems and the economic development. This has been the case illustrated in the course of our overview of the history of language teaching in both China and the West.

6.1.1 The Prospects

First of all, as is reflected in our overview of the Chinese tradition of teaching culture in language teaching, the study of a foreign language as a school subject has been valued throughout the history of education in China. The role of the acquisition of a foreign language has been largely instrumental. The integration of culture in language teaching, as is illustrated in Chapter 3, has been part of the language teaching programme, and has entered into the national curriculum during some periods as a goal. In the current national curriculum for secondary school English teaching, the cultural goal re-appeared.

Seen from an even wider perspective, the study of a foreign language is well received by the Chinese people. The interest in learning a foreign language outside school or university is increasing fast, which might have some bearing on some of the government policies. For example, promotion to any senior academic or technical post in China since the early 1990s has required a successful pass of a test in a foreign language. Owing to the increase of joint ventures, more personnel who understand a foreign language are needed. Furthermore, besides the increasing foreign tourism in China, more and more foreigners come to China and stay for longer periods in terms of studying or working. Thus, many Chinese people have more opportunities to get in touch with foreign people in actual life. These greatly encouraged the learning of a foreign language in China and in turn encourage the foreign language learning and teaching in schools of any kind. The social dimension of foreign language learning can be well anticipated.

The above brief description of the current situation of foreign language learning might be correlated with the findings of a recent inquiry. According to *Qilu Evening Paper* (28/6/1999, p. 10), an inquiry about the language awareness and attitudes towards the study of foreign languages among the Chinese urban inhabitants was carried out jointly by the Institute of Information, Chinese People's University and Japanese National Language Research Institute (1995-1999) in 100 Chinese cities. 3,000 informants aged from 15-69 were selected and interviewed. The aim was to find out what the language environments in China are, such as the attitude towards learning foreign languages, the awareness and values of the mother tongues, English, and Japanese. This is claimed to be the first attempt in China to conduct such a large-scale investigation in the area.

Although the findings added nothing new to language and language teaching/learning theory, it reinforced and confirmed some of the linguists' and sociolinguists' theory of language

learning/teaching in a particular given context. This may be one of the most significant aspects of the work.

The findings reveal that since China was opened to the West in the late 1970s, great changes have taken place in the language environment in China and people's language awareness. The social function of language has become well recognised. Socialisation among people of different regions with different dialects and mother tongues has increased within the country for the reasons of economic, and trade co-operation and travel as well. Co-operation and exchange between China and foreign countries in various fields has become a common part of social practice. About 80% of urban dwellers claimed to have mastered standard Chinese pronunciation. The percentage increases with the decrease of the people's age. Learning a foreign language is still very well received: 70% of the informants claimed that they had learned some English.

The findings also reveal that the importance of the standard Chinese pronunciation is widely accepted among people all over the country. Over 96% of the population hold that standard Chinese pronunciation is a necessity in intra- and inter-cultural communication within China. Thus, 90% of the parents wish their children to learn standard Chinese pronunciation.

The findings also show that standard Chinese pronunciation and dialects are used alternatively according to different communicative situations and different interlocutors. The frequency of using standard Chinese pronunciation in big cities is 20% higher than that in small and medium-sized cities, and 2/3 higher among those who possess a university education than those with a primary education. This might correlate with the investigation findings obtained by William Labov in the 1960s about the phonetic variation among social groups in the urban area of New York.

In some economically and culturally developed areas the prestige of local dialects is still well regarded (90% of the people prefer to use their local dialect within their own community).

According to the investigation, the choice of English still dominates the vast majority who wish to learn a foreign language in the future, while the Japanese language has become the second most common choice replacing Russian. About 60% of the population hold a very positive attitude towards this phenomenon of 'being crazy for learning English'.

Since the acquisition of a foreign language in China is very positively perceived, the foundation has been laid for the integration of culture because language and culture, as is demonstrated in our discussion throughout the work, are so closely related. To ensure successful intercultural communication, whatever form it may take, relevant cultural knowledge certainly plays its part. It can also facilitate and encourage the people's interest in learning the language, the better understanding of the people and their country whose language is being learned. This viewpoint is also shared by the informants of our survey, where nearly all our pupil, teacher, and teacher-trainer informants, irrespective of regions, claimed that they were interested in learning/teaching English language culture(s). They thought culture was (very) important in learning/teaching a foreign language such as English because of the relationship of language and culture, and the vast majority of schoolteacher informants expressed the desire to attend a programme for secondary schoolteachers that is specifically about English language culture(s). All these show a clear message that the integration of culture in Chinese secondary school English language teaching is positively perceived and accepted.

In addition, our overview of the research work in the area in China also demonstrates that a full integration of culture in language teaching is deemed necessary and imperative. The policy-makers in charge of the Chinese secondary school national curriculum and textbook writing also show a clear move toward this direction. This is illustrated by our analysis of both the 1982- and 1993-English series and the English teaching syllabuses of the 1980s and the 1990s. Moreover, the joint efforts with Longman (Britain) to compile Chinese secondary school English teaching textbooks (1993) might be another good example.

Furthermore, the Chinese entry into the world trade organisation may further reinforce the status of the foreign language education in China. All in all, there should be little doubt that a cultural dimension of language teaching in Chinese secondary school foreign language education is to be accepted.

6.1.2 The Challenges

Although the above evidence shows that the prospects for the integration of culture in Chinese foreign language teaching are promising, it might not necessarily follow that a fully comfortable integration of the foreign culture(s) in language teaching in China would be guaranteed without any difficulties or challenges. As is demonstrated in our survey, the majority of informants claim that they do not have enough time to do so, that they lack appropriate cultural teaching materials, that their teaching materials lack cultural information, that the majority of language teachers themselves lack cultural knowledge associated with their language teaching and therefore are not capable of taking up the task and so on. Isolated examples that show ambivalence towards the matter in question from some individual scholars, language learners and their classroom teachers in our survey can also be occasionally pinpointed. For example, while recognising the importance of culture in foreign language teaching, Hu (1982), warns in his article "Cultural Differences and Foreign Language Teaching" that, "In foreign language teaching we should pay attention to the cultural differences, understand and study those differences, but we do not need, nor should we, unrealistically copy and apply. We have our own cultural tradition, our own customs and our own way of speaking. Without understanding and studying foreign cultures, we cannot master the foreign language; to apply and hold in esteem without distinction is by no means the attitudes we should take" (in Hu, 1991, 86).

What Hu suggests here seems to be a Chinese cultural dimension of foreign language teaching in fear of the potential influence of the target culture, though he favours the teaching of cultural differences in foreign language teaching. This seems to be very confusing. One might wonder and argue, what is the significance of paying attention to the cultural difference in language teaching/learning, and what is the significance of studying and understanding those cultural differences in foreign language teaching since the learners are encouraged to stick to their own cultural norms in learning the foreign language? Thus, the meaning of the word 'master' in the above quotation has in turn been clearly constrained in a given frame of reference. And two pupil informants in our

questionnaire survey, which we have already referred to in Chapter 4, expressed a similar viewpoint as the phenomenon of 'banana'.

Still, the reasons for this concern might be roughly identical with those obtained by Xu (1998), which we referred to in the previous chapter when referring to the 1993-English-series authors' attitude toward the integration of culture.

To allay these concerns or fear regarding the teaching of culture in the Chinese context of language teaching, the following scholars and educators, however, have offered very good advice.

In reply to Singer's (1967) argument that one cannot understand a second culture without first understanding one's own, Seelye (1974) argues that, "However, the reverse logic is equally appealing: the only way to understand one's own culture well is to understand another culture first" (47). However, whichever comes first – one's own culture or another culture – it is obvious, according to Singer and Seelye, that one's own culture deepens and strengthens if the learner learns the target culture.

According to Valdes (1986), "It is enough to achieve understanding and acceptance, approval is not essential" (51). Sikkema & Niyekawa (1987) share this view and state "The main objective [of cultural studies] is not to become a specialist in relation to a given culture but to become a cross-culturally flexible person who can understand and deal comfortably and effectively with people from different cultures" (20).

These also echo Byram and Kaikkonen's philosophy in cultural studies/intercultural learning. Byram (1991b) argues forcefully that,

Pupils should be encouraged to suspend their native-culture framework of concepts in order to see the foreign culture from within its own framework. This does not involve abandoning the native culture and social identity but rather establishing the precondition for reflecting on that native culture as well as on the foreign culture. For the perspective on the native culture available from the standpoint of the foreigner is paralleled by the already existing and accepted-as-normal native perspective on the foreign culture. The temporary suspension of the native norms leads to the relativisation of both foreign and native cultures — and the consequent opportunity for meaningful comparison rather than ethnocentric comparison. (202)

In Kaikkonen's view, besides the contribution of intercultural learning to the mastery of the foreign language, the learners learn to understand their own culture even better in the course of intercultural learning. As Kaikkonen maintains, "Intercultural learning is a process where the learner's picture of culture grows wider, with the help of new information about foreign culture and language, increasing at the same time the consciousness of the special features of one's own culture and language" (1996, 49).

However, the above-described ambivalent feelings towards the integration of culture in foreign language teaching in China might be some individual phenomena. This might have some connection with the fact that the debate over the whole matter in question is in a very early stage compared with that in the West and even the understanding of some basic issues such as the relationship of language and culture, the cultural aims in language teaching and the definition of culture are still not dealt with in depth.

Moreover, these individual expressions of concerns or fear do not appear only in the Chinese cultural context. Similar phenomena exist, too, in the European countries. In Finland, for example, complaints about the spread of English can be heard now and then. Such an example can be found even in the Tampere University Newsletter, *Aikalainen* (6/2000, 4-5), where an article titled "Englannin kieli jyrää tieteessä" (The English language dominates in the sciences) made complaints that English has dominated publication in all the sciences in Finland.

And in Sweden, according to Risager, as is noted in Chapter 2 when discussing Risager's discussion of cultural teaching in Scandinavian countries, it is stated in the goals of foreign language teaching that pupils should be able to describe Swedish society in the foreign language, which might imply a Swedish cultural dimension of foreign language teaching.

Yet, these cases should be distinguished from the advocates of the teaching of *landeskunde* during the interwar years in Germany, which we talked about when referring to Buttjes's paper in Chapter 2.

To implement the task of integrating culture in foreign language teaching, the role of teachers becomes another key issue, too. The issue has been frequently referred to by many scholars (e.g. Brooks, 1964; Rivers, 1968; Chastain, 1976; Byram, 1989 and Kaikkonen, 1996, among others) as one of the most important

aspects to the successful integration of culture. Nonetheless, considering the fact that most serving teachers were trained in the field of linguistics or literature, not any of the social sciences at all, which can better help them to complete the task of teaching culture in their language teaching, the issue has been regarded at the same time by those scholars as a serious problem. This is because they believe most of the teachers are not qualified to deal with the matter effectively and confidently owing to their lack of this kind of knowledge. Generalisation or stereotyping might occur when they attempt to teach culture. As Chastain (1976) warns "One danger in teaching culture is that the second-language teachers may attempt to teach culture when they do not have the knowledge or expertise to do so. Such attempts may do more harm than good. If the second culture is presented in such a way that false impressions arise, the alternative of no culture is preferable" (405).

Nonetheless, the situation in the Chinese context might be even more complex than that. Apart from the teachers' lack of knowledge in the field of social sciences, as most teacher informants themselves recognised, many of them are not even qualified to be in the post as a language teacher in its narrow sense. According to the State Statistical Bureau (1989), based on the records of teachers' formal education, 11 percent of the college teachers, 59 percent of the upper secondary schoolteachers, 64 percent of the lower secondary schoolteachers and 32 percent of the primary schoolteachers are not adequately prepared for their teaching posts (in Zhao, 1993, 24).

However, there may be a slow improvement taking place, for, according to Dai (1998), there are about 474,000 teachers of English, who are undertaking the teaching of English to 50,000,000 lower secondary pupils and 7,690,000 upper secondary pupils. Among those teachers of English, 43.8% of upper secondary schoolteachers and 84.4% of lower secondary schoolteachers possess the relevant educational qualifications²⁸.

The situation in the rural areas is even more disappointing however. According to Yi (1994) there are 72 town secondary schools in Minquan County of Henan Province and 280 teachers of English. Among those teachers 40 (15%) have a diploma of two- or

²⁸ According to the criteria set up by the Ministry of Education, those who teach at lower secondary school should possess a three-year professional training diploma at a college; those who teach at the upper secondary schools should have a four-year professional training at a teachers' university.

three-year professional training, 180 (65%) are upper secondary school graduates, 50 (18%) have an education in technical secondary teachers' school, 10 (3.5%) are lower secondary school graduates and those who studied English by themselves.

Of the 128 teachers of English in Xincheng of Guangxi Province, about 30 have an education of three-year college professional training or university degrees, the rest are those who teach junior pupils after they finished their senior secondary school education and those with a non-English major education.

Moreover, the lack of tradition in research in the study of culture in language teaching and in foreign language teaching in general can also be a very serious problem in the long run to facilitate the implementation of the task. As is mentioned above, the narrow cultural aims of foreign language teaching appeared during the 1920s and the 1930s and later in the 1990s in the teaching syllabuses. But there was no discussion of why those changes were made. And the few published articles concentrated on the general discussion of the importance and the necessity of the matter, while offering a few examples based on personal experience. Those articles usually lack a theoretical basis and therefore lack credibility. This lack of tradition of research in foreign language teaching has been clarified by the inquiry conducted by Sun in 1998.

Sun's inquiry was based on the analysis of the 675 articles which appeared during 1995-97 in two major academic journals, "Primary & Secondary School Foreign Language Teaching", and "Primary & Secondary School Foreign Language Teaching & Research". The findings reveal that in terms of research method and data processing, most articles are descriptive (69.2%). And most of the research (81.3%) do not rely on data, nor qualitative analysis. They are simply the summary or description of some individual experiences. They lack theoretical basis, nor do they draw on the research findings from the relevant fields. Thus, to promote the teaching of culture in foreign language teaching, both theoretical and empirical research are needed to further help the matter in question. And some in-depth theoretical discussion is also fundamental. Otherwise, the proposed practice cannot go far before it vanishes.

Considering the problem of the qualifications of many teachers of English in Chinese secondary schools, namely not only the problem of the shortage of the professional knowledge in teaching culture, but also the problem of formal education received in the field, all of which are recognised by the informants in our survey, the integration of culture in language teaching does seem to be a remote target for the profession to aim at.

However, the roles of textbook, examinations, teachers, and pupils and the relationship between them function differently in many aspects in the Chinese educational system from those in the West. Firstly, both teachers and pupils regard the textbooks in the Chinese context as an absolute authority, which are reliable and written by experts and which are accepted as facts, truth and indisputable documents. The textbooks and the accompanying exercise books are almost the only materials that a teacher has to teach. Both the teacher and the students concentrate on their textbooks exclusively. It happens so often that a teacher may teach the very same textbook for many years running.

Secondly, examinations are based almost exclusively on textbooks. The schoolteachers, parents and the pupils think highly of scores themselves. The final year pupils in both lower and upper secondary schools who achieve high goals in the last few important examinations are usually accepted respectively by some famous upper secondary schools and universities without taking any further official matriculation examination. Competition between pupils, which also implies a competition between the teachers, is very strong. A teacher whose pupils perform the best in all kinds of examinations is usually regarded as the 'best' teacher. Similarly, pupils who do their lessons well are regarded as the 'best' pupils. To a larger extent, the quality of education at school is measured by the criterion of examination achievements of the pupils. Therefore, in a way the teachers teach for the sake of examinations, while the pupils in both types of school learn for the sake of examinations, striving respectively for a place in a better-known upper secondary school or a higher educational institution.

Thirdly, a teacher of English in China, as any other teacher of any other subject in China, teaches that relevant subject only. A teacher is supposed to know everything in the textbooks. A teacher concentrates on explaining a text during the 45-minute class, usually two or three paragraphs that equal about half a page or more in amount, offering examples of models of isolated sentences, or sentence structures, or asking the pupils to do so instead. There seems to be no tradition for a teacher to relate her/his own personal experience during a class. Teachers seldom, nor are they supposed

to, offer any knowledge beyond the textbook that is not related to the point being dealt with. The knowledge/information that is outside the textbooks but can benefit the pupils on a long-term basis seems not to be welcomed by the majority of pupils, which is, they would normally think, off the point. And in fact few teachers can offer any experience of foreign culture. The teacher, besides the classroom teaching, spends most of the time studying the textbooks and correcting the pupils' homework. They seldom read other books such as books on language teaching theory, or pedagogy. What is in a teacher's mind is how to indoctrinate their pupils with the knowledge from the textbooks, encourage and ensure them to perform best in the examinations. The central point of being a 'qualified' teacher at the moment in China might be one who can best transfer the textbook knowledge to their students, who then perform well in their examinations. Thus, a full understanding of the textbooks with the help of the teachers' books would be normally enough to make a teacher 'qualified' in many Chinese school classrooms in a sense.

With the help of the traditional way of language teaching, the foreign language teaching task in Chinese secondary schools might not appear that challenging or demanding in a way. And in many cases those who received less formal professional training might do equally good or even better jobs than those who received more formal education. This can be partly clarified by the national entrance examination to colleges and universities. The average admission scores for the students from the major cities where the students are taught by more 'qualified' teachers are usually lower than those for the students from smaller cities or counties, where the students are taught by relatively less qualified teachers. The reasons are many. They might include the following: the less qualified teachers may realise that they are less qualified and they have to study the textbooks thoroughly. In other words, they have to work harder. They learn equally well from experience which part of the knowledge is the most important or least important. They might ask the students to work harder, too, to make up for the disadvantage. The less qualified teachers may use the exercise books written by experienced teachers in the area as guides in their classroom teaching. They might not be able to explain in many places why some answers to some questions are better choices over the others. They just ask the students to remember and practise them. The most capable teachers may teach the same group of pupils from the very beginning till their final year at school, while less capable ones might teach only the same year group level repeatedly year after year.

Moreover, pupils play an absolutely secondary role in actual Chinese classroom activities. Students do not usually ask questions in class during the course of the lesson. They usually listen quietly to the teacher, and make notes at the same time in the course of the lesson and go over the notes after class at school or at home. If they do ask after class or during the time when the teacher encourages the pupils to do so, those questions are usually well connected with the lesson they are learning at the time. Students seem to know very well that they are not supposed to ask any questions that have nothing to do with the lesson, which might make the teacher lose 'face' if s/he happens to be unable to give the correct answer. The pupils, too, are supposed to master the textbook knowledge that is transferred to them by the teacher. A student spends almost all of the time on the study of the textbooks and the accompanying exercises during his/her school career.

In brief, the less qualified teachers might be able to manage to transfer textbook knowledge, yet, they might not indeed be able to teach beyond the textbook knowledge. For example, they might not be able to frequently relate the language teaching to its appropriate social context, if the textbooks do not tell them to do so. In other words, if they are left alone with the task of teaching culture, they might not be able to do so, even if they are provided with the best theory and methodology.

6.1.3 Teaching Language and Culture for Intercultural Understanding Through Textbooks

As is briefly discussed in Chapter 2, we identified two major pedagogical trends in the teaching of culture in modern language teaching: teaching culture through the direct teaching of language; and the cultural studies approach to language teaching, which is placed in a wider context of language teaching as a separate course.

With respect to the first approach, as was briefly discussed in Chapter 2, it emphasises mostly the teaching of the target culture and the integration of culture is largely perceived as the facilitation of communication. This dimension of teaching culture in language teaching is highlighted by the Communicative Language Teaching, which has dominated the language teaching practice around the world since the 1970s. The teaching of culture illustrated by the Communicative Approach or 'language for touring', to use Byram's term, means to encourage the learners to learn by rote a large number of expressions for given situations, which are mostly those that might be encountered by a tourist and therefore are seen from the foreigner's viewpoint. The process of further socialisation through the language which "embodies the values, beliefs and meanings which the members of a given society, or part of it, share by virtue of their socialisation into it and their acceptance of and identification with it" (Byram, 1991a, 5) is not usually dealt with. Thus, the opportunity for reflection on one's own language and culture or the educational value of language teaching is not a primary concern of the approach. In this perspective, this approach of teaching culture is narrow in relation to foreign language education.

The Cultural Studies Approach, however, has a very close relationship with the Communicative Language Teaching or 'language for touring' approach of teaching culture. Since the 1980s, communicative language teaching has rapidly been developed in Europe in both theory and practice. This has been reflected in the European elementary and secondary school foreign language textbooks analysed by Risager and Byram, which we referred to in the previous chapters. As Byram (1991a) notes, "The usual emphasis in communicative language teaching on competence performance is reflected in *Action!* in the stress on learning linguistic usage in situational context" (174). As can be seen from the above approach has this limited the learners' brief discussion, understanding of the value-systems and beliefs that exist in the target culture, which can better help to understand the target people and their way of life. Moreover, the target institutions such as politics and religions are not usually dealt with, because a tourist does not seem to need to know these aspects of the target culture. Thus, we may say that Communicative Language Teaching or 'language for touring' favours language learning, and the inclusion of culture conveyed through Communicative Language Teaching is indeed narrow.

Such being the case, the Cultural Studies Approach or 'language for intercultural understanding', which, according to Byram, embraces the 'language for touring' and 'language for reading' or covers the teaching of culture for both performance and competence, might serve a better function. The learners' ultimate goal is to achieve better intercultural competence, a fuller understanding of the target people, their way of life and their society as well. Nonetheless, Byram (1991a) warns that "The phrase 'cultural studies' serves to right the balance which has always been tipped in favour of *language* learning but we hope it will not tip it too far in the direction of 'French/German/European/etc. Studies' as practised in some schools in the past and even to some extent today" (16). In fact, some of the discussions and practical procedures that are following this approach in dealing with the issue in question did seem, to some extent, to be in favour of the later.

Thus, while fully sharing the view of teaching culture expressed by 'language for intercultural understanding', we will combine the two and reallot appropriate weight to each aim in the teaching of culture in language teaching to make the issue work better in the Chinese educational culture. This is because of the differences between the Western language teaching background and their educational systems and the Chinese ones. For example, the Communicative Language Teaching in Europe is better understood and implemented by the language teaching profession there and cultural dimension of language teaching is fairly well demonstrated in the European foreign language teaching textbooks. And the contact between European inhabitants is much more extensive and frequent. Working, studying and living in a neighbouring state can be a normal part of people's life there. Thus, the narrowly defined approach of teaching culture implied by the Communicative Language Teaching seems to be out of tune with the present European integration.

But in many countries outside Europe, like China, situations might be different. 'Language for reading' might still be the focus of language teaching. Even when the Communicative Language Teaching entered the Chinese secondary English language teaching textbooks in 1993, the approach is not interpreted properly because of the lack of language teaching research tradition. This implies that even the tourist culture teaching in language teaching is not well presented. This is demonstrated by our analysis of the 1993-series.

Moreover, in the already so crowded Chinese school syllabuses, to make room for a separate course seems to be very difficult. On the other hand, this will first of all add to the current problem of the shortage of qualified in-service secondary schoolteachers of English. And secondly, as our teacher informants themselves complained, they do not seem to be able to find time to do a nice and 'extra' job of cultural integration into their language teaching. Taking all these factors into consideration, including those we discussed in the previous section, we would suggest, following the cultural teaching theory developed by the Cultural Studies, a dimension of teaching language for intercultural understanding through the textbooks. This seems to be the best way at the moment to make the teaching of culture more systematic and consistent with a secured official status. This is also correlated with the suggestions put forth by the vast majority of informants from the three different groups in our survey, where they all support the idea of teaching language and culture through such a method. At the same time, this can solve almost all the problems that the teacher informants identified in our survey (for detailed information, refer to Chapter 4) related to the integration of culture in teaching the language.

As is revealed by our research and generally recognised by many theorists and educators, there are two major factors among others that directly affect the quality of language and culture teaching. One is the teaching staff themselves. The other is the textbooks. And of the two factors, we think textbooks play a more important role. This is because the quality and quantity of the teachers are often determined by the subjective and objective conditions of the school management, while a highly-qualified set of textbooks may themselves serve as a standard model for the teachers' teaching practice and help the 'less qualified' teachers to teach more effectively. This is especially true of the Chinese educational system.

Since the textbooks play such an important role, which is well recognised by both the theorists and educators, e.g. Brooks, 1964, Rivers, 1968, Chastain, 1986, Byram, 1989, 1994 among others and our informants (for detailed information, refer to sections 4.2; 4.3 & 4.4) and our analysis of the textbook cultural content reveals a serious shortage of the systematically organised cultural knowledge/information, we will focus on the issue of improving and remedying the cultural content in those textbooks in terms of future

textbook-writing in a later section, which might also be used as guidelines in classroom language and culture teaching before the improved textbooks appear.

6.1.4 A Model and Theory for Teaching Language and Culture

To be successful in intercultural communication in a foreign language with the target people, to understand the target people, their value-systems and their way of life and their country, the acquisition and understanding of the target culture(s) from within becomes a key issue. This has been discussed in the course of this study and well recognised by many scholars and educators such as Byram (1989, 1991, 1997, 1998), Kramsch (1991, 1993), Morgan (1995, 1996, 1998) and Kaikkonen (1996, 1997) among others. However, as is recognised by Byram (1989), in primary and secondary school foreign language and culture learning, the learners' linguistic competence is far behind their maturation and socialisation process. In other words, the learners' capacities for understanding and dealing with a target cultural phenomenon prevail over their linguistic competence. Since a large part of the target culture is often analysed and interpreted in adult terms, to understand the target culture from within with the help of the learners' existing linguistic knowledge so as for them to gain intercultural competence seems to be a problem. As Byram (1989) maintains, ". . . the pupils are linguistically far behind their peers in the foreign culture and . . . the cultural analysis available is ahead of the cultural competence of even those foreign peers. The obvious solution of concentrating on linguistic competence teaching until pupils began to approach their peers' competence, and then reanalysing the culture in terms of the competence of adolescents will not, of course, do" (101).

To solve the problem, and develop in learners the intercultural competence through the teaching of language and culture in classroom, Byram (1989) suggests two approaches to the teaching of language and culture:

first, the use of learners' first language as the medium of study of a foreign culture taught according to the principles of appropriate disciplines, although without the intention of introducing the learner to the totality of the culture. Second, the integration of language and culture learning by using the language as a medium for the continuing socialisation of pupils is a process which is not intended to imitate and replicate the socialisation of native-speaker peers but rather to develop pupils' cultural competence from its existing stage, by changing it into an intercultural competence. It is in sharp contrast with the practice of providing pupils with a consumer-tourist competence, which offers them the opportunity to reach a critical threshold, enabling them to survive in the foreign and, by implication, hostile environment of the foreign country. What is at issue here is a modification of monocultural awareness. From being ethnocentric and orientated simply towards boundarymarking phenomena, as seen from their existing viewpoint, learners are to acquire an intercultural awareness, which recognises the function of boundary-markers and the existence of other centres of ethnic identity with different perspectives on both boundarymarking and unmarked phenomena. (137)

In Byram's view, these two approaches should be combined, namely to combine the use of the learners' mother tongue for comparative analysis of own and foreign cultural meanings with the teaching of the foreign language both as a subject and as the medium of experience of foreign phenomena. This viewpoint is also shared by some of our informants in our survey. For instance, some pupil informants argue that "I hope the teacher will explain those stories in words and phrases that we have learned. If the words and phrases fail to express the knowledge, Chinese translation can be used. In this way, we can gain more knowledge, improve our listening and promote our interest in learning English" (cited on Section 4.2.4, A).

The whole process of the model, according to Byram, involves four components: Language Learning, Language Awareness, Cultural Awareness, and Cultural Experience. As is illustrated in the following figures.

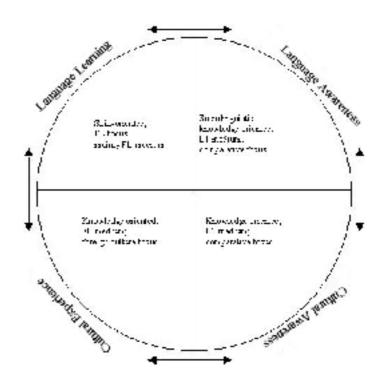


Figure 3 A Model for Foreign Language Education (cited from Byram, 1989)

According to Byram, the Language Learning component involves the learning of language as a skill-acquisition. Language Awareness involves the study of the nature of language as a social and cultural phenomenon. "The purpose of a Language Awareness course is to make pupils conscious of the role of language in their lives and in the life of their and other societies" (36). This component also involves the analysis of sociological and structural aspects of language. The development of Language Awareness teaching is also of significance to the children's personal development and helps them to gain a positive and realistic attitude towards language learning by having a general understanding of the nature of language. In Byram's view, the development of language awareness can also be carried out through the comparison between the similarities and differences between the learners' own and the target languages, such as different degrees of formality.

Cultural Awareness, according to Byram, serves a similar purpose as the language awareness component. In addition, "the cultural awareness component is also concerned with non-linguistic dimension of culture and more focused on the question of change from monocultural competence" (142).

Thus, according to Byram, the cultural awareness component deals with the phenomena of the target culture, provides further opportunities for the comparative study of both foreign and native language by examining the use of the target language in the target culture, and "cause[es] learners to reflect on and explicate their own key cultural concepts, however disconcerting this may be, thereby making them see themselves as other do and modifying their existing schemata and cultural competence" (144). As Byram goes on to argue:

The content of this component would be in part drawn from the language learning and language awareness components and in part dependent on the cultural experience component of the model. For the cultural experience component would of necessity give little opportunity for reflection, both because the emphasis would be on immediacy and directness of experimental learning and because, taking place in the foreign language, learners would need the chance to stand back from the experience and reflect upon it in their first language. (144)

Cultural experience, according to Byram, involves "the direct experience of selected aspects of the foreign language from the view point and within the ethnic identity of the foreign peer group" (138), which is to be carried out in the foreign language. This fourth component of the model can serve as a bridge between the study of culture and the learning of language. Nevertheless, Byram points out,

... it is not simply an opportunity to apply or put into practice the abstract cultural study and the rehearsal of linguistic skills. For this fourth component introduces another kind of learning, through direct experience, of the relationship between language and culture, of the way in which language is part of culture and also embodies the whole. (144-145)

Cultural experience, according to Byram, is widely available to pupils in secondary schools nowadays, such as through educational visits, exchange holidays, contact with the target people and so on. Yet, we have to add here that this is a very European view and a very rare phenomenon for the Chinese secondary school pupils and elsewhere outside Europe as well. However, according to Byram, not all cultural experiences have to take place in the foreign country. As Byram argues, "That aspect of a study abroad which consists of using the foreign language to cope with new experience by modifying schemata, can also be found in the classroom when pupils are taught through the foreign language" (145).

The four components of the model, according to Byram, are interdependent on each other. The allocation of time to each separate component can vary, depending on the different period of learning.

6.2 An Overview of the Suggested Cultural Content to be Included in Language Teaching

It is obvious from our overview of the research in the area in both the Chinese and Western contexts that this aspect of the work has not received the kind of serious attention so far in terms of implementation from theory to practice. Theoretically well-founded empirical research is rare. The profession has not yet worked out any models that are intended for any specific level of foreign language teaching, which can be successfully integrated into the language teaching/programme. There seems to be still lots of work to do for both the theorists and practitioners of the area.

In the Chinese context, as is revealed in Chapter 3, although the teaching of culture has been part of foreign language teaching programme most of the time, taking the form of refinement either explicitly or implicitly, there seems to be no discussion of the matter for whatever reason in terms of what specific aspects of culture should be selected from the vast corpus of the cultural matrix. Even in the 1980s and the whole of the 1990s, when the discussion of teaching culture in language teaching grows bigger in volume following the international debate over the matter, the issue of the cultural aspects to be included in language teaching is discussed in a very small number of papers and at a very general mode. No

discussion seems to go further than that. And the discussion of the matter in relation to the secondary school foreign language teaching is extremely rare.

However, more discussion of the matter exists in the West. In 1964 Brooks suggested 62 cultural topics, arguing that the point of view from which to present such topics should be that of a young person of the age and status of the pupils being addressed and that of such a person as he goes about his daily tasks, rather than a historian viewing the total experience of a civilisation or an architect surveying the blueprint of a complicated structure. In a word, in Brooks' view, the culture to be integrated into the pupils' learning of the language should be realistic and comprehensive to the learners and closely related to the learners' experience. "It is culture in this technical, scientific sense that has been so misunderstood and so inadequately presented in our classrooms" (Brooks, 1964, 95). At the same time Brooks did not reject the integration of high culture, maintaining that the central point of presenting culture in all its meanings should be the view of life as seen from within the new speech community, especially by individuals who are in circumstances comparable to those of the student (96), an argument shared by Byram (1989, 1991, 1994) and others.

However useful, valuable and "closely" related to the pupils' life those 62 topics by Brooks are, they cover such a wide range of areas that it seems impossible to include them all. Firstly, in some places the selection and grading of these topics might need further consideration and thematically organising or they will tend to become fragmentary, trivial and overlapping in meaning. For example, such topics as 'Greetings, friendly exchange, Farewells', 'The morphology of personal exchange', 'Level of speech', 'Patterns of politeness', 'Respect', 'Intonation patterns', 'Verbal taboos'; 'Festivals', 'Holidays' and 'Observation of Sundays'; 'Sports' and 'Games' etc. can be thematically organised.

Secondly, there seems to be no discussion that the suggested 62 topics are related to any specific cultural aims of language teaching. Moreover, how to present these suggested topics also clearly remains a problem undiscussed: to teach them as a separate course or integrate them into the textbooks or some other ways? Although Brooks did examine some school and college foreign language textbook cultural contents and came to the conclusion that

both authors and publishers have operated without benefit of the anthropologist's concept of the word. Apart from culture in the *refinement* sense, these books present, in picture and in print, little more than the colourful, quaint, and the inoffensive. They often give details of geography, climate, and economic life but do not relate these to the most important characteristics of the culture. Only a selected number of surface appearances are considered, and there is no attempt to give a cross section of what is in fact to be observed or to explore the meaning which behaviour has for the individual through an analysis and interpretation of the value system that is the heart of his culture. (88)

there is simply no discussion about the link between the textbook content and the 62 suggested topics. They thus simply remain isolated topics forming a cultural corpus from which teachers may select and which can be integrated into their language teaching as needed. Thus, it is apparent that these topics clearly lack an official status. This may be well illustrated by Brooks' explanation of the purpose of the 62 cultural topics, "The following list of topics (by no means exhaustive) may be considered as items for such 'hors d'oeuvre' in the language classroom' (89-90). This does not seem to be compatible with his well argued theory of language and culture.

Thirdly, if we examine those topics alone, they might be argued to lack balance in terms of Risager's criterion of realism. The socio-political aspect and historical and geographical aspects of culture are simply missing from this list. The social problem aspect of culture is not presented there, either. And also, the list of topics lacks an intercultural dimension of language teaching. There is no evidence that the learners' own culture is included by any means. If some of these aspects of cultural information might exist in the existing textbooks, there is no discussion of it. Thus, it brings about our following suggestion - the need to analyse the current teaching materials in use to see how the cultural content is presented there is also necessary so as to avoid overlapping or missing of the important issues, which might become 'the blank areas'.

In 1968, Brooks created another model. Based on his recognition of the five types of culture (Biological growth, Personal refinement, Literature and the fine arts, Patterns for living and The sum total of a way of life) and the profile of ten-point culture (symbolism, value, authority, order, ceremony, love, honour, humour, beauty and spirit), Brooks suggests that cultural studies

should be integrated into language teaching in three phases. In phase 1, according to Brooks, patterns for living should be first integrated into language teaching. In the second phase, the teaching of patterns for living with language teaching should be continued, but literature and fine arts and the sum total a way of life should be added. In the third phase, a systematic study of culture through the ten-point profile should be carried out with the study of language.

Brooks is quite right in that he seems to have taken the learners' age and linguistic capacity factors into account and related the teaching of culture closely to the students' existing experience. However, besides some of the problems we talked about in the preceding paragraphs, some crucial problems still remain: how to interpret each type of cultural category? What specific aspects from each type of culture are to be selected and where can they be obtained? Moreover, how can one tell when students are ready for a given phase of instruction and other similar questions?

Nostrand (1971) developed his model, which is thematically organised and was modified in different publications. It includes the following headings and subheadings (cited in Seelye, 1984, 41-42):

1. The culture

- A. Main themes
- C. Assumptions about reality
- E. Art forms
- G. Paralanguage and kinesics
- 2. The society and its institutions
- - A. Family
 - C. Economic-occupational
 - E. Educational
 - G. Recreational
 - I. Stratification and mobility
- B. Religion

F. Language

D. Political and judicial

B. Ethos or national characters

D. Verifiable knowledge

- F. Intellectual-aesthetic
- H. Communication
- J. Social proprieties
- K. Status of groupings by age and sex
- L. Status of ethnic and religious minorities
- M. Interpersonal and intergroup conflicts
- 3. Conflict
 - A. Conflict and conflict resolution
 - B. Defence and adjustment mechanism
- 4. The ecology
 - A. Attitudes toward nature
- B. Exploitation of nature
- C. Use of natural products
- D. Technology
- E. Settlement and territorial organisation

- F. Transportation and travel
- 5 The individual
- 6. The cross-cultural environment
 - A. Attitudes towards other cultures
 - B. Attitudes toward international and supranational organisations

Pfister and Borzilleri (1977) suggested their model, which consists of five categories (cited in Oggamio, 1986, 168).

1. The family unit and the personal sphere

A. Family relationship

B. Eating and shopping

C. Housing

2. The social sphere

A. Class structure

B. Work

C. Leisure

D. Attitude toward sex

E. Population

3. Political system and institutions

A. Government

B. Education

C. Law and justice

4. The environmental sphere

A. Geography

B. Economic development

C. Urban versus rural

D. Natural resources and environment

E. Weather

5. Religion, arts, and the humanities

A. Role of churches

B. Folklore and history

C. Literature, music, creative arts.

Compared with Nostrand's model, Pfster and Borzilleri's model seems to be more accessible to the secondary school foreign language teaching and closer to the learners' existing experience. The advantage of Nostrand's model is perhaps the intercultural elements presented in it. However, if we first put aside the issue of whether those cultural topics can be comfortably integrated into the pupils' ongoing language learning and whether these topics interest the pupils and are within their intellectual capacities, how to translate these topics into the actual language teaching materials and classroom activities might remain an issue to be further discussed. Furthermore, what the integration of these cultural topics are aimed

at also remains undiscussed. Other similar problems as we identified in the previously cited models also remain.

Chastain (1976) suggested 44 thematically organised cultural topics, based largely on the anthropological definition of culture, arguing that "This list has been prepared from an anthropological perspective, a value's point of view, and from the students' point of view. Both similarities and differences between cultures should be included. Comparisons and contrasts are always implied" (389).

Compared with all the above-cited models, Chastain's list of cultural topics is perhaps the most advanced in terms of Risager's criteria of realism. The anthropological aspect of culture is placed at the centre of the list, and the social problems such as drugs, generation gap, crime are clearly included. The intercultural dimension of teaching culture is involved. The non-verbal dimension of culture is also included. Political and historical matters are included under such headings as "The social system", "Youth participation in politics", and "The Economic systems".

However, a few other topics might seem to be a bit hard to put into secondary school classroom language teaching, such as "Women's liberation", War and peace", "Change and progress", "Ecology", "Law". And also a number of headings seem to need further merging, for example, "Typical student activities", "Education", and "Discipline"; "Parents", "Youth view of parenthood", "The generation gap" and "Youth participation in politics"; "Typical conversation", "Courtesy phrases" etc. More importantly, Chastain's 44 suggested cultural topics lack an official status in foreign language teaching in terms of not only practice but also theory. As is demonstrated in Chastain's following statement:

For those students who anticipate having contact with speakers of the second language in social situations, special emphasis should be given to courtesy phrases and kinesics. Students should be familiar with what to say in certain regularly occurring situations. They should be prepared to respond, for example, when being introduced to someone, meeting a friend, ordering in a restaurant, asking for information, or receiving a compliment. In addition, they should be acquainted with facial expressions, gestures, and tones of voice that are normally used in specific situations and that carry important social and psychological implications. (392)

In fact, Chastain offers very good advice, but the message is addressed rather narrowly. This may in turn bring up the question of teaching language and culture for all, or for some of the relevant pupils only. This might correlate with Chastain's attitude towards the cultural aims of foreign language teaching, which also lacks official status:

In considering the cultural goals in second language classes, the teacher should have realistic expectations. Just as few students will become bilingual, few will become bicultural. In elementary courses, the teacher should be concerned with comprehension and familiarity. Affinity for and commitment to a second culture is a personal matter that should remain in the realm of the students' own prerogative. (384)

Thus, such a wonderfully prepared list for the teaching of culture by Chastain is somewhat shadowed by the confusing interpretations of the theory of teaching language and culture.

However, Seelye (1984) among others partly solved the above problems and approached the problem of what aspects of culture should be taught from a different perspective. Instead of identifying the aspects that should be included, whatever means is employed, Seelye listed seven cultural objectives in language teaching. They include:

- 1. The sense, or Functionality, of Culturally Conditioned behaviour. The student should be able to demonstrate an understanding that people act the way they do because they are using the options the society allows for satisfying their basic physical and psychological needs.
- 2. Interaction of Language and Social Variables. The student should demonstrate an understanding that social variables such as age, sex, social class, and place of residence affect the way people speak and behave.
- 3. Conventional Behaviour in Common situations. The student should indicate an ability to demonstrate how people conventionally act in the most mundane and crisis situations in the target culture.
- 4. Cultural Connotations of Words and Phrases. The student should indicate an awareness that culturally conditioned images are associated with even the most common target words and phrases.

- 5. Evaluating Statements about a Society: The student should demonstrate the ability to evaluate the relative strength of a generality concerning the target culture in terms of the amount of evidence substantiating the statement.
- 6. Researching Another Culture. The student should show that he or she has developed the skills needed to locate and organise information about the target culture from the library, the mass media, people, and personal observations.
- 7. Attitudes towards Other Cultures. The student should demonstrate intellectual curiosity about the target culture and empathy toward its people (58-58).

If we move closer now to Seelye's model we can interpret two major general aims of language teaching there: intercultural communication and the understanding of the people and the country.

However, Seelye's model seems to lack an intercultural dimension, too. Moreover, some problems that we identified in the previous models still remain. More importantly, how to grade and translate these cultural aims into the practical classroom activities, namely what specific cultural topics are to be selected, in what order, and where to get them, also remain undiscussed.

Nonetheless, Byram and Cain (1998) offered a more systematically processed model of cultural topics in a research project. The whole project was referred to in Chapter 2. Although the central aim of the project is not focused on the production of teaching materials, yet it did involve this aspect of work and a body of knowledge has been worked out and taught as such during a period of three years parallel with the language teaching.

If we go back to the whole procedure and the involvement of the cultural topic selection, we will note that the selection criteria for the cultural topics created by Byram et al. have the following breakthroughs, compared with the similar work done so far:

- (1) It is clearly associated with the specific cultural aims.
- (2) The selection of teaching materials technically follows a set of criteria such as the learners' age, linguistic and intellectual capacity factors and their interest as well. Moreover, there is some indication on the side of the English team that the selection of teaching materials is based on the analysis of the cultural content in the textbooks in use.
- (3) The selection is intended for a specific age group of learners, namely, the lower and upper secondary school pupils.

There seems to be no room for argument over the procedures of the cultural teaching material selection involved. However, the following critical questions might be asked.

- 1). As we argued in an early chapter, since the aim of the project is to "foster the acquisition of a cultural competence, that is the ability to interpret social phenomena which the students may encounter in the course of their contact with another culture, these contacts being either direct or mediated during the language class; develop such flexibility in the students that they can accept other interpretative systems and relate them to their own" (Byram et al. 1998, 37), we may also interpret the aim of the project as that of cultural studies/civilisation in French and English schools, because the project is meant to introduce civilisation/cultural studies in French and English schools. Then, one might argue: Are these cultural aims compatible with the general cultural aims of language teaching? Aren't the aims of cultural studies set up in the project very broad and capable of different interpretations? This was indeed interpreted differently by the two teams: the English team selected exclusively a body of cultural knowledge emphasising social anthropological and ethnographical dimensions, while the French team selected largely a body of historical cultural knowledge. This emphasis of the historical dimension approach of teaching culture in language teaching has been the tradition throughout the history of language and culture teaching and has been complained about by many contemporary scholars (e.g. Rivers, 1968, 272-273) for its little help to the learners in their intercultural interactions and their understanding of the target people and their way of life.
- 2) As for the cultural topics selected by the French team especially for the junior groups, can pupils of this age group really manage to learn the knowledge transferred in the foreign language? In other words, have the French learners' intellectual and linguistic capacities really been taken into account when selecting the concerned body of knowledge? Thinking of the following excerpt from a class of English as a foreign language in Germany that was observed by Buttjes (1995, 54), which might be also very representative of a language beginning course around the world,

Teacher: This is a chair. Chorus of students: This is a chair.
T.: Mango St.: This is a Mango.

T.: TableT.: This is a table.T.: ThatSt.: This is a that.

T.: No, think please. St.: This is a think please.

T.: No, a thousand times no! (pause) Very bright student: That

is a table.

T.: Ah! Correct . . . Eye. St. B.: I is a table.

St. C.: I am a table.

we might wonder how can the majority of pupils of this level of language learning cope with a ten-hour cultural course instructed in the target language such as one of the three topics intended for this group of pupils: "Housing in Great Britain and in France: beyond appearance"; "Education in France and Great Britain: two ways of achieving citizenship", and "Monarchy and Republic: two views of democracy?"

Moreover, are these topics selected by the French team really the ones the learners of this age group are *most* interested in? There is at least some indication from an inquiry in Finland that about one-third of the secondary school pupils cannot tell one government Party from another in terms of their policies etc., even though they are taught such knowledge at school in their mother tongue. Thus, we might wonder whether the six cultural topics selected by the French team best help to fulfil the cultural aims of modern foreign language teaching as a whole?

3) On what basis are the 'privileged areas' of knowledge and the 'blank areas' of knowledge decided? Can we work out a generalisable group of 'privileged areas' in accordance with the cultural aims of language teaching that can best relate the language and culture and best help the learners to understand the people and the country whose language is being learned, regardless of whatever language is to be taught, whatever political systems they are and whatever means is to be employed because human beings basically share the same basic needs and the role of language serves basically the same function? If we integrate different cultural information while teaching the very same language, how can understanding be achieved while being involved in intercultural communication?

Despite the well-founded theory of cultural studies and the well-set criteria of the cultural teaching material selection, the choice of cultural topics to be taught by the French team, analysed in the

light of those cultural topics themselves, did not seem to escape its traditional language and cultural origin. The majority of cultural topics might not be said to contribute significantly to the understanding of the English people, nor their way of life. A realistic picture of the British people living in actual life situations cannot be said to be imaged in those French pupils' mind.

To sum up, among the problems we discussed above concerning the selection of cultural teaching materials, the most crucial one seems to be the necessity of setting up a set of unified and operational cultural aims from the outset for actual classroom language teaching for the language profession. Without a clearly defined official aim, how can make the 'correct' selection of the contents to be taught? How can our educators and practitioners be convinced to follow the direction we suggested? To this question among others we will turn our discussion in the next section.

6.3 Suggestions for the Cultural Content to Be Taught in Chinese Secondary School Foreign Language Classes

6.3.1 Some Reconsideration of the Cultural Aims in Language Teaching in Relation to the Debate over the Matter and in Some National Curricula

If we think that the cultural aims of foreign language teaching should be identical in language teaching in general and the selected cultural information should be aimed to fulfil these aims, then it is obvious from the above brief overview of the cultural aspects to be selected in language teaching by various scholars that this link between the two is not usually clearly and well made.

As we argued, the cultural aims are very important, because they affect the selection of cultural aspects. In principle, any one piece of cultural information/knowledge, regardless of high culture, popular culture or anthropological definition of culture, is helpful to fulfil a cultural aim, just as a proverb goes, "all roads lead to Rome". But the point here is that some cultural information/knowledge might serve a direct function to fulfil an aim, while others might have an indirect function. And similarly, there must be shorter ways and longer ways to get to Rome. This might bring our attention to

another issue: the emphasis of cultural aims according to different learning stages becomes equally important as a matter to deal with.

All in all, a clear enumeration of the cultural aims that are identical in language teaching seems to be the first condition to meet in order to make the work successful, systematic, effective and consistent. Without a clear, specific and convincing operational aim, how can we convince the profession to support our work? How can we convince the textbook writers to follow the direction we suggested? More importantly, we might take a roundabout course in our work. This worry may appear to be unfounded, and making a fuss over a trifling matter, because many scholars have discussed the matter in great detail. But it seems that there are many different versions of cultural aims for teaching foreign languages, even for teaching the very same language: some are general and vague in nature while others might be internally inconsistent. This actually makes the selection of cultural information that is to fulfil the aims extremely hard. On the other hand, whether those cultural aims are capable of serving as the general and workable cultural aims in relation to a given level of foreign language classroom teaching is another question for discussion. Evidence shows that this aspect seems to lack specific direction in relation to the practical classroom teaching and syllabus development.

In 1968, in her book *Teaching Foreign-language Skills*, Rivers (1968) cited some objectives of language teaching as follows: "to increase international understanding by enabling the students to enter into the life, thought, and literature of people who speak another language . . . Direct international communication . . . Experience of a foreign culture . . . Information about a foreign culture." (261). The Secondary Education Board of Milton, Massachusetts, according to Rivers, declared in 1933 that the primary practical value of foreign-language study was "the breaking down of the barriers of provincialism and the building up of the spirit of international understanding and friendliness leading towards world peace" (261).

However, Rivers in turn questions whether such idealistic aims have been realised in practice and argues, "Diligent learning of foreign words and phrases, laborious copying and recitation of irregular verbs paradigms, and the earnest deciphering of texts in the foreign language (many of them inauthentic and trivial) can hardly be considered powerful devices for the development of international

understanding and good will. It may well be maintained that many hours of tedium and limited comprehension in classrooms around the globe have produced a great deal of international misunderstanding . . ." (262).

It is obvious that Rivers blames here the failure in realising the cultural aims on the traditional way of language teaching in terms of both textbook content and methodology. While sharing Rivers' view and criticism, one might ask first of all how these mentioned cultural aims can be translated consistently into the textbook cultural content or classroom activities in different educational systems? To what extent can the term 'international understanding' or 'international co-operation' be compatible with the general cultural aims of language teaching? Similar problems exist in the following officially stated cultural aims in the relevant national/state curricula:

In France, "the cultural goal is to acquire knowledge of the daily life, the political, social, economic organisation, of the artistic and literary production and of the major events of the country under study" (Kramsch, 1991, 224).

In the US, where some 1600 school boards across the country govern the schools, the guidelines issued by the Boards of Education of the respective states suggest the integration of culture in foreign language teaching from the following perspectives: "[to] cultivate international understanding, responsibility and effective participation in a global age (Wisconsin); [to] permit effective participation in the local, national, and international community (Pennsylvania); [to] foster cross-cultural awareness (Texas); [to] reduce provincial biases, help recognise and respect differences among people and cultures, bring about world peace (Hawaii) . . ." (Kramsch, 1991, 221-2).

In an article "The Cultural Aims of Modern Language Teaching: why are they not being met?" Margaret Wright (1995) of Queen's University Belfast, too, identifies some reasons for the failure of meeting the cultural aims in language teaching. Those reasons include the absence of methodology in the syllabuses, the difficulties of assessment, the survival approach to the teaching of culture and the role of teachers.

However, while focusing on the discussion of those major reasons, Wright touched upon some other points that might even better explain why the cultural aims of modern language teaching are not being met, though Wright did not discuss them further. For example, while complaining about the syllabus for the absence of both cultural theory and a systematic methodology for the 'delivery' of culture, Wright mentioned that the stated cultural aims/statements are extremely broad and can include varied definitions of the very term 'culture'. As Wright's quoted cultural aims from the Programme of Study for Key Stage 3 and 4 in modern language set by the Department of Education for Northern Ireland reveals:

- 'Pupils should have opportunities to develop an awareness, understanding and appreciation of the culture of the country or community of the target language' (DENI, 1992, in Wright, 1995).
- 'To encourage positive attitudes to foreign language learning and to speakers of foreign language and a sympathetic approach to other cultures and civilisations.'
- 'To develop the candidates' awareness, appreciation and knowledge of the culture and civilisation of France' (NISEAC, 1995).

And while discussing the problem of the role of teachers, Wright also mentioned the differences of the cultural aims set in different syllabuses, but Wright did not discuss them, either, nor did she list them as the major reasons. As Wright notes: "With objectives allegedly at variance with themselves, together with the problems of delivery and assessment, it seems scarcely surprising that the cultural aims of modern language study should have difficulty in being met' (1995, 37).

In an article, "Teaching Culture at A-level", Carol Morgan (1993, 42-44) of the University of Durham studied eight alternative syllabuses currently available for A-level French study in England and found that the cultural aims are emphasised differently ranging from clearly factually based knowledge to those more concerned with understanding, sympathy and contact, which encourage students to look at the French culture from an insider's view and to reflect on their own cultural values as well. This is revealed in the following cultural aims set up in the syllabuses that Morgan studied:

- 'to stimulate candidates' interest in aspects of France' (Aim 4) with the objective: 'to test the candidates' knowledge and understanding of the topics they have studied and real ability to show their knowledge and understanding in French' (Assessment Objective for paper 3-Topics, London syllabus).

- [to] 'encourage an interest in the contemporary culture of the foreign country. (Aim iii) [and to] demonstrate knowledge and insight into aspects of civilisation and culture' (Assessment Objective 5, AEB Syllabus).
- [to] 'foster an awareness and understanding of the cultural, social, commercial and political backgrounds of the countries in which the language is spoken. . '(Aim 2) '[to] demonstrate knowledge and understanding of aspects of the civilisation and culture of the countries where the language is spoken' (Assessment Objective 4, Oxford Syllabus).
- 'To foster a sympathetic understanding of the culture and civilisation of other relevant [sic] countries, including contemporary issues. (Aim 5) [and] to show understanding of texts in the foreign language . . . and/or to show knowledge and understanding of aspects of culture and civilisation' (Assessment Objective 6, The Joint Oxford & Cambridge syllabus).
- 'To demonstrate knowledge and understanding of aspects of contemporary France. (Assessment Objective 4) to evaluate such issues in particular by comparing the student's own situation with that of young people in France. (Aim 2) . . . to analyse differences in opinions about these problems in England and France, to summarise and evaluate these opinions' (Aim 2, the London Ridgeway Syllabus).
- 'to develop insights into and encourage first contact with the culture of countries where the foreign language is spoken. (Aim 4) [and to] demonstrate knowledge and awareness of important aspects of the contemporary society and culture of the foreign language community [to] show where appropriate understanding of the historical background to contemporary events and knowledge of civilisation and cultural heritage of the foreign language community' (Assessment Objective 13 and 14, Cambridge syllabus).
- '[to develop] awareness and understanding of themselves, of other individuals and of society. (Aim 1d) to encourage firsthand contact with the culture and civilisation of France and other French-speaking communities through, for example, (a) exchange of letters, cassettes, magazines etc. (b) where possible travel and residence . . (Aim 4) to further the candidates' appreciation of language by helping them to understand culture and civilisation (both British and French) from the viewpoint of the respective people . (Aim 5) to foster interest in the views of French-speaking people on current issues' (Aim 6, the JMB Syllabus).

We might immediately note that in the eight syllabuses the authors use different verbs but express similar meanings. This seems not to be a problem. The problems are the terms used after these verbs in different syllabuses, such as 'aspects of France', 'contemporary culture', 'aspect of civilisation/culture', which indeed bring about problems because they are capable of several interpretations. They might cover both high culture and anthropological culture. Thus, the selection of the teaching materials might become easier but might not necessarily best help the learner to understand the people and the society. This is correlated with Morgan's further study of the examination papers attached to the relevant syllabuses in relation to the cultural aims, which reveals that the cultural topics are chosen differently in different syllabuses to fulfil its stated cultural aims. In some syllabuses such as Oxford & Cambridge, London Syllabuses A and B, Oxford and AEB, the traditional notion of introducing pupils to works of artistic achievement is introduced. In some syllabuses, including some of the above-mentioned ones, the facts about a country are introduced, which might offer better opportunities to understand the country and, to some extent, the people. In still others, such as in JMB and Oxford & Cambridge, the understanding of the value-systems and the frame of meaning are introduced.

Later in another article, 'Cultural Awareness and the National Curriculum', Morgan (1995) did devote some attention to discussing the problems of definition of the terms in the curricula, arguing that,

Cultural awareness is one of the foregrounded components of the Modern Foreign Languages National Curriculum which may raise doubts in terms of classroom practice. These doubts, I would suggest, stem from a variety of sources centring mainly on a concern to understand what is actually meant by the term; how this may then be translated into variable classroom activities and then how in turn this can be integrated with the other demands of the syllabus. The issue is clouded from the outset since the word 'culture' lends itself to variable interpretation: 'culture' linked with the arts both in terms of high culture and popular culture, 'culture' linked to particular groups such as 'youth culture', 'black culture' and 'culture' taken as meaning the behaviour and value systems of a whole community. This blurring of meaning is not helped by the way in which the notion of 'culture' is presented in the National Curriculum documentation (9).

While fully sharing Morgan's 'problem of definition' view, we would further question that since such terms are very broad, is it appropriate to use them in the syllabus as working cultural aims? For it only makes the selection of cultural teaching materials very hard and totally different-oriented selections might occur because of its various possible translations.

Nonetheless, the discussion of cultural aims within the Chinese context of foreign language teaching is simply absent. The cultural aims in the 1982 syllabus are simply missing and those in the 1993-syllabuses are not dealt with equally, as we discussed earlier, namely, the cultural aim in the 1993 junior syllabus is an unstated one, which can be translated only by the definition of Communicative Language Teaching. Since the communicative dimension of language teaching, as our analysis of the textbook reveals, is very narrowly interpreted in both the 1993-series and syllabuses, one might wonder whether the inclusion of the cultural dimension embodied in the approach is fully recognised. When it is relatively clearly stated in the 1993-senior syllabus, it is presented as 'to promote the understanding of the country whose language is being learned" (1993). This cultural aim is even narrower in relation to secondary foreign language education, because this aim can be best fulfilled by the factual knowledge only.

Thus, to introduce the teaching of culture in a scientific and systematic manner, we need first of all to decide the general cultural aims in language teaching. These aims should cover all the roles the cultural aims play from the very start of language teaching.

As to the educational aims of cultural teaching, these can be slightly different according to different educational systems. Those general cultural aims have to be as simple and accessible to language teachers, textbook writers and educators as possible. With all these in mind, we would suggest the following ones for consideration, which are based on much of the work we have discussed so far in the area.

1. Intercultural communication.

Communication and culture are not separable. Thus, to gain successful intercultural communication, the culture associated with the communication patterns has to be taken into account. Without being constantly related to its social and cultural context, successful intercultural communication in terms of both verbal and non-verbal

dimensions will not be ensured. Dunnett, Dubin & Lezberg (1986, 149) argue forcefully that,

- 1) Language cannot be translated word for word. All languages have idiomatic expressions, which carry connotations that are above and beyond the meanings of the separate words themselves.
- 2) The tone of a speaker's voice carries meaning. All languages have different 'tunes' or patterns of intonation. Similarly, the degree of loudness/softness used by speakers is a characteristic of the language itself.
- 3) Each language-culture employs gestures, body movements that convey meanings. Gesture and body movements are not necessarily the same for all languages.
- 4)We also understand that languages use different grammatical elements for describing all parts of the physical world.
- 5) All cultures have taboo topics. Part of knowing a language is knowing what one can and cannot say to whom on what occasions.
- 6) In personal relationships, the terms for addressing people vary considerably among languages. Even in informal American culture, there are commonly agreed-upon rules indicating when people are addressed by their first name, and when they are called by a title such as Mrs., Mr., or Dr.

In the name of Communicative Language Teaching, developing communicative competence, as we discussed in Chapter 2, has been accepted as one of the major aims of foreign language in many parts of the world. Despite the different definitions of the term given by different scholars, one important and crucial component does not seem to be missing, namely the sociolinguistic competence. Since sociolinguistic competence includes sociocultural rules that facilitate the appropriate language use, it is obvious that Communicative Language Teaching by definition involves the teaching of culture.

However, the integration of culture illustrated in the Communicative Language Teaching and in many communicative-orientated textbooks as well, as we discussed in Chapter 2, is rather narrow, because it implicitly suggests that foreign language learners should model themselves on first language speakers, positing native speakers communicating with other native speakers and ignoring the

significance of the social identities and cultural competence of the learner in any intercultural interaction (Byram, 1997, 8).

Thus, intercultural communication should not be understood as communication among native speakers but "between people of different languages and countries where one is a native speaker of the language used; between people of different languages and countries where the language used is a lingua franca; and between people of the same country but different languages, one of whom is a native speaker of the language used" (Byram, 1997, 22). In this sense, communication becomes more complex. In Byram's view, it depends on the ability to decentre and take up the perspective of the listener or reader and to establish and maintain relationships. Therefore, the ongoing integration of cultural studies in language teaching should go beyond the traditional 'language for reading' and the recent 'language for touring' cultural dimensions.

However, we have to point out that the concept "Intercultural communication" is still a very broad term. As Yli-Renko (1989) recognises. "The components of intercultural communication are communication, culture and the relationship existing between them" (5). Thus, apart from following the above principles suggested by the mentioned scholars, we would also suggest that the understanding and the implementation of this broad concept has to be related to a given level of foreign language teaching so that it would become more easily organised.

- 2. The understanding of the people and their way of life. This cultural aim can be best fulfilled by the anthropological and ethnographical cultural knowledge, such as beliefs, values, behaviours etc.
- 3. The understanding of the country whose language is being learned. This aim can be fulfilled by the factual knowledge of the target culture/society related to history, economy, politics, etc.
- 4. The educational aims:
 - to enrich the learners' knowledge of the world
 - to stimulate the learners' interest in learning the language
 - to support moral education (This is one of the prominent characteristics of the foreign language teaching prescribed in the Chinese National Curriculum for Secondary School Foreign Language Teaching and the selection of foreign language teaching materials.)
 - to encourage the intellectual development

- to develop awareness of culture.
- -to offer opportunity for the learners to appreciate their own culture and that of the other cultures rather than the target ones through a comparative approach in the course of the whole cultural integration in language teaching where it is possible.
- -to foster a positive attitude toward the people and the country whose language is being learned, etc.

These educational aims can be fulfilled by the types of cultural content such as famous persons, cultural geography, sciences and technology, jokes, humours, idioms, proverbs and also indirectly by the cultural contents that fulfil the first three aims. Moreover, the process of comparative analysis of two or more cultures can also serve this purpose. Therefore, we argue that the suggested four aims interrelate with and are interdependent on one another and should be combined and manifested in the teaching of culture in language teaching at all stages of language learning, working together towards some more comprehensive cultural aims - fostering the learners' intercultural competence and developing their language and culture awareness.

However, different emphasis should be given according to different stages of language learning. By different stages of language learning, we mean the language learning at lower and upper secondary levels. This is because, first of all, as we argued earlier, the learners of each given age group have their own characteristics. They have their own interest towards the foreign language and culture learning. Their intellectual and linguistic capacities are different. Their knowledge of their own language and culture is also at different levels of development. As is illustrated by Byram (1989),

Pupils of 11 to 13 years of age learning a language from the beginning are faced with the problem of being able to express only simplified meanings, which bear little relation to the stage of socialisation and acquisition of cultural meanings they have reached. On the other hand they have not reached a stage of full, adult cultural competence in their own culture, whereas the foreign culture is often analysed and interpreted in adult terms, at least by social anthropologists and other non-language teachers engaged in cultural study. In short the pupils are linguistically far behind their peers in the foreign culture and, second, the cultural analysis

available is ahead of the cultural competence of even those foreign peers. (100-1)

This viewpoint is also shared by the research findings obtained by Byram (1991a), where he found that "One noticeable difference between the two age groups was that among the juniors some pupils described other people in terms of physical and behavioural difference rather than in terms of personalistic attributes, with their concomitant evaluations" (219). And the same phenomenon was identified when I processed the relevant data collected from the pupil informants in our survey described in Chapter 4.

Another similar good example of this is the different emphasis of the linguistic aims of foreign language teaching written into Chinese lower and upper secondary school foreign language teaching syllabuses and maybe elsewhere, too. Thus, we also argue that the cultural aims should also follow the same procedures. Byram (1991b, 5) offers the following example in relation to the selection of background information teaching materials, maintaining that,

In the period of when language learning was related to the study of literature and other intellectual artefacts in language, teaching had to include reference to those phenomena other than language which were necessary for understanding intellectual products. This was done above all by selection of a language corpus drawn from the products themselves. In the early stages of learning the nature of the selection remained implicit but as the learner advanced it became increasingly evident that the corpus was drawn directly from literary works in particular. Eventually the advanced learners used extracts from literature and philosophy as a means of language learning, concentrating first on the clarification of the meaning by techniques of translation and later on the significance of the meaning in the literary and philosophical context . . . (5-6)

Byram (1991b) goes on to argue,

Clearly there are stages on the way to this goal [of Cultural Studies] and questions of progression may involve determination of simpler goals for early stages. Nonetheless, it needs to be evident in all stages that some element of the ultimate goal is

included . . . The ultimate goal should be present at all stages of progress, even though this may introduce practical difficulties. (11)

Thus, in the lower secondary level of language and culture teaching, we will emphasise the intercultural communication aim because at this stage of language learning, pupils learn first of all to use the language that is supposed to be linguistically and culturally appropriate in actual intercultural communication. Because of the characteristics of these age-group pupils in terms of linguistic and intellectual capacities, the cultural inclusion in relation to the understanding of people, their way of life and the countries where the language is being spoken, which might further facilitate the learners' intercultural communicative competence, have to be simpler and go with their capacities. So it is with the cultural aspects that directly serve the educational aims, which can be integrated in a controlled quantity term or come a little later. The educational aims at this stage can be fulfilled, to a large extent, indirectly by those cultural aspects facilitating the appropriate language use. Broad geographical and sociocultural facts should be presented in due places. To take account of the learners' intellectual capacities while avoiding superficiality in presenting the associated cultural information, a combination of the use of the learners' native language and the foreign language should be recommended, which has been discussed in the previous pages (pp. 285-288).

In the upper secondary level, the intercultural communication aim should continue its role but more room should be given to the study of language and culture in relation to value-systems from within. The historical and geographical dimensions of cultural knowledge that help to understand the target country and the people should be appropriately presented. And the official educational aims might occupy an appropriate place, too.

Once again, for the sake of emphasis, comparative analysis of two or more cultures where it is possible, as is implied and discussed in our suggested model of teaching language and culture in a previous section, should be in action at all stages of fulfilling these cultural aims so that one's own cultural practice can always be in contrast with the foreign one and other ones as well, which in turn offers the learners a deeper understanding of their own culture and society.

6.3.2 Some Further Consideration of Risager's Model

Having settled the major means by which to convey the target culture in language teaching, and the problem of setting up cultural aims to work towards, the next question comes to the content to be selected. Since Risager's model of textbook cultural content evaluation is used in our evaluation of the Chinese secondary textbook cultural content, we will use this model as a guideline to make our suggestions for the cultural content to be included in the Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching textbooks.

In principle, the model is well designed for guiding the elementary cultural content. This is because the model places the anthropological concept of culture at its core while culture of narrow definition serves a narrower function. This is in accordance with the way suggested by the modern and contemporary scholars and educators to teach culture at the elementary level, which aims at a better understanding of the target people and their way of life so as to gain successful intercultural communication. The model also involves the inclusion of the learners' own culture through a comparative approach to language teaching. It offers the learners a realistic picture of the target people, their way of life and their country as well, if the cultural presentation follows the criteria. In all of the above-mentioned aspects, the model is applicable.

However, several other issues have to be taken into consideration in order to make the model work better in the Chinese context, and maybe elsewhere, too.

(1) Risager, as the Cultural Studies theories does, takes the basic principles of the Communicative Approach for granted. The model thus assumes that both teachers and textbook writers are fully familiar with the principle of setting the teaching within the context of the target culture. However, as our research findings show, the essence of Communicative Language Teaching is not fully understood and accepted by the language teaching profession in China. This is reflected in both the 1993-syllabuses and the 1993-series. Good examples of this are the large number of dialogues set within the Chinese context of everyday reality. Thus, the sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspect of culture should be added in the model at the micro level because of the usual emphasis of the acquisition of communicative competence in language teaching for this age group. And this is also the central focus of the debate over

- the teaching of culture in language teaching in the Chinese tradition. Nonetheless, as we argued, this category of culture presentation should go beyond the 'language for touring' culture presentation.
- (2) Though the educational aims of cultural studies have always been taken for granted, too, the model should offer an official place for those aspects of culture so that a complete guideline map for the selection of cultural content can be well followed. We might call this category 'Culture of world civilisation'. If this is absent, the integration of such cultural contents might not have the opportunity to play their full part in the onging language classroom cultural teaching for the purpose of personal development. This category of culture, as we discussed in the proceeding pages, might include such components as sciences and technology, other cultures or cultural heritages including both the learners' own and target ones, world famous persons from different cultures etc., which are a common part of the cultural content selection in most secondary foreign language teaching textbooks around the world, but which might not be the first choices to fulfil the other cultural aims we identified above.
- (3) We would also suggest that the fourth component of Risager's model, "The point of view and style of the author(s)" be replaced by the statement 'The principle of representing culture', which would emphasise that the presentation of culture should be realistic in terms of 'positive, negative, critical, subjective and objective' about the target people and their country. This is because we think the original term devalues the model in terms of power. This criterion of 'realism' is part of the requirement of the model that textbook writers should follow. It is not the textbook writers' own choice as to to what extent the target culture should be presented in terms of 'realism', although the textbook writers' influence over the whole matter is usually considerable and uncontrollable to some point.
- (4) The criterion of realism of Risager's model has to be taken relatively because secondary school education is only part of the whole education. Another broad aim of teaching culture, as is expressed in Byram's (1989) model of teaching language and culture we cited in the previous pages and shared by us, is to develop the learners' language and cultural awareness, and provide them with means to explore those issues themselves while offering the learners, to the greatest extent possible, a realistic picture of the target/foreign cultures through the limited formal language and culture teaching

hours at school. As Byram (1998) argues, "Teachers who take seriously the cultural dimension of language learning as we described it briefly here, will not expect to know and teach everything about a specific society and its culture(s). They will place more emphasis on developing their learners' and their own awareness of the nature of intercultural interaction, and the skills and competence which allow them to relate to cultural difference" (9).

This also echoes one of our pupil informants' comment, ". . . add the concerned cultural knowledge in explaining the text, but avoid too professional knowledge that makes the students feel bored. This may bring about good results" (cited in Section 4.2.4, A).

And Brooks (1964) also argued for this viewpoint, maintaining that the culture to be presented should be from the viewpoint of a young person of the age and status of the pupils being addressed rather than from that of a historian viewing the total experience of a civilisation or of an architect surveying the blueprint of a complicated structure.

Thus, in accordance with the cultural aims we suggested, and based on the discussion we made in this section, and the suggested cultural topics by various scholars we cited, especially by Brooks and Chastain, the following sections will focus on suggesting a cultural syllabus in relation to the textbook writing for the Chinese secondary school pupils against the frame of Risager's model of evaluating European elementary foreign language textbook culture content. Equally importantly, the following suggested cultural contents are also based on both the pupil and schoolteacher informants' suggested cultural topics that they claimed they are most interested in in learning/teaching English language and culture (for detailed information, refer to sections 4.2.3 & 4.3.3 of Chapter 4).

6.3.3 What to Teach

- 1. The micro level: phenomena of social and cultural anthropology and sociolinguistics/socioculture
- a) The social and geographical definition of the characters/Social identity and groups:
- groups by social stratification and occupation:

- (1) family. (The family role, who is regarded as family, the family activities, the relationship between family members and other members of the extended families. Families from different social classes and different regions of the target country)
- (2) the unskilled/skilled/professional/entrepreneurial.
- (3) ethnic and cultural minorities.
- (4) school pupils, etc.
- b) Social interaction (both verbally and non-verbally):
- greetings, friendly exchange, compliments, farewells. (How do friends meet, converse briefly, take their leave? What are the perennial topics of small talk? How are strangers introduced?)
- the morphology of personal exchange. (How are interpersonal relationships such as differences in age, degree of intimacy, social position, and emotional tension reflected in the choice of appropriate forms of pronouns and verbs?)
- levels of speech. (In what ways are age, provenance, social status, academic achievement, degree of formality, interpersonal relations, aesthetic concern, and personality reflected in the standard or traditional speech?)
- patterns of politeness. (What are the commonest formulas of politeness and when should they be used?)
- respect. (Apart from overt expressions of deference and discipline, what personages and what cultural themes, both past and contemporary are characteristically held in sincere respect?)
- intonation patterns. (Apart from the selection, order, and form of words themselves, what overtones of cadence, interrogation, command, surprise, deference, and the like are borne exclusively by the dynamics of pronunciation?)
- expletives. (What words and intonation patterns are commonly used to enliven one's speech by way of commentary upon one's own feelings or actions, those of the person addressed, or the nature or behaviour of other elements in the immediate situation?)
- verbal taboo. (What common words or expressions in English are not tolerated in the target culture?)
- making a phone call. (The appropriate linguistic forms to make and answer the telephone).
- appointments. (How are appointments for business and pleasure made? What are the usual meeting places? How important is punctuality?)

- invitation. (What invitations are young people likely to extend and receive? What formalities are involved?).
- letter-writing and mailing. (How do letters customarily begin and end in terms of formal business letters and family or normal ones? How are envelopes addressed? Are there typical kinds of personal stationary? Where are stamps bought? Where are mailboxes found?).
- idioms, humour and proverbs. (The use of idioms, humour and proverbs in social interaction that represent the social value, beliefs etc.).
- discipline. (What are the norms of discipline in the home, in school, in public places, and in ceremonies etc.?).
- hobbies. (In what individual hobbies are young people likely to engage?)
- careers. (What careers have strong appeal for the young? How important is parental example and advice in the choice of a career? What financial help is likely to be forthcoming for those who choose a career demanding long preparation?).
- parents. (Youth view of parenthood, the generation-gap).
- clothing. (National costume, daily wearing, and those worn on special occasions such as festivals, parties, etc.
- food and drinks. (Family meals: what meals are usually served in a family? What is the special character of each meal, the food eaten, the seating arrangement, the method of serving dishes, the general conversation? meals away from home: where does one eat when not at home? What types of non-alcoholic beverages do young people and adults usually consume? What is the attitude toward the use of beer, wine, and spirits? What alcoholic drinks are in frequent use at home and in public?)
- shopping. (How to ask for information about things to buy in terms of cost, quality etc.)
- services. (Post office, telephone, bank, police, hospital etc.)
- weather. (Climate and weather conditions.)
- going to church. (The significance of going to church and some basic religious routines at church service. Different branches of religion. What kind of people are frequent churchgoers?)
- going to school. (How is the educational system organised, public/private? How long do students attend school? How much does it cost to attend school? What is a school day like? What are the dress codes? What is the feeling toward cheating and

dishonesty? Are the students interested and do they study hard? What subjects are offered, and which are compulsory? School days? After school (during free time, Saturday, Sunday etc.)? Do boys and girls attend the same school? The same class? What are the most important customs with regard to boy-girl relationship? What is the perceived use/value of education?).

- home. (The concept of home and its mobility)
- house. (Appearance and beyond appearance).
- the concept of state and authority etc.
- routine/recipe knowledge e.g. how to use transport, appropriate behaviour in a restaurant.
- masculine and feminine roles in society.
- traffic and travel. (How does vehicular traffic affect the pedestrian? What are the equivalents of traffic lights, road signs, crosswalks, safety islands, and parking meters, hitchhiking? What facilities for travel are provided for short distance about town or from one city or part of the country to another, by bus, rail, or airline?).
- holidays and festivals. (What days of the calendar year are officially designed as national festivals? What are the central themes of these occasions and what is the manner of their celebration? Christmas, Easter, Bank/National holiday, Remembrance Sunday/Armistice Day etc.)
- music and sports, etc. (The types of songs people sing in moments of happiness, in moments of fervour, or in moments of depression. On what occasions are these songs sung? What organised and professional sports are the most popular and the most generally presented for the public?)

c) Material environments:

- realistic drawings and photos in terms of subjectivity and objectivity, showing persons, environments, articles and texts for everyday use (coins, signs, menus, timetables, houses, buildings, classroom settings etc.) should be presented.

d) Situations of interaction.

The situations of interaction should be centred around the above-suggested situations, namely those covering the daily and common social interaction. More importantly, the family, work,

school, leisure situations etc. related to different social and geographical definition of the characters.

e) Interaction and subjectivity of the characters: feelings, attitudes, values and perceived problems.

The feelings, attitudes, values and personal opinions of the characters should be appropriately expressed through all kinds of social interactions between different interlocutors via the basic categories of language functions. Those expressions should also be objective, realistic and comprehensive.

- 2. Macro level: political and historical matters:
- a) Broad social facts about the contemporary society: (They might cover the broad sociocultural facts such as population, geographical, economic and political information and cultural geographical information as well, environments, social security, social welfare, health care, the characteristics of the country, (monocultural society or multicultural?), and the social systems, too, (republic, democratic or socialist one?), the aspects that the country is famous for in the world in terms of economy, industry, sports, education, music etc.
- b) Broad socio-political problems.
- unemployment
- pollution
- immigrants, etc.

It is obvious that this aspect of culture should absolutely deserve a place in the cultural presentation in order for the learners to gain a realistic picture of the target society as a whole. However, this is a very sensitive and subtle issue to handle from the perspective of psychology and politics. According to Morgan (1993, 43), it was reported in *Eurobarometer* 1988 that the most important perceived problem in France was identified as unemployment (72%), with fears for personal safety (9%), young people doing as they like (6%), pressure of modern living (5%), and immigrants (3%) considerably less significant. While the figures in the UK show: unemployment (49%), pressure of modern living (22%), personal safety (13%), young people doing as they like (7%) and immigrants (5%). However, according to Morgan, the top level of the problem of unemployment in France was not included in the British school language teaching syllabuses. Instead, the problems chosen to

present are violence and ethnic ones, which according to Morgan, reflected, to some extent, an English rather than a French focus (1993, 43). Thus, an immediate problem may arise here: from what perspective should those problems be selected into the texts: based on the most common problems perceived by the target people and society or by the learners' own society? Or choose the problems that are common in all human societies, such as pollution etc.? However, we would suggest that the social problems to be presented in the integration of this aspect of culture in language teaching should be the ones that are perceived as being the most important by the target people and their society and some common problems that are shared by human beings in general, such as diseases, population, pollution, etc. At the same time, a comparative approach should be followed involving several cultures, the learners' own culture included, to inform the pupils that each society has its own problems so as to prevent the learners from possible prejudice and stereotyping towards the target society.

- c) Historical background
- brief introductions to the history of the major English-speaking countries
- 3. International and intercultural issues
- a) Comparisons and contrasts between the foreign and the pupils' own culture. The comparisons and contrasts between the own and the target cultures, and other possible ones should be involved at all stages of language learning/teaching from the very beginning. Cultural similarities and differences should be one of the major techniques in the teaching of culture, which can in turn help to develop the learners' language awareness and cultural awareness (parts of the theory we referred to in our suggested model of foreign language and culture teaching).
- b) Mutual representations. Mutual representations such as national stereotypes that the two cultures have about each other's country and people, and both positive and negative view/attitudes towards the other's people and the country should be covered and presented through the interaction of the characters or particular texts. This can be best realised through the teaching of cultural differences and illustrating cultural shocks instead of presenting them in their own right, to avoid negative effect.

c) Mutual relations. This dimension of presentation might cover the development in the areas of educational, economic, cultural exchanges, which might encourage the learners' empathy and interest in the target language and culture learning. However, again, from the psychological perspective, as is in the case of presenting socio-political problems and mutual representations, the negative aspects, though they must be factual, might be presented in a general and comprehensive manner in order to avoid possible negative influence or stereotypes about the target society and people and thus reducing the learners' interest in learning the language and culture.

4. Culture of world civilisation:

For the immediate sake of educational value and personal development, this category of culture presentation should, as we suggested in our discussion of cultural aims in sections 6.3.1. & 6.3.2), cover the culture of sciences and technology, etc.

5. The principle of representing culture

Instead of making our own principle to implement the work, we will use what Byram (1991) suggested for producing textbooks in relation to cultural content selection when he analysed the textbooks in use to teach French in the English elementary and secondary schools:

- 1. The representation of the foreign culture must be considered of equal importance with the provision of means to teach structures and vocabulary of the language.
- 2. The tourist-consumer viewpoint must be replaced by the notion of extension of the process of socialisation and the production of an intercultural competence, which embraces sociolinguistic communicative competence.
- 3. The representation of the foreign culture must be realistic and structured, including for example credible and rounded characters, portrayed in situations representative of a range of social interactions, and providing an adequate knowledge of the history and geography of the society and country chosen.
- 4. The realistic account of the culture must include interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships and some representation of the socio-political issues current in the society and between it and the learners' society.

- 5. The textbooks must take into account the mutual representations of the two societies and the influences learners are exposed to outside the language-teaching classroom.
- 6. The textbook must encourage learners to observe and reflect on, as well as participate in, the foreign culture, and provide for the possibility of an educational visit to the foreign country with the necessary preparation and later reflection on the experience (184).

Moreover, it is highly recommended that all these cultural topics should be thematically organised. Cultural presentation on certain topics that are hard to be integrated into actual acquisition of linguistic competence but interesting to the young learners and helpful for them to grow out of the shell of their own cultural frame and perceive the world from a new perspective can be taught in their own right in due places. These topics might include music, sports and some cultural topics to fulfil the educational aims, etc.

6.3.4 Methodologies for the 'Delivery of Culture'

A review of literature reveals that suggestions of techniques for teaching culture abound (e.g. Lado, 1957; Rivers, 1968; Chastain, 1976; Seelye, 1984; Stern, 1983; Byram, 1989, 1994). However, though different opinions exist, somewhat universally identical methodologies can be found.

Lessard-Clouston (1996)identified three major methodological approaches in relation to the foreign language teaching curriculum. The first one, according to Lessard-Clouston, is an eclectic one, where culture is only incorporated into the curriculum as desired or needed (advocators, according to Lessard-Clouston, are Rivers, 1981, and Morain, 1983). The second one is an integrated one, where culture is explicitly incorporated into the curriculum through a cultural syllabus (advocators, according to Lessrad-Clouston, are Stern, 1983, 1992 and Hammerly, 1982). The third approach is *cultural studies* in the foreign language curriculum, where a separate part of the language course is dedicated to a cultural or intercultural studies programme (advocators, according to Lessard-Clouston, are Murphy, 1988; Byram, 1988, 1989; and Shotton, 1991).

In the light of the interdependent relationship of language and culture, the eclectic approach, in Lessard-Clouston's view, is not appropriate, because "a learner's ability to understand, recognise, and address the sociocultural issues in communication is fundamental to his or her communicative competence, and it is therefore crucial for teachers to be much more deliberate in what and how we teach culture in L2/FL education" (199). Lessard-Clouston did not give much space to a discussion of the two remaining approaches.

Chastain (1976) suggested her 'modes of presenting culture' in terms of 'in class' and 'out of class'.

In class, Chastain suggested the following methods, most of which were also discussed by Rivers (1968), Seelye (1974) among others. They can be summarised as follows:

- The cultural aside. A cultural aside is an unplanned, brief, culture comment.
- Culture assimilators. A culture assimilator consists of three parts: (1) a short passage demonstrating an intercultural exchange in which a misunderstanding occurs, (2) four possible interpretations of what transpired, and (3) feedback for the students as to the correct answers.
- Culture capsules. A culture capsule is a brief description of one aspect of the second culture followed by a discussion of the contrasts between the cultures of the first and second language.
- Minidrama or miniskits. In this approach to the teaching of culture, the students incorporate the culture being learned into their actions as they perform in selected situations.
- Newspapers and magazines. According to Chastain, newspapers and magazines usually provide some cultural contents. Teachers can ask the students to survey articles on popular clothing styles, movies, TV programmes etc. Based on the information the students get from the newspapers and magazines, students can prepare a report or do independent projects.
- Bulletin board. Carefully selected pictures and artwork can be placed on the bulletin boards.
- Visual aids. Such as films, filmstrips, slides and photos etc.
- Music and dance of the second culture can be introduced.

Out of class, Chastain suggested the following ones:

- Pen pals and tape exchanges.

- Special programmes and events.
- Community resources.
- Travelogue films.
- Summer camps.
- Student exchange and travel/study abroad.
- Regional and state language festivals.

However, in using visual aids in presenting culture such as pictures or photos and films, Rivers (1968, 78) warns that care should be taken not to select those that give a distorted picture of the life of the people. The picture used, according to Rivers, should show the life of the people as it is lived at the present time except when for special reasons, some pictures are used to show life that was lived in the past. "Sometimes, it is hard for teachers to resist the picturesque element in pictures of people in national costumes which are no longer worn, engaging in activities of a premechanical age. Such pictures can, however, be the source of considerable cultural misunderstanding. The same comments apply to the use of films and filmstrips" (278).

Similar comments of fear over the validity of visual aids in language teaching was expressed by Kelly (1969), when he discussed the 'pictorial procedures' of language teaching spanning 25,000 years. As Kelly maintains,

This uneasiness over pictures was heightened by the post-war consciousness of differences in the meaning of pictures, gestures, and objects according to cultural milieu . . . In Europe, consciousness of cultural disparity caused some uneasiness over the validity of audio-visual methods. There was some doubt about the effectiveness of the picture in conveying meaning to pupils of a culture different from that of the artist who drew it: Greimas notes in an article on TV teaching that audio-visual methods seems to assume that everybody had the same vision of the world, and expressed his doubts about its truth. (23)

With the development of modern sciences and technology, the media play an important and easy role in presenting foreign cultures. Though they may carry large quantities of cultural information, yet, in most cases they are not planned for the purpose of language and culture teaching/learning. Moreover, those sorts of culture learning are largely out of the control of the teachers. Without professional aid, the understanding of that cultural information might be easily

misled or generalised by the young learners. This is clarified by the research findings obtained by Byram et al. (1991b), which we referred to above. Thus, when using media for cultural presentation in classroom teaching, teachers' cultural competence faces a strong challenge.

"Changes in content lead to changes in methods . . . Teaching methods are partly a function of materials, and the selection of materials will be influenced by the methods envisaged" (Byram, 1989, 20 & 75). In our overview of research in the teaching of culture in Chapter 2, we also identified two major pedagogical approaches of teaching culture, which are largely identical with those identified by Lessard-Clouston. Taking both theory and practice into consideration in relation to the Chinese secondary school language teaching, we adopted a cultural studies approach, because of its sound theoretical foundation and the well-founded empirical research, but made some slight changes in due places according to this given context of Chinese secondary foreign language teaching. Thus, our suggested teaching materials allow us the use of the following techniques in actual classroom language and culture teaching, which have been partly made clear in the previous section of the chapter and elsewhere, too. They can be summarised as follows:

- Teaching culture through textbook language teaching;
- Teaching culture through a comparative and contrastive analysis approach. This is also one of the major techniques we suggested for the integration of language and culture involved in all stages of language learning/teaching in our model of cultural teaching. This is also the major technique embodied by the cultural studies approach (for more information, turn to Byram, Morgan et al., 1994);
- Teaching cultural differences and similarities. This technique is very closely related with the comparison and contrast approach described above. The research findings from the study of cultural differences and similarities can be directly taught in class in their own right;
- Teaching culture through visual aids. This has been discussed in our suggested cultural content to be taught, which is referred to in Risager's model as the 'material environment' component.

All the above methods of conveying culture have been officially made clear by being interwoven with our suggested

teaching materials and correlated with the cultural teaching methods suggested by both the pupil and schoolteacher informants in our survey. Teachers can add more and fresh insight into the matter through actual classroom language and culture teaching against these frames of reference.

Moreover, teachers can also adopt the techniques suggested by other scholars that we have discussed and those suggested by our informants (for more information, refer to sections 4.2.4, 4.3.4 & 4.4.4) as eclectic ones so as to make the teaching of culture more lively and interesting and meaningful as well.

6.3.5 The Assessment of Cultural Learning

To further strengthen the integration of culture in language teaching/learning and its security in the curriculum, the assessment of cultural learning becomes a very necessary and important part of the whole project of teaching language and culture. This issue has also been recognised and supported by many scholars (e.g. Seelye, 1974, Byram, 1989, Byram & Morgan, 1994 among others) and many of our informants (for relevant information, refer to sections 4.2.4 & 4.3.4). At the same time, it proves a very demanding task. However, such an official status has to be obtained, otherwise, cultural/intercultural learning might probably be regarded again as something of secondary importance. This is clarified by the research findings from Kaikkonen (1997), which we talked about in Chapter 2: despite the fact that the research project was successful in bringing the participant students to the idea that a foreign language has to be studied with its cultural background and that the foreign language learning as a traditional school subject can only help pupils to grow toward intercultural understanding and intercultural learning, the participant pupils worried about their matriculation examination the following year while they were in their second year of experimental intercultural learning. They were sure that the matriculation examination was based on the formal school textbooks and worried whether they had learned enough vocabulary and grammar to deal with the coming examination.

The necessity and importance of a cultural test is also recognised by Chastain (1976), though Chastain did not discuss the matter any further than the following statement:

Fundamental aspects of the culture are incorporated into the ongoing class activities and included in the tests over the material covered. The students realise that cultural knowledge is one of the basic goals of the course, and they are aware that they will be tested over cultural information presented in class. (383)

Seelye (1974) also devoted some pages to the discussion of 'measuring cultural achievement' in terms of 'what to test' and 'how to test'. Owing to the fact that Seelye, probably among some others, did not work out a concrete body of knowledge to be taught for the real classroom situation, nor did he have a workable cultural aim at hand, his discussion of a cultural test tends to be conceptual and theoretical. For the aim of the examination is to test the knowledge learned/taught and prescribed by the general aims set in the syllabus or the knowledge selected to fulfil these aims.

However, Seelye first tried to associate directly the cultural aims in designing test questions, and found it was impossible because of the broadness of the cultural aims he had. As Seelye notes, "The abstract objectives of cross-cultural communication and understanding are too general to be of much utility in devising individual questions (items) for a test of culture . . . Sometimes, to be sure, it is difficult to test directly an intangible such as 'understanding' and one has to test something more specific that is but indirectly associated with the real objective of the test. Ideally, a wide range of cultural skills and knowledge would be the object of systematic testing in the foreign language classroom" (69-72).

The above statement from Seelye in turn further reinforced our early argument that cultural aims in language teaching have to be simple, concrete and comprehensible, but for the purpose of cultural content selection rather than of the cultural test in the first place.

Thus, a body of knowledge, which is supposed to well fulfil the set cultural aims, has to be worked out. Only then would the talking about a cultural test be well grounded. Though the theoretical discussion of the matter without being based on a body of ready-selected knowledge might be helpful and throw some light as well on other issues such as the feasibility of the set cultural aims and the possibility of the selection of certain cultural information and knowledge into classroom activities, it might take a longer way round, too.

As to how to test, Seelye's discussion can be summarised as focusing on oral and written techniques. With respect to an attitude test, Seelye noted the difficulty in doing so, saying that "It is especially difficult to test attitudes since we are not certain which attitudes are relevant to cultural understanding" (75), which in turn reveals the difficulty in selecting this category of cultural information into actual classroom activities. This is also correlated with the problem we identified with Seelye's suggested seven cultural aims, where 'attitudes towards other culture' is one of them, and where we argued that though his model is largely identical with the general cultural aims for language teaching for intercultural understanding, how to select the relevant cultural information remains a problem. And here it is, as Seelye admitted.

In other places, Valette (1967, 1986), Byram, Morgan et al. (1994, 1997, 1998), Morgan (1996) and Byram and Cain (1998) also discussed the matter in some detail. For example, Byram, Morgan et al. (1994) identified three elements of cultural competence (knowledge, empathy and behaviour), and worked out the relevant ways of testing them. Those testing techniques include: oral and written assessment, a mediation exercise, interviewing a native speaker, questionnaire, evaluation interviews. All of these techniques were tried in an experiment with some advanced learners of French in several English schools.

To make the assessments more manageable and effective, Byram, Morgan et al. (1994) defined clearly the three terms, 'knowledge', 'empathy' and 'behaviour'. This in turn suggested a criterion for the teaching of cultural competence in practical classrooms. The three terms each cover:

I. Knowledge

- (a) factual knowledge (of historical, geographical, sociological, etc. phenomena);
- (b) explanation of the facts from within the foreign culture perspective (e.g. historical explanations in school textbooks or sociological explanations of contemporary events in the media);
- (c) description of the appearance and position of the phenomena in contemporary life (e.g. the 'typical family' used in advertising, or the geographical divisions used in weather-forecasting);
- (d) explanation of the significance of the phenomena in shared cultural understandings/meanings (e.g. the belief in a 'North-South

divide' within a country's behavioural and social norms, or belief in a country's 'historic mission' in relationship with other countries).

II. Empathy

- the degree to which students can explain factual knowledge and its significance (b) and (d) above from within the cognitive perspective of the foreign culture;
- the degree to which students recognise the relativity of different cognitive perspectives including their own.

III. Behaviour

- (a) description and analysis of norms of social interaction in the foreign culture;
- (b) performance of social interaction both verbal and non-verbal within those norms. (1994, 146)

Although these testing techniques were tried in the experiment and proved to be successful, to introduce them into ordinary language classrooms seems to include some problems. First of all, these means of testing seem to be too demanding on the side of the language teachers in terms of their own cultural competence, time, energy and relevant equipment etc. Secondly, if a teacher teaches more than 100 pupils (as is the case in the Chinese secondary school context), these methods might prove to be even harder to implement if we put aside the issue of teachers' professional qualification and cultural competence.

In their research project that we have discussed in several places in this work, Byram and Cain (1998) also identified the following aspects of cultural learning to be tested and the means to do so:

- the 'content' to be tested: knowledge, attitudes, and behavioural skill with respect to the non-verbal dimensions of social exchange;
- the ability to investigate: since we had focused on ethnographic techniques, these should in principle also be tested;
- the techniques for testing: oral and/or written assessment, using role-play, using the essay;
- the criteria for assessment and the determination of levels of competence (43).

This model of cultural test seems to be workable, if the body of knowledge associated with the mentioned areas to be tested can be taught in the classroom. The techniques for testing are highly recommendable, because they are practical and manageable.

In our case, since we suggested that the integration of culture in language teaching in Chinese secondary schools be conducted through the teaching of the language and a body of cultural knowledge to be integrated into the language teaching materials has been provided, we will thus combine the cultural test with the linguistic competence test. We recommend the techniques of testing suggested by Byram and Cain, because these techniques can be very easily translated into and are, to a large extent, identical with the Chinese secondary school and university examination systems. In most provinces, the matriculation examinations consist of two parts: listening and written. Thus, short passages or isolated sentences that carry cultural information associated with the intended aspects of culture such as beliefs, values etc. can all be used as testing materials in both listening and written tests. In the written part of the examination paper, there is another separate part 'composition', which requires the pupils to write a short passage according to the given information. This part has proved to be mostly culturally themed in the past, such as writing a notice, a letter or a diary, etc. in English, which involves different culturally appropriate linguistic formality from that of the Chinese. However, more complex topics can be used instead to test the pupils' attitude towards and understanding of the target value-systems. Moreover, since a large part of any standard examination paper is focused on reading comprehension, those reading test materials can also be selected from the perspective of cultural teaching. Since our suggested teaching materials are culture-orientated, the same kind of testing materials can be selected to test the pupils. Owing to the large number of pupils taught by one teacher in one classroom in Chinese secondary schools, the technique of role-play does not seem to be an appropriate cultural testing means to be used in terms of time and organisation.

In brief, a cultural test is of first importance to ensure the teaching practice develops systematically and consistently in any given level of language teaching in any given political or educational context. However, and more importantly, if we cannot or do not teach certain things in real classroom activities, there would be little

significance in talking about the test of them. If we know how to teach certain things, we then can most probably know how to test them one way or another. The thing that matters most here with respect to a cultural test seems to be the means to perform the test or the selection of certain aspects to be tested if not all are to be tested. Therefore, the focus of the discussion of the cultural test should be that of the techniques to be used and the aspects among those taught to be tested rather than in the first place focusing on the contents to be tested without considering whether the suggested contents to be tested can be taught as such in actual classroom language teaching.

6.4 Conclusion

In summarising our argument here, our central concern is that first of all the somewhat universal general cultural aims to language teaching should be worked out, then the selection of the relevant materials to be taught in the light of the set cultural aims, and then the ways to test what we have taught. Only when the aims of cultural teaching in teaching the language at a given level are appropriately set and emphasised, can we select the relevant teaching content. Only when the relevant teaching content is properly selected, can we systematically put the issue into the teaching syllabus, set up requirements and carry out tests. Otherwise, any type of cultural teaching practice might tend to be incidental and sporadic.

Following the above principle, we worked out a set of general and concrete cultural objectives of language teaching, which tend to generalise the issue in any given educational context, and a body of cultural knowledge and suggested some workable means of testing the selected body of knowledge in relation to the Chinese context of the teaching of language and culture. However, considering the fact that some of these aspects still did not receive enough more systematic in-depth discussion, our attempt thus intends to improve the situation rather than be the ultimate solution. The whole process of our suggested working principle, thus, may be open to criticism so that they can be further improved.

6.5 Some Additional Related Important Issues

It is clear that the teachers' books are also to be rewritten parallel with the students' books since we suggested a rewriting of the textbooks from the perspective we discussed. But we want to ensure that the teachers' books should contain as much comprehensible cultural information as possible, since most language teachers in China, as we described in an early chapter, are not only language learners themselves but cultural learners as well. Thus, the possibility is that many teachers might not be necessarily in a better position than their pupils in this 'new' business of culture learning/teaching. Thus, a large body of background knowledge would be certainly helpful for those hardworking practitioners in Chinese secondary schools.

Moreover, a cultural element should be included in regular inservice retraining opportunities for language teachers during the summer vacation. The desire to attend such a cultural learning programme is very strong among the schoolteachers, as is revealed in our survey. This also echoes the teacher-trainers' recognition of the importance and necessity of teaching culture in language teaching (for detailed information, turn to section 4.4.3).

More detailed discussion of this aspect of the work has been made by many scholars and educators (e.g. Byram et al., 1991a, Byram et al., 1991b, Byram, Morgan et al., 1994; Kaikkonen, 1996, Lies Sercu, 1998). Owing to the large amount of work deserved by this subject matter and the arrangement of this study, we will not go any further than this, though we have clearly realised the crucial importance of the issue, and hope more research in the area will be undertaken in the near future.

Furthermore, we would suggest that a co-operation with other school subjects be recommended, such as geography and history. Owing to the limited class hours for the language and culture being learned, some of the 'factual' knowledge aspects can in fact be taught in co-operation with history and geography classes with relative ease. This might be particularly helpful in teaching the political and historical matters that are illustrated in our suggested package of cultural knowledge in the previous pages

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to suggest a cultural dimension of language teaching in Chinese foreign language education in general and in Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching in particular.

To justify our proposal, we first sought theoretical support from the surveys of language teaching history of both West and China, which favours our idea and echoes many of our modern scholars' view to the effect that language is part of a culture; language is deeply embedded in a culture; language and culture are not separable; and that we cannot avoid teaching culture in teaching a language.

However, our overview of the research work carried out in the area by the Western scholars and researchers reveals that although the teaching of language and culture has a longer history in the West and a corpus of sophisticated theories have been developed, and some relevant research projects have been carried out, and some guidelines for evaluating textbook cultural contents and writing of the textbooks have been offered, the difficulties of putting them into practical classroom activities and textbook writings still remain. This is scarcely surprising if we examine more closely what has been done in terms of from theory to practice. The immediate problems, as our research findings reveal, are that the cultural aims in the existing national curricula and the discussion of the issue are either very general or abstract. Thus, it is very difficult or impossible in many places to translate these aims into actual selection of cultural information when we start to consider the issue for a given level of language learners. Therefore, most textbooks and the actual classroom foreign language teaching are bound to fail to follow a systematic and consistent practice.

Furthermore, most of the discussions of the suggested package of cultural information to be selected into language teaching are even independent of any specific cultural aims for a given level of language learning. Since there are different cultural aims in the teaching of culture in language teaching depending on different levels of learning, such questions do not seem to be carefully taken into consideration by many of the researchers before making their suggestions of cultural knowledge to be taught: for what specific

purpose and what specific level of language learners is the suggested body of knowledge meant for? which of the cultural aims are to be emphasised if the level of language learners is decided? Thus, the validity of the suggested body of knowledge is certainly under threat. In another word, those suggested packages of cultural knowledge, means of testing, etc. might be independently very good and theoretically justified in their own right. But they might be not so when we consider them in relation to the whole process of the issue. This is, in our view, certainly one of the crucial reasons why the profession in the West is still probing ways of putting a cultural dimension of language teaching into practice.

Turning to the Chinese tradition of language and culture teaching and the research, our review of the issue reveals that foreign language teaching in China is valued and largely perceived as being pragmatic throughout history. The educational value of the matter is not considered to be primary by the Chinese educators, though the practitioners and their pupils recognised this point. The situation there is both demanding and exciting.

It is demanding because, although, as our research findings reveal, the teaching of foreign languages in China has always been thought highly of both socially and politically throughout history, which makes our suggested cultural dimension of language teaching become possible in the first place, it underwent a complex and tortuous process of development. For example, before 1949, foreign language teaching in China followed roughly the same pattern as that before the 1950s in the West in that the teaching of culture largely in its traditional form was integrated in language teaching programmes and teaching materials in a natural and untheoretically justified way. Textbooks used were mostly imported from the West. Very few were written by the Chinese.

However, since 1949 the foreign language profession in China began to write textbooks themselves for the first time in history and used them nation-wide. The importation of foreign textbooks was completely banned during most of this period of time. The foreign language teaching up to the late 1970s was greatly influenced by political ideology more than by intellectual climate. The teaching materials were largely dominated by the learner's own native culture, mostly political culture. Moreover, the textbooks were in a constant change as well as the school systems. All these left the profession in China little room to improve their language teaching

and the teaching materials. Owing to the closure of the country to the West, the latest language teaching theories and development in the area were little known by the Chinese profession. These in turn imply that the profession in China wasted a lot of time during the three decades in language teaching and research that follow the language teaching development of the world.

As a result, the Chinese profession lacks tradition and experience in both researches into language and culture teaching and the writing of textbooks as well. This state of affairs is in turn demonstrated in the 1982- and 1993-secondary school English teaching syllabuses and the writing of textbooks after China opened its border to the outside world and the foreign language teaching was able to follow the language teaching theories and development. This phenomenon is also manifested in the research into foreign language teaching. Moreover, very little of the research work in the teaching of culture is made available to the ordinary Chinese foreign language teachers.

On the other hand, the debate over the teaching of culture in language teaching in China, which started in the mid-1980s, is extremely motivated by a generally pragmatic-oriented trend in the discussion, intercultural communication. This, however, generated a lot of interesting discussion over the relationship of language and culture. This, too, might have roots in Chinese foreign language education history. Thus, the theories of cultural studies in foreign language education developed especially in Europe are not a familiar frame of reference to the Chinese profession in their current debate over the issue in question. A review of the major published works and the cited bibliography reveals that Byram and Kramsch, two of the world's most influential scholars in the area, are almost noncited. The systematic discussion of some very basic concepts and terms such as the definition of culture related to the teaching of languages, the cultural aims in foreign language teaching, etc. are almost non-existent, let alone some remaining practical work such as the offering of a concrete body of knowledge aimed for a given level of language learning, implementing methods and means of testing, etc

More importantly, the link to secondary school foreign language learning/teaching has hardly been made. Nor has the work done in connection with the teaching of Chinese to foreigners in China been made use of.

Nonetheless, it is exciting that the Chinese profession has recognised the importance of the issue and has already started working towards it.

In the light of all the above, this study becomes feasible and significant for the Chinese profession in the current discussion of and the research into the issue.

To build our argument on a firmer ground, we first charted the Chinese attitudes towards the issue of learning/teaching culture in their language learning/teaching because they are the ones who will finally make the cultural learning/teaching in their classrooms come true. The results from our survey show that the Chinese profession (the language teachers, teacher-trainers, and the pupils) shows a firm support for the role of culture in their language learning/teaching. Realistic suggestions for implementing methods and possible challenges are put forth. However, the research findings also show that many informants' understanding of the term 'culture' and the relevant language teaching theories is very vague and that the practice of cultural learning/teaching takes place only in a random and unplanned way. And some gaps have been found between the roles of culture in language learning perceived by the informants and that perceived by the theorist in their current discussion of the issue.

Then we analysed two Chinese English textbook series used since 1982, using Risager's model of evaluating the European elementary foreign language textbook cultural content.

However, it might not be so fair to use such a professional model in the case of the two Chinese English series which are not written for the cultural dimension of language teaching. Yet, it might be significant in that we can thus see how far or how near they are from a cultural dimension of language teaching since the textbooks prove to be the primary source in transmitting culture in Chinese foreign language classrooms.

The analysis reveals that the 1982-English series does talk about the target culture, but rather superficially and is limited in quantity as well. No real picture of the target people and the country and their way of life are authentically offered. This, according to our research, correlates with the relevant national syllabus, where the cultural aims are totally missing in the language teaching objectives. As to the 1992-English series, there are some changes, namely, there are a lot more communicative dialogues in the textbooks and

Communicative Language Teaching is emphasised and cultural aims are narrowly stated in one of the Chinese national syllabuses.

Nonetheless, as our analysis of the 1993-series shows, most of the dialogues in the 1993-series are, besides some linguistic problems we identified, not really authentic in the sense that they take place largely in the learner's native cultural context and the interlocutors in many places are both learner's native fellow people, which, according to Byram (1997), do not really qualify as intercultural communicative activities. The cultural aims in the 1993-syllabus for the upper secondary school English teaching is narrowly stated while only being implied by the emphasis of Communicative Language Teaching in the 1993-syllabus for the lower secondary school English language teaching. Thus, the weak understanding of the language teaching theory by those syllabus designers and textbook writers is evident. There seems to be no profound change in the 1993-series in integrating the cultural learning into these teaching materials, though some cultural aims in language teaching have appeared in the official guidelines. All these, again, we firmly believe, have roots in the current situation of the research into language teaching and cultural studies in foreign language education, the discussion of the issue in China, and the lack of experience in writing textbooks that closely follow the language teaching theory. All these in turn prove that the cultural/intercultural learning in Chinese foreign language learning is incidental and at a rather limited level.

In fact, as our review of the Chinese tradition of teaching language and culture reveals, quite a lot of informed discussion of teaching Chinese language and culture has been made by the Chinese language profession in their discussion of teaching Chinese language and culture. They can actually be used as guidance to both the discussion of and practical classroom foreign language and culture teaching by the Chinese foreign language profession.

Having justified our proposal for a cultural dimension of language teaching in Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching, built up a solid ground and cleared some ground as well, we offered our package of ideas as to how to put the teaching of culture into Chinese secondary school foreign language classrooms. We first suggested a specific model of teaching language and culture in Chinese secondary school foreign language teaching. Following Byram's argument, we then firmly argued for an official place for

the teaching of culture in both the national curriculum and the textbooks. Then we forcefully argued that cultural aims in language teaching must be made crystal clear and translatable in relation to the secondary school language learners before discussing any offer of a body of knowledge, the teaching methods and the means of testing.

Thus, based on the cultural aims we set up for language teaching, we offered a package of cultural knowledge to be included in the Chinese secondary school English textbooks so that a systematic and consistent practice can be developed and an official place can be obtained.

However, to successfully complete the teaching of culture in language teaching in Chinese secondary school classrooms is not without difficulties. As we and many informants in our survey equally recognised, the immediate problems are the teachers' qualifications to teach culture while teaching the language, the lack of teaching materials and the lack of time, etc. Nonetheless, all these problems can be partly and temporarily solved by our suggestion of rewriting the textbooks for the 'new' dimension of language teaching and compiling teachers' books parallel to the pupils' books, which should contain even a much larger package of cultural information. At the same time we also suggested some in-service retraining of teachers for the new dimension of language teaching.

Another crucial problem, as we mentioned in several places, is the lack of research effort and tradition in language and culture teaching Thus, we also suggested that more research work in this area should be carried out by the Chinese profession themselves so as to lay a sound foundation for the teaching of culture in language teaching in China.

In this sense and others mentioned above and elsewhere, this study is significant for the Chinese profession in their current debate over the teaching of culture in language teaching and their actual classroom teaching. It filled in several gaps concerning the issue in this given context. And more importantly, the study is particularly significant in this given context in that it not only added new insight to the previous discussion of teaching culture alongside the intercultural communication perspective, but opens up new perspectives, too, in Chinese foreign language education by widening the objectives of the teaching of culture in language teaching in China. Furthermore, besides bringing the Western scholars and researchers in language education 'new' information

about Chinese foreign language education, which may lead to more informed discussions from the Western scholars as to how to improve and implement the teaching of culture in Chinese foreign language teaching, the critical examination of the work done in the West in terms of from theory to practice and what we have done here to bring the issue into Chinese foreign language teaching may bring them further serious thinking as to how to bring the teaching of culture in language teaching systematically and consistently into their actual school language classrooms as an integral part of the language teaching programme with proper aims and methods.

As is demonstrated, this study is among the first efforts to discuss the issue in the Chinese context aimed for a given level of language learners in such detail and scope. It is certainly open to criticism. Further research and investigation into this complex aspect of foreign language teaching is needed to further improve the existing situation of the matter in the Chinese context. We would be very happy if our efforts can help in any way to improve the foreign language and culture teaching in China in general and elsewhere, too, and lead to more systematic and informed discussion of it from both the Western and Chinese scholars and educators in relation to Chinese foreign language and culture teaching.

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Appendix

Questionnaires:

<u>Pupils</u> - from lower secondary and upper secondary schools

Directions: For each of the following questions decide whether you agree, disagree upon the answers provided or do not know. Check the appropriate answer and circle it or add your own if necessary. Read each item carefully. Where there is no answer provided, write your own answer. Use the other side of the paper if needed.

1. Have you learned the culture(s) of the English-speaking countries in the course of your studies of English up to and including the present moment?

Yes No Do not know

If 'yes', what sort of things have you learnt about these countries? Give some examples

- 2. What does 'culture' mean to you?
- 3. Are you interested in learning English language culture(s) in learning English language?

Yes No Do not know

- 4. Which part of the culture, do you think, is most interesting in learning about English language culture(s), if you are interested?
- 5. How important is culture, do you think, in learning a foreign language such as English?

Very important Important Not important

6. Do your learning materials (textbooks, supplementary readings, etc.)talk about English language culture(s)?

Yes No Do not know If 'yes', what aspects are dealt with?

<u>Teachers</u> - from lower secondary and upper secondary schools Directions: For each of the following questions decide whether you agree or disagree upon the answers provided or do not know. Read each item carefully. Check the appropriate answer and circle it. Where there is no answer provided, write your own answer. Use the other side of the paper if needed.
1. Do you teach the culture(s) of English-speaking countries in teaching English as a foreign language? Yes No Do not know If 'yes', what aspects and give some examples.
2. What does 'culture' mean to you?
 3. Are you interested in teaching the culture(s) of those English-speaking countries in teaching English as a foreign language? Yes No Do not know 4. Which part of the culture(s), do you think, is the most interesting in teaching
about English language culture(s), if you are interested?
5. How important is culture, do you think, in teaching a foreign language such as English?
Very important Important Not important Do not
know 6. Do your teaching materials (textbooks, supplementary readings, etc.) talk about English language culture(s)? Yes Not Not much Do not know If 'yes', what aspects are dealt with and give some examples.
7. Are your students interested in learning the English language culture(s)?
Yes No Not much Do not know 8. Have you yourself been taught things about the culture of these countries?

Yes	No				
9. Would you attend a programme for high school teachers that is exactly about					
English language culture(s)?					
Yes No Do not know					
10. How would you pass cultural information on to your students, if you are					
interested in teaching the English language culture(s)?					
Or How would you approach culture teaching in your EFL classes?					
11. What sort of challenges are there in teaching English language culture(s)					
and incorporating them into the school curriculum?					
<u>Teacher-trainers</u> - from teachers' colleges or universities Directions: For each of the following decide whether you agree or disagree					
upon the answers provided or do not know. Read each item carefully. Check					
the appropriate answer and circle it. Where there is no answer provided, write					
your own answer. Use the other side of the paper if needed.					
1. Do you teach the culture(s) of the English-speaking countries in teaching					
English as a foreign language?					
	Yes	No	Not much	Do not know	
2. What does	'culture' mean	n to you?			
3. Are you interested in teaching the culture(s) of these English-speaking					
countries in teaching English as a foreign language?					
	Yes	No	Not very much	Do not know	
4. Which part of the culture, do you think, is most interesting in teaching					
about English language culture(s) if you are interested?					
5. How important is culture, do you think, in teaching a foreign language such					
as English	ι?				
Very	important	Important	Not important	Do not	
know					
		. 1 / 1		1	
6. Do your teaching materials (textbooks, supplementary readings, etc.) talk					
about Eng	lish language	, ,			
	Yes	No	Not much	Do not know	

If 'yes', what aspects are dealt with and give some examples.

- 7. How would you pass cultural information on to your students, if you are interested in teaching English language culture(s)?
- 8. What sort of challenges are there in teaching about English language culture(s) and incorporating them into the school curriculum?